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A WORKE Concerning the truneſſe of Chriſtian RELIGION:

AGAINST,
Atheiſts, Epicures, Paynims, Iewes, Mahumetiſts, and other *Infidels.*

Written in French, by PHILIP *of* MORNAY *Lord of* Pleſsie *and* Marly.

Begunne to be tranſlated into Engliſh, by that honourable and worthy Gentleman, Sir PHILIP SIDNEY Knight, and at his requeſt finiſhed by ARTHVR GOLDING.

*Since which time, it hath been reuiewed, and is the fourth time pub-*liſhed, and purged from ſundry faults eſcaped heretofore, thorow ignorance, careleſneſſe, or other corruption.



LONDON,
Printed by *George Purſlowe.* 1617.

TO THE HIGH AND Mighty, HENRY FREDERICK, Prince of WALES, &c.

A blessed growth and continuance for euer, in all graces, bodily and spirituall, from God the *Father, through Iesus Christ his Sonne, and our* Sauior, by the mighty and effectuall working of the holy Spirit.

Right high and mighty Prince.

TWo things especially amongst sundrie others, haue prouoked mee to presume to present this worthie work vnto you. The first is my dutifull affection, and vnfained loyalty, to your right Christian Parents, chiefly to the Kings most excellent Maiestie, your most louing Father; and my only deare and dread Soueraigne, and gracious Lord and Master, hereupon earth. The second is the sound loue and hearty care, that I carrie to your selfe (as a worthy branch of that flourishing Stocke) and that not for your selfe, but for the good of all those, that presently

or hereafter, ſhall depend vpon vnder God: you becauſe you, as others, are made, not for your ſelfe alone, but for others as for your ſelfe, and chiefly for the Churches good.

In manifeſtation whereof, though ſome may ſuppoſe, I haue failed in diſcretion, whileſt I am bold to offer vnto you, matter, not ſo meete (in their minds) for your tender yeeres, nor ſo well ſorting your high place and dignitie: yet, if points may be poyzed and conſtrued, as they ought to be, I hope I ſhall with ſmall adoe be eaſily freed, in all good mens iudgements, from this ſurmiſe or ſuſpition: for beſides that, the treatie it ſelfe dealeth with, and toucheth the truth of Chriſtian Religion, a ſubiect that ſerueth for, and indeed belongeth vnto all eſtates and degrees, high or lowe, rich or poore, young or old, ſpecially if they will either liue well, in this preſent euill world, or be aſſured of that which is the end of faith and hope, and the bleſſed fruits thereof, namely, the eternall ſaluation of their ſoules: beſides this I ſay, who is, or can be ignorant, that in a double reſpect, it may not vnfitly appertaine to you?

One, as in regard of that, which you ought to be, and I truſt in the Lord, will be, when through Gods mercie, you ſhall attaine to greater yeeres, and more ſetled iudgement, in the precious faith of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: in which (ouer and beſides the reſt of your glories and greatneſſe in this world) your ſelfe through ſpeciall loue and fauour from God, and continual care of your religious Parents, haue bin borne and bred euen hitherto, and ſo I hope will abide faſt therein, to the end.

The other, as in reſpect of thoſe, that are or ſhall be ſubiect vnto you, whileſt this booke being countenanced, vnder your Patronage and defence, ſhall haue more vogue, and better acceptance with all ſorts, than otherwiſe haply it might: this being a naturall thing for men, to haue the glorious faith of our Sauiour Chriſt in reſpect of perſons: and yet this being a ſupernaturall worke from God himſelfe, by his bleſſed Spirit, to make that, which at the firſt is but worldly, and it may be, wicked alſo, to become good and fruitfull at the laſt, not only to the parties themſelues, ſo partially miſled, but to the building vp of others by their good example.

As for thoſe that out of imagination affirme, that mightie men are made and borne, either for martiall affaires onely, or for purſuit of pleaſures and delights therewithall, or for ſome other earthly and worldly reſpect: and thereupon aſſay what they can, to worke in their hearts careleſneſſe and contempt of heauenly things: they are not worthy ſo much as hearing, becauſe they ſpeake the vanities, viſions and dreames of their owne carnall hearts, and idle heads: Much leſſe deſerue they any anſwere, ſaue ſilence, becauſe they ſpeake abſurdly in regard of Religion, and vnreaſonably in reſpect of nature, and from matter or ground of morall truth, not rightly propounded, doe falſely inferre conſequences, very dangerous to Gods glorie, and the good and bleſſed eſtate of mens ſoules, both for this life preſent, and that which is to come.

And as little ſurely to be regarded are they, that would make Princes and great perſons beleeue, that the maineſt matters, wherein they ſhould moſt buſie themſelues, are the principles of policie, and the performance thereof accordingly, in their ſeuerall eſtates and kingdomes: for although this be a matter (I confeſſe) not ſo much to be miſliked in it ſelfe, becauſe politicall gouernment, and the right practice thereof, are good graces indeed, ſpecially then, when they are ſanctified (as other naturall giftes of body and mind) by the word of God, and prayer, yet herein it faulteth fowly, becauſe it concludeth that, which flowing from the moſt mighty, and moſt wiſe God, yea the only Monarch (to ſpeake truely) and beſides, being full of life, light, truth, and all good things, doth not only inlighten mens darke minds, with graces from aboue, and quicken their dull hearts in themſelues, but alſo cauſeth them the better to vſe, and more to profit by, whatſoeuer helps and aydes, they haue in themſelues, or from others.

And though I muſt acknowledge, it be not the principall, or proper ſubiect and drift of this book, to combate with ſuch corruptions,

ruptious, and corrupters of others, it rather ayming at, and indeed attayning & contayning a very learned and chriſtian confutation, of Atheiſts, Epicures, Heathens, Turks, Iewes, and ſuch other like perſons, as are miſled and ſeduced, in their perſwaſions or conceits rather, in the world; yet may euery one that will carefully reade it, here and there, now and then encounter ſuch things therein, as will not be onely pregnant, but powerfull and ſufficient, to ouerthrow ſtrong holds, and whatſoeuer this way, or any other way, may or doth oppoſe it ſelfe, againſt God and his bleſſed truth.

What ſhall I ſay? what can I ſay more? The worke it ſelfe is very good, whether we conſider, the matter it treateth of, the truth of Gods religion; or the author that penned it, a right worthy, skilfull, zealous, and godly Gentleman; or him that firſt began to turne it into our tongue, that valiant Knight of happie memorie, Syr *Phillip Sidney* I meane: or the ends that it aymeth at, ſpecially the confutation of error, and the eſtabliſhment of truth, with ſundry ſuch like.

All which ſhould prouoke you (right excellent Prince) to many good things, both in regard of others, and alſo in reſpect of your ſelfe chiefely.

As in regard of others, it ſhould ſtir you vp, iuſtly to patronize and protect it, that ſo if any ſhould be ſo ſhameleſſe or graceleſſe, as to open their mouthes againſt it, they might according to the great power and dignity, that the Lord hath aduanced you to, in your right high credit and countenance, be mightily repreſſed.

And as in reſpect of your ſelfe, that by it, as by all other good mercies, that God hath vouchſafed you, or meanes from men whether thoſe that your vertuous and Chriſtian parents haue beſtowed vpon you, or by others, deputed from them, (for your good, they haue prouided for you) you may grow in all good graces, of body and mind, but chiefly of knowledge, iudgement, faith and obedience, the ſame being powerfull in you, not onely to withſtand all contrarie inchaunting and bewitching ſpirits whatſoeuer, but alſo inabling you, to accompliſh all good, ſpecially

ally the good things of the places and preeminences, whereunto you are lawfully borne and in the right line lineally deſended.

My ſelfe haue no other meanes, to further you in theſe worthy workes, but ſuch as you ſee, and my poore prayers vnto almighty God, as on your behalfe. If I had more or better, I could and would be as forward and faithfull, as any other, to ſhew my loyall and ſound affection. But thoſe good parts wanting in me, I humbly pray from you (as I do patiently expect from God) acceptance of me, and my ſimple ſeruices, according to that I haue, and not according to that I haue not. Which fauour if it ſhall pleaſe you graciouſly to yeeld me, I ſhall be much incouraged thereby, to hold on generally in all dueties, or offices, that I can performe, and particularly, in powring forth my dayly and heartieſt prayers to almighty God for you, for euer to preſerue you to himſelfe, and long to continue you, to his owne glorie, here amongſt men vpon earth, to your Royall Parents comfort, your owne great good, and the common benefite of the Kingdomes, wherevnto you are borne, and of all the Churches of God, both at home and abroad; for whoſe good God hath graunted you life, and all other your mercies, through Ieſus Chriſt. London the xvij. of May. 1604.

Your Highnes ready to be commanded, in all ſeruice,
Thomas Wilcocks, *the Lords vnworthy Miniſter.*

TO

TO THE RIGHT HIGH and mighty Prince, HENRY, King of *Nauarre*, Soueraigne of *Bearne*, and a Peere and chiefe Prince of the bloud Royall *of* FRANCE.

IN this wretched time Sir, wherin vngodlines (which was wont but to whisper men in the eare, and to mumble betweene the teeth) hath bin so bold as to step into the Pulpit, and to belch out blasphemies against God, & his Gospell: I take vpon me (through a new kind of hardinesse, as in respect of the small ability that God hath put into me) to conuince her, euen by her owne principles & peculiar records, that if I cannot make her to come backe againe to a better minde, I may at leastwise yet make her hold her peace for shame, and keepe close her venim within: A right great enterprise (and in the iudgement of most men) ouerhard, but yet such as wherein I see great helps to imbolden me, namely the World, Man, the open examples of all ages: and (at one word) God himselfe (who neuer faileth those which seeke his glory) and all that euer he hath vttered concerning himselfe, as well in the creating as in the gouerning of all things. The world, for that it is a shadowe of Gods brightnesse: and Man, for that he is his image and likenesse: And both of them, for that if it appeare euen by the Philosophers themselues, that the world was made for man, how greatly then are we bound vnto the Creator thereof? How great is the dignity of this creature? And what else is his shootanker and his welfare, but to sticke wholly vnto God? Soothly, he for whom the world was made, must needes bee made for more than the world. Hee for whome so durable and substantiall a thing was made, must needes be made for another than this fraile and wretched life, that is to wit, for the euerlasting life, with him that is the euerlasting. And that is the foundation of all Religion: For Religion (to speake properly) is nothing else, but the schoole wherein we learne mans duty towards God, and the way to bee lincked most straightly vnto him.

Again, in the world we see a steadie and fast setled order, and euery creature to do seruice in his sort. Onely man withdraweth his duety, shrinking from God, and wandring away in himselfe. He that is most indebted, is lothest to pay, and least able to pay. He for whom the highest things are made, is become a bond-slaue to the basest and vilest things: And the Recordes of all ages are as inditements against all mankinde, prooving him to be vnthankefull to God, a murtherer of his neighbors, a violator of nature, an enemie to himselfe. Shall not he then, which in stead of doing his duety, is not ashamed to offend God, stand in dread of the death which waiteth vpo him for his offence? Yea: for what is God but Iustice? what is Iustice, but a Iudgement of duety? And before that Iudgement who dareth appeare? What remedie is there, both for Gods glory and for mans welfare: but that the debt be discharged by release, and the Iustice satisfied with free fauour? The duty therfore of true Religion, is to conuict vs by the law, and to iustifie vs by grace, to make vs feele our disease, and therewithall to offer vs remedie. But who shall purchase vs this grace so necessarie for mans welfare? Either the world (as we thinke) or else man. Nay, what is there in man (I say, euen in the best man) which burneth not before Gods Iustice, and which setteth it not on fire? And what shall become of the world then, if man, for whome it is created, be vnable to stand? Soothly, it is the welbeloued Sonne of God that must stand for all: the righteous for the vnrighteous, the mightie for the vnmightie, the rich for the poore, the dearling and the welbeloued, for them that are in the displeasure and curse of God his Father, and the same (say I) is our Lord Iesus Christ. The foole (saith the Psalmist) hath said in his heart, There is no God. *And a heathen man hath passed yet further,* Psal 14. Auicen the Arabian. *saying:* Hee that denieth the one God and his prouidence in all things, is not onely witlesse, but also senseleese. *And his so saying is, because the world which offereth it selfe continually vnto vs, repleniseth our wittes with the knowledge of God: euen in this respect, that with one view of the eie, wee see this vniuersall masse, furnished with so many and so diuers things linked one to another, and tending all to one marke. Truely, I dare say, and by Gods grace I dare vndertake to proue, that whosoeuer will lay before him wholy in one table (so as he may see them together with one view) the promise and prophecies concerning Christ, the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ, and the proceeding of his Gospell, he shall not be able to deny, euen by the very rules of Philosophie, but that he was sent of God, yea and that he was God himselfe. Howbeit, in this lieth our fault that (whether it bee through Ignorance or through Negligence) we consider not the incomparable work of our Creator, and Recreator, but by piecemeale, without laying the one of them to the other: like as if a man would iudge of the whole space of time by night, or by some one season of the yeere: or by some one of the Elements: or as if he would iudge of a building by some one quarter:*

ter: or of an Oration by some syllables thereof: whereas notwithstanding, Gods wisedome in creating things cannot be considered, but in the vnion of the partes with the whole, and of themselues among themselues: nor his goodnesse in recreating or renewing them, and in regenerating of mankinde, for whom he made the world, but by the heedfull conferring of al times from the first birth of Man, vnto the second birth, and repayring of him againe, which it hath pleased God to ordaine and make for him.

As for the world, it is sufficiently conuersant before our eies, and would God it were lesse grauen in our hearts: and therefore let vs leaue the world, and busie our selues in the vniuersall table of mans saluation and reparation. When man: had by his sin drawn Gods wrath and the decay of the world vpon his owne head Gods euerlasting wisedom, euen the same whereby God had created him, stepped in and procured his fauour, so as it was promised vnto the first man, that Christ should come and breake the Serpents head, and make atonement betweene God and man. That was the Foundation-stone of the wonderfull building of the Church, and the Seed whereof men were to be regenerate newe againe; whome God did as it were create, beget, and adopt new againe in his Sonne, which is his euerlasting wisedome. This promise was deliuered ouer from hand to hand, and conueied from Father to Sonne, solemnly declared to Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, committed as a pawne by Moses to the people of Israel, celebrated by Dauid in his Songs, and renued from time to time by many excellent Prophets, which pointed out the time, place, and manner of his comming, and set downe plainely and expresly his stock, his parents and his birth many hundred yeares, yea and some thousand yeares aforehand: which are such things as no man could know, nor any creature teach or conceiue. What were they else therfore but Heralds that foreshewed the comming of the King of the world into the world, & certes by another spirit then the spirit of the world: After a long succesee of these Heralds, came the Sauiour in the selfe same maner which they had foretold and painted out. Whatsoeuer they had sayd of him, agreed vnto him, and which more is, could agree to none but him. Who then can doubt that the promise is not performed, and that he is not the bringer of the promised grace to the world? And seeing that the Prophets could not tell any tidings of him but from God, from whence can he be sent but from God? I know well, that this one thing is a stumbling blocke vnto vs, namely, that after the sounding of so many clarions and trumpets, we see a Man in outward shew base, and to the sight of our fleshly eyes contemptible, come into the world; whereas notwithstanding if we opened the eies of our mind, we shoulde contrariwise espie in that wretchednesse, the very Godhead, and in that humane weakenesse, the selfe same infinite almightines which made both the world and man. He was borne say you: but of a Virgin. Hee was weake: but yet with his onely voyce he healed all infirmities. Hee

died.

died: but yet he raiſed the dead, and roſe himſelfe from the dead too. If thou beleeue that, thou beleeueſt that he was both ſent & ſuſtained by God. Or if thou wilt doubt thereof, tell me then how he did the things after his death which are witneſſed by thine owne hiſtories? As ſoone as he was borne (ſay I,) he by and by changed the outward ſhape of the world, making it to ſpring newe againe all after another ſort. Whē he was once crucified, he turned the reproch of his croſſe into glory, and the curſe therof into a bleſſing. He was crowned with thorns; & now Kings and Emperors do caſt downe their Crownes and Diademes at his feete. What a death was that, which did ſuch things as all the liuing could not do? By Ignorance he ſubdued learning, by follie wiſdome, by weakneſſe power, by miſery victorie, by reproach triumphes, by that which ſeemed not to be, the things which ſeemed verily and chiefely for to be. Twelue Fiſher-men in effect did in ſhort ſpace ſubdue the whole world vnto him, by ſuffering and by teaching to ſuffer, yea and by dying, and by teaching to die. And the great Chriſtian Kingdomes which we now gaze at, and which we exalt ſo much, are but ſmall remnants of their exployts, and little pieces of their conqueſts. If his birth offend thee, looke vpon the Heralds that went afore him, and vpon the Trumpetters that told tydings of him, both in the beginning and in the chiefe ſtate of the world. And from whome commeth all this; but from him that made the world? And wherefore in all ages, but for the welfare of the world? If his croſſe do offend thee, ſee how the Emperours and their Empyres, the Idols whome they worſhipped, and the Diuells whom they ſerued, ly altogether ouerthrown, broken in pieces, faſt bound and ſtricken dumbe at the feete of this crucified man. And how, but by a power paſſing the power of man, paſſing the power of Kings, paſſing the power of Angels, yea, paſſing the power of al creatres together? If the little ſhew of the Apoſtles moue thee: conſider how the ſillie nets of thoſe Fiſhermen drew the pride of the world, namely, the wiſe men, the Philoſophers and the Oratours by ignorance (as thou tearmeſt it) to beleeue, and by follie to die for beleeuing. And for beleeuing of what? Euen of things contrary to the lawe of the world, & to the wit of man: namely, that this Ieſus Chriſt crucified is God, and that it is a bleſſed thing to indure all misfortune for his ſake. Behold alſo, how one of them drawes mee into this nette the leſſer Aſia, another Italie, the third Egypt: And ſome other of them extende vnto the Scythians, the Æthiopians, and the Indians, and vnto other places, whither the power of the moſt renowned Empyres did neuer attaine, and which haue hardly come to our knowledge now within theſe hundred yeeres: and yet haue wee euen there found very great conqueſts of theirs, and like renowned tokens of their victories, as are here among our ſelues. Nay, which more is, ſee how theſe Conquerours enriched with ſo many triumphs, do die for a dead mans, and are crucified for a crucified man: & their Diſciples alſo by heapes as well as they. And what mooueth them

them hereto, but that they be ſure that their power commeth from him, and that they be nothing, further forth then they are in him and for him; that is to ſay, that he liueth and maketh them to liue, yea euen for euer, which die in him and for him. Surely vpon the conſidering of this table, wee become as men rauiſhed, diſtraught, and beſides our ſelues, and haue nothing to ſay, but that he which created man, and the world of nothing, and none other was able to make and regenerate man and the world againe of nothing, euen in deſpight of man and the world. This inuiſible God which hath made himſelfe viſible by creating the viſible world, hath declared the trewneſſe of the Chriſtian Religion, and that (as I hope) with ſuch Reaſons, that the deſpiſers of God, if they will not beleeue, ſhall at leaſtwiſe finde themſelues graueled to gainſay it. Moreouer, to offer this to your Maieſtie, I haue chiefely two cauſes, the one is, that God hath made you to be borne, not onely a Chriſtian, but alſo a Chriſtian Prince: to whome it belongeth chiefely both for himſelfe and for others, to know what the Chriſtian Religion is. For you ſhall be the more inflamed to aduance it, when you be throughly perſwaded that it is not a deuice of man as other Religions are, but the Law and truth of God, which maketh both Kings and kingdoms, and hath made you a man, yea, and ſet you ouer Gods gracious goodnes and your welfare in the other life, which is of farre greater importance, than all that euer we can endure or attaine vnto here.

The other reaſon is, that for as much as God hath called me to be about your Maieſtie (as I hope) to do you ſeruice in that notable worke which he is about to do in our dayes, to his glory, and wherein he hath put into your heart to imploy your perſon without ſparing of your life: reaſon would that the fruits both of my labours and of my leyſure ſhould be yours, as well as the field is yours: without that it ſhould be in my power to diſpoſe otherwiſe therof. And I pray the Almightie to increaſe his grace in you from day to day, and to giue vnto you his Spirite to go forward with his worke, and vnto me to do you ſeruice to the vttermoſt of my ſmall power as long as I liue. Amen.

Your moſt humble obedient,
and faithfull Seruant,
Du Pleſſie.

A

The

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

IT is the ordinary matter of Prefaces, to declare first of al the apparant profit, or rather neceſſity that moueth them to vndertake any worke: But I to my great griefe, doe thinke my ſelfe diſcharged of that paine, in this caſe. For he that ſhall read the title of this booke, *Of the trueneſſe of Chriſtian Religion*, if he liſt to call to remembrance how many blaſphemies he heareth hourely againſt God and his word, how many deſpiſers of religion he meeteth with at euery ſtep, and how great either coldneſſe in the things which they ought to follow moſt wholly, or doubting in things which they ought to beleeue moſt ſtedfaſtly, he findeth euen in thoſe which profeſſe the Chriſtian godlineſſe: ſhall by and by anſwer and yeelde the reaſon of himſelfe, why I haue taken this worke in hand, more needfull now a dayes (yea euen (which I am aſhamed to ſay) among thoſe which beare the name of Chriſtians) than euer it was among the very Heathen & Infidels. Some buſie themſelues ſo much about their pleaſures that they can neuer find any leaſure to mount vp vnto God, but only enter into thēſelues: inſomuch, that they be more ſtrangers to their own nature, to their own ſoules, & to the things wch concerne them moſt neerely and peculiarly, than they be either to the deſarts of Indie, or to the Seas that are leaſt haunted and leaſt known. That is the very welſpring of the Atheiſt, who (to ſpeake rightly of them) offend not through reaſoning, but for want of reaſoning, nor by abuſing of reaſon, but by drowning of reaſon, or rather by bemiring it in the filthy & beaſtly pleaſures of the world. Otherſome match their pleaſures with malice, and to make ſhort way to the attainment of goods or honour, do ouerreach and betray other men, ſelling their friends, their kinſfolke, yea and their owne ſoules, and not ſticking to do any euill, that may ſerue their turne, neuer alleaging or pretending honeſty or conſcience, but to their own profit. Of ſuch kind of ſtuffe are the Epicures made, who becauſe they feele their minds guilty of ſo many crimes, do think themſelues to haue eſcaped the Iuſtice and prouidence of God by denying it. And of theſe we may ſay, that their reaſon is carried away & ouermaſtered by the courſe of the world, wherunto it is wholly tyed, ſo as they can haue no other courſe or diſcourſe then the world.

Some

Some goe yet a little further, both in reſpect of God and of themſelues: They thinke there is a God, and that of him man hath receiued an immortall ſoule: that God gouerneth all things, and that man ought to ſerue him. But foraſmuch as they ſee both Gentiles and Iewes, Turkes and Chriſtians in the world, and in diuers nations diuers Religions, whereof euery one thinketh hee ſerueth God, and that he ſhall finde ſaluation in his owne Religion: Theſe (like men at the ſtop where many wayes meet) in ſtead of chuſing the right way by the iudgement of reaſon, doe ſtand ſtill amazed, and in that amazement conclude that all comes to one: as who would ſay, that South and North leade both to one place. But ſoothly, if they appliedtheir wit as aduiſedly to iudge betweene truth and falſhood, godlineſſe and worldlineſſe, as euery man in his trade doth to iudge betweene profit and loſſe: they ſhould forthwith by principles bred within themſelues, and by concluſions following vpon the ſame, diſcerne the true Religion from the falſe: and the way which God hath ordained to welfare, from the deceitfull by-wayes, and from the croſſe and crooked inuentions of men. What ſhall I ſay of the moſt part of vs? Of vs I meane, which beleeue the Goſpell and profeſſe the Chriſtian Religion, and yet liue as though we beleeued it not? Which preach the kingdome of heauen, and haue our groines euer rooting in the ground? Which will needs ſeeme and be taken to be Gods children, and coheires with Chriſt, children of ſo rich a Father, and heires of ſo godly an inheritance, and yet ſo ſcarcely thinke earneſtly vpon it once in a whole yeere, but are ready to forſake it euery houre, for leſſe then a meſſe of grewel and a bit of bread? Surely we may wel ſay then, that if euer it were needfull, it is needfull at this time to waken ſuch as are aſleep, to bring backe ſuch as are gone aſtray, to lift vp ſuch as are ſunke downe, and to chaſe them a heate, that are waxed colde. And that is, to be done by painting out the true religion liuely before their eies, with the ioy, happineſſe, & glory which inſue therupō, to the intēt that the voluptuous may ſeeke their ioy, the couetous their gaine, and the ambitious their glory, they bending themſelues with their whole hearts vnto that alone, which all onely can fil their hearts and ſatiffie their deſires.

That is the thing which I indeuour to do in this worke, and God of his gracious goodnes vouchſafe to guide my hand, to his owne glory and to the welfare of thoſe that are his. But before I enter into the matter, I haue to anſwere vnto two ſorts of people: The one are ſuch as ſay that Religion cannot be declared vnto Infidels or vnbeleeuers, by

reaſon.

reaſon. The other ſort are thoſe which vphold, that although reaſon do ſomewhat enlighten it, yet it is neither lawfull nor expedient to do it. But let vs ſee what reaſon they can haue, to exclude reaſon from this diſcourſe. The firſt ſort ſay, It is to no purpoſe to diſpute againſt ſuch as deny grounded principles. And by this meanes, becauſe one grounded principle is denied them, they breake off quite and cleane, as though all meane of conference were taken away. Surely this principle of theirs is very true, but yet (in my iudgement) it is very ill vnderſtood. I grant, it is to no purpoſe to diſpute againſt ſuch as deny grounded principles, by the ſame principles which they deny. That is very true. But there may be ſome other principles common to both ſides, by the which a man may profitably diſpute with them, and by thoſe common principles oftentimes proue and verifie his owne principles. And that is the thing which I intend to do in this worke. As for example, The Chriſtian groundeth himſelfe vpon the Goſpell; the Iew denyeth it: and therefore it were to no purpoſe to alledge it vnto him. But both the Iew and the Chriſtian haue one common principle and ground, which is the old Teſtament: By this may the Chriſtian profitably diſpute againſt the Iew, yea, euen to verifying of the Goſpel, as if ye ſhould make one to cal ſome man to his knowledge, by the draughts or deſcriptions of his portraiture. Likewiſe the Iew is grounded vpon the old Teſtament, which the Gentile would mocke at if he ſhould alledge it vnto him. But both the Gentile and the Iew haue one common nature, which furniſheth them both with one common Philoſophie, and with one common ſort of principles; as that there is one God which gouerneth all things, that he is good, and no author of euill: That he is wiſe, and doth not any thing in vaine. Alſo that man is borne to be immortall, that to be happy, he ought to ſerue God and continue in his fauour. And therewithall, that he is ſubiect to paſſions, inclined to euill, weake vnto good, and ſo forth. Of theſe common principles, the Iew may draw neceſſary concluſions, which the Gentile ſhall not perceiue at the firſt; like as when a man vnderſtandeth a propoſition, but conceiueth not yet the drift and conſequence thereof. He that marketh that the Adamant or Loadſtone pointeth to the North, perceiueth not forthwith that by the ſame a man may go about the world, although he was of capacitie to conceiue it. After the ſame manner, by this principle: *He that from equall things taketh equal things, leaueth the remainder equal*; and by a few other propoſitions which children learne in playing, the Mathematician leadeth vs gently (and ere we be aware of any mouing) vnto this ſo greatly renowned

clid. lib. 1. 45.

ed propoſition, and experiment of Pythagoras, *that in a Triangle, the ſide that beareth vp the right Angle, yeldeth a ſquare equal to the other twain*, which at the firſt ſight ſeemeth vnpoſſible, and yet by degrees is found to be ſo of neceſſitie. Thus ſhall the Iew by common principles and concluſions, verifie his owne ground, which is the old Teſtament. For he ſhal proue vnto the Gentiles by their owne Philoſophers, that vnto God alone, things to come are preſent, and that vnto Spirits they be knowne but onely by coniecture, and ſo far forth as they can reade them in the ſtarres. And he ſhall proue by their Aſtrologers, that the names of men and the circumſtances of their doings cannot be betokened nor read in the ſtarres. And he ſhall proue by their Hiſtoriographers, that the bookes of the old Teſtament, which containe ſo many & ſo particular propheſies, were written many hundred yeers afore the things came to paſſe. Now what will reaſonably enſue hereof, but the proofe of the principle which is in controuerſie, by the principles which are agreed vpon betweene them both? namely, that the old Teſtament is of God, ſeeing it cannot be from any other? And what elſe is all this, then that which is commonly done in Geometrie and Logick, which by two lines or by two propoſitions that are commonly knowne and certaine, do gather a third propoſition that was vnknowne, or a third propoſition (that is to ſay a concluſion) that was erſt either doubted of or hidden, and by meanes of the other two is euidently found out, and neceſſarily proued? Such are theſe proofes againſt the Athieſts: nothing hath mouing of it ſelfe. It is nature that ſayeth ſo. The world turneth about, and the heauenly bodies haue a mouing: and that doth man himſelfe ſee. Therefore they muſt needes bee moued by ſome other power, and that is the Godhead, which our eye ſeeth not, and yet by meanes of the eie, our reaſon conceiueth and perceiueth it in all things. Againſt them which denie Chriſts Godhead, (we alledge this principle of their owne) That naturally of nothing, nothing is made. It is the ſaying of Ariſtotle, and the Schooles would haue him by the eares that ſhould denie it. Ieſus Chriſt hath of nothing, made very great things, yea euen contraries. The Heathen wonder at it, all ages crie it out, our eies do ſtill behold it. He that will deny this, muſt deny the world, he muſt deny all things, he muſt deny himſelfe. It followeth then, that Chriſt wrought by a power, that is miſtreſſe of Nature. Ariſtotle himſelfe ſaw it not, and yet Ariſtotle maketh vs to ſee it. The writers of Hiſtories tooke no heede of it; and yet they themſelues make vs to beleeue it. The Philoſopher thought but onely vpon nature, and the Hiſtoriographer but only vpon his owne

owne writing. And yet from both twaine of them, we drawe both the Godhead of Christ, and the truth of our Scriptures: Certesse, in like manner as by Arithmetike, out of two and sixe we drawe out one continuall proportionable line hidden after a sort in either of them, and yet greater then both of them together, which is Eighteene: and as out of two sticks chafed one against another, we draw out fire which is not seene, and yet consumeth them both out of hand: To be short, the marke that our faith looketh at, is the Author of Nature & principle of all principle. The rules thereof, and the principles of Nature which he hath made, cannot be contrary vnto himselfe: And he is also the very reason and truth it selfe. All other reason then, and all other truth dependeth vpon him, and relieth vpon him, neither is there, or can there be any reason or truth but in him: So far off is it, that the thing which is true and reasonable in nature, is or can be false in Diuinity, which (to speake properly) is not against nature, but against the corruption of nature, and in very deed aboue nature.

How far matters of faith are to be dealt with by reason.

Now come I consequently to the other sort, which say, that although it be possible in some sort; yet the faith (that is to say, the Christian Doctrine) ought not to be proued or declared by reason: And their reason is, because it consisteth in many things which exceed the capacity of mā, & therfore that he which should measure them with reason, should diminish the greatnesse of them. Surely I will say more for them then they require: namely, that mans reason is so farre off from being the measure of faith, which very farre exceedeth nature, that it is not so much as the measure of nature, and of the least creatures which lye farre vnderneath man, because of the ignorance and vntowardnesse which is in vs and reigneth in vs. But in this they deceiue themselues, that they imagine vs to vphold, that we should beleeue no further than reason can measure and comprehend. For what a great way doth the truth of things extend further than mans reason? But we say that mans reason is able to leade vs to that poynt, namely, that we ought to beleeue euen beyond reason, I meane, the things whereunto all the capacitie of man cannot attaine. And likewise that when things are reuealed vnto vs, which reason could neuer haue entered into, nor once imagined, no not euen when it was at the soundest, the same reason (which neuer could haue found them out) maketh vs to allowe of them: the reason I say (whereunto those mysteries were inuisible afore) maketh them credible vnto vs: surely euen after the same maner that our eye maketh vs to see that in the visible things, which we ought to beleeue of the inuisible, without the which the visible haue no being:

ing: that is to wit, the inuisible of God, by the visible Sun, & also to see many things when the sun is vp, which were hidden afore in darknes: not that the eye-sight was of lesse force: but because the sun is now vp, which lightneth the aire with his brightnes, which is the meane both whereby the eye seeth, & whereby the thing is seene. As for example, we beleeue that there is one God, the Father, the Son, & the holy Ghost. This Article cannot in any wise fall within the compasse of vnderstanding, & much lesse be cōprehended by mans reason. But yet doth reason lead vs to the said point, that there is a God, & he hath created man to liue for euer: that whereas man hath stepped out of the way, to follow his own sway, he reformeth him again by his word: That this word is the old & new Testament, which cōtaine things that cannot proceed from creatures. Here Reason rests it self contented. For seeing that God speaketh, it becommeth man to hold his peace. Now we read this doctrine in Gods forsaid books, yea oftentimes repeated, Loe, how reason teacheth vs that which shee her selfe neither knew nor beleeued, namely, by leading vs to the teacher, whom we ought to heare and beleeue, and to the booke wherein he vouchsafeth to open himselfe vnto vs, in giuing vs infallible marks and tokens, whereby to discerne what commeth of God, & what commeth not of him. But when Reason cōmeth to the reading of the doctrine, & is perswaded therof, then she awaketh; and if the Gentile refuse it as impossible, & repugnant to reason & truth, then steppeth she forth stoutly, and marketh the likenesse therof in nature, the images therof in her self to set it forth, and the Records of the Gentiles thēselues to incounter them withall. Also she findeth out solutions of their arguments, & answeres to their absurdities. For surely all truth cannot be sufficiently proued by reason, considering that many things exceed reason & nature. But yet cannot any vntruth preuaile by reason against truth, nor any truth be banished by the iudgment of reason. For vntruth is cōtrary to nature, nature helpeth reason, reason is seruant to truth; & one truth is not cōtrary to another, that is to say, to it selfe: For Truth cannot be but Truth; and Reason, Reason.

The like may wee say of the Incarnation of the Sonne of God, that no man could of himself haue imagined it, nor as now also conceiueth it: and yet notwithstanding, that reason is able both to teach it vs, and to defend it. What will shee say then to vs in this behalfe? That the works which Iesus wrought, could not proceed, neither from a man, nor from a diuel, nor from an Angel, considered in their seueral kinds, but only from God the Maker of Heauen and earth. And this wil she proue vnto vs, both in the respect of the history, and in respect of the

kinds

kinds of his works, as well by the Hiſtoriographers & Philoſophers, who were enemies to Chriſt & his doctrine, as by concluſions of neceſſity conueied from the principles which remaine in the natures of euery of them. And what will inſue thereof, but that Ieſus working by the power of God, was ſent of God, & therefore ought to be heard and beleeued? Beleeued (ſay I) to be God, the Son of God, becauſe he ſayth it, and to be man, borne of a woman, becauſe the world ſaw him to be ſo, and that otherwiſe he would bee an enemy to God, and God an enemy to mankind: God (I ſay) too good to aſſiſt him with his power to our ouerthrow, and too wiſe to lend him his Spirit, to the defacing of his own glory? But if vngodlineſſe ſtir coales, Reaſon will open her mouth and ſhew, that it was agreeable to Gods Iuſtice, and neceſſarie for mans welfare: poſſible to the power of the Creator, and agreeable to his wil and promiſe; behoouefull for our baſenes, and beſeeming his glory. And euen in vngodlineſſe it ſelfe ſhe will find wherwith to put vngodlines to ſilence, howbeit that euen in all godlineſſe ſhe findeth not wherwith to ſpeak therof ſufficiētly. The ſame is to be vnderſtood of other like myſteries, which ſhall bee treated of in their due places. And this bringeth vs back again to the ſaid point, that the truth being reuealed, inlightneth reaſon, and that reaſon rouzeth vp her ſelf to reſt vpon truth. And ſo far off is reaſon from abaſing faith, to make vs attaine thereto, that contrariwiſe ſhee lifteth vs vp as it were vpon her ſhoulders, to make vs to ſee it, and to take it for our guide, as the only thing that can bring vs to God, and the only Schoole-miſtris of whom we ought to learne our ſaluation. To be ſhort, we ſay not that becauſe reaſon comprehendeth not this or that, therefore let vs not beleeue: for that were a meaſuring of faith by reaſon, as they ſay. But wee ſay, that Reaſon & Nature haue ſuch a Rule, and that that is the common way, and yet notwithſtanding, that this thing or that thing is doue or ſpoken beyond reaſon & beyond nature. I ſay then, that the work and word of God are an extraordinary caſe, and that foraſmuch as they are of God, it behoueth vs to beleeue them: and to beleeue, is to ſubmit our reaſon & vnderſtanding to him. And ſo it is a making of reaſon ſeruant to faith by reaſon, and making of reaſon to ſtoope to the highneſſe of faith: and not an abaſing of faith to the meaſure of reaſon.

Now foraſmuch as we take reaſon to our help againſt the Infidels, the proofes which ſhee ſhall yeeld vnto vs to guide vs to the doctrine and ſchoole of faith, ſhal bee chiefly of two ſorts: namely, arguments and records. The arguments which we will vſe againſt the Iewes, we will take out of the grounds of the Iewiſh religion, the Maieſty of God, the nature

nature and ſtate of man, and the moſt euident and beſt authoriſed principles or concluſions amongſt them. Againſt the Gentiles we will take them out of their ſubſtancialleſt Rules, out of the moſt renowned Authors of Philoſophy, and out of the expoſitions of their owne moſt approued Interpreters: one while abiding vpon their principles, and another while ſtanding vpon the concluſions which they themſelues do gather of them, ſometimes drawing ſuch neceſſary conſequents & ſequels out of them my ſelfe, as they oftentimes perceiued not, as though they had not vnderſtood what they themſelues ſpake. Alſo, againſt either of them we will iudge of the cauſe by his effects, & of the effects by their cauſe, of the end by the inſtrument or mouer thereto, and of the mouer by the end, and ſo forth of other things: which are the ſtrongeſt arguments that can be, as which are either demonſtratiue, or very neere demonſtratiue. At a word, wee will not alleage any argument which ſhall not be ſubſtanciall, or at leaſtwiſe which wee ſhall not thinke to be ſo, neither will we vrge any thing whereof we bee not throughly perſwaded in our ſelues: chooſing alwayes the euidenteſt & eaſieſt that we can, to apply our ſelues to all mens capacities. Notwithſtanding, let not any man look here for arguments that may be felt, as I ſhould proue fire to be hot by touching it, or the myſteries of God & Religion by the outward ſence: but let it ſuffice him that mine arguments ſhall be fully as apparant, and cōmonly more apparant, than the Arguments which the Philoſophers alleage in naturall things: Howbeit that *Ariſtotle* would haue men to look for arguments of leſſe force at his hand in his firſt Philoſophy, then in his diſcourſes of naturall things, and for reaſons of leſſe force in his morals (ſo they be likely) then in his firſt & higheſt Philoſophy: which thing we may with much better right require in the things that ſurmount both nature and man, that is to wit, in diuinity. Moreouer, oftentimes here ſhall be queſtions propounded to bee vnfolded, or obiections made to be confuted, which might trouble the Reader, if he were not ſatisfied in them, or els break of the continuance of our proofes. And in them I ſhall be compelled now & then to be obſcure, either by Reaſon that the nature of the things depending in controuerſie may perchance bee of ſome old forworn opinion, or elſe in reſpect of the tearmes peculiar to the caſe, which may helpe to beleſſe vnderſtood of the common ſort, and more diffuze, and leſſe pithy in our language, wherein ſuch things haue not hitherto bin treated of. Neuertheleſſe, I hope to take ſuch paines in the opening of them, that the Reader whoſoeuer he be, if he take any heed at all, ſhall eaſily attaine to the vnderſtanding of them.

As touching the Records, they ſhalbe (in my iudgement) of the worthieſt ſort, and ſuch as are leaſt to be ſuſpected or refuſed, as neere as I can chooſe. We be to declare our doctrine vnto men, themſelues are a part of the doctrine which wee ſet foorth. And what more cleareneſſe can there be, than to make themſelues parties in the proofe, Iudges in their owne caſe, and witneſſes againſt themſelues? Vnto men therfore we will bring the witneſſings of men, euen the things that euery man readeth in his owne nature, and in his owne heart, from whence he vttereth them, either wittingly or vnwittingly, as things that are ſo written there, that he cannot wipe them out thogh he would neuer ſo fain. Theſe are common notions, or comextions (as a man may terme them) namely, the perſwaſion of the Godhead, the conſcience of euill, the deſire of immortality, the longing for felicity, and ſuch other things, which in this neather world are incident vnto man alone, and in all men, without the which a man is no more man, inſomuch that he cannot deny them, except he be out of his wits, nor call them in queſtion, without belying of himſelfe wrongfully. And hereof proceedeth the agreeable conſent of all mankind in certaine beleefes, which depend immediatly vpon the ſaid Principles, which conſent we ought to hold for certaine & vndoubted. For the vniuerſalneſſe of this conſent ſheweth that it is nature, and not inſtruction, imitation, or bringing vp, that ſpeaketh; and the voice of nature is the voice of truth. As for lying or vntruth, it is a foundling, and not a thing bred, a meere corruption, and not a fruit of nature.

Neuertheleſſe, whether it were through ignorãce, which hath as good as choked thẽ, or through frowardnes, wch hath turned reaſon a wrong way, & made man as a ſtranger to himſelfe: thoſe common & generall conceptions haue remained barren in the moſt part of men. Yet notwithſtanding, ſome men in ſundry Nations, haue mounted aboue the common rate, and endeuoured to cheriſh and aduance the ſaid notion, or comextions, and drawne ſome ſmall ſparkes of truth and wiſedome of them, as out of ſome little fire raked vp vnder a great heap of aſhes: the which they haue afterward taught vnto others, and for ſo doing haue beene called Sophies, and Philoſophers, that is to ſay, Wiſe men, and louers of wiſedome. Theſe alſo do we take for witneſſes of our doctrine; and amongſt them, the notableſt, and ſuch as the world hath eſteemed to be wiſeſt. And whereſoeuer they ſhall diſagree, either one with another, or with themſelues, there ſhall common reaſon be iudge. And like as they haue caught ſome ſparks from the fire, ſo will we kindle a fire of their ſparkes: howbeit (in very deede) not to leade vs to ſaluation,

ſaluation, the hauen of our life; for in that behalf we haue need of God himſelfe to bee our Pilot; but to ſhew vs, as it were, from a Tower; which way it ſtandeth in the darke wherein we now be, to the end we may call to God for help, and euer after make thitherward with all our whole heart. Particularly againſt the Atheiſts and Epicures, wee will bring themſelues, the world, and the creatures therein for witneſſes. For thoſe are the records which they beſt loue, and moſt beleeue, and from the which they be lotheſt to depart. Againſt the falſe Naturaliſts, that is to ſay, Profeſſors of the knowledge of nature, & natural things) I will alleage Nature it ſelfe, the ſects that haue ſought out Nature, and ſuch writers in euery ſect, as they hold for very chiefe Diſciples, Interpreters and Anatomiſts or Decipherers of nature; as *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, the *Academikes* and *Peripatetikes* both old and new, and ſpecially ſuch as haue moſt ſtoutly defended their owne Philoſophy, and impugned our doctrine: as *Iamblich*, *Plotin*, *Porphyrie*, *Procle*, *Simplice*, and ſuch others: whoſe depoſitions or rather oppoſitions againſt vs, I thinke men will wonder at.

Againſt the Iewes I will produce the old Teſtament, for that is the Scripture wherto the Fathers truſted, & for their which they haue ſuffered death, and wherby they aſſure themſelues of life. And for the interpreting therof, I wil alleage their Paraphraſe, and thoſe which tranſlated it into the Greeke and Chaldey tongues afore the comming of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. For they were Iewes borne, of the notableſt men among them, choſen by publike authority to tranſlate it, and at that time reaſon was not ſo entangled with paſſions; as it hath beene ſince. Alſo I will alleage their auncient Doctors diſperſed as well in their Cabales as in their Talmud, which are their books of greateſt authority and moſt credit. And diuers times I will interlace the Commentaries of their late writers, which generally haue been moſt contrary to the Chriſtian doctrine, whom (notwithſtanding) the truth hath compelled ſeuerally to agree in expounding the texts wheron the ſame is chiefly grounded.

Now in theſe allegations I ſhall ſometimes be long, and peraduenture tedious to the Reader, whom manifeſt reaſons ſhall haue ſatisfied already, ſo as (to his ſeeming) there needed not ſo many teſtimonies. But I pray him to beleeue that in this longneſſe of mine, I ſtraine my nature to apply my ſelfe to all men: knowing, that ſome like better of reaſons, and otherſome of teſtimonies, and that all men (notwithſtanding that they make more accoũt of the one then of the other) are beſt ſatisfied by both, when they ſee both reaſon authoriſed by witneſſes

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(for that is as much to say, as that many men had one selfesame reason) and also Records declared by reason, for that is as much to say, as that credit is not giuen to the outward person, but to the diuine thing which the person hath within him, that is to wit, to Reason. Herewithall I thought also, that all men haue not either the meane to come by all bookes, or the leisure to read them, whose labour I haue by that meane eased. And oftentimes I am driuen to do that in one Chapter, whereof others haue made whole volumes.

To conclude, I pray the Reader, first to read this book throughout, for without mounting by degrees, a man cannot attain to high things: and the breaking of the round of a ladder, casteth a man back, and maketh the thing wearisome which was easie. Secondly, I desire him to bring his wit rather than his will, to the reading thereof. For foredeemings & foresetled opinions do bring in bondage the reason of them that haue best wits, whereas notwithstanding, it belongeth not to the will to ouerrule the wit, but to the wit to guide the will. Thirdly, and most of all, I beseech him beare alway in mind that I am a man, and among men, one of the least, that is to say, that if I satisfie not him in all points, my reason attaineth not euery where so far as truth doth, to the end that mine ignorance and weaknes preiudice not the case, mine vndertaking whereof, in good sooth is not vpon trust of mine owne wit, or of mine own ability, but vpon assured trust of the cleerenesse, soundnesse, substantialnesse, and soothnesse thereof.

Now God vouchsafe to shead out his blessing vpon this worke, and by the furtherance therof to glad them that beleeue, to confirme them that wauer, and to confute them which go about to shake downe his doctrine. This is the only pleasure that I desire, the only fruit which I seek of my labour. And (to say the truth) I feele already some effect and contentment therof in my hart. But let vs pray him also to vouchsafe in our daies, to touch our stony hearts with the force of his spirit, and with his owne finger to plant his doctrine so deeply in them, as it may take roote and bring forth fruit. For certes, it is Gods worke to perswade and win men, albeit that to counsell them, yea and to moue them, seemeth in some sort to lye in man.

The

Of the Trewnesse of Christian Religion.

Chap. I.

That there is a God, and that all men agree in the Godhead.

Such as make profession to teach vs, do say they neuer finde lesse what to say, then when the thing which they treate of is more manifest and more knowne of it selfe, then all that can be alledged for the setting forth thereof. And such are the principles of al the Sciences, and especially of the certainest, as which consist in Demonstration. The whole (will Euclid say) is greater then his part. And if from equall things ye take equall things, the remainder shall be equall. This is rather perceiued of euery man by common sence, then proued by sharpnesse of Reason. And like as they that would go about to proue it, doe shew themselues worthy to bee laughed at, as they which should take vpon them to enlighten the Sun with a Candle: so they that deny it, do shew themselues to bee wranglers and vnworthy of all conference, as contenders against their owne mother wit, yea and against their owne confession, according to this common saying of the Schooles, That there is no reasoning against those which denie the Principles. Now, if there be any matter wherein this Rule is found true, it is most peculiarly in this, That there is a God. For it is so many wayes and so liuely painted forth in all things, and so peculiarly ingrauen in mans heart, that all that euer can be deuised, sayd, and written therof, is much lesse then that which is seene therof euery where, and which men feele thereof in themselues. If ye looke vpward, ye see there infinit bodies and infinit mouings, diuers and yet not troubling one another. If ye looke downward, ye see the Sea

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continually threatning the Earth, and yet not paſſing his bounds: and likewiſe the Earth altogether heauy & maſſy, and yet notwithſtanding ſettled or rather hanged in the ayre, ſo as it ſtirreth not a whit. Theſe bodies direct vs incontinently to a Spirit, and this ouerlineſſe to a certaine Gouernour; forſomuch as it is certaine in nature, that bodies haue of themſelues no mouing, and that euen thoſe bodies which are quickned, could not agree ſtedfaſtly, eyther with other bodies or with themſelues, but by the ordering and gouerning of a Superiour. But when wee enter afterward into our ſelues, and finde there an abridgement of the whole vniuerſall; a body fit for al ſorts of mouings, a Soule which (without remouing) maketh the bodies to moue which way it liſteth; a Reaſon therein which guideth them euerychone in their doings; and yet notwithſtanding, this Soule to be ſuch as we can neither ſee it nor conceiue it: It ought in all reaſon to make vs all to vnderſtand, that in this great vniuerſall maſſe, there is a ſoueraigne Spirit which maketh, moueth, and gouerneth al that we ſée there; by whom we liue, moue, and be; who in our bodies hath framed a Counterfet of the whole world, and in our Soules hath ingrauen an image of himſelfe. This is it that cauſed one ancient Philoſopher to ſay, that whereas our eyes cannot pierce vnto God; hee ſuffereth himſelfe to be felt with our hands: And another to ſay, that the very firſt vſe of Reaſon, is imployed in conceiuing the Godhead; not properly by knowing it, but as it were by feéling it, which is more certaine: yea, and that the being of our Soule is nothing elſe, but the knowing of God vpon whom it dependeth. And Auicen ſpeaketh yet more boldly, ſaying: that he which acknowledgeth not the Godhead, is void, not of reaſon, but euen of ſence. Now, if theſe Sences from whence our firſt knowledge proceédeth, do witneſſe the thing vnto vs; and we do firmly beléeue a thing when we féele it, and that (as they teach vs) we may féele God as well in the world as in our ſelues: Surely vnto him that treateth of Religion, it ought to be granted as an vnuiolable Principle, That there is a God; and all men ought to be forbidden to call it into queſtion, vpon paine of not being men any more. For if euery Science haue his Principles, which it is not lawful to remoue, be it neuer ſo little: much more reaſon is it that it ſhould be ſo, with that thing which hath the ground of all Principles for his Principle. Neuertheleſſe, let vs with the leaue of all good men, beſtow this Chapter vpon the wickedneſſe of this our age: and if there be any which (by forgetting God) haue in very deed forgotten their owne

Trimegiſtus in Pœriandro. Iambliches cõcerning Myſteries, Chap. 8.

owne ſhape, and miſtaken their owne nature, let them learne hereby to reknowledge themſelues againe.

It is a ſtrange caſe, that theſe men which ordinarily ſpeak of nothing but the world, will not ſee in the world, the thing which the world ſheweth and teacheth in all parts. For, let vs begin at the loweſt, and mount vp to the higheſt, and let vs conſider it whole together or in his parts; and we ſhal not find any thing therein, either ſo great or ſo ſmall, which leadeth vs not ſtep by ſtep into a Godhead. In this world (to cõſider it firſt in the whole) we haue foure degrées of things: to wit, which haue Being, which haue Life, which haue Sence, and which haue Reaſon: ſome are indued with all theſe gifts, and ſome but with ſome of them. The Ayre, the Sea, and the Earth are great, and haue a great ſcope. They beare vp & ſuſtaine al things that haue Life, all things that haue Sence, and all things that haue Reaſon. And yet notwithſtanding, they themſelues haue not any more then onely bare being, without life, without ſence, without Reaſon: that is to ſay, the neereſt to not being. The Plants, beſides Being, haue alſo life, and they draw their nouriſhment from the earth, and their refreſhing from the ayre. The Beaſts haue both Being, life and ſence, and take their foode from the Elements and from the Plants. Man hath Being, and life, and ſence, and reaſon: and he inlayeth the Elements, liueth of the Plants, commandeth the Beaſts, and diſcourſeth of all things both aboue him and beneath him. Loe here an order, ſuch from degree to degree, that whoſoeuer conceiueth not by and by ſome Author thereof, hath neither reaſon nor ſence, no nor is worthy to haue either life or Being. I pray you from whence commeth this godly proportion, and this orderly proceeding of things by degrees? Whence commeth the difference in their partitions? whence commeth it, that the hugeſt and wideſt things are vnderlings to the leaſt and weakeſt things? whereof commeth it that ſome things haue but a dead being, and nert vnto not being: and that otherſome haue a being that is mouing, ſenſible, and reaſonable, howbeit ſome more, and ſome leſſe? Commeth it of the things themſelues? How can that be? For ſeeing that nothing doth willingly become an vnderling vnto others: why bee not the heauieſt maſſes allotted to the beſt ſhares? wherof commeth it that the liuing things, which in reſpect of the whole ſea are but as a droy, and in reſpect of the whole earth, are but as a grain of duſt, are in degree of preeminence aboue them. And wherof commeth it, that man being the fraileſt thing of all liuing Wights, is ſerued by the Elements,

The world leadeth vs vnto God.

ments, by the Plants, and by the Beaſts, yea euen by the wildeſt of them: then is there a deuider or diſtributer of theſe things, who hauing imparted them to others, had them firſt himſelfe, and that moſt aboundantly; and who moreouer is of neceſſity, almighty, ſeeing that in ſo vnequall partition, hee holdeth them neuertheleſſe in concord. I ſay further, that all things are comprized vnder theſe foure: that is, to wit, vnder Beeing, Life, Sence, and Reaſon, according to his diuers imparting of them vnto all things. Now I demaund, whether was firſt of Beeing or Notbeeing, of Liuing or Notliuing, of Senſible, or Notſenſible, of Reaſonable or Notreaſonable? Surely it was neither Reaſonable, or Senſible, nor liuing; for the time hath bin that we were not. But we know that we had fathers, and that our fathers had forefathers: and ẏ end of them maketh vs to beleeue ẏ they had a beginning. In like caſe is it with beaſts & plants, for we know the breeding, growing, decaying & fading of them. Much more then may wee ſay the ſame of Being. For the things here beneath which haue but onely bare being, are far inferior to the other things, and therfore cannot bring forth themſelues; and conſequently much leſſe bring forth the other things. It remaineth then that Notbeeing, Notliuing, Notſenſible, and Notreaſonable; were afore Beeing, Liuing, Senſible, and Reaſonable. And yet notwithſtanding, wee haue both Beeing, life, ſence and reaſon. It followeth therefore that it is a power from without vs, which hath brought vs out of Notbeeing into being, and hath parted the ſayd giftes among vs diuerſly according to his good pleaſure. For otherwiſe, from out of that nothing which we were (if I may ſo terme it) wee ſhould neuer haue come to bee any thing at all. Now betweene nothing and ſomthing, (how little ſo euer that ſomething can be) there is an infinite ſpace. Néeds therefore muſt it be that the cauſe thereof was infinite (at leaſtwiſe if it may be called a cauſe,) and that is the very ſame which we call God.

Let vs come to the nature of the Elements whereof the whole is compacted. The fire is contrary to the water, & the dry to the moiſt, and of theſe cõtraries are infinit other things produced vnder them. Now the nature of contraries is to deſtroy one another, and no two things, euen of the leaſt, can be coupled together, but by the working of a higher power that is able to compell them. But we ſée that theſe things do not incroche or vſurpe one vpon another; but contrariwiſe, that they match together in the compoſing of many things: and yet notwithſtanding, that not ſo much as two ſtrings being of one

one ſelf ſame nature, can agree in one tune, without the wit of a man that can ſkill to ſtreine them, and to ſlacke them as he ſeeth it good. It followeth therefore, that the heauenly harmony wherin ſo many contraries are made to accord, both vniuerſally and particularly, are ſet together and guided by a ſpirit. Inſomuch, that if wee will ſay, that according to the common opinion, the ayre is ſpred forth as a ſtickler betweéne the Fire and the Water, and is ioyned to the one by his moyſture, and to the other by his heat: Wé muſt néeds ſay alſo, that there is a great and ſouereigne Iudge aboue them, which hath made them to abide that ſtickler.

Let vs mount vp higher. Wee ſée the Heauen how it moueth round with a continuall mouing. Alſo we ſée there the Planets one vnder another, which (notwithſtanding the violence of the firſt mooueable) haue euery one his ſeuerall courſe and mouing by himſelf. And ſhal we ſay that theſe mouings happen by aduenture? But the ſame aduenture which made them to moue, ſhould alſo make them to ſtand ſtill. Againe, as for aduenture or chance, it is nothing elſe but diſorder and confuſion: but in all theſe diuerſities, there is one vniformity of mooving, which is neuer interrupted. How then? Do they moue of themſelues? Nay; for nothing moueth it ſelfe, and where things moue one another, there is no poſſibility of infinite holding on; but in the end, men muſt be faine to mount vp to a firſt beginning, & that is a reſt. As for example, from the hammer of a clock we come to a wheéle, and from that wheele to another; and finally, to the wit of the Clockmaker, who by his cunning hath ſo ordred them, that notwithſtanding that he maketh them all to moue, yet he himſelfe remoueth not. It remaineth then, that of all theſe mouings we muſt imagine one (Mouer) vnmoueable: and of all theſe ſo conſtant diuerſities, one (vnuariable) alwaies like it ſelfe: and of all theſe bodies, one ſpirit. And like as from the earth we haue ſtyed vp to the ayre, from the ayre to the ſkie, and from the ſkie to the Heauen of heauens, ſtill mounting vp from greater to greater, from light to light, and from ſubtile to ſubtile: ſo let vs aduance our ſelues yet one degree higher, namely to the infinite, to the light which is not to be conceiued but in vnderſtanding, and to the quickning ſpirit, in reſpect whereof, the thing that we wonder at here beneath, is leſſe then a point, our light is but a ſhadow, and our ſpirit is but a vapor. And yet notwithſtanding hee hath ſo painted out his glory and infinitenelle, euen in the things which we moſt deſpiſe, as that euen the groſſeſt wits may eaſily comprehend it.

Let vs come downe againe to do the like here belowe. We ſhall ſée the Earth replenished with Herbes, Trées, and Fruites: both Sea and Land furniſhed with Beaſts, Fiſhes, Wormes, and Birds of all ſorts: euery of them ſo perfect in his kinde, as mans vnderſtanding cannot eſpye any want or ſuperfluity in them. Whence is all this? Is it of the Elements? Nay, how ſhall the thing which hath neither life nor ſence, giue life and ſence to other things? Or commeth it of the Sunne? Nay, when did wee euer ſée him bring forth any ſuch like thing? whence then is this variety, but of a moſt fruitfull and vnconſumable might? whence commeth this perfection, but of a ſingular wiſdome? Of Plants ſome are hot, and ſome cold; ſome ſweet, and ſome bitter; ſome nouriſhing, and ſome healing. And of the moſt dangerous, the remedy is found either in themſelues or in the next vnto them. Alſo, as touching Beaſts, the wildeſt and ſuch as liue by prey, kéepe by themſelues alone, becauſe the flocking of them together would be noyſome. But the tame, and ſuch as are moſt for our profit, do naturally liue in flockes & heards, becauſe the great numbers of them are for our commoditie. Is this alſo a worke of fortune? nay, I ſay further: The Sunne heateth the earth, the Starres do limit her ſeaſons, the ayre moiſtneth her drought, the earth ſerueth the graſſe, the graſſe ſerueth for beaſts, & the beaſts ſerue man. Each thing ſerueth other, and all ſerue one alone. Whence may this bond come? If things be euerlaſtingly, and of themſelues, how haue they thus put themſelues in ſubiection? By what meanes, or when began they firſt to do ſo? Alſo, how can one of them be for another, ſéeing that the end wherefore things are, is euer afore the things themſelues, either in nature, or elſe in conſideration, and that the eternity hath not any thing either afore or after it? So that they haue had their beginning of themſelues in ſéed, in flower or in kernell? in Egge, or in full life? ſmall or great and ſo forth? Againe, ſeeing that the one cannot be without the other, neither beaſt without graſſe, nor graſſe without the earth, nor the earth bring forth any thing without the heauen: which of them came afore, and which of them came after? Or if they were all bred together: whence commeth this agréement among ſo many diuers things, but of the ſame minde which made all, ſtill gouerning all things? Seeing then that theſe things are ſo linked together, and that they tend all to one: let vs conclude alſo, that that cannot come to paſſe but through one, who brought them forth all together at one inſtant, and one burthen, when he thought good. But now let vs ſee whence commeth

commeth this other one whereunto they tend, that is to wit Man, and whether hee alſo be not for, and by that one which hath made them, that is to wit, for and by God.

Man leadeth vs to God.

He that ſeeth but onely the portraiture of a man, falleth by and by to thinke vpon a Painter, and the firſt ſpeech that he vttereth, is to aſke who made it? Now, if a dead worke do make vs to conceiue a liuing worker: much more reaſon it is, that a liuing worke as man is, ſhould make vs to bethinke vs of a quickning Workmaſter: yea euen of ſuch a one as may be (at leaſt wiſe) as farre aboue man, as man is aboue the portraiture of his owne making, (foraſmuch as there is an infinite diſtance betwixt being and not being, liuing and not liuing:) and the ſame againe is God. The proportion in mans body, which is ſo well obſerued, that all our Arts do borrow from thence, doth witneſſe vnto vs a ſingular Cunning: and the parts alſo in that they all ſerue each others vſe, and euery of them ſerue the whole; betoken a great wiſedome. Now, where cunning and wiſdome be, there chance hath no place. For when a man loſeth an eye, an arme, or a legge, we following the common error, do commonly ſay, it is a miſchance. But when a member that was out of ioint is ſet in againe, or a member that was loſt is ſupplyed, though it be but a botched one: none of vs will ſay it was chance, becauſe that in the iudgement euen of the groſſeſt ſort, the property of chance is to vndoe and to marre things, and not to make or mend any thing at all. Againe, by our Sences which conceiue all colours, Sounds, Sents, Sauors, and Feelings, we may ſee, heare, ſmell, taſte, and feele, that one ſelfe-ſame Workeman made both the Sences, and the things that are ſubiect to the Sences. For to what purpoſe were the Sences without the ſenſible things? or the ſenſible things without the Sences? And ſeeing that they rely one vpon another, which of them was bred firſt in the world? If man made them for his Sences; why maketh he not the like ſtil? If he made himſelfe to be borne for them; why ſuffereth he himſelfe to be bereft of his Sences one after another? Then is it to be ſought for elſewhere then in man. But when in the ſame man we yet further conſider Speach: muſt we not needs ſay that he was made to communicate himſelfe to many? And how are they borne one for another? Againe, when we come to his mind, which in diſcourſing reacheth far beyond all ſenſible things, ſhall we not ſay that there are things méerely to be comprehended by vnderſtanding, for the which the minde was made? And on the other ſide, if we finde a Minde in our ſelues which are but a little graine

of the whole worlde, dare wee ſay that there is no minde elſewhere than in our ſelues? Moreouer, ſéeing that by this Minde of ours we vnderſtand all other things, which minde yet for all that vnderſtandeth not, ne knoweth not it ſelf, neither perceiue we what or whence this mind is which ſo vnderſtandeth in vs: ought we not to acknowledge that there is a Minde aboue vs, whereby we haue vnderſtanding of other things, and which vnderſtandeth and knoweth in vs the things which we our ſelues know not there?

Now then, ſéeing wée vnderſtand not, nor know not our ſelues, (my meaning is that we be ignorant what we be, & what it is from whence our nobleſt actions proceéd:) can we be the authors of our ſelues? And from whence then ought we to acknowledge our ſelues to haue our originall? O man, it may be that thou lokeſt but to thy father. But from father to father, we ſhall come at length to be a beginning. And ſoothly thou art very dulheaded to think thy ſelfe to be the author of a man, conſidering that neither thou in begetting him, nor his mother in bréeding him, did once thinke vpon the faſhioning of him in her wombe: No more (ſay I) that the Nutträe doth when a Nut falleth from it to the ground, which neuertheleſſe without the Nut trées thinking thereof, groweth into Roote, Sprig, Barke and boughs; and in the end ſhoot forth into leaues, flowers, and fruite: And yet notwithſtanding, in painting of an Image thou lokeſt vpon it an hundred times, and diuers dayes; thou amendeſt it, and thou buſieſt all thy wits about it. If thou be the doer of this worke in the making of man, tell me why thou haſt not children when thou wouldeſt, and why thou haſt them ſometime when thou wouldeſt not? Why haſt thou a Daughter, when thou wouldeſt haue a Sonne, or a Sonne when thou wouldeſt haue a Daughter? In painting thy Pictures thou doeſt not ſo diſappoint thy ſelfe. Alſo, if thou béeſt this good workemaſter in making of thy child, tell me how thou haſt faſhioned it? whence is the hardneſſe of his bones? the liquor of his veines, the ſpirit of his Heartſtrings, and the beating of his pulſes? Séeſt thou this, which is alſo as ſmally in thy power, as if it were none of thine? Tell mee what is hidden in his breſt, and the whole workemanſhip that is couched within him. If thou haſt not ſéene it in the opening of thy like, thou knoweſt nothing thereof. Tell mée yet further the imaginations of his braine, and the thoughts of his heart: nay tel me thine owne, which oftentimes thou wouldeſt faine alter or ſtay, and canſt not. It is a bottomleſſe Pit, the which thou canſt not gage; therfore it followeth, thou madeſt it not. Know thou therefore,

therfore, O man, that all this commeth to thée for ſome cauſe that is boue thy ſelfe. And ſéeing that thou haſt vnderſtanding, néeds muſt that cauſe haue vnderſtanding too: and ſéeing that thou vnderſtandeſt not thy ſelfe, neeres muſt that vnderſtand thée: and ſéeing that thou after a ſort art infinite in number, but much more infinite in thy thoughts and déeds: needs muſt that be infinite too. And that is it the which we call God. What ſhall I ſay more? or rather, what remaineth not for me to ſay? I ſay with the ancient Triſmegiſt, Lord, ſhall I looke vpon thee in the things that are here beneath, or in the things that are aboue? Thou madeſt al things, and whole nature is nothing els but an image of thee. And I will conclude with Dauid: Bleſſe yee the Lord all ye workes of his, yee heauens, yee waters, yée winds, yée lightnings, yée ſhowres, ye ſeas, yee riuers, and all that euer is, bleſſe yee the Lord: yea, and thou my ſoule alſo, bleſſe thou the Lord for euer. For, to lay forth the proofes which are both in the great world, and in the little world, it would ſtand me in hand to ranſacke the whole world, as the which (with all that euer is therein,) is a plaine booke layd open to all men, yea euen vnto Children to reade, and (as yee would ſay) euen to ſpell God therein.

Now like as all men may reade in this book as well of the world as of themſelues, ſo was there neither yet any Nation vnder heauen, which haue not thereby learned and perceiued a certaine Godhead, notwithſtanding that they haue conceiued it diuerſly, according to the diuerſitie of their owne imaginations. Let a man runne from Eaſt to Weſt, and from South to North: let him ranſacke all ages one after another, and whereſoeuer he findeth any men, there ſhall he find alſo a kinde of Religion and ſeruing of God, with prayers and ſacrifices. The diuerſitie whereof is very great, but yet they haue alwaies conſented all in this point: That there is a God. And as touching the diuerſity which is in that behalfe, it beareth witnes that it is a doctrine not deliuered alonely from people to people; but alſo bred and brought vp with euery of them in their owne Climate; yea, and euen in their owne ſelues. Within theſe hundred yeares many Nations haue bin diſcouered, and many are daily diſcouered ſtill, which were vnknowne in former ages. Among them, ſome haue been found to liue without Law, without King, without Houſe, going ſtarke naked, and wandring abroad in the fieldes: but yet none without ſome knowledge of God, none without ſome ſpice of Religion: to ſhew vnto vs, that it is not ſo naturall a thing

Vniuerſall conſent.

thing in man to loue company, and to clad himſelfe againſt hurts of the weather, (which things we eſteem to be very kindly:) as it is naturall vnto him to know the author of his life, that is to ſay, God. Or if we yeeld more to the iudgement of thoſe which were counted wiſe among the Heathen nations, (whom afterward by a more modeſt name men called Philoſophers:) The Brachmanes among the Indians, and the Magies among the Perſians, neuer began any thing without praying vnto God. The leſſons of Pythagoras and Plato, and of their Diſciples, began with prayer and ended with prayer. The ancient Poets (who were all Philoſophers,) as Orphey, Homer, Heſiodus, Pheresides, and Theognis, ſpake of none other thing. The Schooles of the Stoikes, Academikes, & Peripatetikes, and all other ſchooles that flouriſhed in old time, rung of that. The very Epicures themſelues who were chameleſſe in all other things, were aſhamed to denie God. To be ſhort, the men of old time (as witneſſeth Plato) choſe their Prieſts (which were to haue regard of the ſeruice that was to bee yeelded vnto God,) from among the Philoſophers, as from among thoſe which by their conſideration of nature, had attained to know God. And ſo (which ſeldome happeth but in apparant truth) the opinion of the common people, and the opinion of the wiſe, haue met both iump together in this point.

Well may there be found in all ages ſome wretched Kaytifes, which haue not the knowledge of God, as there be ſome euen at this day. But if we looke into them, either they were ſome young fooles giuen ouer to their pleaſures, which neuer had leiſure to bethinke them of the matter, and yet when yeeres came vpon them, came back againe to the knowing of themſelues, and conſequently of God: or elſe they were ſome perſons growne quite out of kinde, ſaped in wickednes, and ſuch as had defaced their own nature in themſelues, who to the intent they might practiſe all maner of wickednes with the leſſe remorſe, haue ſtriued to perſwade themſelues by ſoothing their owne ſinnes, that they haue no ſoule at all, and that there is no Iudge to make inquiry of their ſinnes. And yet notwithſtanding if theſe fall into neuer ſo little danger, or be but taken vpon the hip, they fall to quaking, they crie out vnto heauen, they call vpon God. And if they approch but a far off, vnto death, they fall to fretting and gnaſhing of their teeth. And when they bee well beaten, there is not any ſhadow of the Godhead ſo ſoone offered vnto them, but they imbrace it: ſo ready are nature and conſcience (which they would haue reſtrained and impriſoned) to put them in minde thereof at

at all houres. They be loth to confeſſe God, for feare to ſtand in awe of him, and yet the feare of the leaſt things maketh them to confeſſe him. Nay, becauſe they feare not him that made all things, therfore they ſtand in awe of all things, as we ſee in the Emperor Caligula, who threatned the ayre if it rayned vpon his Game-players, and yet notwithſtanding he wrapped his Cap about his head, or hid himſelf vnder his bed, at euery flaſh of lightening. I beleeue (ſayth Seneca concerning the ſame matter) that this threatning of his did greatly haſten his death: for ſo much as folke ſawe that they were to beare ſuch a one, as could not beare euen with the gods.

Suetonius in the life of *Caligula.*

Seneca in his firſt booke concerning Wrath.

Among the learned, although theliberty of the Sects was lawleſſe: yet the chiefe that men counted for Atheiſts, were one Diagoras a Melian Poet, one Theodore a Cyrenian, one Ewhemere a Tegean, and a very fewe others. But to ſay truely, theſe rather ſcorned the Idoles and falſe gods of their times, then denyed the true God. Accordingly as wee ſee many of them yet ſtill among vs, which hold themſelues contented with the knowing of vntruth, without ſeeking after the truth; and with mocking of Superſtitions, without ſeeking the pure and true Religion. Of the ſaid Diagoras it is reported, that as he was burning an Image of Hercules in his fire, he ſayd: Thou muſt now do me ſeruice in this thirteenth encounter, as well as thou haſt done to Euriſtheus in the other twelue. This was but a ſcorning of Idoles. For notwithſtanding this: his Verſes began thus, that all things are gouerned by a Godhead: Alſo, it is reported of the other, that he ſhould ſay to the Egyptians, If they bee gods, why bewaile ye them? and if they be dead folkes, why worſhip ye them? This alſo was a diſproouing of the falſe gods. And as for Ewhemere of Tegea, men are of accord that the cauſe why hee was called an Atheiſt, was for that he wrote the true Hiſtorie and Geneology of the heathen gods, ſhewing that they were Kings, Princes, and great perſonages, whoſe Images being kept for a remembrance of them, were turned into Idols, their worthy doings into yeerely gamings, and their honorings into worſhippings. And which of vs at this day beleeueth not as much? There was in deed a kinde of Philoſophers called Scepticks (that is to ſay, Doubters) which did rather ſuſpend their iudgement concerning the Godhead, then call it in queſtion. But yet it ought to ſuffice vs, that they bee the ſelfe-ſame which deny all Sciences, yea euen thoſe which conſiſt in demonſtration, and which profeſſe themſelues to doubt of the things which they ſee and feele; in ſo much that they doubt whether they them-

Obiections concerning ſuch as were counted Atheiſts.

themſelues haue any being or no. But yet for all that, let vs ſee after what manner theſe kinde of people do reaſon, againſt the thing which the world preacheth, which nations worſhip, and which wiſe men wonder at; theſe folke ſay, at a word for all: How ſhall we beleeue that there is a God, ſith we ſee him not? O foole, and (which worſe is) O foole by being wiſe in thine own conceit: Thou beleeueſt that there is a Sunne, euen when thou art in a Dungeon, or in the bottome of a priſon, becauſe his beames are ſhed in at thy windowes: and doubteſt thou yet ſtill whether there be a God or no, when hee ſheweth himſelfe to thee through the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, in the Ayre, the Earth, the Sea; in all things that they containe, yea and euen in thy ſelfe? If thou haddſt neuer ſeene Tree afore, thy wit at the very firſt ſight of it would leade thee to the roote which is vnder the tree; and the ſight of a Riuer would leade thee to the wel-ſpring thereof, which may peraduenture bee two hundred leagues off. And whoſoeuer ſhould tell thee the contrary, thou wouldeſt ſtand at defiance againſt him. O man, like as the Tree leadeth thee to the roote by his branches, doth not the rot leade thee likewiſe to the kernell, and the kernell to him that made it? And as the Riuer leadeth thee to his head, ſhall not the head lead thee to the originall ſpring thereof, ſeeing thou canſt not doubt but it hath a beginning, ſith thou ſeeſt that it runneth with a ſtreame? If thou ſhouldeſt arriue among the Indians, and finde but ſome ſilly Cottage in the deſolateſt Country thereof; Thou wouldeſt by and by conclude, this Ile is inhabited, ſome man hath paſſed here. And why? becauſe thou ſeeſt there ſome tokens of mans wit, and knoweſt well that the Goates which thou haſt ſeene ranging or ſkipping vpon the Rockes, can build no ſuch thing. Now, when thou being borne beneath, ſeeſt here a hundred and a hundred thouſand things which are not poſſible to bee made by man: nay (which more is,) which it is not poſſible for him to know nor to vnderſtand: oughteſt thou not to ſay immediatly, Gods Spirit hath paſſed this way, needs muſt here haue been ſome higher thing then man?

* Plutarch in his treatiſe of the ceaſſing of Oracles, reporteth that a Ruler of *Cicilia* which was an Atheiſt, came to the beleefe of a God, by an anſwer giuē from the Oracle of *Moſſus*, to a demaund of his, which was deliuered ſealed.

* Mention is made of certaine preciſe perſons, which beleeued nothing but that which they ſawe, and the Wizards made them to ſee Diuels: whereupon they came to beleeue alſo that there is a God. It was a mad kinde of conuerſion, to beleeue in God by the miniſtery of the Diuell. But what a number of other things beleeueſt thou which thou ſeeſt not? Thou beleeueſt that the Plants haue a kinde of ſoule, that is to ſay, a certaine inward power or vertue which

which maketh them to ſhoot forth in their ſeaſon. Thou ſeeſt them, but thou ſeeſt not it; neither knoweſt thou whence it commeth, or where it lyeth. Thou beleeueſt that the Beaſts alſo haue one other kinde of Soule, which maketh them to moeue, and yet thou ſeeſt it as little as the other. Alſo, thou beleeueſt that thou thy ſelfe (beſides theſe) haſt an ability of reaſoning both vpon them and vpon thy ſelf, and vpon ſuch as are like thy ſelfe. And yet as touching the body, thou ſeeſt not any thing altered in the parts thereof after death, neither within nor without. Where is that Soule then, or where haſt thou euer ſeene it? If thou beleeue therefore becauſe of the effects which thou ſeeſt, which cannot come from any thing els: I aſſure thee euen by the ſame effects; that if thou beleeue nothing therof but that which thou ſeeſt with thine eyes, thine eyes ſee not by thy ſoule, and thine eyes themſelues ſee not thy ſouls. To be ſhort, thou beleeueſt that thou haſt a face, which without a looking glaſſe thou ſeeſt not: and wilt thou not beleeue there is a God, whoſe face ſhineth forth in all things?

Otherſome, to ſhew themſelues more fineheaded, haue argued thus: If there be a God, he muſt needs be a bodily liuing Wight, or els he ſhould be ſenceleſſe. And if he haue ſences, then is he changeable: and if he be changeable, then may he periſh: that is to ſay, he is no longer God. Beaſts are they in very deed, which can conceiue no better then that which is common to beaſts.

Others haue ſayd thus: If he be without body, he is alſo without ſoule, and conſequently without action. Or if he be a body, he is ſubiect to the changes thereof. Alas, that they ſhould not be able to conceiue a Spirit without a body, nor to ſee that euen in our ſelues it is the onely Soule that worketh, and that the body ſtirreth not, but as it is mooued by the Soule.

Others againe do reaſon, that if there be a God, he muſt needs be perfectly happy; and if he be perfectly happy, he is vertuous; if vertuous, he ouermaſtereth his affections; and if he ouermaſter his affections, hee is tempted of his luſtes, a thing altogether vnſeeming the God-head. And by theſe inconueniences they conclude, that there is no God at all: not perceiuing, or rather wilfully refuſing to perceiue that which Plutarch ſayth very well: namely, that the perſon which ouermaſtereth his affections, is but halfe vertuous, but the ſtayed perſon is wholly vertuous: becauſe the one doth but bridle his paſſions by force of reaſon, whereas the other hath them already ſetled according to reaſon. But there is yet more in

Plutarch in his treatiſe of morall vertue.

in God: for he is reaſon it ſelfe, and there is nothing in him but reaſon. Soothly, this kinde of reaſoning of theirs agreeth in effect with this ſaying of Xenophanes, that if Beaſts were able to paint, they would portray God like to themſelues, becauſe they could not naturally conceiue any further. Such, and other like are the arguments of theſe godly Philoſophers, which euen little Babes might laugh to ſcorne: but els they could not haue ſeene againſt ſo manifeſt and euident a truth. And yet dare I alſo well aſſure you, that they themſelues knew the falſeneſſe of thoſe arguments, but that they were, as it were, ſworne to doubt of all things, and to gainſay all things. Let vs then conclude with the learned and the ignorant, the Greeks and the Barbarians, Men and Beaſts, things ſenſible and ſenceleſſe, the whole and euery part thereof: That there is a God. And if there be yet any folke that caſt doubts thereof, indeuouring to race out not onely God, but alſo man himſelf out of their hearts: let vs boldly appeale euen vnto themſelues; not doubting at al, but that their owne Conſcience which cannot be defeated, wil one day make them to vnderſtand it.

Xenophanes as he is alledged by Clement of Alexandria in his Stromats.

Chap. II.

That there is but onely one God.

The world leadeth to one onely God.

LEt vs ſtudy further in the booke of Nature, and ſee whether that as it hath taught vs a Godhead, it teach vs not alſo that the ſame conſiſteth in only one God. I haue tolde you already, that of things, ſome haue being, ſome haue being and life, ſome haue being, life, and ſence, and other ſome haue being, life, ſence, and reaſon.

Theſe foure ſorts fall into three, and from three into two, and from two into one, and that one is Being: afore the which (as I haue prooued already) there went a Notbeeing. The reſidue therefore, how diuers ſo euer they be, are all conuaied in the one Being, and this one Being muſt needes reſt in the power of the firſt Being, whereof the Being which we ſee, is but a ſhadow. Againe, in all the things which we ſee, we reduce the particulars to an vnderkind, the vnderkinds to an vpperkind, and the vpperkinds to a moſt generall.

rall. As for example, we reduce all particular humane perſons vnder the terme of man: All men vnder the terme of Wight, all Wights vnder the terme of liuing things, and all liuing things vnder the terme of things that are or bee, alwaies referring euery diuerſity to ſome vnity, and the ſame vnity to another vnity which is more vniuerſall. It remaineth then that we can mount no higher, we muſt diſtinguiſh the things that are, into the thing which is of it ſelfe, and the thing which is not of it ſelfe. That which is not of it ſelfe, is the world and all that euer is therein, as I haue prooued afore. That which is of it ſelfe, is the thing which we call God, beyond whom nothing can be imagined, and by whom all things both are and haue beene, as which could haue no being of themſelues. Now to produce from Notbeeing into Beeing, requireth an infinite power. For, betweene nothing and ſomething is an infinite diſtance, and two infinites cannot be abidden, no nor imagined together. For the infiniteneſſe of the one, doth incloſe and binde the power of the other, and looke whatſoeuer is giuen to the one, is taken away from all others. Therefore, like as there muſt needs bee one infinite, ſo muſt there be but only one; yea and moſt ſimply one: from whoſe vnity neuertheleſſe flowe all the diuerſities which wee ſee in the whole world; like as from a Pricke, proceedeth a Line, an outſide, and all ſubſtantiall bodies. And of vnity or one in numbering, proceedeth euen and odde, round and ſquare, and all the multiplicities, proportions, and harmonies which we ſee: ſauing that the Pricke and the vnitie of number are intermingled and interlaced with all things, whereas the foreſayd moſt ſingle and onely One, abiding ſtill one in it ſelfe, bringeth forth all the other vnities, and containeth them all.

Let vs examine euery ſort of things ſeuerally by themſelues, and we ſhall learne the like ſtill in them. In the Elements we ſee contrary qualities and operations. And where contraries are, there need but two heads to ſet them at warre. For they cannot dwell together, neither can they match together, and much leſſe can they reigne together. The further that any of them extendeth his power, the leſſe can he away with any fellow. Now then if one reigned ouer the Heate, and another ouer the Colde, one ouer Drypth, and another ouer the Moyſture, ſo as there were diuers makers or gouerners of the world: we ſhould alſo ſee diuerſities of factions, Element againſt Element in the whole world and in euery thing that is compounded, and continuall warre in the middes of their Bowels.

But

But now ſee we no ſuch thing, but euery of them imbraceth other, both in the whole and in euery ſeuerall thing, notwithſtanding that naturally they diſplace and deſtroy one another.

Furthermore, they ſtand not at defiance alone by themſelues, but the Sea becleapeth the Earth, the Sea and Earth together are lapped vp in the Ayre, the Ayre is compaſt about with the Skie, and euery of them ſtoopeth vnder other, inſomuch that of their contrarieties ye ſee there proceedeth a goodly vniformity. Seeing then that there are not two factions, there is but one Maker, and ſeeing they yeeld all into one, it cannot be but alſo by one. In the Earth we ſee Riuers, which runne a very long race, but yet from one head: and againe many ſtreames, which yeeld themſelues all into one, which one is the Sea, and the Sea alſo being vndiuidable, paſſeth through the whole inferiour world; Like as they come out of one vnitie, ſo do they yeeld themſelues vp into one anothers vnity. In the Heauen we obſerue infinite diuers mouings, but yet all obeying vnto one. There is one light which theadeth it ſelfe through all places, but yet it proceedeth from one onely, which ſeemeth to multiply it ſelfe infinitely, and yet cannot by any meanes be parted: I meane one Sunne, whoſe beames ſpreading out on all ſides, do reach from the Sky vnto the Earth, and yet neuertheleſſe continue ſtill faſt knit together in one bond by one vnity. Now all theſe parts, which proceed from one and tend to one, do make vs to beleeue that al proceed from one moſt ſingle one.

Againe, in the things that haue life, as in Herbs and Trees, we ſee a barke, a ſtalke or trunk, many boughes or branches, and an infinite number of leaues. The body hath no likeneſſe to the leaues, nor the leaues to the fruite, nor the fruit to the bloſſomes: and yet do all theſe come from one roote, which hath his force vnited to it ſelfe, and the root, ſpringing of a kernell or of a graine, (which cannot be the worke of any moe then one workman) containeth all the ſayd diuerſities in his vnifornity, and of it ſelfe alone yeeldeth forth infinit of the ſame kind, and of one beginning of life, which is not multiplied in it ſelfe, maketh it ſelfe a beginning of life (as well within it ſelfe as without it ſelfe) vnto many things that haue life.

Likewiſe as touching Wights, we ſee in euery of them a thouſand diuers parts. Outwardly, Head, Eyes, Noſe, Eares, Teeth, Tongue, Feete, Taple, and ſo forth: and inwardly the Heart, the Lungs, the Stomake, the Liuer, the Bowelles, the Kidneis, the Bones, the Sinewes, the Heartſtrings, the Veines, and ſuch other things.

things. The beginning of this whole Maſſe and of all thoſe ſo manifold parts, is next couſin vnto nothing, a very ſmall drop of one ſhape, but onely one. Yet notwithſtanding, it hath the beginning of life and ſence vnited in it ſelfe, which multiplieth it ſelfe into many abilities, ſences, actions, and mouings: and that not inwardly only, but alſo outwardly in infinite numbers of the ſame kind, which in proceſſe of time do fill whole Countries. So certaine is this principle in nature, that all multitudes come from an vnity or One, and that there cannot be any multitude, vnleſſe the ſame haue firſt bin no multitude. But we take no heed of it, becauſe we ſee it euery day: and yet it is giuen vs to loke vpon, to the end we ſhould haue regard of it. Howbeit, foraſmuch as man is both the image of God, and the Counterpaine of the world together: we cannot ſee this vnity ſo apparantly in any thing, as in man himſelfe. If wee looke vpon his body, all the parts thereof are made one for another, and miniſter one to another with mutuall duties: and without ſo doing, he could not continue nor liue. The eyes guide the feete, the feete beare the eyes, by one part the things that are needfull are taken in, and by another the things that are ſuperfluous are voided out: and all and euery of them refer their doings to the benefit of the whole body. This vnion of diuers operations tending all to one point, ſhewes that the framing of man was made by one only workmanſhip. And as the workmanſhip is but one, ſo muſt the workemaſter alſo needes be but one. For, like as by a building that is made by pieces and of diuers proportions, we deeme the diuerſitie of the maſter-builders; ſo by the vnifornity thereof we iudge it to be the deuice and workmanſhip of one alone. The Vaines are ſpred forth throughout the whole body, howbeit from one Wel-head, that is to ſay, from the liuer: ſo bee the Sinewes, howbeit from the braine; ſo likewiſe are the Heartſtrings, howbeit from the heart. By theſe three ſorts of Conduit-pipes, are life, ſence, and breath ſhed forth euen to the leaſt and vttermoſt parts, and the branches thereof are without number, but the originall of all is onely one. But yet doth this ſhine forth more clearly in the ſoule of man. It hath life, ſence, and mouing. All theſe are dealt forth, maintained, and guided by the onely one Soule. Heere ye ſee already one vnity. The ſoule which hath his powers ſo diuers and ſo far ſpred, is whole throughout all the whole body, and whole in euery part thereof, as much in the leaſt as in the greateſt, and as much in the leaſt as in the whole. Therefore yee ſée yet a ſtraighter vnity. Againe, the Soule is yet more ſtraightly ſhut vp into Minde,

Man leadeth vs to one God.

which is the Soule of the Soule; as the Apple of the Eye, is the Eye of the Eye: and yet notwithſtanding, this Minde (as entirely one as it is,) conceiueth and doth infinite things, entreth in a thouſand places without remouing, paſſeth ouer the Seas, mounteth vp to the Heauens, and reacheth downe to the depth of the Earth. Lo here an vnity moſt ſtraight in it ſelfe, and yet extended to the vtmoſt parts of the world.

Hermes ſaith, that the Sunne-beames of God are his Actions, the Sun-beames of the world are the Natures of things, and the Sunne-beames of Man, are Arts and Sciences. Therefore, let vs ſee whether the Arts and Sciences will guide vs to the ſame vnitie, whereunto thoſe actions and the natures of things haue led vs already, beginning at the lower, and mounting vp to the higher. Grammar teacheth vs to bring the diuers parts of ſpeech into one congruity, and the end thereof is to ſpeake; and the end of ſpeaking is ſociety. Rhetorike teacheth to draw mens mindes to one ſelfe ſame opinion. Logike teacheth to lift out the truth from a number of falſhoods, which truth can be but one. Their ends then are congruitie, ſociety, vnity of minde and truth, which are but ſundry ſorts of vnity. Arithmetike proceedeth from vnity, Geometry from a pricke, and Muſike from agreement of ſounds, and the end of them is to reduce things to one common reaſon, to one proportion, and to one harmony, all which are kindes of vnity, and their branches are branches of the ſame. For Perſpective draweth all his lines to one point: Maſonry and Carpentry tend to vniformity. The handy-craft endeuoureth to bring many powers and many mouings vnder one, to ouerrule them all: All which againe are but ſundry ſorts of vnity. Phyſick tendeth to the preſeruation or reſtitution of health; and health is nothing els but a well-proportioned vnion of diuers humors together. The ſkil of Lawe tendeth to Right, and there is but one Right, though there be infinite wrongs. Then ſerues it but to maintaine, reſtore and bring men backe againe vnto vnity. Let vs proceed further; Morall Philoſophy ſubdueth many diuers paſſions and affections vnto one reaſon, in one man. Houſhold gouernment bringeth many men to the obeying of one houſholder: Ciuill gouernment reduceth many houſeholds into one Common-weale, which is nothing but an vnity of many people, whether it be vnder one law or vnder one Magiſtrate: inſomuch that euen the moſt popular Common-weales haue (in their extremities) taken a Dictator, and in their ordinary courſe of gouernment a Conſull, the one after the other. Now then, all that euer

euer man conceiueth, inuenteth and diſpoſeth, doth lead vs alwaies to an vnity. Where vnity is loſt, there things goe to wracke, Arts are confounded, and Common-weales are diſſolued. Then like as in vnunited diuerſity we find waſte and ſubuerſion; ſo muſt we look in vnity for the increaſe and preſeruation of all things. Now if man, and all that is within man and without him do lead vs to one alone: ſhall he ſuffer himſelfe to range vnto many? And if all the Sun-beams of man, I meane his Arts and Sciences, tend to one vnity; ſhall only diuinity turne vs aſide to a plurality of Gods. Nay, rather by ſo many vnities, ſhe will make vs looke vp to the true and perfect vnity, and that vnity is the onely one God.

The linking in of things together.

But let vs ſee now how all things being ſo diuers in the whole world, are referred one to another. The water moiſtneth the earth, the ayre maketh it fat with his ſhowres, the Sunne inlightneth it, and heateth it according to his ſeaſons; The earth nouriſheth the Plants, the Plants feed the Beaſts, the Beaſts ſerue man. Againe, nothing is ſéene here to be made for it ſelfe. The Sunne ſhineth and heateth; but not for it ſelfe: the earth beareth, and yet hath no benefite thereby: the windes blowe, and yet they ſayle not: but all theſe things redound to the glory of the Maker, to the accompliſhment of the whole, and to the benefite of man. To be ſhort, the nobleſt creatures haue néede of the baſeſt, and the baſeſt are ſerued by the nobleſt: and all are ſo linked together from the higheſt to the loweſt, that the ring thereof cannot be broken without confuſion. The Sunne cannot be Eclipſed, the Plants withered, or the raine want; but all things feele the hurt thereof. Now then, can wee imagine that this worke which conſiſteth of ſo many and ſo diuers péeces, tending all to one end, ſo coupled one to another, making one body, and full of ſo apparant conſents of affections, proceedeth from elſewhere then from the power of one alone? When in a field we ſee many battels, diuers Standers, ſundry Liueries, and yet all turning head with one ſway: we conceiue that there is one Generall of the field, who commandeth them all. Alſo when in a City or a Realme wee ſee an equality of good behauiour in an vnequality of degrees of people, infinite trades which ſerue one another, the ſmaller reuerencing the greater, the greater ſeruing to the benefit of the ſmaller, both of them made equall in iuſtice, and all tending in this diuerſity to the common ſeruice of their Country: we doubt not but there is one Lawe, and a Magiſtrate which by that law holdeth the ſayd diuerſity in vnion. And if any man tell of many Magiſtrates, wee will by and by in-

quire for the ſoueraigne. Yet notwithſtanding, all this is but an order ſet among diuers men, who ought euen naturally to be united, by the community of their kind. But when things, as well light as heauy, hot as cold, moyſt as dry, liuing as vnliuing, endewed with ſence as ſenceleſſe, and each of infinite ſorts, doe ſo cloſe in one compoſition, as one of them cannot forbeare another: nay rather to our ſeeming, the worthieſt do ſeruice to the baſeſt, the greateſt to the ſmalleſt, the ſtrongeſt to the weakeſt, and all of them together are diſpoſed to the accompliſhment of the world, and to the contentment of man who alonely is able to conſider it: ought we not forthwith to perceiue, that the whole world and all things contained therein, do by their tending vnto vs, teach vs to tend vnto one alone? And ſeeing that ſo many things tend vnto man; ſhal man ſcatter his doings vnto diuers ends? Or ſhall he be ſo wretched as to ſerue many maſters? Nay further, to knit vp this point withal, ſéeing that all things the nobler they be, the more they doe cloſe into one vnity, (as for example, wee ſee that the things which haue but mére beeing are of infinite kindes, the things that haue life are of infinite ſorts, the things that haue ſence are of many ſorts, howbeit not of ſo many; and the things that haue reaſon are many, only in particulars:) doth it not follow alſo that the Godhead from whence they haue their reaſon (as nobler than they) is alſo much more one then they, that is to ſay, onely one, as well in particularity and number, as alſo in kinde?

The Obiections of ſuch as maintaine mo gods than one.

Howbeit notwithſtanding all theſe conſiderations, forasmuch as there is diuerſity, yea and contrariety in worldly things; ſome haue gathered vpon this diuerſity, that there be diuers gods, acknowledging neuertheleſſe one Almighty aboue them all. And otherſome, in reſpect of the contrariety, haue ſet downe but two gods onely. The firſt ſay, If onely one God had made all things, there ſhould haue been no difference in things: but there is difference; and therefore it muſt needs be that there are many gods. Surely, had theſe men well conſidered the things afore alleaged by mee, they ſhould haue ſéene that nature is wholly & altogether againſt this conſequence. There is great diuerſitie in one Plant, in one Wight, in one Man: and yet notwithſtanding the ground thereof is vniforme. Yea, and it is ſo true that onely vnity is fruitfull, that wee ſee how the diuerſity it ſelfe and that which commeth thereof, is vtterly barren, both in Wights, (as in Mules) and in Plants, as in the Stergon, and alſo in all other like things. If they conſider the Sunne, he maketh Plants to growe all at one time, diuers one from another, and as diuers in themſelues. He maketh ſome of them to ſhoot forth, ſome to ripen, & ſome to wither. At one inſtant he both worketh drought in the earth, and draweth by Clowds out of it to moyſten it: he giueth Summer, daylight, and faire weather to ſome; and Winter, night, and foule weather vnto otherſome: He maketh ſome folks white, ſome black, ſome red, and ſome tawny; and yet is he but one ſelfeſame Sun, and one ſelfeſame Creature, which at one ſelfe ſame inſtant, by one ſelfeſame courſe, and with one ſelfeſame quality of heat, doth all the ſayd things, not onely diuers, but alſo contrary. And he that ſhould ſay, that it is any other than one ſelfeſame Sunne that maketh the Ethiopian blacke, and the Scotte yellowiſh, were not worthy to bee anſwered. Now if a Creature doth by heate (which is but a quality) bréed ſo diuers effects; what ſhall we ſay of the Creator, I meane the infinite Being of God, who imparteth himſelfe to all things?

Iulian the Apoſtata, in Cirillus.

Stergon is an herbe vvhich groweth of an Onion ſtuffed with Linſeed, or ſeede of Flaxe.

Againe, if man conſider himſelf, he féeleth, he ſéeth, he ſpeaketh, he vnderſtandeth a thouſand diuers things, without any alteration in himſelfe. Nay, which more is, he conceiueth, he inuenteth, and hee performeth ſo diuers workes, that Nations do wonder one at another. One man portrayeth out the whole world in a little piece of Paper, painting out all the Images of the Heauens, and all the Climates of the earth. Some one other counterfaiteth all liuing Wights, which créepe, which goe, which flye, which ſwim; and all this commeth but of one mind, which conceiueth and bréedeth all theſe formes, becauſe it hath no forme of it owne: for had it any of it owne, it could not bréed them, becauſe it own would occupy it to the full. What haue we then to thinke of him, whoſe willings are powers, & whoſe thoughts are déeds? Who is an infinite mind, in compariſon of the brightneſſe whereof our minds are but a ſhadow? If we, who (to ſpeak properly) are but in outward ſhow, do things in outward ſhow ſo diuers: do we doubt ỹ he which is in very truth, cannot do them alſo in very truth? Moreuer, if the diuerſity make vs to imagine diuers gods, howbeit al proceéding of one alone: Shall we ſay ỹ he which is in vnity, bred the reſt of the gods with their ſo diuers powers, had not the ſame power in his vnity? Againe, ſeéing the ſayd diuerſity was once included within the ſayd vnity, is it to be ſayd, that hee was faine to hatch vp diuers gods, for the bringing of that diuerſity to light? Nay, like as Nature doth all things the ſhorteſt way: ſo alſo God made all things immediately. And if they ſay it was his pleaſure to make the high things himſelfe, and to leaue the low things to be done by the pettie gods: we muſt conſider that High and lowe, Noble and vnnoble, are

but conſiderations of man. For to make the one or the other, is all one vnto God, who of his infinite goodneſſe and power, hath drawne both twaine of them out of nothing, which was no more the one than the other, as we ſhall ſée hereafter.

Againſt two beginnings.

Let vs come to ſuch as haue vpholden two beginnings, the one good, whom they call Oromaſes; and the euill whom they call Arimanius: which opinion (men ſay) proceéded firſt from Zoroaſtres, and afterward from the Perſians and Manichies; but we ſhall finde no foundation thereof in Nature. Their meaning is, that the Elements, the Plants, Beaſts, Men; yea and Spirits, were (as ye would ſay) parted betwixt theſe two gods, ſo as the one ſhould be the Creator of the one, and the other of the other: the good god, of the good, and the euill of the euill. If it be ſo, then is there a ciuill warre fully furniſhed, of forces ſet in battell ray on both ſides: ſo as there remaineth nothing but fighting, and yet after ſo long time we ſée no ſuch fight at all. And therefore let vs conclude, that this contrarietie of beginning is not. Vnto the one, they allotted light: and vnto the other darkneſſe: vnto the one, ſummer: and vnto the other winter: vnto the one, heate: and vnto the other, cold. In very déed theſe are contraries, but yet is one ſelfeſame Sunne the doer of them all, after as he goeth further from vs, or commeth néerer to vs. And his going from vs is not to forgoe his light, but to ſhine therewith the nérlyer vnto others; nor to coole himſelfe, but to heat other folkes. Then if theſe contraries come of one ſelfeſame one, that is to wit, of the Sunne: Much more likely is it in reaſon, that the Sunne himſelfe ſhould not come of two. Againe, why ſhould the one of theſe contraries be good, and the other bad? Whoſoeuer ſhall haue tryed the extremity, both of the heat and of the cold, ſhall not bee able to diſcerne which is the worſer. Likewiſe, he that ſhall haue obſerued the benefite that commeth of either of them in their ſeaſons, ſhall not bee able to diſcerne which of them to take for the better. The heate ripeneth fruits; but it alſo ſeareth and parcheth them. The colde ſtarueth them, but it alſo maketh them to bud. Take away either of them both, and you take away all fruits. And like as both of them are néedefull to one ſelfeſame thing, that is to wit, to the bringing forth of fruits: ſo bee they alſo procured by the courſe of one ſelfeſame might, which is the Sunne. The ſame Sunne is the lightner of our eyes to our behoofe; and he is alſo the blinder of them, if we gaze vpon him at the height of the day. Yet notwithſtanding, both in the Sunne and in our eyes is the ſelfeſame light which they call good, and which by his reckoning

Plutarke in the life of Oſyris and Iſis.

ning ſhould be to them both good and bad: and if it bee ſo, on which ſide ſhall they turne themſelues?

They adde further: Among Plants there are ſo many poiſons, and among liuing Wights ſo many noiſom Beaſts: that how ſhould a good God be author of them? Silly man that thou art! The poiſons thou occupieſt in Tryacles for thy health, euen againſt the plague. And of thoſe Beaſts thou canſt skill to vſe the ſkinnes to cloathe thée againſt the Colde. And if thou haſt an euill opinion of ſome of them, becauſe thou canſt not ſerue thy turne with them: as much wouldeſt thou haue ſayd ſometime of the horſe, which as now doth thée ſeruice ſo many wayes: and as much might the Satyre haue ſayd of Fire, when it burned him, notwithſtanding that as now, it bee ſo many waies neceſſarie. Now then they might benefit thee, if thou wilteſt how to vſe them: and whereas they annoy thée, it is not of their nature, but through thine owne weakneſſe or rather ignorance. But if they be good ſo far forth as thou haſt ſkill of them: ſhall they not be good to him, which knoweth them throughly? In the Cloſet of a Surgeon, who is but a man as thou art, thou ſhalt finde a thouſand toles; and thou wilt, perchance eſteém him ſo wiſe, that thou wilt not think there is any one of them, which ſerueth not to ſome purpoſe. Yea, and if any of them do cut thee or race thee; thou wilt not blame the tole nor the maker thereof, but thy ſelfe which tokeſt it by the blade, whereas thou ſhouldeſt haue taken it by the handle. And as little canſt thou ſay, that the tole which did cut thée, as that the tole wherewith thou didſt cut what thou wouldeſt, had another maker or maker. Now then, wilt thou bring leſſe regard with thee in this great ſhop of the Creator? It is his will that ſome things ſhall ſerue other liuing Wights which ſerue thee, and otherſome ſhall ſerue thee alone. Yea, and he will haue euen the harmes which thou receiueſt by them, to ſerue thee to ſome purpoſe: and he ſerueth his owne turne better by thee, than thou canſt ſerue thine owne. And if thou which art nothing, haſt yet ſo much wit as to draw ſom peculiar good to thy ſelfe, out of another bodies worke; yea, euen out of ſuch as thou accounteſt euill: as out of poyſon, health: from the Wolfe, his ſkin to couer thee: from the night, reſt: and ſo forth: Shall not the Almighty and infinite Spirit much better diſpoſe them for the beneſit of all men, yea and of all the whole world which comprehendeth ſo many things together?

They ſay yet againe, But why ſhould a good God take pleaſure in ſo many needleſſe things? For to what purpoſe ſerueth the Flye,

and ſuch other things? Tell me, wouldeſt thou like well that thine owne children ſhould ſpeake ſuch reproach of thy workes? May rather, wherein doth the Flye annoy thee? And wherefore ſerued the Fly that Zeuxis painted in his Table? It ſerued to make his greateſt diſdainers (euen thoſe which would haue had that rather than all the reſt wiped out of the Table) to confeſſe his Art and excellent ſkil. And this ſerueth to conuict thee of blockiſhneſſe, thee (I ſay) which hadſt rather to find fault with God and with the Fly, than to wonder at the excellency of him, who hath incloſed ſo liuely a life, ſo quicke a moning, and ſo great an excellency in ſo little a thing. So then, it is not for vs to raze her out of the Table, but rather to confeſſe our owne ignorance, or els to chace it away. Hereby therefore we perceiue, that of all the things which they can alleage, there is none, which is not good and behouefull in it ſelfe, and that the euilneſſe thereof commeth only through vs, and therefore that the thing hath but only one Beginner thereof, who is good.

But behold, they vrge the matter yet more ſtrongly. Howſoeuer the caſe ſtand (ſay they) it cannot bee denied but there is euilneſſe in things, ſeeing that they corrupt themſelues, and the ſin that is in our ſelues is vtterly euill: and ſith it is ſo, from whence may that bee? For, if God be good, he cannot be the author of euill: and therefore, there muſt needs be another author thereof. This queſtion ſhall bee handled more effectually when I come to treat of mans fall, which is the bringer in of the two euils, namely, both of paine & fault: but yet may we alſoyle it if we take heed. We ſay that making and creating are referred to natures or ſubſtances, and that all natures and ſubſtances are good, and therefore that God who is good, is the Author and Creator of them. On the contrary part, we ſay, that euill is neither a nature nor a ſubſtance, but an income or accident which is fallen into natures and ſubſtances: It is (ſay I) a bereauing or diminiſhing of the good qualities which things ought naturally to haue. This euill hath not any being in it ſelfe, neither can haue any being, but in the thing that is good. It is not an effect, but a default; nor a production, but a corruption. And therefore to ſpeake properly, we muſt not ſeeke whence commeth the doing of euill, but whence commeth the vndoing of good. As for example, Wine is of Gods creating, and it is good. Now this good ſubſtance falling to decay, that is to ſay, to abate or diminiſh of his vertue, becommeth Vineger. Whereupon no man aſketh who made the ſubſtance that is become ſharp, for it is the ſelfſame that it was afore: but they aſk, whence cõmeth the ſharpneſſe

neſſe or eagernelle, that is to ſay, the alteration that is befallen to the ſubſtance. If thou ſay that it commeth of the foreſaid euil Beginner, the author of all euill, as the good Beginner is the Author of all goodneſſe: foraſmuch as euill is nothing els but a default, want or failing of good, it is the ſoueraigne or chiefe default or failing, as the good is the ſoueraigne or chiefe being. And if it be the chiefe default, then is it not any more. For, the default or failing of a thing, is a tending of the thing to not beeing any more the ſame that it was, and the fayling of all, is a tending to the vtter vnbeing, or not being of the whole.

Moreouer, the ſaid euill Beginner, which worketh not but in the ſubſtance that is made or created by another, could do nothing, if the good Beginner wrought not firſt, & ſo ſhould he haue the commencement of his power depending vpon another then himſelfe, which is a thing repugnant to a Godhead. And if thou aſke what is then the cauſe thereof: I tell you it is the very nothing it ſelfe, that is to wit, that God almighty, to ſhew vs ỹ he hath made al of nothing, hath left a certaine inclination in his creatures, whereby they tend naturally to nothing, that is to ſay, to change and corruption, vnleſſe they bee vpheld by his power, who hauing all in himſelfe, abideth alonely vnchangeable and free from all paſſions. As in reſpect then that things be, they be of God: but as in reſpect that they corrupt and tend to not being that which they were afore; that commeth of the ſaid not-being, whereof they were created. And ſo they be good, as in reſpect of their bare being: and euill, as in reſpect that they forgoe their formall being, that is to ſay, their goodneſſe. God on the behalfe of the (ſoueraigne) God, the Father of all ſubſtances: Euill, as on the behalfe of the Nothing: And ſothly, neither by nature nor by iuſtice ought they to bee made equall with the vnchangeable Being of their Creator. And this is to be ſeene alike in all things. An apple rotteth, and a man dyeth. The apple and the man, that is to ſay, the natures of them are Gods creatures. As for the rottenneſſe and the ſickneſs, they bee but abatements and defaults of the good nature that was in either of them from the good Creatour. Man againe becommeth a Sinner, and hereunto he needeth no new creation. It is a vaniſhing away of the good nature, which loſeth her taſte. And therefore Saint Auſtine ſaith, that the Latines terme an euill man Nequam, and an euilneſſe Nequitiam, that is to ſay, Naughty and Naughtineſſe. Now, like as of right nought there needeth no beginner, ſo alſo is there none to bee ſought of naughtineſſe or euill. And by that meanes there

Nothing beeing a Negatiue, cauſeth nothing which is the Primatiue.

Plato in his Timæus. *Plotin*, in En. 1. li. 8. *Triſmegiſt.* in Aſclepio. *Simplicius* vpon Epictetus.

there remaineth vnto vs but onely one God, the beginner and author of all things, as we haue defined him already afore. Plato, Plotin, and other great Philoſophers of all Sects, are of opinion that Euill is not a thing of it ſelfe, nor can be imagined but in the abſence of all goodneſſe, is a depriuation of the good which ought to be naturally in euery thing: that euill is a kind of nothing, and hath no abiding but in the good, whereof it is a default or diminiſhing. That the cauſe therof is in the very matter wherof God created things, which matter they termed the very vnbeing, that is to ſay, in very troth no being at all, whereof the creatures retaine ſtill a certaine inclination, whereby they may fall away from their goodneſſe: and that in the very ſoule of man, the euill that is there is a kind of darknes, for want of loking vp to that light of the ſoueraigne mind which ſhould inlighten it: and through ſuffering it ſelfe to bee carried too much away to the materiall things which are nothing. But now that wee haue done with Nature, it is good time to ſee what the wiſeſt men will teach vs concerning the only one God.

Chap. III.

That the wiſedome of the world hath acknowledged one only God.

SOme man will ſay vnto mee, If in the world, if in the things contained in the world, if in man himſelfe, it be ſo liuely painted out, that there is but only one God; whereof then commeth the multitude of gods among men: yea, and among thoſe whom the world counted wiſeſt? I will not proue here that all thoſe gods were either dead men or diuels: for that ſhall be handled more materially in another place. But it ſhall ſuffice for this preſent, to ſhew the vniuerſality of conſent in this point, and that euen thoſe which through cuſtome did celebrate the plurality of gods, did yet notwithſtanding beleeue that there is but onely one true God: Which thing I will firſt maintaine by the wiſe men which liued from age to age. Mercurius Triſmegiſtus, who (if the bookes that are fathered vpon him be his in deed, as in truth they be very ancient) is the founder of them al, teacheth euery where, that there is but one GOD: that one is the roote of all things,

things, and that without that one, nothing hath beene of all things that are: That the ſame one is called the only good, and the goodnes it ſelfe, which hath vniuerſall power of creating all things: That it is vnpoſſible that there ſhould be many makers: That in heauen he hath planted immortalitie, in earth, interchange, and vniuerſally, life and moving: That vnto him alone belongeth the name of Father and of God: and that without blaſphemy thoſe titles cannot be attributed either to Angels, to Fiends, or to men, or to any of all thoſe whom men do call gods, as in reſpect of honour and not of nature. He calleth him Father of the world, the Creator, the beginning, the glory, the nature, the end, the neceſſity, the renewer of all things, the worker of all powers, and the power of all workes, the only holy, the only vnbegotten, the onely euerlaſting, the Lord of euerlaſtingneſſe, and the euerlaſtingneſſe it ſelfe: the onely one, and by whom there is but onely one world; alone, and himſelfe alonly all, nameleſſe, and more excellent then all names. Vnto him alone will he haue vs to offer vp our prayers, our prayſes and our ſacrifices, and neuer to call vpon any other than him.

I would faine know whether it be poſſible for vs to ſay any thing, either more, or better, for the ſetting forth of the ſayd vnity? In deed in ſome places he ſpeaketh of gods in the plurall number, as when he calleth the world a god, and the Heauen with the Planets that rule the Heauen, gods: but that is after the ſame maner which he ſometimes calleth man himſelfe a god, notwithſtanding that no man can doubt of his birth and death, which are things cleane contrary to the true Godhead. The ſtarres (ſayth he, ſpeaking of the creation) were numbred, according to the gods that dwell in them. And in another place he ſayth: There are two ſorts of gods, the one wandring, and the other fixed: But in the times going before, he had ſayd, that God is the beginner of them, That he made them, That he is the Father and only God, vnto whom nothing is to be compared, either of the things beneath, or the things aboue. Alſo he ſayth further, That the world is a ſecond god, and a ſenſible god; and that man is a third god, by reaſon of the immortall Soule which is in him: but yet hee calleth the Children, Impes and Creatures of the only one God, and moſt commonly Shadows and Images of him; neither is it his meaning to attribute ſo much vnto them, as only one ſparke of goodneſſe, or power to make the leaſt thing that is. To bee ſhort, hee ſetteth downe ſome gods as principall, ſome as meane, and otherſome as vndergouernors: But the concluſion of this matter is, that the ſoueraigne

Mercurius Triſmegiſtus in his Pœmander Chap. 38. 10, 11, 12. And in Aſclepius, Chap. 2, 6, 89.

raigne dominion belongeth to God, the ſoueraigne Lord of them all, vpon whom alonely they depend, and from whom they proceede, who alonely is called Father & Lord, and whatſoeuer holier name can be giuen, who made both men and gods; yea, and men (ſayth he) much better and more excellent than all the gods. And as at the beginning of his worke he had prayed vnto him alone, ſo thanketh and prayſeth hee him alone in the end: which thing I thought good to ſet out at length, becauſe many Philoſophers haue drawne their ſkill and knowledge out of his fountaine.

Alleaged by *Cicero, Plutarke, Clement* of Alexãdria & *Cyrillus.*

Pythagoras ſpeaketh of God in theſe termes: God is but one; not as ſome thinke, without gouernment of the world, but all in all. He is the orderer of all Ages, the light of all powers, the Originall of all things, the Creſſet of Heauen, the Father, Minde, Quickner and Mouer of all. Moreouer, he calleth him, The Infinite Power from whence all other powers flowe, which cannot be vereſied but of him alone.

Philo the Iew: and *Iamblichus* of the Sect of *Pythagoras.*

Philo, a diſciple of his ſayth, That there is but only one God, the Prince and Guider of all things, who is alwaies ſingular, vnmoueable, like himſelfe, and vnlike all other things. Alſo, Architas ſayth: That he eſteemeth no man wiſe, but him which reduceth all things vnto one ſelfeſame Originall, that is to wit, vnto God, who is the beginning, end, and middle of all things. And Hierocles one of the ſame Sect, ſayth; That the ſame is he whom they call by the name of Zena and Dia, the Father and Maker of all things, becauſe al things haue their life and being of him. Verily (by the report of Eudorus as hee is alleaged by Simplicius) they called him the founder of matter. And had we the bookes of Numenius, we perceiue well by the things which we reade and heare there, that we ſhould finde them manifeſt and plaine. Now, all theſe had this doctrine both from Nature and from the Schole of Pherecides the Syrian, the Maſter of Pythagoras, vnto whom Ariſtotle attributeth it in his Metaphyſicks. Empedocles, the ſucceſſor of Pythagoras, celebrated none other but this only one, as appeareth by theſe Verſes of his.

Hierocles againſt the Atheiſts. *Simplicius* his Phiſ. *Numenius* cõcerning the Good. Ariſt. 14. Metaph. Cap. 4. *Ariſtotle* alleageth them in his firſt Philoſophy, and in his book of the world. *Ariſt.* 1. Phiſ. cap. 10. lib. 3. Simplic. li. 1. Phiſ.

All things that are, or euer were, or ſhall hereafter bee,
Both man & woman, Beaſt & Bird, Fiſh, Worme, Herb, Graſſe, and Tree,
And euery other thing, yea euen the auncient gods each one,
Whom we ſo highly honour here, come all of one alone.

Parmenides and Meliſſus taught the ſame: and ſo did their Schollmaſter Xenophanes the Colophonian, as we be credibly informed by the Verſes Parmenides rehearſed by Simplicius, in the which Verſes he calleth him the Vnbegotten, the whole, the onely one, not which hath

hath been or ſhall be, but which euerlaſtingly is all together and all of himſelfe. To be ſhort, of the like opinion were Thales, Anaxagoras, Timeus of Locres, Acmon, Euclide, Archœuetus, and others of the ancienteſt Philoſophers. And Ariſtotle witneſſeth in many places, that it was the common doctrine of the men of olde time, the which Zeno held ſo ſtraightly, That to deny the Vnity of God, and to deny the Godhead it ſelfe, he thought to bee all one. And the cauſe of ſo ſaying among the ancient Philoſophers, was not their onely reading thereof in the writings of ſome that went afore them, (as wee might doe now,) but alſo their reading thereof, both in the world and in themſelues. But let vs come to the chiefe Sects of the Philoſophers.

Academucks.

Socrates the Schoolemaſter of Plato, confeſſed onely one God, and (as Aulus Gellius and Apuleius report) was condemned to drink poiſon, for teaching that the gods which were worſhipped in his time were but vanity: and for that in ſcorne of them hee was wont to ſweare by an Oke, by a Goate, and by a Dogge, as who would ſay, There was no more Godhead in the one than in the other. Yet notwithſtanding, he was the man whom Apollo by his Oracle deemed to be the wiſeſt of all Greece; thereby confeſſing, that hee himſelfe was no God. His Diſciple Plato deliuereth a rule in few words, whereby to diſcerne his meaning. When I write in good earneſt (ſayth he) you ſhall know it hereby, that I beginne my Letters with onely one God: and when I write otherwiſe, I begin them with many gods.

Plato in his xiij. Epiſt. to King *Denis.*

Verily, his ordinary manner of ſpeeches were not, If it pleaſe the gods, with the helpe of the gods, and ſuch like. But if it pleaſe God, By the helpe and guiding of God, God knoweth it, Such a man is the cauſe thereof nert vnto God, and ſuch other like. Whereas he affirmeth all other things not to be in very deed. He calleth God, the Father of the whole World, the Beer, that is to ſay; Hee who only is or hath being, the ſelfebred, who alſo made the Heauen, the Earth, the Sunne, the Moone, the times and ſeaſons, and all other things both heauenly and earthly, high and lowe, and whatſoeuer els is. In other places, he calleth him the beginning, the Middle, and the End; by whom, for whom, and about whom all things are; the Gouernour of all that euer is and ſhall be; the very Goodneſſe, and the Patterne of all goodneſſe; the King of all Wights indewed with reaſon and minde, of whom all things haue their Being, and which is of more excellency than the word Being. And the names

Plato in Timæus, in his 10. booke of his Commõ-weale, and in his Epiſtle to *Dion, Hermias*, and *Coricus.*

and

and titles which hee giueth vnto the true God, are commonly giuen him vnder the name of Iupiter, and he thinketh that they be not to be communicated vnto any other. In déede ſometimes hee ſuffereth himſelfe to be carried away to the common manner of ſpeaking, perhaps for feare of the like end that his Schoolmaſter had, and hée doth it expreſſly in his booke of lawes, which was to bee publiſhed to the people. For there and in diuers other places, he calleth the heauenly *Spirits by the name of gods: but yet hee maketh God ſpeaking to them as to his Creatures, naming them gods, begotten and made by him, and him on the contrary part, the Father and God of gods: Alſo, hée honoureth heauen with the ſame name, becauſe of the ſubſtantialneſſe thereof, and likewiſe the Starres by reaſon of the perpetuity of their courſe: and it may be that in that reſpect the Greeks called them * Θεοὶ, Gods; howbeit, he addeth that they be viſible gods, & that the heauen was made by the only one inuiſible God, that it hath none other immortality, than ſuch as he hath giuen vnto it, and that he hath placed the Starres in the Skie for the meaſuring of times, ſeaſons and houres, appointing vnto euery of them his Circuit: As touching men, he ſheweth well enough what he beleeued of them, by his declaring of their Genealogie: that is to ſay, their mortality; to wit, that he acknowledged in them ſome ſhadow of the Godhead, but that the very eſſence or ſubſtance thereof was in the only true God.

All the Platoniſts haue followed the ſame doctrine, bringing it ſo much the more to light, as they themſelues haue drawn nearer to our time. Damaſcius ſayth; The one bringeth forth all things: The one ought to bee honoured by ſilence: The one (like the Sunne) is ſeene dimly a farre off, and the neerer the more dimly, and hard at hand taketh away the ſight of all things. Iamblichus, ſurnamed the Diuine, acknowledged euery where a diuine cauſe, which is the beginning, end, and middle of all things: That there is one God the Maker of all, at whoſe hand welfare is to bee ſought: That the end of all Contemplation is to ayme at one, and to withdraw from multitude vnto vnity: And that the ſame one or vnity is God, and the Ground of all truth, happineſſe, and ſubſtance; yea, and of all other grounds themſelues. He ſaith in déed (and his Bookes are ſo full of it) That there are both gods and feends; and of them he maketh diuers degrees, as, good and bad, high and lowe, and ſo forth. But yet for all that, hée alwaies acknowledgeth one chiefe, whom hee calleth, The onely one GOD, which hath béen afore all that is, and is the Fountaine and Root of all that firſt vnderſtandeth, or is firſt vnderſtood, that is to ſay,

Plato in his booke of Lawes, and in his book intituled, *Epinomis.*

* We call them Angels.

* Of the word *Theoi*, which ſignifieth to Runne.

Plato in his Timœus, and *Laertius* in *Platoes* life.

Damaſcius. τὸ ἐν πατροδοξον.

Iamblichus in his Booke of the Sect of *Pythagoras*,

Iamblichus in his booke of Myſteries. Chap. 1.3. 5.12.16. 17.39.

ſay, of all formes, ſhapes or Patternes (conceiued or conceiuable in mind or imagination,) Suffizing to himſelfe, and Father of himſelf, the begetter of the Soules of the other gods, according to the Patternes conceiued in his owne minde, who is not onely the chiefe Being, but alſo the ſupereſſential Béeing (that is to ſay, a Béeing which farre ſurmounteth, paſſeth, and excelleth all Béeings) nor ſimply God, but the very God and Godnes it ſelfe: Inſomuch that he calleth all the other gods ſeuered eſſences, goodneſſes deriued, & minds ſparkling forth from the Godhead of the Superſubſtantial God (that is to ſay, of the God whoſe ſubſtance ſurpaſſeth and excelleth all manner of ſubſtances:) which gods vnderſtand not any thing, but by beholding the ſayd One, nor are any better than dealers forth of certain giftes which they haue from him. And Theodore the Platoniſt adeth, that all of them pray earneſtly to the firſt, and draw from him which is of himſelfe, and that otherwiſe they ſhould goe to nought.

Proclus, (after the maner of the Platoniſts, which was for the moſt part to bee very Superſtitious) turneth himſelfe oft times aſide to many gods: but yet his reſolution is this, in expreſſe words. Who is he (ſaith hee) that is King of all, the onely God ſeparated from all, and the producer of all things out of himſelfe, which turneth all ends vnto himſelfe, and is the end of ends, the firſt cauſe of operations, the author of all that euer is good and beautiful, and the inlightener of all things with his light? If thou beleeue *Plato*, he can neither be vttered nor vnderſtood. And anon after: Then is it this firſt ſimplicity which is the King: the Soueraignity and Superexcellency of all things, vncomprehenſible, not to bee matched with any other thing, vniforme, going beyond all cauſes, the Creator of the ſubſtance of the gods which hath ſome forme of goodnes. All things go after him and ſtick vnto him: for he produceth and perfecteth all things that are ſubiect to vnderſtanding, like as the Sunne doth to all things that are ſubiect to ſence. To be ſhort, it is the vnutterable cauſe which *Plato* teacheth vs vnder two names in his Common-weale, calling it the very Goodneſſe it ſelfe, and the fountaine of truth, which vniteth the vnderſtanding to the things that are vnderſtood. And in his Parmenides. The One or Vnity whereupon all the diuine vnities are grounded, and which is the originall of all that is, and of all that as yet is not. In his booke of the ſoule and of the ſpirit, he teacheth vs the way to attain from many multitudes to this ſuperſubſtantial Unity, which he calleth the Nature grounded in eternitie, the life that liueth & quickneth; the waking vnderſtanding, the welſpring of all welfare, the infinite

συρόντως ὄν.

ἐλλάμπεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ ὑπερθεοῦ.

Proclus in *Platoes* diuinity,

τοῦ θεοῦ.

Proclus in his booke of the ſoule and the ſpirit, cap. 32. 42. 53.

finite both in continuance and in power, and yet notwithſtanding without quantity, and ſo forth. Neuertheleſſe hee attributeth much to Angels and Feends, according to Art Magicke, which the Platonists did greatly affect in thoſe dayes: howbeit in ſuch, as he continually followeth this rule of his ſo oft repeated in his bookes, That all things are from the true God who is hidden, and that the ſecond degree of gods, that is to ſay, the Angels and Feends, are from the very ſelfeſame: and (to be ſhort) that to beleeue any mo gods than one, and to beleeue none at all, are both one thing.

Manygods ſayth *Proclus*, is godlineſs.

Simplicius vpon the Epictetus of Arian.

Simplicius ſayth: Whatſoeuer is beautifull, commeth of the firſt and chiefe beauty: All truth commeth of Gods truth: And all beginnings muſt needs be reduced to one beginning: which muſt not be a particular beginning as the reſt are, but a beginning ſurpaſſing all other beginnings, and mounting farre aboue them, and gathering them all into himſelfe; yea, and giuing the dignity of beginning to all beginnings, accordingly as is conuenient for euery of their natures. Alſo, The Good (ſaith he) is the welſpring and Originall of all things. It produceth all things of it ſelfe, both the firſt, the middlemoſt, and the laſt. The one Goodneſſe, bringeth forth many goodneſſes: The one Vnity, many vnities: The one Beginning, many beginnings. Now as for Vnity, Beginning, Good, and God: they bee all but one thing. For, God is the firſt cauſe of all, and all particular beginnings or grounds, are faſt ſetled and grounded in him. Hee is the Cauſe of cauſes, the God of gods, and the Goodneſſe of goodneſſes.

Porphyrius in his 2. booke of Abſtinéce, and in his booke of Occaſions Chap. 21.

Porphyrius acknowledged the one God, who alone is euery where, and yet in no one place: who filleth all places, and yet is contained in no place: by whom all things are, both which are and which are not. This God doth he call the Father, which reigneth in all: and he teacheth vs to ſacrifice our Soules vnto him in ſilence, and with chaſte thoughts. On the other ſide, hee acknowledgeth the other gods as his creatures and ſeruants, ſome viſible, and ſome inuiſible: vnto whom he alloweth a materiall ſeruice, far differing from the ſeruing of the true God.

Porphyrius in the life of *Plotin.*

As touching Plotin his Schoolemaſter, ſurnamed the Diuine, whom the Oracle of Apollo (as is reported by Porphyrius himſelfe) did regiſter in the number of the wiſe men of this world, and in the number of the gods in the other world: Hee that would alleage the things which hee hath ſpoken diuinely concerning the vnity of the one God, ſhould be faine to ſet downe his whole treatiſes vnominiſhed. The Sum is, That there is one Beginner of all things, who hath

hath all things, and is all things, whoſe hauing of them is as though he had them not, becauſe his poſſeſſing of them is not as of things that were another mans; and his being them, is as though he were them not, becauſe hee is neither all things, nor any thing among things, but the power of all things. That this Beginner dwelleth in himſelfe, is ſufficient of himſelfe, and of himſelfe bringeth forth all manner of Eſſences, Soules, and liues, as being more than Eſſence, and all life. That by his Vnity he produceth multitude, which could be no multitude, vnleſſe he abode One. As touching the vnder-gods, he ſaith that they neither be, nor can be happy of themſelues, but only by the ſame meane that men can become happy; namely, by beholding the light of vnderſtanding, which is God, through their partaking whereof they abide in bleſſednes. Yea, hee affirmeth that the ſoule of the whole world ſurmized by the Platoniſts, is not happy but by that meanes: namely, by beholding the light which created it, like as the Moone ſhineth not, but by the ouerſhining of the Sun vpon her. That was the very opinion of the Platoniſts as well old as new, concerning the only one God, notwithſtanding that of all Philoſophers, they were moſt giuen to the ſeruing and ſeeking out of the bodileſſe ſpirits, whom we call angels and diuels, and whom they called gods and feends.

Plotin in his firſt Enneade 6. lib. 4. ca. 1, 2, 3, 4. & in the whole 6. book, and in the 3. Enn. lib. 8.

Auguſt. de Ciuitate Dei. lib. 10. *cap.* 2.

Now let vs come to the Peripateticks, and begin at Ariſtotle, Platoes Diſciple, who notwithſtanding was vnreligious in many places, in not yelding vnto God his due glory, after the manner of theſe ſuperſtitious folk, who are ouerliberall in beſtowing it vpon others: and yet euen in him ſhall we finde this ſelfeſame truth. Ariſtotle leadeth vs by many mouings, vnto one firſt mouer, whom he declareth to be infinite, without beginning and without end. From thence a man may ſtep further: for that which is infinite can be but one, becauſe (as I haue ſayd afore) the infiniteneſſe of one reſtraineth the power of al others. Afterward he defineth him to be liuing, immortal, and euerlaſting. And againe (he nameth him) the only poſſeſſor of wiſdome, the Beginner of all cauſes and ſuch like: None of all which things can be attributed to any mo than only one. Yet notwithſtanding, he ſetteth certaine godheads in the heauen, in the ſtars, and in the Sun & Moone, vnto which godheads he allotteth the gouernment of thoſe things, and termeth them heauenly: Firſt ſubſtances, vnchangeable & vnpaſſible, which (in his opinion) cannot ware old, becauſe they be aboue the firſt Moueable, and conſequently aboue time. Yea, and Common cuſtome, with the force of loue carried him ſo far,

The Peripateticks.

Ariſtotle in his booke of heauen.

as to ſet vp Images vnto Iuno and Iupiter, vnder the name of Sauiours, for the life of Nicanor, and to do ſacrifice to a woman whom he loued, as the Athenians did vnto Ceres. But yet in his abridgement of Philoſophy, which he dedicated in his old age vnto Alexander, his finall doctrine is this: This world (ſaith he) wherin all things are orderly diſpoſed, is maintained by God: and the higheſt thing that is in it, is, that it is Gods dwelling place. No nature is ſufficient of it ſelfe to indure, if it be not aſſiſted by his tuition. He is the Father of gods and men, the breeder and maintainer of all the things whereof this world is compoſed: and yet for all that, hee entreth not into them, but his power and prouidence ouerſitting them from aboue, attaine vnto all things, moue the Heauen, the Sunne, and the Moone: Preſerue the things on earth, and make all and euery thing to doe according to their nature. He likeneth him to the great King of Perſia, who from out of his priuy Chamber gouerned his whole Empire by his power and officers: ſauing (ſaith he) that the one is God infinite in power, and the other a very baſe and feeble Wight. Yee ſayth moreouer, that all the names that are attributed to the gods, are but deuices to expreſſe the powers of the only one God, the Prince and Father of all. And therefore it is more behouefull to ſend the Readers to the reading of that whole Treatiſe of his throughout, than to ſet in any more thereof here; becauſe they ſhall there ſee a wonderful eloquence matched with this godly diuinity.

Ariſtotle in his booke of the World, which *Iuſtin* the Martyr affirmeth to haue bin named his Abridgement of Philoſophy. Περὶ κόσμου.

That which the firſt and moſt diuine (ſaith his diſciple Theophraſtus) will haue all things to be exceeding good: and it may bee alſo, that he is aboue the reach of all knowledge and vnſearchable. Againe, There is (ſaith he) One diuine beginner of all things, whereby they haue their being and continuance. But in his booke of Sauors hee paſſeth further, and ſaith, That God created all things of nothing. But to create of nothing, preſuppoſeth an infinite power: and again, that power preſuppoſeth an vnity.

Theophraſtus in his Metaphiſicks. Θεοφράστου. *Theophraſtus* in his booke of Sauours.

Alexander of Aphrodiſe in his booke of Prouidence written to the Emperor Antonie, attributeth Prouidence ouer all things vnto one only God, which can do whatſoeuer he liſteth, as appeareth by all his whole diſcourſe. And he was of ſuch renowne among all the Ariſtotelians, that they called themſelues Alexandrians after his name. To be ſhort, the moſt part of Interpreters and Diſciples of Ariſtotle, found it ſo needfull to acknowledge one only Beginner, and ſo abſurd to maintaine any mo than one; that to the intent they might not confeſſe any ſuch abſurdity in their Maſter, they do by all meanes poſ-

Alexander of Aphrodiſe in his booke of Prouidence and *Cyril* againſt *Iulian* the Apoſtata.

ſible excuſe whatſoeuer might in his workes be conſtrued to the contrarie.

As touching the Stoikes of ancienteſt time, we haue no more than is gathered out of the writing of their aduerſaries; who do all attribute vnto them (the maintenance of) the vnity & infinitneſſe of God, according to this which Ariſtotle reporteth of Zeno: namely, that there muſt needs be but one God, for els there ſhould be no God at all, becauſe it behoueth him to bee ſingularly good and alſo Almightie, which were vtterly vnpoſſible, if there were any mo then one.

The Stoikes.

Alſo Simplicius reporteth of Cleanthes, that in his Iambick verſes he prayed God to vouchſafe to guide him by his cauſe, which guideth all things in order, the which cauſe he calleth Deſtinie, and the cauſe of cauſes. But the two chiefe among them, whoſe doctrine they haue in writing, will eaſily make vs to credit all the reſidue.

Epictetus the Stoike (whoſe words Proclus, Simplicius, and euen Lucian himſelfe held for Oracles;) ſpeaketh of onely one God. The firſt thing (ſaith he) that is to be learned, is, that there is but one God, and that he prouideth for all things, and that from him neither deede nor thought can be hidden. He teacheth vs to reſort vnto him in our diſtreſſes, to acknowledge him for our Maker and Father, to lift vp our eyes vnto him alone, if we will get out of the Quagmyre of our ſins, to ſeeke our felicity there, and to call vpon him in all things both great and ſmall. Of all the gods that were in time paſt, he ſpeaketh not a word: but ſurely he ſaith, that if we call vpon the only one God, he will informe vs of all things by his Angels.

Epictetus in Arrianus.

As for Seneca, he neuer ſpeaketh otherwiſe. What doth God (ſaith he) to ſuch as behold him? He cauſeth his workes not to be without witnes. And againe, To ſerue God (ſaith he) is to Reigne. God exerciſeth vs with afflictions to trie mans nature: and he requireth no more but that wee ſhould pray to him. Theſe ordinarie ſpeeches of his, ſhew that he thought there was but one God. But he proceedeth yet further. From things diſcouered (ſayth he) we muſt proceed to things vndiſcouered, and ſeeke out him that is ancienter than the world, of whom the Starres proceede. And in the end hee concludeth, that the world, and all that is contained therin, is the worke of God. Alſo he calleth him the Founder, Maker, and Creator of the world, and the Spirit which is ſhed forth vpon all things both great & ſmall. And in his Queſtions; It is he (ſaith he) whom the Hetruſcanes or Tuſcanes meane by the names of Iupiter, Gardian, Gouernour, and Lord of the whole world. If thou call him Deſtiny, thou ſhalt not deceiue thy ſelfe,

Seneca euerie where.

Seneca in his booke of the happy life and in his Treatiſe of cõfort.

Seneca in his natturall Queſtions, and in his bookes of Benefiting

for all things depend vpon him, and from him comes the cauſes of all cauſes. If thou call him prouidence, thou ſayeſt well; for by his direction doth the World hold on his courſe without ſwaruing, and vtter forth his Actions. If thou call him Nature, thou doſt not amiſſe; for he it is of whom all things are bred, and by whoſe Spirit we liue. To be ſhort, wilt thou call him the World? In very deed, he is the whole which thou ſeeſt, and he is in all the parts thereof. **By this ſentence we may alſo ſhewe, that by the terme Nature, the Philoſophers ment none other than God himſelfe, according as** Seneca ſayth in another place, **that God and Nature are both one, like as** Ænnæus and Seneca **bee both one man. And whereas he ſayth that God may be called the World, it is all one with that which he ſayth in another place:** namely, God is whatſoeuer thou ſeeſt, and whatſoeuer thou ſeeſt not: that is to ſay, **whereas thou canſt not ſee him in his proper being,** thou ſeeſt him in his workes. **For in other places alſo he defineth him** to be a **Minde and Wiſedome without body, which cannot be ſeene but in vnderſtanding. Now, of all the former things by him repeated in many places, none can be verified of any mo than one. For he that maketh all, gouerneth all, and is all, leaueth nothing for any other to make, gouerne, or be, otherwiſe than from himſelfe. But he ſpeaketh yet more expreſſly, ſaying:** Thou conſidereſt not the authority and Maieſtie of thy Iudge, the Gouernour of the World, the God of Heauen and of all gods. All the godheads which we worſhip euery one ſeuerall, depend wholly vpon him. **And againe,** When he had layd the foundations of this goodly Maſſe, although he had ſpred out his power throughout the body therof: yet notwithſtanding he made gods to be officers of his kingdome, to the end that euery thing ſhould haue his guide. **Now, this is after the ſame manner that the holy Scripture ſpeaketh of the Angels. So then, hee is not onely God the excellenteſt of all gods, but alſo their very Father, Authour, and Maker. Let vs yet further adde** Cicero and Plutarke, **who haue of euery Sect taken what they thought good. Both of them ſpeake ordinarily but of one God, the Authour and Gouernor of all things, vnto whom they attribute all things, and in that ordinary ſtyle is their word** Nature, **which ſurmounteth the cuſtome of their time: but yet doth their doctrine expreſſe much more here.** Cicero **treating of this matter in his booke, intituled;** Of the nature of gods, **acknowledgeth one ſoueraigne God, whom he calleth the God of Gods, and that is the difference which he there maketh,** The Nature of the gods (**ſaith he**) **is neither mighty nor excellent;** for it is ſubiect

Ariſtotle calles him TOPAN, that is to ſay, *All the whole.*

Seneca in his booke of ſodaine death, and in his exhortations alleaged by *Lactantius* lib. 1. cap. 5.

ſubiect to the ſelfeſame (be it nature or Neceſſitie) which ruleth the Heauen, the Earth, and the Sea. But there is not any thing ſo excellent as God, who ruleth the world, and is not ſubiect to Nature, but commandeth Nature it ſelfe. **And hee is full of the like ſentences.**

Cicero in his booke of the nature of the gods,

As for Plutarke, **he ſuffereth himſelfe to range ouer often into fables; but yet in good earneſt he ſpeaketh thus:** Let vs not worſhip the Elements, the Heauen, the Sunne, the Moone, and ſo foorth: for they be but Looking-glaſſes for vs, wherein to conſider the cunning of him that ordained all things; and all the World is but his Temple. **Againe:** Wherefore doth *Plato* call God, the Father and Maker of all? He calleth him the Father of the begotten gods, and of men, like as *Homer* alſo doth: but he calleth him the Creator of the things that haue no life nor reaſon. And thereof (**ſaith hee in another place**) hee made the World as a common houſe both to men and gods. **Yea,** (**ſaith he further**) Although there were many mo ſuch worlds as this is; yet notwithſtanding the only God ſhould gouerne them all. **Now this true God whom he calleth the great God, the great Workemaiſter, the Sea of beauty, the ground of all good things, and the true Being, of whom alone it can be ſayd: Thou art, and not thou haſt beene or ſhalt be; is he whom he meaneth by the name of** Iupiter, **ſaying:** That of the gods, one is called Liberall, another Gentle, and the third the Dryuer away of euil; but the great *Iupiter* is in Heauen, who hath care vniuerſally of all things. **Thus ye ſée then how al the Philoſophers of all ſects & of al Nations haue agreed in one God: which is the thing that ỹ learned** Varro **noted very wel: namely, that although the Teachers of the Heathen named many gods and goddeſſes: yet notwithſtanding they comprehended them all vnder one, which was** Iupiter, **of whom the reſidue were but powers and functions: And this** Iupiter **is hee whom ſuch folke worſhipped vnder another name, as worſhipped the only one God without Images, and hee ſayth, that ſo God ought to bee worſhipped. And to that purpoſe alleageth hee theſe Verſes of the right learned Poet,** Valerius Soranus.

Varro, as he is alleaged by S. *Auſtin* in the City of God, lib. 4. cap. 9. 11. & li. 7. cap. 59. 23.

The Ioue *almighty is the King of Kings, and God of gods,*
One God, and all, the Father both and Mother of the gods.

Poets.

But now is the time to come to the ancient Poets, which were alſo Philoſophers, and who by their fictions opened the gap to the plurality of gods. Among theſe, the firſt that we meet with is Orphe- us, **whom** Iuſtine **calleth the firſt Author of them, the firſt giuer of names vnto them, and the firſt blazer of their Pedegrees. But yet there is a Recantation of his in his Hymne vnto** Muſæus, **which is**

Iuſtin in his booke of Monarchie.

Iuſtin to the Gentiles.

called his Teſtament, that is to ſay, his laſt doctrine, whereunto hee would haue men to ſtick. Lift vp thine eyes (ſaith he) to the only Maker of the World: He is but one, bred of himſelfe: and of that one are all things. He is all in all, he ſeeth all, and is ſeene of none. He onely giueth both good and euill, both welfare, and wofull teares and war. He ſitteth in Heauen gouerning all things, with his feete he toucheth the earth, and with his right hand the vtmoſt ſhores of the Sea. Hee maketh the Mountaines, Riuers and deepe Sea to quake, &c. And in another place hee calleth him the First-borne, the Great, the Apparant, who hath created an incorruptible houſe for them that are immortall. Alſo vnder the name of Zeus or Iupiter, he ſayth of him as followeth:

Athenagoras in his Treatiſe concerning the Reſurrection.

The Reſtauration of Orpheus, who is called the Author of the plurality of gods.

Looke vp to the ſame onely King, which did the World create,
Who being onely one, ſelfe-bred, all other things begate.
And being with them all, vnſeene of any mortall Wight,
Beholdeth all things, giuing Man now wealth and hearts delight,
Now wofull warre: For ſure there is none other King but he.
I ſee him not, becauſe the Cloudes a couert to him bee:
And in the eye of mortall man there is but mortall ſight,
Too weake to ſee the lightfull Ioue *that ruleth all with right:*
For ſitting in the brazen heauen aloft in throne of Golde,
He makes the earth his footſtoole, and with either hand doth holde
The outmoſt of the Ocean waues: and at his preſence quake
Both Mountaines huge, and hideous Seas, and eeke the Stygian Lake.

And anon after againe.

The endleſſe Skie and ſtately heauens, and all things elſe beſide,
Did once within the thundering Ioue *cloſe hoorded vp abide,*
The bleſſed Gods and Goddeſſes whoſe being is for aye,
And all things paſt or yet to come within Ioues *bowels lay.*
From Ioues *wide wombe did all things come;* Ioue *is both firſt and laſt,*
Beginning, Middes, and End is Ioue; *From* Ioue *are all things paſt.*
Ioue *layd foundation of the Earth, and of the ſtarry Skie.*
Ioue *reigneth King. The ſelfeſame* Ioue *of all things far and nie*
The Father and the Author is. One power, one God is hee,
Alonely Great, one Lord of all. This royall Maſſe which wee
Behold, and all the things that are contained in the ſame,
As Fire and Water, Earth and Ayre, and Titans *golden flame*
That ſhines by Day, and droopy Night, and euery other thing,
Are placed in the goodly houſe of Ioue *the heauenly King.*

Phocilides

Phocilides followeth him in theſe words: There is but only one God, mighty, wiſe and happy. And againe: Honour the onely God. Alſo, All of them are mortall men, God reigneth ouer their ſoules. And Theognis (who is of the ſame time) ſpeaketh not any otherwiſe. Homer (whom Pythagoras reporteth to be punished in Hell for making Fables of the gods) cannot make a notabler difference betweene the true GOD, and all the reſt of the gods whom men worſhipped in this time: than when he ſayth; That if they were all hanged at a Chaine beneath, he would pull them vp ſpite of their teeth: and alſo, that he maketh them all to quake vnder him: and that whenſoeuer there is any greater deed talked of, he ſpeaks alwaies but of one God in the ſingular number. Alſo Heſiodus who deſcribed the pedegrees of the gods, ſheweth his beleefe ſufficiently in this onely one verſe written to his brother.

Phocilides.

Theognis.

Homer.

Heſiodus.

Both Gods and mortall men, from one ſelfe race deſcend.

That is to ſay, All the gods are created by the onely one God. Likewiſe Sophocles ſayth thus:

Certeſſe of Gods there is no mo but one,
Who made the Heauens, and eeke the earth ſo round,
The dreadfull Sea, which cleaps the ſame about,
And bluſtring Winde which rayze the Waues aloft,
But we, fond men, through folly gone aſtray,
Euen to the hurt and damning of our ſoules,
Haue ſet vp Idoles made of Wood and Stone,
Thinking like fooles, by meanes of honouring them,
To giue full well to God his honour due.

Sophocles in Cirillus againſt Iulian the Apoſtata.

Euripides goeth yet further, ſaying:

Thou Neptune, *and thou* Iupiter *and all*
You other gods, ſo wicked are you all,
That if due iuſtice vnto you were done,
Both Heauen and Temples ſhould be empty ſoone.

Euripides Clemens in his.

And yet in defacing the falſe gods, he ceaſeth not to commend the only true God in many places.

Aratus in the ſame place which is alleaged by S. Paul, attributeth all to one Iupiter, whom he would haue to be honoured without ceaſing.

Aratus, Iouis genus ſumus.

As touching the Latines, Ouid in his Metamorphoſis attributeth the creation of the World, and of all things therein vnto the onely one God. And Virgil doth ordinarily call him the King of gods and men, and he deſcribeth him ſpreading forth his power to the vtter-

Ouid.

Virgil in his fourth booke of husbandry and euery where elſe.

moſt coaſts of Heauen and Earth, and with his vertue quickning the worlde, and all that is therein.

Scæuola, as he is alleaged by S. *Auſtin* in the Citty of God, lib.3.ca.27.

But foraſmuch as Scæuola the High-prieſt of the Romanes diſtinguiſhed the gods of old time into three ſorts, that is to wit, Philoſophicall, Poeticall, and Ciuill, and we haue ſeene how the Philoſophers and Poets, (notwithſtanding their owne Wyndlaſes and fables, and the infinite ſuperſtitions of their times,) doe meete together in the onely one GOD: let vs ſee conſequently what the Ciuill ſort will ſay vnto vs, that is to ſay, what hath bin beleeued, not only by the learned ſort of al Nations, but alſo by the very Nations themſelues. Truly ſo incredible hath the vanity of men bin ſince their turning aſide from the true way, that all Nations haue let themſelues runne looſe after ſuch abſurdities as we would not beleeue, if we ſaw not the like ſtill at this day. Some worſhipped the Heauen, the Planets, and the Starres, like ſilly ſoules, which at their firſt coming into a Kings Court, do thinke that the firſt gay apparelled man whom they meet with, is the King. Some made gods of the gods which God gaue them. Some worſhipped the Beaſts which were for their benefit. And finally, they made gods, not only of themſelues, but alſo of their Speares, Shields and Swords, and builded Temples to their own paſſions, as vnto fearefulneſſe, hardineſſe & ſuch others; yea, and euen vnto things ſo filthy & lothſome, as a man may be aſhamed and abaſhed to haue ſpoken off. Neuertheleſſe, the cuſtomable vſe of ſuch things made folke to haue no regard of them, and the moſt ſpirituall ſort of them were ſo poſſeſſed with ambition, that it filled all their mindes to the full. Yet notwithſtanding, when they were once awaked, and fell a little to the bethinking themſelues as of a thing in very deed againſt Nature, they were aſhamed of their doings; yea and euen of themſelues. Why Sir, (anſwered they to S. Auſtin?) thinke you that our forefathers were ſo fooliſh and blinde, as to beleeue that *Bacchus*, *Ceres*, *Pan*, and ſuch others were gods? It is not poſſible, nay, they beleeued but in the onely one God, whoſe giftes and functions they honored vnder diuers names, and whatſoeuer is more, is but Superſtition. Truely the Egyptians (as we read) did honour Diuels, Men, Beaſts, Serpents, and Plants: and to be ſhort, euery thing was to them a god. But as touching the true God, they deſcribed him in their holy caracters as a Pilot alone gouerning a Ship. And all their diuinity (as is to be ſeene in Iamblichus,) was referred vnto onely one God. Inſomuch that the people of Thebais in Ægypt, reiected all the lapd abſurdities of many gods, ſaying: that there was none

The conſent of people.

In the Citie of God lib.4.ca.24

Iamblichus concerning the Myſteries of the Egyptians, cap.37.39.

none other God but only he whom they called Cnef, which was neuer borne, nor could euer die, that is to ſay, the Euerlaſting. Alſo in Saya City of Egypt, the Image of Pallas, that is to ſay, of Wiſdome, had this Inſcription: I am all that hath bin, is, or euer ſhall be, and there was neuer yet any mortall man that vncouered my face. And Proclus addeth thereto, And the fruits that I haue brought is the Sonne: as who would ſay; It is the Wiſedome whereby God worketh, which is the goddeſſe worker. Now if euen among the Egyptians the opinion of the one only God was not quenched: much more reaſon haue we to deeme, that it was not quenched among other nations.

Plutarke in his treatiſe of *Iſis* and *Oſiris.*

In the Lawes of the twelue Tables were written theſe words: Let men come to the gods chaſtly. Let pompe be remoued away: If they do otherwiſe, God himſelfe (that is to ſay, Iupiter, whom onely they called the moſt gracious and moſt mighty) will reuenge it. Yet notwithſtanding, it is certain that afterward Rome became the very Sinke-pan of all Idolatries of the world: for in winning of Nations, they wan alſo their ſuperſtitions. But could all this wipe out in them the print of Nature? Nay, contrariwiſe ſaith Tertullian, ſpeaking this of the heathen of his time. As wholly as their Soules are brought in bondage to falſe gods, yet when they awake as a drunken man out of his ſleepe, they name but one God, and the ſpeech of euery man is, as it pleaſeth God. They call vpon him as their Iudge ſaying: God ſeeth it, I referre my ſelfe to God, God requite it me. O record of a Soule, by nature Chriſtian. To bee ſhort, in vttering thoſe words, they look vp to heauen and not to the Capitoll; for they know that Heauen is the Seat of the liuing God. Lactantius, who came a good while after, ſayth the like. When they ſweare (ſaith he) when they wiſh, when they giue thanks, they name neither Iupiter, nor gods in the plurall number, but the onely one God: ſo greatly doth Nature conſtraine them to acknowledge the truth. If there come an Alarum, or if they be threatned with war, they doe after the ſame manner: But as ſoone as the danger is paſt, by and by they run to the Temples of many gods, whereas notwithſtanding they called but the one God to their ſuccour. And in very truth, if we conſider the naturall motions which we haue in our afflictions; they part not our hearts into diuers prayers at once, but doe put vs in minde of only one God, and to offer our prayers vp vnto him.

Cicero in his ſecond booke of Lawes. *Deos adeunto caſte: opes amouento: ni ſecuro: ni ſaxum, Deus ipſe vindicet:* that is, Goe to God chaſtly: remoue away riches: if any doe otherwiſe, God himſelfe will puniſh him.

Tertullian in his Defence.

Lactantius lib.2.ca.2.

Now, foraſmuch as Nature, Mans wiſedome, and the voice of all people, doe in all Languages commend, worſhip, and confeſſe one onely God: It remaineth for vs to ſee whether wee may not gather the

Lactantius lib.1.cap.6 Iuſtine in his Apologie. The Oracles of the Sybilles.

the like, euen by the very confeſſion of the falſe gods themſelues: which haue gone about to deface his name by all meanes. It is a caſe diſputed among the learned, by what ſpirit the Sybilles ſpake, becauſe it is not vnconuenient that God ſhould compell the very diuels to ſet forth his prayſes. Howſoeuer the caſe ſtand, they ſpeake but of only one God, ſaying:

There is but onely one true God, right great and euerlaſting,
Almighty, and Inuiſible, which ſeeth euery thing,
But cannot be beheld himſelfe of any fleſhly man.

Alſo, they cry out againſt the falſe gods, and exhort men to beate downe their Altars, accounting them happy which giue themſelues to the glorifying of the only one God. But let vs heare Apollo himſelfe. Being aſked at Colophon by one Theophilus, whether there was a God or no, and what he is: He anſwered in 21. Greek verſes rehearſed by Lactantius, whereof I will hold me contented with the latter three, which are to be Engliſhed thus:

Lactan. lib. 1. cap. 6.

The ſelfebred, bred without the helpe of Mother,
Wiſe of himſelfe, whoſe name no Wight can tell,
Doth dwell in fire beyond all reach of thought:
Of whom we Angels are the ſmalleſt part.

The reſt of theſe Verſes commend and ſet forth the Maieſtie of the great God: but theſe ſuffice to this matter. Here the Fiend doth what he can to magnifie himſelfe, ſaying: That he is an Angell and a little portion of God, but yet he acknowledgeth him as the Soueraigne. Porphyrius the great enemy of Chriſtians, rehearſeth many other like. The ſame Apollo being aſked how God was to be worſhipped, anſwered in 22. Verſes; calling him the euerlaſting Father, the Walker vpon the Heauen of Heauens, the faſhioner or framer of ſubſtances, the Father of all things, the Father of all Wights both mortall and immortall. And on the other ſide, he calleth all others his Children, his Seruants, his Meſſengers, and the Heralds or blazers abroad of his prayſes. In another anſwere compriſed in ten Verſes, he calleth him the burning Flame, the Welſpring and Originall of all things, the author of life, and ſo forth, and afterward he concludeth,

Porphyrius in his 10th booke of the praiſes of Philoſophy.

I am but Phœbus, more of me ye get not at my hand,
It is as little in my minde as I can vnderſtand.

Being aſked at another time by the * Founder of Conſtantinople, whether hee ſhould reſiſt an enemy of his or no, he anſwered thus:

* Pauſanias.

Apollo

Apollo *is not of that minde, beware*
How thou doeſt deale, he is too ſtrong for thee:
For God it is that makes him vndertake
This enterpriſe, and doth the ſame maintaine,
Euen God I tell thee, vnder whom both Heauen,
And Earth, and Sea, and euery thing therein,
And Phœbus eeke, and Hell it ſelfe doth quake.

Proclus ſayth, that the Oracles acknowledged the great God the Welſpring of the Fountaine of all things. And for an example hee alleageth this Oracle of foure Verſes: From God ſpringeth the generation of all matter; from the ſame ground riſeth the fineneſſe of the fire, and the Globes of the World, and whatſoeuer els is bred, and ſo forth. And theſe were the anſweres of Apollo, the god ſo greatly renowned among the Heathen, when he was aſked what God was: And being vrged to tell what he himſelfe was, and how he would bee called, he ſayd:

Proclus vpon Timæus.

Call mee the Feend that knoweth all, and is right ſage and wiſe.

And at another time he ſayth thus:

We Feends which haunt both Sea and Land through all the world ſo wide,
Do tremble at the whip of God which all the world doth guide.

Theſe aforeſayd Oracles are reported by Porphyrius, Proclus, and other Heathen men, whereof ſome be rehearſed alſo by Lactantius: which may ſuffize to ſhew how the very diuels doe beleeue one God, and quake at him. But I hope I ſhall be pardoned for handling this matter a little at the largeſt, becauſe the conſent of all men in that behalfe which I haue already proued, is contrary to the opinion of many men. And therefore ye ſee here how the World, Men, and the diuels themſelues cry out with the holy Scripture: Harken, O Iſrael, the Lord thy God is but one God, the God of gods, who only worketh wonders, and hath not his like among the gods. And that is the thing which I haue gone about to proue in theſe laſt two Chapters.

Deut. 6. Pſal. 85.

CHAP.

Chap. IIII.

What it is that we can comprehend concerning God.

NOw, albeit that the leaſt things which are in Nature and in our ſelues, doe ſufficiently ſhew vs that there is but one God; yet notwithſtanding all Nature is not able to teach vs what God is, neither is man in nature able to comprehend any thing of him: and the reaſon thereof is euident in both twaine. In man, Man cannot comprehend God. becauſe the greater can neuer bee comprehended by the leſſer; neither can man haue any thing in vnderſtanding, which hath not firſt bẽn in his ſences, as from whence proceedeth vnto him the beginning of all naturall knowledge: and hee neither ſeeth nor perceiueth God in himſelfe, but onely by his effects. In Nature, becauſe it is a thing wrought by God, and no worke or effect how great ſo euer it be, can perfectly expreſſe the cauſe or worker thereof. Man is able to diſcourſe after a ſort, of the things that are leſſe than himſelfe, as of Beaſts, Plants, and Stones. And yet if he will enter into their ſubſtances, he muſt needes ſtop short, and is conſtrained to ſtay vpon the Hiſtories of them, confeſſing his knowledge to be but ignorance. If he come to himſelfe, to know his owne Soule by the power of his Soule; by and by he is at his wits end: For the manner of his diſcourſe is but to proceed from kinde to kinde, and to paſſe from one reaſon to another. But on the contrary part, his minde ſeeth not it ſelfe, but onely turneth into it ſelfe, leauing not any thing emptie without it ſelfe whereunto to extend, no more then a circle doth. And yet notwithſtanding, euery thing is equall to it ſelfe, and meaſurable by it ſelfe. What ſhall we then thinke that Man can do, if he aduance himſelfe to the conſidering of Gods nature, ſeeing that the leaſt creatures that are, do put him to his trumpe? That is the very thing which hath made the ignorant ſort to ouerſhoot themſelues ſo farre, as to counterfeit God by a ſhape like themſelues: which thing the very Beaſts (ſaith Xenophanes) would haue done if they had been Painters, as which cannot ordinarily conceiue any greater thing than themſelues. Wee ſee then how Man is of himſelfe too farre vnable to conceiue ſuch a greatneſſe. Againe, if we conſider the effects

Cicero in his booke of the Nature of the gods. *Plotinus* Enn. 6. l. 8. cap. 11. *Galen* in his 9. booke vpon the Decrees of *Hippocrates*.

fects, a man planteth, buildeth, painteth, and weaueth a thouſand diuers workes, and we thinke it not ſtrange, that the brute Beaſts conceiue not thereby what Man is, howbeit that there is alwayes ſome proportion of vnderſtanding betweene Creature and Creature, but betweene the Creature and the Creator there is none at all. Nay, there is yet this more, that a man ſhall ſee and feele the workes of another man, and he ſhall know from whence he taketh his ſtuffe, after what manner he matcheth things together, and what Art he hath obſerued: But ſhall hee for all that know what the Soule or Minde of that man is? No, nor yet his owne Soule. For his doings come nothing neere to that which he is, no not ſo neere as the heate which the Sunne ſheadeth into vs from aboue, approacheth neere to the naturall power that is in the Sunne, the which notwithſtanding wee durſt not take vpon vs to deſcribe, if we had neuer felt it otherwiſe than in a Priſon. But if thou couldſt haue entred into the minde of that man at the making of his worke, thou ſhouldſt haue ſeene it farre more beautifull there: and all that euer he could doe, or thou ſay, is alwayes farre leſſe than his Conceit, and yet the ſame Conceit of his is but as a ſparke of the mind, whereof the ſame worke is a part. Now then, if thou being a man, canſt not conceiue the minde of a man by his doings; though thou beare the like minde about thee thy ſelfe, and if his doings (of what ſort ſoeuer they be) come farre ſhort of that which he himſelfe is: dareſt thou be ſo bold as to deſcribe God by his workes what he is, and to diſpute of his ſubſtance? And if thou canſt not conceiue him by his workes, how wilt thou then conceiue him, ſeeing thou canſt not behold him otherwiſe? To this purpoſe we haue the common Hiſtorie of Simonides, who being aſked by Hiero King of Syracuſe, what God is, demanded one dayes reſpit to giue anſwere, and afterward two, and then foure, and in the end, confeſſed that the more he thought theron, the leſſe he vnderſtood thereof, & yet he was the man which taught very well, that God was the very wiſedome it ſelfe. Xenophon, Plato, Plotin, and others ſay, that he is a thing which cannot be found, nor ought to be ſought. To be ſhort, all the Philoſophers cry in one voyce with Dauid, * Lord, thou haſt made darkneſſe thy couert, Lord, I am wearied euen in thine outter Courts. Yet notwithſtanding, whereas men are not able to attaine to Gods ſubſtance, they haue gone about to betoken it by the excellenteſt names that they could deuiſe, as we haue ſeene in the laſt Chapter. They conſidered that foraſmuch as all things haue their being from him, he himſelfe was the ſoueraigne Being, & that to be ſo, it

Although it appeare by certaine demõſtration, that it is a diuine workmaiſter, that hath created vs: yet can we not by any wit or reaſon conceiue, neither what his ſubſtance is, nor how he made vs. For we muſt conſider that it is a farre other thing to ſhew that a certaine Prouidẽce made vs: than to know the ſubſtance, either of our owne Soule, or of him that made vs.

* *Poſuit tenebras latibulum, De-feci in atrijs tuis Domine.*

it behoued him to be euer, and therefore they called him the Euerla-
ſting. And that to haue being without life, is nothing: and that he
which giueth life to all, muſt néeds be all life: and therefore they call
him the liuing God. And againe, that life without vnderſtanding is
dead, and vnderſtanding without power is vnperfect, and that he
which giueth both of them to all, muſt néeds haue them in himſelfe
for all: and therefore they call him Mind and Might, attributing vn-
to him the perfect knowledge and infinite power of all things. Final-
ly, forasmuch as to Be, to Liue, to Vnderſtand, and to be mighty, the
higher that they be, are ſo much the leſſe to be eſtéemed, if god alſo a-
bound not on all parts: becauſe men on the other ſide receiue ſo ma-
ny god turnes at his hand, they call him god, excéeding god, and the
goodneſſe it ſelfe, aſſuring themſelues that no other name doth ſo pe-
culiarly fit him as that. Yet notwithſtanding neither that, nor any
thing elſe that we can imagine more, can come néere him by in-
finite diſtance: Let vs attribute vnto him the higheſt degrée of all
perfections that can be, (as in very déed hee muſt needs haue them at
the higheſt pitch, ſeeing that there is not any that hath meaſured
them vnto him:) yet do we attribute vnto him but imperfection. For
if any of them be finite, then is he not infinite, as we ought to con-
ceiue him to be; and infinite it cannot be, becauſe the one of them
ſhould by the infiniteneſſe thereof ſhut vp the other within bounds.
Therfore it behoueth vs to conceiue a moſt ſingle ſingleneſſe, which
neuertheleſſe in one perfection comprehendeth all perfections, as the
Mercurius *Triſmegiſtus* in his Pœmander. cap. 2. and 6. root of them, which ſeemeth a thing contrary to mans vnderſtan-
ding: that is to wit, that his Prouidence is no more Prouidence
than Juſtice, nor his Juſtice more Juſtice than Mercie, nor his
knowledge more knowledge than life, nor his life more life than ſin-
gle béeing. To be ſhort, that his being is ſuch a being as is wholly &
alonely all, I meane altogether deede, altogether forme, alto-
gether perfection and ſo forth. And that is the thing which
Which after ehieh. God himſelfe teacheth vs, in that being aſked his name by Moſes, he
anſwered him, I am that I am: which name the Iewes had in ſuch
reuerence, that the very Prieſts themſelues (as they ſay) named it
Plotin. Ennead. 7. lib. 7. cap. 38. not but at the great Feaſts. And yet in the iudgement of Plotin, that
name is ſufficient for him. Alſo we call him the god, and yet is that
too little for him, for god is good by goodneſſe, as heate is the heat
by hotneſſe. But God is the goodneſſe it ſelfe, and whatſoeuer is
good, is of him. Yet notwithſtanding, the very word Goodneſſe is
not ſufficient, for goodneſſe hath his being in ſome ſubſtance. But in
God

God there cannot any thing be conceiued, which is not ſubſtantial-
ly, yea and more then ſubſtantially ſubſtance. Againe, when we ſay,
he ſeeth, he knoweth, he vnderſtandeth, theſe things haue relation
to time, and he that made time, is without the reach of time. Alſo
when we ſay, he is here, or he is there, it is all one, for he that made
all places, is not conteined in any place. And therefore Triſmegiſtus
Mercurius in his Pœmander. Prouer. 30. v. 4. ſaith very well, That he is mightier then any name can expreſſe. And
Salomon crieth out with admiration, What is his name! As who
would ſay, Man is not able to vtter and conceiue any word that doth
properly fit him, neither in Nownes, nor in Verbes, nor in compleat
ſpéech, becauſe man is an eſſence ſubiect to time, place, and accidents,
which cannot paſſe beyond it ſelfe. Now then, what is the vttermoſt
point that all our fine conceits can reach vnto? Verily the moſt in ef-
fect that we can know concerning his being, is that we can vnder-
ſtand nothing at all thereof. Inſomuch that whatſoeuer wee ſay
thereof affirmatiuely, whether we tearme it Truth or Wiſedome, or
Kingdome, or Vnity, or Godhead, or any thing elſe which we meane
thereby, it cannot fit him. Finally, we can no more name him than
comprehend him, how high ſoeuer wee thinke we mount vp. And
therefore we muſt with Triſmegiſtus, call vpon him in ſilence, and
ſay vnto him with Dauid, Lord, the beſt praiſe that I can giue vnto
thee, is ſilence.

Now ſéeing we cannot know what God is, but by not knowing
it, it ſtandeth vs in hand to know what he is not, which is no ſmall
helpe for vs to know him after a ſort. Wherein wee muſt follow a
What God is not. cleane contrary rule. For as we haue ſaid, that of all the things that
are ſpoken and affirmed of Gods eſſence or ſubſtance, none fitteth
him, being taken ſtrictly: ſo whatſoeuer is ſpoken thereof negatiue-
ly, ſhal be found true, being taken after the ſame manner: Inſomuch
that that man may be ſayd to be moſt ſkilfull in that behalfe, which
knoweth moſt Negatiues, or Remotions (as they tearme them.) To
Vnmoueable. make this point more clearer, nature hath taught vs by diuers mo-
uings which we ſée here beneath, that there is a God which is the
firſt mouer of the whole world. And by the ſame reaſon, we ſay that
he himſelfe is vnmoueable, that is to ſay, remoueth not at all. For
we ſée that the nature of him which moueth, inſomuch as he moueth,
conſiſteth and is ſetled in reſt. Euen our Soule (as in reſpect of the
body) is vnmoueable, notwithſtanding that it cauſeth and procureth
all the mouings of the body: and the more things that a man intendeth
to muse, the more it behoueth him to haue his minde ſetled. For as-
much,

much as God is euermoze doing, he is euer at reſt, and he hath not his reſting in another, but in himſelfe, oz rather is his owne reſt himſelfe. And therefoze the ancient Philoſophers called him τὸ ἀκίνητον, τὸ ἀτρεμὲς, that is to ſay, the Vnmoueable and Stedfaſt, to put a difference betweéne him and the Heauen, the Planets, and the Starres, which are ſubiect to mouing, and whom the ignozance of folke hath called Gods. Hereupon we ſay alſo that he is vnchangeable: foz the change of a thing in it ſelfe is a kind of mouing which ſtandeth out of it ſelfe. As foz example, He that deſireth oz coueteth, deſireth oz coueteth the thing which he hath not. But God is both one and all, neither is it poſſible foz him to receiue being from any other: foz nothing is changed but by ſome other thing, which in ſome reſpect is moze mightier than it, as Wood is changed by Fire. But all things haue their power and foꝛce from God alone. Therefoze by this tearme Vnchangeable, we deny him to be like the immoztall ſoules, which admit ſuch paſſions as we perceiue, oz alſo to the very bodileſſe Spirits, whom we call Angels, & the Philoſophers call Gods, who be not vnchangeable, ſauing ſo far forth as they reſt in the contemplation of him which cannot be changed. And it maketh nothing againſt the matter, that we ſee ſo diuers changes in all things. Foz it is one thing to change ones ſelfe, and another thing to wil ỹ there ſhould be a change; like as it is one thing to moue ones ſelfe, and another thing to will that there be a mouing. The Sunne maketh many diuers changes in the things which wee ſee here beneath, he maketh things greene, he maketh things yellow, he ripeneth things, he withereth things, and ſo forth: and yet notwithſtanding he changeth no whit of his heate; and had hee alſo a minde (as ſome ſuppoſe him to haue) hee might alſo will all theſe changes without changing himſelfe. So alſo may God, and much better. He without altering his one being, willeth and maketh all the changes in the beings of things: and yet it is as certaine, that he is vnchangeable, and that if he were not ſo, the whole changeable nature ſhould periſh; as it is certaine, that if he were not vnmoueable, all mouing ſhould vtterly ceaſe. Now out of theſe two negatiues we drawe a third, namely, that hee hath neither beginning noz end, which thing we call Euerlaſtingneſſe. Foz the beginning and ending of all things proceedeth of mouing and change: and therefoze he that is not ſubiect to them, can haue neither beginning noz end. Moreouer, Time is but a meaſure of mouing, wherein there is both a foꝛmeneſſe and an afterneſſe. He therefoze that is not ſubiect to mouing, is not

Out of the verſes of *Parmenides* reported by *Simplicius.*

Vnmoueable.

Euerlaſtingneſſe.

not ſubiect to time, and he which is not ſubiect to time, hath not his being by continuance of ſucceſſion from one mouing to another. And ſo Gods being is altogether at once, which is the peculiar property of euerlaſtingneſſe. And whereas we ſay, he hath bin, and he ſhal be: it is as much to ſay, as there was neuer any time when he was not, neither ſhall it euer come to paſſe that he ſhall ceaſe to be.

Mere Act.

Againe, being euerlaſting, he is not ſubiect to any paſſiue poſſibility, that is to ſay: looke whatſoeuer he is, he is the ſame actually and in very deed, and he cannot become any other thing than he is already. Foz, were there any paſſiue poſſibility in him as from himſelfe, then ſhould there bee a change in him, and if it were from elſewhere, then ſhould there be a mouing, from poſſibility, to deed oz to doing, and he is not ſubiect to any of them both. Furthermoze, Euerlaſtingneſſe cannot be in way of poſſibility, but onely actually and in very deed. Foz euery maner of deed, being ſimply taken, is afoze the poſſibility therof, as the cauſe is afoze his effect, foraſmuch as the poſſibility is (as ye would ſay) quickned by the deed. As foz example, from a graine to an Yearbe, and from a kernell to a Tree, by the power of the Sun. But as foz the euerlaſtingneſſe, it can abide neither afozeneſſe noz afterneſſe: and therefoze, looke whatſoeuer it can be, it is the ſame all at once, and actually oz in very deed, and euer. Whereupon it followeth alſo immediatly, that God is neither matter noz materiall: foz the property of matter is to be meerly paſſiue, that is to ſay, capable of diuers fozms oz ſhapes, and ſuch as may in poſſibility receiue, being it ſelfe altogether naked, and ſuch as the Philoſophers deſcribe it to be. By theſe concluſions wee come to another, which is, that God is not compounded. Foz whatſoeuer is ſo, we ſay, is of later time than the things wherof it is compounded. But God is euerlaſting, and vnto him nothing can be new. Againe, Compounding is a knitting of many things into one, & ere thoſe things could be vnited in very deed, it behoued them to be firſt in poſſibility, that is to ſay, to be capable therof. Now, as foz God, he is not a thing in poſſibility (which is an vnperfect being) but altogether actually and in very deed. Moreouer, we ſay that God made all things, and knoweth al things. Now, if he had in him the nature of any of them, the ſame would trouble the natures of the reſt, as wee ſee that the tongue of a ſick man that is ſick of an Agew, is vnable to iudge of the taſte of things, becauſe it is furred by a choleriek humoz, and the eye that to make & to know al things, God muſt needs be very ſingle, and

From poſſibility vnto deed.

God is ſingle and vncompounded.

Bodyleſſe.

not holding any thing at all in him. And the more ſingle he is, the more is he capable of the innumerable multitudes of things, like as the eye is then moſt capable of all colours, and the eare of all voices, when (in themſelues) the one is leſſe troubled with noyſes, and the other with colours. Whereupon it followeth, that ſeeing hee is not compounded, he cannot be a body: for all bodies are contained within bounds, and haue parts, which thing moſt people haue knowne well enough as Numenius the Pyrhagorian reporteth. And not being a body, he cannot be in place, neither wholly nor partly. By reaſon wherof, we may ſay in ſtrict ſpeech, that he is no where; that is to ſay, that no part of him is limited within any place to be pointed at. Notwithſtanding, like as he made all things by the power of his being, ſo doth the ſame power enter into all things, fill all things, and containe all things. And forasmuch as the ſame is vndiuidable, it is whole in all, and whole in euery part: and ſo likewiſe is he himſelfe; that is to ſay, he is euery where, whole throughout, in whom all things haue their beeing; howbeit, that hee is not determinately or definitely in any thing. We haue an image hereof in our owne minde, which yet notwithſtanding is but a vaine ſhadow. For in as much as al the things which we conceiue are leſſe then we; they be in the mind without intermingling of the minde with them, and the minde after a certaine faſhion toucheth them all, although it be not comprehended in any of them. Now, if all theſe things be in our minde, becauſe they bee entred into it by our ſences: how much more ſhall eſſences be in God, and he in all of them, ſeeing that all of them proceed from him, and that his onely conceiuing of them, hath brought them forth? Now then let vs not imagine any intermingling in this behalfe. The light of the Sun continueth entirely throughout; it cannot bee deuided into parts, nor ſhut vp in any place, nor ſeuered frō the welſpring therof: it ſheadeth it ſelfe into all places, it filleth all places, and it is preſent with al things which we ſée (I ſpeak after the maner of the Diuines) in eſſence, in power, and in preſence. The Ayre is lightned with the preſence therof, and darkned with the abſence, and we perceiue both twain of them; and yet for al that, it intermingleth not it ſelf with the Ayre, ne leaueth any whit of it ſelfe in it. And ſhall wee preſume to think leſſe of the light which is not to be conceiued but in vnderſtanding, conſidering that we ſée the like with our eyes? Or ſhal we think it ſtrange that God ſhould be both euery where & no where, conſidering how we ſee that frō a body there iſſueth ſuch a bodileſſe thing, as without touching any of them, lightneth them all? And if a light ſhine in

Numenius Place is to be conſidered, either as a thing created, or as a container of a thing placed. This way God is nowhere: the other-way he is euery where. So is hee both euery where, and no where. No where by limitation, or pointing downe of place, and euery where by filling all places.

in al things that ſhine: ſhal not the ſoueraigne eſſence be in all things that are? And ſeeing that things could not haue been made, vnleſſe Gods power (which is his very eſſence) had beene preſent with all things and with euery of them, ſhall any thing let him from being preſent with all things ſtill? Now, like as the light of the Sun hath diuers effects, through the diſpoſition of mens eyes, and of the cleerneſſe of things, & the diuerſities of the ſubſtances whereonit lighteth: ſo is Gods preſence diuers to diuers things, and yet it is without any diuerſity in it ſelfe. Hee is (ſaith S. Auſtin) in himſelfe, as the beginning and the end: to the World, as the Author & Gouernor thereof: to his Church, as a father in his houſe: to our Soules, as a Bridegroome in his Chamber: to the Righteous, as a helper & defender: to the Reprobates, as a trembling & terror. No man fleeth from him, but to him, from his rigor to his goodnes, & ſo forth. For what place ſhall he meete with (ſayth he) where he ſhall not finde thy preſence? The ſelfeſame preſence which was preſent at the making of all things, is preſent with euery thing to preſerue them all: and yet is it neuerthelleſſe abſent from all things and from euery thing, as it was at the time that there were no things at all: becauſe none of them containeth it or any part of it, but it containeth all things.

S. *Auſtin* vpon the Pſalmes.

r. Phiſic. &c. ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ. *en.*

But we muſt paſſe yet one ſtep further. God (ſay we) is preſent euery where. Then is hee infinite, and yet is he not contained in any place, for he is not a body. It followeth therfore that he is not infinite in body, but in Spirit, nor in quantity, but in goodnes and power, and better if better may be ſayd. Wherefore, let vs not imagine him to be a huge or maſſie lumpe, as the ignorant ſort doe. The maſſineſſe of things is that (as wee ſee) which maketh them vnable to do things. Contrariwiſe, the more ſpirituall a thing is, the more actiue it is. Yea then which is the action of all powers, muſt needs be a Spirit of infinite power, and yet notwithſtanding exempted from all quantity (which properly is but a weaknes or want of power) yea, and yet in ſuch ſort infinite, as all the infiniteneſſe thereof bee comprehended within bounds as to himſelfe, that is to ſay, ſo as he finith or bound himſelfe, becauſe he neither is nor hath any thing without himſelfe. Thus haue we by reaſon (and we may alſo haue it by the teſtimony of the Diuels in the forealleaged Oracles, and likewiſe by all the Philoſophers) that God is vnmoueable, vnchangeable, beginningleſſe, endleſſe, ſingle, bodileſſe, and infinite; all which are termes wherby we declare not, what he is, but only what he is not; nor to make vs to conceiue him, but to keepe vs from deceiuing our ſelues by our owne

Infinite. Infinite, not by ſtretching or ſtreining out, but by ſheding in.

owne vaine conceits. And of all theſe Negatiues, wee conceiue but one affirmatiue, as we did at the firſt: namely, that God is his owne being, as he himſelfe ſaith vnto Moſes; inſomuch, ỹ he is of himſelf, and all things are of him, and he cannot be ought els than he is: inſomuch alſo, that it is all one with him to be great & mighty, as merly & ſimply to be, which is as much to ſay, as that we muſt (as much as we can) conceiue him to bee good without quality, great without quantity, euerlaſting without time, euery where preſent without place, and ſo forth. And to conclude this Chapter, whereas we cannot comprehend God in his very being, we wil endeuor to come nere to the knowledge of him three waies by conſidering his effects; howbeit in ſuch ſort, as that we muſt thinke infinitely of him, aboue and beyond the things which ſeeme greateſt vnto vs in the perfections which we perceiue to be in all things: as, goodnes, truth, wiſedome, iuſtice, life, vnity, and ſuch like; and yet conceiuing him (if we can) to be but one onely perfection comprehending all perfections in one, and yet euery of them infinitely aboue the higheſt degree of perfection that we can imagine. And finally, as in reſpect of the imperfections which are in all things (as changeableneſſe, weaknes, materialneſſe, and ſuch like) by conceiuing them to be more infinitely far off from his nature, than we can ſet them off in our own vnderſtanding. But when we haue or ſhall haue taken neuer ſo much paine in that behalfe, yet the vttermoſt that we ſhall haue learned, is but onely not to be ignorant of our owne want of knowledge. And therefore, to the intent we loſe not our ſelues in ſeeking him, the ſureſt way for vs is to poſſeſſe him by louing, ſeruing, and worſhipping him, the which thing he of his loue towards vs grant vs to do. Amen.

CHAP. V.

That in the onely Eſſence or ſubſtance of God there are three Perſons, which we call the Trinitie.

LEt vs preſume yet a little further, not by raſh inquiſitiueneſſe of man, but by the mercifull guiding of God, who hath vouchſaked to vtter himſelfe vnto vs in his Scriptures, and let vs ſee whether reaſon will helpe vs to maintaine and preſue the things which ſhe of her ſelfe could neuer haue found out. For reaſon is after a ſort in like caſe towards God, as our eye is towards the Sun.

Sun. Neither the Sun nor any thing vnder the Sun, can well be ſeene without the Sun: likewiſe, neither God nor any thing belonging to God, can be ſeene without God, how good eye-ſight or mind-ſight ſoeuer we haue. But when the Sun ſhineth, then our eye ſeeth the things which it ſaw not afore, and iudgeth of them at his eaſe, notwithſtanding that the eye be but the ſame it was afore, and haue but the ſame power of ſight which it had afore, without receiuing any new increaſe therof. Likewiſe, when God vouchſafeth to vtter any doctrine vnto vs, the ſelfſame reaſon which otherwiſe could neuer haue perceiued it, doth then ſee it, and diſcourſe it, & allow of it, without receiuing any new power, ability, or change in it ſelfe. We haue concluded by reaſon, that God is a moſt ſingular eſſence: And we beleeue by diſcouery from heauen, that in the ſame moſt ſingle eſſence are three Perſons or In-beings. Reaſon of it ſelfe could neuer haue attained to the finding thereof: for we cannot diſtinguiſh things vnleſſe we conceiue them, and yet neuertheleſſe, reaſon will ſerue vs to proue it.

The begetting of the Sonne or of the ſecond perſon.

Firſt of all, we haue already acknowledged by Gods effects or doings, that there is in him a working nature or power (I muſt be faine to ſpeak in the ſpeech of man, ſeeing that the diuine ſpeech is vnknown to vs) which is the beginner and mouer of all things. And in euery of his workes, we ſee a ſingular cunning; and in the knitting of all, both great & ſmal together, we ſee a wonderful order, as I haue diſcourſed heretofore, & we ſee there is neither order, nor cunning where there is no vnderſtanding. It followeth therefore, that the ſoueraigne vnderſtanding is in God, from whom this great order and cunning proceed. Againe, albeit that of the things which are in this world, ſome vnderſtand, and ſome vnderſtand not; yet notwithſtanding, al of them are appointed to ſome certaine end and marke, as the Sun to make the day and to heat, the Moone to lighten the night, and all the Planets and Starres to marke out the Seaſons, and ſo forth of all other things. None of them ſtumbleth in his way, none ſkeppeth aſide from his end, and yet notwithſtanding, the moſt part of them could not preſcribe it to themſelues. For the beginner of all ends is vnderſtanding, and in the moſt of theſe there is no vnderſtanding. Needes muſt it be therefore, that God the Maker of them did alſo appoint them their ends, & conſequently that he had vnderſtanding for them. Now, the innumerable multitude of things, and the linking of their ends one to another as they now be, doe ſhewe that all of them haue their beginning frō one ſelfſame vnderſtanding. Then muſt it needs

be that this common author of their bæing, that is to ſay, the ſoueraigne being, muſt alſo be the ſoueraine vnderſtanding, ſæing he impparteth the effects of vnderſtanding to ſo many things which haue it not. Moreouer, the things which haue vnderſtanding, are ỹ diſpoſers and orderers of the other things, and not contrariwiſe. Man buildeth, planteth, reareth vp Cattel, and maketh his commodity of all of them together. Of men themſelues, the ſkilfulleſt make Lawes, and take vpon them to rule others. To be ſhort, the things which haue no vnderſtanding, doe naturally ſerue as inſtruments to thoſe which haue it, and the thing which hath the leſſe of it, ſerueth that which hath the more of it, and no part in nature dealeth to the contrary. And (as we haue proued by all the Philoſophers themſelues) it is God that created all things that haue vnderſtanding, as well thoſe which are not tyed to bodies, as thoſe which haue bodies, allotting to them their offices and ends, and ſo conſequently he is the very beginner and end of them himſelfe.

Then once againe, ſo far forth as we can deſcribe this vnderſtanding by the outward effects therof, it muſt needs be in God a moſt excellent ability (if it may be ſo named) by direction whereof he executeth moſt wiſely the actiue or in-working vertue, power and nature which we mark in all things in this world: howbeit, ſo as the chiefe working of them doth abide and reſt ſtill in him. I haue proued heretofore that God is infinite: which being ſo, nothing can be imagined in him, which is not infinite likewiſe: for otherwiſe he ſhould bee as well finite as infinite both together. And infinite he were not, if he could vnderſtand or know that to day which he vnderſtood not afore. Needs then muſt it be that he frō all eternity vnderſtandeth & knoweth the things which haue been, which are, and which ſhall be; the whole, and the parts, the generals, the ſperials, and the particulars; the originalls, the proceedings, and the after commings, the doings, ſayings, and thoughts of men; and ſo forth, ſo as this vnderſtanding in God is euerlaſtingly infinite.

Againe, vnderſtanding is an inworking which abideth and remaineth in the party which hath it, & paſſeth not into any outward thing. For, when we vnderſtand the courſe of the Sunne, he is nothing altered thereby. Alſo I haue told you already, that God is moſt ſingle, and that there is not any thing in him which is not his very eſſence or being. Whereupon it followeth, that God not only hath vnderſtanding, but alſo that his vnderſtanding is his very eſſence (that is to ſay, he is the very vnderſtanding it ſelf.) Now then, let vs ſee what it

it is that this vnderſtanding begetteth. I haue told you that God is a mere doing, and whatſoeuer he doth, he doth it from euerlaſting; and that on the other ſide being moſt ſingle, there is nothing in him which is not a doer. Whereupon it followeth, that this vnderſtanding is euerlaſtingly occupied in doing. And wherein then is it occupied? What is the thing that it worketh vpon? Surely it can mete with nothing but it ſelfe. God then conceiued and vnderſtood himſelfe; and it muſt nēds be that he vnderſtood himſelfe, ſæing that the chiefeſt wiſedome is to know ones ſelfe, whereof he could not faile. Therefore it was of neceſſity, that this vnderſtanding of God ſhould yeeld a reflection backe againe to it ſelfe, as a face doth in a Looking-glaſſe, and as our mind doth when it ſetteth it ſelfe to the conſidering of it owne proper nature: and that it ſhould conceiue and beget in it ſelfe a perfect image of it owne ſelfe, which image is the ſame thing, which in the Trinity we call the Sonne, the Word, or the Speech: namely, the liuely and perfect image and wiſedome of the Father. Now this vnderſtanding is actually euerlaſting, (that is to ſay, euerlaſting in deed) and euerlaſtingly actual (that is to ſay, euerlaſtingly doing;) and therefore we ſay, that ſecond Perſon which it begetteth, is alſo euerlaſting: and God in his vnderſtanding had not conceiued any thing that is leſſe than it ſelfe, for it is equal with him. And wheras we comprehend not our ſelues, that commeth of the darkneſſe, and lumpiſhneſſe of our fleſh, which maketh vs vnlike our ſelues. Wee ſay then that the Sonne is equall to the Father, and the Image to the patterne. But yet moreouer, the being of the Father and his vnderſtanding are both one; and his being or eſſence (being vnderſtood of it ſelfe) is none other thing than the being of the Sonne, who is bred and begotten by the Fathers vnderſtanding or minding of himſelfe. Whereupon wee conclude againe, that the eſſence of the Father is the eſſence of the Sonne, (that is to ſay, that loke whatſoeuer the Father is, the Sonne is the ſame;) ſo as they differ not but by way of relation: and conſequently that they be Coeternall, Coequall, and Coeſſentiall, (that is to ſay, of one ſelfeſame euerlaſting continuance, of one ſelfeſame ſtate, condition, and degree, and of one ſelfeſame ſubſtance or being;) which is the thing that wee bee taught in the Church. This ſecond perſon for diuers reſpects is betokened by diuers names. He is ordinarily called the Son, becauſe he is a Conception of the vnderſtanding which is in God, and a perfect reſemblance of him. And here we haue to conſider, that according to the diuerſities of natures; the manner of breedings or begettings dos

vary alſo. For euery life (if I may ſo ſpeak) begetteth or breedeth a Son, iſſue or ſpring in it ſelf afore it ſend it out; and the excellenter that the life is, the more inward to it, is that which proceedeth or is bred thereof. Hereupon ſome haue ſuppoſed the Fire to be a liuing Wight, becauſe it breedeth or begetteth another Fire like it ſelf. But howſoeuer the caſe ſtand, like as the Elements are naturally the baſeſt things in degree, ſo hath Fire the baſeſt maner of breeding or begetting, as which is not able to do it but out of it ſelfe, and by the applying of ſom outward matter to him. The Plant cõceiueth moiſture in it ſelfe, which ſpringeth forth into bud, frõ bud into flower, & from flower into fruit, which fruit being ripe falleth to the ground, & there bringeth forth another Plant. Now this ſecond Plant liued in ẏ firſt Plant ere it liued in it ſelfe, and all liuing Wights do liue, moue and feele in their Dammes bellies, afore they come forth, which is yet a more inward maner of breeding and begetting than the other. The ſenſitiue life conceiueth an imagination which howreth vp it ſelfe in the memory: but as it proceedeth from the Sences & ſenſible things, ſo doth it depart out of it ſelfe. The reaſonable life hath his conceptions and breedings yet more inward than al the reſt. For it hath his reflection back to it ſelfe, and we commonly terme the doings or actions therof, by the name of Cõceptions or Conceits, after which maner the learned ſort do call their boks their Children. But yet there is this more in this matter; namely, that in men this conceiuing proceedeth of imagination, which is an outward thing vnto it, becauſe nothing can enter into the vnderſtanding of man but by the Sences: and moreouer, for that the thing which is minded or vnderſtood, and the mind or vnderſtanding it ſelfe, are not both one in vs. But forſalmuch as only God is altogether life, and his life is altogether vnderſtanding, which is the higheſt degree of life, he hath his manner of conceiuing and begetting moſt inward of all. For hee conceiueth in himſelfe, and of himſelfe, and his conceiuing is a begetting, and this begetting abideth ſtill in himſelfe, becauſe his vnderſtanding can neuer any where meet with any thing but that which hee himſelfe is. And that is the ſecond Perſon whom we call the Son, & vnto whom that name doth ſo much the more properly agree, becauſe his reſembling of him is more perfect, and his begetting or Sonneſhip (if I may ſo terme it) is more inward, than all the breedings and begettings which we commonly ſee, or than any other that we can imagin. Alſo we cal him Logos, which ſome tranſlate word or Speech, & otherſome Reaſon. Either of thoſe ſignifications is ordinary to the word Logos,

Why the ſecond Perſon is called the Sonne, the Word, Speech, wiſedome, &c.

Logos, and agreeable to that which is intended to be ſignified thereby, ſo farre forth as diuine things can bee expreſſed by the ſpeech of man. When we call him Speech or Word, it is according to the doctrine of the Philoſophers, who haue marked that there is in man a double ſpeech, the one in the mind, which they call the inward ſpeech, which we conceiue afore we vtter it, & the other the ſounding image thereof, which is vttered by our mouth, and is termed the Speech of the voyce, either of both the which we perceiue at euery word that wee intend to pronounce: which thing thoſe folke might yet much better obſerue, which had neuer learned any language, becauſe they ſhould not ceaſe to haue thoſe inward cõceits in themſelues (though they could not ſpeake.) For the wit or vnderſtanding doth by and by conceiue an inward ſpeech vpon the thing which is offered vnto it, and begetteth or breedeth that conceit in our minde as it were, by a ſudden flaſh of lightening, & afterward our mind vttereth it more at leaſure by ẏ voyce, ẏ which voyce (notwithſtanding) is vnable to repreſent or expreſſe the inward Speech perfectly, inſomuch that we ſee many men haue a great number of goodly conceits in their mindes, which they be not able to expreſſe, and that in expreſſing them either by word or by writing, they miſlike their owne doings, becauſe they bee farre inferiour to the things which they had conceiued in their mindes. Now, the ſpeech of the minde is very Reaſon it ſelfe: and looke what the ſpeech of the minde reaſoneth, and debateth, that doth the voyce vtter, and either of them is the image of the next that went afore. For loke what proportion is betwéne the voyce, or ſpeech of the mouth, & the ſpeech of the minde, the like proportion is betwéne the ſpeech of the mind, and the ſpeech of the vnderſtanding. The voyce hath need of aire, and is diuided into parts, and requireth leaſure: the Minde indéd is vndiuideable, but yet hath it need of time to paſſe from one concluſion or reaſon to another. But as for the vnderſtanding, it accompliſheth his action or working in leſſe than a moment, and with one onely act doth ſo fill the Reaſon and Mind, that it is conſtrained to make many acts of one. And this diuerſity may euery man marke in himſelfe, notwithſtanding that all theſe acts ſéeme to be done together like Thunder and Lightning. Now then, the ſaid Conception or Conceit which Gods vnderſtanding hath conceiued euerlaſtingly in himſelfe, wee call Speech or Word, which is the perfect image of his vnderſtanding, & Gods vnderſtanding, is God himſelfe. Alſo we call it Reaſon, becauſe Reaſon is as ye would ſay, the daughter, ſpeech or word of our vnderſtanding

and

Looke in the 12 Chapter of Mercurius Triſmegiſtus Pimander.

Rapidè quo dam Conſcatenæ per-fundit ani-mam: that is to ſay, it threadeth through the mind, with a certaine ſwift glittering. *Vox profert, Animus ratiocinatur, Meſis Verbum inſit Ratio ipſi:* that is to ſay, the voice vttereth, the mind reaſoneth or debateth, and ſo Reaſon is the very word or ſpeech of the Mind,

and wee ſay that by the ſame ſpeech or word God made all things. For, as the Craftſman maketh his worke by the patterne which hee had erſt conceiued in his minde, which patterne is his inward word: ſo God made the world and all that is therein by that ſaid Speech of his, as by his inward ſkill or Art. For he being but one, conceiueth all things by conceiuing himſelfe. To be ſhort, we call him alſo the wiſedome of the Father, yea, and euen meerely and ſimply wiſedome. For wiſedome (euen in man) is nothing elſe but a hauiour proceeding of diuers conceits, or inward ſpeeches, whereby our minde is perfected in the knowledge of high things. Now God is the height of all heights, and by the conceiuing of himſelfe he knoweth himſelfe. But yet he muſt take this withall, that the thing which is a hauiour in vs, is eſſence in him, (that is to ſay, that he is the very things themſelues which wee obtaine to haue by meanes,) & that he himſelfe is the ground of his owne wiſedome, whereas the true wiſedome of men hath not any other ground then God. Now then, can there be any greater wiſedome in God then to know himſelfe? And is not that knowledge bred of vnderſtanding?

The proceeding of the holy Ghoſt, or third perſon.

Let vs come to the third perſon. We haue acknowledged heretofore, that in the moſt ſingle eſſence of God, there is a workefull power, ability, or nature, matched with an vnderſtanding, according whereunto the ſaid vertue or power executeth his actions. Now, in the ſelfe ſame eſſence ſhould there not alſo be a will beſides the ſayd vnderſtanding? If we conſider all the things in the world, we ſhall finde in them a kinde of will, tending to the ſeuerall welfare of euery of them: and the more vnderſtanding they haue, the more will alſo haue they, becauſe that the more their welfare is knowne vnto them, the more alſo it is deſired; and the more it is deſired, the more alſo is their will vniforme, and the leſſe parted. I omit the ſenceleſſe things, as Plants, Hearbes, and Stones, which haue certaine naturall inclinations, ſufficiently marked by them that haue ſearched out their natures. But yet it cannot be denied, but that the Beaſts haue a ſenſitiue appetite to follow the thing which their ſence taketh hold of to be good for them. Men alſo do run with all their harts after the thing which they ſuppoſe to be good for them, whether it be honor, riches, or pleaſure. And the more they know it, or thinke themſelues to know it, the more do they yeeld their will vnto it: and the more they hold and poſſeſſe thereof, the more is their heart ſetled thereupon. Only their vnderſtanding being bewitched by vanity, is deceitfully driuen to chooſe the euill for the good, by meanes whereof

whereof, the will which ought to be diſcreet and full of wit and vnderſtanding, is forced to degenerate into fleſhly and beaſtly luſt. The Angels likewiſe (as ſay the Philoſophers) haue alſo a will, & much more ſimply one and more liuely than others. And as by their vnderſtanding they know the very good it ſelfe, that is to wit, God; ſo haue they their will euer ſetled on him alone, without turning it aſide to any of the great multitude of obiects whereon we be wont to ſet our minds. Now ſhall not he himſelfe haue a will, who hath giuen will to liuing things, and imprinted it in them? And hee that hath imparted ſo many benefites to all things, to ſome mo, and to ſome leſſe; hath not he (I ſay) beſtowed thoſe benefites vpon them willingly? he, with the beholding of whom the bleſſedeſt Spirits do feede their willes, hath not hee the pleaſure of contenting himſelfe throughly with himſelfe, ſeeing he knoweth himſelfe perfectly? And what elſe is this pleaſure, than will fulfilled, yea euen filled to the full with the true Good, which ſufficeth to himſelfe which is the only peculiar thing whereon the very will reſteth indeed? Againe, the nature of will is to apply all abilities to their actions. To no purpoſe haue we hearing, if we liſt not to heare; to no purpoſe haue we ſight, if we liſt not to ſee; to no purpoſe haue we ability to do things, if we liſt not to doe them. And this appeareth daily in all our doings, which neuer come to effect, till they be quickned and put forth by the will. But we ſee that God hath applyed his power to the doing of many things, yea of things infinite and infinitely diuers. Therefore it followeth that he liſted to doe them, and that he liſted to make one thing to one end and another to another, and one of them for another, and finally all for himſelfe, and ſo conſequently that hee hath a will. And this will (ſo farre as we be able to diſcerne it by the effects) is a certaine abilitie whereby hee applyeth his workfull power, when, where, and how he thinketh good; guiding and performing it according to his owne minde, howbeit that the chiefe act thereof is performed within it ſelfe. Neuertheleſſe, this is ſpoken alwaies after the manner of men. For if we haue much to do to diſcerne the difference betweene the abilities of Will and Vnderſtanding in our own ſoules, by reaſon of the linking of them together: much more reaſon is it that in this eſſence of God which is moſt ſingle, and infinitely more one than ours, we ſhould deeme all theſe things to be but one in him, notwithſtanding that they differ in certain reſpects. God vnderſtandeth, but I haue tolde you, that to be and to vnderſtand is all one in him. Alſo, God willeth or liſteth, but to will and to vnderſtand are likewiſe

likewiſe both one in him: and ſo all three come into one eſſence (that is, be all one thing.) The reaſon hereof is very euident: namely, that willing or liking is no more an action that paſſeth into the outward thing, than vnderſtanding is, but abideth ſtill in the Willer. For by our liking of a thing, wee may perceiue ſome alteration of our ſelues; but the thing it ſelfe that is liked, or willed, feeleth nothing thereof. Now, I haue proued heretofore, that whatſoeuer is, or reſteth in God, is his very being: and moreouer, God willeth not any thing but as in reſpect that he vnderſtandeth it, for the knowne good is the ground of his will, and he vnderſtandeth not but by his eſſence, (that is to ſay, for that he is the very vnderſtanding it ſelfe.) It followeth then, that in God his will is his very eſſence as well as his vnderſtanding; inſomuch that he is both Power, Vnderſtanding and Will all in one.

But let vs ſee now what proceedeth of GOD by his will. I haue ſaid afore, that God is meere action, and moreouer, that he is moſt ſingle: therefore he is ſtill doing from all eternity, and ſo likewiſe is whatſoeuer elſe we conſider in his eſſence. Now there wee haue found an Vnderſtanding, by the Inworking whereof hee knoweth himſelfe; and alſo a will, whereby he cannot but will himſelfe, ſeeing he knoweth himſelfe. And this vnderſtanding, by a certaine Reflection of it ſelfe vpon it ſelfe, hath begotten vs a ſecond perſon, whom we call the Sonne and the Wiſedome of the Father. This will then which worketh euerlaſtingly, hauing likewiſe none other thing to worke vpon but it ſelfe, doth alſo by his working ſtrike back vpon himſelfe, and delight it ſelfe in the infinite goodneſſe which it knoweth there, and ſo ſheadeth out it ſelfe wholly to the louing therof, and by this action it bringeth vs forth a third Perſon (if I may ſo tearme it) whom we call Gods Spirit, and the Holy Ghoſt, that is to wit, the mutual kindneſſe and louingneſſe of the Father and of the Sonne, of the Father the vnderſtander, towards the Sonne conceiued and begotten by his vnderſtanding: and of the Sonne backe againe towards the Father, acknowledging all, that all that he hath, and all that he is to be, is of the Father. And this ſaid Will is the eſſence of God himſelfe, and conſequently eternally actiue, & actiuely eternall. For, in the euerlaſting, all things are euerlaſting: and in a meere act, all things are act, and of ſuch can nothing proceed which ſhall not be like them. Needes therfore muſt this Spirit, this Louingneſſe, or this good will, be alſo actiuely euerlaſting. Moreouer, the will extendeth as far as the vnderſtanding: for (as I haue ſaid afore)

afore) will & vnderſtanding are both one in God, and vnderſtanding both perfectly comprehend the thing that is vnderſtood, namely, the thing that is beloued, that is to wit, God himſelfe. The will then both by his action, (which is loue and liking) extend it ſelfe as farre as God himſelfe, and ſo the third perſon is equal to the ſecond & firſt. And yet doth this third Perſon proceed of the will, and the will is Gods eſſence, and of that eſſence can nothing proceed which is not his eſſence. Therefore he is not onely coeternall and coequall, but alſo coeſſentiall. Againe, we ſee that in vs, there goeth alwaies ſome act of the vnderſtanding afore the act of our will: for the cauſe why we will all things, is that we thinke we vnderſtand them; and wee deſire them for the good which we perceiue in them: and the loue of a thing cannot be in the louer thereof, but vpon his knowing of the thing loued; neither is will any thing elſe than appetite, bred of vnderſtanding. The third perſon therfore proceedeth from the firſt, not onely by the will, but alſo by the vnderſtanding, and by the knowledge which the vnderſtanding breedeth. And becauſe it proceedeth of two, and not by way of reſemblance, but by act of will; we terme him Proceeding, and not Begotten; which is the effect of all reaſon that is taught in the Church concerning that matter. Notwithſtanding, whereas wee ſay that the action of vnderſtanding goeth afore the action of will; our meaning is not to imagine any going afore or comming after in theſe perſons: but onely to lay forth this proceeding by the order of nature, which we could not haue done ſo well by the truth of the matter: as if we ſhould ſay, that the Sonne is conſidered afore the Holy Ghoſt, in like maner as the knowing of a thing goeth afore the deſire of it, becauſe that if they could haue had any beginning, the Sonne had been formoſt in that caſe.

As touching names, we call him moſt commonly the Holy Ghoſt. Holy, becauſe there is nothing in God which is not pure and holy, whereby he is diſcerned from all other Spirits, and Ghoſt or Spirit, becauſe we commonly call thoſe things Spirits, the beginning of whoſe moving is vnknowne vnto vs, as the winds, whoſe beginning is vnknowne vnto vs: the breathing of the Heart-ſtrings, which proceedeth from an inward beginning that is hidden from vs; and other things: and to be ſhort, becauſe that in all things which haue life, ỹ inward force proceedeth frō ſome kind of will by a certaine Spirit. Now, as for loue, it is nothing elſe but a certaine couert forwardneſſe or forthgoing of the will towards the thing that is loued, inſomuch that the very benefite which we receiue by his loue,

Why the holy Ghoſt is called Loue, &c.

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is ſecret and inſenſible through breathing which worketh in vs, and yet we cannot well perceiue from whence it commeth. Againe, we call him alſo Loue and Charity, becauſe all the actions of will are in loue and well-liking, as in their roꝛt, in like maner as all the doings of Gods vnderſtanding meete altogether in his wiſedome. Foꝛ whereas we deſire the thing which we want, oꝛ be glad of the thing which we haue, the cauſe thereof is, that we loue it, oꝛ like well of it. Likewiſe alſo, whereas we feare a thing, oꝛ loath it, that commeth of a hatred, which can haue no place in God, whoſe will nothing is able to withſtand. Therefoꝛe as we haue God of God (that is to wit) the Sonne of the Father, by the euerlaſting woꝛking of his Vnderſtanding, ſo alſo haue we God of God againe (that is to wit, the holy Ghoſt oꝛ loue of them both) by the ioynt-woꝛking of the vnderſtanding and will together. Whereupon we conclude three direct perſons oꝛ Inbeings in one eſſence, not to exclude the ſingleneſſe thereof, which it behoueth vs to hold ſtill, but to expreſſe the diuerſitie thereof after a ſoꝛt, which ought not to be vnknowne, namely the power of the Father, the wiſedome of the Sonne, and the goodneſſe of their loue, foꝛ whom, by whom, and in whom it hath pleaſed the ſaid only one vnſpeakable eſſence to create and to loue all things. But there is yet moꝛe, namely, that as there are three Inbeings oꝛ Perſons in this eſſence, ſo alſo there can be no mo but three: which thing may be made euident by the ſame reaſon. Whoſo denieth that there is vnderſtanding and wil in God, as we haue ſéne afoꝛe, muſt alſo deny that he hath made any thing, oꝛ that he doth any thing: foꝛ al the things which we ſee here below, are marked both with the one & with the other. Likewiſe, he that confeſſeth that all things are in him (according to their preaching vnto vs) muſt needs alſo confeſſe the Son & the holy Ghoſt to be the Wiſdome & the Loue, foꝛ that they be but actions of thoſe two, which cannot be without their action, neither can action be euerlaſtingly any where elſe than in God himſelfe. Now, as we cannot imagine God without his actions, ſo can we not conſider any other than thoſe to abide in him, noꝛ conſequently any other Vnderbeings that proceed from thence, whereupon we ſay alſo, that a fourth perſon cannot be admitted. As foꝛ example, we ſay he is the Creatoꝛ, and we ſay true, and in ſo ſaying we find alſo a relation to the Creatures. But this power of creating proceedeth from the power which is in the Father, & is not an action that abideth ſtill within him, but paſſeth directly into ỹ thing created, which in reſpect of the Creatoꝛ is as nothing in compariſon of infiniteneſſe, wherefoꝛe it

Of whom, by whom, and in whom.

Three perſons, and no mo.

cannot haue the preeminence. Alſo we ſay he is a Sauiour, & that is all one with the other. Foꝛ his being a Sauiour is by the Son, as we ſhall ſee hereafter: & moꝛeouer, it is an action that paſſeth into the thing ſaued, and abideth not in God alone. Therefoꝛe it maketh not to the ſtabliſhing of the forth perſon oꝛ inbeing, foꝛ then it ought to be Coeſſenciall. To be ſhoꝛt, all Gods operations do either proceed from within him, and abide ſtill in the woꝛker, and in their firſt ground, oꝛ elſe they proceed from without, and paſſe into the outward effect. That woꝛke oꝛ action which proceedeth from within, can be of none other eſſence than the thing from whence it commeth: foꝛ in God there is nothing but eſſence, & in ỹ eſſence can nothing abide but the eſſence it ſelfe. That which proceedeth from without, is alwayes of a ſundꝛy eſſence, as are the Creatures and woꝛkes of God, which come nothing neere the eſſence of the Creatoꝛ. The thing which doth the woꝛke without, is Gods power, howbeit accompanied with his vnderſtanding and will. And the thing that doth the woꝛke within, is his vnderſtanding and will and nothing elſe, as we may diſcerne in our ſelues, who are but a very ſlender image thereof. And like as in beholding a painted Table, oꝛ in reading the verſes of a Poet, we imagine not therefoꝛe that there was a peculiar and immediate ability of painting oꝛ verſifying in the mind oꝛ ſoueraigne part of their Soule, but we referre thoſe ſkils, and all other like, vnto Wit and Will: euen ſo and much moꝛe, according to reaſon, of all the woꝛkes and doings which we ſee done by Gods power, we cannot gather any other perſons oꝛ inbeings in him, than thoſe which proceed immediatly of his vnderſtanding and will, and alonely thoſe, and none other can be Coeſſenciall in him. Now, vnderſtanding & will in God are eſſence, & his eſſence is merely one & moſt ſingle. And moꝛeouer, the Woꝛd oꝛ Speech conceiueth not another ſpéch, but turneth wholly vnto the Father, neither doth the ſpirit conceiue another loue than the loue of thoſe two, but reſteth and repoſeth it ſelfe altogether in them. So then, there can but one onely Woꝛd oꝛ Speech proceed by the Vnderſtanding, noꝛ but onely one Loue proceed by the will, neither can any other proceed of that Woꝛd and that Loue. And ſo there remaine vnto vs the onely three perſons of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, by the which two the Father gouerneth and loueth all things, becauſe he himſelfe alone is all things.

Now, as we haue read in nature that there is but one God, as a thing which we find wꝛitten euen in the leaſt creatures; ſo may we

now

Traces of the Trinity in the World, & in Man,

now perceiue the euident footſteps of the three inbeings or perſons in one eſſence, as a marke of the worker that made them, in ſome more, and in ſome leſſe: according to their dignitie, which yet notwithſtanding are ſuch, as we could not well perceiue them, vntil the doctrine thereof was reuealed vs, no more than we can vnderſtand the letters of Ciphering, which we can neither read nor decipher, vnleſſe wee haue ſome knowledge of the matter which they import, from other folkes hands, or by coniecture, or by ſome other way. We find an vnity in all things, yea euen in thoſe which haue but onely being. For all things are inaſmuch as they be one: and whenſoeuer they ceaſe to be that one, they conſequently ceaſe alſo to be. Againe, we ſee in them a forme or ſhape, and that is the marke of that witfull action, (that is to ſay, of the euerlaſting word or conceit whereby God made them) which hath bred vs the eſſentiall forme or ſhape, and all other maner of formes and ſhapes. Alſo we ſee an inclination or diſpoſition, in ſome more apparant than in other ſome, in ſome to mount aloft, in ſome to ſinke downe towardes the Center, as in a Stone, and in all, to hold themſelues vnited in their matter and forme. This is the marke of the worke full Will, wherein God hath vouchſafed to ſtoope vnto them, and of the vnion which proceedeth thereof, wherein he loueth, vpholdeth, and preſerueth all things. But euen in ſome of the things of this baſeſt ſort, there appeareth not onely a trace, but alſo an image thereof. For, the Sunne breedeth or begetteth his owne beames, which the Poets doe call the very ſonne of the Sunne: and from them two proceedeth the light, which imparteth it ſelfe to all things here beneath, and yet is not the one of them afore the other, for neither is the Sunne afore his beames, nor the Sunne or beames afore the light, otherwiſe then in conſideration of order and relation, that is to wit, as in reſpect that the beames are begotten, and the light procéding, which is is an apparant image of the Coeternity. Likewiſe in waters, we haue the head of them in the earth, and the Spring boyling out of it, and the ſtreame which is made of them both, and sheadeth it ſelfe out far off from thence. It is but one ſelfeſame continuall and vnſeparable eſſence, which hath neither foreneſſe nor afterneſſe, ſaue onely in order, and not in time, that is to ſay, according to our conſidering of it, hauing reſpect of cauſes, and not according to truth. For the well-head is not a head, but in reſpect of the Spring, nor the Spring a Spring, but in reſpect of the well-head, nor ẏ Streame a Streame, but in reſpect of them both; and ſo all three be but one water, and cannot

The well-head, the Spring, and the ſtreame.

not almoſt be conſidered one without another, howbeit that the one indéed is not the other. It is an expreſſe marke of the originall relations & perſons eſſentiall in the onely one eſſence of God. The like is to be ſaid of fire, which ingendreth fire, and hath in it both heate and brightneſſe vnſeparable. Alſo, there are other examples to be found of ſuch as liſt to ſeeke them out. In hearbs & plants there is a rot, which yéeldeth a ſlip, ſtocke, or impe, and the ſame impe groweth afterward into a trée. It cannot well bee named or déemed to be a rote, but that therewith it hath alſo ingendred an impe, or ſtocke, for in that reſpect it is called a rot, and ſo is the one as ſone as the other. Alſo, there is a ſap which paſſeth from the one to the other, ioyning, knitting, and vniting them together by one common life, without the which life, neither the root ſhould be a root, nor the ſlip a ſlip, and ſo in effect they bee altogether, the one as ſoone as the other. Moreouer, among all liuing wights, euery of them ingendreth after his owne kinde and forme, of whom one is an ingendrer, and another is ingendred, among men, a father and a ſonne: and by and by through knowledge there proceédeth a naturall loue and affection from the one to the other, which knitteth and linketh them together. All theſe are traces, foot-ſteps, and Images, (howbeit with the groſſeſt) of that high myſtery, and alſo I haue told you afore, that no effect doth fully reſemble his cauſe, and much leſſe that cauſe which in all reſpects is moſt infinite.

Notwithſtanding, in mans Soule, (when I ſay Soule, I meane there the higheſt power thereof) the image and likeneſſe of the Trinitie is yet much more liuely, and more expreſſe. For firſt, there is in it a Nature and ability of working, and as it were a méere act, whereby it liueth, and giueth life, and is it ſelfe in continuall working. The Latines call it Mens (that is to ſay, Minde) and wee call it alſo, the reaſonable Soule, the which we may liken to the Father. This Minde bréedeth an vnderſtanding, or wit, by the which we vnderſtand and diſcerne, not onely other things, but alſo our ſelues: and againe, by vnderſtanding we come to will, through the which we loue other things, and moſt of them for our owne ſakes. Theſe three perſons are very diſtinct in vs: for we worke not alwayes by wit, nor alwayes by will, and yet our minde worketh continually. Moreouer, oftentimes we will the thing which we vnderſtand not, and we vnderſtand the thing which wee will not. And therefore to will and to vnderſtand, are not both one. Neuertheleſſe, this working, vnderſtanding and willing, are not three liues, or three ſoules in vs, but one life and ſoule, and that ſo ſtraitly vnited in one eſſence, that euen in the

ſelfe ſame inſtant that our mind doth a thing, it alſo vnderſtandeth the reaſon why it willeth it, or willeth it not; in which worke, both our in-working, power, and alſo our wit and our will, do concurre all together. Yet notwithſtanding, this Image is farre from the thing it ſelfe. For theſe three powers are ſeuerall in the eſſence of our ſoule, and how neerely ſoeuer they be vnited together, yet is not the one the other. But in God, who is a moſt ſingle one, Being is Vnderſtanding, and Vnderſtanding is Will, as I haue ſaid afore. And againe, by Gods vnderſtanding, and by his will, there proceed from him two In-beings, by reaſon whereof hee mindeth and loueth himſelfe, and in himſelfe all things. And for our ſoule, there can no ſuch thing proceed from it by the wit or the will; becauſe, although they bee both in, yet they take their grounds from without themſelues, inſomuch that it can neither vnderſtand nor loue, vnleſſe the abilities thereof bee ſet a working by ſome outward thing. And, which more is, the more it vnderſtandeth it ſelfe, the more doth it ſtraine it ſelfe to vnderſtand and know another than it ſelfe: and the more it loueth it ſelfe through true knowledge of it ſelfe, the more doth it ſeeke contentment by louing another; which other it cannot loue, but by hating it ſelfe, that is to wit, it ſraineth it ſelfe to behold and loue God, and to know and loue it ſelfe but onely for his ſake, to whom alonely it belongeth to vnderſtand all things in himſelfe, and to loue all things of himſelfe. But now is high time hencefoorth to ſee what antiquity will ſay to vs concerning this matter, the which it ſhall bee better for vs to reſerue to the next Chapter following. And as touching the queſtions that may bee made by the curious ſort vpon this point, wee anſwere them at one word: Let them tell vs how they themſelues are bred and begotten, and then aſke of the begetting of the Sonne of God: Let them tell vs the nature of the Spirit that beateth in their Pulſes, and then let them bee inquiſitiue at our hands of the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt. And if they muſt be fain to keep ſilence in ſo common matters, which they daily ſée and féele in themſelues, let them giue vs leaue to be ignorant in many things, which are ſuch (as ſaith Empedocles) as no eye hath ſeene, nor eare heard, nor wit of man conceiued.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

That the Philoſophy of old time conſenteth to this Doctrine of the Trinitie.

SVrely (as I haue ſaid afore) this Doctrine is not bred of mans braine, though it be painted there after ſome ſort; but was verily inſpired into our fore-fathers from aboue, who (as ſaith Plato) were better than we, and neerer alſo vnto God. And in good ſooth, we ſee an infallible argument thereof, in that the elder the world groweth, the more do mens doctrines grow to perfection and knowledge. But contrariwiſe, the further that this hath gone from the former ages, the more hath it been found darkened, and hath no where been ſo lightſome as at the well-ſpring thereof, vntill that by the birth of the true day ſunne indeed, it receiued greater light than euer it had afore. And therefore when Plato, yea, and Ariſtotle himſelfe ſpake of the God-head, of the Creation of the World, and of other like myſteries; they bee faine to alleage the ancient report, and the record of antiquity deſcended from hand to hand, as the ſureſt ſtaffe to ſtand by in matters that exceed the capacity of man. Which thing they expreſſe ordinarily by theſe ſpeeches: According to the old Saw, As the ancienteſt reports go, As our fore-fathers and Elders ſay, and ſuch like. Among theſe men of the ancienteſt ſort, the firſt that we méet with, is Zoroaſtres, whom Plutark reporteth to haue liued certaine thouſand yeeres afore the warres of Troy. Neuertheleſſe, by report of the beſt Authours, hee deſcended of Cham, and was vanquiſhed by Ninus, King of the Aſſyrians. Of him came the Magies, that is to ſay, the wiſe men of Chaldie, and from them ſprung vp the like in Perſia, who had in their cuſtody the Regiſters of the Kings of thoſe dayes, and wrote their déeds, and had the ordering of matters pertaining to Religion. And now marke what we finde in their ſayings gathered by men of old time, which are commonly called Logia, that is to ſay, Oracles. The father (ſaith Zoroaſtres) did perfect all things, and gaue them to a ſecond Minde, whom all mankinde taketh for the firſt. And Pletho Gemiſtus, a Platoniſt, ſaith, that by this ſecond Minde, he meaneth a ſecond God, which ſucceedeth

Plato in his Philebus.

Plato lib. 3 of his commonweale. and lib. 10. and 12. of Lawes.

Ariſto. lib. 1. of Heauen, & lib. 12. of his Metaphiſickes.

Plotin often, &c.

πατὴρ ἐτέλεσε πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ δεύτερον.

Pletho Gemiſtus.

ceedeth the Father, and hath his begetting of the Father, and that men haue taken him for the firſt, becauſe God created the world by him, howbeit that the Father created the mindly ſhapes, and gaue the gouernment of them to his ſecond Minde. Yee ſee then, here is a ſecond perſon begotten of the Father. Proclus rehearſeth the ſame saying:

ὁ μὲν πατὴρ εἰκὸς ἀφεὶς ὑπὸ νοῦ ἄνδρος.

This Minde hauing alone taken the flower of Vnderſtanding from the power of the Father, poſſeſſeth the vnderſtanding and power to deale forth his fathers vnderſtanding or minde to all Originals and Beginings of things. Then hath he his being and his vnderſtanding from the father, and al other things haue them from him. But the things which are found in his Commentarie vpon the Parmenides of Plato, are wonderfull.

Proclus. lib. 2. & 3. vpon Platos Parmenides.

For the better yeelding of the ſence whereof, I will tranſlate it into Proſe, notwithſtanding that it bee written in verſe in the Greeke. The Minde of the Father (ſaith hee) being ſettled by determinate purpoſe, did ſhed forth ſhapes of all ſorts, which iſſued all from one ſelfe-ſame fountaine, becauſe the deuice and end were both of the Father. But yet were they diuided by a Fire of vnderſtanding, and (as it were by deſtinie) diſtributed into other vnderſtandings. For afore the making of this ſundry-ſhaped world, God had conceiued an incorruptible patterne thereof, as a world ſubiect onely to minde and vnderſtanding. In the mould whereof this preſent world being ſtamped, became full of all thoſe ſhapes, of the which there is but onely one gracious fountaine.

And againe in another place he ſaith as followeth:

That is to ſay, The loue of God being a Fiery bond, iſſued firſt from his vnderſtanding, and clothed it ſelfe with fire, to temper the conueyances of the water-ſprings, by ſpreading his heate vpon the ſame. Theſe are their accuſtomed obſcurities, wherein (notwithſtanding) it is clearely enough vttered, that there is a Father, a Sonne, and a Loue that linketh them together: and moreouer, that the ſaid begotten Minde or vnderſtanding is hee by whom God framed the world, and that from him proceedeth the diuine Loue, as I haue ſaid heretofore. In another place they ſay, that the ſaid Fatherly Minde hath ſowed & planted in our ſoules a certaine reſemblance of the ſaid begotten vnderſtanding, and that our wils bee not acceptable vnto him, vntill we awake out of forgetfulneſſe, and bethinke our ſelues againe of the * pure fatherly marke which is in vs. And againe, that the ſame vnderſtanding being of power to beget or breed of it ſelfe, did (by conſidering) caſt a fiery bond of Loue vpon all things, wherby they be continued

ὁ πατρικὸς νοῦς.

σπερμὴν ἐνδήματος ἀγνοῦ αὐτοπάλλος.

tinued for euer. But it is enough for vs, that in the ſayings afore alleaged, we haue a briefe ſumme of the diuinity of the Magies, who held three beginnings, whom (as we read in other places) they called Oromaces, Mitris & Ariminis, (that is to ſay) God, Mind, and Soule. And ſurely we ſhould wonder at them much more, if wee had their whole bookes, as we haue but peeces of them remaining. Now the Magies were firſt in Chaldie, & we read in Moſes how highly Balaam was eſteemed, in that he was thought able to bleſſe Nations and Armies. And theſe Chaldies are the ſame of whom the Oracle of Apollo anſwered, that onely they and the Hebrewes had wiſedome parted betwixt them.

Μόνοι χαλδαῖοι σοφίαν λαχὸν ἠδ' ἀρ ἑβραῖοι,
All wiſedome certeſſe parted is betweene
The Chaldies and the Hebrewes, as is ſeene.

Mercurius Triſmegiſtus (as wee haue ſeene in the third chapter) acknowledged but only one God, who cannot well be named but by two names, to wit, Good, and Father. And becauſe the ſame God is indued with vnderſtanding, ſomtimes he calleth him Νοῦν, howbeit that moſt commonly he makes a difference betweene the Father and the Vnderſtanding, which he calleth Minde likewiſe. Which thing appeareth in this saying of his: I am Pœmander, the Feeder of Men, and the vnderſtanding of the Beeër which is of himſelf. But behold here records as cleare as can be. God (ſaith he) who is alſo Minde, and Life & Light, and Male-female, begat or bred *Logon*, the Speech or word, which is another Minde, and the workmaſter of all things, and with that ſpeech, another which is the fiery God, and the ſpirit of the God-head. Lo here a Minde begotten of a Minde, Vnderſtanding of Vnderſtanding, and Light of Light, and beſides that, moreouer a Spirit. And againe, This Speech that proceedeth from God, being altogether perfect and fruitfull, and work-miſtreſſe of all things, lighteth vpon the water, and maketh it fruitfull. It is the ſame thing that is ſpoken of in Moſes, where God ſaith, And the waters immediatly brought forth. To be ſhort, vnto this holy ſpeech (as he termeth it) hee attributeth the begetting, ingendring, & ſpreading forth of all things from off ſpring to off ſpring, as it is to be ſeene. But here is yet more: I thy God (ſaith God) am Light and Minde, of more antiquity than the nature of moiſture that is iſſued from the ſhadow. And this lightſome ſpeech which proceedeth from the Minde, is the Sonne of God. That which heareth and ſeeth in thee, is the word of the Lord, and the Mind is God the Father, theſe differ not one from another; and as for their vnion, it is the vnion of life, &c. And againe: This Speech being the Workeman of God, the

Mercury The Egyptian.

τὰ αὐθεντίας. Of the ſelf-being in his Pœmander, cap. 2.

ὁ θεὸς ἀῤῥενοθήλυς, ὢν ζωὴ καὶ φῶς ἀπεκύησε λόγον ἕτερον ἐργάτην θεοῦ, &c

Νοῦς πατὴρ θεὸς λόγος. Mercury alledged by Cyrillus lib. 1. againſt Julian and in his Pœmander cap. 1.

Ἕνα τῶν ὅλων παντελείων κύριος καὶ μόνος ἦν. Mercur. Ἀγαθωτάτου πνεύματος. Austin in the prayer of fine Heresies

Lord of the whole world, hath chiefe power next him, and is vncreated, infinite, proceeding from him, the commander of all things which he made, the perfect and naturall first borne Sonne of the most perfect. To be short, hee calleth him the mindly speech, everlasting, changeable, vncorruptible, vnincreasing, vndecreasing, alonely like him, and first beknowne after God: and moreouer his onely Sonne, his welbeloued Sonne, the Sonne of the most Holy, whose name cannot be named by mouth of man: and is not this as much as to call him Coessentiall, Coeternall, and the Creator of all things? And what more can we say thereof?

Mercury in his Iscculapius. cap. 3. & 7.

Of the third person he speaketh more darkly. All kinde of things in this world (saith he) are quickned by a Spirit. One Spirit filleth all things, the World noursheth the Bodies, and the Spirit the Soules, and this Spirit, as a toole or instrument, is subiect to the will of God. But here is yet somewhat more. All things (saith he) haue need of this Spirit, it beareth them vp, it nourisheth them, it quickneth them, according to euery of their capacities: it proceedeth from a holy fountaine, and is the maintainer of all liuing things, and of all Spirits. Here we see the reason why we call him the holy Ghost, namely, because he proceedeth from the fountaine which is the very holinesse it selfe. And lest we should thinke him to be a Creature, There was (saith he) an infinite shadow in the Deepe, whereon was the water, and a fine vnderstanding Spirit was in that confused masse, through the power of God. From thence there flourished a certaine holy brightnesse, which out of the sand, and the moyst nature, brought forth the Elements, and all things else. Also, the gods themselues which dwell in the starres, tooke their place by the direction and appoyntment of this Spirit of God. Thus then hee was present at the creation of things: and it is the same spirit whereof it is said in the Bible, that the Spirit of the Lord hoouered vpon the outside of the deepe. But in some places hee matcheth all three persons together. O life (saith hee) saue that life which is in mee. O light, and GOD the Spirit, enlighten mee wholly. O Worker, which bearest thy Spirit about, let thy word gouerne me. Lord, thou art the onely one God. Again, There was (saith hee) a light of Vnderstanding, afore the Light of Vnderstanding, and there was euer a minde of the lightfull Minde, and besides those, there was not any thing else than the vnion of them by one Spirit, vpholding all things, without which there is neither GOD nor Angell, nor other substance: For he is Lord, Father, and God of all, and in him, and vnder him are all things. And hauing said so (saith Suydas) he

Mercury in his holy Sermon in his Pœmander, cap. 3. Gen. 1.

Mercury in his Pœmander, chap. 13. Συνεκτικὸν πάντων. Νῶς θεὸς φωτεινός.

Cyrillus against Tulgentius Suidas in his Mercury. Μονοῤῥυθμὸς λόγος.

he addeth his prayer, I adiure thee, O Heauen, the wise worke of the great God, I adiure thee, O voyce, which God vttered first when he founded the world, and I adiure thee by the onely begotten speech, & by the Father who containeth all things, &c. There is no man but he would wonder to see in this author the very words of S. Iohn: and yet notwithstanding his bookes were translated by the Platonists long time afore the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ. And it is no marualle though we finde sayings of his in diuers places, which are not written in his Pœmander, considering that he wrote six and thirtie thousand, fiue hundred, and fiue and twenty Volumes, that is to say, Roles of Paper, as Iamblichus reporteth. And it is said that this Trismegistus otherwise, called Theut, is the same that taught the Ægyptians to reade, and which inuented them Geometrie and Astronomie, which diuided Ægypt into parts, which left his forewarning against ouerflowings written in two Pillers, (which Proclus reporteth to haue béene standing till in his time:) And to be short, which had béene reputed and honoured as a God among them. And it may bee, that the triple outcry which the Ægyptians made in calling vpon the first Beginner, whom they termed the darknesse beyond all knowledge, like to the Ensoph of the Hebrewes, and the Night of Orpheus, was still remaining vnto them of his Diuinity. Thus haue you séene Zoroastres and Mercury haue answered vnto vs, the one for the Persians and Caldeans, and the other for the Ægyptians. For in matters of Wisdome the wise ought to be beléeued for the whole Nation.

Iamblichus in his 30. Chap of Mysteries.

Plato in his Phedon and Philibus.

Eusebius of Demonstration.

Iamblicus Chap. 1.

Proclus vpon Plato.

Damascus the Platonist

Now let vs come to the Greekes Orpheus, which is the ancientest of them all, as soone as he beginneth to speake of these mysteries, doeth first and formost shut all Heathenish folke out of the doores, and then saith thus: Let thine eye be vpon the word of God, and start not away from it, for that is it that made the world, and is immortall, and (according to the old saying) is perfect of it selfe, and the perfecter of all things, and it cannot be seene but with the minde. And afterward, I adiure thee, O Heauen (saith he) the wisest worke of the great God, I adiure thee, thou voyce of the father which he spake first, and so forth. For this (as appeareth afore) was a prayer which he had learned of Mercury: from whome also proceeded the common mysterie of the Poets, That Pallas was bread of Iupiters braine. The same man saith, that the first Mother of things was wisedome, and afterward delightfull loue. And in his Argonaut he calleth this loue, most ancient, most perfect in it selfe, and the bringer forth and disposer of all things.

The anncient Greekes. Orpheus.

Φεύγετε βέβηλοι πάντες ἐκτὸς θύρης. Ὑμεῖς δὲ κλύετε μύθων ἐμῶν ἀκοαί. And againe ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον θεῖον βλέπε, τὸν λόγον ὃν ἔφην ἐγώ πρώτως, &c. Clemens. li. 5. Strom. Orphikè. Μῆτιν πρώτην θεῶν ἔργων πολυτέχνων.

Πρεσβύτατον τὸν ἀγαπητὸν πάντων ἡγήσατο,
Ὅσπερ ἔφυσεν ἅπαντα δι' ἐκείνου τε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

Wherevpon Pherecides alſo ſaith, that God intending to make the worlde, changed himſelfe into loue. And Iamblichus ſaith, that Pythagoras had the Philoſophie of Orpheus alwaies before his eyes: and therefore it is not for vs to wonder, though he attributeth the creation of all things to wiſedome, and (as Proclus reporteth) commended three Gods together in one, as Plato doth. Howſoeuer the caſe ſtand, Ariſtotle ſaith, that they fathered all their perfection vpon hee. And Parmenides did ſet downe Loue as a firſt beginner, inſomuch that in diſputing in Plato, he leaueth vs there an euident marke of the three Inbeeings or Perſons as Plotin noteth, but wee ſhall ſee it laid foorth more plainely heereafter by Numenius the Pythagoriſt. Zeno the father of the Stoiks, acknowledged the word to be God, and alſo the Spirit of Iupiter. And Alcinous reporteth, that Socrates and Plato taught that God is a Minde, and that in the ſame there is a certaine Idea, which Idea as in reſpect of God, is the knowledge which God hath of himſelfe: and in reſpect of the world, is the Patterne or Mould thereof; & in reſpect of it ſelfe, is very eſſence. This in few words containeth much matter, that is to wit, the one eſſence which God begetteth by the conſidering or knowing of himſelfe, according to the patterne whereof he hath builded the world. But yet Plato himſelfe ſpeaketh more plainely in his Epinomiſe: Euery Starre (ſaith he) keepeth his courſe according to the order which (*ho logos*) the Word hath ſet, which word he calleth Moſt diuine. In his Commonweale he calleth him the begotten Sonne of the Good, and moſt like vnto him in all things, The Good (ſaith he) being as the Sunne that ſhineth in the skie, and the begotten Sonne being as the power of the Sunne whereby we ſee (that is to ſay, as the light.) Alſo in his Epiſtle to Hermius, Eraſtus, and Coriſcus, he chargeth them with an othe to reade it often, and at the leaſt, two of them together, ſaying: Call vpon God the Prince of all things, that are and ſhall be, and the Lord the Father of that Prince and of that Cauſe: of whom if we ſeeke the knowledge aright, we haue as much skill as can be giuen to bleſſed men. Then is there a Lord and Cauſe of all things, and moreouer a Father of the ſame Lord. But vnto King Dennis who had aſked of him the nature of God, he ſetteth downe all the three perſons: The nature of the firſt (ſaith he) is to be ſpoken of Riddlewiſe, to the intent that if any miſchaunce befall the Letter by Sea or by Land, the reading thereof may be as good as no reading at

at all. Thus then ſtandeth the caſe. All things are at commandement of the King of the whole world, and all things are for his ſake, and he is the cauſe of the beauty that is in them: and about the ſecond are the ſecond things: and about the third are the third, and ſo forth. Σευτερεῖν περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τριτεῖν περὶ τὰ τρίτα.

Now theſe (as he himſelf ſayth) are Riddles to Dennis the Tyrant vnto whom he wrote, and my expounding of them of the three Inbeings or Perſons in the Godhead, is by the conſent of al the Platoniſts, who haue made long Commentaries vpon thoſe words, agreeing all in this point, that by theſe three Kings he meaneth the Good, the Vnderſtanding, and the Soule of the World. And Origen againſt Celſus alleageth certaine other places of Plato to the ſame purpoſe; the which I leaue, for auoyding of tediouſneſſe. But this doctrine, which being reuealed frō aboue, came from hand to hand vnto Ariſtotle, who liued about 300. yeeres afore the comming of Chriſt (ſeemeth to haue decayed in him) who intending to ouerthrow all the Philoſophers that went afore him, corrupted their doctrine diuers wayes. And therewithall hee gaue himſelfe more to the ſeeking and ſearching of Naturall things, than to the minding of the Author of them. Yet notwithſtanding, he fathereth the cauſe of all things vpon a certaine Vnderſtanding, which he calleth Noun, that is to ſay Minde, acknowledging the ſame to be infinite in God: and alſo vpon a Free-will whereby hee diſpoſeth all things; whereupon in the laſt Chapter I concluded a ſecond and a third Perſon. Inſomuch, that in a certaine place he ſaith plainely, that God is to bee honoured according to the number of three, and that the ſame is after a ſort the Lawe of Nature.

Origen in his 6. booke againſt Celſus.

In his firſt booke of Philoſophy. Alſo in his booke of the World. In his firſt booke of Heauen.

Now, foraſmuch as this doctrine is not bred of mans braine: if it be demanded whence all the Philoſophers toke it; we ſhall find that the Greeks had it from out of Ægypt. Orpheus witneſſeth in his Argonauts, that to ſeek the Myſteries (that is to ſay, the Religion) of the Ægyptians, he went as far as Memphis, viſiting al the cities vpon the Riuer Nyle.

Throughout the land of Ægypt I haue gone,
To Memphis, and the Cities euery chone,
That worſhip Apis, or be ſeated by
The Riuer Nyle, whoſe ſtreame doth ſwell ſo hie.

Orpheus in his Argonauts.

Alſo Pythagoras viſited the Ægyptians, Arabians, and Chaldeans, yea, and went into Iewry alſo, and dwelt a long time at Mount Carmel (as Strabo ſaith:) inſomuch that the Prieſts of that Countrey ſhewed

Strabo

Strabo ſtill the iourneis and walks of him there. Now, in Ægypt he was the Diſciple of one Sonchedie the chiefe Prophet of the Ægyptians, and of one Nazarie an Aſſyrian (as Alexander repoꝛteth in his booke of Pythagoras diſcourſes) whom ſome (miſcounting the time) thought to bee Ezechiel. And Hermippus a Pythagoriſt writeth that Pythagoras learned many things out of ẏ law of Moſes. Alſo the ſaid Ægyptian Prieſt vpbraided Solon, that the Greeks were Babes, and knew nothing of Antiquity. And Solon (as ſaith Proclus) was Diſciple in Says a City of Ægypt, to one Patanit, oꝛ (as Plutark ſaith) to one Sonchis; in Heliople, to one Occlapie; and in Sebenitie, to one Etimon. Plato was the diſciple of one Sechnuphis of Heliople in Ægypt: and Eudoxus the Guidian was the diſciple of one Conuphis: al which Maſter-teachers iſſued out of the Schoole of the great Triſmegiſtus aꝛoze named.

To be ſhoꝛt, Plato confeſſeth in many places, that knowledge came to the Greekes by theſe whom they commonly called the barbarous people. As touching Zoroaſtres and Triſmegiſtus, the one was an Hebrew, and the other an Ægyptian. And at the ſame time the Hebrewes were conuerſant with the Ægyptians, as is to bee ſeene euen in the Heathen Authoꝛs. Wherby it appeareth that the oꝛiginal fountaine of this doctrine was to be found among them, which is the thing that we haue to pꝛoue as now. I meane not to gather hither a great ſoꝛt of texts of the Bible, wherein mention is made as well of the ſecond perſon as of the third, of which ſoꝛt are theſe: Thou art my Son, this day haue I begotten thee. The Lord (ſaith Wiſedome) poſſeſſed me in the beginning of his waies: afore the depths was I cõceiued, &c. Alſo concerning the holy Ghoſt: The ſpirit of the Lord walked vpon the waters. The ſpirit of Wiſedome is gentle: And it is an oꝛdinary ſpeech among the Pꝛophets to ſay, The ſpirit of the Lord was vpon me. And in the next ſaying are two of them together, oꝛ rather all three. The Heauens vvere ſpred out by the word of the LORD, and all the power of them by the ſpirit of his mouth. Foꝛ they be ſo alleaged and expounded in infinite bokes, howbeit that the Iewes euen at this day labour as much as they can, to turne them to another ſence. But let vs ſee what their own Doctoꝛs haue left vs in expꝛeſſe woꝛds (foꝛ the moſt part) culled by themſelues out of written bokes, afoꝛe that the comming of our Loꝛd Ieſus Chꝛiſt had made the doctrine ſuſpected.

In their Zohar which is one of their boks of greateſt authoꝛity, Rabbi Simeon, the ſon of Iohai, citeth Rabbi Ibba expounding this Text of

of Deuteronomy, Harken, O Iſrael, The Euerlaſting our God is one God. The Hebrew ſtandeth thus, *Iehouah Echad, Iehouah Elohenu.* By the firſt *Iehouah*, which is the peculiar name of God, not to be communicated to any other, Rabbi Ibba (ſaith hee) meaneth the Father, the Prince of all. By *Elohenu*, that is to ſay, our God, he meaneth, The ſonne, the fountaine of all knowledge. And by the ſecond *Iehouah* hee meaneth the holy Ghoſt proceeding from them both, who is the meaſurer of the voyce. And he calleth them One, becauſe hee is vndiuidable: and this ſecret (ſaith he) ſhall not be reuealed afore the comming of the Meſſias. The ſame Rabbi Simeon expounding theſe woꝛds of Eſay, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts, ſaith: Holy is the Father, Holy is the Sonne, and Holy is the Holy Ghoſt. Inſomuch that this Authoꝛ, who is ſo myſticall among them, doth in other places call them the Three Mirrours, Lights, and ſoueraigne Fathers, which haue neither beginning nor end, and are the name and ſubſtance to the Roote of all rootes. And Rabbi Ionathas in many Copies of his Chaldey Paraphꝛaſe, ſaith the ſame. And therefoꝛe no marueil though the Thalmudiſts of olde time commanded men to ſay that Verſe twiſe a day, and that ſome obſerue it ſtill at this day. Upon theſe woꝛds of the 50. Pſalme, *Elelohim Iehouah dibber*, that is to ſay, The Lord of Lords, the Euerlaſting hath ſpoken: The oꝛdinary Commentary ſaith alſo, that by the ſayd repetition, the Pꝛophet meaneth the three *Middoth* Properties wherby God created the woꝛld. Accoꝛding whereunto Rabbi Moſes Hadarſan ſaith, that hee created by his woꝛd. And Rabbi Simeon ſayth, hee created by the bꝛeath of his mouth. And this ſaying of the Pꝛeacher, that a threefolde coꝛd is not ſo ſoone bꝛoken, is expounded by the ſame gloſe (I examine not whether fitly oꝛ no) that the myſtery of the Trinity in the one God is not eaſie to be expꝛeſſed. Now theſe three Pꝛoperties, (which the Hebrewes call *Panim*, the Greekes *Proſopa*, and we and the Latines call Perſons) are betokened by diuers names among the men of old time, but yet they iumpe all in one, accoꝛding as they vnderſtood them, ſome moꝛe clearely than other ſome.

Some name them the Beginning, the Wiſedome, and the Feare or Loue of God: and they ſay, that this Wiſedome is *Meen ſoph*, as the Cabaliſts terme it, that is to ſay, of the infinite & moſt inward vnderſtanding of God, who beholdeth himſelfe in himſelfe, foꝛ ſo do they expound it. Which is the ſelfeſame thing that I ſpake of in the foꝛmer Chapter, namely, that God his Son oꝛ Wiſedome by his minding of himſelf. Otherſome cal him Spirit, Word, & Voice: as Rabbi Azariel doth

Rabbi Simeon ben Iohai in Zohar vpon the 6. of Deut.

R. Simeon ben Iohai expounding the 6. of Eſay.

Pſalm. 50. and the Midraſch vpon the ſame.

R. Moſes Hadarſan vpon the 42. of Gen. Midraſch. Coheleth chap. 4.

Rabbi Iſhac ben Schola vpon the laſt verſes of 111. and 112. Pſal.

doth in theſe words following. The Spirit bringeth forth the Word and the voyce, but not by opening the lips, or by ſpeech of the tongue, or by breathing after the maner of man; and theſe three be one Spirit, to wit, one God, as wee read (ſayth hee) in the booke of the creating of man in theſe termes. One Spirit rightly liuing, bleſſed be he and his name who liueth for euer and euer, Spirit, Word and Voyce, that is to ſay; One holy Ghoſt, and two Spirits of that Spirit. Now this booke of the Creation which he alleageth, is one Rabbi Abrahams a very ancient Cabaliſt: Neuertheleſſe it is of ſo great authority among them, that they father it euen vpon the Patriarke Abraham himſelfe. And that which he ſaith, agreeth wholly to that which wee ſay: for the mind conceiueth the inward ſpeech, and of the mind and of breath proceedeth the voice. Theſe three (ſaith Rabbi Hamai) beeing one, haue ſuch a proportionable reſpect one towards another, as that the one, the Vniter, and the thing vnited, are but one point, to wit, the Lord of the whole world. Rabbi Iſaac vpon the book of the Creation maketh three numbrings (which hee termeth the Lofty) in the Enſoph, that is to ſay, in the infinit, that is to wit, Garlond, Wiſedome and Vnderſtanding: and to betoken them, Rabbi Aſſee ſayth, that the cuſtome was to marke them in all ages after this manner with three Iods, IEHOVAH, which is as much to ſay, as the Beeer, or He that is.

To be ſhort, what diuerſity ſoeuer there is in the names, they all agree in the three Inbeings or Perſons. And it is no maruell though they could not ſo well expreſſe them as we can now. Rabbi Ioſeph the Caſtilian, hauing learned it out of the ancienteſt Writers, ſaith thus: The light of the Soule of the Meſſias, is the liuing God: and the liuing God is the Fountaine of the liuing waters: and the Soule of the Meſſias is the Riuer or ſtreame of life. And in another place, None but the Meſſias (ſayth he) knoweth God fully, becauſe hee is the light of God, and the light of the Gentiles, and therfore hee knoweth God, and God is knowne by him. Now when as they ſay, that he knoweth God fully, they grant him to be God: for who can comprehend God, but God himſelfe? And it is the ſelfe ſame thing which I ſpake of, when I ſayd light of light, and when in comparing the Sonne to the Father, I likened him as a ſtreame to the fountaine, and the Sunne-beames to the Sunne. Alſo we ſhall ſee in place conuenient, that by the Soule of the Meſſias, they meant The Word: and it is a wonderfull thing that all the names of God in Hebrew (ſauing only the name of his Eſſence or ſingle being) haue the plurall termination,

on, notwithſtanding that they be ioyned with a Verbe of the ſingular number (whereof the ancient Iewes do yeeld the ſame reaſon that we doe:) and that a great ſort of the Texts of the old Teſtament, which we alleage for the proofe of the Trinity, are expounded by them in the ſelfeſame ſence, howbeit that the Talmudiſts, ſince the comming of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, haue taken great paine to wreſt them to another meaning.

Rabbi Iudas Nagid, whom they commonly called the Saint and Prophet, ſpeaketh moſt plainly of all. Whereupon it is to be vnderſtood, that men were forbidden to vtter the vncommunicable name of God (that is to wit IEHOVA) ſaue only in the dayes of attonement making: and in ſtead thereof they were commaunded to vſe the name of twelue letters, for the other aforementioned hath but foure. And beeing aſked what the name of twelue letters was, hee anſwered, that it was Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghoſt. Alſo, being demanded what the name of two and forty letters was, hee anſwered, The Father is God, the Sonne is God, and the holy Ghoſt is God, Three in One, & One in Three.* Now then, it was a doctrine receiued from hand to hand in the Schooles of the Iewes, as we ſee by the long continuance thereof in the ſucceſſion of their Cabale. And therefore the contention of the Iewes and of the Rabbynes was not (to ſpeake properly) in withſtanding the doctrine of the three Perſons in the Eſſence of God: but in the applying thereof, namely, to the incarnation of the Word, which in their eye was very farre vnbeſeeming the maieſty of God.

Let vs go to Philo the Iew, who wrote in Greeke, and we ſhall find him like in all points from leafe to leafe. God (ſaith hee) is the ſouereigne begetter, and next to him, is the Word of God. Alſo, There are two Firſts: the one is Gods Word, and the other is God who is afore the Word, & the ſame Word is the beginning & the end *Tes areskeias* of his good pleaſure, intent, or will. And in another place, Like as a City (ſaith he) whereof the platforme is yet but ſet downe in the mind of the Builder, hath no place elſewhere than in the Builder: So this world had not any being elſewhere than in the Word of God, which ordained all things. For what other place could containe the operations of God, yea or euen the ſimpleſt of his conceiued patterns? Therfore to ſpeake plainly, The world in vnderſtanding, is the Word or Conceit of God that made it. And this is not the opinion of mee only, but alſo of Moſes himſelfe. And to conclude, he calleth him the Patterne of all Patternes, and the Mould whereiu all things were caſt:

And

The Epiſtle of the Secrets of R. Nehumia the ſonne of Hacana.

* This is to be ſeene euen in S. Math. chap. 1. ver. 20. where the Angel ſayth to Ioſeph, that Mary was with childe by the holy Ghoſt: for otherwiſe it had bin to no purpoſe to haue ſpoken of the holy Ghoſt, of whō they had not heard any ſpeaking afore.

The ſame is alſo in the Preaching of Iohn the Baptiſt, Chap. 3. ver. 20. Hee ſhall baptiſe ye with the holy Ghoſt & with Fire. And in diuers other places. And in very deede the name of the holy Goſt is rife among all the Rabbines.

And in another place, This world (ſaith hee) is Gods yonger Sonne; but as for the elder ſonne, he cannot bee comprehended but in vnderſtanding. For hee it is who by prerogatiue of eldership abideth with the Father. Now, this is word for word the ſame thing that Saint Iohn ſayth, And the Word was with God. And againe, The Word is the place, the Temple, and the dwelling house of God, becauſe the Word is the onely thing that can containe him. And that is the thing which I ſayd, namely, that God comprehending himſelfe by his vnderſtanding, begate the Sonne of the Word equall to himſelfe, becauſe he conceiueth not any thing leſſe than himſelfe.

Philo in his Treatiſe vpon the 6. dayes.

And to ſhew the greatnes of this Word, he could ſcarce tell what names to giue it. Hee calleth it the booke wherein the eſſences of all things that are in the whole world are written and printed: the perfect Patterne of the World: the intellectuall Sonne: the Prince of the Angels: the Firſt borne of God, the Shepheard of his flocke, the chiefe High-prieſt of the World, the Manna of mens Soules, the wiſedome of God, the perfect Image of the Highest, and the Organe or Inſtrument whereby God (being moued thereto of his owne goodneſſe) created the world. And to be ſhort, he calleth him the Firſt beginner, Lightfulneſſe, or altogether Light, God, and the Beer that is of himſelfe. All theſe are ſuch things, as more cannot be attributed to God himſelfe: and he could not haue ſaid more expreſſly, that the Word is Coeternall and Coeſſentiall with the Father, that is to ſay, of one ſelfeſame ſubſtance, and of one ſelfeſame euerlastingneſſe with the Father.

In his treatiſe that dreames are of God.

Neuertheleſſe, he addeth yet further, that this Word hath in it the ſeeds of all things: That hee hath diſtributed to euery of them their ſeueral natures; and that he is the inuincible bond of the whole world and of all things therein. So then, hee is (if I may ſo terme him) the materiall, efficient, and formal cauſe of all things. And vnto whom can that be attributed but vnto God? Againe, There are (ſaith hee) Two ſpeeches or words: the one being as an Originall deed, is aboue vs: and the other beeing as an Exemplification or Copie thereof, is within vs. And Moſes (ſaith hee) calleth the ſame the Image of God: and this other which is our vnderſtanding, hee calleth a later Copie therof. And the ſayd firſt ſpeeech (ſaith he in his booke of the world) is the expreſſe print or ſtamp of God, and euerlaſting as God him ſelfe is. And what more ſaith S. Iohn, or the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes? And in all theſe places (which are worthy to be read throughout) he vſeth S. Iohns owne terme (namely Logos) to ſignifie the ſaid ſpeech or word.

In his book of the world.

In his book of the remouings of Abraham.

Philo in the Allegories of the law, in his booke of dreames, of Tillage, of the fiery ſword, of the Heire, of heauenly things: of the euil that lieth ſnares for the good, &c.

Philo in his bookes concerning the Heire of heauenly things, Of the mode-ſtie of Women, and of the word, &c.

Of the holy Ghoſt he ſpeaketh more darkly, becauſe the Hebrewes (as hee ſhall ſee hereafter) aymed chiefely at the Word or ſecond Perſon. But it is enough for vs to haue ſeene, that this fountaine abode ſufficiently cleere among the Hebrewes, till the comming of Chriſt (for Philo liued vnder the Emperours Tiberius and Caligula) though the ſtreams thereof were as good as dryed vp among the Gentiles: partly becauſe the Meſſias was to be born among the Hebrewes, of the beleefe in whom this doctrine was to be the ground worke. For as ſoone as Chriſt was come into the world, it take light of him againe, as at the day-ſunne which inlightneth not onely the halfe compaſſe whereon he ſhineth, but alſo euen a part of that which ſeeth him not. For this doctrine was not onely receiued in the Church, but alſo embraced of all the great Philoſophers that came after, notwithſtanding that in all other things, they were deadly enemies to the Chriſtians.

Numenius, the excellenteſt of all the Pythagorians (of whom Porphyry reporteth Plotinus to haue made ſo great account, that hee wrote an hundred bookes of Commentaries vpon him) ſaith theſe words: He that will know the firſt and ſecond God, muſt well diſtinguiſh, and aboue all things he muſt well ſettle his mind; and then hauing called vpon God, he may open the treaſure of his thoughts. And therefore let vs begin thus: God (I meane the firſt who is in himſelfe) is ſingle, throughout compacted, and one in himſelfe, and in no part diuidable. Alſo the ſecond and third God is one: but yet you muſt conſider that the firſt is the Father of him that is the worker of all things.

The later Pythagorians & Academicks. Numenius in his booke of the Good. Looke Euſebius and Cyrillus, lib. 8.

Now ye muſt vnderſtand, that, whereas we ſay, the Firſt, Second, and third Perſon, it is their maner to ſay, the Firſt, Second, & Third God, which thing you muſt marke here at once for all the reſidue following. And whereas hee ſayth, that the firſt of them is the Father, and that hee is ſingle, and that they be but one: it is not to be doubted but that he maketh them all one eſſence, ſo as the ſecond holdeth of the firſt, as the Light holdeth of the Sunne. Againe, The firſt God (ſaith he) is free from all worke, but the ſecond is the Maker which commandeth heauen: and therefore are there two liues, the one from the firſt, and the other from the ſecond: the one occupied about things ſubiect to vnderſtanding, and the other about things ſubiect both to vnderſtanding and ſence. And moreouer, by reaſon of the mouing which goeth afore in the ſecond, there is alſo a ſending which goeth afore in the ffirſt: and ſo there is a certaine ioint-mouing, from whence the

The Reader muſt vnderſtand, that by three Gods they meane three Inbeeings, as they themſelues do declare it.

healthfull

healthfull order of the World is ſpred forth vniuerſally. **Now whereas he ſpeaketh of mouing, it is after the manner of the** Platoniſts, **who** (metaphorically) doe meane, **that to bee vnderſtood or knowne is to** moue, **and to vnderſtand or know is to be moued, becauſe they wanted** words **to expreſſe theſe deep matters. And in the ſame ſence doe wee read in the Scripture, that the Sonne is ſent of the Father. And againe,** God the Worker or Maker (ſaith he) is the beginner of Begetting: and God the Good is the beginner of Beeing: and the Second is the liuely expreſſer of the First, as Begetting is an Image of Beeing. **And in another place he ſaith,** That this Worker being the Sonne, is knowne to all men by reaſon of the creating of the World: but as for the firſt Spirit, which is the Father, hee is vnknowne vnto them. **And ſurely (conſidering their manner of ſpeaking) hee could not haue ſayd more plainly, That the Sonne is the Image of the Father, that hee hath his being in him, that hee is one with him, and that by him the Father made all things. And it is agreeable to that which** Proclus **witneſſeth of him, who reporteth of this** Numenius, **that he worſhipped three Gods: of whom hee calleth the firſt the Father, the ſecond the Maker, and the third, the Worke proceeding from them both. Wherein wee ought not ſo much to ſeeke into the default, as to commend the good that is therein. Beſides this, it is good to marke heere once for all, that theſe men which ſpeake vnto vs here of three Gods, are the ſame which confeſſed vnto vs heretofore, that there is but onely one God. Wherupon it followeth that thoſe three bee but three Inbeings or Perſons, in one Eſſence.**

This Plotinus liued vnder the Emperor Galen, about the yeere of our Lord 25. or Plotin En. 5. lib. 1.

Plotinus, **who was very well ſtudied in the bookes of** Numenius, **ſtepped yet further into the matter. And firſt of all, hee hath made a Booke expreſſly of the three chiefe** Inbeings, **wherof I will ſet down here a certaine briefe Summe.** There are (ſaith he) three chiefe Inbeings, the One or the Good; the Vnderſtanding or Wit, and the Soule of the World. And of theſe three it is not for any man to ſpeake, without praying vnto God, and without ſetling his mind afore vnto quietneſſe. And if it be demanded how one of them begetteth another: it is to be conſidered that we ſpeake of euerlaſting things, and therefore wee muſt not imagine any temporall begetting. For this begetting which wee ſpeake of heere, improoueth and betokeneth but onely cauſe and order. How commmeth it to paſſe (ſaith hee) that this Vnderſtanding is begotten of the one? Surely it obtaineth not his being by meanes of any aſſent, commandement, or mouing of the One: but it is a light ſhed forth euery where ſtreaming, from the One as bright-

Of the three ſoueraigne or chiefe perſons or Inbeings. τῶν τριῶν.

To the intent the Reader thinke not any obſcurity in this or other that follow, he

must remember, that to the firſt In-being (that is to ſay, Perſon) the Philoſophers giue the names of the One, the Mind, the Good, the Father, and the Begetter, vnto the ſecond perſon, the names of Beeer, or hee that is, wit or vnderſtanding, the Beautifull, and ſometimes Speech, Word, Reaſon, Wiſedome, Sonne, and the Begotten: and vnto the third reaſon: the names of Loue, Will, Power, and the Soule of the World: and ſometimes, the ſecond World, &c. In reſpect of this Third, they call the Firſt the Amiable, and in reſpect of the Second, they call him the Minde, as ſhall bee ſeene by examples.

brightneſſe from the Sunne: and begotten of the One, howbeit without any mouing of the One. For all things, as in reſpect of their continuing of their nature, doe neceſſarily yeeld out of their owne eſſence and preſent power, a certaine nature that dependeth vpon them, which is a very Image and counter-ſhape of the power from whence it proceedeth. As for example; Fire yeeldeth heate, and Snowe colde: and Herbes yeeld chiefly ſents or ſauors. And all things when they be in their perfection, ingender ſomewhat. That then which is euerlaſtingly perfect, doth euerlaſtingly beget, yea, and it begetteth a perfect and euerlaſting thing, howbeit that the thing begotten is leſſe than the begetter. And what ſhall wee ſay then of the moſt perfect? That nothing proceeded from him? Nay rather, that the greateſt next him proceedeth of him. Now, the greateſt and chiefeſt next vnto the One, is the Vnderſtanding, the which hath need alonely of the One, but the One hath no neede of it. Needes then muſt it be, that that thing which is begotten of that which is better than Vnderſtanding, muſt bee the Vnderſtanding it ſelfe. And this Vnderſtanding, being the very Word of God, and the Image of God, beholdeth God, and is vnſeparably ioyned with God, and cannot be ſeparated from him otherwiſe than reſpectiuely, for that the one of them is not the other. **Verily, after the ſame manner that wee affirme the Father to be one Perſon and the Sonne another, and yet neither of them both to be any other Eſſence than the other. But let vs ſee how God begetteth this Vnderſtanding, this Wit, or this Word.**

It is (ſaith hee) by the ſuperaboundance of himſelfe. And therefore this begotten Vnderſtanding muſt needs retaine much of the begetter in him, and haue almoſt like reſemblance vnto him, as the light hath vnto the Sunne, howbeit as the begetter is not the very Vnderſtanding it ſelfe: **that is to ſay, they muſt differ reſpectiuely and not eſſentially, which expreſſeth his former ſpeech, where he ſayd ἕτερον ἄλλως after another manner.** And how then ſhall hee (ſayth hee) beget him? Euen by a certaine turning backe of the begotten, to behold the begetter, and this beholding is nothing els but the minding or vnderſtanding of the good. And like as the One is but One, ſo the vnderſtanding thereof is all things. For by beeing bredde of the Firſt beginner, it knoweth all things, and bringeth forth all things that are: namely, all beauty of ſhapes, yea, and all the gods that are to bee diſcerned by inſight of Minde.

Theſe words of his are repeated infinite times, and therfore I will forbeare to rehearſe them here any more.

As touching the third In-being, whom he calleth the Soule of the World, thus ſaith he therefore: Like as the Vnderſtanding is the begotten iſſue, World and Image of God or of the One: ſo is the Soule of the World the iſſue, Word and Image of the Vnderſtanding, and is as a certaine Reaſon ingendred of the Vnderſtanding, the ſubſtance whereof conſiſteth in contemplation: and the ſame Reaſon is as the light of the Vnderſtanding, and dependeth thereupon. And as there is no meane betweene the One and the Vnderſtanding; ſo is there no meane betweene the Vnderſtanding and the Soule of the World: but the difference is onely this, that the one of them is as the very heate which is in fire it ſelfe, and the other is as the heate which fire communicateth or imparteth vnto other things (by heating with his heate.) And that is the ſame thing which we affirme, when we ſay, That the Holy Ghoſt proceedeth from the Father by the Sonne, calling him, The Gift of God, becauſe, that by him (who is his Loue) he vouchſafeth to impart himſelfe to vs here beneath. But wee ſhall diſcerne his meaning yet better by the effect which hee attributeth vnto him. This Soule (ſayth hee) hath breathed life into all liuing things in the Ayre, in the Sea, and on the Land. It ruleth the Sun, the Starres and the Heauen: It hath quickned the Matter which erſt was nothing, and vtterly full of darkneſſe; and all this hath it done by the only will of it ſelfe. It is all throughout all, like to the Father, as well in that it is but one, as in that it extendeth it ſelfe into all places. And hee concludeth thus: And thus farre extendeth the Godhead. In deed hee ſpeaketh not ſo diſtinctly thereof, as Gregory Nazianzene; but yet foraſmuch as he ſayth, that they be all three Eternall, of one ſelfeſame ſubſtance, and differing only in this, that the one of them is not the other: the ſame may well be gathered of his ſayings. In the reſidue of his booke he proueth that the ſame was the opinion of Plato, Parmenides, and Anaxagoras. And becauſe the inward man (as he termeth it) is the Image of God: hee taketh proofe of the three In-beings, from the conſideration of our Soule, wherin there is a Mind, a Reaſon, and a Life: which three be (notwithſtanding) all but one Soule. Neuertheleſſe, he expreſſeth the manner of the ſayd begetting in diuers other places. The One (ſaith he) begetteth the Vnderſtanding, of the abundance of himſelfe. And the Vnderſtanding is the Beër, yea and the very being of the Beër (marke thoſe words for all that followeth) and turneth backe againe to him, and is filled with him. And his concluſion is, that the Minder, the Minding, and the Minded, are in the God-head all one thing: and that this Minding which is the firſt and moſt excellent act of the God-head, is Eſſentiall, that is to ſay, the very ſubſtance or beeing of the God-head, becauſe that all the actions of the God-head are the very God-head or God himſelfe. Now, by the Minder, he meaneth the One or the Firſt Perſon; and by the Minde or Beër, he meaneth the Second, and conſequently, that they bee Coeſſentiall (that is to ſay) both one ſelfeſame thing, which is God.

Againe, There is (ſaith he) a double kinde of Minding: For a man mindeth, either another or himſelfe. Now, hee that mindeth himſelfe, hath not a ſeuerall being from that thing which he mindeth, but being both in one, he beholdeth himſelfe in himſelfe, and ſo becommeth two parties, which yet notwithſtanding be both but one thing ſtill. Now therefore there remaineth no more but to conclude, that the Begetter and the Begotten, the Minder and the Minded are both together, and alſo both one ſelfeſame thing, & that if they be both one ſelfſame thing, the one of them is not better than the other. Wherupon it followeth, that whereas he ſayd heretofore, that The One is better than the Vnderſtanding (which hee calleth here the Minded) hee meant it but in way of relation, and not in way of beeing.

For in another place hee ſaith againe: Hee that is the very Liuing himſelfe, is not the Minded, but we call him the Minder. And although they differ one from another, yet notwithſtanding it is not poſſible for them to bee diſſeuered. Onely they may bee diſcerned in vnderſtanding, the one from the other, becauſe the one of them is not the other, which manner of diſcerning is no impediment, but that they remaine both one thing ſtill. For only God is both the party that is conceiued in Minde or Vnderſtanding, and alſo the party that conceiueth him. Inſomuch, that when we ſay, that the Minder beholdeth the formes or Patternes of things: we mean not that he looketh at them in another, but that he poſſeſſeth them in himſelfe, by hauing in himſelfe the party that is minded. Or rather, were it amiſſe to ſay, that the ſame which is minded is the very Minder himſelfe in his vnity and ſetled ſtate: and that the nature of the Minded which is beheld, is an act that iſſueth from him that mindeth, which act conſiſteth in beholding or minding him, and in beholding him becommeth one ſelfeſame thing with him? Againe, he ſaith in another place, To be and to vnderſtand, are both one thing (in God:) and if any thing proceede thereof inwardly, yet is it no whit diminiſhed thereby, becauſe the Minder and the Minded are both one ſame thing.

For the beholding of ones ſelfe in his ſelfe, is nothing but himſelfe: But yet muſt there needs be alwayes both a ſelfeſameneſſe and alſo anotherneſſe.

Plotin. Enn. 5. lib 5 cap. 3. 8. lib. 6. cap. 1. & lib. 8. cap. 12 & Enn. 3. lib. 8. cap. 7, 8 &c.

Plotin. Enn. 5. lib. 2. & 3. cap. 5. & 6. 7. 12. & lib. 5. cap. 2. &c.

Now then let vs conclude thus; that theſe two In-beings or Perſons: namely, The Minded, and the Minder, are both one thing: and therfore that they differ not, but only in way of relation: And that forasmuch as there muſt needs be euer both a ſelfesameneſſe and alſo anotherneſſe (if I may ſo terme them) the ſelfesameneſſe is in the Eſſence or being, becauſe that from God there proceedeth nothing but God; and the otherneſſe is in the In-beings or Perſons, as in reſpect that the one is the begetter, and the other is the begotten.

Moreouer, this Plotinus calleth the begetter the father, and the begotten the Son after the ſame manner that we doe Certeſſe. (ſaith he) the vnderſtanding is beautifull, and the moſt beautifull of all, and therefore in diuers other places he tearmeth him the Beautifull, (as he tearmed the firſt good) and ſitteth in cleare light and brightneſſe, and containeth in him the nature of all things that are. As for this world of ours, although it be beautifull, yet it is ſcarce an Image or ſhadow of him: but the world that is aboue, is ſet in the very light it ſelfe, where there is nothing that is void of vnderſtanding, nor nothing darke, but euery where is led a moſt bleſſed life. Now, like as he that beholdeth the skie and the ſtarres, falleth by and by to ſeeking the author of this World: So he that conſidereth and commendeth the World that is not to be diſcerned but in vnderſtanding, doth likewiſe ſee the author thereof, namely, who he is that begat that World, and where and how he begat that Sonne, that vnderſtanding, that Childe ſo bright and beautifull, euen that Sonne full of the Father. As for the ſoueraigne Father, he is neither the vnderſtanding, nor the Sonne, nor the Childe: but a Mind higher than Vnderſtanding, and Child. And next vnto him is the Vnderſtanding or Child, who needeth both vnderſtanding and nouriſhment, and is next to him that hath need of nothing. And yet for all this, the Sonne hath the very fulneſſe of vnderſtanding, becauſe hee hath it immediatly and at the firſt hand. But as for him that is the higher (that is to wit, the Father:) he hath no need of him: for then ſhould the Sonne be the very good it ſelfe. So ſay wee alſo that the Sonne hath all fulneſſe, howbeit of the Father, and that the Father hath all fulneſſe, but of himſelfe: and that the Father is not the Sonne or the Word, but that the Sonne or the Word is of the Father. And in another place he ſaith: What ſhal a man haue gained by ſeeing or beholding God? That he ſhall haue ſeen God begetting a Sonne, and in that Sonne all things, and yet holding him ſtill in him without pain after his conceiuing of him, of whom this world (as beautifull as we ſee it to be) is but an Image.

In

In which ſort a painted Table is after a manner a portraiture of the mind of him that made it. I ſaid moreouer, that this Son is the wiſedome of the Father: the like whereof Plotinus alſo ſaith vnto vs. All things (ſaith he) that are done either by Art or by Nature, are done by Wiſdome. If they be done by Art, from Art we come to Nature, and of Nature againe we demand from whence ſhe hath it: wherby we finally come to a Mind, and then are we to ſeek whether the Mind haue begotten Wiſedome: and if that be granted, we will inquire yet farther, whereof? And if they ſay it begetteth it of it ſelfe: That cannot bee, vnleſſe the mind be the very Wiſedome it ſelfe. Wiſedome therefore ſhall be the Eſſence, & the very Eſſence ſhal be Wiſdom, and the worthineſſe of the Eſſence ſhall bee Wiſedome. And therefore euery Eſſence that wanteth Wiſedome, is indeed an Eſſence as in reſpect that Wiſedome made it: but forasmuch as it hath no Wiſdome in it ſelfe, it is no true Eſſence indeed. Now, the ordinary teaching of Plotin is, to call the Vnderſtanding or ſecond Perſon the very Beeer in deed, or the very true Eſſence, and the firſt perſon a thing higher than Vnderſtanding or Eſſence. Whereupon it ſhould follow, that with him, Wiſedome and true Eſſence are both one: that is to ſay, that the ſecond perſon is Wiſdome. To the ſame purpoſe alſo he ſaith, that the ſayd Mind poſſeſſeth all things in his homebred Wiſedome: That all ſhapes are but beames and effects thereof: and that the ſame is the truth, yea and King of truth, which is a name alſo that the Scripture attributeth to the ſecond perſon.

As touching the third perſon, whom he calleth the Soule of the world, he ſeemeth in his other bookes to lay vs a foundation of a better opinion. For God (ſaith he) hath wrought, and hee wrought not vnwillingly: and therfore there is a will in God. Now ſurely he whoſe power is anſwerable to his will, ſhould by and by become the better. God then, who is the good it ſelf (than the which nothing can be better) filleth his owne will to the full, ſo as he is the thing that hee liſteth to bee, and liſteth to be that which hee is, and his will is very Eſſence. This will againe, is his act or operation, and that act is his very ſubſtance. And ſo God ſetteth downe himſelfe in this act of Beeing. And this is in a manner all one with the things which I ſpake in the former Chapter: namely, that God by his will produceth a third Perſon, that is to ſay, the loue of himſelfe by delighting in himſelfe.

And in another place, This ſame God (ſayth he) is both the louely and Loue: and this Loue is the loue of himſelfe: for of himſelfe and in himſelfe is hee altogether beautifull. And whereas he is ſayd to bee

altogether with himſelfe: it could not bee ſo, vnleſſe that both the thing which is, and alſo the perſon which is together therewith, were both one ſelfeſame thing. Now, if together Beer, (for I muſt be faine to vſe that word) and the thing together wherwith he is, be both one: and likewiſe the deſirer and the thing deſired be one alſo: Surely the deſire and the Eſſence muſt alſo needs be one ſelfeſame thing. **And this deſire of the Mind is the Loue of it ſelf, whom we cal the holy Ghoſt, which proceedeth by the Will, and ſo by the foreſaid reaſons is proued to be Coeſſentiall.** And this deſire (ſaith he in another place) is in the Minde, which alwaies deſireth, and alwayes poſſeſſeth the firſt. **This Loue then proceedeth not alonely from the firſt perſon, but alſo from the ſecond, according to his former teaching concerning the Soule of the World, which is, that it proceedeth from the firſt perſon by the ſecond.**

Plotin. Enn. 3. b. 8. Chap. 10.

Plotin. Enn. 3. b. 9. Chap. 1.

And thus haue wee the three Perſons or Inbeings acknowledged and laid forth by Plotinus, **whom I haue alleaged ſomewhat the more at length, becauſe he auoweth it to be a very ancient doctrine, and that he had learned it of his predeceſſors,** Numenius, Seuerus, Cronius, Gaius, Atticus, Longinus, **and** Philarchæus, **and did afterward teach it to his diſciples (who eſteemed him as a God) as we ſhall ſee hereafter in their writings: but as he auoucheth theſe three perſons, ſo he expreſly declareth, and proueth by many reaſons againſt the** Gnoſticke **that there can be no more.**

Cyril againſt Iulian lib. 8.

Porphyrius in the life of Plotinus.

Plotinus againſt the Gnoſticks.

Enn. 2 lib. 9. Chap. 1.

Iamblichus of the ſect of the Pythagoriſts, & in his booke of the Myſteries of the Aegyptians chap. 37. and 39.

Iamblichus ſaith plainly, **that God made the World by his diuine Word, but hee plaieth the Philoſopher more profoundly in this behalfe.** The firſt God (ſaith he) being afore that which is, and alone, is the Father of a firſt God whom he begetteth, and yet neuertheleſſe abideth ſtill in the ſoleneſſe of his vnity: which thing far exceedeth all ability of vnderſtanding. This is the Originall patterne of him that is called both Father to himſelfe, and Sonne to himſelfe, and is the Father of one alone, and God verily good indeed. **Now, when he ſaith, that he is Father to himſelfe, and father to a ſecond: therein hee diſtinguiſheth the perſons. And whereas hee ſaith that notwithſtanding this begetting, yet he abideth one ſtill: he ſheweth that there is no ſeparating of the Eſſences: and he ſpeaketh there after the opinion receiued among the Diuines of Ægypt.**

Porphyrie in his 4. book of the Philoſophers.

But let vs heare Porpyhrie, **(to whom** Plotinus **committed the ouerlooking of his bookes) the beſt learned of all the Philoſophers, as ſaith Saint** Auſtin, **and yet neuertheleſſe the ſworne enemy of Chriſtian folke. In his Hiſtory of the Philoſophers, theſe are his words:**

Plato

Plato taught (ſaith he) that of the Good (**that is to ſay, of the firſt perſon**) is begotten an vnderſtanding, by a manner vnknown to men: and that the ſame vnderſtanding is all whole next vnto himſelf. In this vnderſtanding are all things that truly are, and all the Eſſences of all things that haue being. It is the firſt beautiful, and beautiful of it ſelfe, and hath the grace of beauty of himſelfe, and before all worlds proceeded from God as from his cauſe, ſelfeborn and Father of himſelfe. And this proceeding of his, was not as yee would ſay, by Gods mouing of himſelfe to the begetting of him, but by his owne proceeding of himſelfe from God, and by his iſſuing of himſelfe. I ſay by proceeding, howbeit not any beginning of time: (for there was not yet any time) and time is nothing in compariſon of him: But this Minde is without time, and only euerlaſting. Yet notwithſtanding, as the firſt God is alwaies One, and alone, although he haue made all things, becauſe nothing can match or compare with him: ſo alſo is this Vnderſtanding or Mind euerlaſting, alone, without time, the time of things that are in time, and yet alwaies abiding in the vnity of his owne ſubſtance. **Of a truth he could not haue ſaid more plainly, that the Sonne is the Son eternall, and of the Fathers owne ſubſtance.**

Cyrill againſt Iulian. lib. 1.

Againe, expounding that foreſaid ſo greatly renowned place of Platoes **Epiſtle,** The Eſſence of God (ſayth hee) extendeth euen vnto three In-beeings: For there is the higheſt God or the good: and next him, the Second, who is the Workemaſter of all things; and laſtly, the Third, who is Soule of the world: for the God-head extendeth euen vnto the Soule. And that is the thing that *Plato* meant in ſpeaking of three Kings: for although all things depend vpon theſe three: yet is their depending, firſt vpon the firſt God; ſecondly, vpon the God that iſſueth of him; and thirdly, vpon the third that proceedeth from him.

Cyril againſt Iulian. lib. 2.

Now, in that hee raungeth them in order thus one vnder another: he ſeemeth to play the Arrian. And yet is that very much in an heathen man. But whereas he acknowledgeth one ſelfe-ſame Eſſence; he ſheweth that the diuerſities onely in the functions, and in the order of cauſes, which is one ſtep beyond the Arrians. Alſo, Saint Auſtin ſaith, **that he did put the third perſon as a meane betweene the other two, after which manner we alſo doe call him the band and vnion of them two, notwithſtanding that** Plotine **do put him vnder the Vnderſtanding. But in his booke of the chiefe Fathers or firſt authors of things,** Proclus ſetteth downe his opinon yet more plainly, ſaying: **That there is an Euerlaſting or Eternall Minde, and yet notwithſtanding, that afore the ſame there is a Fore-Eternall or former**

Poorphyrius in his booke of the chiefe fathers alleaged by Porphyrie.

euerlaſting, vnto whom the euerlaſting ſticketh, becauſe the Foꝛe-euerlaſting is beyond all: and that in the euerlaſting bæing, there is a ſecond and a third: and that betweeu the Foꝛe-euerlaſting and the Euerlaſting, Eternity reſteth in the middeſt. Now, foꝛaſmuch as all Eternities are alike equall, this foꝛeneſſe and afterneſſe which are attributed to the perſons, is not in reſpect of time, but (as Plotin ſayth) in reſpect of Nature, and (as ye would ſay) in conſideration of cauſe.

Proclus the diſciple of Iamblichus ſaith, that the ancient Platoniſts did ſet down thꝛee Beginners (whom we cal Perſons.) Of the which, the firſt, they called the One, The ſecond (namely, the ſaid vnderſtanding) they called the One many: and (the third, that is to wit) the ſoule (of the woꝛld) they called the One and many. But it is beſt foꝛ vs to heare what he himſelf ſaith. The Eſſence or Vnderſtanding (ſaith he) (Foꝛ among the Platoniſts both are one) is ſayd firſt of all, to haue his being of the Good, and to bee about the ſame Good, and to bee filled with the light of truth which proceedeth from it, and to bee partaker thereof by the vnion which it hath therewith, and is moſt diuine, becauſe it dependeth originally vpon the Good. Here yee ſee now a ſecond Perſon, Light of Light hauing his fulneſſe from the firſt. And whereas he ſaith of the firſt light, that it is moſt diuine; it is becauſe hee knoweth not by what woꝛds to expꝛeſſe the pꝛeeminence of the Father. In another place he ſaith, that this vnderſtanding, that is to ſay, the Soule, is become one with the God, that is to ſay, with the Father. And alſo that by his intellectuall Inwoꝛking he is the very Eternity it ſelfe, ſauing that he dependeth vpon the Unity, and that he is like vnto the One: and that the Soule oꝛ third Perſon is like to the mind, from whence it pꝛoceedeth.

But here is yet a moꝛe euident thing. The moſt part (ſaith he) doe ſet downe three beginnings, the Good, the Vnderſtanding, oꝛ the Beeër, and the Soule. The firſt principal and vncommunicable, is the One, who is before and beyond all things. Next vnto him is the one Vnity, which hath his beginning about the ſaid firſt ſubſtance, and aboundeth by participation of him that is the One firſt of all. And this Inbeeing is more than ſubſtantiall, and the firſt of all the Inbeeings in the Trinity that is to bee conceiued in vnderſtanding. And ſeeing that theſe two, namely, the One and the Vnderſtanding be in the firſt rank of the Trinity, the firſt as the Begetter, the ſecond as the begotten, the firſt as the Perfector, the ſecond as the perfected: there muſt needes be a meane power betwixt them, wherby and wherewith the one may yeeld

yeeld being and perfection to the vnderſtanding or Beër. For this proceeding of the Beër from the One, and likewiſe the turning backe of the Beër vnto the One, is done by a certaine power or might, and ſo there is a Trinity, which is the full number of intellectuall things, ſo as this Trinity is Vnity or Oneneſſe, Power or Might, and Vnderſtanding of the Minde. The One is the Producer or yeelder forth, the Vnderſtanding is the thing produced or yeelded forth, and the Power or Might depending vpon the One, is alſo linked to the Vnderſtanding oꝛ Beër. And this Trinity is the Vnity or Oneneſſe, the Beër or Vnderſtanding, and the habitude of them both, whereby the Vnity is the Vnity of the Vnderſtanding, and the Vnderſtanding is the vnderſtanding of the Vnity or One. Whereby *Plato* ſheweth, that the Father is the Father of the Vnderſtanding, and the Vnderſtanding is the Sonne of the Father, and that the Might oꝛ Power is couertly compriſed betweene them both. Now ſoothly, conſidering that hee was a pꝛofeſſed enemy to vs Chꝛiſtians, and therfoꝛe eſcheWed to vſe our tearmes, he could not haue ſpoken better, noꝛ haue ſayd moꝛe plainly that the thꝛee In-beings oꝛ Perſons differ onely by way of relation, ſo as there is a Father, a Sonne, and a habitude of them both, which wee would haue called the Loue, the Union, oꝛ the kindneſſe of them, that is to wit, the Holy Ghoſt.

Amelius, the Diſciple of Plotine (as Proclus repoꝛteth) maketh alſo thꝛee Kings, oꝛ thꝛee Vnderſtandings: namely, the Beër, the Hauer, and the Seër: the firſt, the reall Vnderſtanding: the ſecond, the Vnderſtanding from the firſt; and the third, the vnderſtanding in the ſecond. Whom Theodorus imitating, hath termed them, The ſubſtanciall Vnderſtanding, the Vnderſtandable ſubſtance, and the Fountaine of ſoules. Neuertheleſſe, as great an enemy as Amelius was to the Chꝛiſtians, yet notwithſtanding, after many flouriſhes and fetches about, in the end, ſpeaking of the ſecond Perſon, hee yeeldeth to that which S. Iohn ſpeaketh of him in his Goſpell: Surely (ſaith he) this is the Word that was from euerlaſting, by whom all things that are, were made, as *Heraclitus* ſuppoſed. And before God (ſaith he) it is the very ſame Word which that barbarous fellow (foꝛ ſo did he terme S. Iohn) auoucheth to haue beene with God at the beginning, in the ordering and diſpoſing of things when they were confuſed, and to be God, by whō all things were abſolutely made, & in whom they be liuing, & of whom they haue their life & being, and that the ſame word clothing it ſelfe with mans fleſh, appeared a Man, and yet left not to ſhew the Maieſty of his nature. Inſomuch that after he had been put to death, he tooke

Amelius Platoniſt.

Cyril. againſt Iulian. lib. 8. Auſtin in the Citie of God, lib. 10.

tooke his God-head to him againe, and was very God, as he had beene afore ere he came downe into Body, Fleſh, and Man. Another Platoniſt ſpeaking to the ſame effect, ſaid, that ẏ beginning of S. Iohns Goſpell was worthy to be graued euery where in letters of gold. Thus yée ſee, that the Greeks Phyloſophy, as well afore as after the comming of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, agreeth with our Diuinitie.

As touching the Latins, they fell to Philoſophy ſomewhat late: but yet as little as wee haue of their doings, they digreſſe not from the others. Chalcidius, who wrote vpon Platoes Timæus, hath theſe words: The ſoueraigne and vnutterable God, is the Originall of all things, next vnto whom is his Prouidence, as a ſecond God, who giueth the law as well for the temporall as for the eternall life. And furthermore, there is a third ſubſtance, as a ſecond vnderſtanding, which is the keeper of the ſaid eternall law. The higheſt God commandeth, the ſecond ordereth, & the third vttereth, or publiſheth. Now the ſoules doe the law, and the law is the very Deſtinie it ſelfe. And a little afore he ſaith, that the ſaid Prouidence, which he ſetteth in the ſecond place, is the euerlaſting vnderſtanding of God, which is an euerlaſting act, and a reſembler of his goodneſſe, becauſe hee is alwayes turned towardes him that is the very God it ſelfe. Alſo Macrobius ſaith, that Platoes opinion concerning the one chiefe God, and the one Vnderſtanding bred & borne of him, is no fable at all, but a thing certain, howbeit that he could not otherwiſe expreſſe it than by example of the Day-ſunne, & ſuch other things. And ſurely if we had the bookes of Varro, and other great Clerkes, it is impoſſible that we ſhould find much more to this purpoſe. Thus then yee ſee, how the Platoniſts are all of one opinion and minde in the doctrine of the Trinity, wherein ſome of them ſaw more, and ſome leſſe, ſome affirme the premiſſes whereof our concluſions enſue, and otherſome conclude the ſame expreſly with vs.

The Ariſtotelians haue no voyce here, becauſe they ſtand all in commenting vpon Ariſtotle, who gaue himſelfe more to the liberall Arts, & the ſearching of Nature, than to loking vp to God, the maker of all things. Yet notwithſtanding, Auicen reiected it not: inſomuch that he ſaith, that the firſt Mind yéeldeth forth a ſecond Mind, and the ſecond a third, but he waded no déeper into the matter.

Let vs adde here the confeſſions of the very Diuels, who by meanes of the reuelations thereof which haue béene made vnto vs by reaſon of their falling from aboue, haue had ſome knowledge thereof. Sothly, it is alwaies a pleaſure to heare them yéeld record to the truth euen ſpight of their hearts. We reade, that one Thulis raigned in old time

time in Ægypt, who waxing proud, aſked Serapis, the chiefe Idoll of the Ægyptians (adiuring him ſtrongly that he ſhould not deceiue him) who he was that had reigned afore him, and who ſhould reigne after him, and alſo who was mightier, or greater than he. To whom Serapis anſwered in theſe foure verſes: Καὶ τότε χ' ὑπὲρ γυπὸς θεὸν πεύσεσθαι ἐπιόντα. Suidas in the life of Thulis.

Firſt God, and next the World, and then their Sprite,
Which there be one, and ioyne in one all three.
Their force is endleſſe: get thee hence fraile wight,
The man of life vnknowne excelleth thee.

Alſo Apollo being demanded concerning the true religion, anſwered in ten verſes, thus:

Vnhappy Prieſt, demand not me the leaſt,
And meaneſt Fiend, concerning that diuine
Begetter, and the deere and onely Sonne
Of that renowned King, nor of his Spirit
Containing all thing plenteouſly throughout,
Hils, Brookes, Sea, Land, Hell, Aire, and lightſome Fire.
Now woe is mee, for from this houſe of mine
That Spirit will me drive within a while,
So as this Temple, where mens deſtinies
Are now fore-told, ſhall ſtand all deſolate.

Being aſked another time (as ſaith Porphyrius) whether was the better of the Word, or Law; he anſwered likewiſe in verſe, that men ought to beleeue in God the begetter, and in the King that was afore all things, vnder whom quaketh both Heauen & Earth, Sea and Hell, yea, and the very gods themſelues, whoſe law is the father that is honored by the Hebrewes. And theſe Oracles were wont to bee ſung in verſe, to the intent that all men ſhould remember them the better, as Plutark reporteth. Now I haue bin the longer in this chapter, becauſe moſt men think this doctrine ſo repugnant to mans reaſon, the Philoſophy could neuer allow of it, not cõſidering that it is another matter to conceiue a thing, than to proue or allow it when it is cõceiued. And therfore as wel for this chapter, as for that which went afore, let vs conclude, both by reaſon added to Gods reuealing, and by the traces thereof in the world, & by the image therof ſhining forth in our ſelues, & by the cõfeſſion of all the ancient Diuines, & by the very depoſitions of the Diuels themſelues; that in the onely one eſſence or ſubſtance of God, there is a Father, a Son, and a holy Ghoſt: the Father euerlaſtingly begetting the Son, and ẏ Spirit euerlaſtingly proceéding from them

Porphyrius as he is alledged by S. Auſtin in his 9. booke of the City of God. cap. 23.

them both: the Sonne begotten by the Minde, and the Spirit proceeding by the Will: which is the thing that we had here to declare. And let this handling of that matter concerning Gods eſſence, be taken as done by way of preuention, howbeit that it depend moſt properly vpon the relation of our Scriptures; which being proued, will conſequently yéeld proofe to this poynt alſo. There may be ſome (perchance) which will deſire yet more apparant proofes; but let them conſider, that we ſpeake of things which ſurmount both the arguments of Logicke, and alſo Demonſtration. For, inaſmuch as Demonſtrations are made by the Cauſes, the Cauſe of all Cauſes can haue no Demonſtration. But if any be ſo wilfull, as to ſtand in their owne opinion againſt the truth which all the world proueth, and all ages acknowledge: let them take the paine to ſet downe their reaſons in writing, and men ſhall ſee how that they be but either bare denials, or gheſſes, or ſimple diſtruſts, or miſ-beliefes of the things which they vnderſtand not, and that they be vnable to weigh againſt ſo graue and large Reaſons and Records, as I haue ſet downe heretofore. And therefore the glory thereof be vnto God. Amen.

Chap. VII.

That the world had a beginning.

LEt vs now retire backe againe from this bottomleſſe gulfe: for it is no ſmall matter to know that it is a gulfe, and cannot bee ſounded. And ſeeing that our eye-ſight cannot abide the brightneſſe of ſo great a light, let it content vs to behold it in the ſhadow.

Now, this ſenſible World wherein wee dwell, is (as the Platoniſts terme it) the ſhadow of the world that is ſubiect to vnderſtanding: for certeſſe it cannot bee called an Image thereof, no more than the building of a Maſſer maſon is the Image of his minde. And yet for all the greatneſſe, beauty, and light which we ſee therein, I cannot tell whether the word ſhadow do throughly fit it or no, conſidering that ſhadowes haue ſome meaſure in reſpect of their bodies, but betweene finite and infinite is no proportionable reſemblance at all.

We

Wee that are heere in the World, doe wonder at it, and wee woulde thinke we did not amiſſe, if wée ſhould beléeue that any thing is better or more beautifull than that. For our fleſh and complexions are proportioned after the Elements thereof, and to the things it bringeth forth, as our eyes vnto the light thereof, and all our ſences to the ſenſible nature thereof: and thoſe which are of the world, ſéeke but onely to content the ſenſuality that is in them. But as we haue a Minde, ſo alſo let vs beleeue that the ſame is not without his obiect or matter to reſt vpon. And as the ſenceleſſe things ſerue the things that haue ſence: ſo let vs make the ſences to ſerue the Minde, and the Minde it ſelfe to ſerue him by whome it is and vnderſtandeth. My meaning is, that we ſhould not wonder at the world for the worlds ſake it ſelfe, but rather at the Workemaſter and author of the world. For it were too manifeſt a childiſhneſſe to wonder at at portraiture made by a Painter, and not to wonder much more at the Painter himſelfe.

Now the firſt conſideration that offereth it ſelfe to the beholder of this worke, is, whether it hath had a beginning or no: a queſtion which were perchance vnneceſſary in this behalfe, if euery man would conſult with his owne Reaſon, whereunto nothing is more repugnant, than to thinke an eternity to be in things which wee not onely perceiue with our ſences, but alſo do ſee to periſh. Howbeit, foraſmuch as the world ſpeaketh (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) both in all Languages and to all Nations: let vs examine it, both whole together, and accroding to the ſeuerall parts therof. For it may be that ỹ worldlings (if they diſtruſt their owne record) will at leaſtwiſe admit that which the world it ſelfe ſhall depoſe thereof. Let vs examine the Elements altogether: they paſſe from one into another: the Earth into Water, the Water into Aire, and Ayre into Water againe, and ſo forth. Now this intercourſe cannot be made but in time, and time is a meaſuring of mooving, and where meaſure is, there can be no eternitie. Let vs examine them ſeuerally: The Earth hath her ſeaſons; after Spring-time commeth Sómer, after Sómer ſucceédeth Harueſt, & after Haruеſt followeth Winter. The Sea hath his continuall ebbing & flowing, which goeth increaſing and decreaſing be certaine meaſures. Diuers Riuers, and eſpecially Nyle, haue their increaſings at certaine ſeaſons and to a certaine meaſure of Cubits. The Ayre alſo hath his windes, which doe one while cleare it and another while trouble it: and the ſame windes doe reigne by turnes, blowing ſometime from the Eaſt, and ſometime from the Weſt; ſometime from

The world it ſelfe telleth vs that it had a beginning.

from the Noꝛth, and ſometime from the South. And vpon them dependeth Raine and faire weather, Stoꝛmes and Calmes. Theſe interchanges which are wꝛought by turns, cannot be without beginning. Foꝛ where oꝛder is, there is a foꝛmerneſſe & an afterneſſe, and all change is a kinde of mouing, inſomuch that the alterations which are made ſucceſſiuely one after another, muſt of neceſſity haue had a beginning at ſome poynt oꝛ oꝛ other; on the Land, by ſome one of the Seaſons; on the Sea, by ebbing and flowing; and in the Aire, by Noꝛth oꝛ by South, and ſo foꝛth. Foꝛ if they began not at any one poynt, then they could not hold out vnto another poynt. The Earth then by his Seaſons, the Aire by his Changes, and the Sea by his Tides, ceaſe not to cry out, and to pꝛeach vnto all that haue eares to heare, that there is no euerlaſtingneſſe in them, but that they haue had a beginning all of them. Againe, when we conſider that the earth receiueth his Seaſons from the Sunne, the Sea his Tides from the Moone, and the Aire his Windes from an outward power that is vnſeene: ought we not to ſeeke the beginning thereof aboue, and not beneath; without them, and not within them, ſeeing that nothing here below hath mouing of it ſelfe? And if the Elements, which are accounted foꝛ the very grounds and beginnings of things, acknowledge a beginning of their mouings; ought we not acknowledge the ſame in all other things? Againe, if wee conſider how this Moone which maketh the Tides in the Sea, hath no light but from the Sun, which maketh the Seaſons of the Earth; doe wee not conclude by and by, that the Seaſons of the Earth, and the Tides of the Sea, and the continuall changes, mouings, and (as yee would ſay) reſpirations of the Elements, haue one common beginning? But it may be, that theſe mouings haue place but onely vnder the Moone, and not in that fifth Quinteſſence of the Heauen, the ſubſtantialneſſe and eternity whereof Ariſtotle doth ſo highly commend. Nay, what if the higher wee mount vp, they pꝛoclaime their beginning the lowder? What if the thing which wee moſt chiefly wonder at in the Heauen, bee moſt repugnant to eternity? The Sunne maketh there his naturall courſe in the Zodiack betweene ỹ two Tropicks oꝛ Turn-points, ſo as the Zodiacke is (as it were) his race, and the Tropickes are his vttermoſt liſts, both the which are ſo diſtinguiſhed by degrees, and minutes, that hee cannot paſſe one haire bꝛeadth beyond them. The Solſticiall poynts are his vttermoſt bounds, the which ſo ſoone as he commeth at, by and by he turneth head back againe. Muſt he not then needes haue had a place to ſet out from, ſeeing he hath a place where-at

at to ſtoppe? Euery foure and twenty houres hee is carried from Eaſt to Weſt by the mouing of the ſkie: and like as by his naturall mouing hee maketh the Summer and the Winter: ſo by this violent mouing he maketh Day and Night: can ſuch ſucceſſion of times and ſeaſons bee made otherwiſe than in time, oꝛ rather bee any other thing than time?

The Moone likewiſe finiſheth her courſe euery Moneth: wee ſee how ſhe changeth, groweth, becommeth full, and waneth. Euery planet hath his pꝛefixed time, & his oꝛdinary yeere. To be ſhoꝛt, men ſee the riſing and the going downe of the Starres, and likewiſe their appearing, and their tarrying out of ſight: and the very Heauen it ſelf, which himſelf carieth all ỹ reſt about, doth it not but by mouing. Now whatſoeuer is moued, is moued in time, and all goings, oꝛ whælings about, muſt needs begin at ſome one poynt: like as in the dꝛawing of a circle, the one ſhanke of the Compaſſes is ſet faſt in ſome place, and the other ſhank is carried round about. What followeth then, but that the mouing of the Heauen, & of all the things which the Heauen beareth and carrieth about, hath had a beginning? Then let vs not wonder at the bꝛightneſſe and light thereof, as Ariſtotle did; foꝛ that bewꝛayeth the matter ſo much the moꝛe apparantly, in that it hath not that light but by diſtribution of mouing, noꝛ at the perpetual mouing, foꝛ that ſheweth the moꝛe the ſtreight ſeruice whereto it is ſubiect: noꝛ at the conſtancie, foꝛ that is neceſſity, noꝛ at the huge greatneſſe, foꝛ it is ſo much the moꝛe hugely bowed downe. Surely, the ſky is as the great Whéele of a Clocke, which ſheweth the Planets, the Signes, the Houres, and the Tides, euery one in their time, and which ſeemeth to bee his chiefe wonder, pꝛoueth it to bee ſubiect to time, yea, and to be the very inſtrument of time. Now, ſéeing it is an inſtrument, there is a woꝛker that putteth him to vſe, a Clocke-kéeper that ruleth him, a Minde that was the firſt pꝛocurer of his mouing. Foꝛ euery inſtrument, how moueable ſoeuer it bee, is but a dead thing, ſo farre foꝛth as it is but an inſtrument, if it haue not life and mouing from ſome other thing than it ſelfe. Yea but (will ſome man ſay) the Heauen goeth about continually, and in ſo many woꝛlds and ages as haue béene, wée perceiue no alteration at all. Wꝛetched man that thou art: Thy heart & thy lights alſo haue a continuall mouing, and neuer lie ſtill, and thou, with all the wit thou haſt, canſt neither increaſe it, noꝛ reſtraine it. The Phyſicians themſelues feele it, but can finde no cauſe of it. The Philoſophers ouer-tire themſelues in ſéeking it, and yet canſt thou not tell the end and the beginning thereof. An Obiection

thereof. Doeſt not thou things thy ſelfe, which men as thou art doe deeme to be without end, as ſtrange Pils and Trindels, and ſuch other kinde of ſelfe mouings, of whoſe beginnings euen Children are not ignorant? And yet vnder colour that the great wheele of heauen hath now of long time turned about without ceaſing, wilt thou be ſo childiſh, or ſo blinde, as to beleeue that it hath turned ſo from euerlaſting? O man, the ſame worke-maſter, which hath ſet vp the clocke of the heart for halfe a ſcore yeeres, hath alſo ſet vp this huge engine of the ſkies for certaine thouſand of yeeres. Great are his circuits, and ſmall are thine, and yet when thou haſt accounted them throughly, they come both to one.

Let vs come to the things that haue life and ſence. The Plants ſhoot forth into branches, and beare both bud and fruit: but yet either the plant ſpringeth of the kernell, or the kernell of the plant: and both of them proceed of a maker. Of liuing wights, ſome bring forth their yong ones aliue, and ſome lay Egges, and we know which is engendred of which: but whether the Egge come of the Hen, or the Hen of the Egge; it muſt needs be confeſſed that, the one of them had a beginning. But I will leaue this vaine diſputing, whether of them was the firſt; which queſtion the holy Scripture will diſcuſſe in one word. Yea, and Nature it ſelfe alſo will diſcuſſe it, which requireth to haue the firſt things brought forth in their perfect being. For it is enough for our purpoſe, that they may finde themſelues convicted of a beginning throughout all things. And, I pray you, if they cannot tell whether the mouing of their Heart, or of their Lungs, began firſt with ſhutting, or with opening, at the thruſting the breath forth, or at the drawing of it in; (whereof notwithſtanding they cannot but know that there was a beginning:) ought they to be admitted to deny that things had a beginning, becauſe it might bee doubted at which point they began?

Man had a beginning.

Now, if dumbe and ſpeechleſſe things cry out ſo lowd, and the things that are voyd of reaſon conclude ſo reaſonable; ſhal onely man, whom God hath indued both with ſpeech and reaſon, bee either ſo ſhamefaſt as to hold his peace, or ſo ſhameleſſe as to reſiſt? Surely, as touching our bodies, wee know the beginning of them: and our ſo curious ſearching out of Pedegrées, maketh vs to confeſſe it whether wee will or no. And if any thing in the world might haue any true pretence or likelihood to boaſt of an eternity, our ſoules might doe it, which without mouing themſelues, doe cauſe a thouſand things to remoue. They mount vp vnto Heauen, and goe downe to

to the deepe, without ſhifting their place. They hoord vp the whole world in the Store-houſe of their memorie, without rumbling of any roome there. They packe vp all times paſt, preſent, and to come together, without paſſing from one to another. To be ſhort, they conceiue and containe all things, and after a ſort euen themſelues alſo. And yet ſhal we be ſo bold as to ſay, they be eternal without beginning? Nay, how can that bee, ſith wee ſee that they profit and learne, yea, and oftentimes alſo appaire and forget from age to age, and from day to day? How (I ſay) can that be, ſith we ſee that they paſſe from ignorance to knowledge, from darkneſſe to light, from gladneſſe to ſadneſſe, and from hope to deſpaire; and that not by yeeres, but euen in minutes and moments? And (which is more) wee ſee them receiue great trouble and alteration by and for the things that are mutable and tranſitory, which flouriſh in the morning, and are withered and parched as in an Ouen at night.

Now, to be altered and changed, importeth a mouing: and hee that granteth a mouing, granteth alſo a beginning, and to bee moued by things mutable, ſheweth another great inconſtancy, which is a thing too too contrary vnto Eternity. To be ſhort, how can the thing be eternall or euerlaſting, which cannot ſo much as by any imagination reſemble ought that this word Eternity betokeneth? And yet this ſoule of ours is the thing which in man ioyneth Heauen and Earth together, obſerueth the changes in things aboue, and for the moſt part, worketh them in the things beneath, carrying vp a handfull of duſt aboue the ſkies, and after a ſort debaſeth Heauen into Earth. Much more reaſon then is it, that neither that in the Heauen, nor in the Earth, nor in all the Harmonie of the whole World, which wee ſo greatly wonder at, there ſhould not be any approching of all vnto Eternity.

Some man perchance will ſay vnto mee, That in the parts of the world there is no eternity, but yet there may bee in the whole. Nay, how can a whole bee eternall, which is compoſed of brittle and temporall parts? And what call they the whole, but the huge frame of heauen, whoſe mouing proueth that it had a beginning? Againe, ſome other perhaps ſay, There is a beginning of mouing in the world, as well in the whole as in the parts thereof, but yet it doth not therefore follow, that it had beginning and being. Nay', if the being thereof was euerlaſtingly afore the mouing thereof, could it be called in Latine, Mundus, and in Greeke, Coſmos, that is to ſay, A goodly or beautifull order, ſeeing that for the moſt part, order dependeth vpon mo-

An obiection.

uing? For,take from the Heauens their turning about, and from the Sunne his courſe, and ſet them faſt in ſome place where you liſt, and you ſhall make one halfe of the Earth blinde, and the whole earth either ſcorched with his continuall preſence, or deſart and vninhabitable by his abſence: and yée ſhall make the Sea for the moſt part vnſaileable, and the Aire vnfruitfull or vntemperate. Therefore it will follow at the leaſt, that the world hath not béen inhabited euerlaſtingly, nor the Plants thereof béen equal, nor the liuing creatures (no not euen mankind) béen without beginning. Surely, I wot not what eyes the Philoſophers had, who had rather to eternize the Stones, Rocks and Mountains, than themſelues for whom thoſe things were made. And againe, to what purpoſe ſerued the Sun and the Mone at that time? wherefore ſerued aire, wherefore ſerued ſea, when nothing did yet liue, ſée, and breathe? It remaineth then, that afore mouing, it was but a confuſed heape, maſſe, or lumpe of things without ſhape, and that in proceſſe of time (as ſome ſay) a certaine Soule wound it ſelfe vnto it, and gaue ſhape to that body, and afterwards life, mouing and ſence to the parts thereof, according as he had made euery of them capable to receiue: inſomuch that the world is nothing elſe but that confuſed heape now orderly diſpoſed, indued with ſoule and life, ſo as of that ſoule, and confuſed lumpe together, there is now made one perfect liuing wight. A proper imagination ſurely, and meet for a very Beaſt, to father his ſo orderly Eſſence vpon the ſhapeleſneſſe of a Chaos, that is to ſay, of confuſedneſſe remoued away, rather than vpon the wiſedome and power of a quickning ſpirit. But ſéeing that this Chaos could not receiue either ſhape or order, but by the ſaid Soule, if they be both eternall, how met they together in one poynt, being of ſo contrary nature, the one to ſhape, and the other to bee ſhapened? If it were by aduenture, how did that ſoule by aduenture ſo ſet things in order, and how happeneth it, that it hath not ſince that time put them out of order againe? Or if it were by aduice, of whom ſhould that aduice be but of a ſuperior? And who is that ſuperior but God? Againe, either this Soule was tied really, and in very deed to this body of the world from all eternitie, or elſe it did but onely pierce through it by his power, as ſeemed beſt, of the own frée wil. If it were tied, ſpecially to ſuch a confuſed maſſe, by whom but by force of a higher power? And then what elſe could that confuſed Chaos be to him, but an euerlaſting graue? And what elſe alſo were that to ſay, but that then the ſaid Chaos was as a ſhapeleſſe Child, yet newly begotten, and ſcarce ſet together in the mothers wombe, which within a few dayes after, by

by the infuſion of a ſoule, beginneth to haue ſhape, mouing and ſence, and afterward in his due time is borne; and being growne vp, decayeth againe, and ſo endeth, as our bodies doe? Or if a ſoule pierced into it, and went through it by a free-wil & power, (let vs not ſtriue about termes, for a ſoule is ſo named in reſpect of a body whereto it is tied) the ſame is the liuing God, who at his pleaſure gaue it both ſhape, life, and mouing. But I will ſhew hereafter, that hee not onely gaue the world his ſhape, but alſo created the very matter, ſtuffe, and ſubſtance thereof. But it ſufficeth mee at this time to wreſt from them, that he is the maker and ſhaper thereof.

Let vs yet more clearely ſet forth the originall of the World. I aſke what the world is of it ſelfe? If it moue not, it forgoeth both his order and his beauty, as I ſaid before. And if it moue, it ſheweth it ſelf vncapable of eternity: but there is yet more. Theſe lower ſpaces of the world are the harborough of liuing creatures, and ſpecially of man, who knoweth how to take benefit thereof. The temperateneſſe of the aire ſerueth for him, and yet the aire cannot be tempered, nor the earth lighted, without the Sunne and the Mone: Neither can the Sunne and the Mone giue light and temperateneſſe without mouing. The Mone hath no light but of the Sunne, neither can the Sunne yéeld it either to the Mone, or to the Earth, but by the mouing of the Heauen: and the great compaſſe of the Heauen going about, is the very thing which we call the World, not eſtéeming theſe lower parts (as in reſpect of their matter) otherwiſe than the dregges of the whole. And whereas the Elements ſerue man, and the Planets ſerue the Elements, yea and the Planets themſelues ſerue one another: doe they not ſhew that they bee one for another? And if they bee one for another, is not one of them in conſideration afore another, as the end afore the things that tend vnto the end, according to this common Rule, That the Minde beginneth his worke at the end thereof? Now then, if the turning about of the Heauen ſerue to ſhew the Planets, and they yéeld light to the Earth, and to all things thereon: doth it not ſerue for the Earth? And if it ſerue the Earth, I pray you, is that done by appointment of the Earth, or rather by the appointment of ſome one that commandeth both Heauen and Earth? Againe, ſéeing that the end is in conſideration afore the things that tend thereto: ſhall this conſideration be in the things themſelues, or rather in ſome Spirit that ordereth them? Soothly, in the things themſelues it cannot be: for if they haue vnderſtanding, they haue alſo will, and the will intendeth rather to command than to obey, and vnto freedome

The linke of things together.

The inworking of the Minde beginneth at the end.

rather than bondage: and if they haue no vnderſtanding, then know they neither end nor beginning. Moreouer, forasmuch as they be diuers, and of contrary natures, they ſhould aime at diuers ends, where as now they aime all at one end. May (which more is) how ſhould the Sunne and the Mone, the Heauen and the Earth haue met euerlastingly in matching their dealings ſo iumpe together, the one giuing light, and the other in taking it? In what poynt, by what couenant, and vnder what date was this done, ſeeing it dependeth altogether vpon mouing, which is not to be done but in time? It remaineth then that the ſaid conſideration was done by a Spirit that commandeth all things alike, and that he putteth them in ſubiection one to another, as ſeemeth beſt to himſelfe, forasmuch as he is mightie to keepe them in obedience, and wiſe to guide them to their peculiar ends, and all their ends vnto his owne end, and he that thinketh otherwiſe, thinketh that a Lute can tune it ſelfe of it owne accord. Or if he ſay, that this ſpirit is a ſoule incloſed in the whole, hee doth fondly incorporate the ſpirit of the Lute-player, in the Lute it ſelfe, and likewiſe the builder in the building. In effect it is all one, as if a childe that is borne and brought vp in a houſe, ſhould thinke the houſe to bee eternall, or elſe made of it ſelfe, becauſe he had not ſeene it made: or as if a man that had beene caſt out newly borne, into a deſart Iland, and there nurced vp by a Wolfe, as Romulus was, ſhould imagine himſelfe to be bred out of the Earth in one night, like a Muſhrome. For to beleeue that the world is eternall, and that the race of Mankinde is bred of it ſelfe, without a Maker, is all one thing, and ſpring both of one error. Doe not the two Sexes of Male & Female in all liuing things ouerthrow the ſaid eternity? For how ſhould they be euerlastingly ỹ one for the other, ſeeing they be ſo diuers? Againe, haue they beene euerlastingly but two, or euerlastingly more than two? If but two, where are thoſe two become, ſeeing that eternity importeth immortality, and a beginningleſſe forebeing from euerlasting, inferreth an endleſſe afterbeing or continuance to euerlasting? And if they were many: ſee yee not ſtill the ſelfeſame abſurdities? And if ye ſay they bee made euerlasting, by ſucceſſion of time; what (I pray you) is death, but a token that they were borne? What is life (I ſpeake of this our life) but a continuance of death? and what is ſucceſſion, but a prolonging of time? Thus then you ſee, how that as well by the parts of the world, and by the whole world it ſelfe, as alſo by the agreement of the whole with his parts, and of the parts among themſelues; we be euidently taught, that the frame of the World had both a Worke-maſter and a beginning.

But

But now ſome man will aſke vs, When it began? And that is the poynt which we haue to treat of next.

Chap. VIII.

When the World had a beginning.



Soothly, it is not for mee to ſtand here diſproouing the doubts of the accounters of times: for the odds of ſome few yeeres; yea, or of ſome whole hundreds of yeeres, is not to be accounted of betweene eternity and a beginning. But if we haue an eye to the proceeding of this lower world: we ſhall euidently perceiue, that, like a Childe, it hath had his ages, his chances, and his full poynts, reſts, or ſtops: ſo as it hath, by little and little, growne, béen peopled, and repleniſhed; and that (to be ſhort) whereas the world ſuppoſeth, that it ſhall endure for euer, it doth but reſemble an old Ostard, which (bee he neuer ſo forworne and drooping for age,) yet thinks himſelfe ſtill to haue one yeere more to liue. But I haue already ſufficiently proued, that both Heauen and Earth haue had a beginning; and alſo, that ſeeing the one of them is for the other, they had the ſame at one ſelfeſame time, and both of them from one ſelfeſame ground. And therefore leke what ſhall be declared of the earth, ſhall alſo be declared of the heauen: and forasmuch as the earth ſerueth for the vſe of liuing creatures, and ſpecially of Man: lok what beginning we ſhall proue of man, the like ſhall we haue proued of the diſpoſition of the earth. For to what purpoſe were the heauen, being imbowed about theſe lower parts, like a vaut; or to what purpoſe were the earth, being as a floore, or plancher, to go vpon, if there were no inhabiter at all vpon the earth? Surely, if the world were without beginning, it ſhould haue béen inhabited from without beginning, and no people ſhould be of more antiquity then other: or at leaſtwiſe, how ancient ſoeuer it were, yet ſhould no new thing be found therein. But if euen the oldeſt and ancienteſt things of all be but new, ought it not to be a ſure argument vnto vs of the newneſſe thereof? What thing, I pray you, can wee picke out of this world, for an example of antiquitie?

The originall of Sciences. Lucr: Carus. The nature & reaſon of things was lately found out, and I my ſelfe was one of the firſt that diſcouered it vpon it, & am able to turne it into my natiue language.

Let vs begin at the liberall Sciences, and wee ſhall read of the firſt commings vp of them all. Phyloſophy, which conſiſteth in the ſearching out of naturall things, is of ſo late continuance, that afore the time of Pythagoras, the very name thereof was not knowne. The Romanes counted it for folly long time after that. And Lucrece the Epicure ſingeth in his time, that the nature of things were found out of late afore. Alſo Seneca, who came long after him, ſaith, that from the firſt comming vp of Philoſophy, to his time; there were not full a thouſand yeeres. Socrates is ſaid to haue beene the firſt that brought it from ſtudy to practice, drawing it (as they ſaid) from Heauen to Earth, and from Cities, to houſes and perſons: that is to ſay, by teaching men to know themſelues, and to gouerne both themſelues and others. And that is not aboue two thouſand yeeres agoe at the moſt: For he was ſince the time of Eſdras, who is the laſt Hiſtoriographer of the Bible. And whatſoeuer knowledge they had thereof, they had it (as I ſayd afore) from the Ægyptians, and the Ægyptians had it from the Hebrewes and Chaldeans. For Pythagoras learned his ſkill of Gonchedie, and of the Iewes; Plato, of Sechnuphis; Eudoxus of Conuphis; and all they, of the Diſciples of Triſmegiſtus; and Triſmegiſtus, (as appeareth by his bookes) learned of Moſes. To bee ſhort, Clearchus the Peripareticke ſaith, hee ſaw the Iew of whom Ariſtotle himſelfe learned his Philoſophy. Alſo Iamblicus maketh mention of Mercuries Pillers, wherein Pythagoras and Plato had read his Doctrine: and Porphyrius witneſſeth, that all the Philoſophy of the Greekes, which they boaſt of with ſo many words, came vp at leaſt a thouſand yeeres after Moſes. Now, if the ſtudy of wiſedome be ſo late in the world, how late is wiſedome it ſelfe? And if Greece were ſo lateward therein, where ſhall the antiquity thereof bee found among the Gentiles?

Some man will ſay, that inaſmuch as Socrates drew men from Heauen to Earth, Aſtrology ought to bee of more antiquitie: and I willingly agree thereto: for when a man loketh vp to Heauen, he ſetteth his firſt thoughts vpon that place. But how many yéeres ſhall wee gaine by that? If Thales were the firſt that taught it to the Greekes, (as they themſelues ſay:) wee know both by the very Greeke Authours, and by Thales himſelfe, that hee had it of the Ægyptians, and the Ægyptians of the Chaldeans, who were in very déed the authors thereof, inſomuch that the word Chaldean is ordinarily put for an Aſtrologer. And if we ſay with Pliny, that Iupiter Belus was the author thereof, if the ſame Belus was the firſt of that name, then

then was it about the time of Abraham. And if the Phenicians were the founders therof, as it is ſaid in another place: what were they elſe but the Hebrewes? Againe I pray you, what was the Aſtrology of thoſe folke? By the report of Pliny, Thales was the firſt among the Greekes, and Sulpitius Gallus among the Romanes, that obſerued the Eclipſes of the Sunne and Moone. Inſomuch that their Armies (as Plutarch and Quintilian report) were diſmaied at the ſight of them, ſo as the one of them did let paſſe the nert three daies, and the other let paſſe all the reſt of that Moone, ere they durſt enterpriſe or go in hand with any thing. May it was counted high Treaſon towards God, to alledge any naturall cauſe thereof: Anaxagoras was put in priſon for it, and Pericles had much adoe to get him releaſed. Protagoras was baniſhed Athens for it, and the Mathematicals were vtterly condemned for it. And what more do the ſauageſt people of the world, our more Americans? It was attributed vnto Thales, that hee was the firſt that obſerued the North Starre, and to Pythagoras, that the morning Starre and the euening Star be both one, and that the Zodiacke goes a-ſkiew, and girdeth the world about like a Girdle: and vnto Solon (as ſaith Proclus) that the Moone finiſheth her courſe in thirty daies. Afterward came Archimedes, who gathered the obſeruations of many things, and thereof made the Sphere. Yet notwithſtanding, all theſe are but little entrances, for the great Speculation of the Planets came long time after. What ſhall wee ſay to this, that the very account of the yeare was vncertaine and confuſed in the Country of Europe, vntill the time of Iulius Cæſar, and ſo remaineth ſtill vnto this day in the greater halfe of the world? Inſomuch that vntil a three hundred yeares afore the birth of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Greekes and Romanes had not yet any Quadrant, nor any other Clock, Diall, or diſtinction of houres.

As touching Arithmetick and Geometrie, which were taught ſo preciſely vnto Children in Platoes time, it is well knowne that the Authors of the notableſt grounds of thoſe Artes, are Pithagoras, Eudoxus and Euclides (who gathered them out of the Writers of old time) and certaine others. And they which father the finding of them vpon Triſmegiſtus, could not haue led vs more directly vnto Moſes.

But foraſmuch as man is naturally more carefull of his health and commodity, then curious of the Starres, it may bee that his Trades, Craftes and Artes, are of more antiquity then his Sciences.

Plinie lib. 8, 6.

Plinie lib. 2. Plutark in the life of Nicias Quintilian, lib. 1.

Cenſorius concerning Chriſts birthday, cap. 9 Varro. Arithmeticke and Geometry Plato in his Epinomis.

The originall of Cæſars Trades & Arts.

Surely as touching handicrafts, Varro a great ſearcher of antiquities witneſſeth, that all the handicrafts were inuented within the ſpace of a thouſand yeeres reckoned backe from his time. And let not the Greekes brag any more: For euen in their Hiſtories we find the firſt inuention or finding out of fire, which is the ground and beginning (if I may ſo terme it) of the moſt part of Handicrafts. And foraſmuch as there are which haue written particularly of the finding out of euery of them: I ſend the Reader vnto them.

Varro in his 5. booke, and 1. Chapter of Husbandry.

But let vs ſpeak of Leachcraft which concerneth Phyſick and Surgery, the art which is ſo neceſſary for all mankinde. Doe we not ſee how it breedeth, and from day to day groweth and increaſeth of ſicknesſes and Wounds, yea and euen of the death of men? Diodorus attributeth it to the Ægyptians, and Moſes in Geneſis maketh ſome mention of Pharaohs Phyſicians. Others doe father it vpon Eſculapius, and ſome vpon Arabas, the ſonne of Apollo: but what maner of Phyſicke was that? If wee follow the words of Moſes, they were rather Imbalmers of dead bodies, than Phyſicians of ſicke perſons. And Eſculapius (as ſaith Cicero) was eſteemed as a God, for teaching to pull out Teeth, and to looſen the belly. Also Podalirius and Machaon his ſucceſſors, meddled not but with outward Cures. To be ſhort, Herodotus ſaith, that one was a Leach for the Eye, another for the Head, and the third for the Feet, and that when they were at their wits end, they laid the diſeaſed perſon in a place of reſort, to try there vpon him the receit of whoſoeuer came firſt: and that was a kinde of Leachcraft, which as yet had neither Head nor Taile. Alſo, the brute beaſts taught men diuers hearbes and remedies by little and little, and ſome men did put them in proſe vpon others, vnto the which hearbes they left their names, inſomuch that in the end, one Hippocrates, and certaine others, made a collection of all thoſe things; and ſo of many mens experiences was made an Art, and that Art hath beene enriched from time to time, and more (peraduenture) in our age, than euer it was before.

Leachcraft, which comprehendeth Phyſicke and Surgery.

Cicero in his booke of the nature of the gods.

Herodotus, lib. 2.

Howſoeuer the caſe ſtand, it is certaine, that the firſt Phyſician that was ſeene in Rome, was one Archagatus, who about a ſix ſcore yeeres after the comming of Chriſt, in the Conſulſhip of Lucius Aemelius Paulus, and Marcus Liuius, was made free of the Citie; after whom diuers other Greek Phyſicians came thither by heapes, but they were by and by driuen away againe by Cato the Cenſor, as Hangmen, or Tormenters, ſent by the Greekes to murder the Barbarians, (for ſo did the Greekes call all other Nations beſides themſelues) rather

rather than the Phyſicions to heale the diſeaſed: and that was, becauſe that in all caſes without diſcretion, they vſed launcing and ſearing to all ſores. Now ſith we ſee the Sciences and Arts growe after that maner from Obſeruation to Obſeruation, and from Principle to Principle, and to be ſo newly come vp among the Nations of greateſt renowne and learning, ſhall wee doubt to conclude that it was ſo among the ruder nations likewiſe?

Let vs come to Lawes, for euen the barbarouſeſt people had of them: and it may be, that ſeeing man is borne to ſociable fellowſhip, they had greater care to ſet an order among themſelues, by good lawes, than to marke the order of the Skies, or the diſpoſition of their owne bodies. But doth not the Lawe written, lead vs forth with to the Lawe vnwritten? And do not the great volumes of Lawes which we turne ouer now adaies, leade vs to the peeces of Trebonian, and Trebonian, to Sceuolaes and Affricanes, and theſe again to the Lawes of the Twelue Tables? And, I pray you, what els bee the Twelue Tables, but the infancy of the Romane Lawes, which being very ſimple rudiments of Ciuill gouernment, like thoſe which are to bee found at this day among the moſt barbarous Nations, we through a foolish zeale of antiquity do wonder at in the ancient Romans, and diſpoſe them in the ancient Almaines, Thuringians, Burgonians, Salians, and Ripuaries? who notwithſtanding had them farre better than the Romanes, But what antiquity can be ſaid to be in them, ſeeing their continuance hath not been paſt a foure hundred yeeres afore the comming of Chriſt, as the Romane hiſtories themſelues informe vs? Againe, doe not the Twelue Tables ſend vs backe to the Grecians? And of whom had the Greeks them, but of Draco and Solon as in reſpect of the Athenians, who liued in the time of Cyrus king of Perſia, and of Lycurgus as in reſpect of the Lacedemonians, who liued about the end of the Empire of Aſſyria? And what els is all this huge depth of Antiquity, whereof the Greeks make ſo great boaſt, but late newneſſe among the Iewes? Moreouer Plutarke ſayth, that Solon and Lycurgus had beene in Ægypt to ſeeke Lawes, and that there, for all their bragging of Antiquity, they were ſcorned as young Children.

The originall of gouernment.

Aulus Gellius lib. 20. cap. 1. & lib. 17. cap. 21. Pomponius of the firſt comming vp of the Lawes.

Plutarke in the liues of Solon and Lycurgus, and in his treatiſe of Iſis and Oſyris.

The Ægyptians alſo had their Lawes of Mercury, and Mercury doubtleſſe had them from the patterne of Moſes, whom Diodorus witneſſeth to haue beene the firſt Law-maker of all. To bee ſhort, what ſhall we ſay, ſeeing that (as Ioſephus noteth againſt Appion) the very name of Law was vnknowne among the Greekes in the time of Homer?

Iuſtine the Martyr alleageth Diodorus in his exhortation.

Ioſephus againſt Appion.

But

But it may be that there haue bin Kings time without minde: for they were as a liuing Lawe, and their determinations were turned into Lawes. Let vs marke then, that from the great Monarkes wee come to the Kings of ſeuerall Nations, and from them to vnder Kings of Prouinces and of Shires, and afterwards to Kings of Towns, Cities and Villages; and finally, to Kings of Houſeholds, which were the Fathers and Maſters of houſes, and were the eldeſt or ancienteſt of them, and theſe doe ſend vs to the one common ſtocke (that is to ſay, the one common beginning) of them al. And when was that? Surely Iuſtine the Hiſtory writer witneſſeth, that the Kings which were afore Ninus King of the Aſſyrians, were but particular Iudges of controuerſies which roſe betweén folk of any one Towne, or City, or Houſehold, and that the ſaid Ninus was the firſt King of whom any Hiſtoriographers haue written. And Herodotus ſaith, that the Ægyptians had the firſt Kings. And hee that will mount vp any higher, muſt do it by the holy Scripture, which teacheth vs that Nimrod was the firſt that brake the ſaid fatherly order of Houſehold gouernment, wherein euery father raigned ouer thoſe that deſcended of him, without any other prerogatiue than of age, which ſort of Gouernours Manetho called Shepheard-kings, ſaying, that they had beene a thouſand yeeres afore the warres of Troy. For as for the Greekes and Romanes, eyther they were not as yet at all, or els ſurely they liued with Acornes, like the People whom wee at this day call Sauages.

Iuſtine in his firſt booke

Plin. lib 7. Herodotus lib 2.

Manetho cited by Ioſephus againſt Appiã.

But let vs ſée if at leaſt wiſe the gods of the Heathen haue any antiquity: for in as much as the eſſentiall forme of man is to acknowledge a certaine Godhead, it is likely that nothing ſhould be of greater antiquity than that. And in very déed, Nations haue beene found both without Lawes and without Kings: but without gods and without ſome ſort of Religion, there was neuer any found. But what ſhall we ſay, if men haue bin borne afore gods, yea, and alſo doe liue ſtill after them? Let vs not buzie our braines about the firſt coming vp of the peti-gods as well of the Romanes as of the Greekes, who had moe of them than they had of Shyres, Cities, Townes, and Houſes; nor yet about their Pedigrées which are ſufficiently deſcribed by their own ſeruers and worſhippers, the Idolaters themſelues: but let vs goe to the very rot of them.

The originall of the heathen gods.

What is to bee ſaid of the firſt Saturne, who is called the father of them all? Of what time is hee? Soothly, if wee beleeue the notableſt Story writers among the Greekes, and the Epitaph of Oſyris reported by Diodorus the Sicilian Saturne, (I meane not the Saturne of the Greeks, but the ancienteſt of all the Saturns) is none other than Cham the ſonne of Noe, neither is Oſyris any other than Miſraim the youngeſt ſonne of Cham. And theſe which would make Saturne ancienteſt, ſay he was but Noe himſelfe. I forbeare to ſay what Beroſus and others of the like ſtamp report of him, becauſe I hold them for babling and forged authors. As touching Iupiter, if yee meane him that was ſurnamed Belus, that is to ſay, Ball or Maſter; hee was the ſonne of Nembrod, which Nembrod was alſo called Saturne, which was a common name to the ancienteſt perſons of great Houſes. And if hee were that Iupiter which was ſurnamed Cammon, or Hammon; hee was the ſame Cham or Chameſes the Sonne of Noe, which was worſhipped in Libya: for it is certaine that he tooke his iourny thither. For as for Iupiter of Creete or Candy, and Saturne his Father, which were worſhipped among the Greekes, after the example of the other Iupiter and Saturne, which were farre more antiquity: they were but a little while afore the warres of Troy, and long after the time of Moſes. What manner of antiquity then is that, which palleth not the ſpace of three thouſand yeeres? And ſhould the Greekes haue come by the knowledge thereof, if it had not beene written by others than themſelues? But this point ſhall bee handled more at large in another place.

What ſhall we ſay of Trafficke betweene Nations, and of bargaining betweene man and man, ſeeing that from Coyne of gold we muſt come to Coyne of Siluer, from Coyne of Siluer to Coyne of Braſſe, and from Coyne of Braſſe to Coyne of Iron; yea, euen among the Romanes themſelues? And againe, from money ſtamped and coyned to money by weight and meaſure without ſtamp, from weight to exchange of wares, and of one thing for another, and from exchange to that bleſſed community of al things which was in the firſt ages of the world? Nay, the greater halfe of the world continueth ſtill the ſayd exchange, euen vnto this day; and ſome Nations had neuer any ſkill thereof as yet, if the Nauigations of our time had not taught it them. And as for Nauigation it ſelfe, which is as the ſinewes of Trafficke and Merchandiſe: if we beleeue Plinie, the firſt Ship that euer was ſet a floate, was vpon the Red Sea: and the firſt Ship that euer came into Greece, came from the coaſt of Ægypt. And if we credite Strabo, the Tyrians were the firſt that excelled in Nauigation, inſomuch that ſome men make them the firſt authors thereof. For, as touching the Nauigations of Vliſſes, they paſſed not out of the Midland Sea. And what

Trafficke or Merchandiſe, and bargaining, buying, and ſelling.

Nauigation. Plin. lib. 7.

Strabo. lib. 16

Tibullus Elegia. 7.

what els was it (if it were a true Storie) but a floting of a Veſſell at the pleaſure of the winde, without keeping of any certaine course or direction? For it is certaine, that the voyage which he had to make, is ordinarily done now a dayes in leſſe than fiue or ſeuen daies. And doth all this lead vs any further than to that little Country which on the one ſide is bounded with Ægypt, and on the other ſide with the red Sea? And do not the Stories of that Country direct vs to the Ark of Noe? For what els was that Arke but a Ship, as the true Berosus doth indeed call it? And wheras Moſes telleth vs, that anon after the Flood, ſuch and ſuch of Noes Off-ſpring inhabited the Iles: is it not as much to ſay, as that the example of the Arke had imboldned them to venter vpon the Sea?

That is to say, the land of Canaan.

Berosus alleaged by Ioseph. against Appio.

But forasmuch as Trafficke ſeemeth to ſerue for liuing wealthily, and ſimple liuing went afore liuing wealthily; I pray you how long is it agoe (may wee thinke) ſince men liued by Acornes? From the delicates of Apitius, wee come to honeſt Houſehold-fare, and from ſuch houſehold fare, to poore labouring mans fare: that is to ſay, from daintineſſe to thriftineſſe, and ſo forth from thriftineſſe to brutiſhneſſe, at ſuch time as men waited for the falling of Acornes and Maſt from the Trees like Swine. To bee ſhort, from Cities and Townes we come to houſes diſperſed: from houſes to Sheds: from Sheds to Tents: and from Tents to the life of the people called the Nomads or Grazyers. I meane not here the Americans, nor yet the barbarous people of old time; but euen the very Greekes and Romans themſelues. We know the firſt finding out of Corne, of Meale, and of Ploughes. If it were Triptolemus, who taught it to the Greekes; he was the ſonne of Ceres: Or if it were Ceres, ſhe was the goddeſſe of Ægypt the wife of Oſyris. And what was this Oſyris (to ſpeake of his moſt antiquity) but Miſraim the grand-child of Noe? Plinie ſayth, that afore the Perſian warres, there was no common Baker in Rome. The firſt Cherries that came in Rome, were brought thither by Lucullus. When the Galles came into Italy, there were no Vines in all Gallia: inſomuch that the word which ſignifieth Wine, as wel in Greek as in Latine, is ſtrange to them both, and is borrowed of the Hebrew word *Iain*.

Feeding.

Plin. lib 7. & Diodorus lib. 1. 2. 6.

The Earth hath been manured by little, and little, and euen yet it is ſcarcely halfe inhabited. And at one word, our deſcrying of the firſt founders of Corne, of Wine, of Tillage, of Fewell, and of Baking, as of perſonages of great account aboue vs all, doth well conuince vs of our former rudeneſſe. And yet we mocke at the ſilly barbarous people (of the new found lands) for terming vs folk falne from Heauen, when they ſée our great ſhips: whereas notwithſtanding it is not yet full two thouſand yeeres agoe ſince we were worſe than they.

But we ſhould not haue knowne thoſe things (wil ſome man ſay) vnleſſe they had bin put in writing: and therefore Hiſtories are of more antiquity than all the things that we haue ſpoken of. Be it ſo. But yet let vs repaire from the Hiſtories of the Romans, to the yearly Regiſters of their High Prieſts, and wee ſhall finde that the Romane writers are of much later time than the Greekes, and the Greekes of much later time than the Babylonians. For their greateſt antiquity is but from the reign of the Perſians. And Phericides the Aſſyrian, whom they report to haue been the firſt that wrote in proſe, was wel-neere 8000. yeeres after Moſes.

The firſt coming vp of Hiſtories.

The Romane Hiſtorie flouriſhed not, vntill ſuch time as their Common-weale began to decay: and the beginning therof is nothing els but a Muſterbook of names, & a recounting of Shields fallen from heauen, and Launces trimmed with flowers. The Greeke Hiſtories began at the Empire of the Perſians: And Plutarke (who was a diligent ſearcher thereof) ſaith expreſſly, that beyond Thebes, the Country was nothing but ſand, and a waſte wilderneſſe vnapproachable, a frozen Sea coaſt, or ſcorched Countries, ſuch as men paint in the vttermoſt parts of Mappes, that is to ſay, either vain fables or darke ignorance. And yet for all this, what els is the life of Theſeus than an heape of fond fables, or what euidentneſſe or certainty is there in the Greeke hiſtories, afore the foureſcorth Olympiad, that is to ſay, afore the reigne of Darius, ſeeing there was not yet any ſkill vſed in marking out the time either of the warres of the Medes, or of the warres of Peloponneſus? Varro, the beſt learned of the Latines, intending to make an Hiſtory of the world, could well ſkill to diuide it into three parts. The firſt, concerning that age which was from the beginning of the world vnto the Flood: The ſecond, from the Flood vnto the firſt Olympiad, which falleth out about the time of the building of Rome: and the third, from the firſt Olympiad, vnto his owne time. But as he calleth this latter age Hiſtoricall; ſo calleth he the ſecond age fabulous, becauſe hee found not any certainty thereof, neither in the Originall Regiſters and Records of the Romanes, nor in the Hiſtories of the Greekes.

Plin. lib. 7. Apuleius in his florithes.

Plutark in the life of Theſeus.

Cenſorinus.

To be ſhort, to begin his Hiſtorie at the furtheſt end, hee maketh his entrance at the reigne of the Sicyonians, which was the very ſelf-

ſame

ſame time that Ninus began his reigne, euen the ſame Ninus which made warre againſt Zoroaſtres, which was about the time of Abraham. The ſame Varro accounteth Thebes for the ancientieſt Citie of all Greece, as builded by Ogyges, whereupon the Greekes called all ancient things Ogygians: and by his reckoning it was not paſt two thouſand and one hundred yéeres afore his owne time. Trogus Pompeius beginneth his Hiſtory at the bottome of all antiquitie that remained in remembrance, and that is but at Ninus, who (by report of Diodorus) was the firſt that found any Hiſtoriographer to write of his doings. The ſame Diodorus ſaith, that the greateſt antiquity of Greece is but from the time of Inachus, who liued in the time of Amoſes King of Ægypt, that is to ſay, (as Appion confeſſeth) in the very time of Moſes. And intending to haue begun his Story at the beginning of the world, he beginneth at the warres of Troy: and he ſaith in his Preface, that this Story containeth not aboue 1138. yéeres, which fell out (ſaith hee) in the time of Iulius Cæſar, then when hee was making warre againſt the Galles, that is to ſay, leſſe than 1200. yéers afore the comming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Alſo, the goodly Hiſtory of Atticus, whereof Cicero commendeth the diligence ſo greatly, containeth but 700. yeeres. Which thing Macrobius obſerning, commeth to conclude with vs. Who doubteth (ſaith hee) whether the world had a beginning or no, yea euen a few yeeres ſince, ſeeing that the very Hiſtories of the Greekes doe ſcarcely containe the doings of two thouſand yeeres? For afore the reigne of Ninus, who is reported to haue beene the father of Semiramis, there is not any thing to be found in writing. Yea, and Lucrece himſelfe (as great an Epicure and deſpiſer of God as hee was) is conſtrained to yéld thereunto, when hee ſéeth that the vttermoſt bound which all Hiſtories (bee they neuer ſo ancient) doe attaine vnto, is but the deſtruction of Troy. For thus ſaith he:

Varro in his 3. booke of Huſbãdry to Pto.

Diodorus. li. 3.

Clem. Alexan. in his 1. booke of Strom.

Lucretius the Romane Poet.

Now if that no beginning was of Heauen and Earth at all,
But that they euerlaſting were, and ſo continue ſhall:
How haps it, that of former things no Poets had delight,
Afore the wofull warres of Troy and Thebes for to write?

Yea, but the Regiſters of the Chaldees (will ſome man ſay) are of more antiquity. For (as Cicero reporteth) they make their vaunt that they haue the Natiuities of Children noted and ſet downe in writing (from natiuity to natiuity) for aboue the ſpace of three and fortie thou-

thouſand yéares afore the reigne of the great Alexander. And that is true. But (as it hath béen very well marked) when they ſpeake after their Schole-maner, they meane alwaies (as witneſſeth Diodorus) the moneth yéere, that is to ſay, euery month to be a yeere: which account being reckoned backe from the time of Alexander, hitteth iuſt vpon the creation of the World, according to the account of the yéers ſet downe by Moſes. Likewiſe, when the Iberians ſay, they haue had the vſe of Letters and of writing by the ſpace of fiue thouſand yeeres agoe, they ſpeak after the maner of their own accounting of the yeere, which was but foure moneths to a yeere. And in good ſooth, Porphyrius himſelfe will ſerue for a good witneſſe in that behalf, who ſayth, that the obſeruations of the Chaldees, which Calliſthenes ſent from Babylon into Greece in the time of Alexander, paſſed not aboue 1900. yeeres. As for the obſeruations of Hipparchus (which Ptolomy vſeth) they draw much neerer vnto our times, for they reach not beyond the time of Nabuchodonoſor.

To be ſhort, from our Indictions we mount vp to the ſtories of the Romanes, and from them to the yeerely Regiſters of their Prieſts, and ſo to the Calenders of their Feaſts and Holidayes, and finally, to the time of their driuing of the nayle into the wall of the Temple of Minerua, which was done alwaies yéerely in the Moneth of September, to the intent that the number of the yeers ſhould not be forgotten. From thence we proceed to the Greeke Olympiads, the one halfe of which time is altogether fabulous: and beyond the firſt Olympiad, there is nothing but a thicke cloud of ignorance, euen in the lightſomeſt places of all Greece. In which darkneſſe we haue nothing to direct vs, if we follow not Moſes, who citeth the booke of the Lords warres, and leadeth vs ſafely euen to our firſt originall beginning. And how ſhould the Hiſtories of the Gentiles bee of any antiquity, when there was not yet any reading or writing? From printing, we ſtep vp vnto bookes of written hand; from the Paper which we haue now, we come to Parchment: from Parchment to the Paper of Ægypt, which was inuented in the time of Alexander: from that, vnto Tables of Lead and Ware: and finally, to the Leaues and Barkes of diuers Trees.

Plin. lib. 7. Herodotus. lib. 5. Varro in his firſt booke of Analogy. Crates the Greeke Philoſopher demanding why the Greeks declined not the names of their letters ſaying: Αλφα, βηθα. πες, as well as they ſayd, γράμμα, γράμματος, was

From writing we goe conſequently to reading, and ſo to inuention of Letters: which Letters the Greekes taught vnto the Latines, and the Phenicians to the Greekes (who had not any ſkill of them at the time of the warres of Troy, as the very names of them doe well bewray) and the Iewes taught them to the Phenicians.

For

For in very deed what are the Phenicians, in account of all Cosmographers, but inhabiters of the Seacoast of Palestine or Iewrie? And so ỳ saying of Eupolemus a very anciẽt writer of Hiſtories, is found true: namely, that Moſes was the firſt teacher of Grammar, that is to ſay, of the Art of Reading: (notwithſtanding that Philo doe father it vpon Abraham:) and that the Phenicians had it of the Iewes, & the Greekes of the Phenicians; in reſpect whereof Letters were in old time called Phenicians.

answered by the Greekes themſelues, that it was becauſe thoſe names of their letters are not Greeke but barbarous: Lucane, lib. 3. Eupolemus in his booke of the Kings of Iuda alledged by Clemens of Alexandria in his fourth booke.

Phenicians were the firſt (if truſt be giuen to fame) (ſame.
That durſt expreſſe the voyce in ſhapes that might preſerue the

Here I cannot forbeare to giue Plinie a little nippe. Letters (ſaith he) haue been from euerlaſting. And why ſo? For (ſaith he) the letters of the Ægyptians had their firſt comming vp about a fifténe yéares afore the reigne of Ninus. But Epigenes a graue Author ſayth, that in Babylon certaine obſeruations of Starres were written in Tyles or Bricks 720. yéares afore. And Beroſus and Critodemus (which ſpeak with the leaſt) do ſay 480. yéares. O extreme blockiſhnes! He concludeth the eternity of letters vpon that wherby they be proued to be but late come vp.

Now then, ſéeing we finde the originall comming vp of Artes, of Lawes and Gouernment, of Traffick and Merchandize, of food and of very letters, that is to ſay, both of liuing well, and of liuing after any ſort, ſhould we rather grant an euerlaſting ignorance in man, than a kinde of youthfulneſſe which hath learned things, according to the growth thereof in agaes? And ſeeing that the Sciences, Arts, Honors, and Deinties of the life it ſelfe do proue vs a beginning thereof, is there any man either ſkilfull or vnſkilfull, great or little, Philoſopher or Handicraftſman, Laborer or follower of the worldly vanities, that will any more be ſo bolde as to ſtand in contention that the World is without beginning?

What ſhall we then as now conclude of all this diſcourſe? Firſt, that the inuention of al things is of ſo late time, that it is of ſufficient force to make all men beleeue (of what trade or profeſſion ſoeuer they bee) that it is but a while agoe ſince the world began. And ſecondly, that the ſaydinuentions gathering together into one time, do lead vs to ſome one certaine Countrie as to a Centre, where mankind hath firſt ſprung vp, and afterward ſpred it ſelfe abroad as to the vttermoſt part of all the Circles. This time is the ſame ſpace that was betwixt Moſes and the vniuerſall Floud: and the Countrie is the ſame where mankinde did firſt multiply after their comming out of the Arke:

Arke: that is to wit, all the coaſt, from Mount Taurus along by Meſopotamia, Syria, and Phenice, vnto Ægypt; wherein we comprehend the land of Paleſtine or Iewry as the middle thereof, which by the ancient Greeke and Latine Hiſtoriographers (who were vnſkilfull in Geography) is diuerſly accounted and allotted to the greater Countries that lye round about it, accordingly as it boydereth vpon them, one while to Syria, another while to Ægypt; ſometime to Phenicia, and ſometime to Araby the Deſart. And therefore, as touching time and antiquity, it is good reaſon that we ſhould beléeue the Hiſtories of thoſe Nations, and not of Greekes or of the Latines, who are but young babes in reſpect of the others: eſpecially ſéeing that we would thinke it a thing worthy to be laughed at, if a man ſhould ſtand to the iudgement of the ſtories of Iewry in the matters of the Greekes. But nowlet vs heare their contradictions.

If the World be ſo new (ſay they) whereof commeth it that it is ſo wel repleniſhed and full of people? Nay rather, if it be without beginning, or of ſo great antiquity as thou ſurmizeſt: how happeneth it that it hath not alway béene knowne? whereof commeth it that it is euen yet ſo ſlenderly peopled? how comes it to paſſe, that it is not throughly inhabited in all places, or at leaſt-wiſe in the beſt places of the world, where euen in our time are found both Iles and maine Lands wel habitable, and yet vninhabited? It is not paſt an hundred yeeres agoe, ſince wee knew nothing at all of more than the better halfe of the World. We were but at the entrance of the earth, and we thought our ſelues to haue bin come to the ful knowledge of Geography. Wee thought our ſelues to haue knowne the vttermoſt Coaſts of the World, when as wee had not yet paſſed the South circle which diuideth the world in twaine. And yet notwithſtanding, hee that had ſpoken otherwiſe, ſhould haue bin counted of moſt men for a foole. Yea, and euen yet ſtill at this day, we know nothing of the maine Land of the South, and but very little of the North. It is not paſt 200. yeeres agoe, ſince the Swedians ſent the firſt inhabiters into the Country of Groneland: and both Scotland & Ireland (being in our part of the world) are yet ſtill halfe barbarous. We ſhall read in Cæſars Commentaries, that in his time Germanie was a continuall Forreſt, wherein a man might haue gone 50. dayes iourney ere hee could ſee any end of it, and that the people thereof were ſauage and beaſtly, ſacrificing their owne Children to their gods. Hee ſéemeth here to ſpeake of the Canibals or the people of Braſilie. It was long time after ere the Romanes durſt aduenture ouer-ſarre in that Countrey.

Obiections,

The world ſcarce knowne in olde time.

Read the Nauigations of the Portugals and Spaniards.

trey. Whereby it appeareth that all the ancient Towns and Cities which ſtand vpon the Riuers of Rhyne and Danowe, towards France and Italy, did ſerue rather for a Banke or Iettie againſt the ouerflowing of the Germanes, than for Fortreſſes to aſſaile them withall. Euen in the time of Tacitus, what were the people of the Sea-coaſt of Germanie? What were the Saxons in the time of Charles the great? and a few hundred yeeres agoe, what were the Low Countries of Germanie, which at this day bee the flouriſhing people of Europe? The ſame is to be ſayd of England in Cæſars time: and likewiſe of France, Italy, and Spaine, if we mount a little higher. For ſeing that Rome is the oldeſt City of the Latines: how happeneth it that Alexander (who ſought new Worlds to conquer) knew it not by the ſtatelineſſe thereof? How happeneth it, that hee knewe alſo as little of the Frenchmen and Spaniards, of whom all the ancient Hiſtories ſpeak eyther nothing at all, or els with wonderfull ignorance? And what ſhall we ſay of Ephorus, whom men account the diligenteſt Hiſtoriographer of them all? As great a Countrey as Spaine or Iberia is: he writeth thereof in ſuch ſort, as it were but onely one Towne. Also, what was Greece afore the time of Orpheus & Amphion, who (as Thucidides reporteth) driue the Greekes out of their Fortreſſes and Fennes, about the time of the wars at Troy?

Thucidides in his firſt book.

Orpheus in his Argonauts.

And where learned Orpheus to lay away his owne ſauageneſſe, but in Ægypt? The holy Bible it ſelf, when it ſpeaketh of the Greeks and of the leſſer Aſia, ſpeaketh of them as of Ilands, that is to ſay, as of Countries that were furtheſt off from the knowledge of that time. Thus do ye ſee the lateneſſe of the Weſterne Nations: whom I call ſo, as in reſpect of the reſt of the whole World, and of the Centre and middle point thereof, which I haue taken to be from Mount Taurus vnto Syria.

Now let vs ſee the Eaſterne Nations alſo. The Countrie of India beyond the Riuer Ganges, was vnknowne in the time of Alexander, who notwithſtanding had caſt the platforme of his Conqueſt, on that ſide of the world. And his Pylots which went to ſeeke new worlds, paſſed not beyond the Iland of Sumatra then called Taprobane, which is vnder the Equinoctiall, and Eaſterly a great way off from the Molucques. And when it was tolde the Romans that a Ship was found, which by the commandement of Necho King of Ægypt had ſayled about all the Coaſt of Affricke, they tooke it for a fable: and therefore much leſſe did they euer come at Iaua the leſſe, or Iaua the more, or at the firme Land which is next vnto them. To bee ſhort,

Herodotus lib. 4.

ſhort, they did not ordinarily paſſe the ſtraights of Gibraltare: by reaſon whereof their greateſt Philoſophers could leſſe skil of the nature and courſe of the Tydes, than the meaneſt Sea-man or Sayler of our time. Now then what is to bee ſayd of Plinie with his Dog-headed men, his one-eyed men, his long-eares, his Centaures, his Pigmees, and his Cyclopes, ſeeing that in all the Countrey where he planteth them, wee finde Men, Cities, and Kingdomes, no leſſe whit flouriſhing than the ſame wherein he himſelfe was: and as for any likelihood of that which he writeth of thoſe things, we find none at al? As touching the South Countries and the North Countries, that is to wit, beyond the Circles of the two Poles: the foure Empires which haue been ſo renowmed, neuer heard ſpeaking of them but at randone, and much leſſe extended themſelues ſo far, inſomuch that euen we our ſelues know aſmuch of them, as Tempeſts and Shipwracke hath taught vnto vs.

What win we then by this diſcourſe? Verily, that the World was not knowne of all thoſe great Empyres, and much leſſe of them that liued vnder their ſubiection. And that it was not peopled all at once, but that as folke ouerſwarmed in a place, and chanced to hit vpon a man that was aduentrous, they ſpred themſelues further and further vnder his guiding, into the Countries nert vnto them. And (to be ſhort) that the nerer any Countries were to our forefayd Centre, the ſoner were they inhabited, made ciuill, and manured: which thing appeareth more plainely, euen by the very Genealogie of the World.

The proceeding or growing forward of the world.

Therefore, let vs take our Centre to be either the top of Mount Taurus where it is called Cauaſcus, and where Stories report the Arke of Noe to haue reſted: or els the Plaine of Senaar, where Moſes ſaith, that the Languages were confounded, and folke diſperſed abroad or els ſome place of Meſopotamia, (for it ſkilleth little in reſpect of the World) and by conſidering the ancienteſt Eſtates, wee ſhall finde the States of Aſſyria, of Syria, of Ægypt, and of Perſia to haue bene neereſt to our Centre, and that the State of Aſſyria was the greateſt of them all, and yet in very truth but ſmal in compariſon of the States that ſucceeded it. From the Aſſyrians, the Monarchy came to the Perſians: from the Perſians to the Greeks: from the Greeks to the Latines: from the Latines to the Frenchmen: and from the Frenchmen to the Almanes, accordingly as Countries multiplied their habitations, and that their people growing in Ciuilitie, matched their force with wiſedome. And Spaine, which heeretofore

was counted the vttermoſt part of the Worlde, is now become the firſt diſcouerer of the new Worlde. But let vs goe on with the Eaſt parts: from the Perſians we goe to the Indians, and from the Eaſt-Indians to the Weſt-Indians, ſo long, till we come to their vttermoſt Coaſt, which is the ſelfeſame place where the Spaniards fonnd their firſt landing. And ſurely, if two folke ſhould keepe on their way continually, the one on the one ſide, and the other on the other (that is to ſay, the one Eaſtward, and the other Weſtward:) in the end they ſhould meete both together, if there were firme land all the way for them to go vpon. And in very deed, like as Ireland, a part of Scotland, Lapland, and Groneland, being the vttermoſt parts of our ſide of the worlde, are as good as ſauage: ſo alſo be the vttermoſt inhabiters of the Weſt-Indies; namely, Canada, Baccalea, Braſilie, and Petagon, which are diſcended of the Eaſt-Indies. And contrariwiſe, like as in our Countries, the more they tend toward the Centre which I haue taken, the moe tokens haue they of their antiquity; as France more than Germany: Italy more than France: Greece more than Italy: Ægypt moe than Greece: and ſo forth of the reſt: So the Spaniards, who in their firſt Conqueſts found but Cottages & Bogges, did at their entering further into the Land, finde goodly Cities well inhabited, orderly diſtinction of Commons and Nobility, Miniſters of Iuſtice and men of Warre, Traues and Handicrafts well gouerned, Hiſtories of their doings, wonderfull antiquities, Towers paſſing the Pyramids of Ægypt, and whatſoeuer els the Worlde hath counted wonderful. And out of doubt the neerer they come to the Centre of that part, the more ſhall they finde ſtill. For there is no man ignorant, how a dayes, what goodly great Cities and flouriſhing Kingdomes, haue within theſe fewe yeeres been diſcouered in the Weſt Indies: And where it commeth to face the Eaſt-India with the Sea betwixt them both; there we ſee the great Empire of China, ſo beautifull, ſo flouriſhing, and ſo well gouerned in all reſpects, that the cruelleſt time of all the Romane Empyre, may well ſeeme vnto vs to haue bin barbarous in comparison of that. It is in effect all one, as though the Weſtern Indians making conqueſts vpon vs, as we haue done vpon them, ſhould haue arriued at the firſt in Ireland, Scotland, or Grone-land: for as little could they haue ſayd of vs, as we of them. And whereas it may be replyed, that although the people there be rude, yet notwithſtanding it hath euermore bin peopled. Let it be added thereunto, that in following the Coaſts, men haue found many Countries euen yet vnpeopled. And alſo, that euen in the beſt peopled places of all their Conqueſts,

An Hiſtory of the realme of China.

Conqueſts, they haue not found the tenth part of ſo much people as the Country being manured were able to beare: whereas on the contrary part, in our Countries the Nations do peſter one another. And whereas our very vttermoſt borders are more frequented than theirs: the cauſe thereof is, that ours be much nérer the Centre which I ſet downe then theirs be: as the Coſmographers do eaſily perceiue. Whereupon it hath come to paſſe, that the people which haue been ſpred abroad from our Centre vnto the vttermoſt Coaſts of the frozen Sea, finding themſelues more multiplied than their Lands were able to maintaine, and being not able to goe any further for the Sea that hemmed them in, haue rebounded backe againe vpon the next Countries, as namely the Cymbrians vpon the Almanes & Romanes, and afterward the Gothes vpon Italy and France, the Humes vpon Pannoy, the Vandales vpon Spaine: and laſtly, the Turkes and Tartarians vpon all Europe. Which thing hath not happened vpon the other part of the Worlde, becauſe of the large ſcope of their Country, which emptieth the Eaſterne India into the Weſterne: The Weſterne into new Spaine: new Spaine into Braſilie: and Braſilie into the Southerne land, whereof not ſo much as the Sea coaſt is yet known. Neither befell it ſo vnto vs in the firſt ages, becauſe our part of the Worlde was not yet ſufficiently peopled to ebbe backe againe: but yet it befell chiefly a little afore or little after the comming of Ieſus Chriſt, that is to wit, towards the perfect age of the worlde. To be ſhort, were there neuer ſo much people, yet were it no wonder to him that would take the paines to account what onely one Offſpring might amount vnto in one hundred yéeres, and how many one man might ſee to come of himſelfe in his owne life time: which in another hundred yeere might increaſe into an infinite multitude. The Empyres haue alwayes extended their largeneſſe towards the North and the South, but yet no more Northerly then Southerly, becauſe the Centre which I take, is ſtill afore towards the North, and in the temperate Climate of our halfe Globe, that is to wit, towards the thirtie fiue and fortie degrées (or thereabouts) of the Equinoctiall line, which diuideth the Worlde, euen in the middeſt: which thing I deſire the Readers to marke aduiſedly. And truely Iſeland (which in olde time was called Thule,) was knowne in the time of great Alexander, notwithſtanding that it bee ſituate about 68. degrees North: whereas yet for all that, the greateſt part of Affricke was vnknowne to them, and the vttermoſt reach of their knowledge was the Ile of Taprobane, which neuertheleſſe are but vnder the

Equinoctiall: ſo far off were they from attaining to the South-pole. To be ſhort, the Coaſt of Affrike or Barbary and of Spaine, was peopled by the Phenecians, whom we read to haue bẽn long time lords of the Sea. And the Common-weale of Carthage, which was ſo highly renowned, and reached ſo farre off, was an Impe of Tyrus, the chiefe City of Phenecia, which bordered vpon Iewry. For Tyrus ſent thither the one halfe of their people: whereupon it was called Carthago, that is to ſay, the halfe towne. And the firſt people that dwelled there, went into that Country by a narrow piece of dry Land, called Catabathmos, which is, a falling ground that ioyneth Paleſtine vnto Ægypt, as remained yet ſtill to be read in the time of the Hiſtoriographer Procopius, vpon a Piller in Tingie, a City of Affrick, ſet there by the Inhabitants of Canaan, which had fled away from the ſight of Ioſua: And in good ſoth, as appeareth by many ſentences of S. Auſtines, the Punicke tongue was but a kinde of ſeuerall propriety of the Hebrew.

Strabo. lib. 3. *Plutarke* in the life of *Scipio.*

The Hiſtories of Affrick.

Some perſiſt yet ſtil in demaunding, from whence the South land, the Country of Braſilie, the Land of Perow and ſuch others could bee peopled? And whence I pray you was Affrick peopled, for the repleniſhing wherof thou canſt not but know, that Inhabitants were ſent thither, both by Sea and by Land? Affrick was peopled firſt by the aforeſaid narrow piece of dry Land, called Catabathmos, and afterward refreſhed again by the ſtraights of Gilbraltare. And the South-land was peopled on the one ſide, by the Ile of Taprobane, and on the other ſide by the ſtraights of Magellan which do butt there vpon Braſilie. And Perow likewiſe was peopled by the narrow point of land, called Darien, by the which way Braſilie alſo was peopled. At ſuch time as the Spaniards entred firſt into that great Meſſe which containeth both Braſilie and Perow, they thought it to haue bin an Iland. In like maner, if the Perouians had landed in Affrick by the Athlanticke Sea, and had found ſo long a ſide, as the ſide of Affrick is that ſtretcheth vnto the red Sea, ſo as they being wearied with following it as the Romanes were, had made the like queſtion: wee would then haue mocked at them, becauſe we know the paſſage whereby men came thither: and they haue like occaſion to mock vs, becauſe they know theirs. But yet again, frõ whence came the people which are ſpred abroad from the Land that is called, New-Spaine, by the ſtraight of Daryen? Proceed on yet a little further, and thou ſhalt finde Cathay and India ioyning to that Land; and Groneland facing it on the North ſide: and the ſtraight of Annian on the Weſt ſide, which

which is almoſt as neere within the view of it as Spaine is vnto Affrick by the ſtraights of Gibraltare. And, I pray you, what more maruell is it that they ſhould haue paſſed by that ſtraight, than that the Latines paſſed into Cicilie by the Fare of Meſſana, or that the Vandales paſſed into Affrick, and the Saraſins into Spaine by the ſaid ſtraights of Gibraltare? But the miſchiefe is, that nothing can ſuffice vs for proofe of the truth; but for witneſſe againſt it, wee admit both Ignorance, Here-ſay, and Doubts, and the very leaſt ſuſpicions or ſurmizes that can come in our mind. For, I pray you, what can be more childiſh, (or rather as Varro ſaith in his Eumenides) more worthy of Hell: than to ſay, that men ſprung vp in a Country as Bëtes and Rapes do? After that manner were the Athenians called Aborigenes, that is to ſay, Home-bred, or bred in that place: and in token thereof they wore a Graſſe-hopper in their Cap or Bonet: inſomuch, that Ariſtides to flatter them withall, told them that their Territory was the firſt that euer bore men: and yet for all that, there had bẽn whole realmes of men in Syria, afore there were any men in Greece. The Latines alſo would vaunt themſelues of the ſame: but Dennis of Halicarnaſſus and Procius Cato acknowledged them to haue come out of Achaia. Aſke the Sauages, and they will ſay the very ſame that the Sages ſay: for they know neither one thing nor other, further than their owne remembrance can reach.

Ariſtides in his Panathenaike.

But goe to Moſes, and hee will tell you the Originals of the firſt Nations, and the Genealogy of the whole World. And the names of them remaining from thence vnto vs, will put the matter out of all doubt to a man of vnderſtanding. For of Noe by his eldeſt ſonne Iapher, iſſued the Gomerians or Cymbrians, the Medes, the Ionians, who were the firſt inhabitants of Greece: the Twiſcons, Dutchmen, or Almanes, the Italians, and the Dodoneans, namely, of Gomer, Maday, Iauan, Aſchenas, Eliza, and Dodanim. By Cham there iſſued the Chananites, the Ægyptians, the Libians, the Sabeans, and ſo forth; who retained the names of his children, that is to wit, of Chanaan, Miſraim, Lud, Saba, and ſo forth: For Miſeraim in Hebrew betokeneth Ægypt. By Sem there deſcended the Elamites and Perſians, the Aſſyrians, the Chaldeans or Chaldees, the Lydians, the Aramites or Syrians, the people of Ophir and others; that is to wit, of Elam, Arphaxad, Lud, Aram, Ophir and others. And theſe names were written and recorded by Moſes, afore thoſe Nations were of any reputation, and they remaine yet ſtill among the Hebrewes at this day. Now looke in what meaſure theſe fathers of houſes increaſed

their children, ſo did euery of them ſpread out their branches a farre off: inſomuch that the off-ſpring of that ſtocke did couer and ouerſhadow the whole earth, and the Arke of Noe did after a manner ſayle ouer the whole world.

An Obiection of Flouds taken out of Plato.

But here is an Obiection which ſeemeth ſtronger. Theſe reaſons (ſay they) doe bring vs vp to the Floud: but as the Floud brought mankind to that ſmall number, whereby the World was by little and little renewed againe: So may it be that there were other former Flouds, that had done the like afore: ſo as this latter Flood was rather a renewing of the World, than a firſt beginning therof. And to this purpoſe they will alleage this ſaying of Plato in his Timæus, that the ouerflowing of waters, and the burnings by fire, doe from time to time refreſh the World, and deſtroy the remembrance of former ages, and alſo of all Arts, Sciences, and other inuentions. This is worthy of ſome examination. Surely of Burnings, either vniuerſall or any thing great, in reſpect of the World, there is no mention found in any ſtory. Alſo of any other generall Floud, than that which we take to be the firſt, & laſt, there is as little to be found, vnleſſe they will apply that name to the ouerflowing of Riuers in ſome ſmall quarter, or to the winning of the ſea by force of his breaking into ſome Country a League or twaine, which can nothing ſerue to this purpoſe, and if their alleaging of it in that behalf be vnfriendly and in good earneſt, as I beleeue it is: well mought they fare for their confeſſion. For then will I aſke them whether this floud were vniuerſall, or particular but to ſome one Countrey. If it were particular: how commeth it to paſſe that all Nations confeſſe it to be vniuerſall. And how commeth it to paſſe alſo that the Countries which had no part thereof, haue no inckling thereof either in memory or writing? Or if it were vniuerſall: did any men eſcape from it or no? If none eſcaped, how then come we to the knowledge of it? And whence are we alſo, but of a new creation? And he that was able to create vs againe, why was hee not able to create vs alſo afore? If ſome eſcaped, as all of vs do conſent that there did: why beleeue wee them not as wel in the things that went afore the Floud, as wee beleeue them concerning the Floud it ſelfe? And who be thoſe that eſcaped but Noe and his Iſſue, who lead vs to the firſt beginning, both of the world & men? For in all the Hiſtories of the Heathen, what find we thereof worthy the alleaging? Againe, I demand whether this ſayd Floud and others, which they pretend to haue abolished the remembrance of the former times, befell by chance or by prouidence? If

If by chance; was it not poſſible that of ſo many which may perchance haue beene either from euerlaſting, or of very old time, perchance not ſo much as any one ſhould haue eſcaped? Or if by Prouidence: by whoſe prouidence ſhould it be but by Gods? or who could haue power to vndo and confound this worke, but onely hee that made it? And what warrant haſt thou that he deſtroyed it more than once, ſeeing thou art inforced to grant that he made it but once? Nay, it may be that it befell through ſome coniunction of the Stars. And who told them ſo? And if they know ſo much thereof, let them tell vs what Starres. I omit to tell them, that ſuch coniunctions (as they themſelues teach) threaten not the whole world, but ſome ſmall part thereof. After this manner did the Aſtrologers ſay, that in the yeare 1524. There ſhould meet the like coniunction as was at the generall Floud, by reaſon whereof the whole earth ſhould be couered with water: and yet as (Viues ſaith) a fairer yeare was neuer ſeene. To be ſhort, all things will go for payment with theſe folke, ſauing the truth.

But ſee here their laſt Anker-hold. How happeneth it (ſaith Auerrhois) that God forbore ſo long, and where had he that new deuice of making the world? Silly ſoule that thou art, which gloriеſt in aſking queſtions, whereas ſkill conſiſteth in anſwering! Thou wilt needes proue the world by thy reaſons to be without beginning: and yet in theſe words which thou haſt ſpoken, thou ſhewеſt that thou knoweſt not what eternity or euerlaſtingneſſe is. In eternity (friend mine) there is neither length nor ſhortnes of time: the euerlaſting prouidence is not tied to new caſualty. Conſider that thou art a man. The Plants cannot iudge of Sence: the Beaſts cannot iudge of reaſon: neither canſt thou which art ſubiect to time, iudge of eternitie which is without time. For if euen the little Babe which is in time, cannot conceiue what time is: how ſhall he that is but in time, vnderſtand the euerlaſtingnes of the Euerlaſting? After that manner the bruite beaſts (if they had ſpeech) would decipher the reach of thy wit, according to their owne imagination. And thou wouldeſt mocke at them, if they ſhould goe about to deſcribe what thy memory is, which ioyneth paſt, preſent, and to come all in one. And how thinkeſt thou thy ſelfe able to iudge of eternity, which alтereſt with the windes, with the Moones, and with the ſeaſons of the yere, euery day, euery houre, and euery minute? Aſkeſt thou why God forbore ſo long time? Nay, rather aſke why God liſted to make the time it ſelfe? for in one vndiuidable moment is eternitie ioyned both to the begin-

beginning and to the end of time. Learne this alſo, that where there is any bound or end, there is no long time. The long time of a Worme, is a moneth: of an Ant, a yeare: of a Horſe, thirty yeares: of a Man, an hundred yeares: of all mankinde, certaine thouſand of yeares: of time it ſelfe, a certaine ſpace of time, and the terming of any of all their times long, is in reſpect of the long continuance of their life in time: but vnto him that made time, nothing endureth leſſe while than time. Put the caſe that the world haue laſted a hundred thouſand yeares, or (if yee will) ten hundred thouſand yeares, what ſhall ye gaine by that? That the world ſhall haue been of the greater antiquity. But in reſpect of whom? of God, or of thy ſelfe? of a Worme, or of a Spirit? of eternity, or of time? And what is all that in compariſon of infiniteneſſe? Is not the queſtion all one ſtill? Whence is this deuice? whence is this change? as well in a hundred as in a thouſand: as well in a thouſand, as in a thouſand thouſand: Yet was the deuice and purpoſe eternall, notwithſtanding that the execution thereof be in time, inſomuch that he hath brought forth time, and time is a meaſure of mouing, and mouing proueth a beginning, and the beginning which it taketh, is euer new. Thou then which by a mouing haſt a beginning proued vnto thee, giue ouer thy ſurmiſed eternity, and confeſſe a newneſſe of time, for nothing is newer than time. With like reaſon mayſt thou demand why God made the world rather here than elſewhere. For theſe diſtinctions of time and place were created and brought forth together at one inſtant with the world, ſo as they be neither without it, nor before it. He that is without time, and without place, made both time & place: and if he had been ſubiect to time and place, as thou imagineſt; he could not haue made either place or time. Yea but what did he then (ſayſt thou) afore the world, and out of the world? Once againe amend thy plea. For in God there is neither afore nor after, within nor without. But ſurely it is a goodly queſtion, and well-beſeeming a great wit. Afore thy Clocke or thy Building was made, thou didſt not ceaſe to liue and to delight thy ſelfe in the perfectneſſe of thine Art: and afterward thy building added nothing vnto thee, but thou vnto thy building. Thou wouldſt haue béene aſhamed to haue aſked of Scipio, what he did at home in his houſe in the Country, after he had giuen ouer the affaires of the Common-weale and the warres? and he would haue anſwered thee, That he was neuer leſſe Idle than when hee was Idle, nor leſſe alone, than when he was alone. And yet thou thinkeſt that it ſtood God greatly on hand, to make this

this goodly palace of ỹ world for thee, & to harbour ſuch blaſphemers as thou art, therein: as if he could not haue forborne thee, or liued without thy company. God did the ſame thing without the world, which he doth ſtill with the world: that is to wit, he is happy in himſelfe. The world hath nothing at all augmented his felicitie or happines. But to the intent (as yee would ſay) to ſhead forth his happines out of himſelfe, it liked him to create the world. Yea, but why did he no ſooner? What a number of faults are here in one ſpeech? Thou wilt needs be priuy to the cauſe of Gods will in all things, & yet is Gods will the cauſe of the cauſes of all things. By eternity thou haſt not been able to haue knowne his power: for the maieſty thereof would haue made thee darke: and it is ſo bright, that thou couldſt haue ſeene leſſe, than thou couldſt ſee now if thou wert lodged in the body of the Sun. Now he maketh thee to perceiue his power, by the creation of the world: his eternity, by compariſon of time: and his glorious brightneſſe by the ſhadow thereof. By eternity, thou couldeſt not haue knowne his wiſedome: for thou wouldeſt haue deemed all things as wiſe as he, ſeeing they had beene as euerlaſting as he. And what wiſedome had remained in him, if all things had been of neceſſity, and nothing at his owne choyce and liberty? But now thou ſeeſt his wiſedome in the Stones, in the Herbes, in the dumbe creatures, yea and euen in the workmanſhip of thy ſelfe. Thou ſeeſt it in the order, in the ſucceſſion, and in the breeding of all things. Thou gazeſt at it in the greateſt things, and thou wonderſt at it in the ſmalleſt, as much as in the Fly and the Ant, as in the whole Cope of heauen: whereas the eternity of things would haue cauſed thee to haue attributed Godhead to the ſkies, the Starres, the Earth, the Rockes, the Mountaines, and in effect to all things rather than thy ſelfe, as they did which were taught ſo do. Alſo, by this eternity thou couldſt not haue conceiued his goodneſſe, becauſe thou wouldſt haue thought that God had had as much need of the World, as the World had of him. Thou ſhouldeſt not haue knowne thy ſelfe to be any more beholden to him, then to the fire for heating thee, or to the Sunne for giuing thee light, becauſe they ſhould no more be either Fire or Sun if they forewent ỹ nature. But he theweth thee by the creation, both that he himſelfe is euer, & that thou haſt had thy being, ſince the time ỹ it pleaſed him to create thée: that he without thee is eternall, & that thou without his goodneſſe hadſt neuer bin that litle which thou art: and to be ſhort, that he is not tied to any need or neceſſity as Ariſtoles God is, (which could not refuſe to driue the Mill, but was tyed

to

to it whether he could or no:) but that his doing of things is altogether of his owne infinite goodneſſe, where-through he vouchſafeth to impart himſelfe vnto others, by making the thing to be which was not: yea and by making the thing happy, which of it ſelfe could not ſo much as be. Now, had man any will or ſkill to acknowledge the power, wiſedome, and goodneſſe of his God? (I thinke not.) Then was it for thy benefit, & not for his owne, that he made not the World either of greater antiquitie, or eternall. For had he made it eternall, (let vs ſo ſpeake, ſeeing yee will haue it ſo) thou wouldeſt haue made a God of it, and thou canſt not euen now forbeare the doing thereof. And had he made it of more antiquity, thou wouldeſt haue made it an occaſion to forget thy God, and for all the newneſſe thereof, yet wilt thou not beare it in thy minde. Then ſeeke not the cauſe thereof in his power. The cauſe therof is in thine own infirmity: Nay, the cauſe thereof is in his goodneſſe, in that he intendeth to ſuccour thine ignorance. And ſo, notwithſtanding all their obiections, we ſhall by this meanes hold ſtill our concluſion, to wit, that the World is but of late continuance. That it had a beginning, and that concerning the time of the firſt beginning thereof, and concerning the continuance thereof vnto our dayes, we ought to beleeue the bookes of Moſes aboue all.

Chap. IX.

That the wiſedome of the World hath acknowledged the Creation of the world.



Ith we haue ſeene with what conſent the whole harmony of the World chanteth the creation thereof, and the praiſe of the Creator, now it followeth that we ſée what the wiſedome of the world hath beleeued in that behalfe: wherein we haue to conſider the ſelfe-ſame thing which we conſidered in the doctrine of the three Perſons: that is to wit, that the neerer we come to the well-head thereof, the more clearer we finde it: yea, and it is alſo a Schoole-poynt of Platoes teaching, That in theſe high matters of the Godhead, of the Creation of the world, and of ſuch other like, we muſt giue credit (as vnto a kinde of Demonſtration,) to the ſaying of men,

men of moſt antiquity, as folke that were better and neerer to God than we. Here I ſhould begin at Moſes, as the ancienteſt of all writers, and whom all the Heathen Authors do honour and wonder at in their writings. And the very firſt word of his booke ſimply ſet downe in theſe tearmes, In the beginning God created Heauen and Earth, ought to be to vs as a maxime of Euclyde, which in thoſe daies men were aſhamed to call in queſtion. But to the intent we confound not the word of God with the word of Man, foraſmuch as the folke with whom we haue to deale, are ſuch as refuſe thoſe whom they cannot accuſe: let vs ouercome them rather by their own Doctors. Certainely whoſoeuer will take the paine to conferre Mercurius Trismegiſtus with Moſes, ſhall reape thereby moſt ſingular contentation. In Geneſis Moſes deſcribeth the creation of the world, and ſo doth Mercurie likewiſe in his Pœmander. Moſes eſpieth darknes vpon the waters: and Mercurie ſéeth a dreadfull ſhadow houering on the moiſt nature, and the ſame moiſt nature as it were bowed by the word of God. Moſes ſaith that God ſpake, and forthwith things were made: and Mercurie acknowledgeth and bringeth in Gods word ſhining, whereby he created the light, and made the world, and all that is therein. Moſes parteth the nature of moiſture in twaine, the one mounting aloft, which he calleth Heauen, and the other remaineth beneath, which hee calleth Sea: And Mercury ſéeth a light fire which he calleth Aether mounting vp as it were out of the bowels of the moyſt nature, and likewiſe an ayre caſting it ſelfe betwéen the water and the elementarie fire, which is nothing elſe but a more cléere and ſubtile ayre. The Sea and Land (ſaith Moſes) were mingled together vntill God had ſpoken, and then by and by either of them toke his place by himſelfe. After the ſame manner Mercurie ſaith, that thoſe Elements lying erſt mingled together, ſeuered themſelues aſunder at the ſpeaking of the ſpirituall word which inuironed them about. What more? God (ſay both of them) created the Starres and the Planets. At the voice of his word, the Earth, the Ayre, and the Water, brought forth Beaſts, Birds, and Fiſhes. Laſt of all, God created man after his owne image, and deliuered all his workes into his hand to vſe them. Is not this a ſetting downe not onely of one ſelfeſame ſence, but alſo of the ſelfeſame termes and words? But when as Mercury addeth afterward, that God crieth out vnto his workes by his holy word, ſaying, Bring ye forth fruit, grow, and increaſe: may it not ſéeme vnto vs that wee heare Moſes himſelfe ſpeaking? And as for the ſmall differences which are in him

The men of moſt antiquity beleeued the creation of the world.

Mercury in his Pœmander.

Mercury in his Pœmander, the 1. and 3. cap.

Mercury alledged by *Cyrillus* in his ſecond booke againſt *Iulian* the Regenerate.

Mercury in his holy Sermon,

him concerning the ſeuen Circles, the Zones, and ſuch other things, they ſerue greatly to the manifeſtation of the truth: namely, that this manner of Mercuries writing, is not a bare borrowing or tranſlating out of Moſes, but rather a tradition conueied to the Aegyptians from the Father to the Son. In another place he ſaith, that God by his holy, ſpirituall and mightie working word, commanded the day-ſunne to be, and it was done: that the Sea and Land ſhould bee ſeuered aſunder, that the Starres ſhould be created, and that Herbes ſhould grow vp euery one with his ſeede, by force of the ſame word. Alſo that the World is but an alteration, a moouing, a generating and a corrupting of things, and that it cannot bee called good. Theſe are concluſions cleane contrary to eternity or euerlaſtingnes. But forasmuch as (if I ſhould ſet downe all his ſayings which hee hath to that purpoſe) I ſhould be faine to coppy him almoſt whole out: it is better for mée to deſire the Readers to go to the very place it ſelfe.

Orpheus in his Argonauts.

Orpheus the ancienteſt of the Greekes, had béen in Aegypt as hée himſelfe ſaith, that there hee learned, That there is but one God, and that

The Ayre, the Heauen, the Sea, the Earth, and Hell
With all the things that in them all doe dwell,

were harboured in his breſt from all eternity.

And alſo that

The running ſtreames, the Ocean, Gods and Men,
Things preſent, things to come lay all at eaſe
In that wide lap of his: and that within
His belly large the bond lay lapped vp,
Which holdeth all this great huge worke together.

And afterward he addeth further,

Theſe things which yet lay hidden all
Within the treaſure of his breſt,
He into open light did call,
Creating as he deemed beſt
This ſtately ſtage, whereon to ſhowe
His noble doings on a rowe.

And what elſe is this: then that God did euerlaſtingly hold the world hidden, (as the Apoſtle ſaith) in the Treaſury of his infinite wiſedome: Or (as Dennis ſaith) in the Cloſet of his purpoſe & will, and afterward brought it forth in time when it pleaſed him? And in another place, I ſing (ſaith he) of the darke confuſion, I meane the confuſion

τὸ ἀγρεῖον χάος αὐτὸ τεῦξι.

confuſion that was in the beginning, how it was disfigured in diuers natures, and how the Heauen, the Sea, and the Land were made. And what more? I ſing (ſaith he) of Loue, euen of the Loue that is perfect of it ſelfe, of more antiquity than all theſe things: and of all things which the ſame hath brought forth, and ſet in order, yea of time it ſelfe. I haue already heretofore declared what he meaneth by this Loue: namely the good will of God: and that alſo doe euen ſome of the Hebrues meane by the Spirit which Moſes ſpeaketh of. To bee ſhort, he ſaith, That he himſelfe made a booke of the Creation of the World, which was a common argument among the Poets in that time, as Empedocles, Heſiodus, Parmenides, and ſuch others, which were all Philoſophers. And in many places he reduceth all things to water, and to a certaine mud, as to their originall: which thing agréeth well enough to the deepe of Moſes. The like is done by Homer and Heſiodus, which came after him. For Heſiodus maketh deſcription, not onely of the creating of the world, and the parts thereof: but alſo of the Chaos or confuſion, and of the gods themſelues. And when Homer intendeth to curſe a man, I would (ſaith he) that thou mightſt returne to Water and Earth: that is to ſay, I would thou wert not any more, as the time hath beene that thou waſt not. To be ſhort, Sophocles, Æſchylus, and the very Comedy-writers, ſpeake after the ſame manner: and for proofe of them all, Euripides ſhall ſuffice, who was the leaſt religious of them all. The time hath bin (ſaith he) that Heauen & Earth were but a lumpe; but after that they were ſeparated, they ingendred all things, and brought to light the Trees, the Birds, the Beaſts of the field, the Fiſhes, and Men themſelues. For as for others, they ſpeake more to the purpoſe, as Aratus, who ſaith, That God hath ſet the Starres in the ſkie to diſtinguiſh the Seaſons of the yeare: that he created all things: that men are his off-ſpring: that by the ſignes of Heauen he meant to giue them warning of the changes of the Ayre, and the tempeſts. And the doyce of theſe Poets is to be conſidered as the opinion of the people to whom they ſung their Verſes.

Orpheus in his Argonauts.

Heſiodus in his booke of workes and daies, and in his Genealogy of the gods.

Now let vs go on with the ancient Philoſophers. Pythagoras (by the report of Plutarke) ſaith that the world was begotten of God, of it owne nature corruptible, becauſe it was ſenſible and bodily, but yet that it is not corrupted, becauſe it is vpheld and maintained by his prouidence. The ſame thing doth alſo Diogenes Laertius witneſs. And whereas Varro ſaith, That Pythagoras acknowledged not any beginning of liuing Wights: Architas his Diſciple ſhall maintaine

Plutarke in his booke of the opinions of the Philoſophers.

the

the contrary for his Maſter: For his words are theſe: Of all liuing Wights man is bred moſt wiſe of capacity to conſider things, and to attaine to knowledge, and to iudge of them all. For God hath printed in him the fulneſſe of all Reaſon. And like as God hath made him the inſtrument of all Voices, Sounds, Names and vtterances, ſo alſo hath he made him the inſtrument of all vnderſtandings and conceits, which is the worke-manſhip of Wiſedome. And euen for that cauſe (ſaith he) doe I thinke that man is of Gods creating, and hath receiued his inſtruments and abilities at his hand. Thales, one of the ſeuen Sages, held opinion, that all things had their beginning of Water, and that God created all things thereof, who is alonely vnbegotten, and hath not any end, or any beginning. And againe, The World (ſaith he) is moſt excellently beautifull, for it is the worke of God. Alſo, being aſked whether was firſt of the Day or the Night, he anſwered, that the Night was ſooner by one Day: as if he had meant to ſay, that afore God had created the light, it muſt néedes be confeſſed, that out of him there was nothing but darkeneſſe. Now this Philoſopher alſo as well as the reſt, had gone to Schoole in Egypt.

Varro in his ſecond booke of Husbãdry. *Iamblichus*, one of the ſect of *Pythagoras*, citing *Architas*.

Laertius in the life of *Thales*.

Plutarch in his banket

Timeus of Locres termeth Time the Image of Eternitie, & ſaith, That it tooke his beginning from the creating of Heauen & Earth, and that God created the very Soule of the world afore the world it ſelfe, both in poſſibility and in time. To be ſhort, Plutarch affirmeth that all the naturall Philoſophers of old time, held opinion that the begetting of the world beganne at the Earth, as at the Centre thereof: and that Empedocles ſaith, that the fineſt kind of Aer which they call Aether, was the fifth part thereof that was drawne vp on high. And Anaxagoras is reported by Simplicius, to affirme that God (whom he calleth Minde or Vnderſtanding) created the Heauen, the Earth, the Sunne and the Starres, and ſcarcely is there any one to be found, which teacheth that time is without beginning.

Ariſtotle in his eighth booke of naturall Philoſophy.

Some of Platoes latter Diſciples, (as namely Proclus writing againſt the Chriſtians) would needs beare their Maſter downe, that he beleeued the world to haue had no beginning. But if we may beleeue Ariſtotle, who was a Scholler of his a two and twenty yéres, he taught that the world was created, and it is one of the chiefe principles wherein they moſt diſagrée. Philo, who was as another Plato, ſaith that Plato had learned it of Heſiodus. And Plutarch, who ſheweth himſelfe to haue peruſed him throughly leafe by leafe, ſpeaketh of him in theſe words: There are (ſaith he) ſome ſtudiers of Plato, which by racking his words, indeuour by all meanes to make him deny

Epicurus in *Cicero*.

Plutarch in the Opinions of the Philoſophers, & in the creation of the Soule.

deny the creation of the World, and of the Soule, and to confeſſe the euerlaſtingneſſe of time, notwithſtanding that in ſo doing, they bereaue him of that moſt excellent Treatiſe of his concerning the gods, againſt the deſpiſers and skorners of whom in his time, he wrote. And what needeth any thing to be alledged for proofe thereof, ſeeing that this whole booke of Timæus is nothing elſe but an expreſſe treatiſe of the Creation of the World? The ſame thing alſo doth Aphrodiſius witneſſe concerning Plato. In his booke intituled Athlantike, he tearmeth the world a thing Long agoe created. In his matters of State, hee ſaith, that the world was ſetled and founded by God, and that it containeth ſtore of good things, and that the troubleſomeneſſe which it hath, is but a Remnant or Remainder of the former confuſion. Alſo Socrates in his booke of Commonweale, tearmeth it θεῖον γενητὸν, a Godhead begotten or created. And which of the ancient Writers did euer doubt that Plato taught not the creation of the World, conſidering ẏ he hath made deſcriptions, both of all the parts thereof, and of the gods themſelues? And alſo that he ſaith, that the world was created corruptible of it ſelfe, but yet abode immortall and vncorruptible through the grace of God which vpholdeth it? But let vs examine the racking which Proclus offereth vnto him. Plato (ſaith he) affirmeth in his Common-weale, that whatſoeuer hath a beginning, hath alſo an end: Now the world, as he ſaith in his Timæus, ſhall haue no end: Therefore it followeth, that it had no beginning. If another man ſhould reaſon after that maner againſt Proclus, Proclus would laugh him to ſcorne: for hee ſhifteth the tearmes: and yet our Soules, which hee concludeth to be without end, faile not to haue had a beginning. But though wee were neuer ſo well contented to let him paſſe: yet doth Plato aſſoile him in one word. The world (ſaith he) is corruptible of it ſelfe, for euery thing that is compounded, may alſo bee diſſolued: but it is not Gods will that it ſhould be corrupted. And mine Ordinance (ſaith the Euerlaſting) is of more power to make thee to continue, than thine owne Nature is to make thee to periſh. The which thing he ſpeaketh yet more ſhortly in another place, ſaying: That the world hath receiued an Immortality at the hand of ẏ worke maſter which made it. Now then, ſéeing that by nature it may periſh, ſurely by nature it had a beginning: and the power that hath preſerued it from periſhing, is the very ſame that made it to bee. Proclus addeth: Plato propoundeth a Queſtion (ſaith he) whether the World was created after the patterne of a thing forecreated,

Aphrodiſius as he is alledged by *Simplicius* vpon the booke of Heauen. τὸν παλαι γεγονότα.

Plato in his Common-weale.

or of a thing without beginning. Therefore he doubted whether it were eternall or no. What a concluſion was this for a great Philoſopher? I aſke whether men be bred of themſelues, or created of another: and therefore I vphold that they bee bred of themſelues: as who ſhould ſay, that in diſputing, it were not an ordinary matter to ſet downe both the Contraries, for the affirming of the one, and the denying of the other. Againe, if it were begotten or created, after the example of a thing afore created, could it bee beginningleſſe, ſeeing that the patterne therof had a beginning? And if it were created after the example of a thing vncreated, can it come to paſſe that it ſhould be euerlaſting, ſeeing that it is not the very paterne it ſelfe? No: but as I haue ſaid afore, wee admit horned arguments againſt the truth, whereas in defence of the truth the perfecteſt demonſtrations ſuffice vs not. Alſo in another booke intitled of a String, he ſaith thus: Plato in his booke of Lawes ſaith, That Common weales and Arts haue infinite times been vtterly deſtroyed by Waterflouds and Burnings, and therefore that men cannot certainly ſay from what time men haue firſt growne into Common-weales: *Ergo*, he beleeued that the world had no beginning. Nay, he ſaith theſe things in his Timæus, which is the booke whereof thou canſt not doubt, but that he treateth there expreſſely of the creation of the world. And he repeateth the ſame againe in his booke of Common-weale matters, hauing ſaid afore, that God created Heauen & Earth, the Starres & gods. Now then, ſeeing it is one ſelfeſame Author that ſpeaketh theſe things, & in one ſelfeſame place, and one immediatly after another: is it not certaine that he meant not to match cleane contrary doctrines together? What is to be ſaid then, but that hee ſpake there after the manner of the common multitude, who (as Ariſtotle ſaith) doe call the things infinite, which they be not able to number? Or as Moſes himſelfe ſpeaketh, who calleth the things eternall, euerlaſting, or endleſſe, which are of very long continuance, notwithſtanding that he made a booke expreſſely of the creation of all things? But indeed it was a ſurmiſe of the antietnes of the world, which Plato (as it ſhould ſeeme) had brought home out of Egypt, accordingly as the report of Solon ſufficiently declareth, who telleth him that the Egyptians had Regiſters of nine thouſand yeeres, that is to ſay (as Plutarke interprets it) nine thouſand Moones.

Againſt *Ariſtotles* Eternity.

But let vs come to Ariſtotle, to whom this opinion doth properly belong. For although ſome of his Schollers being aſhamed on his behalfe, would faine beare him on hand, that he was of another opinion,

pinion, or at leaſt-wiſe, that he held it as a doubtfull point: yet notwithſtanding his ſentences in that caſe are to certaine, to clere, and to manifeſt for them to goe about to cloake his opinion. But ſeeing he was ſo bold as to remoue the former bound ſetled by the authority & beleefe of all that went afore him: needs muſt it be, that he had very expreſſe tearmes, and very certaine Demonſtrations. And I pray you let vs ſee what manner a ones they be. From the mouings that are here beneath, he leadeth vs to the mouings that are aboue, and from them to a firſt mouuer. Hitherto he is well. But afterward he will haue this firſt mouer to moue euerlaſtingly, and therefore that time ſhould be euerlaſting alſo. Neither the ground nor the conſequence of this argument are ought worth. How will yee proue that the firſt mouuer moueth eternally? Nay contrariwiſe, mouing argueth a beginning. For in mouing there is a certaine poynt from whence the mouing is made, vnto another poynt whereto it tendeth: and euen according to Ariſtotles owne doctrine, forenelle, afternelle, and continuance of time, doe follow forenelle, afternelle, and continuance of mouing, and that implieth a manifeſt contrariette to the definition of mouing from place to place. And that time ſhould bee beginningleſſe, what elſe is it to ſay, than that time is no time, and (as ye would ſay) an implying of contradiction of the very word it ſelfe? For what elſe is time according to Ariſtotle himſelfe, than the number of mouing by forenelle and afternelle, by paſt and to come. And if it bee a number where is the infinitenelle thereof become? And if there bee a fore and after, where is the eternity thereof? In another place he ſaith that mouing is eternall, becauſe time is eternall, and that the cauſe why time is ſo, is that it is alwayes ioyned to that which is paſt. I pray you what a childiſhneſſe is this? By the ſame reaſon I may ſay, that the mouing of a Mill, or the ſtirring of any liuing wight, is eternall: for in thoſe caſes euery inſtant followeth immediatly in the necke of that which is paſt, no leſſe than in the mouing of time, and yet we be not ignorant that they haue a begining. But like as there is a certain firſt forthſetting in thoſe, ſo is there alſo in the mouing of the Heauen, who is the breeder of time. And Algazel anſwereth Auerrhois very well vpon this poynt: That loke what a point or prick is in things that hold one whole vnbroken off, the ſame is an inſtant or moment in things that immediatly or continually ſucceed one after another: and that as a poynt or pricke is the beginning of a line; ſo an inſtant is the beginning of time: and Auerrhois could not diſproue this reaſon otherwiſe than by ſlowting

Ariſtotle in his 1.3.& 8 bookes of naturall Philoſophy, in his firſt booke of the Heauens, and in his firſt booke of the breed of liuing things.

him for it. He replyeth yet againe, and ſaith: Yea but if the World had a beginning, how ſhall the maker thereof be void of alteration? To ſuch a queſtion as this is, me thinks he himſelfe ſhould anſwere thus: That the alledging of an inconuenience aſſoileth not the queſtion. But good Sir Philoſopher, By your ſeeking to bring vs to this inconuenience, you graunt at leaſt wiſe that God created Nature. And is it not a ſtrange ouerſight in you, that you will néeds tie him to the lawes of Nature, which is the maker of Nature: and meaſure the power and liberty of the Clocke-maker, by the ſubiection of the Clock vnto him? Art thou not aſhamed to yéeld leſſe préeminence to God, than to thy king whom thou exempteſt from ſubiection to his lawes, becauſe he is a maker of the lawes? I pray thée what a thing it were, if thou ſhouldeſt vndertake but only to meaſure Nature by thine owne wit? What a number of times haſt thou found thy wit to ſtumble at the leaſt things? How often haſt thou found it againſt thy ſelfe? Now, if Nature goe beyond the reach of thy wit, how far ſhall the very maker of Nature outgoe it? Thou canſt not ſhift thy place without remouing, and therefore thou déſireſt the like of God. But conſider at leaſt wiſe that thy Soule or Mind not being limited within any place, is the place of a thouſand things, and that a thouſand things are the place therof. Againe, thy ſoule cannot conceiue any thing without paſſing from contéplation to actio: no nor abide in contemplation, without change. Now thy deſire is to haue God like thy ſelfe in this behalfe. But if thou wilt not yéeld thy ſelfe to other mens reaſons; at leaſt wiſe yéeld thy ſelfe to thine own reaſons. For whereas thou ſaiſt, ỹ beyond ỹ Heauen there is neither emptines nor time but that whatſoeuer is there, is exempted frō all maner of time, moouing, change, and poſſibility; & that in that vniuerſall eternity all things do lead a moſt happy & wel contented life: dareſt thou ſay leſſe of God, whom thou thy ſelf doſt place far aboue al thoſe things? The very brute Beaſts would babble after that maner of the nature of the ſoule, yea & more to the purpoſe too. For whereas there is no compariſon betwéen God & thée, they yet haue a thing that doth ſomewhat reſemble thée. For thou changeſt in doing, becauſe thy doing is another thing than thy being, & the thing that thou aimeſt at, is out of thy ſelf, which thing cannot change for thée, and therefore thou art faine to change for it. Alſo thou changeſt in beholding for the thing which thou beholdeſt, & thou which beholdeſt it, are two: and to be ſhort, in beholding, thou doſt after a ſort ſuffer at the thing which thou beholdeſt, and in doing thou ſuffereſt at the thing which thou doeſt: but vnto

Ariſtotle in his firſt booke of Heauen, cap. 9.

vnto him which is the maker of all things, to be and to behold, to behold and to do, to do and to will, are all one thing. For euen in willing a thing, he hath done it, and his willing thereof is after a certaine and determinate manner, (I vſe humane words for the vttering of my meaning.) To be ſhort, vnto him that beholdeth all things in himſelf, nothing can ſpring vp that ſhall be new. Let vs now put the caſe that the forealledged inconuenience be moſt to purpoſe, and let vs ſée at leaſt wiſe if thou canſt ſkill to auoyd it in thine owne opinion. If God (ſayſt thou) do make any thing new, he muſt néeds change his minde. And yet thou ſayſt therewithall, that in all things which are done here beneath, by naturall cauſes, there is a certaine influence of God, at leaſt wiſe of the vniuerſall influence vnder the which thou puttеſt all things. So ſpeakeſt thou, ſo ſpeaketh Auerrhois, ſo ſpeaketh Proclus, and the reſt of you thereof. Now, ſeeing that God doth euery day a thouſand new things here beneath, I demand of thée whether he doth thē on new deuice, or vpon euerlaſting forepurpoſe? If he do them vpon new deuice, thou ſtumbleſt at that which thou wouldeſt eſchew: for (by thy reckoning) God doth that which he did not afore, namely, in cheading forth his influence anew, and his producing (by that influence) the thing that was not afore. Or if he doe them vpon euerlaſting forepurpoſe, then confeſſeſt thou that which thou meaneſt to deny: to wit, that God determined euerlaſtingly to make or do things by his power, and that according to that determination, he giueth to euery thing in their times, whatſoeuer hee had foreallotted them of his goodneſſe. For what difference makeſt thou in the caſe betwéene one Plant, and all Plants? betwéene the Plant that is new ſprung vp to day, & the Plant that was withered a thouſand yeeres ago? betwéene the whole world. & the leaſt thing contained therein, if thou be faine to admit a new deuice, as wel for the leaſt thing as for the greateſt? Nay, thou haſt deuiſed thee a God that is turned about vpon his Wheele, a God that hath but a little more wit than thy ſelfe, and a little more ſtrength than thy ſelfe: and yet ſuch are thy ſpeeches of him ſometime, that I cannot tell whether thou entendeſt to be likened to him or no.

Proclus concerning the Influence of the firſt cauſe.

Let vs ſee his other Reaſons. All the ancient Philoſophers (ſaith he) ſauing Plato, beleeued that time is without beginning. A ſtrange caſe, that hee which taketh ſo great pleaſure in controlling of men that went afore him, will now néeds ſhield himſelfe vnder them: But haue already proued that that ſaying of his is falſe. And againe, what greater contraries can there be, than time & eternity? Alſo, The

Heauen (ſaith he) is a Diuine body, vncorruptible, the dwelling place of the Gods, wherin there hath not any corruption bin ſeene that can be remembred: *Ergo*, it is eternall. But how will he proue this Diuinity, and this Quintellence of his? Whence will he proue this incorruptible nature? What will hee anſwere to this ſaying of his owne, that the Gods and God-heads dwel aboue Heauen, and vtterly without the compaſſe or reach of time? Is not this a ſetting downe of ỳ thing for a ground, which is that thing that reſteth to be proued, & (to ſpeake after his owne maner) a craning of the principle? But if we beléeue Plutarke, who affirmeth that Ariſtotle held opinion, that ỳ Heauen is a mingled nature, or heate & moiſture together, ſhall it not be corruptible of it ſelfe as wel as the grounds are whereof it is compoſed? hee addeth that ancient Græks called it Æther (as ye would ſay Airun) becauſe it runneth about continually. And what will he anſwere to Plato, who ſaith that the heauen or ſkie is called Æther, of his brightnes; in which reſpect alſo he calleth the ſtarre of Mars Aiton. Alſo, what will he ſay to all the former Philoſophers, who are of opinion that the ſkie is as Criſtall compoſed of water? And finally, what is this Running about, but a departing from one place to another? Soothly great reaſons to maintaine eternity: for if a man do but breathe vpõ them, they vaniſh into ſmoke. And therfore Plotin in his booke of the world, & Damaſcius in expounding Ariſtotles booke of the ſkie, & Proclus in his ſecond booke vpon Platoes Timæus, haue very well noted, that for the prouing of eternity, Ariſtotle hath ſet downe many things which néd none other diſpoſe than bare deniall, and which would be as hard for him to proue, as to proue eternity it ſelf. What is to bee thought then, if euen by the propoſitions of Ariſtotle himſelfe, & of his Scholliers, we proue againſt him & his Scholliers, that the world had a beginning? The world (ſay they) is eternall, and yet as eternall as it is, it dependeth vpon God. In that point they all agrée. The diſagreement among them is in this, that ſome of them make the depending thereof vpon God, to be vpon an efficient cauſe, & ſome as vpon a finall cauſe, and euery of them draweth Ariſtotle to his ſide as much as he can. Now, if it depend vpon God, as an effect dependeth vpon his efficient cauſe, who ſeeth not that an effect is after his cauſe, & that there went a working power afore the effect diſtinguiſhed eſſentially from the cauſe therof? And where is then this goodly ground of theirs become, that the world is eternall, becauſe no forewoorking power went afore it? Or if it depend vpõ God as a final cauſe therof, that is to ſay, if it were for him, & not from him, ſo as it was

Plato in his Cratylus.

Plotin in his booke of the world. Damaſcius vpon the booke of the Sky. Proclus in his ſecond booke vpon Timæus. Ariſtotle againſt Ariſtotle.

was not a thing of his making, but a thing that he could not conueniently forbeare: whereſoeuer an end is intended, is there not alſo a forecaſt? And where forecaſt is, can chance & neceſſity beare there any ſway? And if God had no néd of the world, was it not at his choyce whether it ſhould be or no? And being at his choyce, can it be beginningleſſe, ſéeing that the Beeing thereof dependeth vpon another than it ſelfe? Againe, if the world depend vpon God, as vpon the end thereof, the working power which they themſelues require in the creation of all things, ſhall either haue gone afore it, or not. If it muſt néeds haue gone afore it, then was it not from euerlaſting: for this word foregoe being a betokener of time, excludeth the world frõ eternity or euerlaſtingnes. Or if there néded not any foreworking power to haue gone afore the world, but that it be ſimply an iſſue procéeding frõ the force of the cauſe, why ſhould it not proceéd as well in time, as from euerlaſting, ſéeing that the ſaid force or power is directed by reaſon & by will. And why then hold they this principle, That the world cannot be of creation, becauſe that if it were ſo, ſome cauſe muſt néeds haue gone afore it? Againe, whence hath the Skie his beginning of mouing, but from an inſtant? And whatſoeuer could be neuer ſo little a while without mouing, why might it not be without mouing a longer while, ſéeing that the reſpect is all one, both of eternity vnto all times, & of infiniteneſſe vnto al places? Therfore whereas Ariſtotle ſaith, that the world (notwithſtanding that it is eternall) dependeth vpon God, he granteth conſequently, that it is not eternal. Secondly, contrary to the teaching of all that went afore him, he deliuereth vs three firſt grounds: namely, Matter, Subſtance, or Stuffe, forme, ſhape, or faſhion, and Priuation, want or bereauing, & his Scholes are ſo greatly delighted therewith, that there is nothing elſe to be heard ſpoken of in them. But if theſe be the firſt beginnings or grounds of things: where is then their eternity? And if they kéepe a circuit in going round about, how can it be that they had not a beginning? Alſo, how can a ſubſtance bee imagined to bee without form, ſhape, or faſhion: or forme, ſhape, or faſhion to be without a ſubſtance, ſeeing that euen miſſhapeneſſe it ſelfe is a kind of ſhape, & alſo, that a ſhape is nothing elſe than the forme or faſhion of a ſubſtãce? Moreouer, what greater abſurdity can there be, than to make that a beginning of being, which hath by it ſelfe no being at all, nor can haue any being but in another thing, as if a man would make blindneſſe to be the beginner of ſight, or darkneſſe the beginner of light? Again, ſéeing that neither ſubſtance nor ſhape haue of themſelues any being at

all: how can they cauſe other things to bée? Or how comes it to paſſe that two things which haue had no being at all, do meet together in one eſſence or being, but by vertue of the ſouereine Béer, who hath willed and determined ý it ſhould be ſo? And if his willing or determining be the cauſe of the being of them, who is he that did ſet or appoint him the terme wherein to do them? But to excuſe one vntruth, a man tels a thouſand: and to ſhift off an error, he falleth into ten thouſand: and yet it cannot be eſchewed, but that the truth will ſparkle out of the Contrarietie of vntruths, as fire ſparkles out of the knocking of one Flintſtone againſt another. In his booke of Problems (which ſeeme notwithſtanding to be of many mens gathering, he ſaith concerning the gendring of liuing things, that the ſmall things, as Wormes, Cutſoules, and ſuch other, are ingendered by the ordinary alterations of time, the greater by the greater alterations, as things that haue need of greater beginnings or grounds: that there hath in time paſt bin ſuch an alteratiõ as of it ſelfe hath ingendred them, yea euen the notableſt liuing things: man himſelf, ſupplying therin both the rome of the efficiẽt cauſe, & alſo of the material, both at once. And it may be, that that cauſe why Varro ſaith that Ariſtotle beleeued that there was no beginning of liuing things, or that liuing things haue bin from euer without begining. Alſo, in another place hee ſaith, that there was ſuch an alteration at the ſame time that liuing things were firſt brought forth, and that if it behoue Nature to bring forth any moe of them, there muſt be ſuch another alteration going afore, namely, by a rare Coniunction of ſome ſtarres. And in another place he ſaith further, that if Man, and other liuing wights had a beginning, it was either in egge, in ſeed, or in wo[r]me, and ſo forth. What a number of Monſters are here for the ſtabliſhing of one Monſter, & yet he hath not alleged any thing which is not againſt himſelfe? The leſſer Coniunctions (ſaith he) do breed the ſmaller liuing things, the meane breed the meane, and the great ones breed the great. Well, be it ſo. Yet theſe coniunctions mét not but by the courſe of the ſtarres; and that courſe is a meuing, and euery mouing hath a beginning: and therefore it followeth that the wights had a beginning. Againe, if the meuing of the Sky, & of the Starres be euerlaſtingly, the Coniunctions thereof are euerlaſtingly alſo, as Ariſtotle himſelf concludeth, & ſo on the contrary. For if it haue turned about from euerlaſting, the Coniunctions haue likewiſe incountred from euerlaſting. But euerlaſtingly they could not incounter: for the ſmall ones, the meane ones, and the great ones are not all at once together, but they come ſeuerally

Ariſtotle in problemes Sect. 10. prob. 64.

Sect. 10. prob. 15.

Ariſtotle in his third booke of the breeding of liuing wights.

Lucrece: the worms of the Earth grew fit for roots.

Ariſtotle in his twelfth booke of metaphiſickes, c. 7.

ſeuerally one after another with the ſpace of certain hundred yéeres, and with diuers reuolutions betwixt them: whereas if they were eternall, none of them could goe or come afore another. Therefore it followeth that there is a beginner of liuing Wights, and a beginner of the goings about the Sky, and of all the whole order which we ſée: And that is euen God himſelfe. How much better had Ariſtotle done, if hee had held himſelfe to that which hee ſayth well in other places, namely, that forasmuch as the moſt things cannot haue a perpetuall continuance in the particular, that is to ſay, in themſelues, by reaſon of beeing too farre diſtant from their beginning: therefore God hath continued them by the ſpreading forth of their kind, and to that end hath made them male and female & ordained copulation betwixt them For if wee make ý liuing things without beginning, do we not make them to be euerlaſting? And if we ground their beginings vpon ſome reuolutions of the Skies: can theſe reuolotions be euerlaſting? Alſo, how ſhall they haue bin brought forth, in full growth, or young, ſeeing that at the bringing forth of all things, the things are tender and vnperfect? And if the things bee not euerlaſting, where then is the euerlaſting mouing of the heauen: that is to ſay, where is Ariſtotles eternity become? The ſame followeth alſo that which he ſaith in another place, namely, that he which did firſt gather men together was the author of very great good. For in acknowledging that there was a time wherein folke liued like the men of Braſilie, or like the wandring Nomades, hee acknowledgeth alſo an infancy of the World. For els, what ſhould let that men haue not been either euerlaſtingly diſperſed, or els euerlaſtingly vnited together? and how comes it to paſſe, O Ariſtotle, that there haue not bin Ariſtotles from euerlaſting? Againe, who ſhall chooſe out the very inſtant in eternity for the breeding and bringing forth of any thing particularly, but hee that is the Lord of eternity it ſelfe?

Ariſtotle in his ſecond booke of Generation & Corruption. Cap. 10. in his books of Common-weal.

Ariſtotle in his Morals commendeth godlineſſe, and behighteth bleſſednеſſe to them that follow it, teaching vs that it conſiſteth in Contemplation. Now, ſeeing that this Contemplation or beholding is the meane to make vs bleſſed; it muſt needes be the beholding of a thing that is right bleſſefull: but bleſſefull it cannot bee, if it conſiſt in theſe inferior things, which are baſe and ſubiect to ſo many miſeries and turmoiles. Therefore he meaneth the Cõtemplation which is the beholding of the only one God. Alſo in other places he ſaith that our Soules are of a diuine nature, that they be immortall, that they come into vs from without, ane that they be (after a ſort) a kin of the gods:

and

and his Diſciples would bee offended at him that ſhould ſay, That their Maſter doubted of the immortalitie of the Soule. And whereto is all this, if the world be eternall? If it be eternal, either our ſoules alſo be eternall, that is to ſay, without beginning, or els they bee not eternall. If they bee, how happeth it they haue impriſoned themſelues in theſe our bodies? Or if they be ſo impriſoned at the appointment of another: who ſhall that other be but God? And if God appoint or allot them to this new ſtate in time certaine, who hath made one eternity ſubiect to another? And what is then becom of this Maxime of theirs, that the World is eternall, becauſe GOD maketh not any thing there a new? Moreouer, if they be euerlaſting, who hath made them proportionable to their bodies, that is to wit, infinite Soules to infinite Bodies? And then, what becomes againe of this other rule of theirs, that Nature cannot abide any infiniteneſſe? Or if they be euerlaſting, and yet of ſome certaine number, going and comming into new bodies by courſe: is not that the opinion of Pythagoras, and Ariſtotle doth ſo greatly miſlike? And if our Soules at their departing out of our bodies, do goe to the inioying of the bleſſed immortality, doth it not follow, that from after the paſſing ouer of that reuolution, men muſt mooue without Soule, diſpute without reaſon, and iudge without minde; yea, and that euen Ariſtotle himſelfe ſpeaketh and reaſoneth without wit? To be ſhort, what boteth it to bee godly or religious, if our Soules acknowledge no better thing than themſelues? What auaileth it to look for the bleſſed Contemplation, if they be perfectly bleſſed of themſelues? But perfectly bleſſed they be, if they be eternall. And whereto then ſerueth the rewarding of them with immortall life, if they haue the eternity, or immortality already? What els then is his vpholding of the world to be eternall, than a turning of the whole world vpſide downe? But there are (ſaith Ariſtotle) Godlineſſe, Bleſſednes, and Immortality: then doth it follow that our Soules are not eternall. And if they bee not eternall, then haue they a beginning, and that beginning haue they, either of God, or of the world. Of the world they haue it not: for (as I haue ſayd) were the world eternall, the Conuerſions or turnings about therof ſhould be eternall too, and conſequently ſo ſhould our Soules be alſo, as which ſhould be ſtaid of their power. But now are all things mortall that are ingendred by thoſe conuerſions, as Ariſtotle himſelfe graunteth. But we put the caſe that they haue an original notwithſtanding that they be immortall. Therefore it remaineth that the ſame is from God. Now, they could not proceed from God

God as beames of his ſubſtance: for all the Philoſophers vphold, that he is a ſingle and vndiuided ſubſtance, vnited in it ſelfe and moſt perfectly one: but we be ſubiect to alteration, to ignorance, to euil affections and ſuch other things. It remaineth therefore (and otherwiſe it cannot bee) that our Soules are the worke of Gods power. Now, if our Soules (which after a ſort doe comprehend the World and all things therein) be the effects of Gods power which through his goodneſſe vttereth it ſelfe when hee liſteth: ſhall not the World it ſelfe and the ſenceleſſe and tranſitory things which ſerue vs, yea and our bodies alſo which are but the Cotes, or Inſtruments of our Soules be ſo in like wiſe? Now then, let Ariſtotles diſciples chooſe whether they will giue ouer the eternity of the world, or the immortality of their Soules: the euerlaſting turning about of the wheele, or the immortall ſtedneſſe of bleſſed ſtate: for both of them together cannot ſtand.

But ſurely his Diſciple Theophraſtus ſeemeth to haue perceiued theſe inconueniences and contradictions well, when he proceedeth ſo farre as to ſay that God created the world, yea euen of nothing. And ſo doth Algazel the Sarazen againſt Auerthois, vnto whom he ſaith, That God for the creating of the world néeded neither ſtuffe nor new aduiſement, but that like a moſt perfect Workeman, hauing all things in a readineſſe, he tooke his owne leiſure for the performance of his worke when it pleaſed him. And yet it ſeemeth that Ariſtotle towards the end of his life repented him of that doctrine: inſomuch, that in his book of the world, he ſayth, That God is the breeder and preſeruer of all things in the world after what manner ſoeuer it be. And euen in his Metaphiſicks, hauing reiected the opinions of many men concerning theſe things, he ſayth thus: He that ſayth that God or the ſoueraigne Minde is the Cauſe and Author not onely of liuing things, but alſo of Nature it ſelfe and the World, and of all the order therein, ſeemeth to ſpeake diſcreetly and weladuiſedly, and they that ſpeake otherwiſe, ſpeak vnaduiſedly. And they that are of the former opinion, haue very well ſet downe that Cauſe for the ground of all things that are, as the wch is ſuch a beginning as giueth mouing to all things. And in his booke of Wonders, (if it be his) hee ſpeaketh yet more euidently: ſaying, that naturally ỳ Sea ſhould couer the Earth as higher than it, but that God hath cauſed the Sea to withdraw it ſelfe, that the earth might bee vncouered for the vſe of man and of other liuing Wights. And this is in effect a comming backe to the opinion of his predeceſſors, from the which hee would ſo faine haue

Theophr. in his book of Saints, Sauors, or Smelles.

Dea-

departed afore. Howſoeuer the caſe ſtand, all the ancient Philoſophers doe either conclude the Creation of the World with vs, or els yeeld vs arguments into our hands wherwith to conclude it againſt themſelues. To be ſhort, when Ariſtotle, who was the firſt that ſtepped out of the high-way, ſayth that the world is without beginning, he ſeemeth to be Ariſtotle no more, he doth ſo often gainſay himſelfe and offend againſt his owne rules. And where he chanceth to ſay that the World was created, he ſeemeth to be minded to yeeld himſelfe to vs. And where the caſe concerneth not (at leaſtwiſe expreſſly) the one nor the other, hee leaueth vs many Concluſions, which doe quite ouerthrow and deſtroy the ſayd opinion of his, and make him whether he will or no to conclude on our ſide.

The Latine.

The Latines fell to Philoſophie ſomewhat later than the Greeks, by reaſon wherof they had the more cauſe to ouer-ſhote themſelues in the caſe of Eternity: but yet we ſee that the moſt part of them followed the opinion of Plato. That man (ſaith Cicero) that firſt gathered together men afore diſperſed, was ſurely a great Perſonage. And (as ſaith Pythagoras) ſo was he which did firſt giue names to things, and which firſt compriſed within a certaine number of letters, the ſounds of Mans voice which ſeemed to be infinite, and which marked the Courſes and proceeding of the wandring Planets, and which firſt found out Corne, Cloth, building, defences againſt wild Beaſts, and the reſt of the things that make our liues the more ciuill. What els is this, than an acknowledging of a beginning? For if men were from euerlaſting, did they not from euerlaſting ſpeake, did they not from euerlaſting giue names to things? Could they not inuent euery thing from Euerlaſting? Yes: and therefore he concludeth: Wee be not created by hap-hazard, but ſurely there was a certain Might or Power which had a care of Mankind, and which would not haue begotten him to fall into the miſchiefe of endleſſe death, after he hath outworne the great and innumerable aduerſities and toyles of the world. Now, if we were created, and that there be a ſoueraigne power which hath had care of Mankind, ſurely then hath there been a beginning, ſeeing that the ſaid power had a care of vs, either when as yet we were not at all, or after the time that we were. And in another place he ſaith: That God created and furniſhed man, and that it was his will that he ſhould haue the ſoueraignty of all other things. That the World, the Sea, the Land, and all other things obey Gods tokens. And if at any time hee bring in an Epicure alleaging ſuch worſhipfull reaſons as this, With what Engines and edge-tooles did your God build the world,

Cicero in his firſt booke of Inuentiõ, and in his firſt booke of the Orator.

Cicero in his ſecond booke of the nature of the gods.

Cicero in his Lawes.

world, and ſuch other, either hee ſendeth him alway with ſuch anſwere as he deſerueth, or els by holding his peace, ſheweth ſufficiently that he deſerueth no anſwere at all.

Varro the beſt learned of the Latines, maketh an vniuerſall Hiſtory deuided into three names. The firſt (as I haue ſaid already) is from the firſt creation of the world, vnto the firſt Olimpiade. This man being a man of great reading, found the creation of the world to haue been but late afore, yea and ſo late, that he ioined it immediatly to the time of the firſt Olimpiade. Likewiſe, Seneca found all things to be new, and acknowledgeth in many places, that God created the whole world, and man peculiarly to ſerue him. And euer ſince the beginning of the world (ſayth he) vnto this day, wee be guided by the intercourſes of daies and nights, and ſo forth. Macrobius paſſeth yet further, and ſaith, that the world cannot be of any long antiquity, conſidering that the furtheſt knowledge that is to be had therof, reacheth not beyond two thouſand yeeres. As touching the Poets, whoſe ſpeeches do for the moſt part repreſent vnto vs the opinion that was admitted among the common people: Virgil is full of excellent ſentences to that purpoſe: and Ouid hath made a booke expreſſly of that matter. And euen Lucrece alſo who confeſſed vngodlineſſe, ſaith, that beyond the wars of Troy & Thebes, there was not any iote remaining to remembrance: than the which, he could not better haue declared the world to be but young, howbeit that (after the maner of his owne ſect) hee fathereth that thing vpon chance, which all the wiſe men aſcribe to the euerlaſting prouidence. Plinie is the only man whom I wonder at, that being ſo curious a ſearcher of Nature, he could not conceiue that which is painted in euery part of it, and which euery man might of himſelf learn by his owne reading therein. He maketh a long Calender of the firſt inuenters of things, as of Letters, of Houſes, of Apparell, and of bery Bread. He reckoneth vp the Companies that haue fleeted from place to place, for the peopling and repleniſhing of Countries. And can there be a greater proofe of newneſſe, then that ſometimes hee ſayth, that the Earth is become weary, and ſometimes that it is waxed barren in yeelding of fruite and Metalles, becauſe it groweth olde? But in one place hee ſaith expreſſly, that mens bodies by little and little become a ſmaller ſtature by reaſon of the witheredneſſe of the world which waxeth old. And is not this a reporting of the Skie to be like a wheele, which gathereth heate and chafeth with rowling and whirling about? And what importeth this waxing old, but that it had alſo (as ye would ſay) a birth-time?

Varro.

Seneca in his firſt booke of the happy life. Cap. 3. and 22. and in the firſt booke of his naturall Queſtions: and in his Epiſtles.

Macrobius. lib. 1. Saturnalium.

Virgil.

Ouid.

Lucretius the Poet.

Plinie.

Plin. lib. 7.

Plin. lib. 2.

What

What meaneth the wearing thereof away, but that it had erſt béene new? What is ment by the chaſing of it, but as the temperature thereof is altered? For if the World be eternall: why is not the whéele thereof eternally in one heate, and likewiſe men eternally of ſmall ſtature? Or if at leaſtwiſe it be of very ancient continuance, why were not men become Pigmees long agoe? And if the contrary be to bee ſeene in Nature, what remaineth but to confeſſe that the world is but of late beginning? To be ſhort, the Stoikes (as Varro witneſſeth of Zeno) taught that the world was created of God, and that it ſhould periſh. The Platoniſts affirme that it is created of God and mortall, but yet is ſuſtained from periſhing of God. The Epicures grant that it had a beginning, howbeit by hap-hazard and not by prouidence. The Perepatetikes ſay in their concluſions, that it is without beginning, and in their premiſes they vtterly deny it. The greateſt deſpiſers of God, as Plinie and ſuch other like, doe write in their Prefaces, that the world is an euerlaſting god: and throughout the whole Treatiſes of their bookes, they vnſay it again. Now then, after ſo many graue witneſſes, and after the confeſſions of the parties themſelues, is there yet any of theſe pretenſed Naturaliſts to bee found, which dareth thinke the contrary ſtill?

The Stoikes. The Platoniſts. The Epicures. The Peripatetikes. *Plinie.*

But now ſince the comming of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt into the Earth, this doctrine hath béen receiued throughout the world, ſo as the thing which had afore-times bin diſputable among the Heathen, is now admitted as an Article of Faith, welnére among all Nations and Sects on the earth: It may be that the miracles which were ſéene then in Heauen, in Earth, in the Sea, vpon Men, and vpon the very Fiends, made the world to perceiue that there was a Creator of the world. For who could doubt that the creating of a new Star, the reſtoring of a dead man to life, or only the making of a blind man to ſee, was not the worke of an infinite power, yea euen as well as the building of the world, conſidering that betweene being & not-being, betweene life and death, betweene the hauing of a thing and the not-hauing, the diſtance is infinite? And it may bee that the ſignes which we haue ſeene from heauen in our time, do ſerue to make the blaſphemers vpon earth vnexcuſable. But whereof ſoeuer it came, the very Philoſophers themſelues began to make a groũded principle therof: inſomuch, that the Greeks, Perſians, and Arabians: and likewiſe afterward, the Turkes and Mahometiſts, did put it into their beleefe as a thing out of all controuerſie. To be ſhort, there is not at this day any Ciuill or well ordered people, which haue not their Chronicles and

The operations of the Platoniſts.

and Hiſtories of times, begun alwaies at the creation of the world, wherein they do all hold of Moſes, and agree all with vs Chriſtians, ſauing in the controuerſie of ſome few peeces.

Of all the Philoſophers, only the Platoniſts continued in eſtimation: and al men reiected the new-found opinions of Ariſtotle, and they ſtood at defiance, rather with the Gnoſticks, than with the Chriſtians. S. Auſtin ſaith, concerning the Philoſophers of his time, that their opinion was, that God was before the world, howbeit not in time, but in order and by way of vnder-ſetting only: like as if a foote (ſaith he) were euer in one place, the print thereof ſhould alſo be euer there. Vnto whom it may be anſwered in one word, that like as ability and intent of going went afore the going it ſelfe, both in the man and in the foote, ſo in God alſo, the power and intent of creating, went afore the Creation. But it is beſt to heare of their owne words. Plotin in his booke of the world, findeth himſelfe not a little grauelled in this caſe, and he maketh very little account of al Ariſtotles ſuppoſals. If we ſay (ſaith he) that the Sky is euerlaſting as in reſpect of the whole body thereof: how can that be, ſeeing that the liuing Creatures dye, and the Elements paſſe from one into another, and that (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Skie it ſelfe is continually wheeling? If we ſay that the Elements & the liuing Wights continue their perpetuities in their kinds: why doth the heauen continue his perpetuity rather in number and particularitie? If the cauſe thereof be, that nothing can ſlip out of it, becauſe it containeth all things: how can that reaſon agree to the ſtars and Planets, which do not containe all things, as the Heauen or Skie doth, and yet we affirme them to be euerlaſting? And if nothing impeach it without, what ſhould let that ſomething may not impeach it within, ſeeing that all liuing Wights do naturally periſh, through the diſtemperance of their parts, notwithſtanding that they liue while they be a diſſoluing? And what inſueth hereof, but that both ſorts of bodies, as well Cœleſtiall as tereſtriall, do periſh, yea and both Heauen and earth likewiſe, ſauing that the Cœleſtial indure a longer time, and more ſlowly than the earthly? Certainly (ſaith he) if we took this world eternity (as well in the whole world as in the parts thereof) not to betoken an euerlaſtingneſſe (that is to ſay, a perpetuity or continuance without beginning or end) but onely a difference of continuance, there would be the leſſe doubtfulneſſe in the matter. But alſo ſhall be out of doubt, if we father the ſame eternity vpon the will of God, which of it ſelfe is able enough to vphold the world, for ſo ſhall things haue their continuance according to his pleaſure, ſome in their kinds,

Plotin. Ennead. 2. lib. 1. cap. 1. & 2.

kinds, and ſome particularly in themſelues. Now, if the World were eternal; were it not impoſſible that it ſhould be otherwiſe than it is? But if it haue this being from the will of God, is it not diſcharged of that neceſſitie? And what ſhall then become of this ſaying of his, which he ſetteth downe in diuers places, namely, that the world is of neceſſity, becauſe it would behoue a ſecond Nature to accompanie the firſt, vnleſſe we vnderſtand it to be ſpoken of the neceſſity that is conditionall, and not of the neceſſity that is abſolute as they terme it? Againe, the ſame will which made the world to be, and hath giuen continuance to the parts thereof, ſome after one ſort and ſome after another, and hath diſpoſed of them as it liſted it ſelfe, ſhall it not alſo haue made them when it liſted it ſelfe? Whoſoeuer then ſaith, that the beeing of the World, as well in the whole as in the parts, dependeth vpon the will of God, taketh from the world all neceſſity of being. And hee that ſaith that there is no neceſſity that it ſhould haue bin from euerlaſting, (let vs vſe thoſe words for want of other) ſaith therewithall that it is not euerlaſting.

Plotinus Ennead.3. lib. 2. cap. 2.

In his booke of Eternitie and of time, he ſaith that Eternitie and Time differ in this reſpect, that eternitie is verified but of euerlaſting nature, and time is to be verified of the things that are created: So as eternitie is and abideth in God alone, whom hee calleth the world that is to be conceiued but in mind or vnderſtanding, and time abideth in the world that is ſubiect to the ſences: adding neuertheleſſe, that the world (to ſpeake properly) was not made in time, after which manner we alſo do ſay, that it was not made in time, but together with the time. But when he hath deliberately ſcanned all the definitions of time made by the former Philoſophers, and hath ſearched all the corners of his wit to find out the beſt, in the end hee concludeth thus: We muſt needs come backe (ſaith he) to the ſaid firſt nature, which I affirmed heretofore to be in eternitie: I meane the vnmoueable nature, which is wholly all at once the infinite and endleſſe life, and which conſiſteth whole in one, and tendeth vnto one. But as yet there was no time at all, or at leaſt wiſe it was not among the Natures that conſiſt in vnderſtanding, but was to come afterward by a certaine manner and kinde of poſterioritie. Now then, if a man will vnderſtand, how time proceeded firſt from the higher Natures which reſted in themſelues; good cauſe ſhall he haue to call the Muſes to his helpe, for the vttering thereof: For it may be that the Muſes alſo were as then. Therefore let vs ſay thus, Afore ſuch a time as Forenesſe iſſued forth, and had need of Afterneſſe; Time, (which as then was not) reſted in God with the reſidue of all things that now are. But a certaine nature bent to many doings, that is to wit, the Soule of the world, being deſirous to haue more than the preſent, began to moue it ſelfe, and ſo from thence immediatly iſſued time, which paſſeth on continually, and is neuer the ſelfeſame. And we beholding the length thereof, haue imagined time to be the image of Eternity. And what is meant by all this contemplation, but that a certaine Soule or Minde proceeding from God, that is to wit, the Spirit of God, did moue and carry the world about: That with that mouing, and of that mouing, time was breede and brought forth? That afore that mouing, there was a ſetled ſtate or reſt, as eternity afore time: And that (as he himſelfe ſaith there) Time and Heauen were made both at once, and Eternity was afore them both.

ENENI KAIPROS ENA.

As touching that it is demanded what God did afore the World? doth not Plotnius himſelfe furniſh vs with ſufficient anſwere, in that he ſaith, That God not working at all, but reſting in himſelfe, doth and performeth very great things? And is not the like concluded by the godly doctrine of Gods prouidence, whereof he treateth in bookes expreſſely bearing that Title? for if it be poſſible for the world to be eternal as wel as God; where then can there be any prouidence? For what elſe is prouidence, than the will of God vttered forth with reaſon, & orderly diſpoſed by vnderſtanding? And if Gods will be required: where is then the neceſſity of being, which in other places he attributeth to the world? Alſo where is this ſaying of his become, that our Soules are immortall? and that ſome of them are eternall and afore all time? And likewiſe this, that afore God had created the world, and breathed a Soule into it, it was but a dead corſe, a mingle mangle of earth and water, a darke matter, a thing of nothing, and (at a word) ſuch a thing as euen the gods themſelues were abaſhed at it: and that after that God had ſhed his Soule in the World, both life and mouing were therby breathed into the Starres, Planets and liuing Wights. For ſeeing that from not being, not liuing, and not mouing, there is an infinite diſtance to beeing, liuing and mouing: Doth it not follow alſo, that there is infinite oddes betweene him that is, liueth, and moueth, that is to ſay God, & the thing that waiteth to haue being, life mouing & at his hand, that is to wit, the forementioned Chaos. And what is it that hath bounded or filled vp this diſtance, but onely the Will of him who onely is? And if Will were the doer thereof: then was it not of neceſſitie: And if it was not of neceſſitie, then where is the Eternitie thereof?

CHRONOS DENSTEROS.

Porphirius diſputing of the Minde or Underſtanding, the which hee termeth the Beginning, Ground, or Welſpring of the World, ſayth, that it was bred of God from euerlaſting, by a certaine eternall or beginningleſſe breeding, euen ſuch a one as was afore all eternity. It was not bred in time (ſaith he) for as yet there was no time at all: and after that time was made, the World can ſcarcely bee ſayd in very deede to bee, if it be compared with the foreſayd Vnderſtanding or Minde. This is all one with the ſaying of Triſmegiſtus in a certaine place, where he calleth this Minde, a true, euerlaſting, and firſt borne Sonne of GOD, and this World Gods younger Sonne: the one begotten of his verie Nature, and the other of his will.

Proclus and Simplicius keepe a great coyle in maintenance of the eternity of the world, and haue made bookes thereof againſt Philoponus: but all their reaſons are ſufficiently refuted, by the things which I haue diſcourſed againſt Ariſtotle. But ſeeing they maintaine Gods Prouidence and the immortality of the Soule, doe they not reiect Eternity whether they will or no? And whereas Proclus writting againſt ſuch as vpheld that there bee infinite Worlds without number, ſaith, that ſuch infiniteneſſe is againſt reaſon and knowledge, and that the admitting thereof excludeth God, and abandoneth all things to Fortune: why ſhould he rather admit infiniteſſe of time in this one world, than infiniteneſſe of number in many, ſpecially ſeeing hee alloweth Gods prouidence? And whereas Simplicius condemneth thoſe to Hell, which beleeue not the Prouidence vpon the reaſons of Epictetus: doth he not conſequently condemne the defenders of the eternity of the World to the ſame punishment? And when Auerrhois himſelfe ſayth, that it is our duty to magnify God by prayer and ſacrifice, & that it is planted euen in nature to offer ſacrifice, is he not contrary to himſelfe? for to what end reuerence we God, if we be nothing beholden to him? neuertheleſſe my alleaging of theſe things, is not as though I knew not wel that ỳ Platoniſts, yea & euen theſe aforementioned Philoſophers alſo, do cal the world euerlaſting and vnbegotten: but to ſhew that the very ſureſt of them haue wauered in this opinion: inſomuch that they haue left vs Principles contrary to their concluſions: and after all their long ſkirmiches, they find no reſt but in our Campe. And ſoothly the moſt part of them bee driuen to acknowledge certaine degrees of eternity. Whereof the firſt ſhould be, that which is meaſured by a continuance of that which is euermore of it ſelfe, and becommeth neither the longer, for ought that

that is to come, nor yet the ſhorter for ought that is paſt: and that is it which is to be aſcribed only vnto God. The ſecond, as the meaſure of ſuch things as haue a fixed and ſtable being, and yet haue alſo a certaine ſucceſſion in their operations, of which ſort are the vnderſtanding Spirits or Angels; and this is properly called Ayneſſe. The third, as the meaſuring of durableneſſe continued by forenenſſe & afternenſſe, hauing a beginning, but not an end, & this they call Time, attributing it properly to the world. And what elſe is this, than to ſpeake that thing by circumſtance which we vtter in one word? For to what purpoſe call they a thing eternall or euerlaſting, if by the termes Eternall and Euerlaſting, they meane temporall? After which manner the Emperour Iuſtinian ſpeaking vnproperly of his owne Lawes, ſaid he hoped that they ſhould be eternall and euerlaſting.

Iuſtinian in the preface to his Digeſtes

As touching the opinion of Epictetus the Stoike, and of Plutarke, no man can doubt, except he quite and cleane diſanul their booke. God (ſaith Epictetus) hath ordained that there ſhould be Winter & Summer, good ſeaſons and bad: hee hath giuen to the earth both fruitfulneſſe and barrainneſſe, and his diſpoſing of things ſo by contraries, is to maintaine the harmony of the whole. Hee hath brought vs into the world, giuen vs bodies and members, and aſſigned vs heritages and fellow heires. It is hee that hath made both the ſight and the colours, and neither ſight nor colours were ought worth, if it were not for the light, and therefore hath he alſo made the light. Thus from poynt to poynt he leadeth vs to this concluſion, That God made the world, and all that is therein. Plutarke ſaith thus: If God were not the Maker of all things, then ſhould he be reſtrained in ſome things, and ſo were hee not Lord of all. But hee is to bee acknowledged for Lord of all, and therefore of conſequence he is the maker of them all. And here might a great number of the forealledged ſentences of the ſelfeſame Authors be alledged againe.

Plutarke in his Pſychogonie.

But what will we ſay if Galen (who in common account is the moſt heathenith of all Writers,) after he hath throughly ript vp both Man and the World it ſelfe, be in the end conſtrained to come backe to the ſame point? I make here (ſaith he in his booke of the vſe of parts) a true Hymne in the honour of our Maker: whoſe ſeruice I beleeue verily conſiſteth not in the ſacrificing of hundreds of Oxen vnto him, or in burning great heapes of Frankincenſe before him, but in acknowledging the greatneſſe of his wiſedome, power, and goodneſſe, and in making the ſame knowne vnto others. For whereas of his own free will he hath vouchſafed to garniſh and beautifie all things in the

Galen in his third booke of the vſe of the parts of mens bodies

beſt manner that could bee, and hath not enuied ſo great a benefite to any thing, I hold it for a proofe of perfect goodneſſe: and ſo farre praiſed be his goodneſſe. Againe, to haue found out the meanes how to adorne things ſo richly, ſheweth a Soueraigne Wiſedome, and to haue brought to paſſe and perfected all that euer hee had fore-purpoſed, betokeneth an incomparable might and power. **And in his ſeuenteenth booke,** Whoſo conſidereth (ſaith he) the compoſing and knitting together of euery liuing thing, ſhall find that it carrieth in it a proofe of the Creators Wiſedome. And ſeeing that in the midſt of that Puddle of humours each liuing wight hath a Soule dwelling, indued with ſo great force and vertue: he ought of reaſon the more to wõder at the greatneſſe & excellency of the Mind that dwelleth in heauen. And who is he (had he ſaid afore) which looking but only vpon the skinne of a thing, wondereth not at the cunning of the Creator? **Yet notwithſtanding he diſſembleth not that he had tried by al means to find ſome reaſon of the cõpoſing of liuing wights, & that he would rather haue fathered the doing thereof vpon Nature, than vpon the very Author of Nature. But yet for all that, in the end he concludeth thus:** I confeſſe (ſaith he) that I know not what the ſoule is, notwithſtanding that I haue ſought very narrowly for it, neither can I yeeld a reaſon how the Babe is formed in the Mothers Wombe. Well doe I ſee, that in that caſe there is very great Wiſedome, and therefore I am of that opinion, that it is not for any man to meddle with the ſearching out of it, but that it ought to ſuffice vs that our Creatour hath willed it to bee after that faſhion. For ſhall we preſume to ſeeke a reaſon of the doing of that thing, which (without making of an Anatomie) we ſhould neuer know to haue beene done? **It is all one as if he ſhould ſay, that Nature whereat wee wonder ſo much, is nothing elſe but whatſoeuer it pleaſeth God to command.**

Gal. lib. 11. & 17.

Galen in his book of the breeding of Children.

Galen in his 15. booke of the vſe of Parts.

And now what remaineth more, but to heare Apollo (that is to ſay the very Deuill himſelfe) who being prayed to ſay an Hymne to the great God, beginneth it with this verſe?

Which made the firſt Man, and called him Adam: **Which verſe Iuſtine the Martyr affirmeth to haue beene commonly ſung in his time.**

After the confeſſion of wickednes it ſelfe, if we liſt alſo to heare the confeſſion of Ignorance, there is not at this day ſo brutiſh a Nation, which either by reading in the great letters of the heauens, or by tradition frõ their predeceſſors, retaine not the opinion ỹ the world was created:

created: howbeit that the caſe doth ſtand with them as it doth with the diuerſity of Portratures drawne out, the firſt from the liuely patterne it ſelfe, the ſecond from that firſt, a third from the ſecond, and ſo forth on, vntill the laſt counterfait retaine ſcarſe any feature at all from the firſt originall patterne. Of the Nations which wee call ſauage or wild, ſome affirme to keepe and reuerence the places, where they ſurmiſe to haue bin the originall of the Sea, of the Sunne, of the Moone, of the firſt man and of the firſt woman, &c. Otherſome hold opinion, that there came one frõ the North into their Country, which heightened the Vallies and releeued the Hilles, and replenished their Country with men and women whom he had created, and that the ſame partie giueth them fruits of all ſorts aboundantly. Who (whenſoeuer they prouoke him to wrath) will change their good ſoyle into barren land, and take from them the fatneſſe of the heauen. May ye not ſee clearely here the creation of the world, the ſin of man, and the curſe which God hath giuen to the earth for mans ſake? And as for the party whom they ſpeake of, it is a mingling of the ſtorie of the Creation, with the ſtory of ſome party that firſt brought people from the North into thoſe Countries to inhabit them euen long time after, ioyning the creation of the world with the peopling of Countries, as things not farre diuers, accordingly as is done in diuers Hiſtories. And I pray you how many euen of our Neighbour nations that inhabite the vttermoſt borders of the world, could euen at this day anſwere more fitly to that queſtion?

Now ſeeing that the World and all the parts thereof do ſing out the creation, ſeeing the wiſdome of the world teacheth it vngodlines (euen whether it will or no) auoweth it, Ignorance ſeeth it, and alwe with the allowance euen of the blockiheſt and of the wickedeſt, pronounce this definitiue ſentence, That the world had a beginning, and that it had it at ſuch time as it pleaſed God the Creator thereof? But there remaineth yet one point to be diſcuſſed: namely, whereof God created the world: and that is matter enough for another Chapter.

Chap. X.

That God created the world of nothing, that is to ſay, without any matter or ſtuffe whereof to make it.

I Cannot tell whether I may wonder more at the good inſight of the ancient Philoſophers in the knowledge of many naturall things, or at their blindneſſe in the knowledge of the Author of them, in that they ſet it downe for a definitiue ſentence, that nothing in all the world is made of nought: and therefore that the great Workemaſter himſelfe could not make any thing without matter or ſtuffe whereof. For in effect it is a meaſuring of the builder and his building both by one rule or ſkantling, & an abaſing of that power which they themſelues confeſſe to be infinite, vnto the ſtate of our infirmity. God (ſay they) cannot make any thing without matter whereof. And why? Becauſe a Maſon cannot make any building without ſtuffe whereof. As who would ſay, there were a more abſurd kinde of reaſoning in Logicke, than to conclude from the finite to the infinite, from the mightleſſe to the Almightie, from the tranſitory to the Euerlaſting. Nay rather thou ſhouldſt reaſon thus: Man, who is leſſe than a Worme, in compariſon of the higheſt, draweth Gold out of the Rock, or out of the duſt of the earth: Of the ſame earth or ſtone he maketh ſuch cloth, wire, and leaues of goldfoile, as no man would deeme to haue come of ſo groſſe a matter: of the greene hearbe he draweth out white flower for his ſuſtinance: of the ſtalkes of Flaxe and Hempe, hee draweth out threed to make cloth of: of ragges he maketh Paper to write on: and of the excrements of the little Silk-worme he draweth out a great deale of Silk cloth. Againe, he turneth ſome one rude and rough kinde of ſtuffe into a hundred thouſand faſhions: of the leaſt things he maketh very great things, and by the excellency of his wit draweth moſt excellent things out of that where the moſt part of men (notwithſtanding that they be men as well as he) found not, ne perceiued not any thing at all: as for example, out of the Flint, fire to warme him: out of the barraine Ferne & vile Sea-weed, glittering Glaſſe: out of a ſhelfiſh that the Sea caſteth vp, Purple to make Ornaments of. To be ſhort, after a certaine maner, he maketh ſomewhat of nothing. Now, ſeeing that the

the weakneſſe of mortall men can do ſo much, ſhal not the mighty power of the Euerlaſting bee able to do much more? And ſeeing that a thing of nought is able to do ſo much, ſhall any thing be vnpoſſible to the maker of all things? But although this which I haue ſaid might ſuffice the diſcreet, yet notwithſtanding let vs diſcuſſe more largely this matter concerning Matter or Stuffe.

Soothly, if God néded matter or ſtuffe to worke vpon, either hee himſelfe made it, or elſe it was eternally of it ſelfe as well as he. If he made it, he made it of nothing: for in ſéeking the matter of matter, ye ſhall proceed to infinite; and ſo haue I the thing I would haue. If it were from euerlaſting, then were there two eternals together, which is a thing repugnant to all reaſon, and contrary to it ſelfe. For nothing can be more contrary to eternity, than to ſay that there is a matter or ſtuffe which attendeth or waiteth to haue his ſhape, forme, or faſhion, at ſome workmaſters hand, or that there is an eternall thing which hath not any other life or being, than ſuch as another eternall thing hath vouchſafed to giue vnto it. For let vs ſée, I pray you, what maner of thing they imagine this matter to be. They will haue it to be a thing without ſhape, but yet a receiuer of all ſhapes: & they will haue ſhape to be without matter wherein to be, but yet as a mould wherein to faſhion all matters, ſo as the matter ſhould haue no being at all, but by reaſon of the ſhape or forme, as of the giuer of being thereto. But how can matter be without forme, ſeeing that euen deformity it ſelfe is a kinde of forme? Or how can matter bee alone by it ſelfe, ſéeing that forme is the thing that giueth being vnto it? Now then, to ſay that matter is without forme, is all one, as to ſay, that it is and is not, which were the ſaying of a mad man.

He that granteth God to be former, faſhioner, or giuer of ſhape, doth therwith confeſſe him to be the Creator.

Yea (ſay they) but how is it poſſible for ſomwhat to be made of nothing, ſith there is an infinite diſtance betwixt ſomwhat & nothing? Nay, I ſay rather, what is it which is not finite in reſpect of him that is infinite? I meane, in reſpect of him whom thou thy ſelf affirmeſt to haue bounded the ſelfeſame matter which thou doſt take & teach to be infinite? But if thou likeſt to conſider it, thou ſhalt perceiue that thou confeſſeſt a thing no leſſe incredible to thine owne ſence, than is the ſame which thou reiecteſt by thy ſence. For when thou imagineſt a matter without forme, and a forme without matter, thou ſpeakeſt things that deſtroy one another. But whereas I ſay that God created the world of nothing, that is to ſay, without hauing any thing whereof to make it: indeed I ſay a thing that is wonderfull, howbeit which hath not any repugnancie in it ſelfe. Now there is a great dif-

ference betweene ſpeaking aboue reaſon, and againſt reaſon. For truth and mans reaſon are incloſed within the like and ſelfe-ſame bounds. But for aſmuch as thou haſt granted that God is the author and worker of Nature; I would faine know how thou canſt be ſo bold to deny, that he hath put life and mouing where none were afore, and that he hath made both ſight and light, hearing and ſounds, ſpeech and vnderſtanding, where erſt was more then death, more than blindnes, more than dumbneſſe, and more than dulneſſe, that is to ſay, more than the bare priuation of bereauing of thoſe things, conſidering that neither to be nor euer to haue beene, are much more wants than ſimply not to be? Now, betweene liuing and not liuing, ſeeing and not ſeeing, and ſo forth, there is an infinite diſtance as well as there is being and not being, which diſtance cannot be filled vp but by an infinite power: and looke where an infinite power is, it is alike mighty towards all things. Therefore it followeth, that ſith thou attributeſt vnto him the making of thy ſight, of thy life, and of thine vnderſtanding, thou canſt not deny him the creation of the things that haue light, life, and vnderſtanding in them: which if thou grant in one thing, needs muſt thou grant it alike in all. For to giue life, and to giue being, to giue forme or ſhape, and to giue matter, and to giue them to one thing, and to giue them to al things: are all workes of one ſelfeſame power, how diuers ſoeuer the degrees of them ſeeme vnto thee at the firſt ſight. He therefore that confeſſeth God to bee the former or giuer of ſhape, doth alſo confeſſe him to be the Creator of all things. Nay, I ſay more, that when thou termeſt God the ſoueraigne or higheſt being (as Ariſtotle doth) or him that eſſentially and in very deed is (as Plato doth) thou ſaiſt (though vnwittingly) that hee is the Creator, that is to ſay, the author of the being of all things.

Ariſtotle in his ſecond booke of things aboue nature.

If wee looke into nature, the thing that holdeth the firſt place in thing, of order is commonly the cauſe of all the things that fall vnder it. Among hot things, ſome be hotter than ſome, but yet fire, which holdeth the higheſt degree in heate, is the cauſe of heate in all things, and ſheadeth it ſelf into all without diminiſhing of it ſelfe, and by imparting it ſelfe to them is ſtill increaſed: inſomuch that the ſtriking of a Flint inforceth the calling forth of a thouſand ſparkes, whereof euery one were enough to ſet the whole on fire. In lightſome things, one light lighteth another, and by imparting maketh it ſelfe after a ſort infinite: and the Sunne which is as the fountaine of light, extendeth and ſpreadeth it ſelfe out infinitely without diſſeuering, and after a manner createth light where was nothing but darkeneſſe.

Alſo

Alſo in humane affaires, Kings impart their dignities to Princes, Princes to their Vaſſailes, and Vaſſailes to their Subiects: & when they giue any man a quality which hee had not afore, they terme him their Creature, as hauing made ſome-what of nothing, in reſpect of the quality wherewith he was indued afore. To be ſhort, ſents or ſauors are ſhed forth, & ſciences are taught from one to another, & from one to infinit: yea & euen diſeaſes, which are nothing els but corruptions, ingender one of another without diminiſhing themſelues. Now as for Heat, Light, Sauor, Science, & Dignity, they be but qualities, termed by the degrées of the firſt, ſecond and third qualities, yea and moreouer dead, ſenſeleſſe, & liueleſſe: and yet notwithſtanding, looke which of theſe qualities holdeth the firſt place, the ſame doth naturally bring forth al the reſt, without diminiſhing it ſelf. And ſhal we then thinke it ſtrange, that God, (who is the Being, which euen by their own confeſſoin holdeth the chief & firſt place of all Beings, or rather alonely, can they in very déed be ſaid to be) ſhould by his being bring forth al other things?

Yea ſay they, for we ſée not any thing brought again to nothing, & therefore néeds muſt they haue béene created of ſomething. Nay, if worldly things ſhould returne to nothing, conſidering how tranſitory & fleeting they be already, how ſhort a time could the world indure or rather how long ago had it come to an end? But it was Gods will that it ſhould continue. And therfore thou ſhouldeſt rather ſay thus: I ſée that the Trées, & the greateſt Beaſts, yea and men themſelues doe ſpring as it were of nothing, and are reſolued againe into as good as nothing. I ſée them multiply, and liue, and doe wonders. Of one ſelfeſame ſeed I ſée ſpring both flowres, leaues, and fruit, and of another, the wonderfulnes of eies, the ſubſtantialnes of bones, & the fineneſſe of vitall ſpirits. Againe, I ſee all theſe things vaniſh away I wot not how, ſo as there remaineth nothing of them but a handfull of duſt. And ſhall I now be ſo blockiſh as to ſay, that he which of ſo little, and in ſo little, hath made ſo many wondrous things that were not afore, could not make the little it ſelfe? Or that hee which created the life, the ſence, and the mouing, could not create a droppe of water, a blaſt of aire, and a handfull of earth? Nay, I will reaſon thus rather: That if God were not able to create the very matter of matter it ſelfe, ſurely he could neither giue forme or ſhape to the matter, nor create ſuch things of the matter. Yes will they ſay: for it appeareth that all things returne as it were into one common matter, whether we follow the ancient Philoſophers, which reduce

them

them to the Elements, or that we follow the late Writers which reduce them into oyle, ſalt, water, &c. Be it ſo: and then oughteſt thou to conclude thereupon, and ſeeing there is but one matter, there is alſo but one God, vnto whoſe power thou oughteſt not to deeme any thing vnpoſſible, ſeeing that of the one thing hee maketh ſo many things, not only diuers, but alſo contrary. For hee that of one ſelfe-ſame thing maketh both fire and water, doth hee leſſe than he which maketh that one thing it ſelfe?

The particular Creation of all things.

What wilt thou ſay then, if I make thee to ſee that there is not that thing which hath not in it ſelfe a peculiar creation, or a property created, which cannot be attributed to the matter whereof it conſiſteth, but is a greater thing than the matter it ſelfe, without the which, neither the matter, nor the elements, nor all the things that thou draweſt out of them were any thing at all? And ſith thou wilt needs play the Philoſopher afore thou doeſt beleeue; I demaund of thee whether things in their nature haue their being from matter or from forme? If from matter: why is a Plant rather a Plant than a metall, ſeeing that (by thine owne ſaying) matter being but one, is no more one thing than another, ne inclined to one thing more than to another, nor bounded within any one particular ſubſtance, otherwiſe than by forme or faſhion? And foraſmuch as thou haſt taken ſo great paines in reſoluing or bringing things backe againe into their firſt matter, whence commeth it that thy extractions or the things which thou draweſt out of it, haue ſo diuers or contrary operations, if beſides the matter it ſelfe there bee not another ſubſtance which giueth them theirs?

If things haue their being from form; I demaund againe whether forme be a ſubſtance or no? If it bee not a ſubſtance, how can that which is not a ſubſtance make a ſubſtance, and how may an accident or income make an eſſentiall difference, and cauſe, life, ſence, and moouing to bee where they were not afore? And if it bea ſubſtance (as moſt Philoſophers teach in expreſſe words) yea and a very perfect ſubſtance, as which perfecteth the matter, and maketh it to bee that which it is named to be: muſt it not needs follow, that he which gaue this forme, ſhape or faſhion to the matter, created a ſubſtance which was not afore, yea and a much more excellent ſubſtance than the matter which thou ſurmiſeſt to haue been afore it? Now, why ſhould not he that was able to create the better, bealſo able to create the leſſer good? Rightly therefore doth Aphrodiceus in his booke of the Soule ſay, that the forme, ſhape or faſhion which the Craftſman giueth

Aphrodiceus in his firſt booke of the Soule.

ueth to his worke, is no more ſubſtance than the Art, Craft, or cuning whereby he giueth it: but that the forme which Nature giueth, is no leſſe ſubſtance than nature it ſelfe. Let vs proceed further. Of the Metals, thou eſteemeſt gold & ſiluer: of the Herbes, thou eſteemeſt ſome for food, and ſome for Phiſicke: of the Beaſts, thou eſteemeſt ſome to eate, and ſome to ſerue thee: of men, (which yet notwithſtanding make all but one kinde) thou admitteſt and accepteſt ſome for one purpoſe and ſome for another. Now if thy eſteeming of them bee for the matter whereof they conſiſt, how is that matter but one? Or if it be for the forme, as in reſpect whereof Gold is not the ſame that Lead is, is not that forme a ſubſtance? And if it be a ſubſtance; ſhall it not follow that he which gaue that ſhape, forme, or faſhion to the matter, is alſo the Creator of the matter it ſelfe? And ſeeing there is ſuch difference of Metalls, Hearbs, Beaſts and Men, doth it not follow that there are as many diuerſities of Creation? And whereas hee hath created all theſe diuerſities of ſubſtances, wouldeſt thou make him to faile in that one baſeſt of all? What ſhall I ſay to it, that ſome one thing ſhal haue diuers powers, vertues and operations in diuers parts thereof; ſo as it ſhall be colde without, and hot within, white in the outſide, and red in the ſubſtance, cold in the leafe, and hot in the roote, laxatiue in the pith, and coſtiffe in the barke? As for example, the rind of the Orenge is hot, and the meate within it is cold, the leaues of flowers of the wilde Vine do coole, & the inner part of them doth burne. Phyſicions report that the lungs of a Hare healeth folke that are ſhortwinded, that the bloud of him breaketh the Stone, & that the haire of him ſtancheth bloud. Haue not theſe diuers parts diuers formes, beſides the vniuerſall forme of the thing whereof they be the parts? And are not theſe diuers formes as many diuers ſubſtances, and conſequently as many Creations? The Adamant or Lodeſtone draweth Iron to him, and ſheweth continually the North-pole, and yet is diſappointed of his force by Garlicke. The Amber alſo draweth all light things vnto it. Horſe-flies laid to a mans hèle, make bliſters in his bladder. Agarick purgeth Fleame, Rhubarb Choler, & Eleborus Melancholy. If theſe operations come of the matter alone, tell me how that may bee? And why be not the ſame operations common to all things? Or if (as thou ſayeſt) they come of a ſecret property, doth it not then come of the ſubſtantiall forme, ſeeing that nothing can bee ſaid to be that which it is, or to haue any peculiar property, but by reaſon of the ſubſtanciall forme? Thou wilt perchance ſay, that it is the mingling of ỹ elements together, that giueth forme

or

or ſhape. Nay: for if it be that mingling, where is then the foreſaid common matter become? And what mingling together, or what medley or mixture can be made of one ſelfeſame thing? And if thy meaning be, that the foreſaid matter is a diuers compounding of the Elements together, then is thy matter a forme compounded of diuers formes. For wherein do the Elements (being ſo contrary) differ one from another, but in their eſſenciall formes? And if it be a mixture or Compoſition, where is then the eternity thereof? Moreouer, we ſée that in Plants, Beaſts, and Men, the Compoſition that is made of the mixture of the Elements, abideth euen when they be cut downe, or killed. For put a blocke into the fire, and the moiſture that was in it when it grew a Trée, boileth out with the heate, the aire thereof ſteameth vp into ſmoke, the firie matter thereof burneth out in an oylie ſubſtance, and the earthly part thereof falleth downe into aſhes. And in all liuing wights as wel as in man, the outward lump (which thou wilt haue to bee compoſed of the mixture of the Elements) remaineth whole after they be dead. But as for the Soule, whereby the things haue their life, ſence, and reaſon, which Soule is the peculiar forme both of Trées, Beaſts, and Men, each after their kind: that appeares no more when the thing is once dead. And therefore it followeth, that beſides the matter (which is liueleſſe) and the mixture of the elements, there is alſo a ſubſtanciall forme, which maketh the thing to be a Tree, a Beaſt, or a Man, and without the which it is not a Tree, but a blocke, nor a Beaſt or a Man, but a dead Carkaſſe or Carrion. Furthermore, when a tree is dead, there remaine ſtill certaine vertues both in the barke, and in the wood, and in the leaues thereof: which vertues are not onely diuers, but alſo ſometime contraries, & thoſe vertues proceéd not of the matter, but of the ſubſtanciall forme. Whereof it followeth, that beſides the forme of the Plant which fadeth by the death of the plant it ſelfe, there are alſo other formes peculiar to euery part therof, which abide after that the forme of the whole Plant is periſhed. Now if the mixture of the Elements cannot make the forme, whereby the vpper kindes differ one from another, as the ſenceleſſe things from the things that haue ſence, and the things that haue but onely ſence, from the things that haue reaſon too, can it make the difference that is betweene the vnderkindes that are comprehended vnder euery of the vpperkinds, or betwéen the particulars that belong to euery vnderkind, or betwéene the ſeuerall parts that are in euery particular? If the mixture of the Elements (ſay I) make not a trée to liue, that is to ſay, to be a tree, ſhall it make it

it to heale, both ſome certaine diſeaſes, and alſo ſome certaine parts of it, ſome certaine parts of man? And if it make not a Beaſt to haue ſence, that is to ſay, to be a Beaſt: can it make it to be a Lion, an Elephant, or a Stagge? And if it make not a man to haue life, ſence, & mouing: can it make him to ſpeake, and to reaſon, one of one thing, and another of another, each man according to his ſeueral inclination? But how ſhould the Elements giue life, which they themſelues haue not? or frée mouing, they themſelues beeing carried vpand down whether they wil or no? or alſo ſence, being themſelues but the obiects of our ſences? Then muſt we conclude, that the differéce of the vpper kinds from the vnderkinds, from the particulars, and of their parts one from another, conſiſteth not in the matter wherof they be made, but in their forme, & that the ſame forme is the peculiar ſubſtance of euery thing; and that loke how many ſundry ſorts of formes there are, ſo many ſundry ſorts of creations there haue been, all proceeding from the power of the Former & giuer of them. And ſo, he that attributeth vnto God the forming or faſhioning of the World, muſt whether hee will or no, attribute vnto the power of creating it alſo. For without creating of a new ſubſtance (what matter ſoeuer yee preſuppoſe to haue beene afore) hee had not created the World in ſuch ſort as it is. And hee that was able to create any one of them, was able to create them all: For like might and power is requiſite to the creating of an Emet as an Elephant, of a Pond as the Sea, of a piece of the world, as of the whole world.

They proceed on ſtill with their Chimere. God (ſay they) drawéth the forme out of the Ability of the matter. Let vs examine this doterie yet further. Abilitie (ſaith Ariſtotle) is the beginning of mouing and of change. Alſo there are (ſay his Diſciples) two ſorts of Ability; the one which worketh the ſaid beginning in the other, & that is God, and the other which ſuffereth the mouing and change at the others hand, & that is matter or ſtuffe, which by the mouing wrought into it by the other, receiueth his perfection which is termed Forme. Now, I demand whether this paſſiue Ability of the matter, be a quality or ſubſtance? They dare not ſay it is a ſubſtance: for were it a ſubſtance, then euen by their own doctrine it were a forme alſo: & whereſoeuer is a forme, there is alſo an act, and that is more then an ability: but matter (as they ſay) is a meere ability. And if they ſay it is a Quality, (as Ariſtotle himſelfe affirmeth:) then followeth it, that God drawéth a ſubſtance out of the quality of an accident. Now, he that drawéth the very Eſſence or being of things out of the paſſiue ability

The Peripatetiks.

ability of another, can much more draw it out of his owne actiue ability, or worke full power. For shall he be barraine of himselfe, which maketh a quality (yea & lesse than a simple quality) fruitfull in bringing forth so many things? And seeing the quality and substance & all the highest kinds of contraries, be (as they teach) further differing one from another then fire from water, and also that quality and accident are nothing of themselues: shall it not follow that God is able to create substances of nothing? Surely it is the saying of Trismegistus in many places, that God created the world, and all that is therein, & Man with all his parts, by his most fruitfull word; and also that the will of God was the breeder of the Elements. Pythagoras, and all the old Diuines, affirm that God, or the onely One, is the beginner of all things, yea euen of the first matter, as Simplicius reporteth in alledging the record of Eudorus. And Syrian the Maister of Simplicius, saith, that in that behalfe Plato followed Archenetus and Brotinus, which agreed with Pythagoras. And in very deed he telleth vs, that to speake properly, Matter is no Essence at all, nor can be conceiued otherwise than by a bastard reason, that is to wit, by imagining it void of all shape, and consequently also void of all being.

Simplicius vpon the naturals. Syrian vpō the Supernaturals.

As touching Aristotle, he maketh matter to be the first beginning of all things. But if he beleeued the world to haue been beginningles, according to his owne teaching; where is this beginning become? Also he disproueth the Chaos with very liuely reasons, and to scape that, he holdeth himselfe to the eternity, which is quite & cleane against him. But howsoeuer the case stand, it is fully agreed vpon among his most approued interpreters, that these names of Matter, Forme, and Priuation, serue not to betoken things truly, being the same whereof they pretend the names, but only are inuented to teach their schollers, after what manner things are bred and corrupted, by putting off one shape, and putting on another. And whereas he saith, that the power of all life seemeth to be partaker of some diuine thing, and better than the Elements, and that the Soule of man hath his being from without, and not from the Elements, or from matter as the body hath: And that all Soules are formes, and all formes are substance: Doth he not make God to be the Creator of substances, yea, & of better substances than the Elements? Againe, when he saith, that the knitting parts, that is to wit, the bones, the skin, the sinewes, and such like, may be made of the mixing together of the elements, & that the vnknitting parts, as the Head, the Leg, the Arme, and so forth, cannot be so made, but are made by nature & heauenly skill; insomuch that

Aristotle in his 2. book of the breed of liuing things, Chap. 3.

Aristotle in his 2. book of Meteors, chap.

that the proper essence and forme of the knitters proceedeth neither of heate nor of cold, of moisture nor of drouth: doth he not acknowledge in euery seuerall part a seuerall forme and substance which commeth from some other-where than of the matter or of the mixture of the elements? And sith he saith in another place, that if it were possible to haue such a coniunction of the heauenly bodies, as might produce not onely an efficient cause, but also euen matter it selfe for the creating & bringing forth of liuing things, yea and of mankind also: why should he haue thought it vncredible, that God, who dwelleth very farre aboue such coniunctions, should be able to do the like? Also we see, that Theophrast the greatest Clarke of all his Disciples, findeth himselfe so grauelled in his booke of Sauors, or Sents, by reason of the particular natures of things, that he bursteth out into expresse words, & saith, that God created all things of nothing. And Algazel the Arabian disputing against Auerrhois, saith, that the cause of all things did also make matter it selfe. Also Aphrodiseus in his Problems, that the Philosophers were faine to referre the effects and vertues of many things to some other thing than to the Elements. And if they could not father them vpon the Elements, how could they father them vpon matter or stuffe, seeing that the Elements haue power and force to do, wheras matter hath ability but only to suffer or to be wrought vpon. And if they could not father them vpon matter, vpon what else should they father them than vpon God, who hath created both the property and the substance of them together?

Aristotle in his 2. book of the breed of liuing wights, towards the end.

Arist. in his prob. sect. 10. prob. 64.

Aphr. prob. 1.

The Platonists, that wrote since the comming of Christ, haue giuen liberty to their owne brains to gad out into a thousand imaginations. But wheras Plotin telleth vs that Gods actions and effects are contemplations which imprint in nature the seeds of all things, hee teacheth vs to thrust far from vs such brutish questions as these: namely, Of what kinde of stuffe did God frame the world? And with what tooles did he it? which are further off from the nature of ỹ Godhead, than our doings are from meere contemplations. For what else is contemplation (according to their owne doctrine) than to be wholly seuered from matter? Hee speaketh often of the first matter, but how doth he describe it? Hee saith that the very matter it selfe which is ioyned to the forme, hath not any true being, and he termeth it Being of a Not being, that is to say, a thing that in deed is not; and that doth he, to distinguish these transitory natures frō the very being of God, which he termeth, The Supersubstantiall Being. But as for the first matter, he calleth it, The very Not-being, that is to say, an imagina-

The Platonists, Plotin in his book of Contemplation, & of the One.

tiue

tiue thing which hath not any being at all indeed; as if ye would ſay (as he himſelfe addeth) a certaine vnſhapeneſſe, which is the cauſe of all miſſhapeneſſe, the chiefe default or want: which is the cauſe of all the defaults or wants that are in particular things: the very euill which is the originall of all euils, and to be ſhort, a thing that can neither be knowne nor imagined, otherwiſe than wee imagine what Darkeneſſe is by the knowledge of light: namely, an vtter abſence of all light.

Plotin in his 1. book Enne. 2. Whence euill commeth.

Yea, but (will ſome man ſay) Although it be not an Eſſence, yet ought it at leaſt to be a Quality: and by his terming of it an Euill, he ſeemeth after a ſort to make it a quality: Nay, like as (ſaith he) when we call the firſt of all Beeings by the name of Goodneſſe, wee meane not that the Goodneſſe is in him a Quality, but a very ſubſtance, yea and more than a ſubſtance: So when wee call Matter by the name of Euill, our meaning is not that it is a Qualitie or hath any Quality in it, But that it is no Qualitie: ne hath Qualttie in it: For had it any Quality in it, then ſhould it be a Subſtance, and conſequently a ſhape or forme too, but it is not any forme at all. That in effect is the ſum of his booke concerning euill and the originall thereof. In his booke of Matter hee declareth that there was a matter, (for hee would not elſe haue made bookes therof in vaine:) but yet he ſaith that the ſame was neither eſſence, quality, nor quantity, nor had any eſſence, quality, or quantity in it: ne differed any whit from priuation, ſauing in this reſpect, that priuation is verified as in reſpect of ſome ſubiect or ſubſtance that is bereft of ſome thing that is peculiar or incident vnto it, whereas Matter is an vniuerſall and vtter want of all things, that is to ſay, a thing far worſe than priuation. And yet for all this, he will not haue it to be vtterly nothing at all, but as a waſte or empty ſpace, a thing without bounds, a being without beeing. And what or where then ſhall that be? At length he findeth it in the world that is to be conceiued but onely in vnderſtanding, that is to ſay, in God, in whom he will haue it to abide as a forme or patterne of the vniuerſall maſſe of all things. What a ranging is here abroad, to fall alwaies into one ſelfeſame path again? Might he not with more eaſe haue confeſſed plainly, that God is both the formall and ỹ materiall cauſe of all things, that is to ſay, the Creator, former and Shaper of all things by his wiſedome and power? Againe, whereas in other places hee telleth vs, that Matter beeing it ſelfe no eſſence at all, cannot be the cauſe of the particular beings of ſo many ſundry things; nor hauing no life, be the cauſe of life, but that both life and being are breathed into

Ennea. 2. lib. 4.

Plotin in his booke of Prouidence, & Enned. 6. lib. 1. Chap. 17.

into all things from without, euen from the ſoueraigne minde: doth he not iumpe with vs, which ſay that God created all ſubſtances of nothing? And if he could create that which was, and giue vnto it both being and life: could he not alſo forbeare the thing that was not, that is to ſay, matter? Atticus and his adherents would needes beare Plato down, by reaſon of certaine ſentences of his Timæus and of his Common-weale matters miſunderſtood, that matter was eternall as well as GOD, howbeit that the ſame being voyd of reaſon, was brought vnto reaſon by him that is the very reaſon it ſelfe. With theſe fellowes we our ſelues ſhall not need to deale, but onely heare Porphirius diſproouing them after this manner: If neither God (ſaith he) be of Matter, nor Matter of God, but both of them bee Beginnings alike; whereof then commeth it, that there is ſo great ods betwixt them, ſith wee hold opinion that God is Good, and the very worker or Doer, and contrariwiſe that Matter is Euill, and but only a Sufferer? The cauſe of this difference cannot proceede from the one to the other, at leaſt-wiſe if our ſaying be true: namely, that the one of them is not of the other. And much leſſe proceedeth it of any third, conſidering that we acknowledge not any higher cauſe: which being admitted, it followeth that theſe two ſo diſagreeable beginnings met and matched together by chance, and conſequently, that all things are toſſed and tumbled together by Fortune. Againe, If God (ſaith he) be apt to the beautifying and orderly diſpoſing of Matter: and Matter be apt to receiue beauty and orderlineſſe at Gods hand: I demand from whence this mutuall aptneſſe and diſpoſition commeth? For conſidering that they be ſo diſagreeing and ſo full of contrariety one to another: ſurely they could neuer haue agreed of themſelues, but muſt of neceſſity haue had a Third to make the atonement betwixt them. Now I am ſure you will not ſay that there was any third to command them: Neither wil I beleeue that they fell to agreement by aduenture.

To be ſhort, ſeeing that Matter is not ſufficient of it ſelfe to bee in happy ſtate, but needeth Gods helpe thereunto: but God is of himſelfe aboundantly ſufficient, both to bee, and to be happie: who ſeeth not that God is of more excellencie than Matter, and that Matter is not of it ſelfe ſo much as able to be? For were it able to bee, it were alſo able to be happy. And therefore it is not to be denied, but that he whome wee confeſſe to haue perfected Matter, was alſo the verye firſt maker and Creator of Matter. But how could he make it of nothing? Let vs heare once againe what the ſaide Porphyrie ſaith vnto this point. Handycrafts (ſaith hee) haue neede of Inſtru-

ment or tooles. For their working is outward: and they haue not their Matter or ſtuffe at commandement. But the naturall Powers as more perfect, and being within things, doe performe all their doings by their onely beeing. After that ſort the Soule by his eſſentiall life, doth nouriſh, grow, ingender, breathe, feele, and ſo forth. So likewiſe, the Imagination, by the onely one in working of it ſelfe, giueth diuers qualities and mouings to the body, all at one inſtant. So alſo the bodileſſe Spirits themſelues, (as the Diuines report) doe worke wonderous things by their imaginations, without inſtrument or action. Much rather therefore ſhall the worke-maiſter of the whole Worlde, who is a Minde, giue ſubſtance to the whole, by his one onely beeing, that is to wit, to this diuidable world, himſelfe being vndiuidable. For why ſhould it be thought ſtrange, that a thing which is without a body, ſhould produce things that haue bodies, conſidering that of a very ſmall ſeede there groweth ſo great a beaſt, compoſed of ſo many, ſo great, and ſo differing parts? For though the ſeed be little, the reaſon of the ſeed cannot be ſmall, ſeeing it worketh ſo great things: neither on the other ſide can it be great, foraſmuch as it vttereth and ſheweth it ſelfe euen in the ſmalleſt parcels. Now, this reaſon of the ſeede needeth matter to worke vpon, but ſo doth not the reaſon of God; for hee needeth not any thing, but maketh and frameth all things: and notwithſtanding that he bring foorth and mooueth all things, yet abideth he ſtill in his own proper nature. Now, when as the ſoreſt and learneſt enemy that euer Chriſtians had, acknowledgeth this doctrine in good faith and in ſo expreſſe words: who dareth open his lippes any more againſt it? Dare the Epicures with their motes do it? How can they alledge any reaſon for themſelues, being by their own opinion made by hap-hazard at aduenture without reaſon? Or ſhall the naturall Philoſophers do it, with their temperings and mixtures? Firſt, let them examine their Maiſter Galen, concerning the things which I haue alledged out of him in the former Chapter: and if that will not ſuffice them, they ſhall heare him yet againe in this Chapter. Certeſſe as it cannot be denied, but that as he laboureth by all meanes poſſible, to father the cauſes of all things vpon the Elements, and vpon the mixture of them together: ſo is he driuen at euery turne, to acknowledge ſomewhat in them which he is aſhamed to father vpon them. In diſcourſing how the babe is formed in the mothers wombe, hee findeth himſelfe turmoyled with many opinions. But yet in the end, Soothly (concludeth he) I ſee ſo great a wiſedome, and ſo mighty a power, that I cannot thinke

thinke that the Soule which is in the Child that is begotten, maketh the ſhape thereof, conſidering that it is altogether voyd of reaſon: but rather that it is formed by that which we call Nature. Galen in his booke of the faſhioning of infants in their mothers wombe,

In his booke of the tempering of things, a place that ſerued beſt for the exalting of the powers of the Elements to the vttermoſt; hee very ſharpely reproueth thoſe which father the cauſe of the forming of the parts of the bodies of liuing things, vpon the qualities of the Elements. Notwithſtanding (ſaith hee) that theſe *Qualities* be but inſtruments, and that there is another that is the framer or faſhioner of things. In his book of ỹ opinions of Plato and Hippocrates, he maketh the vitall ſpirit to be excellenteſt of all things that haue a body: & yet for all that, hee will not haue it to be either the ſubſtance or the dwelling place, but only the inſtrument of the Soule. And in his book of Fleſhes he proceedeth further, and ſaith, that intreating of Leachcraft, he ſpake often according to the common opinion: but that if it came to the point of vttering the opinion that he himſelfe held, hee declared that both man and beaſt haue their beginning from aboue, and that their Soules are from Heauen, and finally that the Soule proceedeth neither from the qualities of the Elements, nor from any of all the things that we ſee here beneath. Now, if the Soule of man, or of the very Beaſts, proceede not of the Elements: how ſhould it poſſibly proceed of the Matter? and if it proceed not of the Matter, muſt it not needs proceed of the forme, or rather muſt it needs be the very forme it ſelfe? And what els is ſo excellent a forme, than an excellent ſubſtance? And from whence is that (by his own ſaying) but from a former faſhioner or ſhaper? And what els ſhall that former be, then a Creator, ſeeing that euen ſhaping, is creating of a ſubſtance? In his ſecond booke of Temperings.

Now therefore, let vs conclude for this Chapter, both by vnſoluble reaſons, and by the teſtimonies aſwell of our enemies as our friends, that God was both able to create, and alſo did indeed create the World of nothing, that is to ſay, by his owne only power, without the helpe of any thing whereof to make it. And to (comprehend in few words whatſoeuer I haue treated of heretofore) that God of his owne goodneſſe, wiſedome, and power did make, ſhape, and create the World: that is to ſay, That (if a man may ſo ſay) hee is the efficient, formall and materiall cauſe thereof, without that he needed either helpe, patterne, or ſtuffe to make it withall. And now let vs conſequently ſee the finall cauſe: that is to wit, how and to what end he guideth it: which ſhall ſerue for the next Chapter following.

Chap. XI.

That God gouerneth the world and all things therein, by his Prouidence.

ARiſtotle was wont to ſay, that the diuerſity of Queſtions ought alſo to haue diuerſities of Anſweres. Some (ſaith he) do aſke whether Fire be hot? & theſe muſt be made to perceiue it by touching it: for their ſence is ſufficient to ſhape them an anſwere. Some demand whether their father and mother be to be honoured: and ſuch are not worthy to be diſputed with, but rather to be rebuked right ſharpely. And others deſire to haue it proued to them by apparant reaſons, that there is a prouidence which ruleth the World. Such kinde of folke (ſaith he) ſhould be anſwered by a whip or a hangman, and not by a Philoſopher. His meaning was in few words, that there is not any thing ſo ſenſible and naturall, nor any thing wherof the feeling is ſo freſh in our ſences, or ſo deeply printed in our nature, as Gods prouidence ouer the world: and that we ought to thinke it more ſure, than the things which wee feele with our hands, or than the things whereof our owne Conſcience conuicteth vs. For in that hee ordaineth a greater puniſhment for him that doubteth of Gods Prouidence, than for him that reſiſteth ſence and nature; he doth vs to vnderſtand, that the fault is vntolerable, as that which is either a manifeſt guile, or at leaſt wiſe an ouergroſſe ignorance, which the Lawiers affirme to be next couſin to guile. And in very deed, if the denying that there is any God, be a belying of a mans owne ſences, and of his owne nature, and of the whole world it ſelfe, as I haue ſaid afore: I cannot ſay but that the granting that there is a God, and yet notwithſtanding to deny him the gouerment of things, is more vntolerable than the other, conſidering how great iniurie is offered vnto him in confeſſing him after ſuch a ſort, as to attribute vnto him Eyes without ſight, eares without hearing, might without minde, minde without reaſon, will without goodneſſe, yea, and a Godhead without properties peculiar to a Godhead: In reſpect whereof the auncient Philoſophers called the Godhead it ſelfe Θεὸν or προνοίαν, that is to ſay, GOD or

Ignorance next couſin vnto guyle.

or prouidence, becauſe the one cannot be imagined without the other. And therfore in their iudgement, as much an Atheiſt was he ỹ denied Gods prouidence, as he that denied the Godhead it ſelf. I demand of any man which confeſſeth ỹ there is God, I ſay euen of the ſauageſt of them all, Wherby he knoweth it? He will anſwere, By the orderly continuance of things which he ſeeth both aboue & beneath; by the order which they keepe without fayling, and by the tending of ſo innumerable contrarieties to one marke: the Heauen heating the earth, the Ayre moiſtening it, the Earth bringing forth Hearbs, the Beaſts feeding vpon the ſame, and all ſeruing for the vſe of man. It is al one therfore as if he ſhould ſay, that he knoweth him by his Prouidence, and by the interlinking of all things together which he hath marked in them all. Againe, he will ſay, he hath perceiued, in Pettals (as yee would ſay) certaine wombes which nouriſh them & bring them forth; in Plants, a certaine vertue which draweth their nouriſhment from the earth, and with very good proportion diſtributeth the ſame abroad from branch to branch, and from leafe to leafe: and which (as though it had a kind of vnderſtanding of the own mortalitie) bringeth forth a ſeed at ſuch time as the decay therof approcheth: and in Beaſts alſo, that one member doth for another, and euery of them for the whole; a deſire to increaſe their kind: Dugges to giue ſucke; and a ſkilfull care to nouriſh and preſerue their young ones: And he hath conſidered that none of al this could be ſo layd for afore hand by it ſelf, & therfore that there was ſome other thing aboue them. Thus muſt it néeds be, that he is led againe by the conſideration of the prouidence, to the knowing of God. Now, if the prouidence which we haue marked, do make vs to ſay that there is a God, by mounting vp frō the effects to the cauſes of them, doth it not follow that Prouidence is the peculiar effect of God, and that hee which denieth that, denieth the Godhead it ſelfe, for aſmuch as the Godhead is not to be knowne but by the Prouidence?

If God haue no care of the world, I aſke of thée whether it be for that he cannot, or for that he will not? If he cannot, how canſt thou ſay hée is Almighty? Or how canſt thou ſay he is infinite, ſéeing thou knoweſt the bounds of his power? Againe, how canſt thou call him wiſe, ſith it is the property of wiſedome to guide things to ſome certaine end, and not to leaue any thing ſubiect to fortune? And ſéeing that his power and wiſedome haue extended to all things for the creating of them, who ſhall keepe them from extending to all things for the ordering and mainetayning of them?

Beſides this, the Plant hath no reaſon to guide it ſelfe, nor to preſerue it ſelfe againſt that which is to come, and yet notwithſtanding thou ſeeſt there a Mind which furniſheth out al the parts thereof, and a wiſedome that watcheth ouer it againſt that which is to come. The Beaſt alſo hath no more reaſon than the Plant, though it both feele & moue. Yet is there an In-wit in it which the Beaſt knoweth not of, which In-wit concocteth, diſgeſteth, and diſtributeth that which the Beaſt hath eaten, & diſperſeth it forth into his parts by iuſt proportion, watching for it when it ſtepeth, and thinking vpon it, when it thinketh not thereon. It perceiueth (I wot not how) that it hath need of Earth, of Ayre, or of Neſt to lay the young ones in: it prouideth afore hand for the time to come, & ſhifteth Countries according to the ſeaſons of the yeere, chooſing them out naturally, without failing at any time. In all theſe things there ſhineth forth a certaine prouidence, which yet for al that, the beaſt neither knoweth nor cõceiueth. Thou thy ſelf which art indued with reaſon, haſt afore caſt, & by that forecaſt doſt the things which other wights do by nature, or rather which nature (that is to ſay, the foreordinance of the Creator) doth for them, the more wherof thou haſt, the more alſo doſt thou prouide afore hand. For as little a worme as thou art, thou inuenteſt a thouſand trades and arts, which are euerichone of them ſo many points of Wiſedom, and conſequently as many prouidences. As much as thou canſt, thou makeſt all things to ſtoope to thy lure, thou appliеſt the raine and the drought, the heat & the cold, to thine owne commodity: thou turneſt the doings of thy neighbors of thy Citty & of thy Commonweale to thine own profit and honor: yea, and if it were poſſible, thou wouldeſt apply the heauen, the earth, the ſea, & oftentimes euen God himſelfe to thine own benefit. Now then who prouideth for the Plants & for the bruit beaſts in whom thou ſeeſt ſo great prouidence, though they themſelues haue none at all, but only he which made them? Or who directeth the Arrow to the mark, the Arrow (I ſay) which ſeeth not the mark, but the Archer who hath eyes for it? And cannot he prouide for all, which giueth prouidence to all? And hee that giueth it thée in ſuch ſort as thou therby makeſt all things to ſtoope to thy Lure, whereas yet notwithſtanding thou madeſt them not, & of whom thou ſcarſly knoweſt the names, is not hee able to gouerne euery one of them according to their nature, and to direct them, yea and thée too, vnto the end that he hath purpoſed, ſeeing he hath made them? Againe, if God be not able to prouide for things, and to direct them to their end, how ſay we that he ſurmounteth all that euer we can imagine, ſith we cannot

not deny, but that hee which prouides afore hand, is of more abilitie than he that cannot? And if wee can imagine any thing to be greater than he, why ſhould not we our ſelues be that thing? And if euen in man, the abilitie of prouiding be better than the vnabilitie, ſeeing we vphold that whatſoeuer is excellent in our ſelues, (which yet notwithſtanding is but in meaſure and by participation,) the ſame is infinitly and originally in God. Why do we not grant that God by his infinit wiſedom can direct al things to his end, as wel as euery thing can by their particular wiſedome which he hath printed therein, prouide for the things which the nature thereof requireth? To be ſhort, ſeeing that prouidence is nothing els but a wiſe guiding of things to ther end, and that euery reaſonable mind that worketh, beginneth his worke for ſome end, and that God (as I haue ſaid afore) the workmaſter of all things, hath (or to ſay more truly) is the ſoueraigne minde, equall to his own power: doth it not follow that God in creating the world, did purpoſe an end? And what other could that end be than himſelfe and his owne glory, conſidering that the end wherunto a thing tendeth, cannot be leſſe good then that which tendeth vnto it? And again, that as far as his power extendeth in ability to create the world at the beginning, ſo far doth his wiſedome extend in ability to guide and direct it to that end? And ſeeing that the beginner and the end of things (the Archer (I meane) and the marke that he ſhoots at) are both one, that is to wit, God himſelfe: can any thing croſſe him or incounter him by the way, to hinder his attaining thereunto? Well then, thou ſeeſt now, that thou canſt not deny God the gouernment of the world, vnder pretence that he is vnable.

What Prouidence is.

All working of an vnderſtanding mind is to ſome end.

But you will ſay, that he will not vouchſafe to haue a care thereof. How come you (I pray you) to be ſo priuie to his will? Hath nature taught you? Nay, thou ſeeſt in the Plants a certaine inclination to nouriſh al their parts: in beaſts, a charifhneſſe to bring vp their yong: in men, a deſire to prouide for their children and houſhold: and in all folkes, a regard to the maintenance of the things which they haue either made or manured. And him that doth otherwiſe, thou eſteemeſt to be, not a barbarous perſon or a wild beaſt, but a very block or a ſtone. Now then, ſhall not he which hath giuen ſuch inclination to al things, yea, euen to the very ſenſeleſſe creatures by his touching of them, ſhall not he himſelfe (I ſay) haue it for them all? Dareſt thou bereaue him of that which thou takeſt to bee a prayſe to thy ſelfe? Or dareſt thou father that vpon him, which thou takeſt to bee an iniurie to thy ſelfe? Nay, like as this care is a ſparke of goodneſſe,

ſo he that is the goodneſſe it ſelfe, and the welſpring of all that euer is good in all things, theddeth forth this care into all things by his goodneſſe. Hee (ſay I) which hath vouchſafed to create vs, will not diſdaine to preſerue vs. But forasmuch as it was his will to create vs to ſome purpoſe, (for if nature doe not any thing in vaine, how much leſſe doth he that created nature?) he will alſo guide vs to that purpoſed end, by his wiſedome.

Obiections againſt Gods Prouidence. Alphonſe the tenth King of Spaine ſaid that if he had bin with God at the creation of the world, it ſhould haue been much better ordered then it is: & God puniſhed him for ſo ſaying. Roderick of Toledo in the ſixth chap. of his 4. book.

Let vs ſee what things wickednеſſe can alledge againſt ſo manifeſt a doctrine. Firſt of all ſteps me forth Epicurus, and denieth that he ſees any prouidence at all in the world, but thinks to marke many things to the contrary in the whole world: whereby he will needs gather that there is no prouidence, no nor (if he durſt ſay it) any God at all. For if there were a prouidence (ſaith he) why ſhould Mountaines occupie any part of the Earth? why ſhould there be any wild beaſts? why ſhould there be any Sea? And of that little ground that is, why ſhould two parts bee vninhabitable, the one for ouer great heate, and the other for ouer great cold; and the third part be in danger to be vnhabited alſo, were it not that men plucked vp the Briers and Thornes that would ouergrow it? Why falleth the Snow vpon the Corne, and the Froſt vpon the Vines? Why blow the winds both on Sea and Land? To be ſhort, why happen ſickneſſes & diſeaſes according to the ſeaſons of the yere, and finally death? And at a word, why is man borne in worſe caſe than the leaſt thing that creepeth on the earth, and hath néede of many things whith all other wights may well forbeare?

Nay, he ſhould rather haue ſaid, I ſee a thouſand mouings in ỹ heauen, wherof euery one hath his peculiar end, & yet tend all neuertheleſſe to one ſelfeſame general end. I ſee them al caried by one vniuerſal mouing, notwithſtanding ỹ euery one of thẽ inforce thẽſelues to the contrary by their proper courſes: & that this vniuerſall motion is moued by one mouer, which mouer ſo ouer-ruling thẽ, muſt néeds be of ſufficient power to rule them all, conſidering that euen with one twinckling of an eie, he ruleth euen ỹ ſame heauen that carieth al the reſt about. It followeth then that there is one principal mouer, which gouerneth Heauen, & al the diuerſity contained therein. Againe, I ſée that the Globe of the Earth & of the Sea together, is in reſpect of the heauen but a litle point, or (ſaith Pithagoras) but as one of the leaſt ſtars: ỹ the Mone ruleth the tides of the ſea, & the Sun the ſeaſons of the earth, & they both are diſpoſed by the courſe of the heauen. Wherupon I conclude, ỹ he which ruleth the heauen, ruleth both the Sun and the Mone, & that he which ruleth them, doth alſo rule both the ſea & the earth. For how is it poſſible that he which ruleth the whole, ſhould come ſhort in ruling any part of the whole? Or how ſhould the force of him be impeached by the Earth, which gouerneth thoſe by whom the earth hath her force? Inſomuch that if (to my ſéeming) his prouidence appeare more lightſomly in the Heauẽ than in the Earth, (which yet notwithſtanding is not ſo,) and I cannot yeeld a reaſon of all the things which I ſée: I will conſider with my ſelfe, that I haue ſeene many inſtruments made by men, as I ſée my ſelfe am, whereof I ſée plainely the effects, but I conceiue not the cauſes of them: Alſo, that in other ſome I perceiue well the vſe of ſome parts of them, namely, of the greateſt and notableſt parts, but as for the ſmaller parts, as the Vices, Nailes, Pins, Riuets, Buttons, & ſuch like, I haue thought them to bee but by-workes, and yet without them, the reſidue could not hold together, nor performe that which they were made for: and although they were taken all aſunder, & ſhewed me ſeuerally one by one; yet could I hardly conceiue them. Yea, & moreouer, that I my ſelfe haue made ſome, wherof my Seruants & Children haue not perceiued the reaſon at all, but would haue burned them in the fire, as ſeruing to no vſe: And therfore I will praiſe God in the things which I know, wonder at him in the things which I conceiue not, and rather think my ſelfe (who am as nothing) to want wit and vnderſtanding, than miſdéeme him that is the maker of all things, to be faulty in his prouidence. But ſith fooles muſt be anſwered to their follies, leſt they ſhould thinke themſelues wiſe: & that the wiſedome of theſe folke conſiſteth altogether in putting forth queſtions, and in anſwering to nothing: let vs examine theſe goodly demands ouer from point to point. If there be a Prouidence (ſay they) whereto ſerue the Mountaines? Nay, ſay rather, if all were of one ſort, where were then Prouidence? For what elſe is Prouidence but a diſpoſing of many ſundry things to ſome one end? And how can any ſuch diſpoſing be, where there is but one ſelfeſame thing euery where throughout? Brute beaſt that thou art? So would an Ant ſpeak of thee. It would aſke, Whereto ſerued the riſing of thy noſe aboue thy face, or of thy browes aboue thine eyes, or of thy ribs aboue the reſt of thy body? all which are higher aboue thy body, than the Mountains are aboue the Plains of the earth. Thou eſtéemeſt greatly of the beauty that is in thy face, and of the proportion that is in thy body; inſomuch that thou falleſt euen in loue with them in another, & yet thou wilt find fault with it in the whole world, as a deformity,

The obiection of mountains

and

and want of order. But thou, Lucrece, durſt thou (I pray thee) bee ſo bold as to ſpeake ſo of a Painter? Or would it not offend thee if another man ſhould ſpeake ſo groſſely of thy bookes? If a man ſhould find fault with the ſhadowing of a picture in a table; it would be anſwered, that the Shoomaker ought not to preſume aboue the Pantople. For without the blacke, the white could haue no grace: neither could ỹ bright be ſet out, without a dimming: nor diffrence and proportion of parts appeare, without a medley of contrary reſemblance: nor finally, the cunning of the Painter bee perceiued, without diuerſity of colours. Alſo, he that ſhould find fault with the Art of thy booke, hauing read but ſome peeces of it here & there, ſhould by & by be anſwered by the Lawyer, That a man cannot iudge of the Law without reading it wholly throughout. And if there happen any abſurdity; by and by there ſtarts me vp a whole world of Grammarians, which inforce their wits to the vttermoſt to excuſe it, & to find ſome elegancy in thine vncongruities: alledging, that that which is vnſeemely in the part, beautifieth the whole worke, and the ſhadow more than the perfect colour, & the dimme more than the bright, when they bee fitly placed. All the commendation of theſe painted things, conſiſteth in their diuerſities; inſomuch that if thou ſée a Plaine ouerhanged with a ſhady Rock, or a dankiſh denne at the head of a Riuer ſpringing out of it: thou likeſt the better of the table for it, and praiſeſt the Painter the more for his ſkill. Surely, it is not poſſible that the Plaine ſhould pleaſe thee more than the Hils, or the Riuer more than the Rockes, but that neither without other could pleaſe thee at all. Now, if thou didſt conſider the world as the worke of God, & the Mountaines and other parts which thou miſlikeſt, not in themſelues, but as they bee ſmall peeces of that worke: doubtleſſe thou wouldſt ſay as much thereof. And therefore ſith thou canſt not at one view behold all the whole world together, to iudge of the proportion of the whole maſſe, and of the ſeuerall parts thereof at one inſtant: learne to commend the cunning of the workmaſter in the things which thou thinkeſt thy ſelfe to vnderſtand, rather than to call it into queſtion for the things which thou vnderſtandeſt not.

But let vs ſee further what reaſon thou haſt to complaine. Thou wouldſt ſhun both Raine, Haile, and Froſt. Behold, the Mountains furniſh thee with wood & Timber to houſe thee, to ſhelter thée, and to make thee warme. Thou followeſt the commodity of traffick: and behold, they ſerue thy turne with Riuers from Eaſt, Weſt, North and South, making way from the midſt of the Land to the Sea, & ioyning the

the coaſts of Sea & Land together. The ambition of thy neighbours is ſuſpected of thee, and thine perchance is noyſome vnto them: the high mountaines are as bounds to ſeparate Nations aſunder, and to keepe them from incrochíng one vpon another. I omit the wines and fruits which they yeeld forth, the cleare waters which they ſhed out, the flockes and heards of Cattell which they feed, and the pleaſant dwellings which they conuey in them. If thou couldſt finde as many things in thy bare plaine alone, I would giue thée leaue to complaine of the Mountaines. Nay, on the contrary part, if thou hadſt felt the diſcommodities of the Plaines of Lybia, or but onely of the Plaines of Beawſſe, or of the Deſert of Champayne, thou wouldſt by and by wiſh that all were Mountaines; and yet notwithſtanding, if all were plaine, or all were hill-ground, thou couldſt not tell how to commend or diſcommend either of them both. Now then, let this ſtand for an anſwer to all thoſe Philoſophers which take vpon them to controll the parts of a worke which they conceiue not whole. For, to blame the whole world for the Mountains ſake, or the Mountaine for the Woods that grow thereon, is all one as if ye ſhould find fault with the whole Man for leſſe than a Wart, or a Haire, when as yet notwithſtanding, in an old man thou honoureſt the ſame haire which the Barber cutteth off, and caſteth into the fire, yea and thou honoureſt the old man for the very ſame.

But let vs proceed with the reſt of their arguments. Thou complaineſt of the wilde Beaſts; And who hath made them wilde but thy ſelfe? Nay rather thou ſhouldeſt wonder at the Prouidence of God, who (as Appolonius hath well marked) hath printed ſuch an awe of man in them, that they hurt him not, vnleſſe they be aſſaulted or pinched with extreme hunger. And therein what do they more than man would do in like extremitie? But thou haſt yet further cauſe to wonder at his prouidence in that the Beaſts which might hurt thee, goe ſingle alone by themſelues, & haunt the couerts & caues of the earth, and make but ſmall increaſe; whereas the beaſts which are for thy benefit, how huge and ſtrong ſoeuer they be, come home familiarly to thee, ſubmitting themſelues in whole flockes & heards to a Childe, and increaſing vnto thouſands within a ſmall time. Tell me in good earneſt, is it a worke of fortune, that the beaſts which may annoy thy life, do ſhunne thee, and that thoſe with whoſe life thou maintaineſt thine owne life, ſhould come and offer themſelues vnto thee?

Wilde beaſts

But the Sea diſpleaſeth thee for occupying ſo much of the Earth. Wert thou a dweller in the Sea, as thou art on the Land, the Earth

would

The Sea. *Ariſtotle* concludeth, that there is a Prouidence, becauſe the earth is uncouered, which the Sea, as the higher element, would elſe ouerwhelme. In his booke of wonders.

would diſpleaſe thée for occupying ſo much of the Sea. And yet what a deale thereof is ſtill empty, which were fit to bee inhabited? Know thou, that thou art beholden to it for the great number of liuing wights which it foſtereth for thee: for the great number of Townes & Cities which it enricheth for thee: for the Nauigations whereby it ſhortneth thy way, and yeeldeth thee Trafficke: and for his vapours wherewith he maintaineth the aire, and maketh the earth fat. For put the caſe that the ſea were dried vp at an inſtant: what a number of Cities thinkeſt thou ſhould be ſeene deſolate, and Nations deſart, when men ſhould be in caſe with the drought, as Fiſhes are that bee left on dry ground at the going away of the tide? Why ſhouldſt thou not rather commend the beneficialneſſe thereof the more, in that not thinking it enough to lend it ſelfe to thée, to do thee ſeruice otherwiſe: it alſo teacheth thee the mightie prouidence, and prouident might of him that made it, when thou ſeeſt it ouerdeepe the earth, and threaten it with drowning euery minute of an houre, and yet is not able to paſſe his bounds: or when thou ſeeſt it ſeek to inuyron a great Country round about, as though it were to embrace it; and yet to ſtay at a very narrow balke, or elſe to winde it ſelfe into the bowels of the Land at a narrow channell: whereas notwithſtanding an infinite ſort of little Iles are ſet in the midſt of the deepe, like a ſort of ſmall motes in a Pond. For ſeeing that thou ſeeketh thy commodity & profit thereby, thinkeſt thou not that he alſo ſeeketh his glory? And though thou hadſt none other profit by it, were it not very much for thee to haue had it as a ground and matter wherefore to magnifie him?

The Wind. The Winds perchance do make thee to hate it: for thou muſt needes haue a ſaying to them too: and yet on the other ſide, if it hold calme, thou art weary of it. But couldſt thou without them haue knowne the tenth part of the Earth? How couldſt thou haue diſcouered the land of Perow, and the Iles of Moluccas? Nay, how, couldſt thou haue come to the neereſt Iles vnto thee, without them? Now, if thou like of the Winde when it is fauourable to thee, why ſhould not another man that hath to doe in a contrary Coaſt, like well of it when it is contrary to thee? And if both of you finde fault with the ſtorminеſſe thereof, know ye, that he which made it, will be glorified thereby, in that he doeth thee to vnderſtand, that hee is able to meete with thee both on Sea and Land, and thou art taught to call vpon him, when the ſelfeſame Winde which hath carried thee at thy pleaſure, is ready to daſh thee againſt the Land.

But of that little of the dry ground which remaineth, two parts (ſayeſt

(ſayeſt thou) be vnhabitable. Who told thée ſo? Nay rather, why doeſt thou not conclude thereupon, that there is a Creator? ſeeing that euen in thy time thoſe parts were not inhabited. Surely the winds whom thou blameſt ſo much, haue taught vs that in thoſe Clymats are goodly Countries, people of better health, & greater ſtrength than we, more beautifull Cities, and more delicate fruits: and we find them ſo temperate, that we forſake the temperateſt Countries here, to go thither. The dayes and yéeres are meaſured otherwiſe in one Countrey than in another: but yet in this varietie, there is a conſtancie: and the one ſelfeſame Sun which maketh ſo many diuerſities, doth thée to vnderſtand, that he which made the Sun, could well make the other things. To be ſhort, there is ſo great cunning in all theſe things, that thou haſt béen inforced to make an Art for the learning of them. And what elſe is an Art, but the ſetting of diuers Rules in order together? And if Art be ſo néedfull for the knowing of them, who will not ſay, that there is much more Art in the thing it ſelfe?

The Earth vnhabitable.

Thou blameſt the Thornes, Bryers, and Buſhes, for couering the earth: but thou conſidereſt not into how many miſchiefes ydleneſſe plungeth thée. Thou blameſt the Froſt and Snow for hindering thy huſbandry, whereas indéed they twitch thee by the eare, to put thée in minde, that the foryon of the earth commeth of God. Thou blameſt the Raine for wetting thee; whereas yet notwithſtanding it moiſtneth thy grounds, and maketh them fat. At a word, thou playeſt the babe, who thinkes his Nurce does him wrong, when ſhe kembs his head, or puts on his clothes, or rather ſometimes when ſhe pluckes a fire-ſticke from him, or takes a knife out of his hand: that is to ſay, thou miſconſtrueſt all the good which the bountifull Prouidence of God doth vnto thee.

The birth of Man.

But in the end (ſayſt thou) why be we not able to helpe our ſelues as ſoone as we be borne? Why be we ſubiect to ſo many diſeaſes, and in the end to death? I will not now preſſe thée with that which I will ſpeak of hereafter: namely, that for all theſe things none is to blame but thy ſelf: for euen in the ſame things which thou findſt fault with, I will ſhew thee, ſtill to thy face, the Prouidence of God. The babe is borne without abilitie to helpe himſelfe, and hath none other ſkill at all, but to cry. Contrariwiſe, the brute Beaſt is no ſooner come from his Damme, but he is able to go. Be it ſo. Yet notwithſtanding, of all theſe babes (which to thy ſéeming are but as forlorne things) none dieth for want of Nurce or nourihmét, though there be nothing but pain & care in bringing them vp. Therefore it muſt néeds

follow,

follow, that euen from the beginning, a certaine Prouidence hath watched ouer them, which hath ingrauen this kindly affection & carefulneſſe in the mothers breaſts; and the leſſe that babes can do for themſelues, the more manifeſtly doth Gods power ſhine forth in prouiding for them. As for the brute beaſts, it was not requiſite for them to be brought into the world in that ſort, foraſmuch as being vnable to conceiue reaſon, they had no intereſt at all in the knowledge of thoſe things.

Sicknesſes & diſeaſes.

As touching diſeaſes, if thou blame the ſeaſons of the yeere for them, thou mayeſt as well blame the fire for burning thée, which yet notwithſtãding thou canſt not forbeare: For the fault is in thine own vndiſcretneſſe, & not in their nature, and in thine owne vnruli-neſſe, & not in their diſtemperance. The ſelfeſame heate wherewith thou findeſt fault, ripeneth the Corne, Wine, and Fruits wherewith the moſt part of the world are fed. And if thou thinke that any man be thereby caſt into an Ague: he might haue forborne to haue gone into the Sunne, but he could not haue forborne the ſhining of the Sunne vpon the earth. But if fathers of houſholds haue rods at hand to correct their children withall, and that a part of their gouernment conſiſts therein: thinkeſt thou it ſtrange, that hee that hath ſet vs in the world, ſhould haue meanes to hold vs in awe, & to bring vs home to him? What wilt thou ſay to a number of diſeaſes, which are as certaine fruits of ſome vices and ſins? as one of Drunkennelſe, and another of Lechery, and ſo forth? Or what wilt thou ſay to Hippocrates himſelfe, who ſpeaking of ordinary ſores and diſeaſes, inioyneth the Phyſician in any wiſe to conſider well, whether there be any peculiar ſtroke of God in them or no: that is to ſay, whether the ſickneſſe or diſeaſe be extraordinary, ſo as the proper and neereſt cauſe thereof, be the hand of God vpon the party? Now furthermore if there be nothing but diſorder and wretchednelſe in this World, why blameſt thou death, which maketh thee to depart out of it? If it be becauſe thou haſt goods which thou art loth to forgoe, thou muſt conſider, that if thy parents had not giuen place to thee by order of Nature, thoſe goods had now béene none of thine. If it be becauſe Death maketh cleane riddance of moſt things; thinke alſo, that in ſo doing it maketh place for other moe that are to ſpring vp in their place. But yet if thou wouldſt conſider how often men goe to ſeeke Death where it ſeemeth to be doluen moſt deepe, and yet finde it not: how many meet with it at Bankets, at Feaſts, at Mariages, at Triumphs, & where they would moſt faineſt forget it? how many there be which die yong, and in good health: and how many liue ſore diſeaſed euen to the depth of old age? how many returne ſafe from moſt cruell Battels, to die in their beds: and how many die in battell, or in ſome fray, which haue ſhunned ſtrife and tumult all their life long. Thou ſhalt eaſily perceiue, ỹ our life & our death are not in our own hand, ne yet depend vpon fortune, foraſmuch as we eſcape ſo many places where fortune ſeemeth to reigne: and that much leſſe doth our life & death depend on Nature, ſeeing it is not with vs as it is with Trees & other liuing things, to whom there is ſet a certaine terme, which for the moſt part they fulfill, and ouerpaſſe it not: but that our life and death depends vpon a higher cauſe, whoſe onely will diſpoſeth and boundeth them, accordingly as is expedient for his own glory, for the order of the whole, yea and for our ſelues tw.

Had it not béen better then (ſayſt thou) that man had béene made immortall rather than mortall? And had it not béene much better alſo (I ſay) that the earth had rather been fire than earth, or that the eare had rather béene eye than eare, ſeeing that the one is more excellent than the other, and in the opinion of the Philoſophers, it is better to haue qualities actiue than paſſiue? Had the earth béene fire, where couldſt thou haue reſted? And if thine eares had been eyes, what had become of thy ſpeech, yea and of thy reaſon tw? Now therefore, my friend, giue this world leaue to be a world, that is to wit, a diſpoſing of diuers things, and an order of many degrees. Euery kind of thing hath his bounds and limits, accordingly as God hath liſted to appoint thereto. The Plant is a Plant, becauſe it doth but liue and grow: if it had ſence alſo, then ſhould it be a Beaſt. A Beaſt is a Beaſt, becauſe it liueth and hath ſence: if it proceeded ſo far as to haue reaſon alſo, then were it a Man. Man reaſoneth and diſcourſeth becauſe hee is Man: and were he thereto vnchangeable, he were a God. He therefore that demandeth why the Plant hath no ſence, and why Man is not immortall in this world, demandeth why the Plant is a Plant, & why Man is Man. To be ſhort, the cauſe why it is ſo, is, that it hath pleaſed God to ſet as it were the diuers ſtrings of the world in tune, to make one harmonie, inſomuch that whoſoeuer taketh away the diuerſity of things, taketh away the World it ſelfe.

Obiection of baſe and vile things.

But this is a poynt whereon they greatly ſtand. Well, ſay they, Admit that the diuine prouidence haue ſtabliſhed the world, yea, & that it haue an vniuerſal care thereof: Yet to toyle it ſelfe in the carke & care of ſo many particular things, ſpecially in this ſinke here beneath, I meane in this elementall world, which is ſubiect to ſo many changes,

ſeemeth

ſæmeth rather worthy of diſpraiſe than of praiſe. Nay, ſay I, but if it be a praiſe vnto God to haue created all things as well beneath as aboue; what diſcommendation can it be vnto him to preſerue them all? And ſeeing he made them all of nothing, whence proceedeth their worthineſſe or vnworthineſſe, but of his will? Why ſhould the cloth of Gold be of more account than the cloth of Hemp, or the Silke of more account than the Linner, to the Painter that painted them both? If God gouerne the Heauen, why ſhould he not alſo gouerne the Earth, wherein do go ſo infinite ſorts of liuing things: in euery of the which, yea euen in the Flie and the Ant, the greatneſſe of the Creator ſhineth forth more than in the very Heauen: namely, in their ſo liuely life, ſo ready vſe of ſenſes, ſo nimble and free mouing, yea and in the very littleneſſe of them, which in ſo ſmall roome containeth ſo many great things together? For we wonder more at the Clockemakers cunning in making a Clock which a Fly may couer with her wings, than in making a Clocke of great compaſſe, where the very greatnes it ſelfe diminiſheth the eſtimation thereof. If thou be afraid leſt the Spirit of God ſoile it ſelfe in theſe corruptible things, remember, that looke with what mind Cincinnatus commanded his men of war, and ruled the Common weale, with the very ſame minde did he both till and dung his ground, and yet thou counteſt him neuer the more defiled or imbaſed thereby. The ſelfeſame Sun which giueth light in the Skie, pierceth through the darke Clouds, and foggy Miſts, driueth vp draughts and ſinkes, and ſheddeth forth his beames euen into the things which ſeeme moſt filthy and lothy, and yet he himſelfe is not blemiſhed or defiled therewith. Now then, art thou afraid leſt God, who careth for all things without care, moueth them without touching them, & attaineth to them without putting himſelfe forth, is not able to weild theſe lower things without defiling himſelfe by thē? But it were more cōuenient (ſaith Ariſtotle) ỳ God ſhould deale with the great things himſelfe, as the King of Perſia doth in his priuy chamber, and that he ſhould leaue the care of the ſmaller things to his Princes. As who would ſay, that the Gardiner which hath ſowed both the great Cabbage, and the little turnip, both the Gourd and the Melone, ſhould make more account of the one for the greatneſſe thereof, than of the other for the ſmalneſſe thereof. Or as though thou wouldſt not alſo the more wonder at the King, if without ſtiring out of his priuie chamber, he could appoint all things to be done, or rather do all the things himſelfe which other men do. What is the thing (I pray thee) which thou commendeſt in Mithridates, but that hee could

could call his Souldiers euery one by his owne name? Or in Philip, King of Macedonie, but that he himſelf made the prouiſion for all his whole Hoaſt, euen for their carriages, & for fodder for their Beaſts? Or in the great Captaines of our time. but that they can ſkill not only to make Warre, and to order their Cattels, but alſo to ſet downe what the daily expences of their armies will come vnto, euen to euery loafe of bread, and euery bottle of Hay, and welneere within one or two ſhot, how many ſhot of the Canon will make a breach in ſuch a Wall, or ſuch a Bulwarke, and ſo forth? Or finally in this Captain or that, ſauing that this Captaine could ſkill to ſet the Sunne vpon the face of his enemies, and another to caſt the winde, the duſt, or the ſmoke in their eyes, and another to ſerue his owne turne by a Marris, and ſome other to draw his enemy into the miry and durtie Countrey? And what biler or baſer things can there be than theſe afore rehearſed? Finally, what is it that ye commend in the ſkilfulleſt warriours of them all, but that they could ſkill to ſerue their own turne? Or in the moſt glorious Conquerours, but that they got the victory in the end? And ſo thou muſt néds grant, that whereas the Counterparties failed to do the like, it was not for want of courage or good will, but for want of power or ſkill. Now, whatſoeuer is in the whole world, is the Army or Hoſt of God, an Army or Hoſt, (I ſay) not which he hath gathered of his neighbours, but which he hath created with his owne hands. He knoweth all the ſtars by name, for he made them. He hath prouided food for all liuing things, and one of them is no greater to him than another: for they haue no being at all any longer than he liſteth. If hee make warre here beneath, all his Armies are ready to doe him ſeruice, and to wage battell vnder his Banner, yea euen ỳ ambitiouſnes of Princes to punith themſelues one by another. If nations war proud, he armeth againſt thē the graſhoppers, & the Locuſts, the Hore froſt & the Blaſtings, the Winds & the vapours of the Earth. In euery of vs he hath his inlokers to chaſtiſe vs, in our fleſh, our corruptions: in our minds, our paſſions, & in our Soules, our ſins & diſorders. There is not ſo ſmall a thing, which ſerueeth not him to very great purpoſe: nor thing ſo vile, which ſerues not to his glory: nor thing ſo enemy like, which fighteth not to get him ỳ victory, nor the thing ſo wrongfull, which executeth not his iuſtice, nothing ſo much againſt him, which hitteth not the mark which he aimeth at. Therfore plead not in his behalfe vnadui-ſedly for Gods glory. For the more ſtiring, change, or diſorder there is here beneath, the more doth he ſhew the vnmoueable decrée of his

euerlaſting Prouidence, which (will they or nill they) directeth all the vnconſtancies of this World to one certaine end. And if perchance thou be afraid leſt God ſhould be tired with the paine and trauell: (for he hath need of thine vngodlineſſe to relieue him) conſider how thine owne Soule, without any toyle to it ſelfe, and without thy priuity, doth at one ſelfeſame inſtant both prouide for the ſuſtayning of thee, and make all thy parts to grow euery of them according to his peculiar portion and proportion, giuing ſence euen to thy nailes, and the haires of thy head, which are but out-growings, and not parts of thy body. And if thou wilt know how this prouidence is occupied without toyle: conſider how that thy Soule (notwithſtanding all the buſineſſe which thy Soule doth without thy thinking thereon) forbeareth not alſo in the meane while, to mount vp euen vnto heauen, and by the diſcourſes thereof to turmoile the whole Earth, to lay for the maintenance and defence of innumerable houſholds, and likewiſe for the decay and ouerthrow of as many others, and to ſearch into the dealings of the enemy, to make them to ſerue his owne turne, to treat both of Warre and Peace together at one time, and with the ſelfeſame perſons both at once. And dareſt thou now thinke that God is toiled in the things which thou thy ſelfe doeſt without toile? Or that he is tired with the gouernments wherein thou wouldſt take pleaſure? Or that he being a free and infinite Spirit, doth not that in a limited body, which thy ſoule, beeing finite in it ſelfe, doth in thy body, where it is in a priſon? To be ſhort, ſeeing thou preſumeſt to do thy will with the things wherof thou canſt not make one haire, ſhall God be vnable to doe his will with the things which he of his owne only will hath made & created? The vertue that is in the kirnell, or Plant, ſheadeth it ſelfe from the root of the vttermoſt branches, yeelding nouriſhment ſeuerally to the ſtocke or ſtalk, to the pith, to the barke, to the flowers, to the leaues, and to the fruit, to euery of them according to the proportion and nature thereof. The Sun it ſelfe in keeping his courſe, and without minding any ſuch thing, yeeldeth heat to innumerable Plants, and to innumerable people, and yet heateth not it ſelfe one whit the more. Now, if a creature doe ſo, what ſhall we ſay of the Creator? What ſhall wee ſay of him which is not the Soule of the Plant, or of the Beaſt, or of Man, but the maker of all things, yea which made them of nothing, who is not (as ſome Philoſophers haue vpheld) the Soule of the World, but rather (if he may be ſo termed) the very life and Soule of all life and Soule in the World? But as we ſee daily, if the Com-

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cell of a Realme cannot ceaſe one weeke without confuſion of the Common-weale; nor the ſoule of a man or a beaſt, forbeare working be it never ſo little, without the death of the party, nor the life that is in Plants ſtay without withering of the Plant, nor the Sunne go downe without procuring darkneſſe, or ſuffer Eclipſe without ſome notable change: much more reaſon haue we to beleeue, that if the World, and all that is therein were not guided, vpheld, and cared for by the ſame power, wiſedome and goodneſſe that created it, and ſet it in ſuch order as it is: it would in one moment fall from order into confuſion, and from confuſion to nothing. For, to haue no care of it, is to miſlike of it, and to miſlike it, is in God to vndoe it, foraſmuch as Gods willing of it, was the very doing of it. Now, if Gods prouidence extend it ſelfe throughout to all things, as well in Heauen as in Earth: wee cannot doubt but that it extendeth alſo vnto man. For what thing is there of ſo great excellencie, either on the Earth, as Mans Body, or in Heauen, as Mans Soule? And in extending it ſelfe to Man, it muſt needes alſo extende it ſelfe equally to all men. For who is either great or ſmall, poore or rich, in reſpect of him which made both of nothing? Or what odds is there betwixt them, ſauing that whereas both of them bee but ſlaues to him that ſetteth forth the Tragedie, he apparelleth the one in Cloth of Gold to play the King, and the other in a courſe Pilch to play the Begger, making them to change their apparrell when he liſteth?

Behold, here commeth almoſt an vniuerſall grudge. For if there bee (ſay they) a Prouidence, how commeth it to paſſe that ill men haue ſo much proſperity, and good men ſo much aduerſity? That ſome be ſo long vnpuniſhed, and otherſome ſo long rewarded? And to be ſhort, that one for his wickednеſſe commeth to the Gallowes, and another for the ſame cauſe obtaineth a Diadem or Crowne? This queſtion hath cumbred not onely the moſt vertuous among the Heathen, but alſo euen the moſt Religious of all ages. But it were beſt to make here a little breath, and put it ouer among diuers other things which remain to be treated of in the next Chapter following.

Chap. XII.

That all the euill which is done, or ſeemeth to be done in the world, is ſubiect to the Prouidence of God.

I Sayd heretofore concerning GOD, that all things teach vs that there is but One, and yet notwithſtanding that all things together cannot ſufficiently teach vs what hee is. Alſo let vs ſay concerning Prouidence, that in all things wee ſee a manifeſt Prouidence, but yet to ſeeke out the cauſe thereof in euery thing, is as much as to ſound a bottomleſſe pit, if it bee not much worſe, ſeeing that the will of God is the cauſe of all cauſes. Surely if a man will blame Gods Prouidence, becauſe it agreeth not with his owne opinion; hee is a thouſand fold to be more miſliked, than he that ſhould find fault with the Maker of an Houſhold for the ordering of his Houſe, where hee hath not lodged aboue one night, or controule the Lawes and Counſell of a ſtrange Countrey, whereof hee had no further experience, than by reſorting to the Tauernes, and common Innes: Or then the babe that ſhould take vpon him to giue ſentence of his fathers doings, or than the Market that ſhould preſume to iudge of the determination of a Court of Parliament, vnder pretence that he had held ſome mans Male at the Palace gate: or (I will ſay more) than the brute beaſt that ſhould vndertake to deeme of the doings of Men. For what are wee to bee admitted to the Counſell of God, which cannot ſo much as abide the brightneſſe of his face? And what vnderſtand we further of him, than he vouchſafeth to reueale vnto vs? What Princes Counſeller is ſo wiſe, that he can giue his Lord good aduice, vnleſſe his Lord do firſt make him priuy to his purpoſe as well preſent as paſt, and to all the other circumſtances pertaining thereto? Or what huſbandman comming from a farre, will preſume to vnderſtand better what tilth, what ſeed, what compoſt, and what time of reſt ſuch or ſuch a peece of ground requireth: than hee that hath been acquainted with it all ẏ daies of his life? And how far greater thing is it to create than to till? But foraſmuch as God is reaſon it ſelf, & we through his grace haue ſome ſpark therof: let vs ſee whether it be not ſo euident in all his doings, that in this poynt it inlightneth euen

euen the darkneſſe of our reaſon. And if we perceiue it not ſo clearly in all things, let vs acknowledge our ſelues to be but men, betweene whom and God there is no compariſon, whereas in very deed there were no difference betwixt him and vs, if wee could throughly conceiue all his deuices.

Now then, whereas it is ſaid, that if there bee a prouidence, why haue good men ſo much euill, and euill men ſo much good? More wee deale with the matter let vs agree vpon the words. I aſke of thee which men thou calleſt good, & which thou calleſt euill? and likewiſe what things thou meaneſt to be properly good or euill. If I ſhould aſke thee why healthy men haue ſo many diſeaſes, and diſeaſed men ſo much health, thou mighteſt with good reaſon laugh me to ſcorne: for health maketh healthy, and ſickneſſe maketh ſick. But whereas thou aſkeſt me, Why good men haue ſo much euill, and euill men ſo much good, pardon me though I cauſe thee to expound thy meaning: for naturally I cannot conceiue, that either good men haue euill, or euill men haue good. For if by good men you meane rich men, men of honour, and men that are healthy, and that ye take riches, honor, and health to be good things: then is your queſtion abſurd. For it is all one as if we ſhould demand why bearded men haue haire on their chins, and beardles men haue none. But if (as I heare thee ſay) thou eſteemeſt Solons pouerty to be better than the gold of Creſſus, & Platoes honeſty better than Dennyſis tyrranny, and the Colliche & the ſtone of a wiſeman with his wiſedome, to be better than the health & ſoundneſſe of body of the fole with his folly: then art thou deceiued with the faire name of good: for it is another thing than theſe goods, which cauſeth thee to prefer them, & eſteeme them ẏ better. Therefore let vs ſay that the good are thoſe which ſeeke after the true good things, and that the true good things are godlineſſe and vertue: and contrariwiſe, that the euill folks are thoſe which are wedded to the things that are euil indeed, that is to ſay, to ſin and vngodlineſſe, and let vs not confound things together, the good with the bad, and the bad with the good. For what goods ſoeuer a man can haue, or (to ſpeake after thine owne manner) whatſoeuer euils hee can meete with, hee cannot be good though hee haue all the goods in the world, ſo long as he himſelfe is not good; neither can he be in euill caſe, as long as he himſelf is not euil. As for the goods which go about to beguile vnder that attire; let vs ſay they be outward things, common to the one ſort as wel as to the other, for the which a man can no more be termed good or bad, bleſſed or wretched, than he can be call'd wiſe or learned for

wearing a rich garment: And contrariwiſe, that as all theſe falſe gods are inſtruments to the wicked to make them worſe, (as riches to corrupt both themſelues and other men; authority, to do violence; health, to make them the luſtier & ſtouter to do miſchiefe, & ſo forth:) ſo the euils, which thou termeſt euils, are helpes to good men, to doe good, and furtherers of them in the exerciſe of vertue, as pouerty to bridle their luſts, baſeneſſe to humble them, ſickneſs to meeken them, and all manner of cumbrances to driue them to flie vnto God, and to teach them to ſuccour their neighbours in the like, when God ſhal haue drawne them out of them: euen after the ſame manner that a ſickly body turneth all things that are miniſtred vnto it, into the vnſound humor which getteth the vpper hand, whereas on the other ſide, the ſound and healthy body turneth to his nouriſhment, euen the meats as are worſt of digeſtion.

That the falſe goods are cõmon both to good and bad.

Now then, let vs come to the poynt. Wilt thou know why riches and honour are common both to good and bad? It is becauſe that God (euen in ſpight of the wicked) cannot but be good, inſomuch that he maketh the ſhowres of raine, and the light to ſhine vpon the one as well as on the other, notwithſtanding that the one ſort do curſe him for wetting them, or for making them to ſweate, and the other ſort do bleſſe him for moiſtning and ripening the fruits of their labours. It is becauſe God deémeth it not agreeable either to his owne honour, or to the griefes and trauels of his ſeruants, to reward them with trifling things, leſt they ſhould ſet their minds vpon them: like as a father that keepeth his heritage for his ſonne, thinketh it not to be for his behoofe to apparrel him in the liuery of his ſeruants & ſlaues. To be ſhort, it is becauſe he dealeth like a Prince, who maketh his pay common to all his Souldiers: but as for the Garland of Oke, he giueth it onely to ſuch as are the firſt that in ſcaling do enter the breach, or get vp vpon the wall of a Town that is aſſaulted. Likewiſe Kings doe caſt their largeſs at aduenture among the people; but as for their honors & dignities, they beſtow them on theſe, whom they eſpecially fauour. It miſliketh thee that this man tilleth the ground with moe Ploughes than thou: but aduiſe thy ſelfe well, whether thou couldeſt finde in thine heart to exchange the inward gifts of grace which God hath beſtowed vpon thee, with his Oxen and his Ploughes. Another is in greater reputation and authority with the Prince than thou art. But conſider thou therewithall the heart-bitings, the enuy, the heartburnings, and ſuch other things which he endureth: and ſo whether the meaneſt degree in Gods houſe where thou ſerueſt, being free

free and exempted from all thoſe things, be not much better than the beſt roome about any King. The King for his ſeruice done by him, rewardeth him with lands, fees, and offices: but if thou be ſo baſe minded and wrong-full to thy ſelfe, as to ſolder thy body with the ſeruices and charges of thy Soule; conſider that God being liberall and iuſt, intendeth to reward ſpirituall incounters with ſpirituall Garlands, and to recompence thee according to his owne honor, and not according to the baſeneſſe of thy heart; and that ſo much the more, becauſe that in very deed he rewardeth not thy workes, but his owne workes in thee. Moreouer, the reward is giuen, not according to thy deſert, but according to the worthineſſe of him that beſtoweth it. The recompence of one ſelfeſame ſeruice is far other at the hand of a King, than of a meane Lord. If ỹ ſay thou couldſt be contẽted with a thouſand French Crowns, Alexander would anſwere thee, that it might perchance be enough for thee to receiue, but not enough for Alexander to giue. And if thou wouldſt haue God to giue thee no greater reward than plenty of Wine & Corne, if thou knewẽſt him well, thou wouldſt be aſhamed of thy ſelfe: for it is the food that is common to all men, and not peculiar to thoſe that are his. Neuertheleſſe, if thou ſtep not ſo farre, but art deſirous to know what bee the goods which good men haue in this world, (I ſpeake of them that ſeeme not to haue them) Seneca tels thee, that they make their life allowable to God who knows them, in him they repoſe thẽſelues, they haue peace in their conſciences, if he increaſe not their preſent ſtate, they alſo do abate their deſires; their enemies commend their vertue, all ỹ world bemoaneth their want, and thoſe that haue the diſtributing of goods and honors, are blamed for leauing them vnconſidered. To be ſhort, the very aſking of that queſtion (be thou a Chriſtian or an Heathen man) is vnto them an ineſtimable reward: namely, that whereas cõcerning the moſt part of other men, it is wont to be demanded wherefore they be aduanced to riches, honor and authority, and they themſelues are oftentimes aſhamed to tell how they came by them: euery man aſketh how it happeneth that the good men are not rich, honourable, and in authority. Now, if thou haue courage of a man, wouldeſt thou not chooſe as Cato did, that men ſhould rather aſke why thou hadſt not an Image of thine ſet vp in an open place, & why thou waſt not admitted to that honor, than otherwiſe? Yes, ſaiſt thou: but if God liſted not to giue me them, why haue I at leaſt-wiſe forgone thoſe which I had? Why hath he taken them from me? It may bee (ſaith Seneca) that if thou hadſt not forgone them, they would haue

forgone thee. I tell thee, that if he had not taken them from thee, they would haue taken thee from him. I pray thee how often haſt thou taken from thy Childe a Puppet, or ſome other toy that hee played withall, to ſee whether he would be ſtubborne or no? How oft haſt thou plucked the knife out of his hand, euen when he cryed to haue it ſtill? And what euill meaneſt thou towards him, when thou weaneſt him from his Dugge? Now then, thinkeſt thou it ſtrange, that God ſhould caſt thy goods into the ſea, which elſe would haue helped to drowne thee in deſtruction? Oh how greatly did Platoes ſhipwrack aduantage him, to make him wiſe? Or that he ſhould pluck the Sword of authority out of thy hand whereof thou art ſo deſirous, which elſe (peraduenture) had ſlaine thine owne Soule? Or that to prepare thee to another life better than this, he ſhould ſerue thee with ſuch fit meanes as might make thee to be in loue with it? Thou wilt ſay, that thou wouldſt haue vſed them well: but what a number of men haue been ſeene, which vnder the chaſtiſement of pouerty, were good men, whom riches and honor did afterward marre and corrupt? Thou ſuffereſt the Phyſician to take from thee ſome kinds of meats which thou loueſt well, and to abridge thee both of thy fare and thine exerciſes, and of thy pleaſures, becauſe he hath ſeen thy water, or felt ſometimes thy pulſe: and wilt thou not ſuffer God (who hauing created thee and ſhaped thee, feeleth euerlaſtingly the pulſe of thy Soule) wilt thou not ſuffer him I ſay, to bereaue thee of ſome outward thing which hee himſelfe made, and which would worke thy deſtruction? Thou commendeſt the Captaine, who to make his iourney the ſpeedier againſt his enemy, diſpatcheth away all bag and baggage from his Army, that the Souldiers may goe the lighter, and that the breaking of a Chariot may not ſtay him by the way: and canſt thou not find in thine heart that he which made thee and gouerneth thee, ſhould diſpoſe of thy baggages: that is to wit, of thy purchaſes or inheritances which thou haſt gotten here below, to make thee the nimbler againſt vice, & againſt the continuall temptations of this world?

But enuy pricketh thee. Why taketh he them not (ſayſt thou) as well from this man, and that man, as from me? And why loueth hee thee perchance better than them? Tell me why the Phyſician appointeth thee a greater portion of Rhewbarbe, than him? Becauſe ſuch a one is more moued with one dram, than another is with three. One is better purged with a ſingle gliſter, than another is with a very ſtrong purgation. One man is ſooner warned of God by the loſſe of his crop of grapes or Corne, thã another by the burning of his houſe, the

the loſſe of all his goods and the taking of his children priſoners. So Iob ſaw the loſſe of his cattell; the burning of his houſes, and the death of all his Children, and yet for all that he praiſed God ſtil. That which was conſtancy in him, might haue ſeemed blockiſhneſſe in another. But when God came once to the touching of his perſon, he could not then forbeare to diſpute with him. Now then, ſeeing that the things which thou termeſt euils & miſchiefes, are in very deede both Medicines and Salues, wilt thou not haue them miniſtred according to the complexion of the patient? And thinkeſt thou thy ſelfe wiſer in diſcerning the diſpoſition of thy Soule, than hee that created it, thou I ſay which dareſt not truſt to thine owne knowledge in the curing of thy body? The ſame is to be ſaid of diuers Nations, wherof ſome one may happen to be afflicted a longer time and more ſharply with the Plague or with warre, than another, and oftentimes alſo euen for the ſelfeſame cauſes: for God knoweth both the common nature of whole Nations, and the peculiar natures of euery ſeueral perſon. Some nature, if it ſhould not ſee the ſcourge alwaies at hand, would become too too proud and preſumptuous: Another, if it ſhould ſee it continually, would be quite out of heart & fall into diſpaire. If ſome were not kept occupied with their own aduerſities, they could not refraine from working miſchiefe to others. Another, againe beeing more giuen to quietneſſe, is contented to ſweat in tilling his grounds, and in trimming his Gardens, without couetting other mens goods ſo he may keepe his own. In like caſe it is with Plants: ſome require dunging, ſome rubbing to make them cleane, ſome proining, ſome new graffing againe with the ſame to take away harſhneſſe of their fruit, and ſome to haue their head cropped quite and cleane off. One ſelfe ſame Gardiner doth all theſe things, and a child of his that ſtands by and ſees it wonders at it: but he that knoweth the natures of things will count him the ſkilfuller in his Arte.

Yea ſaiſt thou, but though theſe euils may be Medicines & Salues how may death be ſo? For what a number of Innocents do wee ſee ſlaine in the world? what a number of good folke do wee ſee put to the ſlaughter, not onely god in the iudgement of vs, but alſo euen in the iudgement of thoſe that put them to death? May rather, what is death but the common paſſage which it behoueth vs all to paſſe? And what great matter makes it, whether thou paſſe it by Sea or Land? by the corrupton of thine owne humors, or by the corruptneſſe of thy Common-weale? Againe, how often haue Iudges condemned ſome

The murthering of Innocents & guiltles perſons.

man

man for a crime, whereof hee hath beene giltleſſe, and in the deniall whereof he hath ſtood vpon the Scaffold, and yet hath there confeſſed himſelfe faulty in ſome other crime, vnknown both to the Iudges & to the ſtanders by: a manifeſt reprooфe either of the ignorance or of the vniuſtice of the Iudges, but a plaine acknowledgement of the wiſedome and Iuſtice of the eternall God. And if God bring them to that point for one fault, and the Iudge for another, what vniuſtice is in God for ſuffring them to be condemned wrongfully by the Iudge, yea, and to be puniſhed with death or otherwiſe, for a crime whereof their own conſcience cleereth them as guiltleſſe, when as God and their own conſcience do iuſtly condemne them for ſome other? As for example, The Iudge condemneth them for conſpiracie againſt the Common weale, whereas God condemneth them (perchance) for behauing themſelues lowſely in defending the Common-weale. The Iudge vnder a colour of offence giuen to the Church, and God for not rebuking the Churchmen freely inough. For I ſpeake as well concerning Heathen folke, as Chriſtians in this behalfe. And what a number do we ſee, which confeſſe of themſelues, and witneſſe of their familiar friends, that by thy puniſhing of them, wherewith thou being the Iudge mentſt to haue put them in feare and to haue reſtrained them, they haue taken warning to amend, and been the more quickned vp and incouraged? And what elſe is this, but that as in one ſelfeſame deed, God had one intent and thou another, ſo alſo hee guided it to the end that he himſelfe aymed at, yea, and to a contrary end to that which thou diddeſt purpoſe? But what a thing were it if thou ſawſt the fruit that God draweth out of it? The Child that beholds his Father treading of goodly Grapes, could find in his heart to blame him for ſo doing, for he thinketh ỹ they ſhould be kept ſtill, and cannot conceiue to what vſe the treading of them ſhould ſerue? But the Father knowing the goodneſſe of the fruite better than the Child (for he planted them, tended them, and proined them) conſidereth alſo that within two monethes or little more, they would wither and drie away, and therefore to preſerue the vertue of them, hee maketh no account of the eating of them, but treadeth them in the Fatte to make Wine of them. And when the Child comes afterward to diſcretion, he muſeth at his own folly, and acknowledgeth that at that time hee played the very Childe, notwithſtanding that as then hee thought himſelfe wiſer than his Father. And after the ſame manner doth he when he ſées him make conſerue of Roſes, of Violets, or of other flowers. He is ſory to ſée them mard (as he thinketh) and is ready

ready to weepe for it, and he cannot be quieted, becauſe hee would make Noſegaies of them, which anon after would wither, and hee himſelfe would caſt them away by the next morrow. Now conſider I pray thée, whether without any further inducement, thou finde not thy ſelf to reſemble this Child. God who hath made the good men that which they be, hath no leſſe conſideration & loue towards them, than thoſe which bewaile them. He knoweth to what end their life ſerueth in this world, alſo he knoweth when it is time to gather them, and to put to his Hooke or Sickle, to cut them downe, that they rot not vpon the tree, or vpon the ground, and how long they may be preſerued in their kind. And thinkeſt thou it ſtrange, that hée ſhould take ſome when they be freſh and greene, to preſerue them all the yere long, or that hee ſhould make Conſerues of their flowers to bee kept a long time, or that he ſhould of their Grapes make Wine? Thinkeſt thou it ſtrange ſay I, that he ſhould after a ſort make their ſauour, their ſweet ſent, and their ſtrength, that is ſay their goodlines, their vprightneſſe, and their vertue to liue after them, which otherwiſe ſhould be buried with them? And that they which for themſelues could not haue liued paſt three or foure yeeres, ſhould liue to the benefite of the Church and Common-weale, not yéeres, but worlds of yéeres? If thou bee a Chriſtian, take for thy example the Apoſtles and a great number of the Martyrs which ſuffered perſecution: doſt thou not euen yet ſtill drinke of that liquor of theirs? Doth not their conſtant confeſſion make thée alſo to confeſſe Chriſt, and their death help thee to the endleſſe life? Could Ignatius and Polycarpus haue liued aboue 5. or 6. yeres more than they did? And yet what part of al their ages haue laſted ſo long, or done ſo much good, as the laſt half howre wherin they died? Or if thou be a Heathen man, conſider me the death of Socrates or of Papinian? If Socrates had not drunke the iuyce of Hemlocke without gilt, haddeſt thou had thoſe goodly diſcourſes of his concerning the immortality of the Soule? Or wouldeſt thou haue beléeued it ſo eaſily? and thereupon haue been contented to forgoe thy life ſo freely for the defence of thy Country, or for the maintenance of the truth? And if Papinian had not ſhewed how honorable a thing it is to die for doing right, and how far the ſoueraigne magiſtrate is to bee obeyed, ſhould we not be bereft of a ſingular goodly example of ſtoutneſſe and rightfull dealing? What thing did they in all their whole life, either ſo much to their own honour, or ſo beneficiall to them that were to come after them, as their dying in ſuch ſort? Now therefore, let vs ſay we be but babes. And foraſmuch as we perceiue

the

the wiſedome of our Father to be ſo great, whereas, we condemne him of want of ſkill, & forasmuch as our owne ignorance is ſo groſſe whereas we boaſted of wiſedome, let vs rather confeſſe our weakeneſſe in all caſes, than preſume to doubt of his ſage prouidence in any thing.

The gods allowed that cauſe which had the vpper hand.

But Cato with the vanquiſhed, againſt the goddes did ſtand.

But Cato of Vtica would néeds that God ſhould yéld him a reaſon, why Cæſar ouercame Pompey: as who would ſay, that the beſt caſe in the Realme, ſhould command the high Court of Parliament to yéld him account, why his caſe was ouerthrowen. For all our great Quarrels and complaints are leſſe before God, than the leaſt caſe of a poore Villaine is before the greateſt Monarcke of the world. Nay, he ſhould rather haue conſidered that priuate States are punished by order of Lawe, and Common-weales and publike States by ciuil wars: And that the Common-weale of Rome was (euen by his own confeſſion) ſo corrupted in manners, in gouernment, and in the very Lawes themſelues; that hee might haue had much iuſter cauſe to haue doubted of Gods prouidence, if after her puniſhing of others for the like things, ſhe her ſelfe had ſcaped vnpuniſhed: that the great men, what part ſoeuer they maintained, were the members moſt infected, in ſo much that the wiſeſt men of that age ſaide, Wee ſee what part wee ought to ſhun, but not what part we ought to take: And that as Cæſar made warre openly againſt his Countrey: ſo, Pompey couertly and vnder hand made his partakers to fight for the maintenance of his own ambition, which was peraduenture diſcountenanced to the common people, but could not be counterfeited before God, who ſéeth the very bottome of our hearts. Now then ſhall wee thinke it ſtrange, that to the intent to ſhewe the common people how greatly they be ſubiect to be deceiued vnder pretence of good faith, and to teach great men how ſore hee miſliketh that they ſhould ſhrowd their lewd luſts vnder the cloake of Iuſtice, GOD ſhould ſuffer Pompey to fall into the hands of his enemies? And that to puniſh the pride of the Senate and the whole State; he ſhould cauſe their Army to be vanquiſhed, and let them fall into the hands of their owne Countriman their naturall Subiect? Nay how could God haue ſhewed his prouidence more manifeſtly, than by ouerthrowing that State by her owne force, which thought there was not any Power in the world able to puniſh her? And by making her a bondſlaue to her owne ſeruant, which had brought ſo many Cities, Common-weales and Kings in bondage vnto her? But it may bee that Cæſar himſelfe ſcapeth vnpuniſhed. Nay: to ſhew vnto Tyrants

Tyrants, that the higheſt ſtep of their greatneſſe is tied to a halter, and that they be but Gods ſcourges which hee will caſt into the fire when he hath done with them, within a while after, hee was ſlaine miſerably in the Senate when it was full. And by whom? Euen by thoſe in whom he truſted, which had fought vnder his Standard againſt the Common-weale, & which preſuming themſelues to haue deſerued more at his hand than they had indéed, meant to deſerue alſo of the Common-weale in murthering him. Were we now as diligent in marking the proceedings of things done in Hiſtories, as wee be in noting the manner of ſpeeches, the order of inditing, or the antiquities which the writer importeth: We ſhould finde the like prouidence of God in the change of all States. But I content my ſelfe with this one aforementioned, as the which is beſt known to all men, except I were minded to take ſome example of our preſent age to enlighten the matter withall. Now then, whereas Cato ſlew himſelfe through impatience, thinke ye not that if hee had liued ſtill, hee would haue ceaſed to contend with God, and haue commended his Iuſtice, and haue written bookes of his ſingular prouidence? Yea: But the miſchiefe is, that whereas we would not iudge of a Song by one note, nor of a Comedie by one Sence, nor of an Oration by one full Sentence, we will preſume to iudge of the Harmony and orderly direction of the whole world, and of all that is therein, by ſome one action alone. Again, in Muſick we beare with changes & breaths, with pauſes and diſcords; In Comedies, with ỹ vnmeaſurable barbarous cruelties of an Atreus, the wicked preſumption of an Ixion, and the lamentable outcries of a Philoctetes: & all this is becauſe we haue ſo good opinion of the Muſician, that we thinke he will make all to fal into a good concord: and of the Commedie-maker, that alhis diſagreements ſhall end in ſome marriage: & of the Tragedie writer, ỹ ere he leaue the Stage, he will tie the wicked Ixion to the Wheele, or make the fiends of Hell to torment the Atreus, or contrariwiſe cauſe God to heare the wofull voice and pittifull crie of the poore Philoctetes. And if God ſéeme erewhiles to hold his peace, and to ſuffer men to play their parts, ought we not to haue ſo good opinion of his wiſedom, as to think that he can tell when it is time to pay them their hire. And that although hee let the wicked walke at large vpon the ſtage, and the godly to lie in priſon: he can alſo prouide to end the bragueries of the one ſort with iuſt puniſhment, & the wofull complaints of the other with ioyfull triumph? When a Tragedie is played afore thee, thou art not offended at any thing which thou heareſt.

Seneca in his third booke of Anger. Cæſar ſaw Cimbrus Tullius, who had a little afore been very hot in his defence, & others of his owne confederates in Armes ſtand now their Swords drawne about his Chaire of Eſtate, & taking part with the Pompeies after Pompeies deceaſe. The cauſe why men find fault with Gods Prouidéce

Why

Why ſo? Becauſe that in two howers ſpace, thou haſt ſhewed vnto thée the doing of a tenne twelue or twentie yeeres, as the rauiſhing of Helen, and the puniſhment of Paris, or the miſerable end of Herod vpon his murdering of Iohn Baptiſt. Inſomuch that although thou be not acquainted with the ſtory, yet the art which thou perceiueſt, and the end which thou expectéſt, make thee both to beare with the matter, and to commend the thing which otherwiſe thou wouldeſt thinke to be both vniuſt & alſo cruell in the gouerner of the Stage. How much more oughteſt thou to refraine thy miſliking, if thou conſidereſt that the World is a kinde of Stage-play, directed to a certaine end, and that by a moſt excellent Poet? And what an excellent order wouldeſt thou ſee there, if thou mighteſt behold all the ages and alterations thereof as in a Comedy, all in one day? yea, or but the ſucceſſe of ſome one onely Nation for an hundred yeeres, which were leſſe than the interuiew of two Seruants in one Comedy? Thou haſt ſeene Pompey ouercome. Loe here a diſcord that offendeth thine eares. Thou haſt ſéene Cæſar to bring home his Sword bathed in the bloud of the Senate. If thou be a child, thou wæpeſt at it: but if thou béeſt a man, thou pacifieſt the Child, and attendeſt for knitting vp of the matter, and for the iudgement of the Poet: Hereupon the Chorus ſingeth, and then maketh a pauſe. All this while the Poet ſeemeth to haue forgotten Iuſtice: and if thou depart out of the company at that point, thou canſt not tell what to make of him. But tarry a while and hearken to the note that followeth. Cæſar is put to death by his owne men. Sée heere how the diſcord is turned into a good concord. Thy Childe ſeeth that this proud Peacocke which vaunted himſelfe aboue all the world, is in one day ſtabbed with infinite wounds. Whereby, how little a one ſoeuer thy child be, he hath ſome perceiuerance of the forecaſt of the Poet. Doſt thou not ſée then againe, that we be like Children which would controle the Song of all ages by one note, or a long Diation by one letter, whereas notwithſtanding, our life, as in reſpect of the whole world, is leſſe than a ſhort Minim in compariſon of a whole ſong? If thou be a Chriſtian thou readeſt the hiſtory of Ioſeph. When thou readeſt how he was ſold into Ægypt, thou canſt not be angry enough with his brothers, and ſufficiently bewayle his poore old Father. Againe, when hee is caſt into the deepe dungeon in recompence of his chaſtitie, thou couldeſt finde in thy heart to blame, not only Pharao, but euen God himſelfe. But when thou ſeeſt him taken out of priſon to declare the Kings dreames, and (within a few dayes after) as a King in Ægypt, a ſuc-

ſuccour to his father in his old age, and the raiſer vp againe of his whole houſe at their neede; then thou perſwadeſt thy ſelfe, that hee which made him to raigne in Ægypt, did ſuffer him to be ſold to the Ægyptians: that hee which made him the deliuerer of his houſe, did alſo make him to be ſold into bondage afore by his brethren: and to be ſhort, that the diſcord which offended thee, and the harmony which delighteth thee againe, proceed both from one and the ſelfe ſame art, and from one and the ſelfeſame Muſician. Howbeit, afore wee conclude this matter, ſee once againe how much more vpright thou art towards thy Prince, than towards God. Thou ſeeſt a great number of his Army come home wounded; if thou bee a man, it muſt needes grieue thee. Anon one tels thee that thine owne Son is dead: if thou be a Father, thou canſt not forbeare teares. A neighbour of thine aſſureth thee that he waas ſlaine in doing his duety, in getting victory to his Countrey. Though thou take not comfort in it at the firſt brunt, yet at leaſtwiſe thou wilt not be ſo mad as to lay the blame in thy Prince. Within a while after, when thou falleſt to conſider the fruit of the victory, then as it hath grieued thee to forgoe thy ſonne, ſo wilt thou thanke God that hee dyed in defence of his Country, and that he did his part in ſo noble a ſeruice. Shall not God then haue as great preeminence in ſetting forth his glory, as Kings for the obtaining of their victorie? God ouer his Creatures, as Kings ouer their Subiects? Or ſhall we not haue as much patience in the death of thoſe whome wee bring vp, when they die for his ſeruice, as when they dye for the honour of our Prince? Or ſhall wee haue leſſe truſt in him as touching his imploying of them to good purpoſe, than wee haue to Kings, Princes, and Captaines, which know not the iſſue of their owne enterpriſe or for the moſt part know them not, ne haue any care of the life or death of them, that ſerue them? Let this ſuffice for the anſwer to ſuch as bere themſelues either for the afflictions, or for the ſodaine death of thoſe whom they loue and eſteeme. And let vs now conſequently ſee, if wee can ſatiſfie thoſe which are greeued at the proſperity and ſlow puniſhment of the wicked.

Thou ſayſt that the wicked haue welfare at will. King Cyrus was not of thine opinion, when for a puniſhment to the people of the City of Sardis, he commanded them to ſpend their time in gaming and frolicking. May, thou ſhouldeſt rather ſay, that they haue miſerye, for all the good things which thou termeſt good, and which we count neither good nor euill, doe in the hands of the wicked turne into euill. Well

(ſayſt thou) howſoeuer they be termed, they haue great commodities in this world. What wilt thou ſay then, if their owne wicked diſpoſition, and their owne ſin, do worke them more miſchiefe than all the harmes and euils which thou bewayleſt in the good men? Sith there is not a greater miſchiefe than to be wicked, and that all the commodities which thou enuieſt them, haue as little force againſt the euill which they harber within them, as Veluet Pantoples haue againſt the Gowte, or Diadems againſt the Headach, or purple Robes againſt the Collicke: Geſſe (if thou canſt) what feare and what Agew fits they ſuſtaine in following their wicked luſts, as namely, this man in haunting of Harlots, that man in riding to commit a robbery, one in poiſoning his owne brother that hee may ſucceede him in the Kingdome, another in ridding good common-weale men out of the way, that hee may maintaine himſelfe ſtill in his tyranny. Conſider what miſery they endure, afore they can come to the performance of their euill, what they abide in the very doing thereof, and what a turmoile their owne Conſcience maketh of it, after they haue performed it: and thou ſhalt ſee that it is a continuall Feuer, a ſtrange vnquietneſſe, and a ſharpe ſorrow, ſo much alway the more dangerous, becauſe the ſhameleſſeſt of them all, dareth not bewray his diſeaſe to the Phyſicion. Alexander the Tyrant of Pherey, was wont in the chiefe of his tyranny, to get himſelfe within a Mote, & to draw vp the bridge after him, when he went to liue with his Concubine. Dennis of Sicilie being afraid to put any Barber in truſt with the trimming of his Beard, made his owne Daughters to ſupplie that office: and growing afterward in iealouſie of them, hee ſindged it off himſelfe with a burning firebrand. Another, as oft as he went to bed with his wife, ſearched her whether ſhe had not a knife hidden in her boſome, or about her. Thinke you not that the happieſt of theſe Tyrants, was more miſerable than the perſon that was moſt oppreſſed vnder his tyrannie? With what ſauce think you did Dennis eate his dainties, when he imagined himſelf to haue a naked Sword hanging continually by a haire with the point ouer his head, as he ſate at the Table? And yet what a number were there at that time, which enuied their Purple Robes, their Diadems, & the daintie fare of thoſe Tyrants, & which found fault with God for the eaſe & proſperitie which he gaue them? Babes that we be! We would chang our ſtate with a caitife, & in playing the King in a Tragedie, ſweepeth the ſcaffold with a long gowne of Cloath of Gold, which within a few houres after, he muſt be faine to deliuer home againe to the Vpholſter with paiment for the

the hire of it: and in the meane time wee conſider not what ragged clouts, what ſcabbes, what vermin, and what itch and ſcurfe lyes hid vnder it, nor how that oftentimes in counterfeiting the Maieſtie of the King, he was faine to ſcrub, and in menacing others, to grind his teeth in his head. But were we cloathed but one houre with that which he beareth about him, and whereof he cannot rid himſelfe, we would rather goe naked than bee ſo clothed. And whereas it ſpiteth thee to ſee Tyrants raigne, and to ſtrout it out, and to triumph, yea, and that ſome of them come to their Crownes by doing the ſame things for which other ſome come to the Gallowes: doth it not greatly ſkill (thinke you) whether a man bee tormented in a coate of veluet or in a coate of Canuas? Whether he be manacled and fettered in gyues of Gold or of Iron? Or whether in ſo ſhort a ſhowe, hee play the great Lord or the poore Begger? How often haſt thou ſeene the Cutpurſe hanged with the purſe about his necke, and the theefe hanged in the ſame apparell that he had ſtolne? Be thou of high or low degree, be thou rich or poore, be thou Prince or Peaſant, alſoone as thou haſt giuen ouer thy ſelfe to vice and wickedneſſe, by and by thou art become their priſoner and ſlaue. And if it be ſo, what ſkils it who thou be, if thou be not thine own man? Or whereto ſerues thée all that thou art, but to be the more wicked, which is indeede to be the more wretched? But although vice be a puniſhment to it ſelfe, and that (as ſaith Heſiodus) it ſpring vp with the very miſdeed it ſelfe: yet notwithſtanding, many men cannot content themſelues with Gods Iuſtice, vnleſſe they ſee the offender led by and by to the Gibbet: that is to ſay, vnleſſe the puniſhment, be ſpeedy, an open example & viſible, as who would ſay, that the Gibbet were but the beginning of puniſhment and not rather the end of it; or that they which are caſt in priſon for ſtealing, had not the halter about their necks already, from the very inſtant that they be taken, notwithſtanding that ſometimes forgetting their owne miſerie, they play together at Cardes and Dice.

Nay contrariwiſe, wheras Epicurus doth ground his greateſt argument therupon: let vs learn therby to haue Gods prouidence in greater admiration. I demand therfore what is the end of al Iudges in puniſhing, whether it be not the amendment of the tranſgreſſor, if he be not put to death, or elſe that he ſhould be an example & warning to others by his death? If it be the amendment of the party, why findeſt thou fault with it, for that he is not put to death? God is a Phiſicion and not an Executioner. He knoweth better than thou, what hope of recouery

Wickednes is a puniſhment to it ſelfe. Seneca in his Thebais. Feare not: for he ſhall be puniſhed, and that right ſore. He ſhall reign: That is a puniſhment. And if thou doubt thereof beleeue his father and his grandfather.

couery there is in ý diſeaſe. The party (ſaiſt thou) was vnruly in his youth. The wine that is now milde & good, was a two moneths agoe, both hard & ſharpe, & it will grow riper yet in time. Moreouer, let the offender flée as far as he liſt, yet he is ſafe in priſon, & vnder ſure gard. God ſtands in no ſuch doubt as thou doſt: the offẽder can neuer ſcape his hands. No: but thou wouldſt ý God ſhould at leaſt wiſe brand him with the broad arrow. If it be in the forehead, belike thou art afraid ý God could not know him again, if he had once ſhifted his apparrel: If in ſome other place. And doubteſt thou that his branding Iron cannot pierce euen to the heart, which thou ſéeſt not? Nay rather, the ſelfſame land which for want of tillage & husbanding brought forth briers and thiſtles, that is to ſay, vices and enormities, may by good husbanding beare good Wine and good Corne, that is to ſay, godlineſſe and vertue. And haddeſt thou once ſhamed him by the pillory or by carting: might it not grieue thée to haue made him paſt grace? If the Athenians (ſaith Plutark) had killed Themiſtocles for the outrage of his youth: or Miltiades for his rebelling in Cherſoneſus, where had the goodly victories become which they obtained in the plaine of Marathon, on the coaſt of Artemiſia, & at the riuer Eurimedon? Or had Conſtantine béene rigorouſly puniſhed for the cruelty wherewith his former yéeres were beſteined, & that thou hadſt then known aforehand, what things he was to do afterward for the aduancement of Chriſtianity, thou wouldeſt haue bewailed him. And why ſaueſt thou ſome from puniſhment for great crimes, in reſpect ý one is a good builder, another an excellent Muſician, & a third a man of learning, whéras thou knoweſt not what they will proue afterward, & yet thinkeſt not that in ſo doing thou doeſt any hurt, but rather good ſeruice to thy Cõmon weale? But as for God, he knoweth which ground is euill of it ſelfe, & which it is that beares brambles for want of husbanding. He knowes what is in our minds afore we our ſelues. The things which we are to do in time to come, be already preſent in his ſight. Neither Nero with his fiue yéeres good behauiour, nor Conſtantine, with the wicked diſorder of his yonger time, could beguile God, though thou which ſéeſt but the outward man, call the one the Father of his Country, & the other an vnkindly murtherer. He knoweth when the tamed wolfe will turne to his kind, & when the Dog will put off his churliſhnes. He knowes mens natures in the ſeed, whéras we ſcarce know them in the flower. Whereas we haue recourſe at euery inſtant to ſearing, cutting, launcing, & ſaluing of euery ſore, he hath a thouſand receits to heale vices withall, & a thouſand kinds of ſcourges to correct offenders, according

cording to euery of their complections. And thinkſt thou that he neglecteth his cure, becauſe thou ſeeſt not the ſearing yron in his hand? Or that his potentials are no ſtronger than thine actuals? And when thou ſéeſt the ſinfull perſon cured after that maner without launcing, yea without ſcarre, oughteſt thou not to commend the curing thereof ſo much the more? But there are which amend not a whit the more for the delay of their puniſhment. Admit it be ſo: yet what a number alſo are there which amend? Nay, conſider yet further, whether they be not ſuffered to liue to puniſh thée, thée I ſay, which haſt been ſcourged by them already, & yet art neuer a whit amended. Thou wouldſt haue thy father to throw his rod into the fire, & thou haſt ſtill a curſt heart ý cannot aſke forgiuenes. Blame thine owne ſtubbornnes, that he burnes not ý rod. Conſider alſo whether it be not a greater puniſhment to them to liue after they haue done amiſſe, than to haue died in the deed doing, forſomuch as they ſee that their ſlaughters haue not ſucceſſe according to their wils, but that all the miſchiefe which they haue wrought, is in vaine, ſo as they haue but prouoked God and the whole world againſt themſelues to no purpoſe, & haue gotten nothing thereby but reproach & torment of mind, and whether God do not by that meane compel them to cry out, We haue wearied our ſelues in the way of wickednes, vntill we can no more? If God (ſay I) by his ſeeming to be ſlow, do amend thee & puniſh the other both at once, doeſt thou not perceiue a wonderful work of prouidence? Moreouer, what is the whole continuance of all a mans life in reſpect of God, but one momẽt? Shorter than the time betweene the drinking of the Hemblock, & the death of him that drinks it: & much ſhorter than betwéen the killing of a man in the morning, & being hang'd for it in the afternoone? if thou haue an eye in the chief end of puniſhments, namely, the example of them that liue ſtill, to the benefit of the Common-weale, I aſke of thee whether thou thinkeſt not, that they were better warned by Neroes killing of himſelf a good while after his committing of ſo many ſlaughters, & his ſetting of Rome on fire, hauing neither friend ý could ſaue him, nor foe that would ſlay him, than if he had bin burned in the foreſaid fire which he cauſed to be kindled? Nay, conſider whether it ought not to be yet a better warning for thee, when thou ſeeſt that the wicked man is held faſteſt by the necke, when hee thinketh himſelfe to haue eſcaped the hand of God: ſeeing there cannot be a plainer proofe, that no man can preſcribe time for his wickednes againſt Gods iuſtice. Againe, when Maximian, after the cõmitting of ſo many cruelties, pineth away by peécemeale in infinite miſeries,

I refer it to thine owne iudgement, whether he do not more apparantly preach Gods iuſtice againſt Tyrants and wicked Courtiers, than if he had been ſlaine when he was yong, as Domitian and Commodus were? And whether he ſéeme not to thée, to haue beene as a crier hired for the nonce to make this Proclamation publikely with lamentable and languiſhing voice of all his life long. Take warning by mee to do Iuſtice, and not to diſpiſe God? Or whether, when Dennis the Tyrant of Sicilie became a Schoole maſter at Corinth, and fell to beating of Children, it was not a better beating to him, than if the people had cauſed his ſhoulders to haue beene rent from him vpon a Scaffold: and whether all the youth in the Citty were not better taught what the end of Tyranny, is by vpholding him with the Rods in his hand in the Schoole, than they ſhould haue been by ſéeing him put to death incontinently in the place?

And if thou thinke it not inough that Lyciſcus doe rotte aboue the ground, yea, and that he cry out that he rotteth for his treaſon, vnleſſe the ſame Orchomenians whom hee betraied, do come to the beholding of it: Or if thou thinke it not enough that Nero make a miſerable end, except Agrippina whom he vnnaturally murthered, doe ſéed her eies with the ſight of it: or ỹ Herod become a forlorne creature, vnleſſe the Innocents whom hee ſlew, hee called to loke vpon him: beſides that thou requireſt a thing againſt reaſon, thou muſt alſo vnderſtand, that God puniſheth not after the manner of worldly Iudges, namely, to content them that haue ſuffered wrong, or to ſatisfie thy mind deſirous of reuenge, or to purchaſe himſelf the report & eſtimatiõ of a good Iudge at thy hand: but becauſe he hateth the euil which he intendeth to correct, and will alſo drawe good out thereof. And like as a diſcreet Father, when his Childe complaineth to him of ſome wrong done vnto him by one of his ſeruants, doth not by and by run vpon his Seruant with a cudgell, (for ſo ſhould hee make his Child cockiſh, & cauſe him not only to do the like for euery trifle, but alſo to take the ſtaffe in his own hand and to lay about him, whereas he would haue him to bridle his paſſions, and to refer the redreſſe of his wrongs to him being his Father;) but rather taketh his Seruant aſide, and chaſtizeth him either before his fellowes, or before others of his Children which beare not ſo much grudge or ill minde: euen ſo it is not to be thought ſtrange, if God doe oftentimes chaſtice the wicked far from the view of the world, yea, & ſometimes alſo euen after the deceaſe of them that made complaint againſt them. His intent is to puniſh their paſſions, but not to gratifie thine: hee will teach

teach me his Iuſtice, but he will not haue thee to thinke that thou ſhalt haue him at thy commandement, to ſtrike whenſoeuer thou wouldſt haue him. If he ſhould ſtrike at thy appointment, then ſhould he be but the executioner. and thou ſhouldſt be the Iudge. But know thou, that he executeth his owne Iuſtice, & not thine. Yea (ſaiſt thou) but what Iuſtice is it, that children ſhould be puniſhed for their fathers? And (I ſay) what iniuſtice is it, if the children be not conſidered for the good ſeruice of their fathers? A Prince giueth priuiledge to ſome Citie, for the faithfull ſeruice which it hath done vnto him: and who will not blame his Succeſſor which ſhall take them away a hundred yeares after? Another Prince bereaueth a Citie of their liberties and franchizes, for rebelling againſt him: who will thinke it any rigor, that their children which come after them, ſhould be in ỹ ſame ſtate? The Prince doth it for feare leſt the children hauing the ſame territory, ſhould rebell as their fathers did. God ſtandeth not in feare of men, but he ſéeth what they bee: and his knowing of them is not as we know the Aſpworme by his ſtinging of vs, or the Viper by his biting of vs, but he knoweth them afore they be either Aſpworm or viper; & may he not then by ỹ reaſon ſometimes puniſh ỹ children in the ſame reſpect that he puniſhed their fathers? As for example, by taking away their authority if they cõmitted tyranny, leſt they might abuſe their authority ſtill? Or by taking away their goods which they ſpent in riot & exceſſe, leſt they ſhould ſet their minds vpõ theſe vices ſtil? & ſo forth of other things? But why do I terme it nothing? I ſhould rather terme it curing: for what more is al this thã we ſée daily done by Phyſicions, who in caſes where ỹ fathers were diſeaſed with the ſtone, the gout, or the dropſie, do forbid the children the ſame things which they forbad their fathers, although the childrẽ be not yet troubled wỉ the ſame diſeaſes? And what elſe are ſins & vices, but diſeaſes & ſickneſſes of the ſoule? And what ſtrangeneſſe is there in Gods doing, ſith thou thy ſelfe doeſt the very ſame? Thou diſinherites the children of thẽ that haue attempted treaſon againſt ỹ Prince: & if the Prince may do it for ỹ defence of his ſtate, how much more cõmendable is the doing therof, for the preſeruation of the parties themſelues? But yet in this appeareth the mercifulnes of God, ỹ if the child of the wickedeſt man in ỹ world refuſe to be heire of his fathers ſin, & folow godlines & vertue, God doth not only releaſe him the debt due to ſuch ſucceſſion, ỹ is to wit, the pain & penalty which is an vnſeparable apurtenance of ſin, but alſo adopt him into ỹ number of his own children, to make him partaker of his heauenly heritage.

Now then, what cauſe haue we to complaine, either of the proſperitie of the wicked, or of the aduerſitie of thoſe whom we account to be good men, ſeeing that all theſe things tend, not onely to Gods glory and the benefite of the Commonweale, but alſo to the wel-fare and ſoule-health of thoſe whom we bewaile? And if we did conſider yet further, how many there be whoſe miſeries we bewaile, which foſter a feſtered ſore in their boſome, how many there be whoſe proſperity we enuy, which haue much cleaner hearts than the other, & do ſpit out all their venome outwardly, how many there be which haue their nailes whole, and yet do but little harme with ſcratching: how many there be which would teare all things in péces, if their nailes were not pared very ſhort, who for want of power (I meane) or for want of courage to execute their naughtines, ſéme for the preſent time good men? and a thouſand other ſuch circumſtances there are which are to be marked in euery particular fact: ſurely they which do ſo lightly charge Gods prouidence, would change their opinion; or elſe, where that prouidence ſéemeth to them moſt worthy of blame, there would they the more wonder thereat and commend it.

How God ſuffereth euil in the World.

But this is yet the greateſt point of all: That although God puniſh euill neuer ſo much, yet it cannot be denied, but that he leaueth euill ſtill in the World, ſeéing we agree all in this, that ſinne or vice is euill. Now if he be altogether good, how can he forbeare to hate it? And if he be Almightie, how can he ſuffer it? And if hee order and diſpoſe all things, how doth he permit it? This queſtion ſhall be the clearelier diſcuſſed, where we ſhall proue how euill came firſt into the world: namely, by the fall of man. And then ſhall wee haue wherefore to wonder at Gods prouidence, who hauing puniſhed vs by our owne naughtineſſe, could ſkill to turne the ſame both to his owne glory, and to the welfare of mankind. To glance at it in few words; by the way, It was requiſite that there ſhould be ſome difference betweene the Creator & the Creature, to the intent that the creature ſhould acknowledge it ſelf to be a creature, & yeeld honor to the Creator who had made him of nothing. Now the Creator is the good ý is infinit & vnchangeable: & therfore the goodnes that is in any creature, could not but be finite and changeable, fauing ſo far forth as it conſented to depend vpon him alone. God therfore created man good, howbeit changably good: free from euil, howbeit ſo as he might chooſe the euill: & he created him rightly minded, howbeit in ſuch ſort as he might alſo go aſtray. And this man by turning away frō ý Welſpring of goodnes, did therby fall away from his own goodnes: & by following his own will, inſtead of Gods Will, he left his freedome & became a bondſeruant vnto euill. All they that are borne of this corrupted ſéed, retaine the faultineſſe of that firſt fault, and cannot wite it vpon any other than the firſt man. Therefore if it be demanded why God created man free, and not vnfrée, ſeeing his freedome made him bond? it is all one as if it were demanded, why hee created fire to be light and ſubtill, that is to ſay, Fire, or why he created water moyſt and cold, that is to ſay, Water, or the World full of ſo many varieties, that is to ſay, a World, and to be ſhort, euery kind of thing, to be of this or that nature. For to haue free mouing and capable of Reaſon, is to be a man, and if we had not had it ſo, we would haue complained. Againe, to haue free mouing, and ſuch as cannot be but reaſonable, is to be reaſon it ſelfe, that is to ſay, to be God. Now, God meant not to create a God, but a man to ſerue him, like as when hee intended to create Beaſts for the ſeruice of man, he created them Beaſts and not men. But wherein wilt thou more wonder at the Prouidence of the euerlaſting God, than in that he not onely ordereth and diſpoſeth the things that he hath created, but alſo the thing which he created not: inſomuch that he draweth good out of the euill, yea, and compelleth the euill (contrary to the nature thereof) to ſerue vnto God? If a Captaine were of ſuch ſkill as to order all things in ſuch wiſe in his Armie, that euery thing ſhould ſerue to the attainement of his victory: thou wouldeſt commend him highly, and it were indeed one of the rareſt feates of Warre. But if hee could moreouer gaine ſome part of his enemies Hoaſt, and make them to take his owne part, thou couldeſt not wonder ſufficiently at his policy. What wilt thou then ſay of him, which could make them to fight on his ſide vnwitting to themſelues, and that euen his enemies Hargwebuſſes ſhould help to giue themſelues the foile? Soothly euen after that ſort is it, that God can ſkil by his prouidence to make both ſinners & their ſins to ſerue him. Cyrus (as appeareth by the Hiſtories) was an ambitious Prince: & ambition (as ye know) cannot be wel liked of God. Now, to ſatiſfie his ambition, Cyrus leuies a great hoaſt againſt the Aſſyrians. If a man ſhould haue told him it had béen to deliuer the Iſraelites, & to build vp Gods Temple againe, as Eſay had foretold, what think you he would haue ſaid vnto it? Yet notwithſtanding the end of his Wars & of his warfare, fel out to be ſo in déed. Thus yee ſée how an ambitious perſon & his ambition ſerued God, without meaning any ſuch thing. The Emperor Titus ment to bring Iewry to due obedience: and it had béen foretold, that of Hieruſalem one ſtone ſhould

not be left ſtanding vpon another. No doubt but that Tituſſis owne paſſion carried him; but yet ſée how God ouerruleth it. The ſame man which perſecuted the Chriſtians at Rome, goeth to reuenge Chriſts death at Hieruſalem, and (as ſaith Ioſephus) in that fact hee tooke not himſelfe as an Emperor of the World, but as the executer of Gods Iuſtice againſt the Iewes. Iudas through Couetouſneſſe betraied the bloud of the righteous to death. But God by the ſhedding of that blod (if thou be a Chriſtian) redéemed thée; and yet the holy Scripture ſaith, that the Deuill being in Iudas, did put that purpoſe into his heart. Ye ſée then, that not the couetouſneſſe of Iudas onely, but alſo the Diuell himſelf ſerued God. Beſides, that the holy ſtories of the Bible be full of ſuch matter, we might mark the like examples in the bookes of the Heathen, if wee were as diligent in obſeruing them, as we be in obſeruing the art of Rhetoricke or Logicke in the authors, which wee reade. For by reaſon of the great corruption which raigned in thoſe daies at Rome, all men cried out that there was not any Commonweale there, appealing to God for defence againſt vniuſtice of the Senate, at the ſame time that God executed iuſt vengeance vpon them for it, by the vniuſt couetouſnes of Cæſar. Likewiſe when Attila entred euen into the bowels of Europe, all the Preachers of Chriſtendom did nothing els but bewaile the wretchednes and corruption of that time. Ye muſt think that when this great robber caſt lots in his country of Scithia, whether he ſhould lead the third part of that Land, he had another meaning than to reforme the world. Yet notwithſtanding, al men acknowledged him to be a neceſſary ſcourge of God, & to haue come in due ſeaſon. Yea, & he himſelfe conſidered that he had conquered much more of the country, than euer he hoped at the firſt to haue ſeen, inſomuch ý he had ouercome euen thoſe that were counted the ſtrength of the world: as barbarous as he was, he fel to think of himſelf, that he was ý ſcurge wherby God chaſtiſed the world. Not that God is not able to chaſtice vs himſelfe whenſoeuer he liſteth; (for his ſtore-houſe is neuer vnfurniſhed of rods to ſcurge vs withal, as of Plagues, Diſeaſes, Famine, & ſuch other things,) but that as a Maſter of a houſhold holdeth ſkorn to whip his ſeruants himſelf, cauſing either his chiefe ſeruant or ſome other of their fellows to do it: yea, & when his own children offend him grieuouſly, hee vouchſafeth not to beat them with his own hands, (but cauſeth (peraduenture) the groome of his ſtable to do it, to the intent to ſhew them the baſenes of his diſpleaſure: Euen ſo doth God puniſh the wicked one by another, whom hy could conſume all at once in one

Saluian in his 7. book of Prouidence.

one howre: yea, and his children, alſo by the wicked, when not counting of them as of his children, but being ready as it were to diſherit them, he diſdaineth to puniſh them with his own hands. Thus therfore yée ſée, how God ſerueth his own turne by the wicked and their wickednes, to his own glory & to the welfare of thoſe that are his.

And as touching the offences whercinto hee ſuffereth good folkes now and then to fall: what greater point of prouidence can there be, than to turne them into inſtruments & furtherances of vertue? If God ſhould hold vs alway by the hand, it is certaine that wee could neuer trip. And it is not to be doubted alſo, but that we would thinke at the length, that it was of our own ſteadines, & not of Gods vpholding of vs, not only that we tripped not, but alſo that we tumbled not down. For what made vs fall but pride? & what manner of pride, but that we thought we would be Gods without God, yea, euen of our ſelues? Now, to make vs know our infirmity, wherin it is his pleaſure to ſhew his ſtrength: ſometimes he letteth vs goe alone by our ſelues for a while, & then ſtumble we at the next iob we mét with. Neuertheles, this tripping & ſtumbling ſaueth vs from a greater fall: for it maketh vs to cal for his hand to hold vs vp. After the ſame manner dealeth the Nurce with her Nurce-child that maketh haſt to go alone too ſone: ſhe ſuffereth him to ſtagger and to réele till he cry: but yet in letting him go with the one hand, ſhe holdeth him vp with the other: and ſometimes he thinks hee goes al alone, when as ſhe guideth him both with her eye & with her hand. Somtimes alſo when we be ouerluſty, God ſuffereth vs to fall into ſome ſin, both wittingly & willingly, & afterward maketh vs to féele ſuch gripes & heart-bittings for it, that euen the vice it ſelfe ſerueth vs for a Schoole maſter to driue vs to eſchew it. So the father ſuffereth his Child to burne his finger in a Candle, onely of purpoſe to make him afraid of fire, that the little ſingging of his finger, may keep him from the burning of his face. There are examples hereof in Saint Peter, in Dauid and in others, which receiued good by their trips and fals. And I haue no doubt, but that a great ſort euen of the heathen haue felt in themſelues, how their experience of vice in themſelues hath profited them to the more earneſt loue of vertue. So then, let vs not grudge at the proſperitie of the wicked: for vnto them it is a bane: neither let vs complaine of the miſeries of the godly: for they bee to their welfare. Let vs not reuerence the vizor of vertue in the wicked, for it is but an inſtrument of vice: neither let vs diſdaine the falles of the vertuous, for they bee but quicknings vp vnto vertue.

The very ſinnes of good men are redreſſed to their benefits.

Faults are in the world as things ſet one againſt another, after the manner as it is in the eloquence of words.

But

The actiõs & mouings are of God but the diſorders of them, & the halings, are of our ſelues.

But rather let vs glorifie God which maketh the euill good whether it will or no, which cauſeth vice to do ſeruice vnto vertue, and which guideth euen the moſt ſinfull deeds, to his glory; the moſt vniuſt, to the executing of his iuſtice; and the moſt vncertaine, to the hitting of his marke. And notwithſtanding that he do all this, yet can he not be blamed to haue wrecked any thing in the world, nor to haue maintained euill in any manner of wiſe, no more ſurely than the Soule or ability of mouing, that is matched with a lame legge, is to blame for that the lame man halteth, though it yeeld forth mouing into the legge, and guide the legge whitherſoeuer it will for all the lameneſſe of the legge. What ſhall I ſay more? If any do yet ſtill doubt of the things afore rehearſed, I will put him but to one proofe, for his anſwere, whereto vpon leaſure I will beleeue him vpon his oath. If he be a deſpiſer of God, let him call to minde if he can, how much euill he hath ſuſtained in the hauing of his goods, and how much euill hee hath endured to do euill. Let him remember how greatly he hath tired himſelfe with his owne wiſhes, tormented himſelfe with his god ſucceſſes, ſet himſelf on fire when he thought but to warme him, and wandred quite away, when he meant to haue brought others to the bent of his owne bow. Or if hee be one that feareth God, let him conſider how much euill he hath left vndone, in forbearing to haue ſo great ſtore of thoſe falſe gods: how many things hee hath wiſhed which he would haue eſchewed, if hee had foreknowne the iſſue of them, which he ſaw afterward: how greatly he had been dreaded and miſliked of others, though he could not deuiſe to haue done better: how often his falles and ſlidings haue ſerued to make him to take ſure ſoting againſt ſinne: how oft his wandrings out of the way haue made him to eſcape the lyings in wait, and the theeueries of the world: how oft his owne wils haue ſerued to turne him from the right: and how often his owne ouerſights haue ſerued to bring him to his intended end: and I doubt not but the heedfull marking of theſe things, both in others, and in himſelfe, will make him to perceiue, that a certaine euerlaſting prouidence watcheth ouer our liues, and all our doings. At leaſtwiſe vnleſſe we will deny, that it is the work of Prouidence, to leade the forecaſts of others to another end than they purpoſed, to bring the vnaduiſed ouerſights of others to better paſſe than they themſelues could wiſh, and to make the wiſedome of the wiſeſt to do ſeruice, not onely to his owne diuine wiſedome, if a man may ſo terme it, (but alſo oftentimes) euen to the vndiſcretnes of the meaneſt.

Chap. XIII.

That Mans wiſedome hath acknowledged Gods Prouidence, and how the ſame wadeth betweene Deſtinie and Fortune.

NOw, like as men of old time haue acknowledged the creation of the world, ſome in expreſſe termes, and otherſome by conſequence: ſo haue they alſo eaſily perceiued the prouidence, which they haue deemed to depend vpon the ſame, as an appurtenance therunto: Inſomuch ỹ euen they which haue flatly denied the Creation, haue neuer the latter granted the Prouidence, by reaſon that they found it ſo cleare and manifeſt a matter, howbeit that to deny the Prouidence, and to deny the Creation is all one. Hermes eſpies it out euery where as well in the creation of the whole, and of the parts thereof, as in the order and maintenance of all things. And if it be demanded of him what Prouidence it is, to haue brought forth ſo many things which ſeeme needleſſe and vnprofitable; his anſwere is ready thapen, That God created all things for his owne glory: and that it is a glory, both to him to haue created all things, & vnto all things to haue been created by his hand. And if it be asked againe, whence the euill commeth that is in things: He anſwereth, That God created them good, howbeit that (to ſpeake properly) there is nothing purely good but onely God. As for the euill, it is come in vpon the good, like as all generation is accompanied with corruption. The Iron ruſteth, thou wilt not wite it vpon the Smith. The Wine ſoureth, thou wilt not wite it vpon the Wine dreſſer. The things that are created do corrupt, as little alſo ought eſt thou to wite it vpon the Creator. Why? Becauſe that onely he is vnchangeable, and it is meete that there ſhould alway be ſome difference betweene the Creator and the things created; betweene all, and nothing in ỹ he teacheth the Creation, doth alſo ſufficiently teach the Prouidence. For if Gods power, wiſedome and goodneſſe be equall, or rather all one thing, looke where his power is, there is his wiſedome, and thither alſo extendeth his goodneſſe. But his power extendeth euen to the leaſt things, for elſe they could haue no being at all: therefore his wiſdome alſo extendeth vnto them, to guide & gouerne them,

The men of old time.

Hermes in his Aſclepius, & Cyrillus in his 2. booke.

and likewiſe his goodneſſe, without the which nothing could be preſerued. And ſo Gods prouident goodneſſe, and gracious wiſedome, do watch ouer all things. Again, when as Plato ſetteth God before man to be his end, & that he preferreth man before all things in the world, yea and before the world it ſelfe: he ſheweth ſufficiently, that as man tendeth to God, ſo doth the world alſo, but vnto that end it ſhould not tend, vnleſſe it were directed thither: and who directeth it thither, but he that firſt made it? To be ſhort, the particular formes of all things preſent and to come in reſpect of vs, but eternally preſent with God, can haue no abiding without a perfect knowledge, and a ſteady direction of all things.

But if any doubt hereof remaine yet ſtill, let vs heare what the Platoniſts ſay to the matter. Surely Plotin hath made two or three bookes thereof, wherein hee teacheth prouidence by all things from the greateſt to the ſmalleſt, comming downe euen to the little flowers, which we ſee vnblowne in the morning, and withered at night, as though hee had meant to ſay the ſame thing that wee reade in the Goſpell: namely, Conſider me the Lillies of the field, and ſo forth.

If the man that ſuffereth bee good, what ſoeuer hee ſuffereth, tendeth to good. *Plotin.* li. 3. Ennad. 4.

Vnto the ordinary complaint concerning the proſperity of the wicked, and the aduerſitie of the vertuous, he anſwereth, that the proſperity of the wicked is but as a Stage-play, and the aduerſitie of the godly is as the running in a race, wherein they be tied to a ſtraight diet, that they may winne the prize for which they contend. Vnto the Queſtion concerning euill, he anſwereth, that it is nothing elſe but a failing or want of goodneſſe, which goeth on ſtill, diminiſhing it from degree to degree euen to the vttermoſt, and that it proceedeth not from God, but from the imperfection of the matter which he termeth nothing: and the euill (which conſiſteth altogether in degrées, & failing of good) is ſo far off from diminiſhing Gods Prouidence, that it is rather the thing wherein Gods prouidence ſheweth it ſelfe the more, as without the which there were no prouidence at all to bee ſeene: and yet that therewithall, God is the author of all powers, and the diſpoſer or ouer-ruler of all wils. Which things, (to auoyd long diſcourſe) are more conueniently to be ſeene in his owne workes.

His Diſciple Porphyrius departed not from the ſame opinion, howbeit that he was cumbred with ſ like perplexities that they be which diſpute againſt it. Seeing that God (ſaith he) doth by skill ouer-rule all things, and order them by incomparable proprietie of vertue, and that on the contrary part, mans Reaſon being very ſmall, is ignorant of moſt things, how skilfull and curious ſoeuer it ſeeme to bee of the truth:

truth: Surely wee may then call it wiſe, when it is not curious in ſearching ſuch doubtfull and hard matters, as are matched with danger of blaſphemie, but rather granteth that the things are very well done as they be. For what can our ſmall reaſon finde fault with, or reproue in the doings of that great Reaſon, to eſteeme them either lawfull or vnlawfull, ſeeing we vnderſtand them not? And in another place, If wee ſuffer a King (ſayth he) to diſpoſe of his owne affaires as hee liſteth, ſhal we deny vnto God the ordering and diſpoſing of the things here beneath, which he himſelfe created? And againſt ſuch as found fault with the gouernment of the world, which they vnderſtand not, theſe are the very words. Soothly (ſaith he) there is not a more vnholy ſpeech, than that which preſumeth to teach God Iuſtice, not a more holy ſpeech than that which yeeldeth to the truth: and to thinke otherwiſe is a diſeaſe of minde, and a great crime. For God not onely directeth all things at all times, to the behoofe and full harmony of the whole vniuerſally, but alſo is the cheriſher, preſeruer, and repairer of euery ſeuerall thing in particular: I pray you hath he not ſhewed to Phyſicians, (who haue ſo much prouidence as hee hath giuen to them skil,) the things that are to befall to the whole body of man, how that ſome members are to be cut off, ſome to be ſeared, and otherſome to be eaten away with corroſiues, for the health of the whole body? And yet when the Nurces or Mothers ſee the Surgion about to do it, doe they not weepe and cry out right ſtrangely, notwithſtanding that they know it to be for the welfare of the childes body? But what doth the Father then who is wiſer than they, but comfort the patient, and hold the plaiſter ready to lay to the wound? God likewiſe for the curing of the whole, hath ordained that men ſhould die, (That is the thing that Epicurus findeth fault with) and that they ſhould be ſeparated aſunder, as a Toe is ſometime cut off for the ſauing of the whole body. And could we enter into the mind of God, we ſhould vndoubtedly know why and to what good end he hath from the beginning barred ſome things from being, becauſe he foreſaw they ſhould bee too hurtfull, and vnto other ſome hath giuen death in recompence of their godlineſſe. The ſumme of all is, that nothing is done but by the prouidence of God, howbeit that many things ſeeme repugnant to his wiſedome and goodnes, as the cutting off of a Leg, or the ſearing of a member ſeeme repugnant both to the healing of the whole body, and to the purpoſe of the Surgion.

Porph. to Nerius.

Cyrillus in his 2. and 5. bookes againſt Iulian.

Alſo, as touching the aduerſities of good men, ſee here what Syneſius the Platoniſt anſwereth. The aduerſities (ſaith he) which we think

Syneſius the Platoniſt.

we

we indure without our deſerts,do helpe vs to weed out our affections out of our ground, which is too much inclined to them, and by that means the inconueniences which make fooles to doubt of Gods prouidence,do confirme wiſe folke the more therin.For what man would be contented to part hence,if he found no aduerſitie here? And therefore it is to be thought,that the Rules of the lower Regions (he meaneth the Fiends) were the firſt founders of theſe proſperities which the cõmon ſort maketh ſo great accoũt of,of purpoſe to bewitch men with them,and to lull them aſleepe here. Hierocles alſo hauing made a long diſcourſe,concludeth,that if we fall into any aduerſity whereof we cannot coniecture the cauſe, it behoueth to conſider that we be ignozant in all things,and yet we muſt not pzoceed ſo farre,as to ſay that God is the authoz of euill,oz that hee hath not a care of vs; foz thoſe (ſaith he) were ouer-great blaſphemies.

Hierocles.

Ariſtotle in his Morals to Nichomacus and Eudemus.

Ariſtotle ſpeaketh not any otherwiſe either in his great Mozals, oz in his little Mozals,howbeit that he be moze grauelled in his Metaphyſicks.Howſoeuer the caſe ſtand,in his booke concerning ẏ woꝛld, he granteth vnto God the care of all great things. And thinke you it beſeemeth man to ſet bounds to the wiſdome of God, who hath limited the natures of all things,and to appoynt what God ſhall eſteeme great oz ſmall,befoze whom nothing can be great oz ſmall? Neuertheleſſe,whereas he ſaith,that the woꝛld dependeth vpon God as the end thereof, the beſt of his diſciples do by infallible conſequence gather thereof the pzouidence of God. Foz ſeeing that the woꝛld dependeth vpon him,and tendeth vnto him, the beginning of that direction cannot pzoceed of any other than of him,to whom it tendeth. Againe, ſeeing that (as hee ſaith in other places) all kinde of things tend to ſome one end,which is particular and peculiar to it ſelfe,and all meet together in one vniuerſall end,& yet all of them haue no reaſon oz vnderſtanding to appoynt that end to themſelues,oz to hold themſelues within that bound: It followeth then ẏ there is a certaine pzouidence which hath that reaſon foz all and euery of them, & that the ſame reaſon reſteth in God,vpon whom all of them depend,as Ariſtotles beſt learned interpzeters are conſtrained to confeſſe.To be ſhoꝛt,the quick ſentence which is attributed vnto him,which is,that ſuch as require a pzoꝛe of Gods pzouidence,are to be anſwered with the laſhes of a whippe, doth giue vs ſufficient credit of his opinion.

Of the opinion of Theophraſtus we cannot doubt. Foz he that graunteth the creation of a thing, cannot doubt of pzouidence,conſidering that power and gwdneſſe are alike equall in both of them. But behold here

here the expreſſe woꝛds of Alexander of Aphrodiſe in his booke of Pzouidence: That God ſhould haue no will (ſaith hee) to care for the things here beneath, is too far diſagreeing with his nature,for it is the property of an enuious perſon. And that he ſhould be vnable, were too vnſeemely for him, for hee is able to doe more than he hath yet done. Therefore let vs not ſay of him,either the one or the other, but let vs rather conclude,that he both can and will haue care of all things that are done here below. And in another place hee gathereth this very concluſion,That all our welfare lieth in the ſeruing of God,and that the feare of him is a gift of his, who vouchſafeth to extend his pzouidence vnto vs.

Alexander of Aphrodiſe in his booke of Pzouidẽce.

Of the opinions of Plutarke and Seneca, their owne bookes do expreſſly teſtifie:namely, Plutarkes treatiſe concerning the ſlow punishment of euil doers,doth teſtifie foz him,and Senecaes books cõcerning benefits, & a treatiſe cõcerning pzouidence,do teſtifie alſo foz him. So likewiſe doth ẏ wiſe Philoſopher Epictetus, vpon whom Simplicius hath written. Foz after many foꝛeſpeeches concerning the greatnes & maieſty of God,and the weakneſſe of man,they all aſſaid to yeeld a reaſon of things that offended the weaker ſoꝛt in this caſe, yea euen to the very accidents, & to the thunder-claps. I deſire my readers to take the paines to reade them whole,that they may ſee how conformable the things which the Chriſtians teach, are to the wiſedome of the beſt ſoꝛt among the Heathen.Whereunto they may further adde this Oracle of Apollo himſelfe,repoꝛted by Porphyrius.

Seneca cõcerning Benefits, lib.2.Cap. 4.5.6.31.

No man to hide himſelfe from God by cunning can deuiſe,
No man by ſlights or ſuttle ſhifts can blind or dim his eyes.
All places he fulfilleth,he is preſent euery where,
And giueth life to euery thing that moues,and life doth beare.

And as concerning all other people of the earth, in whoſe behalf the Poets may anſwere, as Orpheus,Homer,Heſiodus,Aratus,Sophocles,Phocylides, and ſuch others: they are full of ſuch ſayings euery where: and beſides, ſurely in as much as we ſee that all Nations haue ſome Religion, it is a viſible preſident, that Gods pzouidence is beleeued and receiued of all with one accoꝛd. Foz in vaine do men ſerue God,if he ſee it not: in vaine do men pzay to him, if hee regard them not: in vaine complaine they to him,if he iudge them not: & to be ſhoꝛt,in vain do we call vpon him,both on ſea & land,(where counſell and caſualty ſeeme moſt to take place) foz the maintaining of our welfare,and the pzeſeruing of vs from harme; vnleſſe we be throughly perſwaded that he heareth vs,and that he ruleth Heauen & Earth,

Porphyrius in his Collectiõs of philoſophy.

Oppianus Θεοὶ πάλαι. Ζεὺς εἶναι δοκεῖ.

and

and all things in them from aboue, yea and euen the very hazard of warre, as Cæſar tearmeth it, wherein Fortune ſeemeth to beare greateſt ſway. But afore we giue our determinate iudgement, we haue yet two Aduocates to heare, namely, the Aduocate of Fortune, and the Aduocate of Deſtiny. For (ſaith the one) if all things paſſe vnder the guiding of prouidence, what becommeth of Fortune, which we ſee in ſo many things? And (ſaith the other) what freedome then hath man: muſt it not néeds be confeſſed, that a certaine Deſtiny compelleth euery man to do whatſoeuer he doth?

Againſt Fortune,

If ye meane Fortune as ſhe is painted by the Poets, blind, ſtanding on a bowle, and turning with euery wind: it is as eaſie to wipe her away as to paint her. For who ſeeth not that there is an vniformne order, both in the whole world, and in all the parts therof, and how then can one that is blind be the guider thereof? Alſo who vnderſtandeth not, that to moue things belongeth to ſtedfaſtneſſe, and not vnto vnſtedfaſtneſſe? For how can that thing rule and weild others, which is carried away it ſelfe? Or how can he hold the ſterne, who floateth himſelfe vpon the water? Seeing then that there is ſo certaine order in all things: it followeth that Fortune beareth no ſway in any thing, and therefore that there is no fortune at all. But if by the word Fortune they meane as Proclus doth, a certaine diuine power that gathereth cauſes farre diſtant one from another, all to one end: ſurely in that caſe we be more friends to fortune than they be. For we admit it, not onely in things vncertaine, wandring & wauering, but alſo euen in the things that are moſt certaine, yea & in all things whatſoeuer, as the which is but God himſelfe diſguiſed vnder another name.

Proclus vpon Timeus.

Now then if we would ſpeake properly, what ſhall that be which we will call Fortune? ſhall it be a ſubſtance? That cannot be ſo: for euen by their owne confeſſion, it hath no being but in the diſorder of other things. Shall we terme it an Accident? How ſhould the accident worke ſo diuers accidents? What is it then, if it be any thing at all? Surely it is a word that ſignifieth nothing but reſpectiuely, that is to ſay, as hauing reſpect of ſome things or perſons that are ſpoken of, and it hath no ground or being but of, and in our owne ignorance. That which is fortune to the childe, is no fortune to the father: that which is fortune to the ſeruant, is none to the maſter: that which is fortune to the fole, is none to the wiſeman: that which is fortune to the wiſeman, is none vnto God. According to the meaſure of our knowledge or ignorance, ſo doth fortune increaſe or abate. Take away ignorance from men, and fortune is baniſhed from all their dealing.

Iuuenall. There wants no God at all, where wiſdome doth aduiſe: we fools haue Fortune deifide, & plac'd aboue the Skies.

ling. The father of purpoſe letteth a thing fall in his garden, to ſee whether his childe will bring it to him, or ſteale it away: the childe thinkes it to be falne by chance, and his father who knowes to what end he did let it fall, ſmiles at him: And ſo the thing that was chance or fortune to the Childe, was of ſet purpoſe in the Father. A Maſter ſendeth forth diuers ſeruants diuers waies, all to one place, to the intent ỹ of many, ſome one at the leaſt, may eſcape to come home again. They méet there all together. At the firſt ſight the thing which was forecaſt by god ouer, ſéemeth to thẽ, to happen by aduenture. A Captaine hauing deuiſed to take the gate of ſome Citie, cauſeth a Cart, or a Chariot to broken vpon the Drawbridge, as it were by ſome miſchance, that his ambuſh may in the meane while breake forth, & enter the Towne. The Warders fall to beating of the Wagoner for it, & otherſome excuſe him, as ouertaken by miſfortune. And ſo the thing which was a policy of Warre in the Captaine that deuiſed it, is a chance or fortune to the Towne that wiſt not the ground of it. A wiſe man to giue a like to another wiſe man, or a Captaine to beguile a Captaine, or an enemy to delude his enemy, ciphereth a letter groſſely for the nonce, & ſendeth it ſuch a way as he imagineth that it ſhall be ſurpriſed. He that lighteth vpon it, is glad of ſo good aduenture, & thinking that he readeth ỹ ſecrets of his aduerſaries heart, buildeth all his affaires in good earneſt vpon things contriued to deceiue him. And ſo ỹ thing which was a rare deuice in ỹ one, is a rare aduenture to the other. Now if among men, which are all of one kinde, and haue welnére like portion of reaſon, there be ſuch odds betweene age and age, betwéene quality & quality, and betweene wit and wit; that the ſame which in one is prouidence, is fortune in another: ſhal we think it ſtrange, that the thing which ſéemeth fortune to vs ỹ are but blindneſſe and ignorance, ſhould bee ſingular prouidence as in reſpect of God? Or that hee which is the onely cauſe of all cauſes, ſhould haue the ſkill to aſſemble them together to ſome one certaine effect, how farre diſtant ſoeuer they be? As for example, if he make thee to finde a treaſure in digging of the pit, or to ſcape a fall from a plancher in going to walke vpon it, wouldeſt thou ſteale that benefite from the goodnes of God, who brought thée to the one place, or ſaued thée frõ the other? I ſay, frõ God, who is thy maker, to father it vpon blind fortune, which knoweth thée not? And why ſhould it be harder for him to match two cauſes together that are farre aſunder, than to haue made them ſo farre at odds one from another? Or than it is for thy ſelfe to put wood to fire, and fire to water, and thy meat into the water, which

Cicero. Error and Blindnes, and the not knowing of things and cauſes, haue brought vp the names of Nature & Fortune.

are cauſes ſo far diſtant, and yet notwithſtanding thou ioyneſt them together to one certaine end, which is the nouriſhment of thy body: And what things are further diſtant in thy minde, then a Chariot, a Drawbridge, and an Hoaſt of men; which things notwithſtanding thou couldſt ſkill to bring fitly together for ỹ taking of a Citie: Thus loke wherin thou doeſt chiefly place fortune, there doth the rareſt and moſt wonderfull peynt of Prouidence moſt euidently ſhew it ſelfe.

But now comes me the other Aduocate, who to bring vs vnto Deſtinie, and to a certaine neceſſity of all things, and of all doings, maketh vſe of all the things which we haue alledged againſt Fortune: therefore let vs ſee how we may walke betweene Fortune & Deſtiny, ſo as we may ſhun chance without falling into neceſſity, and perceiue whether the ſame be Prouidence or no. If all things (ſay they) be guided by God to ſome one certaine end, yea euen thoſe alſo which ſeeme caſuall: then can they not be turned any further way. I willingly grant them that. And if they cannot bee turned, then are not mens doings free, but of neceſſity. Nay, this conſequent is vtterly falſe, becauſe the things which haue free wil to endeuour themſelues contrary to Gods will, haue not equall power to reſtraine his will from ouerruling them. But let vs lay forth this matter more at large, that it may be the better vnderſtood. We ſee in the ſky the great number of ſtarres that are fixed, and many alſo (as the Planets) which haue euery of them their peculiar mouings, turnes and courſes, ſeuerally to themſelues. Now the higheſt Heauen, by his vniuerſall mouing, carrieth all the ſtarres about, as well the moueable as the vnmoueable, without any ſtopping or interrupting of their particular mouings, whereby be made innumerable figures, aſpects & reſpects, which I leaue to the Aſtrologers to declare. The Sun maketh ỹ day and the yeere, the Mone maketh the months and the quarters, the Pleiades & Hiades make the ſeaſons, the Dogſtarre maketh the heat of the Summer, & ſo forth. Let vs put the caſe, that the higheſt Heauen ſtood ſtill, and that the lower Heauens kept on their peculiar mouings: or let vs put the caſe that he went on, and that all the reſt ſtod ſtill, & then ſhould there be none of the ſaid figurings and aſpects to be ſeene. But let them all alone as they be: let the higheſt Heauen by his mouing, carry all the ſtars about, and let euery of them continue the hauing and executing of his owne peculiar nature, the moueable, as moueable; and the vnmoueable, as vnmoueable, and euery of them endeuour accordingly againſt the vniuerſall, and then ſhall we ſee the wonderfulneſſe of the Heauen, which by an vniforme kinde of mouing

uing that leaueth to euery ſtarre his proper & peculiar mouing, yeeldeth euery day diuers formes in the ſky, which cauſe alterations in the aire: which thing neither his own ſole mouing could do, if the reſidue of the ſtarres ſtod ſtill, neither could the courſes and mouings of the ſtars bring it to paſſe, if they were not carried about by the mouing of him. Now let vs ſee how this example agreeth with our matter. God by his will and power hath created all powers, and diſpoſed all willes. That his power ouer-ruleth all powers, all men confeſſe. For who is he that taketh a muſter of men, and cannot guide or leade them? But that his will ſhould direct all wils to ſuch an end as he liketh, without forcing them from their nature, which is to be free: there is the doubt. God forbid that hee which created nature to doe him ſeruice, ſhould be vnable to vſe the ſeruice thereof without marring it. God then (ſay I) guideth all things to the performance of his will, the moueable by their mouings, & the vnmoueable by their ſtedfaſtnes: the things indued with ſence, by their appetites; & the reaſonable things by their wils: the naturall things by their thraldome, & the things that haue will by their freedome: and the freer that they be, the greater is his glory, as indeed it is a more commendable thing to cauſe liberty to yeeld freely to obedience by gentle handling, than to hale it by force & compulſion, as it were tied in a chaine. If the wils of all men were carried by Gods will without hauing their owne peculiar mouings, the power of God could not ſhine forth in them ſo much as it doth now, whē wils enforce themſelues ſeuerally againſt all his wil, & yet neuertheleſſe euen in following their own ſway, do find themſelues led (they wot not how) whitherſoeuer it pleaſeth him. Neither ſhould we ſee ỹ ſaid diuerſities of figures in ỹ Heauen, which breed ſo diuers effects, of Warres, of Peace, of Decayes, of Proſperity, of Aduerſity, and ſuch other: which ſerue all to the Prouidence of the euerlaſting God: but wee ſhould ſee euery where one vniforme will holding all other wils faſt fettered, and carrying them whitherſoeuer it liſted: and the more ſtraightly that they were tied vp, the leſſe ſhould we eſteem of his power, as who ſhould ſay, he ſtod in feare to let them loſe. Againe, if we imagine all thoſe wils to haue free ſcope, to follow their owne liking, without any gouernement of higher power to ouer-rule them, & reſtraine them when they intend to breake out: wee ſhould vndoubtedly ſee diuers ends in things, whereas now they tend all to one: and liberty would turne into looſeneſſe, looſeneſſe into diſorder, and diſorder into deſtruction: whereas the world doth neceſſarily require order, & order requireth all things

to be referred to ſome one certaine end. God therefore to ſhew his power in our freedome and libertie, hath left our wils to vs: and to reſtraine them from lewdneſſe, he hath ſo ordered them by his wiſdome, that he worketh his owne will no leſſe by them, than if we had no wil at all. Let vs enforce our ſelues as much as we liſt againſt his will, and yet euen our diſobedience ſhall turne to the fulfilling of his will. Let vs go Eaſtward when his will goes Weſtward, and yet doth his mouing conduct vs ſtill. But albeit that God do lead forth and guide the one will as well as the other: yet notwithſtanding right happy is that will which endeuoureth to follow, and vnhappy is that which muſt be haled and dragged. Likewiſe in a kennell of Hounds, euery of them runneth according to his naturall inclination, and yet all of them ſerue the purpoſe of the Hunter. Alſo in an Hoaſt of men, one fighteth for honour, another for ſpight, a third for gaine, and all for diſcharge to the Prince that ſent them into the field. Take from the Hounds their naturall inclinations, and from the Souldiers their particular wils and diſpoſitions; and ye do away Hunting, and the Army muſt néeds diſperſe.

Gods foreſight, or foreknowledge,

Yea (ſay they) but God ſaw all things, and all the courſes of the world from euerlaſting, all at one inſtant, and things cannot fall out otherwiſe than he hath foreſéene them. It ſeemeth therefore that nothing is caſuall, nothing at the choyce of our will, nor any thing that is not of neceſſity. Yes: for as God beholdeth all things with one view, ſo doth he alſo behold euery of them working according to their ſeuerall properties. He ſéeth the mouing of the Heauen, and the particular mouings of the Sun & the Mone to bring forth the Eclipſes of neceſſity: he ſéeth men conſulting of warre, of peace, of aliance, & other things willingly: & he ſéeth the plants ſpring vp & grow naturally. He himſelf hath ſet down the ſecond, third, yea & fourth cauſes, & hath linked them one to another, to do what he wil haue done: but ý thing ý deceiueth vs in this caſe, is, that we conſider not ý our wils are among theſe cauſes, & that according to their frænes, ſuch as it is, they worke frely in the doings of this world, like as all other cauſes work euery of them according to their peculiar mouings, inclinatiõs, abilities, natures, or kinds. After the ſame maner the man that is acquainted wh his houſhold maters, wil déeme afore hand which of thæ parts his eldeſt ſon wil chooſe, & which his ſecond will chooſe, though he be far off from them, becauſe he knoweth their natures & inclinations; & yet for all that, he inclineth them not to the doing of the one or of the other. Againe, another foreſéeth that a Prince will keep peace, or

If it bee predeſtined (ſaith one) that thou ſhalt recouer thy ſickenes, it is in vaine for thee to ſend for the Phyſician. If it be thy deſtiny (anſwereth another) to haue children, it is in vaine for thee to company with thy wife.

make warre, becauſe he knoweth him to be either of a quiet or of an vnquiet diſpoſition. Euen ſo is it with God: ſauing that hee being néere and innermore all things then the things themſelues are, doth know them moſt perfectly, whereas wee haue nothing but by coniectures, and thoſe very weake. To be ſhort, in Gods ſight the things are of neceſſity, which as in reſpect of themſelues are things of caſualty, becauſe he doth eternally ſee in himſelfe, that which is to come in thoſe things: And he doth not ſee that which is to come in the cauſes thereof, as wiſe men do, but in himſelfe, who is the cauſe of all cauſes; and therefore he ſaith not, that thou ſhalt do this, or ſhalt not do that (as of a thing to come) but whatſoeuer thou art to do, he ſeeth thee doing it from euerlaſting: naturally, if it be to be done naturally: and willingly, if it be to be done willingly: and yet thy wil is no leſſe ſubiect to his will, than thy nature is ſubiect to the power that created it: neither is the freedome of thy will (ſuch as it is now after thy fall) any more compelled in taking deliberation, than thy nature is compelled in growing or ſhunning. When I ſpeake here of freewill, I meane not to deale with this queſtion, whether it lye in vs to chooſe the way of Saluation or no. For as it is a thing that ſurmounteth the whole nature of mankinde, and exceedeth the proportion of our weake vnderſtandings: ſo muſt it of neceſſity enſue, that we muſt be drawne by ſome higher cauſe from aboue, as in a caſe that concerneth the forſaking of our ſelues, and of our owne deſires, and not the following of them. Againe, I intend not to take away the extraordinary motions which God worketh in vs, when he vſeth vs ſomtimes beyond the inclination of our nature, by préeding that in vs by a ſecret operation, which was not in vs of our ſelues. But I ſpeake peculiarly of theſe inferiour doings, which are proportionable to our wit, & to the capacity of our reaſon, in which things our frée will (as maimed as it is) hath ability to exerciſe it ſelfe, notwithſtanding that it be vtterly lame, and vnable to mount vp any higher. After that maner therefore may we wade betweene the fortune of Epicurus, and the deſtiny of Chryſippus, by Prouidence; and betwéene caſualty & neceſſity by the will of God; and betweene Lewdneſſe and Bondage by leauing their mouings frée, which yet neuertheleſſe ſhall come to the end which God hath liſted to appoint vnto them, whatſoeuer windings & wreathings they ſeeme to themſelues to make in the meane time. And as touching the deſtiny of ý Aſtrologers, who make all things ſubiect to the wheelings about of the ſky, and make all things to be as much of neceſſity, as the mouings thereof: we will leaue them to pleade their

caſe againſt that great learned man, the Count of Mirandula, praying them to conſider at leaſtwiſe, whether the great ſtudy & pains which thoſe great Clarkes haue taken to diſproue this deſtiny, can by any meanes be fathered vpon deſtiny.

Now then, for a ſmall concluſion of this whole diſcourſe, let vs ſay, that God is a ſoueraigne Being, & a ſoueraigne Minde, and that Being & Minding are all one in him: and therefore that as in creating things, the might and power of his Being extended euen to the leaſt things, or elſe they had not been at all: ſo the prouidence, forecaſt & direction of his mind, extend to all things, or elſe they ſhould not continue. Let not the confuſion of things which we ſée here below, trouble vs, for the greater the ſame is, the greater doth Gods prouidence ſhew it ſelfe therein, as the ſkill of a Phyſician doth in the intricateneſſe of a diſeaſe. But who is he that can limit the ſight of the Euerlaſting God? Surely not the proſperities of the wicked, for they bee but viſors: nor the aduerſities of the godly, for they be but exerciſes, nor the deaths of the guiltleſſe, for it is but a powdering of their vertues, to preſerue them to the vſe of poſterity. Nay, let not euen ſin it ſelfe, which is the very euill in deed, cauſe any grudge of mind in vs: for God created Nature good, but euill is ſpring thereof. He created Frédome, and it is degenerated into Looſeneſſe. But let vs praiſe God for giuing vs powers, and let vs condemne our ſelues for abuſing them. Let vs glorifie him for chaſtiſing vs by our owne Looſeneſſe, for executing his iuſtice by our vniuſt dealings, and for peruerting the ordinance of his rightfull will by our inordinate paſſions. If wee ſee a thing whereof we know not the cauſe, let vs acknowledge our ignorance, and not name it Fortune. The cauſes that are furtheſt aſunder, are neere at hand vnto him, to performe whatſoeuer he liſteth. If we do any vnreaſonable thing, let vs not alledge neceſſity. Hee can ſkill to vſe all things without marring them: the moueable according to their mouings: the things indued with will, according to their paſſions: and the things indued with reaſon, according to their reaſonings. In thinking to doe our owne will, we bring his to paſſe. We be frée to follow our owne Nature: and our Nature is become euill through ſin. O wretched freedome, which bringeth vs vnder ſuch bondage! And as for this Nature of ours, we can neither ſhun it, nor driue it from vs: for we be bondſlaues to it, and it to ſin, and there behoueth a ſtronger than our ſelues to rid vs thereof. Therefore let vs pray God to bring the frédome of our wils in bondage to his will, and to free our ſoules from this hard & damnable

ble kind of freedome. and to grant vs by his grace, not as to the wicked, to do his will in being vnwilling to do it: but as to his Children at leaſtwiſe to be willing to do it, euen in not doing it. Amen.

Chap. XIIII.

That the Soule of Man is immortall, or dieth not.

HItherto I haue treated of the world that is to bee conceiued in vnderſtanding, & of the ſenſible world (as the Platoniſts terme them) that is to ſay, of God and of this World. Now followeth the examining of the little World (as they terme it) that is to ſay, of Man. Concerning God, we haue acknowledged him to be a Spirit: and as touching the World, we haue found it to be a body. In man we haue an abridgement of both, namely, of God in reſpect of Spirit, and of the World in compoſition of body, as though the Creator of purpoſe, to ſet forth a mirror of his workes, intended to bring into one little compaſſe both the infiniteneſſe of his owne nature, and alſo the hugeneſſe of the whole World together. We ſee in mans body a wonderfull mixture of the foure Elements, the veines ſpreading forth like Riuers to the vttermoſt members: as many inſtruments of ſence, as there bee ſenſible natures in the world: a great number of fleſhſtrings, and knitters: a Head by ſpecial priuiledge directeth vp to heauenward, and Hands ſeruing to all manner of ſeruices. Whatſoeuer he is that ſhall conſider no more, but onely this inſtrument, without life, without ſence, and without moning, cannot but thinke verily that is made to very great purpoſe: and he muſt needs cry out as Hermes, or as ỳ Sarzin Abdala doth, That Man is a Miracle which farre ſurmounteth, not onely theſe lower Elements, but alſo the very Heauen, and all the Ornaments thereof. But if he could (as it were out of himſelfe) behold this body receiuing life, and entring into the vſe of all his motions with ſuch forwardnes, hands beſtirring themſelues ſo nimbly, & after ſo ſundry faſhions, and the Sences vttering their force ſo far off without ſtirring out of their place: thinke you not that he would bee wonderfully rauiſhed, & ſo much more wonder at the ſaid life, moning and ſence, than at the body, as he wondred afore at the body, to behold

Man is both ſoule and body.

the excellencie of the proportion therof aboue the maſſe of ſome ſtone? For what compariſon is there betweene a Lute and a Lute player, or betweene a dumb inſtrument and him that maketh it to ſound? What would he ſay then, if he could afterward ſée how the ſame man being now quickned, attaineth in one moment from the one ſide of the earth to the other without ſhifting of place, deſcending downe to the centre of ỹ world, and mounting vp aboue on the outtermoſt circle of it both at once, preſent in a thouſand places at on inſtant, imbracing the whole without touching it, créeping vpon the earth, and yet containing it, beholding the heauens from beneath, and being aboue the Heauens of Heauens both at once? Should he not be compelled to ſay, that in this ſilly body there dwels a greater thing than the body, greater than the earth, yea greater than the whole world together? Then let vs ſay with Plato, that man is double, outward, and inward. The outward man is that which we ſee with our eyes, which forgoeth not his ſhape when it is dead, no more than a Lute forgoeth his ſhape when the Lute-player ceaſeth from making it to ſound, howbeit that both life, mouing, ſence, and reaſon be out of it. The inward man is the ſoule, and that is properly the very man, which vſeth the body as an inſtrument, wherevnto though it be vnited by the power of God, yet doth it not remoue when the body rotteth: It ſéeth when the eyes be ſhut, and ſometimes ſéeth not when the eyes be wide open: It trauelleth, while the body reſteth, and reſteth when the body trauelleth, that is to ſay, it is able of it ſelfe to performe his owne actions, without the helpe of the outward man, whereas on the contrary part, the outward without the helpe of the inward, that is to wit, the body without the preſence of the Soule, hath neither ſence, mouing, life, no nor continuance of beeing. In the outward man we haue a Counterfeit of the whole world, and if ye rip them both vp by piece-meale, yée ſhall finde a wonderfull agréement betwixt them. But my purpoſe in this booke is not to treate of the things that pertaine peculiarly to that body.

In the inward man we haue a ſumme of whatſoeuer life, ſence, and mouing is in all creatures, and moreouer an Image or rather a ſhadowe (for the Image is defaced by our ſinne) of the God-head it ſelfe. And that is the thing which we haue to examine in this Chapter. In Plants wee perceiue, that beſides their bodies which we ſee, there is alſo an inward vertue which we ſee not, whereby they liue, grow, bud, and beare fruite: which vertue we call the quickning Soule, and it maketh them to differ from ſtones and Metalles, which haue

haue it not. In ſenſitiue liuing things we finde the ſelfe ſame vertue, which worketh while they ſleepe, and are after a ſort as the Plants: and therewithall we finde another certaine vertue or power which ſéeth, heareth, ſmelleth, taſteth, and féeleth: which alſo in many of them doth hold vp the things brought in by the ſences: which manner of power the Plants are void of. This do we terme the ſenſitiue Soule, becauſe the effects thereof are diſcerned and executed by the ſences. In man we haue both the quickening and the Senſitiue, the former vttering it ſelfe in the nouriſhing and creaſing of him, and the latter in the ſubtilty of ſence and imagination, whereth rough he hath both quickning and ſenſitiue life together: but yet moreouer we ſée alſo a minde which conſidereth and beholdeth, which reapeth profit of the things that are brought in by the ſences, which by his ſéeing conceiueth that which it ſéeth not; which of that which is not, gathereth that which is; and finally, which pulleth a man away both from the earth and from all ſenſible things, yea and (after a ſort) from himſelfe to. This doe we call the reaſonable ſoule, and it is the thing that maketh man to be man, (& not a Plant or a brute Beaſt as the other two do,) and alſo to be the Image, or rather a ſhadow of the Godhead, in that (as we ſhall ſay hereafter) it is a ſpirit that may haue continuance of beeing alone by it ſelfe without the body. And by the way, whereas I ſay, that the inward man hath a quickning power, as a Plant hath, a ſenſitiue power as a beaſt hath, & a power of vnderſtanding whereby he is a man: my meaning is not, that hee hath three ſoules, but only one ſoule, that is to wit, that like as in the brute beaſt the ſenſitiue ſoule comprehendeth the quickning ſoule: ſo in man the reaſonable ſoule comprehendeth both the ſenſitiue & the quickning, and executeth the offices of them all three, ſo as it both liueth, feeleth, & reaſoneth euen as well, and after the ſame manner, as the mind of a man may intend to his owne houſhold matters, to the affaires of the Common weale, & to heauenly things all at once. Or to ſpeake more fitly, theſe three degrées of ſoules, are three degrées of life, whereof the ſecond exceedeth and containeth the firſt, and the third exceedeth and containeth both the other two. The one, without the which the body cannot liue, is the ſoule or life of the Plant, and is ſo tied to the body, that it ſheweth not it ſelfe in any wiſe out of it. The ſecond, which cannot liue without the body, is the ſoule or life of the beaſt, which both well vtter forth his power & force abroad, but yet not otherwiſe than by the members and inſtruments of the body, whereunto it is tied. The third, which can of it ſelfe liue & continue without the body, but

In Man are three Abilities of Soule.

but not the body without it, is the Soule of Man, which giueth life inwardly to all his parts, sheweth forth his life abroad in the perceiuing of all things subiect to Sence, and retaineth still his force (as shall be said hereafter) yea and increaseth it, euen when the strength of the body, and the very liuelinesse of the sences faile. And in very deed, yee shall see a man forgoe all his sences one after another, as the instruments of them decay, and yet haue still both life and reason vnappaired. The cause whereof is, that some of the instruments of life and sence do faile; but the life it selfe which quickneth them, faileth not. And therefore the beast forgoeth not life in losing sence, but he vtterly forgoeth sence in forgoing life. And that is, because life is the ground of the abilities of sence, and the sensitiue life is a more excellent life than the quickning life, as wherein those powers and abilities are as in their rot. To be short, hee that bereaueth man or beast of the vse of sences, or man of the right vse of reason, doth not thereby bereaue him of life, but hee that bereaueth the beast, or the outward man of their life, doth therewithall bereaue them of sence & reason. Therefore it is a most sure argument, that the soule which causeth a beast to liue, and the soule that causeth it to haue sence, are both one: that is to wit, one certaine kinde of life more liuely, and more excellent than the life that is in Plants. And likewise that the Soule which causeth man to liue, to haue sence, and to reason, is but one: that is to wit, one certaine kinde of life more excellent, more liuely, & of further reach, than the life of the beast. But like as sence is, as it were, the forme or Selfe being (if I may so terme it) of the life of a beast: so is reason or vnderstanding the very forme & Selfe-being of the Soule of man: and (to speake properly) it is the Soule or life of the Soule, like as the apple of our eyes is the very eye of our eye. And in very deed, when the mind is earnestly occupied, the sences are at a stay: & when the sences are ouer-busied, the nourishment & digestion is hindered: and contrariwise which thing could not come to passe, if the soule were any mo than one substance, which by reason that it is but one, cannot vtter his force alike in all places at once, but yeeldeth the lesse care one where, so long as it is earnestly occupied another where. In this soule of man (which yet notwithstanding is but one) the diuersity of ỳ powers and abilities is very apparant. The quickning power doth nourish, increase and maintaine vs, and Reason and Sense meddle not therewith, neither haue they power to impeach ỳ working thereof. The truth whereof appeareth in this, that those things are best done when our mind is at rest, and our sences are asleepe,

sleepe, insomuch that oftentimes wee forgoe the sence and moouing of some parts by some Rheume, or some Palsey, and yet the same parts ceasse not to be nourished still. Also, the sensitiue life seeth and perceiueth a far off, yea oftentimes without setting of the mind thereupon, or without considering what the Sence conceiueth. Some men which haue but weake Sences, haue very quicke vnderstanding, and likewise on the contrary part. Againe, some fall into a consumption, which want not the perfect vse of their Sences. Sometime the reasonable part is so earnestly bent and occupied about the things that it liketh of, that by the increasing of it selfe, it hurteth and diminisheth the part that it quickneth. Also it standeth in argument against the Sences, and reproueth them of falshood, and concludeth contrary to their information. And it may be, that the man which hath his digestion perfect, and his sences sound, hath not his wit or reason sound in like case. Now, were the Soule but onely one abilitie, it could not be so. But now is that same diuided manifestly into wit or vnderstanding, and will, the one serving to deuise, and the other to execute. For we vnderstand diuers things which we will not, and we will diuers things which we vnderstand not: which contrary operations cannot be attributed both to one power. Neuertheless, the knitting of all these powers together is with such distinctnesse, and the distinguishing of them is with such vnion, that ordinarily they meet all together in one selfe-same action, the one of them as readily (by all likelihood) as the other, howbeit that euery of them doth his owne worke seuerally by himselfe, and one afore another as in respect of their obiects.

Thus haue we three sorts of men, according to the three powers or abilities of the inward man. Namely, the earthly man, which like the Plant mindeth nothing but sleeping and feeding, making all his sences, & all his reason to serue to that purpose, as in whom the care of this present life onely, hath deuoured and swallowed vp his sences & vnderstanding. The sensuall man (as S. Paul himself termeth him) who is giuen wholly to these sensible things, imbasing and casting downe his reason so farre, as to make it a bondslaue to his sences, & the pleasures and delights thereof: And the reasonable man, who liueth properly in spirit and minde, who entreth into himselfe to know himselfe, and goeth out of himselfe to behold God, making this life to serue to the attainment of a better, and vsing his sences as onely instruments and seruants of his reason. And after as any of these three powers do reigne and beare sway in man, that is to wit, after as man yeeldeth himselfe more to one than to another of them, so becommeth

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hee like vnto the Spirits, the bruite Beaſts, or Plants, yea, and the very Blockes and Stones. But it is our diſpoſition euen by kind, to bee carried away by our corrupt nature, and by the obiects which hemme vs in on all ſides, but as for againſt our nature, yea or beyond our nature, our nature is not able to do any thing at all.

Now, it is not enough for vs to know that we haue Soule whereby wee liue, feele, and vnderſtand, and which being but one, hath in it ſelfe alone ſo many ſundry powers or abilities: for it will be demanded of vs by and by, what this Soule properly is: And ſoothly if I ſhould ſay, I cannot tell what it is, I ſhould not belye my ſelfe a whit, for I ſhould but confeſſe mine owne ignorance, as many great learned men haue done afore mee. And I ſhould do no wrong at all to the Soule it ſelfe, for ſith we cannot deny the effects thereof, the leſſe: that we be able to declare the nature and being thereof, the more doth the excellency thereof ſhine forth. Againe, it is a plaine caſe, that nothing can comprehend the thing that is greater then it ſelfe. Now, our Soule is, after a ſort, leſſe then it ſelfe, inaſmuch as it is wrapped vp in this body, in like wiſe as the man that hath Gyues and Fetters on his feete, is after a ſort weaker then himſelfe. Neuertheleſſe let vs aſſay to ſatisfie ſuch demands as well as wee can. And for as much as it is the image of God, not onely in reſpect of the gouernement and maintenance of the whole world, but alſo euen in the very nature thereof; as we ſaide heretofore when we ſpake of the nature of GOD, if we cannot expreſſe or conceiue what it is, let vs at leaſt-wiſe bee certified what it is not. Firſt of all, that the Soule and the Body be not both one thing, but two very farre differing things, and alſo that the Soule is no part of the body, it appeareth of it ſelfe without further proofe. For if the Soule were that body or a part of the body, it ſhould grow with the body as the other parts of the body doe, and the greater that the body were, the greater alſo ſhould the Soule bee. May contrariwiſe, the body increaſeth to a certaine age and then ſtayeth, after which age is commonly the time that the Soule doth moſt grow, and thoſe that are ſtrongeſt of minde, are commonly weakeſt of body, and the Soule is ſeene to be full of liuelineſſe in a languiſhing body, and to grow the more in force by the decay of the body. The ſoule then groweth not with the body, and therefore it is not the body, nor any part of the body. And whereas I ſpake of growing in the Soule, by growing I meane the profiting thereof in power and vertue, as the body groweth in greatneſſe by further inlarging. Againe, if the Soule were the body, it ſhould

The body and the Soule be not one ſelfeſame thing.

ſhould looſe her ſtrength and ſoundneſſe with the body, ſo as the maimed in body ſhould therewith feele alſo a maime in his vnderſtanding, as well as in his members: whoſoeuer were ſicke of any diſeaſe, ſhould alſo be ſicke in his reaſon: he that limpeth or halteth, ſhould therewith halt in Soule alſo: the blinde mans Soule ſhould be blinde, and the lame mans Soule ſhould be lame. But we ſee contrariwiſe, that the maimed and the ſicke, the Cripples and the blind, haue their ſoule whole and ſound, and their vnderſtanding perfect & cleare-ſighted in it ſelfe. To be ſhort, many a man dieth whoſe body is ſound, and differeth not a whit in any part from that it was when it was aliue, and yet notwithſtanding, both life, mouing, ſence, and vnderſtanding, are out of it. Let vs ſay then that in the body there was a thing which was not of the body, but was a farre other thing than the body.

Some wilfull perſon wil obiect here, that the force and ſtrength of the Soule groweth with the bodie, as appeareth in this, that a man growne wil remoue that which a child cannot, and that a child of two yeares old will go: which thing a babe of two moneths olde cannot do. But he ſhould conſider alſo, that if the ſelfeſame man, or the ſelfeſame child ſhould haue a miſchance in his legge or in his arme, hee ſhould thereby forgoe the ſtrength and mouing thereof, whereas yet notwithſtanding his ſoule ſhould haue her former force and power ſtill, to moue the other as ſhe did afore. Therefore it is to be ſayd, not that the childes ſoule is growne or ſtrengthened by time, but rather that his ſinewes are dryed and hardened, which the ſoule vſeth as ſtrings and inſtruments to moue withall, and therefore when age hath weakened them, a man hath néede of a ſtaffe to helpe them with, although he haue as good a will to runne as he had when hee was young. The Soule then which moueth them all at one becke, hath the ſelfeſame power in infancy which it hath in age, and the ſame in age which it hath in the prime of youth: and the fault is only in the inſtrument, which is vnable to execute the operation thereof: like as the cunning of a Lute-player is not diminiſhed by the moiſtneſſe or ſlackneſſe of his Lute-ſtrings, nor increaſed by the ouer-high ſtraining and tight ſtanding of them; but indéed in the one he cannot ſhew his cunning at all, and in the other he may ſhew it more or leſſe. Likewiſe, the ſpéech of Children commeth with their téeth, howbeit that the ſpeech doe manifeſtly vtter it ſelfe firſt, in that they prattle many things which they cannot pronounce: and in old men it goeth away againe with their téeth, and yet their eloquence is not abated thereby.

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As for Demoſthenes, although he ſurmounted all the Orators of his time, yet were there ſome letters which he could not pronoũce. Giue vnto old age, or vnto infancy, the ſame ſinewes & teeth, and as able & luſty limbes and members as youth hath, and the actions which the ſoule doth with the body, and by the body, I meane ſo farre forth as concerne the abilities of ſence and liuelineſſe, ſhall bee performed as well in one age as in another. But hadſt thou as great indifferencie in iudging of the force & power of thine owne ſoule, as of the cunning of a Lute-player, (I ſay not by the nimbleneſſe of his fingers, which perchance knotted with the gout, but by the plaine and ſweet Harmonie of his Tablature, as they terme it, which maketh thée to déeme him to haue cunning in his head, although hee can no more vtter it with his hands) ſo as thou wouldeſt conſider how thou haſt in thy ſelfe a deſire to goe, though thy feet bee not able to beare thee, a diſcretion to iudge of things that are ſpoken, though thine eyes cannot conuey it vnto thee; a ſound eloquence, though for want of thy teeth thou canſt not well expreſſe it: and which is aboue all the reſt, a ſubſtantiall, quicke, and heauenly reaſon, euen when thy body is moſt earthly & drowping: Thou wouldſt ſone conclude, that the force and power of quickning, mouing, and perceiuing, is whole and ſound in thy ſoule, and that the default is altogether in thy body. Inſomuch ỹ if ſhe had a new body, & new inſtruments giuen vnto her, ſhe would be as luſty and chéerely as euer ſhe was, and that the more ſhe perceiueth the body to decay, the more ſhe laboureth to retire into her ſelfe, which is a plaine proofe of that ſhe is not the body, nor any part of the body, but the very life and inwarker of the body.

And ſith it is ſo, there needeth no long ſcanning, whether the ſoule be a ſubſtance or a qualitie. For ſeeing that qualities haue no being but in another thing than themſelues; the life which cauſeth another thing to be, cannot be a quality. For aſmuch then as the ſoule maketh a man to be a man, who otherwiſe ſhould be but a Carkaſſe or Carrion: doubtleſſe (vnleſſe we will ſay, that the onely difference which is betwixt a man & a dead carkaſſe, is but in accidents) we muſt needs grant, that the ſoule is a forming ſubſtance, and a ſubſtantial forme, yea and a moſt excellent ſubſtance infinitly paſſing the outward man: as which by the power and vertue thereof, cauſeth another thing to haue being, and perfecteth the bodily ſubſtance, which ſéemeth outwardly to haue ſo many perfections.

Vnbodily. But hereupon inſueth another controuerſie, Whether this ſubſtance be a bodily or an vnbodily ſubſtance: which caſe requireth ſomewhat

what longer examination. Sothly, if we conſider the nature of a body, it hath certaine meaſuring, & comprehendeth not any thing which is not proportioned according to the greatneſſe & capacity therof. For like as it ſelfe muſt be faine to haue a place in another thing, ſo muſt other things occupie ſome certaine place in it, by reaſon whereof it commeth to paſſe, that things can haue no place therein, if they bee greater than it, without annoying the one the other. To be ſhort, if the thing be leſſe than the body that containeth it, the whole body ſhall not containe it, but onely ſome part thereof: And if it be greater, then muſt ſome part thereof néeds be out of it: for there is no meaſuring of bodies but by quantity. Now we ſee how our ſoule comprehendeth heauen & earth, without annoying either other, & likewiſe time paſt, preſent, & to come, without troubling one another: and finally, innumerable places, perſons, & towns without cumbring of our vnderſtanding. The great things are there in their full greatneſſe, and the ſmall things in their vttermoſt ſmalneſſe, both of them whole and ſound, in the ſoule whole and ſound, and not by peecemeale, or onely but in part of it. Moreouer, the fuller it is, the more it is able to receiue. the moe things that are couched in it, the moe it ſtill coueteth, and the greater the things be, the fitter is ſhe to receiue them, euen when they be at the greateſt. It followeth therefore, that the ſoule, (which after a ſort is infinite) cannot be a body. And ſo much the leſſe can it be ſo, for that whereas it harboureth ſo many & ſo great things in it, it ſelfe is lodged in ſo ſmall a body. Againe, as a thouſand diuers places are in the Soule or Minde, without occupying any place, ſo is the Mind in a thouſand places without changing of place, & that ere-whiles not by ſucceſſion of time, nor by turns, but oftentimes altogether at one inſtant. Bid thy Soule or Minde go to Conſtantinople, & forthwith to turn back againe to Rome, and ſtraightway to be at Paris, or Lyons: Bid it paſſe through America, or to go about Africke, & it diſpatcheth all theſe iournies at a trice: looke whitherſoeuer thou directeſt it, there it is, and ere euer thou calleſt it backe, it is at home againe. Now, is there a body that can be in diuers places at once, or that can paſſe without remouing, or that can moue otherwiſe than in time, yea and in ſuch time as (within a little vnder or ouer) is proportioned both to his pace, and to the length of the way which it hath to go? Then is it certaine, that our Soule is not a bodily ſubſtance, which thing appeareth ſo much the more plainly, in that being lodged in this body, which is ſo moueable, it remoueth not with the body. Alſo it is a ſure ground, that two bodies cannot mutually enter either

ther into other, nor containe either other: but the greater muſt alwaies needs containe, and the leſſer muſt needs be contained. But by our Soules, we enter, not onely either into others bodies, but alſo either into others mindes, ſo as wee comprehend eyther other by mutuall vnderſtanding, and imbrace either other by mutuall louing. It followeth then, that this ſubſtance which is able to receiue a bodileſſe thing, can bee no body, and that ſo much the rather, for that the body which ſeemeth to hold it, containeth it not. Nay verily, this Soule of ours is ſo farre off from being a bodily ſubſtance, and is ſo manifeſtly a Spirit, that to lodge all things in it ſelfe, it maketh them all after a ſort ſpirituall, and bereaueth them of their bodies, if there were any bodilineſſe in it, it were vnable to enter into the knowledge of a body. So in a Glaſſe a thouſand ſhapes are ſeene: but if the cleare of the Glaſſe had any peculiar ſhape of it owne, the Glaſſe could yeeld none of thoſe ſhapes at all. Alſo all viſible things are imprinted in the eye: but if the ſight of the eye had any peculiar colour of it owne, it would be a blemiſh to the ſight, ſo as it ſhould either not ſee at all, or elſe all things ſhould ſeeme like vnto that blemiſh. Likewiſe, whereas the tongue is the diſcerner of all taſtes: if it be not cleare, but cumbred with humors, all things are of taſte like to the humor, ſo as if it be bitter, they alſo be bitter: and if it be watriſh, they bee watriſh too: yea, and if it be bitter, it cannot iudge of bitterneſſe it ſelfe. That a thing may receiue all ſhapes, all colours, and all taſtes; it behoueth the ſame to be cleare from all ſhapes, from all colour, and from all ſauour of it owne. And that a thing may in vnderſtanding know and conceiue all bodies, as our ſoule doth, it behoueth the ſame to be altogether bodileſſe it ſelfe: for had it any bodilineſſe at all, it could not receiue any body into it. If wee loke yet more neerely into the nature of a body, we ſhall finde that no body receiueth into it the ſubſtanciall forme of another body, without loſing or altering his own, ne paſſeth from one forme into another, without the marring of the firſt: as is to bee ſeene in wood when it receiueth fire, in ſeeds when they ſpring forth into bud, and ſo in other things. What is to bee ſaid then of mans ſoule, which receiueth and conceiueth the formes and ſhapes of all things, without corrupting his owne: and moreouer, becometh the perfecter by the more receiuing? For the more it receiueth, the more it vnderſtandeth: and the more it vnderſtandeth, the more perfect it is.

If it be a bodily ſubſtance, from whence is it, and of what mixture? If it be of the foure Elements, how can that giue life, hauing no life of

of it ſelfe? Or how can that giue vnderſtanding, hauing no ſence? If it be of the mixture of them, how may it be ſaid that of diuers things which haue no being of themſelues, ſhould be made a thing that hath being? Or that of diuers out-ſides ſhould be made one body? or of diuers bodies, one ſoule? or of diuers deaths, one life? or of diuers darkneſſes, one light? Nay rather, why ſay we not that he, which beyond nature hath made the mixture of theſe bodies, hath for the perfecting of our body, breathed a ſoule alſo into the body? To be ſhort, the propertie of a body is to ſuffer, and the propertie of our Soule is to doe. And if the body be not put forth by ſome other thing than it ſelfe, it is a very blocke; whereas the minde that is in our ſoule ceaſſeth not to ſtir vp and downe in it ſelfe, though it haue nothing to moue it from without. Therefore it is to be concluded by theſe reaſons, and by the like, that our ſoule is a bodileſſe ſubſtance, notwithſtanding that it is vnited to our body.

And hereupon it followeth alſo, that our ſoule is not any materiall thing, foraſmuch as matter receiueth not any forme or ſhape but according to his owne quantitie, but onely one forme at once, whereas our Soule receiueth all formes without quantitie, come there neuer ſo many at once, or ſo great. Againe, no matter admitteth two contrary formes at once, but our ſoule contrariwiſe comprehendeth and receiueth them together, as fire and water, heat and cold, white and blacke, and not onely together, but alſo the better by the matching & laying of them together. To be ſhort, ſeeing that the more wee depart from matter, the more we vnderſtand: ſurely, nothing is more contrary to the ſubſtance of our Soule, than is the nature of matter. Furthermore, if this reaſonable Soule of ours is neither a bodily, nor a materiall thing, nor depending vpon matter in the beſt actions thereof: then muſt it needes be of it ſelfe, and not proceed either from body, or from matter. For what doth a body bring forth but a body, and matter but matter, and materiall but materials? And therefore it is an vnmateriall ſubſtance, which hath being of it ſelfe. But let vs ſee whether ỹ ſame be corruptible & mortall or no. Soothly, if Plutarke bee to bee beleeued, it is in vaine to diſpute thereof. For he teacheth, that the doctrine of Gods prouidence, an the immortalitie of our ſoules are ſo linked together, that the one is as an appendant to the other. And in very deed, to what purpoſe was the World created, if there were no body to behold it? Or to what end behold we the Creator in the World, but to ſerue him? And why ſhould wee ſerue him vpon no hope? And to what purpoſe hath

Vnmateriall.

The Soule hath being of it ſelfe. *Plutarke* in his treatiſe why God deferreth the puniſhment of the wicked.

he indewed vs with theſe rare gifts of his, which for the moſt part doe but put vs to paine and trouble in this life: if wee periſh like the bruite Beaſt, or the Hearbes, which know him not? Howbeit, for the better ſatisfying of the ſilly Soules, which goe on ſtill like witleſſe Beaſts, without taking ſo much leaſure in all their life, as once to enter into themſelues, let vs indeuour here by liuely reaſons, to paint out vnto them againe their true ſhape, which they labour to deface with ſo much filthineſſe. The Soule of man (as I haue ſaid afore) is not a body, neither doth it increaſe or decreaſe with the body: but contrariwiſe, the more the body decaieth, the more doth the vnderſtanding increaſe; and the neerer that the body draweth vnto death, the more freely doth the minde vnderſtand: and the more that the body abateth in fleſh, the more worke full is the minde. And why then ſhould we thinke, that the thing which becommeth the ſtronger by the weakeneſſe of the body, and which is aduanced by the decay of the body, ſhould returne to duſt with the body? A mans Sences faile becauſe his eyes faile; and his eyes faile, becauſe the Spirits of them faile: but the blinde mans vnderſtanding increaſeth, becauſe his eyes are not hurted: And the old mans reaſon becommeth the more perfect by the loſſe of his ſight. Therefore why ſay wee not that the body fayleth the Soule, and not the Soule the body, and that the glaſſes are out of the ſpectacles, but the eye-ſight is ſtill good? Why ſhould wee deeme the Soule to bee forgone with the Sences? If the eye be the thing that ſeeth, and the eare the thing that heareth, why doe wee not ſee things double, and heare ſounds double, ſeeing we haue two eyes, and two eares? It is the Soule then that ſeeth and heareth, and theſe which we take to bee our ſences, are but the inſtruments of our ſences. And if when our eyes be ſhut, or pickt out, wee then behold a thouſand things in our minde, yea and that our vnderſtanding is then moſt quicke-ſighted, when the quickeſt of our eye-ſight is as good as quenched, or ſtarke dead: how is it poſſible that the reaſonable ſoule ſhould bee tied and bound to the ſences? What a reaſon is it to ſay that the Soule dieth with the ſence, ſeeing that the true ſences do then grow and increaſe, when the inſtruments of ſence doe dye? And what a thing were it to ſay, that a beaſt is dead, becauſe he hath loſt his eyes, when wee our ſelues ſee that it liueth after it hath forgone the eyes? Alſo I haue proued, that the ſoule is neither the body, nor an appurtenance of the body. Sith it is ſo, why meaſure wee that thing by the body, which meaſureth all bodies, or make that to die with the body, whereby the bodies

Vncorruptible.

bodies that died many hundred yeeres agoe, do after a certaine manner liue ſtill? Or what can hurt that thing, whom nothing hurteth or hindereth in the body? Though a man loſe an arme, yet doth his ſoule abide whole ſtill. Let him forgo the one halfe of his body, yet is his Soule as ſound as afore: for it is whole in it ſelfe, and whole in euery part of it ſelfe, vnited in it ſelfe, and in the owne ſubſtance, and by the force and power thereof it cheareth it ſelfe into all parts of the body. Though the body rot away by peecemeale, yet abideth the Soule all one and vndiminiſhed. Let the bloud dreine out, the mouing ware weake, the ſences faile, and the ſtrength periſh, and yet abideth the minde neuertheleſſe ſound and liuely euen to the end. Her houſe muſt be pierced through on all ſides, ere ſhe be diſcouraged, her walles muſt be battered downe ere ſhe fall to fleeting, and ſhee neuer forſaketh her lodging, till no roome be left her to lodge in. True it is, that the bruite beaſts forgo both life and action with their bloud. But as for our Soule (if we conſider the matter well) it is then gathered home into it ſelf, and when our ſences are quenched, then doth it moſt of all labour to ſurmount it ſelfe, working as godly actions at that time that the body is at a point to faile it, yea & oftentimes far godlier alſo, than euer it did during the whole life time thereof. As for example, it taketh order for it ſelfe, for our houſhold, for the Commonweale, & for a whole kingdome, and that with more vprightnes, godnes, wiſedome, & moderation, than euer it did afore, yea & perchance in a body ſo forſpent, ſo bare, ſo conſumed, ſo withered without, and ſo putrified within, that whoſoeuer lookes vpon him, ſees nothing but earth, & yet to heare him ſpeake, would rauiſh a man vp to heauen, yea & aboue heauen. Now, when a man ſees ſo liuely a Soule in ſo weake & wretched a body, may he not ſay as is ſaid of the hatching of Chickins, that the ſhell is broken, but there commeth forth a Chicken?

Alſo let vs ſee what is the ordinary cauſe that things periſh. Fire doth either goe out for want of nouriſhment, or is quenched by his contrary, which is water. Water is reſolued into aire by fire, which is his contrary. The cauſe why the Plant dieth, is extremity of cold, or drought, or vnreaſonable cutting, or violent plucking vp. Alſo the liuing wight dieth through contrarietie of humours, or for want of food, or by feeding vpon ſome thing that is againſt the nature of it, or by outward violence. Of all theſe cauſes, which can wee chooſe to haue any power againſt our Soule? I ſay againſt the Soule of man, which (notwithſtanding that it be vnited to matter, and to a body) is it ſelfe a ſubſtance vnbodily, vnmateriall, and onely conceiueable in

vnderſtanding? ſhall this imply contrariety of things? Nay, what can be contrary to that which lodgeth contraries alike equally in himſelf: which vnderſtandeth the one of them by the other: which coucheth them all vnder one ſkill? and (to be ſhort) in whom the contrarieties themſelues abandon their contrarietie, ſo as they doe not any more purſue, but inſue one another? Fire is hot, and water is cold.

Our bodies miſlike theſe contraries, and are grieued by them: but our mind linketh them together without either burning or cooling it ſelfe: and it ſetteth the one of them againſt the other to know them the better. The things which deſtroy one another through the whole world, do maintaine one another in our minds. Againe, nothing is more contrary to peace then warre is: and yet mans mind can ſkill to make or maintaine peace in preparing for warre, and to lay earneſtly for warre in ſeeking or enioying of peace. Euen death it ſelfe (which diſpatcheth our life) cannot be contrarie to the life of our Soule: for it ſeeketh life by death, and death by life. Who can giue a law to things moſt contrary: and what can the ſoule méete withall in the whole world, that can be contrary to it? which can inioyne obedience to things moſt contrary? What then? Want of food? How can ỹ want food in the world, which can ſkill to feed on the whole world? Or how ſhould that forſake food, which the fuller it is, ſo much the hungrier it is: and the more it hath digeſted, the better able it is to digeſt? The bodily wight feedeth vpon ſome certaine things, but our mind feedeth vpon all things. Take from it the ſenſible things, & the things of vnderſtanding abide with it ſtill: bereaue it of earthly things, and the heauenly remaine aboundantly. To be ſhort, abridge it of all worldly things, yea, and of the world it ſelfe, and euen then doth it feed at greateſt eaſe, and maketh beſt cheere agreeable to his owne nature. Alſo the bodily wight filleth it ſelfe to a certaine meaſure, and delighteth in ſome certaine things. But what can fill our minde? Fill it as full as yee can with the knowledge of things, and it is ſtill eager and ſharpe ſet to receiue more. The more it taketh in, the more it ſtill craueth: and yet for all that, it neuer feeleth any rawneſſe, or lacke of digeſtion. What ſhal I ſay more? diſcharge our vnderſtanding from the minding of it ſelfe, and then doth it liue in him, and of him in whom all things do liue. Againe, fill it with the knowledge of it ſelfe, and then doth it feele it ſelfe moſt emptie, and ſharpeſt ſet vpon deſire of the other. Now then, can that die or decay for want of food which cannot bee glutted with any thing, which is nouriſhed and maintained with all things, and which liueth in very deed vpon him by whom all the

the things which we wonder at here beneath, are vpheld?

And what elſe is violence, but a iuſtling of two bodies together? and how can there be any ſuch betweene a body and a ſpirituall ſubſtance? yea or of two ſpirits one againſt another, ſeeing that oftentimes when they would deſtroy one another, they vphold one another? And if the Soule cannot bee pulled at, neither inwardly nor outwardly: is there any thing in nature that can naturally hurt it? No: but it may perchance be weakned by the very force of his encounter, as we ſee it doth befall to our ſences. For the more excellent, and the more ſenſible the thing is in his kind which the ſence receiueth, ſo much the more alſo is the ſence it ſelfe offended, or grieued therewith. As for example, the feeling, by fire, the taſte, by harſhneſſe, the ſmelling, by ſtrong ſauours, the hearing by the hideouſneſſe of noyſe, whether it be of thunderclap, or of the falling of a riuer, and the ſight, by looking vpon the Sun, vpon fire, and vpon all things that haue a glittering brightneſſe. I omit, that in the moſt of theſe things, it is not properly the ſence it ſelfe, but the outward inſtrument of ſence onely, that is offended or hurt. But let vs ſee if there bee the like in our reaſonable ſoule. Nay contrariwiſe, the more of vnderſtanding and excellencie that the thing is, the more doth it refreſh and comfort our minde. If it be darke, ſo as wee vnderſtand it but by halues, it hurteth vs not, but yet doth it not delight vs. Nay, as we increaſe in vnderſtanding it, ſo doth it like vs the better: and the higher it is, the more doth it ſtirre vp the power of our vnderſtanding, and (as yee would ſay) reach vs the hand to draw vs to the attainement thereof. As for them that are dim-ſighted, we forbid them to behold the things that are ouer bright. But as for them that are of raweſt capacitie, wee offer them the things that are moſt vnderſtandable. When the ſence beginneth to perceiue moſt ſharpely, then it is faine to giue ouer, as if it felt the very death of it ſelfe. Contrariwiſe, when the minde beginneth to vnderſtand, then it is moſt deſirous to hold on ſtill. And whereof commeth that, but that our ſences worke by bodily inſtruments, but our minde worketh by a bodileſſe ſubſtance, which needeth not the helpe of the body? And ſeeing that the nature, the nouriſhment, and the actions of our ſoule are farre differing, both from the nature, nouriſhment, and actions of the body, & from all that euer is done or wrought by the body: can there bee any thing more childiſh than to deeme our ſoule to be mortall, by the abating & decaying of our ſences, or by the mortality of our bodies? Nay contrariwiſe, it may be moſt ſoundly & ſubſtancially concluded therupon, that

mans ſoule is of it owne nature immortall, ſeeing that all death, as well violent as naturall, commeth of the body, and by the body.

What is death.

Let vs ſee further what death or corruption is. It is (ſay they) a ſeparating of the matter from his forme. And forasmuch as in man the ſoule is conſidered to be the forme, and the body to be as the matter: the ſeparation of the Soule from the Body is commonly called Death. Now then, what death can there be of the Soule, ſith it is immaterial, as I haue ſaid afore, and a forme that abideth of it ſelfe? For (as one ſaith) a man may take away the roundneſſe or ſquareneſſe from a table of Copper, becauſe they haue no abiding but in the matter: but had they ſuch a round or ſquare forme as might haue an abiding without matter or ſtuffe wherein to be, out of doubt ſuch forme or ſhape ſhould continue for euer. Nay (which is more) how can that be the corrupter of a thing, which is the perfection thereof? The leſſe corſineſſe a man hath, the more hath he of reaſon & vnderſtãding. The leſſe our minds be tied to theſe bodily things, the more liuely & chéerfull be they. At a word, the full and perfect life thereof, is the full and vtter withdrawing thereof from the body, and whatſoeuer the body is made of. All theſe things are ſo cleare, as they néed no proofe. Now, wee know that euery thing worketh according to the proper being thereof, and that the ſame which perfecteth the operations of a thing, perfecteth the being thereof alſo. It followeth therefore, that ſith the ſeparation of the body from the ſoule, and of the forme from the matter, perfecteth the operation or working of the ſoule (as I haue ſaid afore) it doth alſo make perfect and ſtrengthen the very being thereof, and therefore cannot in any wiſe corrupt it. And what elſe is dying but to be corrupted? And what elſe is corrupting but ſuffering? And what elſe is ſuffering but receiuing? And how that which receiueth all things without ſuffring, receiueth corruption by any thing? Fire corrupteth or marreth our bodies, and we ſuffer in receiuing it. So doth alſo extreme cold: but if wee ſuffered nothing by it, it could not freeze vs. Our ſences likewiſe are marred by the exceſſiue force of the things which they light vpon. And that is, becauſe they receiue and perceiue the thing that grieueth them, and for the maner of their behauing of themſelues towards their obiects, is ſubiect to ſuffering. But as for the reaſonable ſoule, which receiueth all things after one maner, that is to wit, by the way of vnderſtanding, whereth rough it alway worketh, and is neuer wrought into; how is it poſſible for it to corrupt or marre it ſelfe?

For what is the thing whereat our ſoule ſuffereth ought in the ſubſtance

ſtance thereof, I meane whereby the ſubſtance of our Soule is any whit impaired or hurt by minding or conceiuing the ſame in vnderſtanding? As little doth the fire hurt it as the aire, and the aire as the fire. As little hurt receiueth it by the frozen Ice of Norway, as by the ſcorching ſands of Africke. As little alſo doth vice annoy it, as vertue. For vice and vertue are ſo far off from incumbring the ſubſtance of the Soule, that our minde doth neuer conceiue or vnderſtand them better, than by ſetting them together one againſt another. That thing therefore which doth no whit impaire it ſelfe, but taketh the ground of perfecting it ſelfe by all things, cannot be marred or hurt by any thing.

Againe, what is death? The vttermoſt poynt of mouing, & the vttermoſt bound of this life. For euen in liuing we die, & in dying wee liue, and there is not that ſtep which we ſet downe in this life, which doth not continually ſtep forward vnto death, after the maner of a diall, or a clock, which mounting vp by certaine degrees, forgoeth his mouing in mouing from Minute to Minute. Take away mouing from a body, and it doth no more liue. Now let vs ſee if the ſoule alſo be carried with the ſame mouing. If it be carried with the ſame mouing, then doth it vndoubtedly moue therewithal. Nay contrariwiſe, whether the mind reſt, or whether it be buſied about the proper operations thereof, it is not perceiued either by any panting of heart, or by any beating of pulſes, or by any breathing of lungs. It is then as a ſhip that carrieth vs away with it, whether we walke or ſit ſtill, the ſticking faſt whereof, or the tying therof to the poſt, hindereth not our going vp & down in it ſtill. Againe, if the ſoule be ſubiect to the finall corruption of the body, then is it ſubiect to the alterations therof alſo; and if it be ſubiect to the alterations, it is ſubiect to time alſo. For alterations or changes, are kinds, or rather conſequents of mouing, & mouings are not made but in time. Now man in reſpect of the body, hath certain full points, or ſtops, according to which he receiueth manifeſt changes, & thereafter groweth or decaieth. But cõmonly where the decay of body beginneth, there beginneth the chiefe ſtrength of the mind. On the contrary, in ſome men, not only their chins are couered with Downe, but alſo their beards become gray, whoſe mindes notwithſtanding for want of exerciſe, ſhew no ſigne at all either of ripeneſſe or growing. Moreouer, time paſt (as in reſpect of the body) cannot be called againe, but in reſpect of the mind it is alwayes preſent. Yea & time perfecteth, accompliſheth and increaſeth our minde, and after a ſort reneweth and refreſheth it from day to day, whereas contrariwiſe

trariwiſe it ſoꝛe weareth, waſteth away, and quite conſumeth both it ſelfe, and the body with the life thereof. It followeth then that the reaſonable Soule is not ſubiect to time, noꝛ conſequently to any of the changes and coꝛruptions that accompany time. Nay, we ſay thus much moꝛe; that nothing in the whole Woꝛld is nouriſhed with things better than it ſelfe, neither doth any of them containe greater things than it ſelfe. But the things that are coꝛruptible do liue of coꝛruptible things, and cannot liue without coꝛrupting them: as foꝛ example, beaſts liue by hearbs, men by beaſts, and ſo foꝛth. And therefoꝛe things which liue by uncoꝛruptible things, and can ſo receiue & digeſt them, as to turne them into the nouriſhment of their nature, and yet not coꝛrupt them, are incoꝛruptible themſelues too. Now the Soule of man, I meane the reaſonable ſoule oꝛ mind, conceiueth reaſon and truth, and man is fed and ſtrengthened with them. And reaſon and truth are things unchangeable, not ſubiect to time, place, oꝛ alteration, but ſteady, unchangeable, and euerlaſting. Foꝛ that twice two be foure, and that there is the ſame reaſon in the pꝛopoꝛtion of eight unto fiue, that is of foure unto three, oꝛ that in a Triangle, the three inner angles are equall with the two right angles, and ſuch like, are truths which neither yeeres noꝛ thouſands of yeeres can change; as true at this day, as they were when Euclide firſt ſpake them. And ſo foꝛth of other things. It followeth then that the Soule compꝛehending reaſon and truth, which are things free from coꝛruption, cannot in any wiſe be ſubiect to coꝛruption.

Againe, who is he of all men that deſireth not to be immoꝛtall? And how could any man deſire it, if he underſtood not what it is? Oꝛ how could he be able to underſtand it, unleſſe it were poſſible foꝛ him to attaine unto it? Surely none of us coueteth to be beginningleſſe, foꝛ none of us is ſo, neither can any of us be ſo. And as we cannot ſo be: ſo alſo can we not compꝛehend what it is. Foꝛ who is he that is not at his wits end, but onely to think upon eternity without beginning? On the contrary part, there is not ſo baſe a minde which coueteth not to liue foꝛ euer, inſomuch that whereas we looke not foꝛ it by nature, we ſeeke to obtaine it by ſkill and policie, ſome by bookes, ſome by Images, and ſome by other deuices: and euen the groſſeſt ſoꝛt can well imagine in themſelues what immoꝛtalitie is, & are able both to conceiue it, and to beléeue it. Whence comes this, but that our ſoules being created, cannot conceiue an euerlaſtingneſſe without beginning: and yet neuertheleſſe, that foꝛaſmuch as they bee created immoꝛtall, they do well conceiue an immoꝛtality, oꝛ euerlaſtingneſſe without

without end? And whereto ſerues this uniuerſall deſire, if it bee not naturall? Oꝛ how is it natural, if it be in vaine? and not only in vain, but alſo to bꝛing us to hell and to toꝛment? Let us wade yet déeper: Who can diſpute, oꝛ once ſo much as doubt whether the Soule be immoꝛtall oꝛ no, but hee that is capable of immoꝛtality? And who can underſtand what difference is betwixt moꝛtall and immoꝛtall, but he is immoꝛtall? Man is able to diſcerne the difference betwéene that that which is reaſon, and that which is not, & therupon we terme him reaſonable? Whoſoeuer would hold opinion that a man is not reaſonable, ſhould néed none other diſpꝛoofe than his owne diſputing therof; foꝛ he would go about to pꝛoue it by reaſon. Man can ſkill to diſcerne the moꝛtall naturer from the immoꝛtall: and therefoꝛe we may well ſay he is immoꝛtall. Foꝛ he that ſhould diſpute to the contrary, ſhal be dꝛiuen to bꝛing ſuch reaſons, as ſhall of themſelues make him to pꝛoue himſelfe immoꝛtall. Thou ſayeſt the Soule cannot be immoꝛtall: and why? Becauſe (ſaiſt thou) that to be ſo, it would behoue it to woꝛke ſeuerally by it ſelfe from the body. When thou thinkeſt that in thy mind, conſider what thy body doth at the ſame time. Nay yet further, who hath taught thée ſo much of the immoꝛtall nature, if thou thy ſelfe be not immoꝛtal? Oꝛ what woꝛldly wight can ſay, what the inwoꝛking of a reaſonable wight is, but the wight which in it ſelfe hath the uſe of reaſon?

Yet ſayſt thou ſtill, if the Soule be immoꝛtall, it is free from ſuch and ſuch paſſions. How enteꝛeſt thou ſo far into the nature that is ſo far aboue thée, if thou thy ſelfe béeſt moꝛtall? All the reaſons which thou alleageſt againſt the immoꝛtalitie of the Soule, do fight directly foꝛ the pꝛoofe of it. Foꝛ if thy reaſon mounted no higher than to the things that are moꝛtall, thou ſhouldeſt know neither moꝛtall noꝛ immoꝛtall. Now it is not ſome one couetous man aboue all other, that deſireth immoꝛtality, noꝛ ſome one man excelling all others in wiſedome, that compꝛehendeth it, but all mankinde without exception. It is not then ſome one ſeuerall ſkill oꝛ ſome one naturall pꝛoperty, that maketh ſuch difference betwéene man & man as we ſée to be betwéene many, but rather by one ſelfſame nature common to all men, wherby they be al made to differ from other liuing wights, which by no deed do ſhew any deſire to ouerliue themſelues, ne know how to liue & therefoꝛe their liues vaniſh with their blood, and is extinguiſhed with their bodies. If euer thou haſt looked to dye, conſider what diſcourſe thou madeſt then in thy mind: thou couldeſt neuer perſwade thy conſcience, noꝛ make thy reaſon to cõceiue, ỹ thy ſoule ſhould dye with thy body: but

but euen in the ſelfeſame time when it diſputeth againſt it ſelfe, it ſhifteth it ſelfe, I wote not how, from all thy concluſions, and falleth to conſider in what ſtate it ſhall be, and where it ſhall become when it is out of the bodie. The Epicure that hath diſputed of it all his life long, when he commeth to death, bequeatheth a yéerly penſion for the kéeping of a yeerely feaſt on the day of his birth. I pray you to what purpoſe ſerue the feaſtings for birth of a Swine, ſéeing he eſteemeth himſelfe to be no better than ſo? May what els is this, than a crying out of his Nature againſt him, which with one word confuteth al his vaine arguments? Another laboureth by all meanes poſſible, to blot out in himſelfe the opinion of immortalitie: and becauſe he hath liued wickedly in this world, hee will nædes beare himſelfe in hand, that there is no iuſtice in the world to come. But then, is the time that his owne nature waketh, and ſtarteth vp as it were out of a bottome of a water, and at that inſtant painteth againe before his eyes, the ſelfe-ſame thing which we took ſo much paines to deface. And in good ſooth, what a number haue we ſéene, which hauing bén deſpiſers of all religion, haue at the houre of death bén glad to vow their Soules to any Saint for reliefe: ſo cleare was then the preſence of the life to come before their eyes. I had rather (ſayd Zeno) to ſée an Indian burn himſelfe chérefully, than to heare all the Philoſophers in the world diſcourſing of the immortality of the Soule, and in very déed it is much a ſtronger & better concluded argument. May then, let vs rather ſay, I had rather ſée an Atheiſt or Epicure witneſſing the immortality of the Soule, and willingly taking an honorable farewel of Nature vpon a Scaffold, than to heare all the Doctors of the world diſcourſing of it in their Pulpits. For whatſoeuer the Epicures ſay there, they ſpeake it aduiſedly, and (as ye would ſay) freely and faſting: whereas all that euer they haue ſpoken all their life afore, is to bee accounted but as the words of Drunkards, that is to wit, of men beſotted and ſaine aſleepe in the delights and pleaſures of this world, in whom the wine & the exceſſe of meate, and the vapors that fumed vp in them did ſpeake, and not the men themſelues. What ſhall I ſay more? I haue told you already, that in the inward man there are (as yee would ſay) three men, the liuing, the ſenſitiue, and the reaſonable. Let vs ſay therefore that in the ſame perſon there are three liues continued from one to another: namely, the life of the Plant, the life of the Beaſt, and the life of the Man or of the ſoule. So long as a man is in his mothers wombe, he doth but only liue and grow: his Spirit ſéemeth to ſleepe, and his ſences ſeeme to be in a ſlumber, ſo that hee ſeemeth to be nothing

Cicut. lib. 1.

Three liues in man.

thing els than a Plant. Neuertheleſſe, if yee conſider his eyes, his eares, his tongue, his ſences, and his mouings, you will eaſily iudge that he is not made to be for euer in that priſon, where he neither ſeeth nor heareth, nor hath any rome to walk in, but rather that he is made to come forth into an open place, where hee may haue what to ſee and behold, and wherewith to occupy all the powers which we ſee to be in him. As ſoone as hee is come out, he beginneth to ſee, to ſeele and to moue, and by little & little falleth to the perfect vſing of his limbes, and findeth in this world a peculiar obiect for euery of them, as viſible things for the eie, ſounds for his hearing, bodily things for his feéling, and ſo forth. But beſides all this, we find there a mind, which by the eares (as by windowes) beholdeth the world, and yet in all the world finding not any one thing worthy to reſt wholly vpon, mounteth vp to him that made it; which mind like an Empreſſe lodgeth in the whole world, and not alonely in this body; which by the ſences (& oftentimes alſo without the ſences) mounteth aboue the ſences, and ſtraineth it ſelf to go out of it ſelf, as a child doth to get out of his mothers womb. And therfore we ought ſurely to ſay, that this Mind or Reaſon ought not to be euer in priſon. That one day it ſhall ſée clérly, & not by theſe dimme and cloudy ſpectacles: That it ſhal come in place where it ſhal haue the true obiect of vnderſtanding: and that hee ſhall haue his life free from theſe fetters and from all the paſſions of the bodie. To bee ſhort, that a man is prepared in his mothers wombe to bee brought forth into the world; ſo is he alſo after a ſort prepared in this body and in this world to liue in another world. We then vnderſtand it, when by nature it behoueth vs to depart out of the world. And what childe is there which (if Nature did not by her cunning driue him out) would of himſelf come out of his Couert, or that commeth not out as good as forlorn & halfe dead; or that if he had at that time knowledge & ſpeech, would not call that death, which we cal birth, and that a departure out of life, which we call the entrance into it? As long as we be there, we ſee nothing though our eies be open. Many alſo do not ſo much as ſtir, except it be at ſome ſodaine ſkaring or ſome other like chance, and as for thoſe that ſtir, they know not that they haue either ſence or mouing. Why then ſhould we thinke it ſtrange, that in this life our vnderſtanding ſeeth ſo little, that many men do neuer mind the immortal nature, butill they be at the laſt caſt, yea and ſome thinke not themſelues to haue any ſuch thing, howbeit that euen by ſo thinking they ſhew themſelues to haue part thereof? And imagine we, that the vnborne babe hath not as much a doe by nature to leaue the poore ſkinne

that

that he is wrapt in, as wee haue hinderance in our ſences and in our impriſoned reaſon, when we be at the point to leaue the goods & pleaſures of this world, and the very fleſh it ſelfe which holdeth vs as in a graue? Or had the babe ſome little knowledge, would he not ſay that no life were comparable to the life where he then is, as we ſay there is no life to the life of this world wherein we be? Or would hee not account the ſtage of our ſences for a fable, as a great ſort of vs account the ſtage that is prepared for our ſoules? Yea ſurely: and therefore let vs conclude where we began, namely, that man is both inward & outward. In the outward man, which is the body, he reſembleth the being & the proportion of all the parts of ỹ world. And in the inner man he reſembleth whatſoeuer kind of life is in all things, or in any thing that beareth life in ỹ world. In his mothers womb he liueth the life of a Plant, howbeit with this further, that he hath a certain commencement of ſence and moouing which exceed the Plant, and do put him in a readineſſe to bee indued with ſences as a Beaſt is. In this life he hath ſence and moouing in their perfection, which is the property of a ſenſitiue wight, but yet beſides theſe, he hath alſo a beginning to reaſon and vnderſtand, which are a beginning of another life, ſuch as the ſenſitiue wight hath not, and this life is to be perfected in another place. In the life to come he hath the actions of his vnderſtanding free and full perfected, a large ground to worke vpon, able to ſuffice him to the full, and a light to his vnderſtanding, in ſtead of a light to the eye. And like as in comming into this world, he came, as it were out of another world; ſo in going yet into another world he muſt alſo go out of this world. He commeth out of the firſt world into the ſecond, as it were failing in nouriſhment, but growing in ſtrength vnto moouing and ſence: and he goeth out of the ſecond into the third, failing in ſences and moouing, but growing in reaſon and vnderſtanding. Now ſeing wee call the paſſage out of the firſt world into the ſecond a birth, what reaſon is it we ſhould call the paſſage out of the ſecond into the third a death? To be ſhort, he that conſidereth how all the actions of mans mind tend to the time to come without ſtaying vpon the preſent time, how pleaſant and delightfull ſoeuer it may be, hee ſhall eaſily iudge by them all, that his beeing (which in euery thing) as ſaith Ariſtotle (followeth the working therof) is alſo wholly bent towards the time to come; as who would ſay this preſent life were vnto it but a narrow grindle, on the further ſide whereof (as it were on the bank of ſome ſtreame or running water,) hee were to finde his true dwelling place and very home indeede.

But

But now it is time to ſee what is ſayd to the contrary: wherein we haue to conſider, eſtſoones that which we ſpake of afore: namely, that if all that euer is in vs were tranſitorie and mortall, we ſhould not be ſo witty to examine the Immortalitie as we be: for of Contraries the ſkill is all one. If a man were not mortall, that is to ſay, if hee had no life, he could not diſpute of the mortall life, neither could he ſpeake of the Immortall, if he himſelfe alſo were not Immortall. Therefore let vs goe backe retriue. Some man will ſay, that the Soule dyeth with the body, becauſe the Soule and the body are but one thing, and he beleeueth that they be both one, becauſe he ſeeth no more but the body. This argument is all one with theirs, which denied that there is any God, becauſe they ſaw him not. But yet by his doings thou maiſt perceiue that there is a God: diſcerne likewiſe by the doings of thy ſoule, that thou haſt a ſoule; For in a dead body thou ſeeſt the ſame parts remaine, but thou ſeeſt not the ſame doings that were in it afore. When a man is dead, his eye ſeeth nothing at all, and yet is there nothing changed of his eye: but while he is aliue, it ſeeth infinite things that are diuers. The power then which ſeeth, is not of the body. Yet notwithſtanding how liuely and quick-ſighted ſoeuer the eye be, it ſeeth not it ſelfe. Wonder not therfore though thou haue a ſoule, and that the ſame ſoule ſee not it ſelfe. For if thine eye-ſight ſaw it ſelfe, it were not a power or ability of ſeeing, but a viſible thing: likewiſe if thy ſoule ſaw it ſelfe, it were no more a ſoule, that is to ſay, the worker and quickner of the bodie, but a very body, vnable to doe any thing of it ſelfe, and a maſſy ſubſtance ſubiect to ſuffering. For we ſee nothing but the body and bodily ſubſtances. But in this thou perceiueſt ſomewhat els than a body, (as I haue ſayd afore.) But if thine eye had any peculiar colour of it owne, it could not diſcerne any other colour then that. Seeing then that thou conceiueſt ſo many diuers bodies at once in imagination: needes muſt thou haue a power in thee which is not a body. Wee it (ſay they) that we haue a power of ſence: yet haue we not a power of reaſon, for that which wee call the power of reaſon or vnderſtanding, is nothing but an excellency or rather a conſequence of ſence, inſomuch that when ſence dyeth, the reſidue dyeth therewith alſo. Soothly in this which thou haſt ſayd, thou haſt ſurmounted ſence: which thing thou hadſt not done, if thou hadeſt nothing in thee beyond ſence. For whereas thou ſayeſt, if the ſence dye, the reſt dyeth alſo: it is a reaſon that proceedeth from one terme to another, and it is a gathering of reaſons, which conclude one thing by another. Now the ſences do indeed perceiue their obiects, but yet

how

how liuely ſoeuer they be, they reaſon not. We ſée a ſmoake: ſo farre extendeth the ſence. But if we inferre, therefore there muſt néds be fire, and thereupon ſéke who was the kindler thereof, that ſurmounteth the ability of ſence. We heare a péece of Muſicke: that may any Beaſt doe as well as wee. But his hearing of it is but as of a bare ſound: whereas our hearing thereof is as of an harmony, and we diſcerne the cauſe of the concords and diſcords, which either delight or offend our ſence. The thing that heareth the ſound is the ſence: but the thing that iudgeth of that which the ſence conceiueth, is another thing than the ſence. The like is to be ſayd of ſmelling, taſting, & feeling. Our ſmelling of ſents, our taſting of ſauours, and our féeling of ſubſtances, is indéd the worke of our ſences. But as for our iudging of the inward vertue of the thing by the outward ſent thereof, or of the wholſomneſſe or vnwholſomneſſe of food by the taſte thereof, or of the hotneſſe or vehemency of a feuer by feeling the pulſe, yea and our proceeding euen into the very bowels of a man, whither the eye being the quickeſt of all ſences is not able to attaine, ſurely it is the worke of a more mighty power, than the ſence is. And in very deede there are beaſts which do heare, ſee, ſmell, taſte, and feele much better and quicklier than man doth. Yet notwithſtanding none of them conferreth the contraries of colours, ſounds, ſents, and ſauours: none ſorteth them out to the ſeruing one of another, or to the ſeruing of themſelues. Whereby it appeareth, that man excelleth the Beaſts by another power than the Sences, and that whereas a man is a Painter, a Muſition, or a Phyſition, he hath it elſewhere than from his ſences: Nay, I ſay further, that oftentimes we conclude cleane contrary to the report of our ſences. Our eye perchance telleth vs, that a Tower which we ſee a farre off is round, whereas our reaſon deemeth it to be ſquare: or that a thing is ſmall, which our reaſon telleth vs is great: or that the ends of lines in a long walke do meet in a point, whereas reaſon certifieth vs that they run rightforth with equall diſtance one frō another. For want of this diſcretion, certain Elephants (ſaith Vetellio) which were paſſing ouer a long bridge, turned backe, being deceiued; and yet they wanted not ſight no more than wee doe. But they that led them were not deceiued: their leaders then beſides their eye ſight, had in them another vertue or power which corrected their ſight, and therefore ought to be of higher eſtimation. In like caſe is it with the reſt of the other ſences. For our hearing telleth vs that the thunder-clap is after the lightening, but ſkil aſſureth vs that they be both together. For there is a certaine power in vs, which can ſkil

to diſcerne what proportion is betweene hearing and ſeeing. Alſo, the tongue of him that hath an Ague, beareth him on hand that euen ſuger is bitter, which thing he knoweth by his reaſon to be vntrue. To be ſhort, thoſe which haue their ſences moſt quicke and liuely, be not of the greateſt wiſedome and vnderſtanding. A man therfore differeth from a beaſt, & excelleth them by ſome other power than ſence. For whereas it is commonly ſayd, that ſuch as haue ſeene moſt, are commonly of greateſt ſkill: we ſee that many haue trauelled far, both by ſea and land, which haue come home as wiſe as they went forth. A horſe hath as good eyes as he that rides vpon him, and yet for all his trauelling, neither hee nor peraduenture his Rider whom he beareth, become any whit the wiſer by that which they haue ſeene: whereby it appeareth that it is not enough to ſee things, vnleſſe a man doe also minde them to his benefite.

Now there is great difference betweene the liuelineſſe of the ſence, and the power that gouerneth the ſence, like as the report of the Spie is one thing, and the Spie himſelfe is another, and the wiſdome of the Captaine that receiueth the report of the Spie is a third. Nay, who can deny, but Sence and Reaſon are diuers things; or rather, who will not grant, that in many things they be cleane contrary? Sence biddeth vs ſhunne and eſchew griefe, whereas Reaſon willeth vs to proffer our legge ſometime to the Surgion to be cut off. Sence plucketh our hand out of the fire, and yet we our ſelues put fire to our bare ſkinne. He that ſhould ſee a Sceuola burn off his owne hand, without ſo much as once gnaſhing his teeth at it, would thinke he were vtterly ſenceleſſe: ſo mightily doth Reaſon ouer-rule Sence. To be ſhort, Sence hath his peculiar inclination, which is appetite, and Reaſon likewiſe hath his, which is will. And like as Reaſon doth oftentimes ouer rule Sence and is contrary to it; ſo will correcteth the ſenſuall appetite or luſt that is in vs, and warreth againſt it. For in an Ague wee couet to drinke, and in an Apoplexy we couet to ſleepe, and in hunger we couet to eate: and yet from al thoſe things doth our will reſtraine vs. The more a man followeth his luſt, the leſſe is he led by will: and the more he ſtandeth vpon the pleaſing of his Sences, the leſſe reaſon vſeth he ordinarily.

Againe, let vs conſider the brute Beaſts which haue this ſenſitiue part as well as we. If we haue no more then that, how commeth it to paſſe that a little childe driueth whole flockes and heardes of them whither he liſteth, and ſometimes whither they would not? Whereof commeth it that euery of them in their kind, do all line, neſſle, and ſing

after

after one ſort, whereas men haue their lawes, Common-weales, manners of building, and formes of reaſoning, not only diuers, but alſo commonly contrary? Now, what can harber theſe contrarieties together, but onely that which hath not any thing contrary vnto it, and wherein all contrary things doe lay away their contrariety? Surely, it is not the Sence that can doe it, whoſe proper or peculiar obiect is moſt contrary to the ſence. Beſides this (as I haue ſayd afore) whereas we conceiue wiſedome, ſkill, vertue and ſuch other things which are all bodileſſe, our ſences haue none other thing to worke vpon, than the qualities of bodily ſubſtances: and whereas we make vniuerſall rules of particular things, the ſences attaine no further than to the particular things themſelues: and wheras we conclude of the cauſes by their effects, our Sences perceiue no more but the bare effectes: and whereas concerning the things that belong to vnderſtanding, the more vnderſtandable they be, the more they refreſh vs; contrariwiſe, the ſtronger that the ſenſible things are, the more do they offend the ſence: To bee ſhort, the ſelfeſame thing which we ſpeake in behalfe of the ſences, proceedeth frō elſewhere than from the ſences. And will eaſily diſcerne, that hee which denieth that beſides the common ſence there is in a man a reaſon or vnderſtanding, diſtinct and ſeuered from the ſence, is void both of vnderſtanding and of ſence.

But ſée here a groſſe reaſon of theirs. This reaſon or power of vnderſtanding (ſay they) which is in man, is corruptible as well as the power of perceiuing by the ſences. I thinke I haue prooued the contrary already, neuertheleſſe let vs examine the reaſons yet further. The forme or ſhape of euery thing (ſay they) doth periſh with the matter. Now, the Soule is as yée would ſay the forme or ſhape of the body: therefore it corrupteth with the body. This argument were rightly concluded, if the Soule were a materiall forme. But I haue prooued that the Soule is immateriall, and hath a continuance of it ſelfe. And indeed the more it is diſcharged of matter, the more it retaineth his owne particular forme. Therefore, the corrupting of the matter toucheth not the Soule at all. Againe, if mens ſoules liue (ſay they) after their bodies, then are they infinite, for the world is without beginning and without ending, and (as we know) Nature can away with no infinite thing: therefore they liue not after their bodies. Yes ſay I, for I haue prooued that the world had a beginning, and that with ſo ſubſtantial reaſons, as thou art not able to diſproue. Therefore it followeth, that the inconuenience which thou alleageſt can haue no place. Another ſaith, If dead mens Soules liue ſtill, why come

come they not to tell vs ſo? And he thinketh he hath ſtumbled vpon a wonderful ſubtile deuice. But how doth this follow in reaſon? There came not any man from the Indies for many yéeres together into our parts of the world: Ergo, there be no Indies. May not the ſame argument ſerue as wel to proue that we our ſelues are not, becauſe we neuer went thither? Againe, what intercourſe is there betwéene things that haue bodies, and things that haue no bodies, or betwéene heauen and earth, conſidering that there is ſo ſmall intercourſe euen between men, which liue all vnder one ſelfſame Sun? Yee that is made a Magiſtrate in his own Country, doth not willingly returne to the place of his baniſhment. Likewiſe, the Soule that is lodged in the lap of his God, and come home into his native ſoyle, forgoeth the deſire of theſe lower things, which to the ſight beholding them from aboue, are leſſe than the point of a Néedle. On the other ſide, hee that is put in cloſe priſon (how deſirous ſoeuer he be) cannot go out: ſo the ſoule which is in the Iſyle of his Soueraigne Lord God, hath no reſpit or ſporting time to tell vs what is done there. Vnto the one, the beholding of the euerlaſting God, is as a priſon wherin he is willing to remaine, and vnto the other, his own condemnation is an impriſonment of his wil. But we would haue God to ſend both the one and the other vnto vs, to make vs to beleeue. As who would ſay, it ſtood him greatly on hand to haue vs to beleeue, and not rather vs that we ſhould beleeue. And in effect what els is all this, but a deſiring that ſome man might returne into his mothers wombe againe, to incourage young babes againſt the pinches and paines which they abide in the birth, which he would no leſſe abhorre then wee doe death, if they had the like knowledge of them? But let vs let ſuch vanities paſſe, and come to the groune.

Yee beare vs on hand (ſay they) that the Soule of man is but one, though it haue diuers powers. Wherefore wee ſee the ſenſitiue and the growing powers to be corrupted and to periſh: therfore it ſhould ſeeme that the vnderſtanding or reaſonable power alſo ſhould doe the like. At a word, this is all one as if a man ſhould ſay, You tell me that this man is both a good man, a good Sword-player, and a good Lute-player altogether; and that becauſe his ſword falls out of his hand, or his hand it ſelfe becommeth lame, therefore hee cannot bee a good or honeſt man ſtill as you reported him to bee. May, though hee loſe thoſe inſtruments, yet ceaſeth hee not therefore to bee an honeſt man, yea and both a Sword-player and a Lute-player too as in reſpect of ſkill. Likewiſe, when our ſoules haue forgone theſe exerciſes, yet ceaſe they not to be ỹ ſame they were afore. To inlighten this

point yet more, of the powers of our Soule, ſome are exerciſed by the inſtruments of the body, and otherſome without any helpe or furtherance of the body at all. Thoſe which are exerciſed by the body, are the Sences and the powers of the Sences: the powers of the growing, which may carry the ſame likeneſſe that is betweene a Luter and a Lute. Breake the Luters Lute, and his cunning remaineth ſtill, but his putting of it in practice faileth. Giue him another Lute, and hee falls to playing new againe. Put out a mans eyes, and yet the ability of ſeeing abideth ſtill with him, though the very act of ſeeing be diſappointed. But giue vnto the oldeſt Hagge that is, the ſame eyes that he had when he was young, and he ſhall ſee as well as euer he did. After the ſame maner is it with the growing or thriuing power. Reſtore vnto it a good ſtomake, a ſound liuer, and a perfect heate, and it ſhall execute his functions as well as euer it did afore. The power that worketh of it ſelfe and without the body, is the power of reaſon or vnderſtanding, which if wee will wee may call the minde. And if thou yet ſtill doubt thereof, conſider when thou mindeſt a thing earneſtly, what thy body furthereth thy minde therein, and thou ſhalt perceiue that the more firedly thou thinkeſt vpon it, the leſſe thou thinkeſt vpon the things before thee: and the more thy minde wandereth, the more thy body reſteth: as who would ſay, that the workings of the body are the greateſt hinderance and impediment that can be to the peculiar doings of the minde. And this ability of vnderſtanding may bee likened to a man, which though hee haue loſt both his hand and his Lute, ceaſeth not therefore to be a man ſtill, and to doe the true deeds of a man, that is to wit, to diſcourſe of things, to minde them, to vſe reaſon and ſuch like: yea, and to bee both a Luter and a man as hee was afore, notwithſtanding that he cannot put his Lute-playing in exerciſe for want of inſtruments. Nay (which is more) this vnderſtanding part groweth ſo much the ſtronger and greater, as it is leſſe occupied and buſied about theſe baſe and corruptible things, and is altogether drawne home wholly to it ſelfe, as is to be ſeene in thoſe which want their eyes, whoſe minds are commonly moſt apt to vnderſtand, and moſt firme to remember. Doe we debate of a thing in our ſelues? Neither our body nor our Sences are buſied about it. Do we will the ſame? As little do they ſtir for that too. To vnderſtand and to will (which are the operations of the mind) the Soule hath no need of the body: and as for working and beeing, they accompany one another, ſayth Ariſtotle. Therefore, to continue ſtill in beeing, the ſoule hath not to doe with the body, nor any need of the body: but rather,

rather, to worke well and to be well, the Soule ought either to be without the body, or at leaſt wiſe vnto be vtterly ſubiect to the body.

Yea (ſay they) but yet we ſee men forgoe their reaſon, as fooles and melancholike perſons: and ſeeing it is forgone, it may alſo bee corrupted, and if corrupted, it may alſo dye: for what is death but an vtter and full corruptneſſe? Nay, thou ſhouldeſt ſay rather, I haue ſeene diuers which hauing ſeemed to haue loſt their right wits, haue recouered them againe by good dyet and medicinable drinkes. But had they been vtterly loſt and forgone, no Phyſick could haue reſtored them againe: and had they been vtterly periſhed, the parties themſelues ſhould haue had neither ſence nor life remaining. Therefore of neceſſity the Soule of them was as ſound as afore. But our Soules which beholde by the body, and by the inſtruments of the body as it were by Spectacles: and our mind which beholdeth and ſeeth through his imaginations as it were through a Cloud, is after a ſort troubled becauſe the Spectacles were troubled, and the imaginations beſmoaked. After that maner the Sunne ſeemeth to be dimmed and eclipſed, and that is but by the comming of the Mone or of ſome Clowdes between him and vs: for in his light there is no abatement at all. Likewiſe, our eye-ſight conceiueth things according to the Spectacles wherethrough it looketh, or according to the colour that ouerthwarteth the things which it looketh vpon. Take away the impediments, and our eyes ſhall ſee cleere: purge away the humours, and our imaginations ſhall be pure: and ſo our vnderſtanding ſhall ſee as bright as it did afore, euen as the Sunne ſhineth after the putting away of the Clouds. And it fareth not with our ſoules as it doth with our bodies, which after a long ſickneſs retaine ſtill either a hardneſſe of the ſpleen, or a ſhortneſs of breath, or a falling of the rheume vpon the Lungs, or a ſkarre of ſome great wound that cannot bee worne out, becauſe of the breake that was made in the whole. For neither in their vnderſtanding, neither in their wils doe our Soules feele any abatement, ſauing that there abideth ſome maime or blemiſh in the inſtruments, to wit (as I will declare hereafter) ſo farre forth as pleaſeth God for a iuſt puniſhment, to put the Soule in ſubiection to the body, whoſe Soueraigne it was created to haue been, becauſe it hath neglected the will of the Creator, to follow the luſts & likings of the body. This appeareth in lunatike folkes and ſuch others, which haue their wits troubled at times and by fits. For they be not vered but at the ſtirring of their humours, being at other times ſober and well enough ſtayed in their wits. The like is ſeene in them that haue the falling ſickneſs.

For their vnderſtanding ſeemeth to be eclipſed, and as it were ſtricken with a Thunder-clap, during the time of their fittes; but afterward they be as diſcreet as though they applied nothing. To be ſhort, the body is ſubiect to a thouſand diſeaſes, wherewith wee ſée the vnderſtanding to be no whit altered, becauſe they touch not the Inſtruments of the Senſes and of the Imaginations, which moue the vnderſtanding. Troubled it is indéede by ſome few things onely, but that is, becauſe the phantaſie doth by that meanes report the things vnfaithfully whereon the minde debateth. Therefore you ſhall neuer ſée any body out of his wits, or out of his right minde, in whom the Phyſicions may not manifeſtly perceiue, either ſome default of the Inſtruments, as a miſ-ſhapen and miſproportioned head: or els an ouer-bounding of ſome melancholike humor, that troubled and marred his body, afore it troubled or impaired his minde. And like as the wiſeſt men being deceiued by falſe Sppes, doe make wrong deliberations, howbeit yet grounded vpon good reaſon, which things they could not doe, vnleſſe they were wiſe indéede: So the reaſon that is in our minde maketh falſe diſcourſes, and gathereth wrong concluſions, vpon the falſe reports of the imaginations, which it could not do, if it were either diminiſhed or impaired, or done away. Whereunto accordeth the ſaying of an ancient Writer: That there bee certaine follies which none but wiſe men can commit, becauſe that in ſome caſes, diſcretion and wiſedome are requiſite in the party that is to be deceiued, and againe, that there be ſome errors, which none can imbrace or follow, but thoſe that be learned. As for example, to bee beguiled by a double dealing Spy, or by the ſurpriſing of a cozening letter, belongeth to none but to a wiſe man. For a groſ-headed fole neuer breaketh his brain about ſuch matters, as might bring him to the making of falſe cõcluſions by miſtaking likelihoods inſtead of truth. Likewiſe to fall into Hereſie by miſconceiuing ſome high and déep point, befalleth not to an ignorant perſon, for hee is not of capacity, neither doth his vnderſtanding mount ſo high. To be ſhort, whoſoeuer ſayth that mans Soule periſheth with the body, becauſe it is troubled by the diſtemperature or indiſpoſition of the body, may as wel vphold that the Child in the Mothers wombe dyeth with his mother, becauſe he mourneth with her, and is partaker with her of her harms and throwes, by reaſon of the ſtraight coniunction that is betwéene them: And yet we ſée that many children haue liued ſafe and ſound, notwithſtanding that their mothers haue dyed, yea and ſome haue come into the world euen by the death of their mothers.

And

And whereas ſome ſay, that our mindes conceiue not any thing here, but by helpe of Imagination, and that therfore when the imagination is gone with the inſtruments whereunto it is tyed, the Soule cannot worke alone by it ſelfe, nor conſequently bee alone by it ſelfe: ſurely it is all one as if they ſhould ſay, that becauſe the child being in his mothers wombe taketh nouriſhment of her blood by his nauill therfore he cannot liue when hee is come out of her wombe, if his nauill ſtrings be cut off. Nay contrariwiſe, then is the time that the mouth, the tongue, and the other parts of the child do their duty, which ſerued erſt to no purpoſe, ſauing that they were prepared for ẏ time to come. After the ſame maner alſo do we cheriſh our mind by imagination in this ſecond life, which in the third life being (as ye would ſay) eſcaped out of priſon, ſhall begin to vtter his operations by himſelfe, and that ſo much the more certainly, for that it ſhall not bee ſubiect to falſe reports, nor to the ſences either inward or outward, but to the very things themſelues which it ſhall haue ſéene and learned of it ſelfe. To be ſhort, it ſhall liue but not in priſon; it ſhall ſée, but not through ſpectacles; it ſhall vnderſtand, but not by reports; it ſhall luſt, but not by way of luſting; the infirmity which the body caſteth vpon it as now, ſhall then be away: the force which it bringeth now to the body, ſhall then be more freſh and liuely than afore. Now then, notwithſtanding theſe vain reaſons of theirs, let vs conclude: That our ſoule is an vnderſtanding or reaſonable power, ouer the which neither death nor corruption haue naturally any power, although it be fitted to the body to gouerne it. And if any man doubt thereof, let him but examine himſelfe; for euen his owne doubts will proue it vnto him. Or if hée will ſtand in contention ſtill, let him fall to reaſoning with himſelfe: for by concluding his arguments to proue his ſoule mortall, hee ſhall giue iudgement himſelfe that it is immortall. And if I haue left any thing vnalleaged, which might make to this purpoſe, (but who is able to do that? ſéeing that euen the ſelfſame things which wee are able to alleage to the contrary, conſtraine vs thereto?) let vs think alſo that he which féeleth himſelfe conuicted in himſelfe, and for whoſe behoofe and benefit it were greatly, both to beléeue it and to confeſſe it, néedeth no more diligent proofe than hath béene made already. But if any will yet of ſpight ſtand wilfully ſtill againſt himſelfe, let him trie how hee can make anſwere to my foreſayd arguments: and in the mean while let vs ſée what hath béen the opinion of the wiſeſt men, yea and of the whole world touching this matter.

Chap. XV.

That the immortality of the Soule hath beene taught by the Philoſophers of old time, and beleeued by all people and Nations.

SOothly it had bẽn a very hard caſe, if this minde of ours which ſearcheth ſo many things in nature, had not ſometimes taken ſome leaſure to ſearch it ſelfe and the nature thereof, and by ſearching attained to ſome point in that behalfe. And therefore as there haue at all times been men, ſo ſhall we ſee alſo that men haue at all times beleeued and admitted the immortality of the ſoule: I ſay not ſome one man or ſome one Nation, but the whole world with generall conſent, becauſe all men vniuerſally and particularly haue learned it in one Schoole, and at the mouth of one Teacher, namely euen their owne knowledge in themſelues. The holy Scripture which teacheth vs our ſaluation, vſeth no Schoole arguments to make vs beleeue that there is a God: and that is becauſe wee cannot ſtep of our ſelues neuer ſo little, but wee muſt needes finde him preſent to all our Senſes. And it ſeemeth to ſpeake vnto vs the leſſe expreſſly of the immortality of our ſoules, ſpecially in the firſt bookes thereof, becauſe we cannot enter into our ſelues be it neuer ſo little, but we muſt needs perceiue it. But in aſmuch as from the one end thereof to the other, it declareth vnto vs the will of God: in ſo doing it doth vs to vnderſtand, that it is a thing whereof it is not lawfull for vs to doubt: And whereas it ſetteth forth ſo preciſely from age to age, the great and manifold troubles and paines which good and godly men haue ſuſtained in indeuoring to follow that will; it ſheweth infallibly that their ſo doing was in another reſpect than for this preſent wretched life. For who is he that would depart with any piece of his own liking in this life, but in hope of better things? and what were it for him to loſe his life, if there were not another life after this? This ſerueth to anſwere in one word to ſuch as demaund expreſſe texts of Scripture, and are loth to finde that thing in the Bible, which is contained there, not only in euery leafe, but almoſt in euery line. For whereas God created man after the world was fully finiſhed and perfected: it was as much as if he

he had brought him into a Theatre prepared for him, howbeit after another ſort than all the other liuing things which were to do him ſeruice. As for Beaſts, Birds, Plants, and ſuch other things, the Elements brought them forth: but man receiued his Soule by inſpiration from God. Alſo the brute Beaſts are put in ſubiection to man, but man is in ſubiection onely vnto God. And the conuaying of that good man Henoch out of this life for his godlineſſe, was to none other end, but to ſet him in another life voyde of all euill & full of all good. But when we reade the perſecutions of Noe, the ouerthwartings of Abraham, the baniſhment and wayfarings of Iacob, and the diſtreſſes of Ioſeph, Moſes, and all the reſidue of the Fathers; they be all of them demonſtrations, that they did certainly truſt and beleeue that the ſoule is immortall, that there is another life after this, and that there is a iudgement to come. For had they bẽne of opinion that there is none other life after this: the fleſh would haue perſwaded them to haue held themſelues in quiet here, and they would haue liked nothing better than to haue followed ſweetly the cõmon trade of the world: Noe, among his friends, Abraham among the Chaldees, Moſes in Pharaos Court, and ſo forth. So then, although the Scripture ſeeme to conceale it, yet doth it ſpeake very lowd thereof indeede, conſidering that all the ecrpes of the good and godly, and all the deſpaires of the wicked which it diſcribeth vnto vs, doe ſound no other thing vnto vs, if wee haue eares to heare it. And it may be, that in the ſame reſpect, this article of the immortality of the Soule was not put into the ancient Creede of the Iewes, nor alſo peculiarly into the Creede of vs Chriſtians, becauſe we beleeue beyond reaſon, and this is within the bounds of reaſon: and whoſoeuer treateth of Religion, muſt needs preſuppoſe God eternall, and man immortall, without the which two, all Religion were in vain. Alſo, when we ſee that Godlineſſe, Iuſtice, and Vertue were commended among the Heathen of all ages: it is all one as if wee ſhould heare them preach in expreſſe words the immortalitie of the Soule. For their ſo doing is builded euery whit vpon that as vpon a foundation, without the which thoſe things could not ſtand. I will ſpend my goods or my life for the maintenance of Iuſtice. What is this Iuſtice but a vaine name, or to what end haue I ſo many reſpects, if I looke for nothing out of this preſent world? I will (ſayd a man of olde time) rather loſe euen the reputation of an honeſt man, than behaue my ſelfe otherwiſe than honeſtly. But why ſhould I doe ſo, if I looke for no good in another world, ſeeing I haue nothing but euill here? Surely if there be none other thing than this life, then

The wiſe men of Egypt.

then is vertue to bee vſed no further than profite and commodity may grow vpon it; and ſo ſhould it become a Chaffer and Merchandiſe, and not vertue indéed. Yet notwithſtanding, thoſe are the ordinarie ſpéeches, euen of ſuch as ſpeake doubtfully of the immortality of the Soule. Therefore they do but deny the ground, and yet grant the conſequence; which is all one as if a man hauing firſt béene burned, ſhould fall to diſputing whether fire be hot or no. But now (which is better for vs) I will here gather together their owne ſpéeches one after another.

Hermes in his Pœmander.

Hermes declareth in his Pœmander, how at the voice of the euerlaſting, the Elements yéelde forth all reaſonleſſe liuing wights as it had bin out of their boſomes. But when he commeth to man, he ſaith, He made him like vnto himſelfe, he linked himſelf to him as to his Son, (for he was beautifull and made after his owne Image) and gaue him all his workes for his vſe. Againe, he exhorteth him to forſake his body (notwithſtanding that hee wondred greatly at the cunning workmanſhip thereof) as the very cauſe of his death, and to manure his ſoule which is capable of immortality, and to conſider the originall rote from whence it ſprang, which is not earthly but heauenly, and to withdraw himſelf euen from his ſences and from their traiterous allurements, to gather himſelfe wholly into that minde of his which he hath from God, and by the which (hee following Gods word) may become as God. Diſcharge thy ſelfe (ſaith he) of this body which thou beareſt about thee, for it is but a clocke of ignorance, a foundation of infection, a place of corruption, a liuing death, a ſenſible carrion, a portable graue, and a houſhold theefe. It flattereth thee, becauſe it hateth thee, and it hateth thee becauſe it enuieth thee. As long as that liueth, it bereaueth thee of life, and thou haſt not a greater enemy than that. Now, to what purpoſe were it for him to forſake this light, this dwelling place and this life, if he were not ſure of a better in another world (as he himſelfe ſaith more largely afterward?) On the other ſide, what is the ſoule? The Soule (ſaith he) is the garment of the mind, & the garment of the Soule is a certain Spirit wherby it is vnited to the body. And this minde is the thing which we call, properly the Man, that is to ſay, a heauenly wight, which is not to bee compared with Beaſts, but rather with the Gods of heauen, if it be not yet more than they. The heauenly cannot come downe to the earth without leauing the heauen, but Man meaſureth the heauen without remouing from the earth. The earthly man then is as a mortall god, and the heauenly God is as an immortall man. To be ſhort, his concluſion is, that man

Hermes in his Pœmander, cap. 10.

man is double, mortall as touching his body, and immortal as touching his Soule, which ſoule is the ſubſtanciall man, and the very man created immediatly of God (ſaith he) as the light is bred immediatly of the Sunne. And Chalcidius ſaith, that at his death hee ſpake theſe words: I go home againe into mine owne Countrey, where my better forefathers and kinſfolke be.

Of Zoroaſtres, who is yet of more antiquity than Hermes, we haue nothing but fragments. Neuertheleſſe, many report this Article to be one of his, That mens Soules are immortall, and that one day there ſhall be a general riſing againe of their bodies, and the anſwers of the Wiſe men of Chaldie, (who are the heires of his doctrine) do anſwere ſufficiently for him. There is one that exhorteth men to returne with ſpéede to their heauenly father, who hath ſent them from aboue a ſoule indued with much vnderſtanding; and another that exhorteth them to ſeeke Paradiſe as the peculiar dwelling place of the Soule. A third ſaith, that the ſoule of man hath God as it were ſhut vp in it, and that it hath not any mortality therein. For (ſaith he) the ſoule is as it were drunken with God, and ſheweth forth his wonders in the harmonie of this mortall body. And againe another ſaith, It is a clére fire proceéding from the power of the heauenly father, an incorruptible ſubſtance, and the maintainer of life, containing almoſt all the whole world with the full plenty thereof in his boſome. But one of them proceédeth yet further, affirming, that he which ſetteth his mind vpon godlineſſe, ſhall ſaue euen his body, though it be neuer ſo fraile. And by thoſe words he acknowledgeth the very glorifying of the body.

Hermes in his Eſculapius. *Aeneas Gaz.* concerning the immortalitie of the Soule. Chaldeans

Now all theſe ſayings are reported by the Platoniſts, and namely, by Pſellus; and they diſſemble not this, that Pythagoras and Plato learned them of the Chaldees, inſomuch that ſome think, that the foreſaid Chaldeans, are the ſame of whom Plato ſpeaketh in his ſecond Epiſtle, and in the eleuenth booke of Lawes, when hee ſaith that the ancient † holy Oracles are to be beleeued, which affirme mens ſoules to bee immortall, and that in another life they muſt come before a Iudge that will require an account of all their doings. The effect whereof commeth to this, that the Soule of man proceédeth immediatly from God, that is to ſay, that the Father of the body is one, and the Father of the Soule is another: That the Soule is not a bodily ſubſtance, but a Spirit and a Light: That at the departure thereof from hence, it is to goe into a Paradice, and therefore ought it to make haſte vnto death: and that it is ſo far from mortality, that

The Greeks

that it maketh euen the body immortall. What can wee ſay more at this day, euen in the time of light wherein we be? Pherecydes the Syrian, the firſt that was knowne among the Greeks to haue written in proſe, taught the ſame. And ẏ which Virgil ſaith in his ſecond Eglog, namely, that the Drug or Spice of Aſſyria ſhould grow euery where, is interpreted of ſome men to be meant of the immortality of ẏ ſoule; & that the doctrine which Pherecydes brought thence into Greece, ſhould be beleeued and vnderſtood euery where throughout ẏ whole world. Also Phocylides, who was at the ſame time, ſpeaketh thereof in theſe words:

Pherecydes.

Aſſyrium vulgo naſcitur Amomum.

Phocylides.

Ψυχὴ δ' ἀθανάτη· καὶ ἀγήρως ζῇ διὰ παντός. That is to ſay:

The Soule of man immortall is, and neuer weares away
With any age, or length of time, but liueth freſh for ay.

And againe,

Δείλοισι στοιχεῖοιν ὀπίσω θεοὶ τελέουσιν·
Ψυχαὶ δ' ἀμμένουσιν ἀτίρεοι ἐν φθιμένοισιν.
The remnants which remaine of men vnburied in the graue,
Become as Gods, and in the Heauens a life moſt bleſſed haue:
For though their bodies turne to duſt, as daily we do ſee,
Their ſoules liue ſtill for euermore, from all corruption free.

And in another place he ſayes againe:

Καὶ τάχα δ' ἐκ γαίης ἐλπίζομεν ἐς φάος ἐλθεῖν.
We hope that we ſhall come againe
Out of the earth to light more plaine.

And if ye aſke him the cauſe of this: hee will anſwere you in another verſe, thus:

Ἡνίκα γὰρ θεῖ θεοῦ χρῆσις σύμπνοος καὶ εἰκών.
Becauſe the Soule Gods inſtrument and Image is.

Sybilla.

Which ſaying he ſeemeth to haue taken out of this verſe of Sibils.

Εἰκὼν θεῖ ἀνθρώπος ἔμμι λόγον ὄρθον ἐχρῶσα.
In very reaſon Man ſhould bee
The Image and the ſhape of mee.

Of the ſame opinion alſo are Orpheus, Theognis, Homer, Heſiodus, Pindar, and all the Poets of old time; which may anſwere both for themſelues, and their owne Countries, and for the reſidue of their ages. Likewiſe Pythagoras, a diſciple of Pherecydes, held opinion that the ſoule is a bodileſſe and immortall ſubſtance, put into this body as into a priſon, for ſinning. And whereas the fleeting of ſouls out of one body into another, is fathered vpon him, although the opinion bee not directly againſt the immortality of the Soule, yet do many men think that he hath wrong done vnto him. And his diſciple Timœus of Locres

Pindar in the ſecond Song of his Olimpiads manner in the Funerals of his Nhiads.

reports otherwiſe of him. For what puniſhment were it to a voluptuous man to haue his ſoule put into a beaſt, that he might become the more voluptuous, without remorſe of ſinne? Soothly it is all one, as if in puniſhment of murder or theft, yee would make the Murderer to cut the throates of his owne Father and Mother, or the Thiefe to commit treachery againſt God. Howſoeuer the caſe ſtand, he teacheth in his verſes, that man is of heauenly race, and that (as Iamblicus reporteth) hee is ſet in this world to behold God. And his diſciple Architas ſaith, that God breathed reaſon and vnderſtanding into him. Likewiſe Philolaus affirmeth, that the Diuines and Prophets of old time bare record, that the ſoule was coupled faſt with the body for her ſinnes, and buried in the ſame, as in a graue. Of Epicharmus we haue this ſaying: If thou beeſt a good man in thy heart, Death can do thee no harme: for thy ſoule ſhall liue happily in heauen, &c. Alſo of Heraclides we haue this ſaying: Wee liue the death of them (that is to ſay of the bleſſed:) his meaning is, that we bee not buried with our bodies; and we die their life: that is to ſay, wee bee ſtill after this body of ours is dead. Of the like opinion are Thales, Anaxagoras, and Diogenes, concerning this point: yea, and ſo is Zeno too, howbeit that hee thought the ſoule to bee begotten of Man, wherein he was contrary to himſelfe. To bee ſhort, ſcarcely were there any to be found among the men of old time, ſaue onely Democritus and Epicurus, that held the contrary way, whom the Poet Lucrece imitated afterward in his verſes. Yet notwithſtanding when Epicurus ſhould die, he commanded an Anniuerſary, or Peremind to be kept in remembrance of him by his diſciples: ſo greatly deluded he in a vaine ſhadow of immortality, hauing ſhaken off the very thing it ſelfe. And Lucrece (as it is written of him) made his Booke being mad, at ſuch times as the fits of his madneſſe were off him: ſurely more mad when he thought himſelfe wiſeſt, than when the fits of his phrenſie were ſtrongeſt vpon him. Whoſoeuer readeth the godly diſcourſes of Socrates vpon his drinking of poyſon, as they be reported by Plato and Xenophon himſelfe, cannot doubt of his opinion in this caſe. For he not onely beleeued it himſelfe, but alſo perſwaded many men to it with liuely reaſons: yea & by his owne death much more than by all his life. And ſo ye ſee we be come vnto Plato & Ariſtotle, with conſent of all the wiſe men of old time, vngainſaid of any, ſauing of a two or three malapart wretches, whom the vngracieuſeſt of our dayes would eſteeme but as drunken ſots and dizards. Certeſſe, Plato (who might peraduenture haue heard ſpeake of the bookes

Pythagoras Heraclitus, as he is reported by Philo.

Epicharmus, as he is reported by Clement of Alexandria.

Thales, Anaxagoras, Diogenes, Zeno.

Epicurus.

Lucretius.

Socrates, Plato, and Xenophon.

Plato in his Timæus.

bookes of Moſes) doth in his Timæus bring in God giuing commandement to the vndergods whom hee created, that they ſhould make man both of mortall and of immortall ſubſtances. Wherin it may be, that he alluded to this ſaying in Geneſis, Let vs make man after our owne image and likeneſſe. In which caſe the Iewes ſay, that God directed his ſpeech to his Angels; but our Diuines ſay, he ſpake to himſelfe. But anon after, both in the ſame booke, and in many other places, Plato (as it were comming to himſelfe againe,) teacheth, that God created man by himſelfe, yea and euen his Liuer and his Brain, and all his ſences, that is to ſay, the ſoule of him, not onely indued with reaſon and vnderſtanding, but alſo with ſence, and abilitie of growing and increaſing, and alſo the inſtruments whereby the ſame do worke. Moreouer, he maketh ſuch a manifeſt difference betweene the ſoule and body, as that he matcheth them not together as matter and forme, as Ariſtotle doth: but as a Pilot and a Ship, a Commonweale and a Magiſtrate, an Image, and him that beareth it vpon him. What greater thing can there be, than to be like God? Now (ſaith Plato in his Phœdon) The Soule of man is very like the Godhead, Immortall, Reaſonable, Vniforme, Vndiſſoluble, and euermore of one ſort, which are conditions (as he ſaith in his Politikes) that cannot agree but to things moſt diuine. And therefore at his departing out of the world, he willed his Soule to returne home to her kindred, and to her firſt originall: that is to wit, (as he himſelfe ſaith there) to the wiſe and immortall Godhead, the fountaine of all goodneſſe, as called home from baniſhment into her owne Countrey. He termeth it ordinarily ξυγγένειαν θεοῦ, that is to ſay, of kinne vnto God: and conſequently ἀθανασίαν καὶ ἀιδιότητα τοῦ ὁμωνύμου, that is to ſay, Euerlaſting, and of one ſelfeſame name with the immortall ones, a Heauenly Plant, and not an Earthly, roted in Heauen, and not in Earth, begotten from aboue, and not here beneath: and finally, ſuch as cannot die here, foraſmuch as it liueth ſtill in another place. To be ſhort, ſeeing (ſaith he) that it comprehendeth the things that are Diuine and immortall, that is to wit, the Godhead, and the things that are vnchangeable & vncorruptible, as truth is; it cannot be accounted to bee of any other nature than they. The ſame opinion doth Plutarke alſo attribute vnto him, which appeareth almoſt in euery leafe of his writings. As touching the ancienter ſort of Platoniſts, they all agrée wᵗ one accord in the immortality of the ſoule, ſauing that ſome of them deriue it frō God, and ſome from the ſoule of the world, ſome make but the Reaſon or minde onely to be immortall, and ſome the whole Soule: which diſa-

Plato in his *Timæus* and in the third booke of a Commonweale

Plato in his *Phœdon*, in his Politickes, in his *Alcibiades*, and in the 10 booke of his Commonweale

Plato in his 5. booke of Lawes.

diſagreement may well be ſalued, if we ſay, that the ſoule all whole together is immortall in power and ability, though the execution and performance of the actions which are to be done by the body, be forgone with the inſtruments or members of the body.

The diſagrément concerning this point among ſuch as a man may vouchſafe to call by the name of Philoſophers, ſeemeth to haue begun at Ariſtotle, howbeit that his Diſciples count it a commendation to him, that hee hath giuen occaſion to doubt of his opinion in that behalfe. For it is certaine, that his newfound doctrine of the Eternity or euerlaſtingneſſe of the World, hath diſtroubled his braine in many other things, as commonly it falleth out, that one error breedeth many other. Becauſe nature (ſaith he) could not make euery man particularly to continue for euer by himſelfe, therefore ſhe continueth him in the kind by matching Male and Female together. This is ſpoken either groſſely or vndoubtfully. But whereas he ſaith, that if ỽ Mind haue any inworking of it owne, without any helpe of the Sences, or of the body, it may alſo continue of it ſelfe, concluding thereupon, that then it may bee ſeparated from the body, as an immortall thing from a thing that is tranſitory & mortall: It followeth conſequently, that the Soule may haue continuance of it ſelfe. Alſo as concerning which poynt he diſcreeth theſe words, namely, That the Soule commeth from without, & not of the ſéed of man, as the body doth, and that the ſoule is the onely part in vs that is Diuine. Now, to be Diuine, and to be humane, to be of ſéed, and to be from without, that is to ſay, from God, are things flat contrary, whereof the one ſort is ſubiect to corruption, & the other not. In the tenth booke of his Morals, hee acknowledgeth two ſorts of life in man, the one as in reſpect that hee is compoſed of Body and Soule, the other as in reſpect of Minde onely, the one occupied in the powers which are called humane and bodily, which is alſo accompanied with felicity in this life, and the other occupied in the vertues of the minde, which is accompanied alſo with a felicity in another life. This which conſiſteth in contemplation, is better than the other, and the felicity thereto belonging, is peculiarly deſcribed by him in his bookes of Heauen aboue Time, as which conſiſteth in the franke & foreworking of the Mind, and in beholding the ſoueraigne God. And in good ſoth, full well doth Michael of Epheſus vpon this ſaying of his conclude, that the Soule is immortall: and ſo muſt all his Morals néeds do, conſidering that to liue wel, whether it be to a mans ſelf, or toward other men, were elſe a vain thing, & to no purpoſe, but to vexe our minds in this life. In his bookes of the Soule, he

Ariſtotle in his 2. book of liuing things.

Ariſtotle in his 3. book of the ſoule.

Ariſtotle in his tenth booke of Morals,

Michael of Epheſus vpon *Ariſtotles* Morals,

he not onely ſeparateth the Body from the Soule, but alſo putteth a difference betwixt the Soule it ſelfe, and the Mind, terming the ſoule the inwoorking of the body, and of the bodily inſtruments, & the mind that reaſonable ſubſtance which is in vs, whereof the doings haue no fellowſhip with the doings of the body, and whereof the Soule is (as Plato ſaith) but the garment. This minde (ſaith he) may bee ſeuered from the body, it is not in any wiſe mingled with it, it is of ſuch ſubſtance as cannot bee hurt or wrought vpon, it hath being and continuance actually and of it ſelfe, and euen when it is ſeparated from the body, then it is immortall and euerlaſting. To be ſhort, it hath not any thing like vnto the body. For it is not any of all thoſe things which haue being afore it vnderſtand them. And therefore which of all bodily things can it be? And in another place he ſaith thus: As concerning the minde, and the contemplatiue power, it is not yet ſufficiently apparant what it is. Neuertheleſſe it ſeemeth to be another kinde of Soule, and it is that only which can be ſeparated from the corruptible, as the which is aye euerlaſting. To be ſhort, when as he putteth this queſtion, whether a Naturall Philoſopher is to diſpute of all manner of ſoules, or but onely of that Soule which is immaterial: it followeth, that he granteth that there is ſuch a one. And againe, when as he maketh his argument, Look what God is euerlaſtingly, that are we in poſsibility, according to our meaſure: but he is euerlaſtingly ſeparated from bodily things, therefore the time will come that we ſhall bee ſo too. He taketh it, that there is an image of God in vs, yea euen of the Diuine nature, which hath continuance of it ſelfe. Very well, and rightly therefore doth Simplicius gather thereof, the immortalitie of the Soule. For it dependeth vpon this ſeparation, and vpon continuance of being of it ſelfe. Beſides this, hee ſaith alſo, that hunting of beaſts is granted to man by the law of Nature, becauſe that thereby man chalengeth nothing but that which natrrally is his owne. By what right, I pray you, if there be no more in himſelfe than in them? And what is there more in him than in them, if they haue a ſoule equall vnto his? Hereunto make all his commendations of Godlines, of Religion, of Bleſſednes, and of Contemplation. For to what end ſerue all theſe, which do but cumber vs here below? Therefore ſurely it is to bee concluded, that as he ſpake doubtfully in ſome one place, ſo he both termed, and alſo taught to ſpeake better in many other places, as appeareth by his diſciple Theophraſtus, who ſpeaketh yet more euidently thereof than he.

In his 2. booke of the Soule.

In the laſt booke of the parts of beaſts.

In the 10. of his Supernaturals.

In his firſt booke of matters of ſtate.

The opinion of Latin Writers.

The Latins (as I haue ſaid afore) fell to Philoſophy ſomewhat later

later then the Greekes. And as touching their common opinion, the exerciſes of ſuperſtition that were among them, the manner of ſpeeches which we marke in their Hiſtories, the contempt of death, and their hope of another life, can giue vs ſufficient warrant thereof. But if wee will examine learned men, Cicero ſpeaketh vnto vs in theſe words: The originall of our Soules and Mindes cannot be found in this low earth: for there is not any mixture in them, or any compounding that may ſeeme to be bred or made of the earth. Neither is there any moiſture, any windineſſe, or any firie matter in them. For no ſuch thing could haue in it the power of Memory, Vnderſtanding and Conceit, to beare in minde things paſt, to foreſee things to come, and to conſider things preſent, which are matters altogether diuine. And his concluſion is, that therefore they be deriued from the Minde of God, that is to ſay, not bred or begotten of Man, but created of God: not bodily, but vnbodily: whereupon it followeth, that the Soule cannot be corrupted by theſe tranſitory things. The ſame Cicero in another place ſaith, that betweene God and Man there is a kindred of reaſon, as there is betweene man and man a kindred of bloud. That the fellowſhip betweene man and man commeth of the mortall bodie, but the fellowſhip betweene God and man commeth of God himſelf, who created the ſoule in vs. By reaſon whereof (ſaith hee) wee may ſay we haue Alliance with the heauenly ſort, as folke that are deſcended of the ſame race and roote: whereof, that wee may euermore bee mindfull, wee muſt looke vp to heauen, as to the place of our birth, whither we muſt one day returne. And therefore yet once againe hee concludeth thus of himſelfe. Thinke not (ſaith he) that thou thy ſelfe art mortall, it is but thy body that is ſo. For thou art not that which this outward ſhape pretendeth to be, the Minde of Man is the Man indeed, and not this lumpe which may bee pointed at with ones Finger. Aſſure thy ſelfe therefore that thou art a God. For needes muſt that be a God, which liueth, perceiueth, remembreth, foreſeeth, and finally, reigneth in the body as the great God, the maker of all things, doth in the vniuerſall world. For as the eternall God ruleth and moueth this tranſitory world, ſo doth the immortall Spirit of our Soule moue and rule our fraile body. Hereunto conſent all the Writers of his time, as Ouid, Virgil, and others, whoſe verſes are in euery mans remembrance.

Cicero in his firſt booke of his Tuſculane Queſtions, & in his booke of Cõfort.

Cicero in his ſecond booke of the Nature of the Gods: and in his firſt booke of Lawes.

In *Scipios* dreames.

There wanted yet the wight that ſhould all other wights exceed
In lofty reach of ſtately Minde, who like a Lord indeed
Should ouer all the reſidue reigne. Then ſhortly came forth Man,

Ouid in his firſt booke of Metamorphoſis.

Whom

Whom either hee that made the world, and all things elſe began,
Created out of ſeed diuine, or elſe the earth yet yong,
And lately parted from the Skie, the ſeed thereof vncloong,
Retained ſtill in fruitfull wombe: which Iapers ſon did take,
And tempering it with water pure, a wight thereof did make,
Which ſhould reſemble euen the gods, which ſoueraigne ſtate do hold.
And where all other things the ground with grouneling eye behold,
He gaue to man a ſtately looke, and full of Maieſtie,
Commanding him with ſtedfaſt looke, to face the ſtarry Skie.

Seneca writing to Gallio, and to Lucillius.

Were a man might bring in almoſt all Senecaes writings: but I will content my ſelfe with a few ſayings of his. Our ſoules (ſaith he) are a part of Gods Spirit, and ſparkes of holy things ſhining vpon the earth. They come from another place than this low one. Whereas they ſeeme to be conuerſant in the body, yet is the better part of them in Heauen, alway neere vnto him which ſent them hither. And how is it poſſible that they ſhould be from beneath, or from any where elſe than from aboue, ſeeing they ouerpaſſe all theſe lower things as nothing, and hold ſcorne of all that euer we can hope or feare? Thus ye ſee how hee teacheth, that our Soules came into our bodies from aboue. But whither goe they againe when they depart hence? Let vs heare him what he ſayes of the Lady Martiaes ſonne that was dead. He is now euerlaſting (ſaith he) and in the beſt ſtate, bereft of this earthly baggage which was none of his, and ſet free to himſelfe. For theſe bones, theſe ſinewes, this coate or skin, this face, and theſe ſeruiceable hands, are but fetters and priſons of the Soule. By them the ſoule is ouerwhelmed, beaten downe, and chaſed away. It hath not a greater battell, than with that maſſe of fleſh. For feare of being torne in pieces, it laboureth to returne from whence it came, where it hath ready for it an happy and euerlaſting reſt. And againe: This ſoule cannot be made an Out-law: for it is a kinne to the gods, equall to the whole world, and to all time, and the thought or conceit thereof goeth about the whole heauen, extending it ſelfe from the beginning of all time, to the vttermoſt point of that which is to come. The wretched corps being the Iayle and fetters of the Soule, is toſſed to and fro. Vpon that are torments, murders, and diſeaſes executed. As for the Soule, it is holy and euerlaſting, and cannot be laid hand on. When it is out of this body, it is at liberty, and ſet free from all bondage, and is conuerſant in that beautifull place (whereſoeuer it be) which receiueth mens Soules into the bleſſed reſt thereof as ſoone as they be deliuered from hence. To be ſhort, he ſeemeth to pricke very neere to the riſing

Seneca concerning the Lady Martiaes ſon, & the ſhortnes of this life in his Queſtions and in his booke of Comfort.

riſing againe of the dead. For in a certaine Epiſtle to Lucillus, his words are theſe: Death, whereof we be ſo much afraid, doth not bereaue vs of life, but onely diſcontinue it for a time, and a day wil come that ſhall bring vs to light againe. This may ſuffice to giue vs knowledge of the opinion of that great perſonage, in whom we ſee that the more he grew in age, the neerer he came ſtill to the true birth. For in his lateſt bookes he treateth alwayes both more aſſuredly and more euidently thereof.

And the ſaying of Fauorinus is notable: There is nothing great on earth (ſaith he) but Man, and nothing great in Man but his Soule. If thou mount vp thither, thou mounteſt aboue Heauen. And if thou ſtoope downe againe to the body, and compare it with the Heauen, it is leſſe than a Fly, or rather a thing of nothing. At one word, this is as much to ſay, as that in this clod of clay, there dwelleth a diuine and incorruptible nature: for how could it elſe be greater than the whole world?

Fauorinus

As touching the Nations of old time, we read of them all, that they had certaine Religions, and certaine Seruices, and that they beléeued that there is a Hell, and certaine fields which they call the Elyſian fields, as we ſee in the Poets, Pindarus, Diphilius, Sophocles, Euripides, & others. The more ſuperſtitious that they were, the more ſufficiently do they witneſſe vnto vs, what was in their conſcience. For true Religion and Superſtition haue both one ground, namely, the Soule of man, and there could be no Religion at all, if the Soule liued not when it is gone hence. Wee reade of the Indians, that they burned themſelues afore they came to extreme old age, terming it, the letting of men looſe, and the freeing of the Soule from the body: and the ſoner that a man did it, the wiſer was he eſteemed. Which cuſtom is obſerued ſtill at this day among the people that dwell by the Riuer Niger, otherwiſe called Senega in Africke, who offer themſelues willingly to be buried quick with their Maſters. All the demonſtrations of Logicke and Mathematicke (ſaith Zeno) haue not ſo much force to proue the immortality of the Soule, as this onely doing of theirs hath. Alſo great Alexander hauing taken priſoners ten of their Philoſophers, (whom they call Gimnoſophiſts) aſked of one of them, to try their wiſedome, whether there were moe men aliue or dead. The Philoſopher anſwered, that there were mo aliue: Becauſe (ſaid he) there are none dead. He may well thinke they gaue a dry mocke to all the arguments of Ariſtotle & Caliſthenes, which with all their Philoſophy had taught their ſcholler Alexander ſo euil. Of the Thraſians we

The common opinion of all nations.

Porphirius in his 4. booke of Abſtinence.

Which with their owne hands made the fire to burn their bodies in: & ſaw aliue the kindled flame that ſhould conſume their Skin.

we reade that they ſorrowed at the birth of men, and reioyced at the death of them, yea euen of their owne children. And that was, becauſe they thought that which we call death, not to be a death indeed, but rather a very happy birth. And theſe be the people whom Herodotus reporteth to haue beene called, The Neuer-dying Getes, and whom the Greekes called, The Neuer-dying Getes, or Thracians: Who were of opinion, that at their departure out of this world, they went to Zamolxis, or Gebeleixie, that is to ſay, (after the interpretation of the Getiſh, or Gotiſh tongue) to him that gaue them health, ſaluation, or welfare, and gathered them together. The like is ſaid of the Galles, chiefly of the inhabiters about Maſilles, and of their Druiges, of the Hetruſcians and their Biſhops; and of the Scythians and their Sages, of whom all the learning and wiſedome was grounded vpon this poynt. For looke how men did ſpread abroad, ſo alſo did this doctrine, which is ſo deeply printed in man, that he cannot but carry it continually with him. Which thing is to be ſeene yet more in that which wee reade concerning the hearers of Hegeſias the Cyrenian, who died willingly after they had heard him diſcourſe of the ſtate of mens Soules after this life: and likewiſe concerning Cleombrotus the Ambraciote, who ſlew himſelfe when he had read a certaine treatiſe of the immortality of the Soule. For had it not beene a doctrine moſt euident to mans wit, they would neuer haue beene carried ſo farre by it, as to the hurting of their bodies. And if among ſo many people, there be perchance ſome few wretched captiues, that haue borne themſelues on hand the contrary, which thing neuertheleſſe they could neuer yet fully perſwade themſelues to be out of all doubt or queſtion: ſurely we may beleeue that they had very much a doe, & were vtterly beſotted like drunkards, afore they could come to that poynt: ſo as we may well ſay of them, as Hierocles the Pythagoriſt ſaid: namely, That the wicked would not haue their Soules to bee immortall, to the intent they might not bee puniſhed for their faults: But yet that they preuent the ſentence of their Iudge, by condemning themſelues vnto death aforehand. But if they will neither heare God, nor the whole World, nor themſelues: let them at leaſtwiſe harken to the diuel, as well as they do in other things, who (as ſaith Plutark) made this anſwere to Corax of Naxus, & others in theſe verſes.

It were a great wickednesse for thee to say,
The Soule to be mortall, or fall to decay.

And vnto Pylytes he anſwered thus:

As long as the Soule to the body is tyde,

Though

Gebeleixie that is to ſay Regeſter or giuer of eaſe and reſt.

Hierocles in his 10. Chapter.

Plutark in his treatiſe of the ſlow puniſhing of the wicked.

Though loth, yet all ſorrowes it needs muſt abide.
But when from the body Death doth it remoue,
To heauen by and by then it flies vp aboue:
And there euer youthfull in bliſſe it doth reſt,
As God by his wiſedome hath ſet for the beſt.

Not that any ſaying of the Diuels owne is to be alledged in witneſſe of the truth, further forth than to ſhew that he ſpeakes it by compulſion of Gods mightie power, as wicked men diuers times doe when they be vpon the Racke. Now we be come to the time, or neere to the time, that the heauenly doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt was ſpred ouer the whole World, vnto which time I haue proued the continuall ſucceſſion of that doctrine, which could not but be vnſeparably ioyned with the ſucceſſion. But from this time forth it came ſo to light among all Nations and all Perſons; that Saint Auſtin after a ſort triumphing ouer vngodlineſſe, crieth out in diuers places, ſaying: Who is now ſo very a foole or ſo wicked, as to doubt ſtill of the immortality of the ſoule? Epictetus a Stoik-philoſopher, who was had in very great reputation among all the men of his time, is full of godly ſayings to the ſame purpoſe: May we not be aſhamed (ſaith he) to leade an vnhoneſt life, and to ſuffer our ſelues to be vanquiſhed by aduerſitie? Wee be alied vnto God, wee came from thence, and we haue leaue to returne thither from whence we came. One while, as in reſpect of the Soule, hee termeth man the off-ſpring of God, or as it were a branch of the God-head, and another while hee calleth him a Diuine Impe, or a ſparke of God: by all which words (howbeit that they bee ſomewhat vnproper) (for what wordes can a man finde to fit that matter?) hee ſheweth the vncorruptibleneſſe of the ſubſtance of mans Soule. And whereas the Philoſopher Simplicius hath ſo diligently commented vpon his bookes, it doth ſufficiently anſwere for his opinion in that caſe, without expreſſing his words here. Plotinus the excellenteſt of all the Platoniſts, hath made nine Treatiſes expreſſely concerning the nature of the Soule, beſides the things which hee hath written diſperſedly here and there in other places. His chiefe concluſions are theſe: That mens Soules proceed not of their bodies, nor of the ſeed of the Parents, but come from aboue, and are as ye would ſay, grafted into our bodies by the hand of God: That the Soule is partly tied to the body, and to the inſtruments thereof; and partly franke, free, worke full, and continuing of it ſelfe: and yet notwithſtanding that it is neither a body, nor the harmonie of the body, but (if we conſider the life and operation which it

The opinion of the later Philoſophers.

Epictetus.

Simplicius, Plotinus. Plotin. lib. 1. Enead. 4. concerning the Beeing of the Soule, & lib. 2. cap. 1. & li. 3. cap. 18. 19. 20. 21. 23. lib. 4. cap. 11. & the 7. booke throughout.

it giueth to the body) it is after a ſort the perfection (or rather the perfector) of the body; and if we haue an eye to the vnderſtanding, whereby it guideth the mouings & doings of the body: it is as a gouernor of the body. That the further it is withdrawne from the Sences, the better it diſcourſeth of things, inſomuch that when it is vtterly ſeparated from them, it vnderſtandeth things without diſcourſing, reaſoning, or debating, yea euen in a moment, becauſe this debating is but a certaine lightning or brightneſſe of the mind, which now taketh aduiſement in matters whereof it doubteth, & it doubteth whereſoeuer the body yeldeth any impediments vnto it: but it ſhall neither doubt nor ſeeke aduiſement any more, when it is once out of the body, but ſhall conceiue the truth without wauering: That the ſoule in the body is not properly there as in a place, or as in a ſubiect, becauſe it is not contained or comprehended therein, & may alſo be ſeparated from it, but rather if a man had eyes to ſee withal, he ſhould ſee that the body is in the ſoule, as an acceſſary is in a principall, or as a thing contained in a container, or a ſhedding or liquid thing in a thing that is not liquid, becauſe the ſoule imbraceth the body, and quickneth it, and moueth it equally and alike in all parts. That euery ability thereof is in euery part of the body, as much in one part as in another, as a whole ſoule in euery part, notwithſtanding that euery ſeuerall ability thereof ſeeme to be ſeuerally in ſome particular member or part: becauſe the inſtruments thereof are there, as the ſenſitiue ability ſeemeth to reſt in the head, the irefull in the heart, and quickning in the liuer, becauſe the ſinewes, heart-ſtrings and veines come from thoſe parts: Whereas the reaſonable power is not in any part, ſauing ſo farre forth as it worketh and hath his operation there, neither hath it neede of place or inſtrument for the executing of it ſelfe. And to bee ſhort, that the Soule is a life by it ſelfe, a life all in one, vnpartable, which cauſeth to grow, and groweth not it ſelf, which goeth throughout the body, and yet is not contained of the body, which vniteth the Sences, and is not diuided by the Sences, and therefore that it is a bodily ſubſtance, which cannot be touched neither from within nor from without, hauing no need of the body, either outwardly or inwardly, and conſequently is immortall, Diuine, yea, and almoſt a very God: Which things he proueth by many reaſons, which were too long to be rehearſed here. Yea he proceedeth ſo farre as to ſay, that they which are paſſed into another world, haue their memory ſtill, notwithſtanding that to ſome mens ſeeming it goe away with the Sences as the treaſury of the Sences. Howbeit hee affirmeth it to

be the more excellent kinde of memory, not that which calleth things againe to minde as already paſt, but that which holdeth & beholdeth them ſtil as alwayes preſent: of which two ſorts, this latter he calleth Mindfulneſſe, and the other he calleth Remembrance. I will adde but onely one ſentence more of his for a full preſident of his doctrine. The Soule (ſaith he) hath had company with the gods, and is immortall, & ſo would we ſay of it (as Plato affirmeth) if we ſaw it faire & cleere. But foraſmuch as we ſee it commonly troubled, wee thinke it not to bee either diuine or immortall, howbeit that hee which will obſerue the nature of a thing perfectly, muſt conſider it in the very owne ſubſtance or being, vtterly vnmingled with any other thing. For whatſoeuer elſe is added into it, doth hinder the perfect diſcerning of the ſame. Therefore let euery man behold himſelfe naked without any thing ſaue himſelfe, ſo as hee looke vpon nothing elſe than the bare ſoule: and ſurely when hee hath viewed himſelfe in his owne nature, meerely as in reſpect of his Minde, he ſhall beleeue himſelfe to be immortall. For he ſhall ſee that his Minde aimeth not properly at the ſenſible & mortall things, but that by a certaine euerlaſting power, it taketh hold of the things that are euerlaſting, and whatſoeuer is poſſible to be conceiued in vnderſtanding: inſomuch that euen it ſelfe becommeth after a ſort a very World of vnderſtanding and light. This is againſt thoſe which pretend a weakneſſe of the Soule, by reaſon of the inconueniences which it endureth very often in the body.

Of the ſame opinion are Numenius, Iamblicus, Porphyrius, and Proclus, notwithſtanding that now and then they paſſe their bounds, ſuffering their wits to run rpot. For in their Philoſophy they had none other rule, than onely the drift of their owne reaſon. It was commonly thought that Alexander of Aphrodiſe beleeued not the immortality of the ſoule, becauſe he defined it to be the forme of the body, proceeding of the mixture and temperature of the Elements. Surely theſe words of his do vs to vnderſtand, either that he meant to define but the ſenſitiue life onely (as many others do) and not the reaſonable ſoule, or that he varieth from himſelf in other places. And in very deed hee ſaith immediatly afterward, that hee ſpeaketh of the life of things which are ſubiect to generation and corruption. But ſpeaking of the Soule, he ſaith it is ſeparable, vnmaterial, vnmixed, and voyd of paſſions, vnleſſe perchance wee may thinke as ſome doe, that by this Soule he meant but oneiy God, and not alſo the Soule that is in vs, for the which ſaying he is ſharply reproued by Themiſtius, who notwithſtanding ſpeaketh neuer a whit better therof himſelf.

Plotinus in his booke of the Senſes, and of Memory. Ennead. lib. 5 and in his booke of doubts concerning the Soule. cap. 2 & 3.

Alexander of Aphrodiſe in his booke of the Soule.

Howſoeuer he deale elſewhere, theſe woꝛds of his following, are without any doubtfulneſſe at all. The ſoule (ſaith he) which is in vs, cõmeth from without, & is vncorruptible. I ſay vncorruptible, becauſe the nature thereof is ſuch, & it is the very ſame that Ariſtotle affirmeth to come from without. And in his ſecond booke of Pꝛoblemes, ſearching the cauſe why the abilities of the ſoule are oftentimes impeached: If a mans braine bee hurt (ſaith hee) the reaſonable Soule doth not well execute the actions that depend thereon. But yet for all that, it abideth ſtill in it ſelfe, vnchangeable of nature, ability and power, through the immortalitie thereof. And if it recouer a ſound inſtrument, it putteth her abilities in execution as well as it did afore. But I will reaſon moꝛe at large hereafter againſt the opinion that is fatheꝛed vpon him.

In his 2. booke of Problems.

What ſhal we ſay of Galen, (who fathereth the cauſes of all things as much as hee can, vpon the elements, & the mixture and agreeable concoꝛd of them) if after his diſputing againſt his owne Soule, he be conſtrained to yeeld that it is immoꝛtall? Surely, in his booke concerning the manners of the Soule, he doth the woꝛſt that hee can againſt Plato: and in another place he doubteth whether it be immoꝛtall, and whether it haue continuance of it ſelfe oꝛ no. Yet notwithſtanding in his booke of the doctrine of Hippocrates and Plato, It muſt needes bee granted (ſaith he) that the Soule is either a ſheere body, and of the nature of the ſky, (as the Stoikes and Ariſtotle himſelfe are inforced to confeſſe) oꝛ elſe a bodileſſe ſubſtance, wheꝛof the body is as it were, the Chariot, and whereby it hath fellowſhip with other bodies. And it appeareth, that he inclineth to this latter part: Foꝛ hee maketh the vitall Spirit to be the excellenteſt of all bodily things, & yet he granteth the Soule to be a far moꝛe excellent thing then that. What ſhall we then doꝛ Let vs weigh his woꝛds ſet downe in his booke of ỳ conception of a childe in the mothers womb. The Soule of Man (ſaith he) is an influence of the vniuerſall ſoule that deſcendeth from the Heauenly Region, a ſubſtance that is capable of knowledge, which aſpireth alwayes to one ſubſtance, like vnto it ſelfe, which leaueth all theſe lower things, to ſeeke the things that are aboue, which is partaker of the heauenly Godhead, and which by mounting vp to the beholding of things that are aboue the heauens, putteth it ſelfe into the preſence of him that ruleth all things. Were it reaſon then, that ſuch a ſubſtance comming from elſewhere, than of the body, and mounting ſo farre aboue the body, ſhould in the end die with the body, becauſe it vſeth the ſeruice of the body?

Galen in his booke of the maners of the ſoule.

In his booke of the doctrine of *Hippocrates* and *Plato*.

In his booke of Conception.

Now

Now hereunto I could adde infinite other ſayings of the ancient Authoꝛs, both Greeke and Latine Philoſophers, Poets and Oꝛatoꝛs from age to age, wherein they treate of the iudgement to come, of the reward of good men, of the punihment of euill men, of Paradiſe and of Hell, which are appendants to the immoꝛtality of the Soule: but as now I will but put the Reader in mind of them by the way, reſeruing them to their peculiar places. To be ſhoꝛt, let vs runne at this day from Eaſt to Weſt, and from Noꝛth to South, I ſay not among the Turks, Arabians oꝛ Perſians, (foꝛ their Alcoran teacheth them that mans ſoule was bꝛeathed into him of God, and conſequently that it is vncoꝛruptible) but euen among the moſt barbarous, ignoꝛant & beaſtly people of the woꝛld, I mean the very Caribies and Caniballes, and we ſhall finde this beliefe receiued and imbꝛaced of them all. Which giueth vs to vnderſtand, that it is not a doctrine inuented by ſpeculations of ſome Philoſophers, conuaied from Country to Country by their Diſciples, perſwaded by likelihoods of reaſons, oꝛ (to be ſhoꝛt) entred into mans wits by his eares; but a natiue knowledge, which euery man findeth and readeth in himſelfe, which he carrieth euery where about with himſelfe, and which is as eaſie to bee perſwaded vnto all ſuch as view themſelues in themſelues, as it is eaſie to perſwade a man that neuer ſaw his owne face, to beleeue that hee hath a face, by cauſing him to behold himſelfe in a glaſſe.

The vniuerſall conſent.

In the Alcoran, 39. 25. and 42.

It appeareth by the ſtories of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

There remaines yet two opinions to be confuted. The one is the opinion of Auerrhoes, and the other is the opinion of Alexander of Aphrodiſe, who affirme themſelues to hold both of Ariſtotle, namely, in that they vphold that there is but one vniuerſall reaſonable Soule oꝛ Minde, which woꝛketh all our diſcourſes in vs, howbeit diuerſly in euery ſeuerall perſon. And this thing (if we beléeue Auerrhoes) is done accoꝛding to the diuerſity of the Phantaſies oꝛ Imaginations wherewith the minde is ſerued, as with inſtruments. But if we beleeue Alexander, it is done accoꝛding to the diuerſities of the capable minde, as they terme it, that is to ſay, of the ability oꝛ capability that is in men to vnderſtand things, by receiuing the impꝛeſſion of the vniuerſall minde that woꝛketh in euery of them, which in reſpect thereof is called of them, The woꝛker. Swthly, theſe opinions are ſuch, as may be diſpꝛoued in one woꝛd. Foꝛ this onely one Minde, whether in poſſibility, oꝛ in action, could not haue receiued, oꝛ impꝛinted in euery man one ſelfeſame common beliefe, and conceite of the immoꝛtality of the Soule, in ſo great diuerſitie of imaginations, and in ſo many Nations, as we ſee do beleeue it, conſidering that

Againſt *Auerrhoes*.

Let the Reader beare theſe termes & their ſignifications in Minde, for all the diſcourſe here enſuing.

the very ſame conceite is directly repugnant againſt it. May, it may well be ſaid, that Auerrhoes and Alexander had very diuers conceits and imaginations one from another, and very contrary to all other mens, ſeeing they had ſo diuers and contrary opinions imprinted either in their Minde, or in their Imagination. Howbeit, foraſmuch as there may be ſome that will make a doubt of it; Let vs examine them generally yet more aduiſedly. Firſt Auerrhoes will needs beare Ariſtotle on hand, that Ariſtotle is of that opinion. Let vs ſee how this ſurmize of his can agree with the propoſitions which Ariſtotle hath left vs. Ariſtotle telleth vs, that the Soule is knit to the body, as the forme or ſhape to the matter; that the Soule hath three chiefe powers, namely, of life, ſence, and of vnderſtanding: and that the vnderſtanding part containeth in his power both the other two powers, as a three-ſquare containeth both a foure-ſquare, and a triangle. Whereupon it followeth, that if any one of the three powers of the Soule be ioyned to the body, as a forme to the matter; all the three be ioyned ſo two, as which are all in one Soule, as in their roote. Now Auerrhoes neither can nor will deny that the powers of growing, and of perceiuing by the ſences, are ioyned after that manner to the body: and therefore it followeth, that the vnderſtanding power is ſo ioyned alſo, and conſequently that according to Ariſtotle, as euery body hath his forme, ſo euery body hath his ſoule. The ſame Ariſtotle findeth fault with the former Philoſophers for holding opinion that a ſoule might paſſe out of one man into another: becauſe (ſaith he) ỳ euery certaine ſoule muſt néeds be appointed & appointed to ſome one certaine body. Now loke by what ſoule a man liueth, by the ſame ſoule doth hee vnderſtand: for it is but one ſoule indued with three diuers abilities, as he himſelf teacheth openly. One vnderſtanding or mind therefore, muſt (according to Ariſtotle) worke but in one ſeuerall body, and not in many bodies. Alſo according to Ariſtotle, a Man & a Beaſt agree in this, that both of them haue one ſenſitiue power, and one ſelfeſame imagination of things perceiued by the Senſes; and that they differ in this, that man hath yet further a minde and reaſon aboue the beaſt, which thing the beaſt hath not. Now if this Vnderſtanding or Mind be without the man, as the Sunne is without the Chamber that it ſhineth into and inlightneth, then cannot he be called Reaſonable, or indued with vnderſtanding, neither doth he conſequently differ from a beaſt. For the difference muſt be in nature, and not in accident. And ſo ſhould it iſſue, that Ariſtotles foreſaid definition of a man is falſe, as if he ſhould define a Chamber by the ſhining of the Sunne into it:

Or

Or ſay that a dogge differeth not from a man in kinde; yea, and that Beaſts are capable of vnderſtanding, foraſmuch as they haue imagination ready afore hand to receiue the influence therof as well as we. But Ariſtotle is alwaies one in his defining both of beaſt and of man; and Auerrhoes alſo holdeth himſelfe to it, without doubting thereof at all. This concluſion therefore cannot in any wiſe bee vpheld by ſuch grounds.

Againe, if there be not in euery ſeuerall man a ſeuerall mind, but only one vniuerſall minde common to all men, which becommeth diuers by the only diuerſity of our Imaginations: Then in reſpect that wée haue ſundry imaginations, we ſhall be ſundry liuing wights; and in reſpect that we haue all but one mind, we ſhall be all but one man. For man is not man in reſpect of the ſenſitiue power, but in reſpect of the reaſonable part which is the mind. But Ariſtotle granteth that wee be not only diuers liuing wights, but alſo diuers men. And therefore he muſt néeds meane alſo, that we haue not only diuers imaginations but alſo diuers minds. Now beſides many other reaſons that might be alleaged, ye might adde this alſo: that otherwiſe Ariſtotles Morals and his diſcourſes concerning Iuſtice; Freewill, the immortality of the ſoule, the happy bliſſe, the reward of the good, and the paines of the wicked, were vtterly fruitleſſe & to no purpoſe: For as our fancies or imaginations did come and go, ſo would all thoſe things come and go likewiſe, and ſo ſhould they haue no continuance of themſelues, but only be as a ſhadow and vaine fantaſie. But let Ariſtotle alone (for he hath wrong) and let vs come to the matter it ſelfe. The Philoſophers do ordinarily make a double minde; the one they cal poſſible, which is capable and of ability to vnderſtand things, and this they liken to a ſmoth table: the other they call working or workfull, which bringeth the ability into act, whereas notwithſtanding they be not two minds, but two ſeuerall abilities of only one mind. Now as for this ability or poſſibility of vnderſtanding, we affirmed it to bee in the ſoule of euery man. Contrariwiſe, Auerrhoes affirmed only one vniuerſall capable mind to be ſhed abroad euery where throughout all men: according to the ſame is diuerſly perfected and brought into act in euery ſeuerall man, according to the diuerſity of the imaginations which the man conceiueth, euen by the helpe or influence of the ſayd vniuerſall workeful mind, which he ſayth is alſo a ſubſtance ſeuered from man, and (in reſpect of the vnderſtanding in poſſibility) is as the Sunne is to the ſight of our eyes, and the vnderſtanding in poſſibility is to the imaginations, as the ſight is vnto colours. Now I demaund

firſt

firſt of all, whether theſe vniuerſall Mindes of his be ſubſtances created or vncreated. If they be created, where becommeth then his concluſion, That the worlde is without beginning, and without ending, ſéeing that he will haue them to be continued euerlaſtingly in all men that haue been, are, or ſhall be? If they be vncreated, how can ſo excellent ſubſtances be made ſubiect to our fond imaginations, to yéeld influence into them at their pleaſures? Or rather how happeneth it that they correct them not? How happeneth it that they leaue them in ſuch erroꝛs, yea euen in the knowledge of themſelues, ſéeing that by the erring of the imaginations, the very vnderſtanding and reaſon themſelues muſt alſo néeds be ſo often beguiled? Againe, concerning theſe ſubſtances, which extend into ſo many places, are they Bodies or Spirits? how can they be bodies, ſéeing they be ininfinit places at one inſtant, and doe infinite things, yea and flat contraries? And if they be ſpirits? doth it not follow thereupon, that they be wholly in al men, and wholly in euery man; that is to ſay, that euery man hath them wholly to himſelfe? And therefoꝛe, that if they be deceiued by fantaſie of any one man, they be conſequently deceiued in all men? And whereof comes it then, that one man ouercommeth his imaginations, and another man not? Or that one man reſiſteth them, and another ſuffereth himſelfe to be carried away by them? Moꝛeouer, who can deny that a man willeth things, whereof he hath vnderſtanding, and likewiſe that he willeth ſom things which he vnderſtandeth not, and that he vnderſtandeth ſome things which he willeth not? And alſo, that he willeth things contrary euen to his appetites, and concludeth oftentimes contrary to his imaginations, as commeth to paſſe in dꝛeames and Loking glaſſes, which things the bꝛute Beaſts do not? When a man willeth contrary to his appetites, willeth he not contrary to his ſences, yea, and contrary to his imagination too? foꝛ what els is fantaſie oꝛ imagination, than the rebounding backe of the ſences? And if this woꝛkfull vnderſtanding be the only woꝛker in his poſſible vnderſtanding by mean of imagination; how commeth it to paſſe that a man willeth contrary to his imagination? Againe, when either in dꝛeaming oꝛ in debating, reaſon concludeth cleane contrary to that which fancy oꝛ imagination offereth, whereof commeth it that a man is contrary to himſelfe, oꝛ that the déed is contrary both to that which impꝛinted it, and to that wherein it is impꝛinted? Alſo what els is imagination (accoꝛding to the opinion of Auerrhoes) than a certaine operation annexed to the body, ſtreaming vp from the heart to the bꝛaine? And on the contrary part, who can ſay nay, but that the Will and Vnder-

derſtanding are able to perfoꝛme their operations without the inſtruments of the body, ſéeing that a man doth both will and debate things that are moſt repugnant to the body? Yea and that (as Ariſtotle ſaith) thoſe bee not actions which paſſe into the outward man, but thoſe which abide within and make perfect the inner man? And who can make Will and Vnderſtanding to bee things depending vpon imagination, ſéeing that both waking and ſléeping and all manner, of wayes els, they daily vtter infinite iudgements and determinations againſt it? Now, if we haue nothing in vs aboue Imagination: then conſidering that we do both will and vnderſtand, it muſt néeds be that this power oꝛ ability to will and vnderſtand, is ſhed into vs from without. And if it be but only one vniuerſally in all men; then ſéeing that the actions thereofare executed without the imagination, without the ſenſes, and without the inſtruments of the body, yea againſt them: it followeth, that it willeth and vnderſtandeth in vs whatſoeuer it liketh and liſteth, euen in deſpite of all impediments and lets of the body, and that as it is but one, ſo it ſhall will but one ſelfeſame thing, and likewiſe alſo vnderſtand but one ſelfeſame thing in all men. Foꝛ if (as Ariſtotle confeſſeth) our imaginations make not our will and reaſon ſubiect vnto them, much leſſe doe they make the foꝛeſayd vniuerſall mind ſubiect to them as Auerrhoes pꝛetendeth. But now contrariwiſe we ſée there bee as many Willes as men, yea euen in one matter; and that the vnderſtandings of men are not only diuers, but alſo contrary. It followeth then that euery particular perſon hath in that behalfe a particular ſubſtance, which willeth and vnderſtandeth and is fréé from al imaginations whenſoeuer it liſteth to retire it ſelf, and not that there is but one vniuerſall mind which willeth & vnderſtandeth al things in al men. Beſides this, by ỹ iudgment of Ariſtotle, as I ſayd afoꝛe, this vniuerſall minde could not woꝛk wil and vnderſtanding in vs: foꝛ to will and vnderſtand (ſayth hee) are operations that paſſe not into the matter, noꝛ into the outward thing, but abide ſtill in the woꝛker, that is to ſay, in the minde, as actions and perfections thereof.

Let vs againe deale with that which hath been ſayd afoꝛe. If the ſaid only one vniuerſall woꝛking minde be it, that hath wꝛought from euerlaſting in the vniuerſall onely one capable minde by the imaginations of men: then hath the knowledge of all things been euermoꝛe impꝛinted in the ſayd capable minde, foꝛ ſo it ſhould euermoꝛe haue bꝛought the ability and capableneſſe of it into act: And therewithall, the woꝛking and perfection of the thing that is euerlaſting, ſhould

haue

haue depended vpon a thing that is temporall, which is vnpoſſible. And although Auerrhoes ſuppoſed not the world to bee euerlaſting, yet notwithſtanding, the ſayd capable minde which hath been ſet a worke ſo many hundred yéeres, by ſo many imaginations of men, and in ſo many ſundry Nations, could not now meet with any new thing whereof it had not the knowledge afore. For this capable mind (ſaith Auerrhoes) is a certaine ſpirituall ſubſtance, which ſpreadeth it ſelfe forth into all men and into all ages, and the nature of ſuch ſort of ſubſtances is to bee all in the whole, and all in euery part thereof. For they be not tyed to any one place, but are whereſoeuer they worke, and their working is in reſpect of the whole, and not in reſpect of any one part, foraſmuch as they be vndiuidable. Therefore it ſhould follow by his opinion (as I haue ſayd afore) that the one vniuerſall capable minde is, and worketh whole and vnparted in euery man. And if it be ſo, then is the being of it there, not according to a meere abilitie or poſſibility only, but according to operation and perfection, euen as a wicked ſpirit is in a Witch, in a Pythoneſſe, or in a poſſeſſed perſon: which ſpirit (were he poſſeſſed of the man) as he himſelf poſſeſſeth the man (after which manner Auerrhoes affirmeth vs to poſſeſſe the vnderſtanding in poſſibility, by our imaginations) would make the man capable of all that euer the ſpirit himſelfe knoweth or is. Whereupon it will follow, that this vnderſtanding in poſſibility ſhall euerlaſtingly in all men from their very birth, actually vnderſtand and know all things that all men vnderſtand, and that all ſhall vnderſtand alike as well the old as the young, and the ignorant as the skilfull, and ſo we ſhall haue no more of ſences, nor of imaginations to vnderſtand withall. To be ſhort, although Auerrohes admitteth not the world to be without beginning: yet at leaſtwiſe he cannot deny, but that (by his reckning) they which come into the world at this day, ſhould come far more skilfull then all their predeceſſors, and the Children of them more skilful than their fathers, and the ofſpring of thoſe children more skilfull than thoſe children themſelues, and ſo forth on, becauſe they ſhould ſucceede in the knowledge continued throughout all ages. Whereupon it will alſo inſue, that all Sciences ſhall bee equally in all men that ſhall make profeſſion of them; for if there be any diuerſity in the skill thereof, that diuerſity cannot come but of the diuerſity of the ſubiect or ground wherein the skill is. Specially, ſith we ſpeake here of one and the ſelfeſame ſcience onely, as of Grammar, or Arithmetick, &c. Now the ground of the skil is the capacity of the minde or vnderſtanding (which Auerrhoes ſuppoſeth to be but only one common to all men) and not the Imagination, which is but a reflection or rebounding backe of the ſence. And ſo foraſmuch as there is (by his ſaying) but one ground in all men, it followeth that the knowledge or ſkill of this or that Science muſt néeds be equall and alike in all men: or els that if it be not equall, but do vary (as we ſée it doth in diuers degrées) that then the ſame varying or diuerſity happeneth through the diuerſity of the ground wherein the ſkill is, and conſequently that there is one particular vnderſtanding, or one peculiar minde in euery man, and not one vniuerſall minde common to all men. Also, it is a general rule, that the receiuer of a thing hath not the thing afore hee receiue it. For (as Ariſtotle ſayth) that which is to receiue a thing, muſt néeds be firſt vtterly void of the thing which it receiueth. Now afore that our Sence and Imagination had any béeing at all, this vniuerſall common minde had receiued and poſſeſſed all things afore hand, and not only receiued them, but alſo kept them together. For, as Ariſtotle himſelfe ſayth, that manner of minde is the place of all vnderkindes and ſorts of things, and thereto hath no leſſe power than the Imagination, to retaine whatſoeuer the Sences receiue. In vaine therefore ſhould that vniuerſall mind vnderſtand by our Imaginations, conſidering that it vnderſtandeth by it ſelfe: in vaine likewiſe ſhould the Imaginations imprint thoſe things in it, which were imprinted in it ſo long afore: and in vaine is Ariſtotles ſetting downe of a workefull vnderſtanding, which ſhould bring our vnderſtanding in ability, from poſſibility into action, if the ſayd only one vniuerſall mind or vnderſtanding be perfect of it ſelfe from euerlaſting, as it followeth to be vpon the opinion of Auerrhoes. Neither is it to bee ſayd, that although the vnderſtanding kindes of things haue beene imprinted euerlaſtingly in the ſayd vniuerſall minde: yet notwithſtanding there needed an Imagination for the vnderſtanding of them, as there néedeth now whenſoeuer we will vſe the things that we haue ſéene or learned afore.

Ariſtotle in his 3. booke of the Soule.

For by that reckoning, to learne all maner of Sciences wee neede no more but to bethinke vs by imagination, of the things that were already afore hand, in the ſayd onely one vniuerſall minde, as we doe the things that haue béen printed ſometime in our memories, and are ſomewhat ſlipped out of our remembrance, and ſo might we our ſelues learne all Sciences without a teacher, becauſe that in the ſayd vniuerſall minde of ours, wee ſhould haue all the ſkill that euer any man had attained to: in like manner as the perſon that hath once had the ſkill of Arithmetike or Coſmography throughly ſettled in his

his minde, nedeth no teacher to teach it him againe, but only to turne ouer his owne imagination, and to ſearch his memory for the finding againe of that which hee hath layde by there. Now wee know, that whoſoeuer learneth nothing, knoweth nothing, and that ordinarily, he which moſt ſtudyeth, moſt learneth: and that all the toſſing and turmoyling of a mans owne Imagination that can bee all his life long, will neuer make him to attaine of himſelfe to ſo much as the very principles of the leaſt ſcience that is. By reaſon wherof it followeth, That we haue not the ſkill of any ſcience in vs, vntill we either bee taught it or finde it out, by beating our wits about it: and that our imagination ſerueth not to reuiue the Sciences in vs, but to bring them into vs, and to plant them in vs. And forasmuch as all the Sciences ſhould be in all men, from the beginning, if there were but one vniuerſall mind in all men (which is not ſo:) it followeth that there is in euery particular perſon a particular and peculiar mind, and not any one vniuerſall minde common to all men. Moreouer, our minde attaineth after a ſort to the vnderſtanding of it ſelfe: which thing it could not do in very deed, if there were but one vniuerſall mind common to all men. For to vnderſtand it ſelfe, it muſt needs worke vpon it ſelfe. But if wee beleeue Auerrhoes, our mind ſhall but onely bee wrought vpon, and receiue into it from the Imagination, as a Window receiueth light from the Sun. Againe, the capacity of the vniuerſall vnderſtanding impoſſibility, could not doe that. For it behoued it to haue ſome other thing beſides it ſelfe, to bring it ſelfe into action. And ſurely imagination could not help it, for it doth but offer vp the ſenſible things vnto it, and attayneth not ſo farre, as to the things that are to be diſcerned by drift of reaſon. Yet notwithſtanding wee vnderſtand, that we vnderſtand and were reaſon, and iudge both of our Imagination, and alſo of our reaſoning and vnderſtanding it ſelf. The thing then which doth ſo enter and pearce into it ſelf, is another maner of power than an Imagination, or than an vniuerſall vnderſtanding in poſſibility. What is to bee ſayd to this, when out of one ſelfeſame Imagination, one ſelfeſame perſon concludeth now after one ſort, and by and by after in another ſort, and thereout drawneth both contrary arguments and contrary determinations: or that diuers perſons by diuers imaginations doe cloſe together in one will and one mind? Is it poſſible that this ſhould proceed of an euerlaſting ſubſtance in one ſelfſame perſon, ſeeing that euerlaſtingneſſe is not ſubiect to any change of time or place? Or that it ſhould proceed of any one ſelfeſame ſubſtance in many men, ſeeing that the imaginations

tions of them bee ſo diuers one from another? at leaſtwiſe if the ſayd ſubſtance worke not but by ſuch inſtruments?

As touching the opinion of Alexander of Aphrodiſe, who vpholdeth a certaine vniuerſall working mind that imprinteth things in the vnderſtanding in poſſibility, that is to ſay, in euery mans ſeuerall capacity, & bringeth it forth into action, the moſt part of the reaſons alleged afore againſt Auerrhoes, will alſo ſerue againſt him. Howbeit, forasmuch as by his workfull mind, hee ſeemeth to mean God himſelfe, there is thus much more to be added vnto it: That God, who is altogether good and altogether wiſe, would not imprint in our minde the fond & wicked conceits which we finde there, nor leaue ſo great ignorance and darkneſſe as we feele there, but would in all men ouercome the infection which the body bringeth: and although he inſpired not al men alike with his gracious giftes, according to the diuerſity of their capacities, after the maner of a planed Table, yet would he not at leaſtwiſe paint the world with ſo many falſe portraitures and traines, as euery one of vs may perceiue to be in our ſelues. Againe, were there any ſuch inſpiration or influence, it ſhould be either continual, or but by times. If continuall or euerlaſting, we ſhould without labour, and without cunning, vnderſtand all that euer our imagination offereth vnto vs. And if it be but at times, then ſhould it not lie in vs to vnderſtand any thing at all, though we would neuer ſo fayne. For contrariwiſe, we haue much adoe to vnderſtand ſome things, ſo as we muſt gayne and get vpon them our ignorance by peecemeale: and there bee ſome other things, which we vnderſtand by and by as ſoone as they be put vnto vs, and when we liſt our ſelues. There is then in vs a power of Vnderſtanding, though very feeble, but yet neuer the later obedient to our will: which thing cannot bee fathered vpon God. Alſo if there be but only one mind working in all men, where ſhall be but one ſelfeſame vnderſtanding in all men, I meane naturally, notwithſtanding that it differ in degrees. For into what place ſoeuer the Sunne hath ſhed his beames, he doth both inlighten it and heate it, howbeit diuerſly according to the nature and condition of places and things that receiue him, ſome more and ſome leſſe, ſome brightlyer and ſome dimlier. But howſoeuer the caſe ſtand, his light yeeldeth no darknes, nor his heat any cold. So then, if the diuerſities of mens imaginations doe cauſe diuerſities of effects in the inſpiration or influence that floweth into the capacity of our vnderſtanding, ſurely it muſt needs be after this manner, namely, that one man ſhall vnderſtand one ſelfeſame thing more, and another man leſſe: but not in

Againſt Alexander of Aphrodiſe.

that

that any man ſhall take vntruth for truth, vnright for right, or one thing for another. Now, we ſee vnto how many errors we bee ſubiect, I meane not in ſuch things as this; namely, that one man ſeeth better a farre off, and another better at hand, but that one man ſeeth white, and another ſeeth blacke (which are contrary) in one ſelfeſame ground, and at one ſelfeſame time. It followeth therefore, that diuers and ſundry minds do worke in diuers perſons, and not one ſelfeſame minde in all perſons. By force of which reaſons and of ſuch other, I ſay that euery man ſhall finde in himſelfe & of himſelfe: That euery man hath a peculiar Soule by himſelfe, that is to ſay, a ſpirituall ſubſtance vnited to his body, which in reſpect of giuing life to the body is as the forme thereof, and in reſpect of giuing reaſon, is as the guide of our actions: that in euery man there is a certaine Sunbeame of Reaſon, wherby they conceiue things and debate vpon them, wherthrough it commeth to paſſe, that oftentimes they agree both in the Reaſon it ſelfe which is one, and in the manifeſt grounds thereof, and in whatſoeuer dependeth euidently vpon the ſame: That euery man hath alſo a peculiar body by himſelfe, and likewiſe peculiar complexion, humors, imaginations, education, cuſtome, & trade of life: whereof it commeth, that diuers men take diuers wayes, yea & that one ſelfeſame perſon ſwarueth diuerſly from the vnity of Reaſon, whereof the path is but one, and the wayes to ſtray from it are infinite: That this Sun-beame of reaſon, which floateth and floweth from our minde, is properly that vnderſtanding which is termed, The vnderſtanding in ability of poſſibility, which is increaſed and augmented by all the things which it ſeeth, heareth, or lighteth vpon, like fire, which gathereth increaſe of ſtrength by the abundance of the fewel that is put vnto it, and becõmeth after a ſort infinit, by ſpreading it ſelf abroad: And this is the ſame which otherwiſe we call, The Memory of vnderſtanding, or vnderſtanding Memory: and it is nothing els but an abundance of Reaſon, and as it were a hoorder vp of the continuall influences of the Mind: That the Mind from whence it floweth, as from his ſpring, is properly that which they the ſayd Auerrhoes and Alexander doe terme the working or workfull Mind, which is a certaine power or force that can ſkill to extend reaſon from one thing to another, and to proceed from things ſenſible to things vnſenſible, from things mouable to things vnmouable, from bodily to ſpirituall, from effects to cauſes, and from beginnings to ends by the meane cauſes. This Mind is in reſpect of Reaſon, as cunning is in reſpect of an Inſtrument or tole; and Reaſon as in reſpect of Imagination and of the things

things that are ſenſible, is as an inſtrument or tole in reſpect of the matter or ſtuffe that it worketh vpon: Or to ſpeake more fitly, this Minde is vnto Reaſon, as the mouer of a thing is to the thing that is mouable, and Reaſon is to her obiects, as the mouable thing is to the thing whereunto it is moued. For to reaſon or debate, is nothing els but to proceed from a thing that is vnderſtood, to a thing that is not vnderſtood, of purpoſe to vnderſtand it: and the vnderſtanding thereof is a reſting that inſueth vpon it, as a ſtaying or reſting after mouing. That both of them, as wel the one as the other, are but onely one ſelfſame ſubſtance: and like as a man both when he moueth and when he reſteth is all one and the ſame man, or as the power that mouth the ſinewes is one ſelfeſame ſtil, both when it ſtirreth them, and when it holdeth them ſtill, ſo the reaſonable or vnderſtanding ſoule ẏ is in euery man, is but only one ſelfeſame ſubſtance bodileſſe and immaterial, executing his powers partly of it ſelfe, and partly by our bodies. And ſeeing that Auerrhoes and Alexander make ſo great eſtimation and account of the effectes which are wrought in vs, that they be inforced, to attribute them to ſome vncorruptible and euerlaſting Minde, let vs from them hold this faſt, that in very truth the thing which worketh ſo great wonders in the body, can bee neither ſence, nor body, nor imagination, but a diuine, vncorruptible and immortall mind, as they themſelues ſay.

But let vs learne the thing of no than them, which all wiſe men teach vs, and which euery of vs can learne of himſelfe, namely, that this Vnderſtanding or Mind is not one vniuerſal thing, as the Sun is that ſhineth into all the windowes of a City, but rather a peculiar ſubſtance in euery ſeuerall man, as a light to leade him in the darkneſſe of this life. For ſurely it was no more difficult to the euerlaſting God, to create many ſundry ſoules, that euery man might haue one ſeuerally alone by himſelfe, than to haue created but onely one ſoule for all men together. But it was far more for his glory to bee knowne, prayſed, and exalted of many ſoules, yea & more for our welfare to praiſe, exalt & know him, yea and to liue of our ſelues both in this life, and in the life to come: than if any other vniuerſall Spirit, Soule or Mind whatſoeuer, ſhould haue lined & vnderſtood, either in vs or after vs. Now then, for this matter let vs conclude, both by reaſon & by antiquity, & by the knowledge that euery of vs hath of himſelf, that the ſoule & the body be things diuers: that the Soule is a Spirit & not a body: that this ſpirit hath in man 3. abilities or powers, whereof two be exerciſed by the body, & the third worketh of it ſelf

without the body: That theſe three abilities are in the one only ſoule as in their rot: whereof two doe ceaſe whenſoeuer the bodie faileth them, and yet notwithſtanding the Soule abideth whole without abatement of any of her powers, as a Craftſman continueth a Craftſman, though hee want toles to worke withall: And finally, that this Soule is a ſubſtance that continueth of it ſelfe, and is vnmateriall and ſpirituall, ouer the which neither death nor corruption can naturally haue any power.

And for a concluſion of all that euer I haue treated of hitherto in this booke; let vs maintaine, that there is but only one God, who by his owne goodnes and wiſedome is the Creator and Gouernor of the world and of all that is therein: That in the world he created Man, after his owne Image as in reſpect of minde, and after the Image of his other creatures, as in reſpect of life, ſence and mouing, mortall ſo farre forth as he holdeth the likeneſſe of a creature: and immortall ſo farre forth as he beareth the Image of the Creator: that is to wit, in his Soule: That he which goeth out of himſelf to ſee the world, doth forthwith ſée that there is a God, for his workes declare him euery where: That he which will yet ſtill doubt thereof, needeth but to enter into himſelfe, and he ſhall meet him there, for hee ſhall find there a power which he ſeeth not: That he which beléeueth there is one God, beléeueth himſelfe to bee immortall, for ſuch conſideration could not light into a mortall nature: and that he which beléeueth himſelfe to be immortall, beléeueth that there is a God: for without the vnutterable power of the one God, the mortall and immortall could neuer ioine together: That he which ſeeth the order of the world, the proportion of man, and the harmony that is in either of them compounded of ſo many contraries, cannot doubt that there is a prouidence. For that nature which hath furniſhed them therewith, cannot be vnfurniſhed thereof it ſelfe, and as it once had a care of it, ſo can it not ſpoyle it ſelfe of the ſame care. Thus haue we three Articles which follow interchangeably one another. Inſomuch, that he which proueth any one of them, doth proue them all three, notwithſtanding that I haue treated of euery of them ſeuerally by it ſelfe. Now, let vs pray the euerlaſting God, that we may glorifie him in his workes in this world, and that he would vouchſafe of his mercy to glorie vs one day in the world to come. Amen.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

That mans nature is corrupted, and man faln from his firſt original: and how.

YEt for all this, let not man bee proud of the excellency or immortality of his Soule: for the more hee hath receiued of his Maker, the more is hee indebted to him: and the more excellent that his nature is, the more lothſome & dangerous is the corruption therof. The Peacocke is ſayd to be proud of his feathers, when he ſets vp his tayle round about him: but when he hath once ſtretched out his wings, he fals into a dump, and as ſone as he loks vpon his feete, hee calleth downe his tayle & is aſhamed. Euen ſo, as long as we thinke vpon the linelineſſe of our Spirit, and the excellency of our Soule as in reſpect of the nature therof; ſurely we haue whereof to glorifie God that gaue it vnto vs, and of his gracious goodnes hath vouchſafed to honour vs aboue all other creatures. On the other ſide, if wee conſider how this nature of ours is ſtrangely defiled and corrupted, and how far it is digreſſed from the firſt originall thereof: ſurely there is no remedy but we muſt be aſhamed of our ſelues, and wonder to ſee from how great a height we be now faine and ſunke downe. Euen ſo the beſt wine becommeth the ſharpeſt and eagreſt vineger, and of egges (which were in old time the delicates of Kings) is made the rankeſt poyſon. For loke what degree of goodnes a thing holdeth while it abideth in his nature, the ſame degree of euill doth it come vnto, when it falleth into corruption. Now then, looke how much our originall generation was the better, ſo much ſhall the corruption that lighteth into it be the worſer: which thing according to the order which I haue vſed hitherto, wee may examine towards God, towards the world, towards men, and towards our ſelues.

Mans corruption apparent in reſpect of God.

Greatly in good ſooth is man bound vnto God, if he would conſider it, and very blind is he if he haue not the ſkil to perceiue it. Of the great multitude of Creatures which God hath created, hee hath giuen to ſome but only bare beeing; to ſome, both being and life, and to other ſome both beeing, life, and ſence; but vnto man hee hath giuen all theſe, and moreouer a reaſonable minde, wherby he (and only he here

beneath) knoweth in all things what they haue and what they be, which thing they themſelues know not. Which is an euident proofe, that whatſoeuer they haue, or whatſoeuer they be, they haue it & are it for man, and not for themſelues. For to what purpoſe are all their vertues and excellent properties, if they themſelues know them not? The Son excelleth among the celeſtiall bodies, and the Roſe among flowers. The beaſt is a degree aboue the trees, and among the beaſts, one hath ſome one point which another hath not. But what ſkilles it what thou art or what thou haſt, if thou know it not? What boteth thee the light, if thou ſee it not? what art thou the better for ſweet ſents, if thou ſmell them not? Or what auaileth it thee to excell in any thing, if thou diſcerne it not? Of a truth only man of all the things in this inferiour world, can ſkill of theſe things and how to inioy them, and therefore it muſt needs be that they were made for none but him, that is to wit, that to ſpeake properly, God hath giuen vnto him whatſoeuer all other creatures either haue or be, and he hath not dealt with him ſimply as with a creature, but rather as with a Child of his, for whom he hath expreſſly created this world & giuen it him to poſſeſſe. Now if the thing that is poſſeſſed be infinitely leſſe than the poſſeſſor thereof, and the world is giuen to man to poſſeſſe: how far then doth man excell the world? And how greatly is man bound vnto God, who created him of nothing, that is to ſay, not only hath giuen the world vnto man, but alſo giuen euen men to man himſelfe? Wherefore if hee acknowledge not him to whom he is beholden, not onely for this inheritance, but alſo euen for his owne beeing: what ſhall wee ſay but that he is an vnnaturall and baſtardly Child, euen ſuch a one as hath loſt not only his right minde, but alſo euen his ſences? But of ſo many men, of whom all and ſingular perſons ſtand bound, both ioyntly and ſeuerally in the whole, and for the whole of that great bond of performance of the Condition thereof, how few bee there which doe once thinke of it, and how much fewer be there which thinke well of it? Nay, how few bee there which know that there is ſuch a bond, and how much fewer to diſpoſe themſelues to acknowledge it? And if perchance ſome one or two among many do diſpoſe themſelues thereunto, yet notwithſtanding, who is hee that euer was able to attaine vnto it, conſidering that it importeth a yelding vnto God of that which is due: that is to wit, the imploying of our ſelues and of all that he hath giuen vnto vs, euen our whole beeing and life, our ſences, our Reaſon, our doings, and finally al that euer we haue both within & without vs, in his ſeruice? cõſidering that we

we contrariwiſe turn all things to our ſelues as to their proper end, yea and euen our ſelues to our ſelues which are nothing? If we kept a reckoning of our life, how ſmall a part thereof doe we beſtow vpon God? If of our ſteps, few of them are for his ſeruice: How few of our thoughts are directed vnto him? And if we looke vpon our very prayers, what are they but continuall offences, ſeeing that in the middeſt of our greateſt vehemency, we baniſh away by and by into vaine imaginations, and are carryed as far away from our prayers into wandring conceits, as Heauen is diſtant from earth, and further? What Sonne will not fall out with him that ſpeakes euill of his Father? Or els all that ſtand by will account him a Coward, if he paſſe it ouer with ſilence? Contrariwiſe, which of vs is mooued when hee heareth Gods name blaſphemed? or if hee bee mooued, that ſetteth himſelfe in defence of him: or if he ſet himſelfe in defence, doth not by and by forget it? What then doth this argue, but that in very truth, our Soule liueth not, but our body; and alſo that our Soule hath not her moouings and actions free and liuely, ſeeing it is not mooued at the iniuries that are done to the Soule, and to the Father that made the Soule, but at the wrongs that are done to the body & to the father of the body? If a man breake the Scutchions of our armes, we take it to bee a great diſgrace to vs, and a touching of our credit; and if he breake our Images or Pictures, wee fall out with him and will neuer be reconciled: And if it be done to a Prince, hee makes it a point of high treaſon and that we doe not the like, it is not for want of pride, but for want of power to reuenge it. On the contrary part, which of vs is greeued at the wrong that is done to his neighbour; or rather, which wrongeth not his neighbour euery day? Or which is much mooued when hee ſeeth a man ſlayne before his face, vnleſſe he be his brother or nere friend? Nay, which of vs our ſelues doth not dayly kil his brother, either in very deede, or in heart, eyther with the ſword I meane, or by hatred, euen for the leaſt offence that can be pretended, and ſo teareth and breaketh not the Image of God which he hath painted and ingraued in man, euen euery howre without any regard? Now what els is this, but that we know not this Image of God to be in our ſelues? For otherwiſe, how durſt we be ſo preſumptuous, as to offer any hurt or harme vnto it, but becauſe the ſecret conſent of all mankinde in ſuch out-rage, confeſſeth it to be quite and cleane forgone, or at leaſt-wiſe to be ſo diſfigured and defaced, and ſo ſtrangely berayed, that it can ſcarſly bee diſcerned any more? And becauſe the kindred that is between all men, derined from

the father of their ſoules, moueth vs very little, but the baſe kinred of the fleſh moueth vs very much (which is as inferiour to the other, as there is ods betwixt the ſoule and a lump of earth, or betwéene the fathers of either of them, that is to wit, betwéen God and man) and ſéeing notwithſtanding, that the wickedeſt man in the world, and ſuch a one as ſéemeth to bee touched with nothing, hauing once ſlaine him whom he hated moſt of al men, doth by and by after the déed done, féele a heart-biting in his mind, and a torment in his Conſcience, which thing he féeleth not for ỹ killing of a thouſand beaſts euery day; what can we ſay to be the cauſe therof, but only the remainder of Gods Image common to all men, which putteth him in mind of the wickednes that hee hath done, and maketh him to be highly offended at his owne offence, and which (according to this ſaying, The good bloud lyeth not) maketh it ſelfe our Inditement againſt vs, and would fain euen it ſelfe be reuenged of vs within vs? Therfore let vs ſay (which thing we cannot deny, vnleſſe we deny our ſelues) that God created man to bee to him as a childe, but that he is growne out of kind, yea ſtrangely grown out of kind, not regarding (as we ſee in moſt men) to be knowne eyther of his father or of his brethren (which thing notwithſtanding the baſtards of this world do ſéeke to their vttermoſt to doe) but by his will would abolith his pedigrée and all his titles of kindred, that he might be called the Sonne of the earth (which was the name of Baſtards in old time) rather than the ſonne of him that begate him, and created ſo many things for him to enioy. For proſe whereof to be true, what aime we at in all our ſtudies and indeuors, but the earth & earthly things? Had we continued ſtil in our original creation, we ſhould according to the ſpiritual ſubſtance of our ſoules haue naturally purſued ſpiritual things, yea and haue mounted vp aboue the very heauenly things. But where ſeeke we now our inheritance, our welfare, and our felicity, but in theſe tranſitory things? And wherof are all our ſuits and quarrels in the world, but of cattel, of corne and of land? Wherefore, we muſt needs confeſſe, that it is a witneſſe of the diſ-heriting of mankind, from the heritage of his Father, and that he is in his fathers diſpleaſure and diſ-fauour, and that he doth but run after Peaſecods as the prodigall Child did, when he had walked his inheritance licentiouſly.

The ſonne of the earth.

But now to come to thoſe which make moſt profeſſion of godlines, whence (thinke we) commeth the diſtruſt that all of vs haue naturally of Gods goodneſſe and aſſiſtance, but of the feeling of our iuſt diſherieſon, which our Conſcience is grieued at within vs? The ſonne of

of a good and rich father behighteth himſelfe as much releefe as his father is able to yeeld, and as he himſelfe hath need of. If not, but that the Child doubt thereof: yet we preſume ſo far of the fathers goodnes, that we conclude that though his ſonne hath offended him, and made himſelfe vnworthy of his goodneſſes by ſome great cryme, yet he wil not caſt him off. Now then, ſeeing that God is the very goodnes and riches themſelues, whereof commeth it that no man can aſſure himſelfe of him, and his graces. That no man can reſt himſelfe boldly enough vpon him: that no man can truſt vnto him aſſuredly, as his goodnes requireth: Finally, that our requeſts are ſo full of diſtruſt, and our hearts ſo ful of vnbeleefe? Surely, ſeeing the fault cannot be in Gods goodneſſe, which is a fountaine that cannot be dryed vp: it muſt needs be that the fault remaineth alonely in the naughtineſſe and frailety of our ſelues, which dare not hope for good at the hand of him which is moſt excellent good, becauſe our whole nature telleth vs that we be vnworthy of his grace, by reaſon we haue offended him to grieuouſly. If we conſider the gouernment and order of the world, we may euen there alſo find apparantly, that man holdeth not himſelf in his ſtate, but is falne from the ſeate of honour wherein God had placed him. God had ſet him aloft, aboue the ſtones, aboue the plants, aboue the brute beaſts, yea and aboue the world it ſelfe. If he abide ſtill in his degree, whence commeth it that ſo many men make themſelues bond-ſlaues to gold and other Metalles? and that ſo many men do lead the life of Plants and brute beaſts in the bodies of men? ſome giuing themſelues to nought els, than to eating, drinking and ſleeping, and neuer lifting themſelues vp any higher; and otherſome conſuming & waſting themſelues in moſt beaſtly delights and pleaſures? For what beaſt is there that would bee a plant, or plant that ſhooteth not vp to get out of the ground? To bee ſhort, what thing is there in the whole world ſauing only man, which doth not preciſely keepe their owne ſtate and degree? I pray you if a man ſhould ſee one with a princely Crowne al myry vpon his head, tilling the ground and following the Plough, what would he thinke but that he were depoſed from the throne, and that ſome miſchiefe were befaln him? And what then is to be ſayd of that man, which toyleth in dung-hils, and ſkulketh into corners to wallow himſelfe in a thouſand ſorts of filthines, and imployeth all his wit vpon ſuch things: but that he is falne from the top of his minde, and that by the grieuouſneſſe of that fall, he hath ſo lamed and maymed all his abilities, that it lyeth not in him to returne agayne from whence he is falne? For who can deny but hee is

In reſpect of the World.

borne to greater things than he doth? Or who can thinke that God hath giuen him an immortall ſoule, to the intent hee ſhould imploy himſelf altogether about things which are not ſo much as worthy to be mortall? Or a countenance which calleth him continually to the minding of heauen, and not to lok groueling on the mire? Or a ſceptor, to play the dizard with it in a play? Or a triple Mace to rake Dung-hils withall, or to digge the ground withall?

Againe, how is this law of policy and gouernment (namely that the body ſhould obey the Soule) which alſo ſhineth foorth in the whole world and in all the parts thereof, turned vpſide-downe in man who is the Little World? In Plants, in Trees, and in brute Beaſts, the Soule diſtributeth nouriſhment by proportion. Their bodies obey the direction of their Soules without gaynſaying, and euery ability performeth his duty accordingly. The nouriſhing ability followeth his appetites, and goeth not beyond them. The ſenſitiue followeth his naturall delights, but it violateth them not. But as for man, what ſhall we ſay of him? Surely, that his body commandeth his Soule, as if the Plough ſhould draw the horſes, as they ſay; that his will ſuffereth it ſelfe to bee ruled by his appetites, that his reaſon is an vnderlying to his ſences, and that his very whole nature is moſt commonly quite out of order. So muſt wee needes confeſſe an ouerthrow of nature, in him for whom neuertheleſſe Nature it ſelfe was made, and that man is ſwarued aſide from his right way, ſeeing that all other parts of the world do follow their Nature, and that Nature it ſelfe teacheth vs it. What is to bee ſayd then, but that man is not onely falne from the ſtate wherein he was, to bee ſet in lower degree then hee was afore; but alſo that hee is falne in himſelfe and from himſelfe, in and from his owne peculiar nature? Moreouer it is manifeſt, that the world was created for mans vſe: for the world knoweth not it ſelfe, nor the creatures that are therein. And againe, as for the Angels, they needs it not, and as for the brute beaſts, they haue no ſkill to vſe it. Only man hath vnderſtanding to vſe the ſeruice thereof, and a body that hath need of their ſeruice. Sith it is ſo, who can doubt that God created man with a knowledge of his creatures, and alſo gaue him power ouer them? Wherof commeth it then that the beaſts doe naturally know their ſeaſons, the remedies of their diſeaſes, and Herbes that haue a property of nature to heale them, and that onely man among all other liuing things, knoweth them not, inſomuch as he is faine to go to Schole to the brute beaſtes to learne them? Alſo whereof commeth it that theſe

theſe creatures (which ſurely God made not to be ſnares for men, for that had beene repugnant to the goodnes of the Creator, but for mans benefit and ſeruice) do now kicke and ſpurne againſt man, yea euen thoſe which haue no power or ſtrength at all to withſtand him? Let vs omit Wolues, Leopards, and Lyons, which ſeeme to haue ſome force to ouer-match the weakeneſſe of man. What meaneth it that wormes make vs warre within our bowels, that vermin deuoureth our Corne, and that the earth yeeldeth vs not any kind of fruit which hath not a peculiar enemy in it, to marre it ere it come to our hand: but to driue vs to confeſſe, that man muſt needes haue offended his Maker right groſſely, and that whereas Gods putting of his Creatures in ſubiection to Man, was to the end that Man ſhould haue continued in obedience vnto God: now becauſe man hath rebelled againſt Gods Maieſty, God alſo ſuffereth thoſe to rebell againſt Man, whom he had put in ſubiection to man, yea euen to the very offſcourings of ỹ earth? For what elſ is this contrarietie of the earth to him that tilleth it, of the Sea to him that ſaileth it, and of the aire to the ſucceſſe of all our labours and trauel, but a proteſtation of whole nature, that it diſdaineth to ſerue a creature that was ſo preſumptuous, as to diſobey his Creator; a creature, I ſay, which by doing ſeruice to the creatures, hath forgone the authority which he had receiued of his Maker?

Now conſequently let vs conſider man towards man. What is there more diſordered, or more contrary to nature, than is the nature of man himſelfe? If beaſts of one kinde do kill or eate one another, we take it for an vgly thing. What an vglineſſe then ought it to bee vnto vs, when we ſee how men (who alonely be indued with reaſon) do euery houre kill one another, and rot out one another? May rather is it not a great wonder to ſee good agreement and friendſhip, not among Nations, not betweene Countries, not among Companies, but euen in houſholds, yea and between Chamber-fellows. Wolues are cruell; but yet in what race of Wolues ſhall we find Caribies and Cannibals? Lions alſo are cruell: but yet where were they euer ſéene in battell one againſt another? Now what is war, but a gathering & packing vp together of all the ſorts of beaſtlines ỹ are in the world? And yet what is more common among men then that? A beaſt (ſay ſome) will barke or grunt ere he bite, a houſe will cracke ere it fall downe, & the winde whirle ere it breake things. But contrariwiſe, what is man towards man? who euen in laughing threatneth, in ſaluting ſlayeth, & vnder faire countenance of courteous entertainment cloaketh

In reſpect of Man.

cloaketh a thouſand ſerpents, a thouſand Lions, a thouſand Quick-ſands, and a thouſand Rockes at once? Well, let vs leaue the wicked, which diſcouer themſelues too much. What do we all in our bargaining, buying & ſelling, but beguile one another? or what do we in our dallying, but delude one another? And what elſ is the whole ſocietie of man which we ſo highly commend, but a ſelfe-gaine, and a very incroaching one vpon another, the greater ſort as Tyrants vpon meaner, the meaner vpon the inferiour ſort, and the inferiour ſort one vpon another to take him in ſome trippe? To be ſhort, if we doe any good, it is but to the end to be ſéene; as for in ſecret, we will doe none at all. Againe, if we forbeare to do euill, it is but for feare leſt the world ſhould know it, and were that feare away, we ſhould ſticke at nothing. Whereunto then ſerueth vs our reaſon which ſhould further vs vnto all goodnes, but to couer our naughtineſſe, that is to ſay, to make vs worſe and more vnreaſonable? yet notwithſtanding how vnreaſonable ſoeuer we be in all our doings, we cánot but know that there is a reaſon: and were it not in vs, we could not conceiue it: and were it not corrupted, we ſhould not ſwarue from it: and yet if we examine our ſelues, we ſhall not be able to deny, but that we digreſſe very far from it. Therefore we may well deeme of our reaſon, as of an eye ſight that is either impaired or inchaunted. It hath the ground of ſight ſtill; but yet it ſtandeth the party in no ſtead, but only to beguile him by falſe images and illuſions.

Let vs come to man in himſelfe, and ſee whether at leaſt wiſe hee loue himſelfe better than other men: and the more we ſtirre him, the more ſhall we féele the ſtinke of his corruption. When a diſeaſed man feeles paine, we ſay there is corruption in his body: and furthermore, that there is a default in Nature, or that the partie hath taken ſome ſurfet, which hath brought him to that caſe. Now then, what ſhall we ſay of the great number of diſeaſes wherewith mankinde is pained, and wherewith hee is ſo wholly ouerwhelmed, that there is not any age of his life, any part of his body, or any ſmall ſtring in any part of his fleſh, which hath not ſome peculiar diſeaſe? May, I ſay further, that man alone is ſubiect to moe diſeaſes, then all other liuing things in this world together. The Philoſophers ſaw it, and haue made bookes expreſſely thereof, and are vtterly amazed & graueled, in ſéeking out the cauſe therof: and they could neuer yet yeeld any reaſon thereof, which might ſatiſfie others, or themſelues. Neuertheleſſe, the moſt part of them come to this point, that Man is moſt vnhappieſt of all liuing wights: and they finde fault with God and Nature for it, whom notwithſtanding they confeſſe to haue done nothing but iuſtly in that behalfe. One ſayes, That onely Man ſlayeth himſelfe through impatience of griefe. Another ſayes, That the life of man is ſuch, as that death is rather to be deſired of him than life. And of ſuch ſpeeches doe all their Schooles ring. There is another which with great wonderment, reckneth vp certaine hundreds of diſeaſes whereunto the Eye alone is ſubiect. Now which of all the Beaſts hath ſo much as the thirtith part of them in his body? Is it likely that God, which hath giuen to Man ſo great preeminence aboue all his Creatures, created him of purpoſe to torment him aboue all other Creatures? Or rather is it not to bee ſaid, That man in his originall was created farre after another ſort then hee now is, whether it bee in reſpect of the Creator himſelfe, or of the end for which hee created him? Surely then, let vs ſay, as wee haue ſaid afore, that the very cauſe why Man alone hath moe diſeaſes in his body then all other Creatures together; is, for that hee hauing abuſed Gods gracious gifts, hath done more euill than all they could ſkill to do: and that the very euill and vntowardneſſe that is in them, is but to puniſh man withall. As for example, the Haile and Snow ſerue not to hurt the earth, or the fruits of the earth, but to puniſh him that ſhould take the benefit of them.

Againe, when we come to conſider the Soule and the body knit together, what a number of perfections doe wee meete withall there, which (as ſaith Plutarke) are ſo much more ſorrowfull and grieuous than the bodily diſeaſes, as the Soule is more ſinfull and blameworthy than the body? To bring theſe paſſions to ſome reaſonable order, the Philoſophers haue made bookes expreſſely of morall vertue, and giuen precepts (ſay they) to bring them to obedience: wherein they confeſſe the rebelliouſneſſe that is naturally in vs againſt reaſon. But who feeleth not in himſelfe, that their remedies ſerue not ſo much to take away the miſchiefe, as to cloake it? Which is a plain declaration, that it is not a ſpot which may be waſhed away, but a deepe impreſſion branded in nature, as it were with a ſearing Iron, which in very deed is not to be wiped out againe, but couered: nor to be ſubdued and ouercome, but with much adoe to bee reſtrained and held ſhort. Furthermore, ſeeing that reaſon is ſo much more excellent than paſſion or affection, as the forme, ſhape or faſhion (ſay they) is more excellent than the matter or ſtuffe wherein it is: whence commeth this confuſion in vs, that maketh the matter to ouermaſter the forme, and cauſeth the forme (as yee would ſay) to receiue

reine ſhape and faſhion of the matter: that is to ſay, which putteth reaſon in ſubiection to affection, and to the impreſſions which affection yeeldeth, contrary to the order which is obſerued in all the whole world beſide? For what elſe is this intemperance of ours, but reaſon (ſuch as it now remaineth) imprinted with luſt and concupiſcence? And what elſe is anger, but reaſon attained with choller, and ſo forth of the reſt? And if man will ſay, that theſe things are naturall in vs: whereof commeth it that of theſe affections, we conceiue inwardly remorſe, and outwardly ſhame: yea and that ſo naturally, as we muſt of neceſſity needs feele them whether we will or no, and can no more let them than we can reſtraine the beating of our pulſes, or the panting of our hearts: but becauſe that ſhame and remorſe for ſinne are naturall in vs, but the ſinne it ſelfe is againſt nature? As for example, there be things which we openly commit through vice, and bruite beaſts doe them by nature; for they be angry, they auenge themſelues, and they company together indifferently, and in open ſight: and of ſo doing they bee not aſhamed, becauſe it is their nature. Now were theſe affections and fleſhly pleaſures as naturall in vs as in the beaſts: as little ſhould we be aſhamed of them, as them. But contrariwiſe, if an honeſt man come in while wee bee angry, by and by our rage is repreſſed, as who ſhould ſay our vice did hide it from him: and if a man come vpon vs vnawares in taking our pleaſure, (yea though it be lawfull) wee bluſh, as if our blood were deſirous to hide and to couer our doings. Yea and how ſecretly ſoeuer we bee alone by our ſelues in execution of our vices, wee inconnter continually with a companion in our ſelues, which not onely beareth witnes of them, but alſo condemneth and puniſheth them in vs. Soothly then, the motions of anger and luſt againſt reaſon in man, are not naturall or originall, that is to ſay, they proceed not of the firſt creation: but are come in afterward by corruption. And therfore the remorſe which happeneth vnto vs in thoſe paſſions, is nothing but a ſecret (howbeit a very liuely) warning of nature, which is aſham'd to play ỹ bruite beaſt: which thing ſhe ſhould not be, if thoſe things were originally of mans nature. And in very deed, the vniuerſal conſent of mankinde in being aſhamed to go naked, inſomuch that they had leuer to ſee the ſkinne of a beaſt, or the excrement of a worme vpon themſelues, than to ſee their owne fleſh: and the thing which Saint Auſtin noteth in all men: namely, that they will rather doe open wrong in all mens ſight, then haue to doe with their lawfull wiues openly; doe euidently ſhew, that the beaſtlineſſe (that is to ſay, the con-

Herodotus in his Clio

Auſtin in his worke of the City of God, l. 14. c. 17. and 18.

cupiſcence or luſt) that is in carnall copulation, is not an original nature, but a mere corruption thereof. Which thing our preſent age (but ſurely nothing to her praiſe) may better proue vnto vs than all the reaſons in the world. For certainly, conſidering the exceſſiue ouer-flowing of vices which is to be ſeene therein, and the moſt cuſtomable vſe of them, yea euen of ſuch as are againſt nature, turned almoſt into nature, if euer voluptuouſnes could haue tranſformed it ſelf into nature, and preuailed againſt nature, it muſt needs haue beene in this our age: wherein notwithſtanding, as ſtrongly armed, authoriſed, and raigning as vice ſeemeth to be, yet is ſhe inforced to hide euen herſelfe in the midſt of her triumphs, vndoubtedly as acknowledging that ſhe reigneth not ouer her owne, but ouer another mans.

Againe, if ye haue an eye to friendſhip, to charity, to the bringing vp of children, to ſocietie in marriage: who will not ſay, that for all our training vp to lead vs thereto, and for all our reading to inſtruct vs therein, yet we had need to reſort to the bruite beaſts to learne of them, and to take example of them, which is a token (as I ſaid afore) that their nature is leſſe corrupt than ours? If the caſe concerne the turning away from the vices of Intemperance, Lechery, Drunkenneſſe, Inceſt, and ſuch others: who would thinke that our meaſure being ſo excellent, and (beſides the diſcourſe of reaſon) hauing ſo many Lawes, Statutes, Penalties, and Magiſtrates to helpe it: and being bridled with ſo many dangers, ſorrowes, and paines enſuing the ſame: ſhould yet notwithſtanding not be reſtrained: whereas on the contrary part, the bruite beaſts doe naturally forbeare both food and pleaſure, ſauing onely ſo farre forth as nature requireth, that is to wit, for the maintenance and preſeruation of themſelues, and of their kinde. And ſeeing their nature doth ſo vphold it ſelfe, and that our nature being ſtayed ſo many wayes, and cloſed in with ſo many barres, cannot bee vpheld nor kept within compaſſe: who can ſay that our nature (in caſe as it is now) is not in worſe plight than theirs is? And yet who will ſay, that the nature of the excellenteſt of all other Creatures hath alwayes béene ſuch from the firſt originall beginning thereof? All the ſaid things are common both to man and beaſt: but yet moreouer man glorieth of an excellency of minde, enriched by God with infinite goodly gifts. What is to be ſaid then, if in the thing whereby he ſurmounteth them, hee bee found inferiour to them? Or if in that which of it ſelfe is vncorruptible, corruption bee moſt open and euident? Of ſo many men indued with reaſon, I pray you how many be there that vſe it? That is to ſay, of ſo many men,

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how many be not brute beaſts? Or what rarer thing is there among men, than a very man indeed? And of ſuch as vſe reaſon, how many be there that vſe it well, that is to ſay, how many be there which bee not Diuels? Now take me out of mankind the beaſts and the diuels, and who will thinke it ſtrange, that a Philoſopher take a Torch at high noone day, to ſeeke for a man in the midſt of a multitude? One ſort all their life long doe ſet their mind vpon nothing but this life: they ſpare not ſo much time as to conſider what that power is, which worketh that thought in them. What boteth it theſe more to haue a minde, than it boteth a man to haue eyes that doth nothing but ſléep? Others imploy it about the defiling of ſome mans wife, or the deflouring of ſome maiden, or the gloſing of ſome wrong, or the eluding of ſome right, or the ſowing of diſcord in ſome houſhold, or the ſetting of fire on the foure corners of ſome Realme. To what purpoſe againe is it for theſe men to haue a mind, which is bent and intended to nothing but miſchiefe? Or what elſe is ſuch a mind, than the eye of the * beaſt of Ægypt, which killeth thoſe whom it loketh vpon, and it ſelf alſo by the rebounding backe of his owne ſight? Some indéed doe lift vp the eye of their minde aloft: but how far, or what ſee they? Surely (as ſaith Ariſtotle) euen as much as an Owle in the bright ſunne. The edge of vnderſtanding rebateth at the outſide of the leaſt things that are: and how then ſhall it bee able to enter into them? Our minde is dazeled with vapours, and what will it be then at the vnapprochable light for which it was created? God created the World for man: therefore his intent was, that man ſhould haue the ſeruice thereof: and that he might haue the ſeruice of things, it behoued him to know them. Contrariwiſe, what thing do we know ſufficiently? What know we in compariſon of that we know not? And how can we vſe the ſeruice of them, ſeeing euen the leaſt things command vs: not the beaſts, the hearbs and the ſtones only, but alſo euen the Earth, and the very droſſe thereof? God hath created man for his owne glory: and as man is the end of the world, ſo is God the end of man. And it is not to be doubted, but that as God gaue man knowledge of the world, that he might vſe it to his behoofe, ſo hee gaue him knowledge of his Godhead, that he might ſerue him. But how many be there which aime at this mark? And how ſhall we hit it, if we aime not at it? and how ſhall we aime at it, if we ſee it not? And how ſhall we ſee it, if we thinke not of it, or paſſe not for it? Againe, let vs bend our wits to it as ſtoutly as wee can, who is hee that feeleth not himſelfe to quaile when he is to thinke vpon God? Who is hee that burſteth

* The Caſpiely, & alſo the Cockatrice.

burſteth not, if hee ſtraine himſelfe too far? And whereof commeth this, but that the ſtring of this bow hath ſalne into the water, and is made ſo wet, that it will ſerue to no purpoſe any more? This minde bringeth forth deeds: and becauſe they be ſomewhat ſlow, they bee done with the more aduiſement. But what are the beſt of thoſe déeds but ſin? If we commit any crime, all our whole minde goeth with it, & our doing of the euill is for the euils ſake. But if we doe any good, which of vs doth it not as a by-worke for ſome other things ſake, rather than for the loue of ỹ good it ſelfe: as one for honor, another for gaine, and a third for feare? And what elſe is this, but a ſeruing of vanity, and not an obeying of vertue? And whereas euil is nought elſe than a bereauing, or wanting of good, who is he on the contrary part, which thinketh not himſelfe a man good enough, if he doe no euill? As who would ſay, that good were nothing elſe but the bereauing or ablence of euill. And in very déed whom do wee call good and honeſt men, but ſuch as abſtaine from doing men wrong, from ſtealing, from extorting, and from lending vpon Vſury? albeit that it behoue them to proceed further, and to bee liberall in giuing, forward in helping, and diligent in ſeruing, foraſmuch as goodneſſe is not a defect, or a not doing of things, but an effect or doing of things, and conſiſteth not in onely refraining or ceaſing, but in working and performing. And in effect what elſe is it to define an honeſt man to bee ſuch a one as doth nothing at all; than to define a good Archer to bee ſuch a one as neuer ſhooteth at all? This mind of ours doth alſo yeeld forth words: and they paſſe out more ſwiftly than deeds, yea euen from the wiſeſt. If a man would keepe a reckoning of his words but for one day, what ſhould he finde at night but a heape of vanities, as backbitings, ſladers, leaſings, railings, beſides a thouſand ſorts of ſlippry deuices and idle words, which euen by their onely idleneſſe, doe well bewray our vanity? And ſith it is euident, that whereas ſpeech was giuen vs to procure and maintaine ſociety, we ſee it is commonly applyed to the breaking thereof, by ſowing of diſcord and debate: who can deny but that there is a notable corruption in the minde, which vttereth forth that ſpeech? Againe, ſeeing it is an vniuerſall vice, againſt which the better ſort do ſtriue with all their force, and cannot ouercome it: who can ſay it is a vice that is incident but to ſome peculiar perſons, and not to the whole kinde of man? What is to be ſaid then of our thoughts themſelues? whereof whole thouſands paſſe through our minds in an houre, which our minds can neither repreſſe nor expreſſe. O how many do we eſteeme to be good men whom we ſhould

ſee

ſee to be wicked men, if their thoughts lay open, or if wee had eyes to ſee into them! O what a ſort of wilde beaſts ſhould we ſee harboured in a mans heart, as in a foreſt! and what is then our ſkill but ignorance; our wiſdome, but vanity; our holines, but hypocriſie? Wherein conſiſteth our vertue, but in concealing our vices? when as in truth (as ſaith Ariſtotle) it were both more for our behoofe, and more approching to righteouſnes, if we laid them open. Moreouer, what is all our inforcing of our ſelues to vanquiſh our vices, but a labouring to out runne our owne ſhadow? which (do we what we can) will alwaies accompany vs whether we will or no. And ſurely we ought to be aſhamed, not ſo much for that we be ſuch, as for that either wee know not our ſelues to be ſuch, or be not ſufficiently aſhamed that we be ſuch. Neither is there a ſtronger proofe of our corruption, than that: in like maner as we deeme them to be filthy and ſtinking, which are raking in Privies, and feele not the ſtinke of them: and thoſe to bee more ſicke which feele not themſelues ſicke, than thoſe that are moſt pained with their diſeaſe: and thoſe to be more frantick which finde not themſelues to bee braineſicke, than thoſe that ſeeke to the Phyſitian for the curing of their frenzie. For had we the wit to conſider our changes, to feele the vneuenneſſe of our Pulſes, and to obſerue the ſteaming vp of our humors, with ỹ impreſſions which they make in our braine: we ſhould by ſuch diſcerning of our diſeaſes, become halfe ſicke folke, and halfe Phyſicians. But ſurely conſidering the ſtate wherein we now be, how we liue as it were by a borrowed Soule, I wot not whereunto I ſhould compare vs, except it bee to certaine diſeaſed perſons, of whom Hippocrates maketh this expreſſe Aphoriſme, ſaying: When ſuch as are very ſicke, doe feele no paine, but fall to playing with their Couerlet, pulling out the haires, and picking out the motes, the caſe goeth very hard with them, and there is ſmall hope or likelihood that they ſhall liue. And what elſe is this life of ours, but euen ſuch? We lay ſticke to ſticke, ſtone to ſtone, and Penny to Penny, no more minding the life of our Soule, than if we had no Soule at all. If any man do yet ſtill doubt hereof, I offer him a condition, which if he will put in triall, I dare aſſure him, hee will doubt thereof no more. Let him but ſet downe in writing, all the thoughts and imaginations which come into his head by the ſpace of one day, and at night let him review them, and take the account of them: and I dare vndertake hee ſhall finde in them ſo many vanities, ſo many crimes, ſo many Hobgoblins, and ſo many Monſters, ſo ſtrange, ſo fond, ſo foule, and ſo vgly, that he ſhall be afraid of himſelfe,

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ſelfe, like the beaſt that ſtartleth at the ſodaine ſight of himſelfe in a loking-glaſſe: and that hee ſhall not ſtand gazing, enamored at his owne beauty, as Narciſſus did, but runne away aſhamed of his foule deformity, to ſeeke where to waſh away the mire that hee hath wallowed in. What a thing then were it, if hee conſidered it thus all the weeke long without putting it in writing? And how much more were it, if he ſhould do it a whole yeere; and finally, all his whole life? To be ſhort, to ſet man in few words before our eyes, we reade commonly that there are foure powers or abilities in mans ſoule, namely, Wit, Will, the ability of being angry, and the ability of luſting: and in theſe foure we lodge foure vertues, that is to ſay, in Wit, Wiſedome: in Will, Righteouſneſſe: in the abilitie of being angry, Hardineſſe: and in the ability of luſting, Staiednes. Now, Wit is maimed with ignorance: Will, with wrongfulnes: Hardines with Cowardlines: and Staiednes with Licentouſnes: ſo as in this world they can neither bee cured without ſcarre, nor bee brought to ſcarre. Alſo, we perceiue there are in man the outward ſence, Imagination and Appetite, which three the brute beaſts haue as well as he, ouer and beſides the which hee hath alſo wit and will as peculiar gifts giuen him of God. And if wee bee men, we eſteeme our ſelues better than beaſts, and looke to haue them to bee our vnderlings. Contrariwiſe, whereas Imagination ought to rule the Sences, and Reaſon to rule Imagination, and Will to rule Appetite: now the outward ſence carrieth away Imagination: Imagination Reaſon, and Appetite Will, inſomuch that the onely ſence being bewitched or beguiled, rarrieth a man headlong into all euill, after the manner of Phaeton, whom the Poets ſpeake of. It is a plaine caſe therefore, that a man hath made himſelfe an vnderling to the beaſt, and conſequently that mankinde is turned ſtrangely vpſide downe, and doubtleſſe farre more monſtrouſly than if wee ſaw him goe vpon his head with his heeles vpward. Now then, ſeeing that man is ſo ouerturned, whereof can he brag, but of offending God vnceſſantly in this life, & of infinite punichment in another life, according to ỹ infinitnes of him whom he hath offended? And to what purpoſe therefore ſhall his immortality ſerue him, but to dy euerlaſtingly, & neuer to be dead?

But let vs leaue this matter to another place. And foraſmuch as, by conſidering man what hee is to Godward, to the Worldward, to Manward, and to himſelfe, I haue euidently proued his corruption and frowardneſſe: namely, that he is vtterly contrary to the end to which he was created of God, to the order of the whole world, to the welfare

Whence mans corruption commeth.

welfare of all mankind, & to his own benefit: Let vs henceforth conſider from whence, & from what time this miſchief may haue befalne him, & what may haue bẽn the cauſe therof. Certelie, if we ſay it came of God, & that he had it of his creation; we blaſpheme God too too groſly. For God is good, & the very goodnes it ſelfe: and therfore he cannot haue made any thing euill. Alſo it appeareth throughout the whole gouernment of the world, that he is the maker & maintainer of order. And therefore how is it poſſible that he ſhould make the little world (namely man) to be a mould of confuſion & diſorder? Againe, no other thing than his owne glory and the welfare of man mouid him to create man, and yet man, being in caſe as he is, forbeareth not to blaſpheme Gods name, and to purchaſe his owne deſtruction. Nẽds then muſt it be, that Man was made a farre other creature at the beginning, than he is now: as in very deed the Huſbandman createth not the wiuell in the Corne, nor the Vintner the ſowreneſſe in the wine, nor the Smith the ruſt in the Iron; but they come in from elſewhere. Neuertheleſſe, the man that neuer dranke other drinke than vineger, would thinke it to be the naturall ſap and taſte of the grape. And we likewiſe, who neuer felt other in our ſelues than corruption, and are bred and brought vp in darknes, like the Cimmerians, would beare our ſelues on hand, that God is the cauſe and author thereof. Now, let vs which haue taſted both the Wine and the Vineger, iudge what manner of creatures we may haue beene in our firſt creation: in doing whereof there is yet (notwithſtanding) this great difference, that the palat of our bodily mouth is able to diſcerne the ſweete from the ſowre; but the palat or taſte of our ſoule is vnable to doe either of them both: the one, becauſe corruption cannot iudge of cleanneſſe: and the other, becauſe it cannot iudge well of it ſelfe. In Wine and Vineger we diſcerne a liquid nature common to them both: but as concerning their qualities, the Wine is ſweete, warme, and friendly to nature, whereas the Vinegar is ſharpe, cold, and corroſiue: yea, and the very colours of them are vnlike one another. Lo here two things vtterly contrary; and yet notwithſtanding, the vineger is nothing elſe but Wine altered from his nature. And becauſe wee haue ſeene the one as well as the other, we will neuer be made to beleeue that the vineger was vineger from ỹ very grape. Let vs iudge of our ſoules with like diſcretion. We find there a ſpirituall nature, immaterial and immortal; and that is the onely remainder of her firſt original. But yet this Spirit of ours is forward to nothing but euill, nor inclined to any other than baſe & tranſitory things. It clingeth to the

the earth, and is bond-ſlaue to the body. To be ſhort, in ſtead of flying vp, it crawleth I wot not how, contrary to the nature of a Spirit, which mounteth vp on high, and cannot bee ſhut vp in theſe vile and drooſie things. Therefore it muſt nẽds bee ſaid, that this nature of ours was not ſo of nature; it departed not ſuch as it now is, from the hand of the Workmaſter: but contrariwiſe good, free, pure, and indued with farre other qualities than it hath now: for now it is ſtained with naughtineſſe, bondage of ſin & corruption. Nay, will ſome man ſay, ſeeing it was created cleare from all corruption, who was able to corrupt it as we ſee it to be now? Sure we be, that it is a ſpirituall nature: and therfore neither the elements, nor any other body could naturally do any hurt vnto it; and as little alſo could time do any thing thereto: for time is nothing but the mouing of bodies. Moreouer, it was free of it ſelfe, & Lady of the body, and therfore could not receiue her firſt corruption from the body. And yet, notwithſtanding, we ſee, that now it is ſubiect to be corrupted, both of her owne fleſh, and of the vanities of the world, which by nature had no power ouer it. Nẽds then muſt the maker of nature himſelfe haue giuen a power to theſe things aboue their nature, whereby they might preuaile againſt the nature of the Soule; the doing wherof ſurely could not but haue been rightfull in him, conſidering that he is the very righteouſnes it ſelfe: For Juſtice layeth not any puniſhment, but where ſome fault or offence hath gone before. Therefore it muſt needs bee ſaid, that man had committed ſome heinous crime againſt his Maker, whereupon ſuch penaltie & bondage were appointed iuſtly vnto him. And therefore let vs ſay, that the Soule of man being the firſt corrupter of it ſelfe, did of it owne accord vanith away, as wine turneth in it ſelfe, and of it ſelfe into vineger, whereas if the Soule had held her ſelfe in awe, and vnder couerture, and had reſted in her Lees as is ſaid of Wine, that is to ſay, if ſhe had abidden ſtedfaſt in beholding her maker, without ſeeking her welfare in her ſelfe: ſhe might haue continued vtterly vncorrupted ſtill. And againe, that by turning ſo away from God to her ſelfe, ſhe offended her Maker, and forwent the gracious gifts which ſhee had receiued of him: whereupon followed the curſe of the Creator, and the ſentence of his iuſt wrath vpon his Creature: whereth̃ough it came to paſſe, that the ſame was not onely bereft of all the graces wherewith it was replenished by beholding it ſelfe in him, but alſo was made an vnderling to the ſelfeſame things which were made to haue done it ſeruice. Now what this ſinne was, wee cannot better vnderſtand, than by the puniſhment

thereof. For punishment and ſin haue a mutuall reſpect one to another, as a ſore & a ſalue, and may after a ſort be knowne the one by the other. Order would that our wit ſhould obey God, and that all our ſences and appetites ſhould obey our reaſon: but we ſee that as now our ſences and appetites hold reaſon vnder foote. This punishment ought to ſet our fault before our eyes, when as we ſee our ſelues fallen downe, and thruſt vnder our ſelues: namely, that man intended to haue mounted vp aboue God. The ſame order would alſo, that all the whole world and worldly things ſhould haue ſerued man, and man haue ſerued God, that God might haue bẽn the mark of man, as man ſhould haue bẽn the marke for all other things to haue aimed at. But wee ſée, that at this day man is an vnderling to the leaſt things that are: inſomuch that euen thoſe which haue neither ſence nor life, doe reſiſt him, and he pitcheth the end of all his deſires in earthly things, as if they were of more value than himſelfe, accordingly as all of vs know, that the end is alwayes better than the things that tend to the ſame. Séeing then that nature is reuolted from man, it is certaine that man is reuolted from God: for it is the ordinary punishment of rebellious Subiects, that their owne ſeruants & vnderlings alſo doe kicke and ſpurne againſt them. And moreouer, ſeeing that man not onely findeth all manner of miſchiefe and miſ-fortune in himſelfe, but is alſo ſo blind as to ſéeke his felicity in the mire, & in the durtie dunghils of this world; it is a token that he ſought his happineſſe in himſelfe, & elſewhere than in God. To be ſhort, we be ſtricken in our ſoules with ignorance of the things that are moſt néedfull for vs, and in our bodies with continuall infirmities, and finally with death: and that is, becauſe we haue bin curious in ſeeking trifling things, as not contented with the leſſon that God had giuen vs; & would néeds haue made our ſelues immortall. Howbeit not by the euerlaſting power of Gods quickning ſpirit, but by the forbidden vſe of tranſitory things, yea euen which had no life in them. Thus we ſee now whereof the corruption of mankind is come, namely, euen of our owne tranſgreſſion, and of the punishment that followed vpon the ſame.

How long agoe corruption came into mankind.

But it is demanded of vs yet further, how long it is agoe ſince this befell. If we had eſpied this corruption in vs but from ſome certaine hundred yéres hence, it were not for vs to ſeeke any further for it. But let vs hold on our courſe vp the ſtreame of mankind, euen to the Riuers head, & we ſhall find it ſtill alwayes foule & muddy: and wee ſhall from age to age heare theſe outcries euen amongſt ỹ beſt, I loue well the good, but I cannot do it: and (to be ſhort) that man is inclined to

to do euill, and ſubiect to receiue euill; which are in one word both the fault and the punishment. Againe, were it but in ſome houſholds, or but in ſome nations onely, men would not ſtick to father the fault vpon the Clymate & the Soile, or vpon the miſ-teaching or miſ-example of the parents. But when we ſee that in that reſpect all men are in one ſelfeſame taking, as well the men of old time, as the men of our dayes, ſauing that ſin increaſeth continually, as well vnder the Equinoctiall line, as betweene both the Tropickes, and as well on the further ſide as on ỹ hither ſide of them, ſauing that ſome take more paine to keepe it from ſight than others, & that thoſe which haue moſt wit are worſt; foraſmuch as I haue already ſufficiently proued the creation of the world, and of the firſt man; wee be driuen to mount vp again to the ſame man, and to ſay, that as he is the rot of our off ſpring, ſo is he alſo the welſpring of this corruption which reigneth in vs, as in whom our whole race was both attainted with ſin, and attached with punishment. In this behalfe it is not for vs to plead againſt God, but to ſubmit our ſhoulders to his iuſtice, and to lift vp our eyes to his mercy. For neceſſarily from point to point doth this conſequence enſue: the ſoule is corrupted in all mankind: who is ſo corrupt that he feeleth not the ſtinke? This corruption cannot proceede from the Creator. For when did euer pureneſſe yeeld forth corruption? The other creatures could not haue defiled it. For what maketh a thing vncleane, but the taking of vncleanneſſe vnto it? & what cauſeth the taking of vncleanneſſe vnto it, but the touching thereof? and what touching one of another can there be betwéene a ſpirit & a body? It remaineth therfore that our Soule corrupted it ſelfe by forſaking her duty, either of her owne accord, or by ỹ admitting vnto it of ſome wicked ſpirit, that is to ſay, by perſwaſion of that Spirit: which perſwaſion is vnto ſpirits, as touching is vnto bodies. And againe, this corruption is from all time: then comes it not of training vp. And in all nations: then comes it not of conſtellation. And in all ages, both old, yong, and middle ſort: then comes it not of imitation or example-taking. Therefore it muſt needs proceede both from one onely man, and from the firſt created man, who turned away from God through pride, whereupon God alſo did iuſtly turne away from him, as we reade of our firſt Father Adam in the holy Scripture. Now then, what remaineth more for vs, but to conclude that thing by nature, which we beleeue through Scripture? Namely, That God created Man good: That hee told him his Will: That Man choſe to liue after his owne liking, and would needes become equall with God:

That thereupon hee was baniſhed from Gods preſence and fauour: That the earth became rebellious againſt man, and man againſt himſelfe: and to be ſhort, that man was wrapped in the wretchednesse of this world, enthralled vnto ſin in himſelfe, driuen to liue euer dying in this life, and (were not Gods wrath appeaſed towards him) ſure to dye euerlaſtingly in the life to come.

Chap. XVII.

That the men of old time agreed with vs concerning mans corruption, and the cauſe thereof.

IT followeth, that we gather the voyces and iudgements of the wiſeſt ſort, yea and of all men ingenerall; the which in mine opinion, ought to beare the more ſway with vs, becauſe it is a kindly thing with vs, both to loue our ſelues, and alſo to thinke ouer-well of our ſelues. For what cauſe hath man to complaine, if being made Iudge in his owne caſe, hee frame his owne inditement, & willingly beare witnes againſt himſelf, by his owne voluntary confeſſion. Surely, that man is ſtrangely infected with vice, it is witnelled ſufficiently by the Hiſtories of all ages, which in effect are nothing elſe but Regiſters of continuall Manſlaughters, Whoredomes, Guiles, Rauiſhments and Warres. And when I ſay Wars, I thinke that in that word I comprehend all the miſchiefs that can be imagined. And that theſe voyces were not created in mans nature, but are crept into it; it appeareth ſufficiently by the bookes of the ceremonies of all Nations: all whoſe Church-ſeruices are nothing but Sacrifices, that is to ſay, open proteſtations, both euening and morning, that wee haue offended God, and ought to be ſacrificed and ſlaine for our offences, according to our deſerts, in ſtead of the ſilly beaſts that are offered vnto him for vs. Had man been created with vice in him, he ſhould haue had no conſcience of ſinne, nor repentance for it. For repentance preſuppoſeth a fault, & conſcience miſ-giueth the enſuing of punishment for the ſame. And there can bee neither fault nor punishment in that which is done according to Creation, but onely in and for our turning away from Creation. Now the Church-ſeruice and Ceremonies of

The conſcience of ſin.

of all Nations, doe witneſſe vnto vs a certaine fore-thinking and remorſe of ſinne againſt God. And ſo they witnes altogether a fore-feeling of his wrath, which cannot be kindled againſt nature which hee himſelfe created, but againſt the faultineſſe and vnkindlineſſe that are in nature.

Alſo, what elſe are the great number of laws among vs, but authenticall Regiſters of our corruption? And what are the manifold Commentaries written vpon them, but a very corruption of the Lawes themſelues? And what do they witnes vnto vs, but as the multitudes of Phyſicians doe in a Citie; namely, the multitudes of our diſeaſes, that is to wit, the ſores & botches whereunto our Soules are ſubiect, euen to the marring and poyſoning of the very plaiſters themſelues? Again, what do the punishments bewray which we haue ordained for our ſelues, but that we chaſtice in vs, not that which God hath made or wrought in vs, but that which we our ſelues haue vndone, or vnwrought: not the nature it ſelfe, but the diſfiguring of nature? But yet when we conſider that among all nations, that law-maker is beleeued and followed by & by, which ſaith, Thou ſhalt not kill, thou ſhalt not ſteale, thou ſhalt not beare falſe witneſſe, whereas great perſwaſion is required in all other lawes which are not ſo naturall: It muſt needs be concluded, that the conſciences of all men are perſwaded of themſelues, that the ſame is ſin, & that ſin deſerueth punishment, that is to wit, that ſin is in nature, but not nature it ſelfe. But to omit the holy Scripture, which is nothing elſe but a looking-glaſſe to ſhew vs our ſpots & blemiſhes: what are the ſchooles of the Philoſophers, but inſtructions of the ſoule? And what elſe is Philoſophy it ſelfe, but an Art of healing the ſoule, whereof the firſt precept is this ſo greatly renowmed one, Know thy ſelfe? Ariſtotle in his Morals ſheweth, that the affections muſt be ruled by reaſon, & our minde be brought from extremes into the meanes, & from iarring into right tune. Which is a token that our mind is out of tune, euen of it own accord, ſeeing that it needeth ſo many precepts to ſet it in tune again. And yet is not Ariſtotle ſo preſumptuous, as to ſay, that euer hee brought it to paſſe in his owne mind. Theophraſt his Diſciple was wont to ſay, that the Soule paid well for her dwelling in the body, conſidering how much it ſuffred at the bodies hand. And what elſe was this, but an acknowledgement of the debate betweene the body & the mind? But (as ſaith Plutarke) he ſhould rather haue ſaid, that the body hath good cauſe to complaine of the turmoyles, which ſo irkeſome and troubleſome a gueſt procureth vnto him. Plato, who went afore them, ſaw more

The opinion of the ancient Philoſophers.

Ariſtotle.

Theophraſtus.

Plato in his Phedrus.

cleerely than both of them. He condemneth euery where the company & fellowſhip of the body with the ſoule, and yet hee condemneth not ỳ woꝛkmanſhip of God. But he teacheth vs that the ſoule is now in this body as in a pꝛiſon, oꝛ rather as in a caue oꝛ a graue. And that is becauſe he perceiueth euidently, that contrary to the oꝛder of nature, the Soule is ſubiect to the Body, notwithſtanding that naturally it ſhould & can command it. The ſame Plato ſaith further, that the ſoule creepeth baſely vpon theſe lower things, and that it is tied to the matter of the body: the cauſe whereof hee affirmeth to be, that ſhee hath bꝛoken her wings which ſhe had afoꝛe. His meaning then is, that the ſoule of her owne nature is winged, and flieth vpward, that is to ſay, is of a heauenly and diuine nature, which wings ſhee had loſt by meanes of ſome fall. But to get out of theſe bonds, and to recouer her wings, the remedy that Plato giueth her, is to aduance her ſelfe fotwards God, and to the things that concern the mind. By the remedy we may coniecture what he tꝛok the diſeaſe to be; namely, that our ſoule hauing beene aduanced by God to a notable dignity, the which it might haue kept ſtill by ſticking vnto God; fell to gazing at her owne feathers, till ſhe fell headlong into theſe tranſitoꝛy things, among the which ſhe cꝛeepeth now like a ſilly woꝛm, retaining nothing as now of her birdlike nature, ſaue onely a rouzing of her feathers, & a vaine flapping of her wings. Now he ſaith, that he learned all this of a ſecret Oꝛacle, the which he had in great reuerence. And of a truth, in this doctrine of the oꝛiginall of our coꝛruption, wee haue to marke ỳ ſame point which we haue noted in ſome other things afoꝛe; namely, that the nꝛer we come to the firſt woꝛld, the moꝛe cleare & manifeſt we find the matter. Empedocles & Pythagoras taught ỳ the ſoules which had offended God, were cõdemned & baniſhed into bodies here below. And Philolaus the Pythagorian addeth, that they receiued that opinion from the Diuines & Pꝛophets of old time. Their meaning is, that the body, which ought to be the houſe of the ſoule, is by Gods iuſt iudgement turned into a pꝛiſon to it; and that which was giuen it foꝛ an inſtrument, is become Manicles and ſtockes. So then, there is both a fault and the puniſhment: and the fault muſt nèds pꝛoceede from one firſt man, euen in the iudgement of thoſe men of old time, which acknowledged the creation of the woꝛld. Alſo thoſe ancient fathers ſeeme to haue heard what pꝛouoked the firſt man to ſinne. Foꝛ Homer ſpeaketh of a goddeſſe whom hee calleth Ate, (that is to ſay Waſte, Loſſe, oꝛ Deſtruction) which troubled heauen, and therefoꝛe was caſt downe to the earth, where ſhe hath euer ſince troubled Mankind.

Empedocles, and Pythagoras. Philolaus.

kind. And hereupon Euripides calleth the fiends ἀραομήτεις, that is to ſay, Falſe from heauen. And the Ægyptians, who be of moſt antiquity, held and taught the ſame in their Myſteries. It is a méetely cleare ſhadow of that which we read in the Scripture concerning the fall of the diuell, whereunto he dꝛew mankind afterward by his temptations. But when as Pherecydes the Syrian agrèeing therein with Sybil, telleth vs expꝛeſſly that this diuell which hath marred and deſtroied the whole earth, was a Serpent (whom he called ὄφιονῆα oꝛ ὀφιόταυρον, that is to ſay, Snakebred, oꝛ Adderbred) which armeth men by whole tꝛopes againſt God: we by gathering all theſe teſtimonies together, ſhal haue the whole ſtoꝛie of the fall of man. Hermes, being ancienter than all theſe, doth plainly acknowledge the coꝛruption of man, yea and that ſo far, as to ſay, that there is nothing but euil in vs, and that there is no way foꝛ vs to loue God, but by hating our ſelues. And to keep vs frõ accuſing the Creatoꝛ, The Workmaſter (ſaith he, to cut off all quarelling) is not the procurer of the ruſt, neither is the Creator the Author of the filth and vncleannes that is in vs. On whom then ſhall we father the cauſe therof? God (ſaith he) created man after his owne likenes, & gaue him all things to vſe. But man in ſtead of ſtaying vpon the beholding of his father, wold needs be medling & doing ſomwhat of himſelf, & ſo fell from the heauenly contemplation into the Sphere of Elements or of Generation. And becauſe hee had power ouer all things, he began to fal in loue with himſelf, & in gazing vpon himſelf, to wonder at himſelfe, wherby he ſo intangled himſelf, that he became a bondſlaue to his body, wheras he was free & at liberty afore. But he intangleth this truth with his accuſtomed ſpeculatiõs. But yet what is this in effect, but that the firſt man, being pꝛoud of the grace which he had receiued, dꝛowned himſelf in the loue of himſelfe, whereas hée might haue liued euerlaſtingly by dꝛinking ſtill of the loue of God? And if we mount vp yet higher to Zoroaſtres, who (as it is wꝛitten of him) was Noes graund child: we ſhal find, that in his Oꝛacles he bewayleth the race of Mankinde, in theſe woꝛds: Alas, alas, the earth mourneth euen vnto Children! Which woꝛds cannot bee otherwiſe interpꝛeted than of oꝛiginall ſin, which hath paſſed from the firſt man into all his off-ſpꝛing: after which maner the Cabaliſtes, and namely Oſias the Chaldean, interpꝛet it: wherunto Gemiſtus the Platoniſt is not repugnant. And as touching the oꝛiginall of this miſchiefe, he denieth in theſe woꝛds that it came of creation: The thing that is vnperfect (ſayth he) cannot proceed of the Creator.

Pherecydes alledged by Origen againſt Celſus.

Hermes in his Pœmander.

Zoroaſtres

Gemiſtus.

Now that we be com as it were by the ſtream to ỳ firſt man Adam, by

by whom ſin entred into the world, & by ſin, death: let vs ſee hence-forth what the opinion of the Philoſophers hath been, ſince the coming of the ſecond man Jeſus Chriſt. We haue a little booke of one Hierocles a Stoick, vpon the golden ſaying of Pythagoras, which that anſwere both for the Pythagoriſts, and for the Stoicks. Man (ſaith he) is of his owne motion inclined to follow the euill, and to leaue the good. There is a certaine ſtrife bred in his affections, which ſtepping vp againſt the wil of Nature, hath made it to tumble from Heauen to hell, by vndertaking to fight againſt God. He hath a free will which he abuſeth, bending himſelfe wholly to encounter the Lawes of God: and this freedome it ſelfe is nothing els but a willingneſſe to admit that which is not good, rather then otherwiſe. What els is this, but as the holy Scripture ſayth, that all the imaginations of mans heart are altogether continually bent to euill? and which we daily diſpute of, namely, that our freedome is freſh and forward vnto euill, but lame and lazie vnto doing wel? If ye aſke him the cauſe thereof, Let vs not blaſpheme for all that (ſaith he) nor ſay that God is the author of our ſinnes: but rather that man is of his owne accord become vntoward: and that whenſoeuer we fall into ſin, we do that which is in vs, but not which is in vs from God.

Hierocles the Stoick againſt Adam.

How then ſhall wee make theſe propoſitions of his to agree; namely, that God created man, that man is froward and corrupted, and yet that God created not man ſuch a one? vnleſſe wee ſay, that God created man good, and that afterward man degenerated from his nature? But it is the very thing whereunto he commeth of himſelfe. Ambition (ſayth he) is our bane, and this miſchiefe haue we of our ſelues, becauſe we be gone away from God, and doe giue our ſelues to earthly things, which make vs to forget God. And that this miſchiefe is common to all mankind, he confeſſeth ſufficiently, in that hee giueth vs an vniuerſall remedie, that is to wit, Religion: the which alonely is able (ſayth hee) to rid vs from earthly ignorance, without the riddance whereof, we can neuer come againe to our former ſhape and to the likenes of our kind, which was to bee like vnto God. Now if ỹ whole kind be defiled, as he ſaith it is: ſurely we muſt reſort back to one firſt father, from whom it is ſpred out into the reſt, by naturall generation. Plutarke writing of Moral vertue, findeth it a very hard matter to make our affections ſubiect to reaſon, and the body obedient to the ſpirit. And he is driuen to maruell greatly, that our fæt ſhould be ſo ready to go or to ſtand ſtill, whenſoeuer Reaſon loſeneth or pulleth back the Bridle; and that on the contrary part, our

Plutarch in his booke of Morall vertue, and in his booke of the loue

our affections ſhould carry vs away ſo headlong for all the reſtraint that we can make. Alſo, he thinketh it ſtrange, that in our diſcourſes of the greateſt matters, as of Loue, of the bringing vp of our Children, and of ſuch like, wee be driuen to take the brute beaſts for our Iudges, as who would ſay, that Nature had ſtamped no print of them in our ſelues: and hee findeth himſelfe ſo ſore grauelled in this conſideration, that hee preferreth the brute very beaſts before vs in all things, ſauing in the capacity which we haue to know God: vndoubtedly as perceiuing a continuall following of their kind in all of them, whereas in vs onely there is contrariwiſe ſuch an vnkindly and baſtardly nature, that not euen the beſt of vs haue any whit of our former nature remaining in vs, ſauing only ſhame that we haue it no more. And this very gift of knowing God, which remaineth to man, grauelleth Plutarke more then all the reſt. Man (ſayth he) is a reaſonable creature: God hath ſet him in the world to bee ſerued and honoured of him, and he hath made him to bee borne to common ciuill ſociety. Whereof commeth it then that in his doings hee is more vnreaſonable, more contrary to Gods will, and more againſt the lawe of Nature then the brute beaſts? In this perplexity, one while hee ſayth that man had receiued faire and ſound ſeede, but that hee corrupted it afterward: another while he ſayth, that he dealt with reaſon as Perfumers doe with Oyles, which neuer ceaſe medling and mingling of them, till there remaine no ſent of oyle at all: and in one place, perceiuing (by al likelihood) this corruption to be ſo vniuerſal: he ſayth further, that at the very beginning, and from their firſt comming into the world, men intangled and confounded themſelues with ſin. Whereby we may perceiue, that had the thing been declared vnto him in ſuch ſort as we beleeue it: ſurely he would willingly haue imbraced and receiued it, as the onely ſolution of ſo many perplexities wherein he was entangled.

all loue betweene Parents & their children, and That Beaſtes haue Reaſon,

Let vs come to the Platoniſts. All of them agree in theſe points, That the Soule of Man is a Spirit, and that a Spirit cannot naturally receiue any affection from a body, neither which may cauſe it to periſh, nor which may do ſo much as once trouble it. Yet notwithſtanding, on which ſide ſoeuer they turne themſelues, they cannot deny but that our minds are troubled with infinit afflictions and patience in this body, & that they bee ſubiect one while to ſtarting beſides themſelues, through pride, anger or enuy: and another while, to be caſt downe with riotouſneſſe, gluttony and idleneſſe: yea and to receiue diuers impreſſions not only from the body, but alſo from

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the ayre, the water, and from Mikes; and finally from euery little thing in the world. Now how can this contrariety be reconciled? except their meaning be as ours is, that naturally our Soules are not subiect to any of these things, but that they be put in subiection to them beyond the course of nature. If it be beyõd the course of nature; by whom is it done, but by him that commandeth Nature? to whom it is as easie to put a spirit in prison: as to lodge a man in a house. If it be done by him who is the righteousnes it selfe: doth it not follow that it was for some fault committed by the Soule? If for some fault; then seeing that the punishment therof is in all men, in whom should that first fault be, but in that man which was the originall of all men? as in whom all of vs (say I) were materially. Now againe, this fault cannot be imputed to the body, for it is in the will, and the body of it selfe hath no wil: neyther can it be imputed to any infection receiued first from the body, for the Soule could not be wrought into by the body. In the soule therefore must the fault of mankind needs be, and for the soules offence doth the Soule it selfe suffer punishment, and make the body also to suffer with her.

Howbeit, that wee may the better iudge of their opinions, let vs heare them in the chiefe of them one after another. Plotine hauing considered that the soule is of nature diuine, heauenly, and spirituall, concludeth, that of it self it is not wrought into by the body. But afterward perceiuing how it is defiled, ouermastered by sin, and by force of necessity linked vnto lust, hee commmeth backe to this solution, That her being here beneath, is but a banishment to her, which hee termeth expressly a fall, and otherwise (as Plato doth) a losing of her wings: That the vertue which she hath, is but a remnant of her former nature: That the vice which she hath, is taken by dealing with these base & transitory things: and to be short, that al the vertue which is learned, is but a purging of the soule, which must be fain to be, as it were, new furbished, to scoure off the great Rust that hath ouergrown it. In these contradictions therefore he maketh this question to himselfe: What should be the cause (saith he) that our soules being of a diuine nature, should so forget both God, their father, & their kindred, & themselues? Surely (answereth he) the beginning of this mischiefe, was a certaine rashnesse & ouer-boldnesse, wherethrough they would needs pluck their neckes out of the coller, and be at their owne commandement: by which abuse turning their liberty into licentiousnes, they went cleane backe, and are so far gone away from God, that (like Children which being newly weaned, are by and by conueyed away from

Plotin. Enn. 3. lib. Also Enn. 1. lib. 6. Cap. 5. Also Enn. 2. lib. 8. cap. 14. & Enn. 6. lib. 9. Cap. 9.

Plotin. lib. Enn. 1. ca. 1.

from their Fathers and Mothers) they know neither whose, nor what they be, nor from whence they came. Now in these words he agreeth with our Diuines, not onely in this, that corruption came in by sin, but also in what kind of sin, namely, Pride, whereby we be turned away from our Maker. In another place, The soule (saith he) which was bred for heauenly things, hath plunged it selfe in these materiall things, and matter of it selfe euill, that not only all that is of matter, or matched with matter, but also euen that which hath respect vnto matter, is filled with euill, as the eye that beholdeth darknesse is filled with darknesse.

Plotin. Enn. 1. lib. 8. cap. 4.

Here ye see, not only from whence wee be turned away, but also to what: that is to wit, from God to vanity, from the Creator to the creature, from good to euill. But of this inclining to the materiall things, hee sometimes maketh the body to be the author, as though the body had carried the Soule away by force of his imaginations: and he acquiteth the mind thereof as much as he can, insomuch as he sticketh not to affirme, that notwithstanding all this deprauation, yet the Soule liueth and abideth pure and cleane in God, yea, euen while the Soule (whereof the mind is the very eyesight or apple of the eye) dwelleth in his body. Howbeit, besides ỹ he is reproued for it by Porphyrius, Proclus and others: his owne reasons whereby hee approueth that the Soule is not naturally subiect to the body, bee so strong, that it were vnpossible for him to shift himselfe from them. In this the great Philosopher is ouershot, that he will néeds séek out the cause of sin in Man, as Man is now, where finding Reason carried away by Imagination, and Imagination deceiued by the Sences, hee thought the fault to haue proceeded of that, whereas in déed hee should haue sought the cause in Man as he was first created, when he had his Sences and Appetites absolutely at commandement, whose wilfull offending hath brought vpon vs the necessity of punishment which we indure. And in good sooth, this saying of his in another place cannot be interpreted otherwise: namely, that the cause why the soule indureth so many troubles and passions in this body, is to be taken of the life which is led afore out of the body: that is to say, that the subiection of the Soule to the body, is not the originall cause of the sin thereof, but rather a condemnation thereof to punishment: Neither also can he scape from these conclusions of his owne, namely, that the Soule being separated from the body, hath her wings sound & perfect: and that the body being ioined to the Soule, hath no power to breake her wings, and yet that she findeth her selfe there to be weake

Enn. 3. lib. 3. cap. 4.

Plotin. Enn. 1. lib. 8. cap. 14. & lib. 3. cap. 4.

weake and without wings: except he hold with vs, that the Soule hath by her fall forgon her ſtrength, and that the body by the feebleneſſe of the ſoule and the ſentence of the Creator, is ſtrengthened in his weakneſs: that is to wit, in ſo much as the body (as I haue ſaid afore) is of a Houſe become a Priſon to the Soule. To be ſhort, granting Gods iuſtice, as he doth, he can neuer wind himſelfe out of this queſtion which he himſelfe maketh: namely, why the ſins are imputed to the Soule, ſeeing it doth them not but by infection of the body; vnleſſe he make this infection to bee a puniſhment of the fault which the Soule had committed afore in the body.

S. Auſtin in the city of God. li. 10. cap. 23. & 32.

But Porphyrius, who perceiued theſe inconueniences, hath ſpoken more diſtinctly of the matter than his Maſter did, agreeing with him neuertheleſſe in the corruption of man, & in the cleanſing of the ſoule: Which cleanſing of the Soule (ſaith he) is ſo needfull a thing, as that it cannot poſſibly be but that God hath prouided ſome vniuerſal meane of cleanſing mankind. How is it poſſible then (ſaith he) that the fall of the Soule ſhould come of Imagination, which knitteth the Soule to the body, ſeeing that the higher things are not drawn downe by the lower, but contrariwiſe the lower are drawne vp by the higher? Nay rather (ſaith he) the higher ſubſtances come down in themſelues from vnderſtanding into imagination, from ſpirituall things to vnperfect things. And wheras by ſticking faſt vnto God they might haue abidden firm, not ſo much by their own ſtrength as by his, and might haue liued and wrought as vnder his forme; they be come to a fall of themſelues by ſtooping to matter. And therfore (ſaith he) in the ſubſtances which are inclinable to ſuch things, there is befaln (as men ſay) a ſin & a certain vnbeliefe which is condemned, becauſe they fell in loue with the Creatures, & turned away to them frō the Creator. To be ſhort, he cōmeth to this point, that the fall of mens ſoules, is like the fall of the Fiends that is taught by the Iews, & that through the fall of the wit & the will, which he termeth vnbeleefe or vnfaithfulneſſe, man is faine into the folly of concupiſcence, that is to ſay, from the fault into ỹ puniſhment thereof, from the rebellion of the Soule, into the bondage thereof to the body. And ye muſt not thinke we ſpeake contraries, when we ſay, one while ỹ man ſinned by aduancing himſelfe too high, and by preſuming to become as it were equall with God; and another while that he ſinned by ſtooping down to theſe baſe & low things. For in very deed, the lifting vp of a mans ſelfe to Godward, is the true abaſing and humbling of himſelfe: for who is he that can rightly looke vp to God, and make account of himſelfe, or rather not bee abaſed in him-

Porphyrius in his booke which ſheweth how to dee the things that are to be conceiued alonly by reaſon and vnderſtanding. Alſo in his third book of Abſtinence.

himſelfe? And to encline to a mans ſelfe, is in very truth a preſuming to make himſelfe equall to God. For it is a ſeeking of that thing in our ſelues, which is not to be found but in God, namely, of welfare and felicity: and what els is pride, but a ſelfe eſtimation or an ouerweening of a mans ſelfe?

Proclus doth ordinarily call the inclining of our nature vnto euil, a deſcending or comming downe; and the corruption thereof a fall: becauſe the higheſt that our Soule can attayne vnto, is the beholding of God; and the deſcending, ſtooping, or comming down therof, is to fall into eſtimation of our ſelues; and the fall is to be thruſt down (in ſubiection) vnder our ſelues, like a body that falleth from ſom high place. But as touching the cauſe of the corruption, he fathereth it vpon our Mind, that is to wit, the higheſt part of our ſoule: ſaying, th at if the ſame had continued ſound, and ſticked faſt vnto God (as ſaith Plotin) it had alſo held reaſon ſound ſtil, which is the Sunbeame therof, and conſequently all our actions ſhould haue bēn ſound, ſo as we ſhould not haue bin ſubiect to ſin. Seeing then that the puniſhment is come to ỹ higheſt part of vs, which we ſee cumbred with ſo many paſſions, dimmed with ſo much darknes, & defiled with ſo many vices, ſurely the fault proceeded onely from thence. Hereunto we might adde many other ſayings: but we will content our ſelues as now with onely Simplicius the famous interpreter of Ariſtotle. As long as mans ſoule (ſaith he) cleaueth faſt vnto God the author thereof, it abideth ſound, and holdeth her perfection wherwith ſhe was created of God: but fall ſhe once to ſhrinking away frō him, by & by ſhe withereth as hauing loſt her root, and comes to nothing: neither can ſhe recouer her former liuelineſſe, except ſhee be reunited againe to her former cauſe.

Proclus cōcerning the Soule, and concerning the Fiend Cap. 4.

Simplicius vpon Epictetus.

Now perceiue we euery one of vs, that our Nature is witherēd; and therefore let vs ſay that we be ſlipped from our root. And the root leaueth not the branches: but contrariwiſe, the branches leaue the root. Let vs ſay then, that we haue bereft our ſelues of the gracious goodnes of God, who would haue maintained vs ſtill: for to nourith & quicken, is the property and nature of the root. In one only thing do the Philoſophers differ from vs in this behalf: namely, that they hold all mens ſoules to haue ſinned euery one in himſelfe: and we ſay, That the only firſt man ſinned, and thereby hath bound all his whole off-ſpring to the puniſhment. But yet doe both come back againe to one point, ſeeing that euen by their owne reaſons I proued the creation of the world, which of neceſſity leadeth vs to one man the father of vs all, whereas the Philoſophers hang wauering ſtill vnreſolued in that point.

Among

Vniuerſall conſent.

Among all people wee ſée there were prayers to craue pardon for ſin, Sacrifices to appeaſe Gods wrath, Myſticall waſhings, & Satiſfactories, or votaries that were charged with the ſins of ſome whole Realme, City, or State. All theſe (as I haue ſayd afore) are publike proteſtations of a publike corruption. The Philoſophers were ſore combered in finding a meane to cleanſe mankinde from his filthineſſe: ſome would haue done it by the Morals: ſome by the Mathematicals: & ſome by Religious Ceremonies: but in the end they confeſſe, that all theſe things can do nothing in that behalfe. They bee fooles in their remedies, but wiſe in diſcerning the diſeaſe. We read of the people of Affrick at this day (who be giuen enough to contemplation) that they fall into great conceits of mind, and are not able to perſwade themſelues that all their Church-ſeruices are ſufficient to make them cleane. And that is a proofe that they feele a miſchiefe within them, whereinto neither the eye of the Phyſition can ſée, nor the medicine that he miniſtreth can attaine. Alſo the Perſians were woont to hold a holyday euery yeere, which they called, The death of vices: In the which Feaſt, for a token of deuotion, they killed of all ſorts of Serpents and wilde beaſts. And doubtleſſe, that was becauſe they had learned, that man doth couertly carry in his breſt all manner of Beaſts, the which it behoueth him to kill in himſelfe, according to this ſaying of the Platoniſts, That the readieſt way to returne vnto God, and conſequently to a mans firſt nature, is to kill his owne affections. But what ſhall wee ſay to that which wee haue learned in theſe our dayes among the barbarous Nations of the Weſt Indies? There came a man into their Country (ſay they) which called himſelfe the Sonne of the Sunne, who by his word and power repleniſhed the Land with men and women whom he created, and gaue them great abundance of fruits. Who doth not hereupon call by and by to remembrance the creation of man and woman in the Scripture? where God ſaith vnto them, Increaſe and multiply, and fill the earth: I haue giuen you all hearbs bearing ſeede, and all trees bearing fruit, and ſo forth. But (ſaith the booke of their Diuinitie) becauſe ſome men prouoked his diſpleaſure, hee afterward changed the good ſoyle which he had giuen them, into dry and barren ſands, and bereft them of Raine, and left them nothing but a few riuers to helpe themſelues withall by their great labour and trauell. Who eſpyeth not here againe the ſin of man, Gods curſe vpon the earth, & namely in theſe words: In the ſweate of thy browes ſhalt thou eate thy bread all the dayes of thy life? And who would be ignorant of God when as euen thoſe

Agathias in his ſecond booke of the Perſian warre.

The generall Hiſtory of the Indies, ca. 122.

thoſe know him, whom wee eſteeme to be almoſt of another kinde, than we be?

But here the wicked perceiuing themſelues to want matter to reply, do fall to rayling againſt God. Seeing that man (ſay they) ſinned through the free will which God gaue vnto him: how can God bee called good, hauing giuen man wherewith to ſin? By the ſame reaſon I ſay at once for all, If God be good, why hath hee made man or any thing for man? If he ſhould take from thee al that thou abuſeſt, I pray thee what ſhould be left thee? Thy Reaſon? What is there in thee that maketh thee more vnreaſonable? Thy Sences? To what other ſeruice doeſt thou put them, than to the marring of thy Sences? Thy tongue! how much more eloquent is it in ſpeaking euil, than in ſpeaking good? To be ſhort, where ſhall the good things become, which he hath giuen thée for the maintenance of thy health and life? Nay, on the contrary part, which of them is it that thou turneſt not to thy death, and bane? Now, is the founder of them to blame, if thou kill thy ſelfe with the things without the which thou couldeſt not liue? Or if thou become euil by the things without the which thou couldeſt not be good? God hath giuen thee a will, and without wil thou couldſt not be good. Vnto will he hath added a good wit to guide it, and without wit thou couldeſt not be wiſe. If thou be loth to be either good or wiſe, it is but becauſe thou art loth to bee a man. Thy will was giuen thee to loue God withall. Now, loue delighteth to bee free-hearted; neyther would God be loued of vs as inchanted to it, but freely and vtterly vnconſtrained. Therefore it behoueth this will to be free. Likewiſe, thy wit was giuen thee to behold God withall. And hadſt thou but only thy Sences, what hadſt thou more than the brute Beaſts? And if thou hadſt no more than they, why were they & all the whole world made for thee? Now then which of theſe two canſt thou find fault with? ſeeing that without them both, thou couldſt be neither good nor wiſe, no nor a man. Thou wouldeſt haue bin created vnchangeable: howbeit, not as a Rocke or a Mountaine, but as a man. Surely the vnchangeablenes of Spirits, was created to depend vpon their linking in with their Maker. Thou wouldeſt peraduenture haue been an Angell: but there are euen of the Angels that are falne, and as they were far higher than thou, ſo was their fall more dangerous than thine. O man, acknowledge the goodneſſe of the Creator in creating thee good; and acknowledge the vanity of the creature, which cannot ſtand in his own goodnes, but in the goodnes of the Creator. But eſpecially aboue all things commend thou his goodneſſe

Obiections.

and mercie, in that he hath not only releeued thée in thy fall, but alſo as it were vpheld thee that thou mighteſt fall the ſofter.

Another taketh exception to Gods Iuſtice. What Iuſtice is it (ſayth he) to puniſh a man ſo rigorouſly for ſo ſmall a fault? Nay, what is more iuſt than nature? what is more naturall than to run into darkneſs, when a man turneth away from the Sun? Or (as Plotin ſaith) to impaire and ware naught, when a man departeth from the ſoueraign good? But O thou man which thinkeſt thy ſelfe iuſter than God, what puniſhment wouldeſt thou appoint to thy Son, not being a babe or a young child, but being come to yéeres of diſcretion, & a man growne, not pinched and pined, but flowing in all wealth: if vpon a brauery and luſtineſſe of courage he would diſobey thée for a thing of nothing? Then ſet thou Adam alſo before thine eies newly come into the world by the goodnes of the Creator, not ſtarke naked, but furniſhed with the whole world to ſerue him, not witleſſe, but with a pure, ſound, and ſkilfull mind, not ſubiect to his luſts, but able to hold them in awe to his will, and hauing his will obedient to reaſon. Now, whether thou conſider his ſin, his rebellion, his vnfaithfulneſſe, and his pride; or whether thou haue an eye to the eaſineſſe of abſtaining from ſin: what puniſhment wilt thou not déeme him worthy to haue?

Yea (ſayſt thou) but why vſeth he this rigor againſt his children? Nay rather, ſay, Why is he ſo mercifull? Why is he ſo gracious, as to keepe them lowe in their fathers fall, leſt they ſhould fall (more grieuouſly) through the ſame raſhneſſe? Thou buildeſt a City, and the cuſtome is to beautifie it with Priuiledges. Afterward this City rebelleth; thou takeſt away their Priuiledges, their Bels, their Armour, and their Weapons; and this puniſhment of their inſurrection extendeth to all their poſterity, albeit they were but few at the beginning, and grew to be mightily multiplyed afterward. The granting of the Priuiledges to the firſt, was appointed of goodneſſe; for otherwiſe they might haue had occaſion to complaine of thee. Likewiſe it is iuſtice to take them ſo from them, and mercy to withhold them from their poſterity, who haue the ſame rebellious minde in them, and had els run headlong into extreme puniſhments. God gaue thee the Priuiledge of freedome, and inriched thee with ſingular gifts both of body and minde: praiſe thou his goodneſſe. Now, becauſe thou haſt abuſed them, he either taketh them cleane away, or elſe diminiſheth them: acknowledge thou his Iuſtice. And becauſe thy children might doe as thou haſt done, and would not bee amended by thine example, hee taketh them from them alſo and diminiſheth them in

in thee: commend thou ſtill his mercy in his Iuſtice: but ſpecially honour thou his Iuſtice in his Mercy, in that of this rebellious race he cauſeth the party to be borne, which can appeaſe his Iuſtice.

Yet for all this, they giue not ouer. If by the ſinne of the firſt man (ſay they) nature be corrupted in all men: why bee not the children more corrupted than their Fathers, by means of ſo many ſinnes committed by their fathers? In this behalfe they miſlike of Gods clemencie, and yet could not Gods Iuſtice haue contented them. Now the Lords intent in puniſhing the rebellious citizens, was to make them ſubmit themſelues againe vnder his gouernment, and not to deſtroy them vtterly. And it was Gods intent to humble mankind; by making him to feele the ſmart of his fall: and not to breake him in pieces in his wrath, but to reclaime him by his mercy. Wee be falne into a Pit, we be falne from our highneſſe: now what would a ſecond fal be? Wee haue broken our wings already againſt the Earth: whither would we fall at the nert flight? We be falne (I ſay) from the goodneſſe of our nature into naughtineſſe, from Gods fauour into his wrath: how can we fall any lower? Nay, rather by creeping halfe broken vpon the Earth, we know that wee be falne; and feeling the loſſe which we haue ſuſtayned, wee crie vnto God for reliefe, and like little Nurſe children wee beſeech him to ſtay and vphold vs with his mighty hand.

Now therefore let vs conclude for theſe two laſt Chapters, That mans nature is corrupted; and that it was not ſo created of God: but that man abuſing Gods grace, did caſt himſelfe downe from goodneſſe into naughtineſſe, and from Gods free fauour into his iuſt diſpleaſure: and that the man in whom the ſayd Nature was firſt corrupted, was the firſt man: from whom we haue receiued our corruption, as well as our nature. But let vs not ſo much muſe to take an account how we be falne into this pit of infection, as earneſtly bethinke vs by what meanes we may get out againe, which is the thing wee haue to treate of nert.

CHAP.

Chap. XVIII.

That God is mans ſoueraigne welfare, and therefore that the chiefe marke which man ſhould ayme at, is to returne againe vnto God.

WE ſay, that the chiefe point wherein fooles differ from wiſe men, is, that fooles ſhoot out their doings at all aduenture into the ayre, and that wiſe men direct all their doings to ſom certain end. And againe, that the point wherein good men differ from euill men, is, that good men determine with themſelues vpon the good things, and euill men vpon the euill things: the good vpon that which is good in deede, and the euill vpon that which is good in ſhew. Therefore it ſtandeth vs greatly on hand, both to haue ſome one certaine marke, and the ſame to be good: and to haue but one, becauſe God hath giuen vs but one wit, and the perfection of wit is Wiſedome: and to haue the ſame good, becauſe he hath giuen vs but one will, and the perfection of the will is goodneſſe. Surely God being the very goodnes and wiſedome it ſelfe, was not without this one marke, and the ſame very good, when he firſt created all things. For Nature (ſay the Philoſophers) doth nothing otherwiſe then well and to a good end. If they ſpeake ſo of the Hand-mayd, what ſhall wee ſay of the Maiſter of the houſe? But foraſmuch as he himſelfe is the beginner, the holder on, and the ender of all things, hee in all his doings did not ſet downe any other end than himſelfe. We his creatures, who take our beginning & continuance from him, can haue none other end than him. Yet notwithſtanding, the reaſonable creature wiſheth well to it ſelfe, and doth alwayes purpoſe a certain end with it ſelf, which it thinketh behoueful. For the end of euery thing is the peculiar good, benefite, or welfare therof: and this deſire being in vs by kind, cannot be in vaine. Therfore it muſt needs be that the true welfare of man conſiſteth in his true end or in his true aiming-point: and that ỹ true aiming-point of man, and the end which the Creator intended, muſt méete iumpe together:

Things are ſayd to be good, either becauſe they come to good end, or were purpoſed to a good end.

That

That is to wit, hée muſt imploy himſelfe to the glory of God, whoſe creating of all things was for his owne glory, and by tending thitherward attaine to his owne welfare, which is the thing that all things do naturally ſéek. Therfore, if we finde either mans chief aiming-point, or his ſoueraigne welfare, we find them both: for they be both but one ſelfeſame thing; which in reſpect that his wit loketh therat, is called his ayming point, and in reſpect that his will reſteth thereon, is called his welfare, both of them together being the reſting point of the whole man. And vnto this end is he to apply himſelfe and all his motions, all his endeuors and all his deſires, as to his higheſt felicity, benefit and welfare.

Mans end or aiming poynt, and his welfare conſiſt or reſt both in one thing.

Now, had we continued in our originall nature, wee ſhould haue had no paine at all to ſéeke them: for our wit was inlightned with the light of our marke, and our will was drawne by our welfare, that is to ſay, by God, by whom and for whom wee were created: whereas now through our pride our eyes are gazing at all things, ſauing our right way and our chiefe welfare. Yet notwithſtanding, wee may trace it out by certain marks, ſpecially if we beare in mind that we be falne: for then we will not ſtand groping for it in the filth of the things that are here beneath, as folke amazed at our fall: but we will ſéek for it in the grace and in the face of our Maker, from whence we be falne. For like as when we ſéeke to know the vſe and goodneſſe of a tole (as for example of a Sawe) wee conſider it not by the ruſtineſſe thereof that hath eaten away the teeth, or by the breaks it hath taken by ſome falls: but by the téeth thereof which are ſound, ſharpe and ſmooth, ſuch as they were when they came new out of the Smyth-makers ſhop: euen ſo muſt we do with man: we muſt not iudge of his end, by the blindnes, ignorance, naughtineſſe and corruptneſſe that is come vpon him, but by the excellency, goodneſſe, and light that was in him at the firſt when God created him. Alſo, we iudge not of the vſe of the Sawe by the metall thereof, in that it is ſtéele, or in that it hath a handle, or in that it hath an edge to cut withall: for a knife hath all theſe things, which yet notwithſtanding is neuer the more a Sawe for all that: but we déeme therof, by ſome peculiar ſhape, and by ſome property of the téeth therof, which make it to differ not only frō a knife, the which hath no teeth, but alſo from a File which hath teeth, howbeit of another ſort. Then let vs do the like ſtill in man. If we déeme of the vſe whereto God hath appointed him, by that he liueth, or by that he hath ſences: what needeth man to bee made, ſeeing that the Plants are indued with life, and the brute Beaſts both with life and ſence?

The marks wherby to knowe the aiming poynt and welfare of Man.

But now hath he made man, and he hath not made him in vaine. The vſe of him therfore is to be taken, of that part which God hath giuen him ſpecially and peculiarly to make him a man: of that (I ſay) which maketh him to differ from the things which haue but only being, life, and ſence: I mean the very higheſt part of his Soule. Again, the ſaid particular ſhape which giueth a particular vſe to the Sawe, is cõmon to all tooles which beare the name of a Sawe: and therfore the ſpeciall property of man, which giueth him a peculiar vſe which no other creature hath, muſt néeds be after ſuch a ſort peculiar vnto him, as it may neuertheleſſe be common to all of the ſame kind: that is to ſay, as all men are created with that property, ſo all men muſt tend to that end. And forasmuch as that end is the ſoueraigne welfare of man, it hath conſequently certaine markes or tokens whereby it is to be knowne. Man feareth nothing more than his end; neither deſireth he any thing ſo much as to continue for euer: and yet notwithſtanding, the ſoueraigne welfare is the end of man; and therfore it muſt néeds be an end without end; an end which doth not conſume or waſte, ſo as the thing which tendeth to it ſhould thereby bee fordone: but which perfecteth and fulfilleth it, ſo that beyond it there is not ought that can be deſired or be. If there were any other beyond it, it were neither an end, nor ſoueraigne or chiefe. But for ſuch a one do we ſéek: and if it could either waſte or periſh, we might be afraid to loſe it: and the greater that the pleaſure were, the greater alſo ſhould the griefe thereof be. But the property of felicity or happineſſe is, to content the deſire and to exclude feare. Now then, as touching the thing which we ſéek, in reſpect that we ſéek it as our end, it behoueth it to be agréeable to the very nature of man, peculiar to the whole kind, and common to all that be of the kind: and in reſpect that it is our ſoueraigne welfare, it behoueth it to be vniuerſall, perfect, and continuall. And now let vs ſee what that may be.

The world is not the end to which man was made.

Surely if we conſider man and the world: in man the Senſes, and in the world the ſenſible things: Man as the beholder, and the world as a Theater: man as the gueſt, in the world the Feaſt prepared of all things conuenient for him: wee will ſay by and by, not onely they be made the one for the other, but alſo that in very deede the world was made for man, and not man for the world, or for any thing therein. And againe, if wee conſider how that in the world there is wherewith to content the eye, the eare, and all the ſences: but nothing that can ſufficiently content the mind, the which as (earthly as it is) paſſeth from the things viſible to the inuiſible, from the bodily to the ghoſtly,

ghoſtly, and from the creatures to the Maker: ſhall we not eaſily conclude (which thing I will treate of more at large hereafter) that as the world cannot be mans end, ſo can it not alſo be his contentation? And yet notwithſtanding man is not created for nought; neither is the deſire of his owne welfare planted in him to no purpoſe. For as ſay the Philoſophers, Nature hath made nothing in vaine, neither is ſhe maimed in things needfull. Therefore it muſt néeds be, and otherwiſe it cannot be, but that the Creator is the end and contentment of man, whoſe mind cannot be ſatisfied, nor his will contented to the full, if any part of him doe reſt vpon theſe vile and tranſitory things. By the way; whereas we commonly affirme that God is both the end and the welfare of all things, for that they be guided and led whitherſoeuer he liſteth by his prouidence, and alſo be made partakers of his goodnes: we muſt vnderſtand, that this is verified of man after a more high and excellent manner. Of the Creatures here beneath, ſome haue but ſence and appetite, and otherſome but only a bare inclination of nature: only man hath wit and will, which make him a man. Now all theſe are infallibly directed whitherſoeuer it pleaſeth God, as the arrow is leuelled at ſome marke by the Archer, who ſhooteth the arrow ſtraight, though it haue no eye to ſée with. But man by a peculiar priuiledge hath an vnderſtanding wit, which was giuen vnto him cléere ſighted and cleane, that he might ſée the marke whereat he is leuelled: and Will, which he receiued franke and frée, that he might repoſe all his delight therein: the one to know and diſcerne it, the other to loue and imbrace it: the one to ſee and behold it, the other to obtaine and inioy it. Now then, as the hither end of all creatures here beneath is man, and the furtheſt end of them is God: ſo the néereſt and immediate end of man is to know God, and his only welfare is to ſtick wholly vnto him. Let vs imagine man as much as we liſt, to be full as ſound as euer he was: yet what end, or what contentment could hee haue but onely God? We make great account of riches: what could hee be the better which had gotten all, or which had all riches gotten for him already to his hand? for what els is the getting of this world, but a proofe of want and pouerty? we eſteeme highly of honor, of vaine titles, and of dignities: And what els are all theſe but a vaine gazing and wonderment of people, which can be none at all where no people are? Surely then was not man ſet in the world, to the intent that that ſhould be his marke to ayme at: and much leſſe could he ſéeke his contentment there. Yet notwithſtanding hee had receiued more wit than we haue, & not to no end. And therfore we muſt néeds ſay it was

God is the end or Mark that man aymeth at.

to direct him to ſome further thing than vanity, which at that time could haue no place at all. Some will ſay, his ſoueraigne welfare conſiſted in his health. What was his health, but his very being? and what maketh health to be eſteemed, but ſickneſſe? and who longeth for it, but he that is diſeaſed? But whereto ſerueth ſo excellent a wit, if it be to haue nothing more than the brute beaſt? Another ſayes it conſiſted in vertue. How in vertue? ſeeing that vertue is nothing els but the ſubduing and conquering of affection by reaſon: whereof he was in poſſeſſion already by nature, (and had held it ſtill without contradiction) if hee had not of his owne accord yeelded himſelfe to euill? Now then what remaineth, but that foraſmuch as man had not any thing to do, either without or within himſelfe, his wit was giuen him to ſtie vp both aboue the world and aboue himſelfe, that is to wit, to the beholding of the Creator, to yeeld him thanks and ſeruice for his innumerable benefits, and to be wholly inflamed with the loue of him? Now lok what was the end and ſoueraigne welfare of the firſt man: the ſame muſt we thinke to be of all other men, notwithſtanding that our wit be weakned & our will beſotted, and all our nature couered ouer with ruſt, and marred like the teeth of a ſaw. Therfore, as the end of the firſt man when he was in perfect ſoundneſſe, was to attain vnto God: ſo the end of vs in that ſmall ſoundneſſe which remaineth vnto vs, muſt be to tend vnto him: and like as the firſt mans ſoueraign welfare was to ſtick vnto God; ſo cannot we hope to attain our ſoueraign welfare, but by returning vnto him. In this welfare and vtmoſt end which we ſet down vnto man, let vs try whether wee can finde all the marks which we haue required therein. Firſt, it ought to be peculiar to that kind of man, & conſequently placed in the nobleſt part of him. Now in all theſe lower things, where is there an vnderſtanding wit, but only in man? and in man what is more noble, than his vnderſtanding? and what is it (to ſpeak properly) that maketh him a man, but vnderſtanding? Moreouer, who ſees not that many brute beaſts doe paſſe man in lively force both of life & ſence? But in this alone hee (as Plutarke ſaith) doth paſſe them all. Secondly, it muſt neuertheleſſe be common to all men. Now (as vtterly blinded and corrupted as we be) What is more common among vs al, than the knowledge of God? If Riches and honor be the marke we ſhot at: how few of ſo many men which leuell at it with heart, eye, hand and ſinewes, doe hit it? If our welfare conſiſt in hauing our health, in beeing vertuous, in dealing vprightly, or in calmeneſſe of mind: how few do inioy it? On the contrary part, who is ſo blinde that he ſeeth not God, as ſone as hee both

both but lok out with his eyes? or which findeth him not within himſelfe? or which attaineth not to him, if hee loke aboue himſelfe? And who ſeeth not this marke ſo cleare, that the world is but a ſhadow to it? ſo great, that the whole world is nothing to it; and ſo neere, as that we be not neerer to our ſelues? Or who can be afraid to bee ſhut out from it, whoſe greatneſſe hath rome enough for all, and whoſe ſufficiency is ſuch, as the former ſhot can be no impediment to the latter to haue a lighting place? Surely therefore we may well ſay, that if wee had continued ſound, we could haue had none other marke or end but him; for all things elſe had been nothing. And now alſo, for all that wee bee corrupted, wee ought not to tend or intend to any other than him; for he alone can be all to all, and this point can bee no where but in him. To bee ſhort, like as the ſoule is the ſhape of man, ſo is the knowledge of God the true ſhape of all vnderſtanding of man. Neuertheleſſe, although the ſhape of man was diſ-figured in the firſt man, yet there remaineth a certain common conceiuing of God, howbeit ſo defaced and beſlubbered, that either wee diſcerne him no more to bee our end, though he put vs in minde thereof on all ſides; or elſe imagining our ſelues to leuell at that marke, we ſwarue aſide one while to bagodlineſſe, and another while to ſuperſtition; or at leaſtwiſe wee had leuer for the moſt part, to roue at euery thing that our ſences mét withall, and to wallow in theſe baſe things like beaſts, which haue no more but their ſences.

Thirdly, in our ſoueraigne welfare, I required that it ſhould be vniuerſal. Now where ſhall it be found to be ſo but in God: who is indeed the very good of all goodnes, & the very welfare of all welfare that is in the world. Alſo, that it ſhould be perfect & full. And what deſire we but the things ꝑ are? And what can he want which poſſeſſeth him in whom all things are? Againe, I added, that the ſame muſt be euerlaſting and vnchangeable. Now who can be ſo, but the maker of order & change it ſelf? And what thing ſee we here in this world, yea euen in our ſelues, which abideth in one ſtate by the ſpace of two moneths? To be ſhort, if we deſire to content our ſences, he hath made ſenſible things for the nonce; and if we deſire to content our mind, he himſelfe is the things that are to be minded. Where then is the thing to be recouered which we couet, but onely in him? Now as touching this vniuerſall ſoueraigne good, true it is, that all of vs are able to deſire it, but the moſt part of vs vnable to diſcerne it, and none of vs able to attaine vnto it. There remaineth nothing to vs at all (I meane euen to the beſt of vs ſince our fall) but a griefe that we haue it not any more, and that we

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be not able of our ſelues to recouer it againe here below. Then let vs ſay, that as it had been a happy caſe for vs, to haue continued ſtill in our firſt eſtate: ſo is it now for vs to returne thither againe: that is to ſay, to be ſet againe in Gods fauour, that we may one day ſee his face yet againe. And becauſe this bleſſednes cannot bee brought to perfection in this life ſo full of wretchednes: wee muſt diſpoſe our life in this world, not to liue ſtill in the world, but to die in reſpect of theſe dead things, and to liue vnto God; at leaſtwiſe if we intend to liue the true life, and to liue euerlaſtingly in him.

The falſe ends, and the falſe welfares,

Now then we ſee, that we haue found our true reſting poynt, and our true welfare, that is to wit, the turning againe vnto God, from whoſe fauour and fellowſhip we be departed. For proofe thereof, wee neede but to examine from point to point the other ends and welfares which worldly men do ſet downe to themſelues, by the tokens and proofes which I haue made of the other already. Whereby, as we ſhall finde a common deſirouſneſſe in all men to ſeeke the welfare; ſo will we doubtleſſe wonder at ſuch diuerſity of taſtes, which like to the luſtings of them that haue the gréne ſickneſſe, (who be greedy of Duſt, Coales, Aſhes and ſuch other baggage) cannot but betray vnto vs a ſtrange diſtemperature and corruption of our whole nature. Moſt men haue in all ages ſpent their whole life, either in raking together of riches, or in Ambition, or in purchaſing of Lands, or in puffing vp themſelues with ỹ winde of praiſe. And what can be more contrary to the liking of our vnderſtanding, than thoſe things? The end whereto things tend, is better than the things themſelues. What is it then for a man to bend himſelfe to theſe outward things: but to ſhew that we be worſe than Earth and dung? And who would not beleeue that the Soule of man were infinitely leſſe made for ſuch things, than cloth of Gold to wrap vp mire and durt in?

Riches.

Alſo we ſeeke the vttermoſt end of man. Now who is he that deſireth not Riches for ſome other end than for the Riches themſelues? namely, that he might ſpend them either wantonly or honourably, or neceſſarily. Nay, who would paſſe for them at all, if he might haue the other things without them? Were it not ſo, what were more wretched than man, in whoſe end conſiſteth his welfare? ſeeing that either the Winde, or Fire, or robbing may bereaue vs of that felicity: that is to wit, ouerwhelme vs with miſeries in one moment. Againe, how can riches be the common marke of all men to ſhoot at? ſeeing that the inriching of one man, is the impouerishing of another. Yea, and that the very being of them conſiſteth but in the opinion of men, ſome counting

ting Gold, ſome Stones, ſome Shels, and ſome Nuts to bee Riches: and all reſembling yong children, which ſet all their felicity in Checkſtones and pins. And what is it for men to ſet their felicity in things which are neither Man, nor of Man: as if they ſhould ſet the goodneſſe of a knife in the ſheath, or of a horſe in his Fwt-cloth or Saddle. To be ſhort, how can that be the ſoueraigne good, which is no good at all: which is common as well to the bad as to the good, and doth rather impaire men than amend them: Or how can that be our chiefe marke to ſhoote at, which of all things turneth vs from the true mark, that is to wit, from God: as in truth there is not a readier way to driue vs quite and cleane from God, than to draw vs nérer and neerer to worldly riches.

Honor.

And what is ambition? We might diſcourſe of that time without end: for in very deed it hath no end. Some attaine to ſome certaine point: other ſome be quite excluded. Which of them in our opinion are the happieſt? Soothly, they that are excluded, are diſappointed of their pretenſed felicity. That is all the harme they haue by it. They that attaine to honor, are in continuall torment, ſpightfull or ſpighted, doing miſchiefe, or receiuing miſchiefe, ouer-mated, or ouer-mating. What is this but many euils for one, and a multiplying of miſeries without number, for the obtainment of one filly ſhadow of felicity? We will leaue the reſidue to declamers: what are the fruits of theſe hellish torments, what are they? Forſooth Honor, Reputation, and Power or Authority. What is all this but winde, which cannot fill vs, nor ſcarcely puffe vs vp? I ſhall be ſaluted as I goe abroad, I ſhall ſit higheſt at meetings. In hauing theſe things, what haue I, which a wicked man may not rather haue than I? And if it be a good thing, how is it giuen to euill men? I ſhall haue reputation. If it be among euill men, O how ſhall I bee blamed among good men! Perhaps I ſhall haue it among good men. If for vertue: who ſeeth not that reputation is but a ſhadow, made to follow vertue? And who will run after the ſhadow, to forgo the body? If freely for nothing, (as men ſay) vpon credit: who knoweth not that thing to be nothing worth, which is giuen for nought, and by ſuch as are nought worth? And who will beleeue that we be borne to ſuch an end as that? Nay rather how many be the ſlanders wherewith good men be charged! inſomuch that diuers of their Conſcience.

Power, authoritie, & ſoueraintie

Finally, I ſhall haue obtained power & authority. If that be the end of Man, how happeneth it that for one mans hauing of it, ſo many millions

lions are faine to go without it? And if it be his ſoueraign good; whereof commeth it, that not onely it is turned to euill, but alſo commonly turneth the poſſeſſors thereof to euill? But let vs put the caſe that all this is good. To whom? For euery one that is honoured as a Prince, ten thouſand are faine to kneele: For one that triumpheth, a hundred thouſand are led in captiuitie: For one that raigneth, ten hundred thouſand ſerue as ſlaues. By this reckoning, ſome onely one man ſhould be the end of many men: & the felicity of three or foure ſhould be the infelicity of a whole world. Now our ſeeking is for the end and felicity, not of ſome one or two men, but of al the whole kind. What will ye ſay then if euen thoſe few haue it not? I take to witneſſe the happieſt Courtiers ý are, whether one wry look of their Prince do not ſting them more at the heart, than a thouſand flatterers, and as many crouchers and cappers can delight their eares & eies? Nay, I report me euen to the greateſt Princes themſelues, whether one Rebellion of their Subiects againſt them, do not vexe them more than all their honorable triumphs do reioice them? and were it not a ſhame to ſay, that mans ſoueraigne good ſhould ſtand in awe or depend vpon a grim looke? What elſe then are all theſe things, but reſemblances of the Apples that grow about Sodome, which being pleaſant to the eye, and prouoking to the appetite, doe vaniſh into ſmoke or into ſote as ſone as a man puts his teeth to them?

Beſides this, the felicitie of man ought to abide in the thing it ſelf. But the contentment of the ambitious perſon, dependeth vpon another. Alſo it ought to be euerlaſting: But ambition endeth with the body, and is buried with it in the ſame graue. Againe, the things that ambition craueth, are ſought ſometimes for ſome other things ſake: but we demand whereupon to reſt, and not a meane to an end. To be ſhort, ſo farre off is ambition from being a way to bring vs to ſoueraigne good or felicitie; that in very truth (as I haue ſaid afore) it caſteth vs miſerably downe, and maketh vs to fall quite and cleane from it.

The vt moſt end and ſoue- raign good of Man are not in himſelfe.

Now, ſeeing we cannot find the thing we ſeeke for, neither among men, nor in theſe worldly things; doth it not follow that wee muſt ſeeke it in our ſelues? Surely the world is not of it ſelfe, nor it ſelfe, but was made by another, and for another; neither hath man his own beginning of himſelfe: and therefore he cannot be the end of himſelfe. The maker of a thing maketh it not for the things ſake, but for his owne ſake: and therefore he himſelfe is the end of his worke. Again, the thing that is made is not good in reſpect of it ſelfe, but for the vſe or

end whereto the maker maketh it: and therfore the maker himſelfe is the ſoueraigne good therof. But let vs diſcouer the matter yet more largely. Man is compoſed of Body and Soule; the Body mortall, the Soule immortall. Now if we ſet mans felicity in his body onely, wee do too great wrong both to the ſoule, and to the whole man. For if it conſiſt in the body, it periſheth and fadeth away with the body. And then what remaineth to the Soule which ouer-liueth, but wretchednesſe? But we looke for a felicitie which belongeth to the whole Man, and to his whole life both together. Againe, what ſhould be this felicity of the body, vnleſſe perhaps it be Beauty; which gladdeth more the beholder than the hauer thereof, and yet within a while after, is loſt by ſome wound, ſome ſore, ſome pimples, or ſome ſunburning? In the Soule ioyned with the body, wee haue three abilities, namely, of life, of ſence, and of vnderſtanding. Let vs ſee in which of theſe three mans ſoueraigne welfare and end may be harboured. The Soule giueth life to mans body, and the perfection of life is health. If our life ſerue to none other end than that; what had the firſt man to doe with it, who was created healthfull? If it muſt be the end of vs now after our corruption; what is more vnhappy than man? Nay, what is more vncapable of happineſſe than man? A body ſubiect to a thouſand diſeaſes, a thouſand harmes, a thouſand dangers; weake, fraile, fraught with miſeries within, wrapped in them without; alwaies vncertaine of life, alwayes ſure of death; whom a Worme, an Hearbe, a graine of duſt may kill: who if hee looked for none other happineſſe than that, were much better to be a Plant than a Man. Againe, who is ſo ſound and healthy of body, or ſo diſeaſed in minde, which (if hee were put to the choyce) had not rather to haue a ſound minde in a ſicke body, than to be out of his wits, hauing perfect health of body? Swthly, then it is a very cleere argument, that our chiefe happineſſe reſteth in our minde, ſeeing wee can finde in our hearts to redeeme it with the miſeries of our body.

Beautie,

Health.

Let vs come to the ſenſitiue part. The happineſſe thereof ſeemeth to conſiſt in Voluptuouſneſſe or Senſuality. If that make vs happy, then happy be brute beaſts, as who do vſe it both more freely, and with more delight than we: and vnhappy is man, who cánot wholly become a beaſt, do what he can. The beaſt taketh his pleaſure without regard who ſées him, without remorſe of conſcience, & without any arguing againſt himſelf. Contrariwiſe, what man is he which féeleth not a law in himſelfe that goes about to bridle him? which féeleth not a heartbiting in the middeſt of his pleaſure? or whoſe greateſt delights

Bodily pleaſure, Voluptuouſneſſe, or Senſuality.

leaue

leaue him not a ſting of repentance behind them? And what happines can that can that be whereof we be aſhamed, and which compelleth vs to ſeek couert for the doing thereof? Alſo, what a fond worckman was he, that framed vs ſo farre vnfit for ſuch a purpoſe? inſomuch that whereas all our body is liable to aches and ſtitches both within & without, and on all ſides: we ſcarcely haue aboue two or three parts vpon vs capable of pleaſure, and euen thoſe alſo ſubiect to griefe and paine. Let there bee a man (ſaith Plutarke) that hath led his whole life in pleaſure and ſenſualitie: and about a two or three houres afore hee drawe towards death, let him be put to his choyce whether hee had rather to delight his ſences by lying with his Lais, or delight his minde with deliuering his Countrey from ſome great perill: Will he (think you) be ſo very a beaſt, as to doubt which of them he ſhal chooſe? Who ſeeth not then that the pleaſure of minde is both greater than the pleaſure of the body, and more peculiar to man, and more agreeable to his end? We ſeeke a ſoueraigne good: if it be good, it wil amend vs. But what doth marre vs, and impaire vs more both in body & Soule, than ſtelthy pleaſure? Alſo, we meane it ſhould be perfect. If it be ſo, it will make vs perfect too. But what conſumeth vs, what decayeth vs more than ſenſuality? Againe, we ſeeke an end; but yet an endleſſe end, not which maketh an end of our pleaſures, but which doth ſtill feed our deſires. Contrariwiſe, what is there which is ſooner at an end in it ſelfe, which ſooner maketh an end of vs, or which ſooner wearieth vs, and leſſe contenteth vs, than the bodily pleaſures, conſidering that (as the Poet ſaith) the pleaſure and pain go both together? Moreouer, how may that be the ſoueraign good, which is not ſo much as a meane good? For who can deny, but that abſtinence is taken for vertue, euen among the vicious ſort? And what manner of good is that which may become euill by increaſing, if it were not euill of it ſelfe afore? Finally, all bodily pleaſures conſiſt in the Sences, and are executed by the ſenſitiue parts. Now, the Sences are oftentimes foreſtalled in vs, either by diſeaſes, or by old age: and the ſenſitiue parts are diſpatched at the leaſt by death.

Now, albeit that a man haue a double life, the one in this world, the other in another, the one dying, the other immortall: the firſt, which is here, tending to the ſecond, as the worſe to the better; yet is not our ſeeking for ſuch an end, or ſuch a felicity as dieth with vs, but for ſuch a one as maketh vs happy, quickneth vs, and refreſheth vs euerlaſtingly: the which ſurely is not to be found in mortall things. Now followeth therefore the vnderſtanding part, which is occupied one while

while in it ſelfe, another while in the gouernment of the world, and another while in contemplation of heauenly things: and of theſe three operations ſpring three perfections: namely, Vertue, Policie, and Wiſedome. Let vs ſee yet in which of theſe three conſiſteth our ſoueraigne felicity and contentation. Soothly, it is not to be doubted, but that our end will be found to conſiſt in that part: for whether can the mind of man reach beyond the world, and man, and him that made them both? But let vs ſee if we come neere it in this world. I pray you what is Vertue? The calmneſſe of our affections. What are theſe affections of ours? The waues and ſtormes of our ſoules, raiſed with euery little blaſt of winde, which doe ſo toſſe and turmoyle it vpſide downe, that euen the beſt Pylots are faine to ſtrike ſaile, and Reaſon it ſelfe is driuen welneere to forſake the Helme. If man were created to this end, why was he created with calmneſſe of minde? Or if ſoueraign good cõſiſt now in ouermaſtering his affections; what more cõtrariety can there be, than to be void of affections, & to be a man? Let vs put the caſe ſome man attaine thereunto: ſhall he alſo ſtay there? No: for valiantneſſe hath an eye to warre, warre to peace, peace to the proſperity of the Common weale, and ſo forth of others. Now, that which tendeth vnto another, cannot be the vtmoſt end. But will man at leaſt wiſe be contented therewith? Nay, let vs commend Vertue as much as we lift, and let vs buſie our ſelues in making bookes of it: yet if it extend no further than to the things on earth, I dare wel ſay, there is not any thing, I ſay not, ſo happy, but ſo wretched & miſerable as man. Folke will ſay, hee is an honeſt man: but yet as honeſt as he is, they will let him ſtarue for hunger. The Prince will ſay, he is a faithfull, a ſound, and an vpright dealer, neither led with couetouſneſſe, nor carried away with ambition; but yet hee will not put him in truſt with the managing of his affaires in this world. The fouleſt vice in the world ſhall finde a mate: But if Vertue runne thorow the whole world, ſhe ſhall ſcarce find a huſband. Now then, if we ſeeke our felicity in this life; what is Vertue but very miſery? And if we ſeeke it in the other life; what ſhall become of this Vertue, where wee ſhall haue no affections to encounter with? Surely then is not Vertue our end: for the end that we ſeeke, hath not an eye to a further thing; neither doth the ſoueraigne good thereof, which goes iointly with it, come to any end.

Vertue.

What then? Is Policie that end? We call Policie the right vſe of Reaſon in the gouerning of worldly affaires. Beſides that, it may alſo properly bee deſcribed to bee an Art or ſkill of guiding mens doings to

Policie.

a certaine end. Now the ſkill, and the end ẏ it aymeth at, cannot bee both one thing. But (to be ſhort) what is this world? Strife, War, Diſcord, Enuy, Rancor, Burning, Sacking, Waſting, Spoyling, and Deſtroying: a miſerable ground for man to build his felicity vpon. What is the gouerning and diſpoſing of all theſe things, but a dealing with Byles, Botches, and Cankers, whereof if wee haue no ſéeling, they can (to go the beſt way) do vs no good; and if we haue ſéeling, they worke vs nothing but ſorrow, griefe, ſtinch and loathſomneſſe? Yea, but the happines or felicity is in healing them. Happy then is ẏ Common weale which receiueth good by thy paine: but not thy paine happy which thou haſt taken to heale it. For when a Phyſicion healeth a man, who receiues the benefit, the Phyſicion or the Patient? And if the Phyſicion did his Cure for gaine, and the Magiſtrate his duty for honor: who ſées not that the ſkil of curing was not the end of the one, nor the ſkill of gouerning the end of the other: ſéeing that they tended either of them to a further end, and that ſo silly a one? Notwithſtanding all this, in the end man dyeth, and the world periſheth: but the Soule liueth ſtil, and yet giueth ouer the dealings of the world. Therfore néedes muſt ſome other thing than Policie bee our ſoueraigne good, ſeeing that this Policie is limited within the bounds of this world.

Wiſdome, or Religiouſneſſe.

Now then, let vs examine Wiſedome. It is the beholding of God, and of things belonging to God. This requireth a man to lift vp himſelfe aboue the world, and aboue himſelfe; I meane, that a man ſhould retire from all outward things into his own Soule, the Soule vnto her Mind, and the Mind vnto God. Surely there is great likelihood that our doings ought to be referred to this wiſedome, and that our end and welfare ſhould conſiſt therein. For the perfecting of ſuch a contemplation, we ſay there are required Wealth, Health, Vertue, and Policie. For want and pouerty bee as fetters of Iron to a well diſpoſed mind: a ſickly and diſeaſed body is as a torture to it: vnruly affections daze it, and make it ſee one thing for another. Policie is the ſtabliſher of Common weales, and whoſoeuer giueth himſelfe to contemplation, it behoueth him to be ſetled in a quiet place, that hee may hold the Plummet of his minde ſteddy without ſhaking or ſtirring. Thus do all things ſeeme to ſerue to that vſe. But when they come all to the forenamed poynt, to helpe vs; yet I pray you how farre do they further vs? It is naturally bred in man to beleeue that there is a God: and his workes do put vs in minde of it euery houre. But ſhall we enter into our workmaſter, ſeeing that the very out-ſide of the

the leaſt of all his works doth ſtop vs? Again, who knoweth not, that if there be not a God, there can be no happines at all? And ſith we know it, euen (as ye would ſay) from our birth; why take we ſo much pain in ſéeking that which we haue already? Reaſon telleth vs further, that God is good & iuſt; that is to ſay, that he loueth that which is good, and hateth that which is euill. And our own conſcience telleth vs, that we do little good, or none, but much euill. And if the little good which wee doe, bee done amiſſe, what happines is there, or rather what vnhappines is there not in ẏ knowledge which maketh vs to féele a continual torment in our ſelues? But the party that is giuen to contemplation, mounteth vp yet higher, and conſidereth that God is immortall, vnchangeable, & not to be wrought into: which is as much to ſay, as that he is not as we men are, who do die, mone and change: and when hee comes to that point, hee is at the higheſt that his wit can reach vnto. And what is all this flying vp, but a créeping ſtil vpon the earth? For, to ſay that of a thing which it is not, or to ſay it is not this, or it is not that; what elſe is it but a proteſting that we know not what it is? as if a man ſhould boaſt that he knows an Elephant, vnder pretence that he knowes it is not a Snaile? What then is our higheſt contemplation, but déepe ignorance? And who would make ignorance his higheſt felicity, and furtheſt end, or ſhot-anker? Yet notwithſtanding, how few be there which attaine ſo far? And if any through rachnes aduenture any further; into what error and blindneſſe doe they fall, no leſſe than they which forgo their ſight by looking againſt the Sun?

It remaineth then in the end, that we muſt attaine to that by Faith, which we cannot attaine vnto by Reaſon; that wee muſt mount vp by liuely beliefe aboue our vnderſtanding, vnto the things whereunto the eye of our mind is not able to reach. And Algazel the Arabian prouided ſo far, as to ſay, that the rot whereby the felicity to come is attained vnto, is Faith. And what is this faith in God, but a beleeuing that our welfare lieth in him? What is the beleeuing, but the hoping for it? What is hope, but the deſiring of it? What is the deſire of it, but the not hauing of it? And to be ſhort, what is the continual beliefe of it here, but a bewraying that here we can neither haue it, nor ſee it? If we haue not faith; what haue we but ignorance? And if wee haue faith; what haue we but onely a deſire & longing? conſidering that the greater our faith is, the more we deſpiſe theſe baſe things: and the greater our deſire is, the more we hate our ſelues, and the more earneſtly do we loue God. To be ſhort, what is faith? Welfare behighted. But we would ſee it. Againe, what is faith? The way vnto felicitie.

Faith, or Beliefe.

Algazel in the beginning of his Supernaturals.

But we would poſſeſſe & enioy it. Loke then what proportion is betweene that which is preſent, & that which is to come; ſuch proportion is there betwirt the hope which we haue here (yea euen aboue the world, and aboue our ſelues) and the perfect and full fruition of the good which we ſeeke to attaine vnto. But let vs in few words gather together what we haue ſaid heretofore. Whereas we ſeeke for an end or reſting point, the world is made for man, man for the Soule, the Soule for the Minde, the Minde for a much higher thing than it ſelfe: and what elſe can that be but God? As for that which we vnderſtand here as concerning God by our naturall wiſdome, it is but ignorance; and that which we conceiue by our ſupernaturall power, is but beliefe, and beliefe maketh not things perfect, but onely moueth the vnderſtanding. It followeth then, that our doings can haue no end to reſt vpon here, but only in the life to come, which is the beholding & knowing of God. Againe, if we ſeek the ſoueraigne good, our appetites owe obedience to our will, our will to our reaſon, and the perfection of our reaſon is the knowing of God. And ſo the contentment of our will is our poſſeſſing of God. Now we poſſeſſe not God, but ſo farre forth as we loue him: we loue him not, but ſo far forth as we know him: and neither can ignorance ingender earneſt loue, nor beliefe ingender full and perfect fruition, but onely a certaine hope; which hope is matched with impatience euen in the beſt of vs. It followeth therefore, that we cannot enioy our ſoueraigne welfare, vntil we be come to our vtmoſt end, nor haue our ful cõtentation, vntil we haue ful knowledge: that is to wit, we cannot haue it in this world, nor in man, which two cannot content the mind, or ſatisfie the wil of man, forſomuch as either of them both is a world of wretchednes: but though we haue a double life, yet can we haue our vtmoſt reſting point, and our only ſoueraigne welfare, no where elſe but onely in God, and in the euerlaſting life.

Here I ſhould declare what that felicitie of man ſhall be, when he is come to his vtmoſt reſting point. But who will be ſo raſh, as to open his mouth in that behalfe, after him that hath told vs, that neither eye hath ſeene it, nor heart can conceiue it? And how ſhould we know it here, being vnable either to ſee it, or to haue it here? Now therefore at one word, let vs be contented with this, that all our deſires ſhall be ſatisfied at that day, ſeeing they extend not but to the things that are; and that in God wee ſhall at that day ſee, haue, and know all things. But yet for a more large confirmation of this former point, it is now time to heare what the Philoſophers ſay thereof.

Chap.

Chap. XIX.

That the wiſeſt of all ages agreet, hat God is the vtmoſt end and ſoueraigne good, felicity, or welfare of man.

SVrely man doth naturally deſire, for the contentment of his will, to be well; and for the exerciſe of wit, to haue ſome certaine end. And therefore there is not a riſer, nor a larger place in Philoſophy, than the ſearching out of the chiefe end, and ſoueraigne good of man; inſomuch that Cicero ſaith, that the whole authority of Philoſophy conſiſteth in that point alone. Notwithſtãding, foraſmuch as by reaſon of our fall, we find our ſelues aſtoniſhed here below, like folke falne out of the clouds, & moreouer benighted vñ very deep darknes in a place that leadeth many ſundry wayes cleane contrary one from another; we know not in this perplexitie which way to take, and yet euery of vs thinkes himſelfe wiſe enough to direct his companion. One cals to the right hand, & another to the left: One points ye vp the hill, and another ſets yee through the plaines: and yet all of them can as little ſkill of the right way one as another: and at the laſt the moſt part of them perceiue in the end of their trauell, that the more haſte they made, the farther they wandred from their way. But what wonder is it if blinde folkes, or ſuch as are guided by blinde folks, or ſuch as haue no guide at all, do go aſtray? May rather, were it not to be eſteemed for a miracle, if any of them all, howbeit being guided from aboue, ſhould happen to hit vpon the right way? Naturall deſire cauſeth men to ſeeke their welfare. And all Philoſophy lieth in that point of ſeeking out the welfare of man. Sin hath put vs from it, & maketh vs to loſe it. And therefore the wiſer ſort haue laboured to recouer it by eſchewing ſin. But moſt men knowing not ỹ this ſin is come vpon vs by a high fal, & therfore imagining thẽſelues to be reſtled ſtil in their former place; do bufie their heads about the ſeeking of it there, not perceiuing that they be throwne down very low far from God, & vnderneath themſelues. That is the cauſe why we to no purpoſe do ſeeke by groping round about vs, for that which is not to be had there, nor is to be found there. Varro ſaith, that in his time there were two hundred foure ſcore and

Auſtin in his 19. booke & 1. chap of the City of God.

eight opinions concerning this point in the bookes of Philoſophers: that is to ſay, two hundred foure ſcore & eight Sects: for that was y lawge or cognisaunce that made the difference betwixt them. It was a wonder to ſee ſo many diuerſities, and a more wonder, that of ſo many, ſo few could hit vpon the truth. Yet notwithſtanding, they triumphed one ouer another, & were curious in confuting one another: as indeed it is alwayes more eaſie to reproue a fault, than to amend it, & to conuince a lie, than to finde out the truth. But yet at leaſtwiſe wee haue wonne thus much at the hands of them all: That there is one chiefe end, & one ſoueraigne good, whereat al men ought to aime: and we find euen by the contrarietie of their owne reaſons one againſt another, that it is none of all thoſe things wherein they haue ſought it: whereupon wee may eaſily conclude, that it cannot bee any where elſe, then where we ſeeke it. Had they well conſidered, that man is falne from his former dignity, & compared the glory of his former ſtate with the wretchednes of his preſent ſtate; they would haue ſought none other happines or felicity, than to returne thither, that is to ſay, than to bee linked againe vnto God: and they would neuer haue followed ſo many fond fanſies, more worthy to bee pitied than to bee laughed at. Neuertheleſſe, there are ſome few to be found in all ages, which haue leueled at this marke, like as among all the reſt, we ſee that ſome haue had a certaine knowledge of our firſt originall nature.

The Epicures. The Epicures ſought this ſoueraign good in the pleaſures & delights of the body: and the Stoicks mocked them for their labour, perceiuing well, that there is not here ſo faire & ſweet a Roſebuſh, which hath not very ſharpe prickes, and that it was the next way to make a man a beaſt. To be ſhort, the Epicures themſelues were ſo much aſhamed of the matter, that to make Lady Pleaſure go for an honeſt woman, they were faine to diſguiſe her as much as they could, and to ſay, that by Pleaſure they meant the delights of the minde, and not the feuerous pleaſures of the body, which paſſe away in the turning of a hand. But in the end, what were their pleaſures? Forſooth (ſay they) to bethinke a mans ſelfe how oft he hath made good chere, or how oft he hath ſeene his Mrull. O ſtrange beaſtlineſſe! As who would ſay (ſaith Plutarke) that the pleaſures of this world were to be kept in Conſerues, or to be laid vp as Reſtoratiues in the cloſet of mans memory: or rather (ſay I) as though the remembrance of troubles paſt, yea or of ſome greeuous ſickneſſe recouered, were not more delightfull than the greateſt toyes that are poſſible to be had.

The Stoicks. The Stoicks therefore doe giue vs another kinde of happineſſe or welfare;

welfare; namely, Moral vertue, which conſiſteth in the quiet reigning of reaſon in vs. But what is this elſe than a mere imagination? How will they anſwere to the Peripateticks, which ſay, that man is not made for himſelfe alone, but for common ſocietie: That his vertue muſt aime at a further end: That vertue neither in reſpect of that whereat it aimeth, nor of that whereon it worketh, can make men happy? To be ſhort, what will they ſay to their owne companions, who for the vpholding of this their ſurmiſed felicity, do vnderprop it with wealth, health, courage, and meaſurable pleaſure, as inſufficient to ſtand alone without aid? But I haue ripped vp this poynt ſufficiently in the Chapter going laſt before.

The Peripateticks, or walkers. What then do the Peripateticks ſet vs downe? As the Stoickes left the body to mount vp to the Soule, ſo theſe mount vp from the Soule to the Minde. There are (ſaith Ariſtotle) two ſorts of Bleſſednes. The one ciuill and publick, called Policie; which conſiſteth in action: and the other priuate and of houſhold, called Wiſedome, which conſiſteth in Contemplation. Yee thinke verily, that he hath ſaid ſomewhat. But how can Policy be this bleſſednes, conſidering that according to his owne ſaying, Policie is but a cunning or ſkill to leade things to a certaine end, and is not the end it ſelfe? Or how can Wiſedome be it, ſeeing that (as he himſelfe ſaith) our vnderſtanding ſeeth as little in matters concerning God, as the eye of an Owle doth when ſhe commeth neere the Sun? Our vnderſtanding is dull, our iudgement vncertaine, and our memory deceitfull. The deepeſt of our knowledge (ſaith Socrates) is ignorance; and all Philoſophy (as Porphyrius vpholdeth) is but meere coniecture, eaſie to be ouerthrowne with euery little puſh. Now then, how may this be a happines, vnleſſe we will grant that the Owle is happy in comming neere the Sun; or a blinde man happy in beholding colours?

Porphyr. in his firſt booke of the Soule to Byrithius and Anebon.

His Diſciples Alexander and Auerrhoes, perceiuing that all our contemplation is but veration of mind, moſt commonly to no purpoſe; haue found vs out another deuice: Which is, that all our happineſſe conſiſteth in ioyning the capacity of our minde, or rather of our imagination, vnto certaine ſeparated ſubſtances, to be informed by them in all manner of knowledge: for the which deuice they be reproued of moſt Philoſophers, and as I beléeue, in the end they laughed themſelues to ſcorne for it. But as I haue ſaid already, what are theſe ſeparated ſubſtances of theirs? Or rather why did they not ſet our felicity in being knit vnto God, whom they confeſſe to be better than all theſe things? Againe, who is he, were he neuer ſo fantaſticall, euen

though it were Auerrhoes himſelfe, that could vaunt himſelfe to haue euer attained to that imagined Coniunction of theirs in this life: And ſeeing that (as they beare vs on hand) the knowledge of the nature of all ſenſible things, is required to the attainment of that felicitie of theirs; how ſhall we attaine to the full height thereof, if we ſtop at the very beginning?

The Academicks. Plato in his Commonweale lib. 10. In his Epinomis. In his Theetetus Laertius in the life of Plato. Plato in his Phædon.

The Academickes therefore, who take vpon them to weare Platoes liuery, mounted vp one ſtep higher, & conſidered very well, that all our contemplation is but a continuall wreſtling, one while againſt the darkneſſe of the things, and another while againſt the darkeneſſe of our own minde. And as they acknowledge our hurt to proceed of a fall, whereby wee brake our wings, which (as Plato interpreteth them) were Mozall vertue and contemplation: ſo conceiued they thereupon, that it were a great god turne for vs to recouer them againe. But whether to be carried by them? Let vs heare that of Plato. All the things in this world (ſaith he) which we call goods, as Beauty, Riches, Strength, Nobilitie, and ſuch other; are ſo farre off from being goods indeed, that they be rather corrupters and hinderers of good. Then are they very far off from being the Soueraigne good of man, or conſequently the End whereat he ought to ſtay. Againe, It is vnpoſſible (ſaith Plato) that men ſhould be happy in this life, doe what they can: that is to be had in another life, where the vertuous ſhal receiue felicitie for a reward. In vaine then do we ſéke that here beneath, by our deeds and contemplations, which is not here to be found, and in vaine do we ſet our vtmoſt end here, where is not the furtheſt end of our life. But in the end, what is this felicitie? It is (ſaith Plato) to be ioyned vnto God, and to become like vnto him, who is himſelfe the higheſt top, the furtheſt end, and the vtmoſt bound of all felicitie. Thus yée ſee, that (by Platoes iudgement) the two things which we ſeeke, do meet both together alonly in God. The end of our life is to bee ioyned vnto God. And our bleſſednes or felicitie which ought to content vs, which conſiſteth in the full fruition of all good things, is the poſſeſſing of God, who is the very felicity it ſelfe. Yet neuertheleſſe, Ariſtotle ſeemeth to haue come at length to the ſame point, in that he ſaith, That God is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things: and againe, that mans felicity conſiſteth in the ſame thing wherein the felicity of the Gods conſiſteth, ỳ is to wit, in perfect contemplation of that which is aboue al moueable things.

Ariſtotle in his booke of the world: And in his Morals: And in his firſt booke of the heauens.

Pythagoras ſaid, that the end of thts life is Contemplation; that the end of all contemplation, is God: and that the felicity of man is to be

be lifted vp vnto God. Alſo he taught vs, that we be but as pilgrimes in this world, & as folke banished from Gods preſence: & what doth ỳ banished deſire more, than to be reſtored home into his own Country? And Mercury ſaith, that our end is to liue in ſoule, which in this world is as good as buried: That in this world there is not any thing that is worthy to be ſaid to be wel or good. It is in another place therfore that man muſt liue and enioy his welfare, namely (as hee ſaith) in being become one againe with God. And Zoroaſtres ſaith, that we muſt trauel with all our power towards the brightneſſe of the Father, who is the giuer of our ſoule. Alſo he hath told vs, that we be falne away from this brightnes of light, into thick darknes, & haue loſt Gods fauour by going about to ſet our ſelues free from his ſeruice. But as the world hath taught vs more and more, that there is no god in the world, ſo the latter Philoſophers haue diſcourſed yet more largely thereof, than thoſe that went afore. Here therefore we might rehearſe a good part of Seneca and Cicero, and others: whoſe opinion, forasmuch as I haue alleaged already in the chapter of the Immortality of mans Soule, where it may bee knowne well enough: I will content my ſelfe for this time with a foure or fiue of them.

The Philoſophers of old time. Pythagoras. Mercurius Triſmegiſtus, otherwiſe called Hermes Zoroaſtres.

Surely Plutark is wonderful in confuting the beaſtlines of the Epicures, & the awk opinions of the Stoicks: ſetting againſt the Epicures the pleaſure that a good man receiueth in ſeeing God well ſerued here on earth, & in hauing him for his Leader from aboue: and againſt the Stoicks, the ſtrife which man hath againſt himſelfe, which all their Philoſophy is not able to appeaſe: and therefore he reſalueth himſelfe in the end, that as in the myſteries of men of old time, the loking vpon them was the end why they toke the orders of them vpon them: ſo the end of true Philoſophy is the Contemplation and beholding of the mindly and immortall nature, that is to ſay, of God the Creator.

Plutark.

διὸν ἐποπτείαν τελετῆς.

Iamblicus was ſurnamed the Diuine: and it is ſaid that he was ſo called, becauſe he ſpake ſo Diuinely of this matter. Thus therefore doth he ſay: Shall we ſay that to be healthy, to be faire, to be rich, to be honored, to be of a good wit, and ſuch like, are mans happineſſe? No ſurely. The ſtrength of man is but a ieſt, and his honor a mockery. Yea, Man himſelfe & all that hee maketh account of, are but a fleeting ſhadowe. Neuertheleſſe vnto good men, they be good poſſeſsions: but vnto wicked men, they bee euill, and dangerous. What then? ſhould not the poſſeſsing of them for euer, and not as in a Dreame that vaniſheth away, be the true happineſſe? No: the poſſeſsing of them for euer, if it were without vertue, were a very great miſchiefe, and the ſooner they

Iamblichus.

were taken from vs, the leſſe harme it ſhould bee. Nay, the very true meane to attaine to the heauenly felicitie, is praying & calling vnto the gods, and chiefely vpon the great God which raigneth ouer them all. **And therefore he ſayth in another place,** Whatſoeuer a man doth or leaueth vndone, ought to bee referred to the Godhead, and all this life is ordained for nothing els but to follow God: the knowledge of who is perfect Vertue, Wiſdome and Blesfulneſſe, which maketh vs like the Goddes, **that is to ſay (after his manner of ſpeaking)** like the Angels. **Let vs heare yet more of him.** The time hath been **(ſaith hee)** that man was faſt tyed to the beholding of God: but afterward he was made ſubiect to the bodie, and tyed to the neceſsitie of Deſtinie: and therefore it behooueth him to bee well aduiſed, by what meane hee may bee rid of it. Now, other knowledge there is none that can deliuer him, but onely the knowledge of God. For the patterne of felicitie, is to knowe the good: and the knowing of good, is the holy gate whereby to come to the maker of all things. Now **(ſayth hee againe afterward)** the care of theſe inferiour things, which maketh vs to forget God, cannot be ſeparated from this tranſitorie life wherein we be: for this bodie will neuer ſuffer vs to play the right Philoſophers indeed. **It followeth, then that this knowledge of God vnder the which he comprehendeth all vertue, all wiſedome, and all ſtudy of Philoſophy, cannot be attained vnto, nor become perfect in this life, but only in the life to come.**

The finall end of Man (ſayth Plotin) is the pure Good, that is to wit, God: and all other things are but appurtenances to that end, & not the end it ſelfe. Whoſoeuer poſſeſſeth this good, can haue no good taken from him, nor any good put vnto him. For it is not only an vniting vnto God, but almoſt a being of God himſelf. **Now who is he that can take ſuch poſſeſſion of it in this life? And therefore hee addeth,** There our minde beholdeth the fountaine of life, of vnderſtanding, of being, the cauſe of good, and the root of the Soule. There lyeth our welfare after ſuch a ſort, that to be far from it, is as good as not to be at all. There is the beginning and end of life. The beginning; for from thence doth it proceed; and the end, for there is the welfare wheron it reſteth. The welfare, ſay I: for in attaining thither, it becommeth againe that which it had bin afore. For as for the being which it hath here, what is it but a downfall, whereby it hath loſt her wings? Here raigneth a baſe and vile Venus; but there raigneth a heauenly one: Here a loue of the world; there the loue of God. And what a griefe ought it to be vnto vs, to be wedded to the earth? And on the contrary part, how deſirous ought

ought we to be to feele God in all parts aboue? Yea, and to be ſo ioyned vnto him, as one Center is within another, ſo as both of them may be but as one? **Now he is full of ſuch and larger ſayings; and alwaies he concludeth,** Bleſſedneſſe and euerlaſtingneſſe follow one another: **whereby hee excludeth them, both out of this world, and out of this life.**

But for the more ſpeed, let vs come to others. What is the end of Man (ſaith Porphyrius?) It is vndoubtedly to liue in Minde. And how is that? By contemplation in this life? No (ſaith he **in another place**) All Philoſophy is but gueſſing, a light beliefe receiued from hand to hand, and which hath nothing therin which may not be called in queſtion. **What manner of contemplation then ſhall the true one be?** Not a heape of words (ſaith he) nor a patching together of precepts; but a true vnion of the beholder, and the thing that is beheld, that is to ſay, of our minde, and of God. Porphirius in his worke of abſtinẽce. lib. 1. cap. 2. Porphirie cõcerning the Soule, to Byrithe and Anebon the Aegyptiã.

Simplicius **the** Peripatetick, **whether he learned it of** Epictetus, **or ſomewhere elſe, ſpeaketh of it thus.** The greateſt good that is in the knowledge of nature, is, that it is a faire path to lead men to the knowing of the Soule, of the ſeparated ſubſtances, & of Gods being. Moreouer it inflameth vs to the ſeruing of God, leading vs by the effects to the Maieſty of the Creator; whereupon followeth an onement with God, with aſſured faith & hope, which are the things for which Philoſophy is chiefly to be vſed. **And in another place;** The beginning (ſaith he) and the end of happy life, and the perfection of our Soule, conſiſteth in being bent & turned vnto God, as well by acknowledging that he gouerneth all things with Iuſtice, as by conſenting to all that hee doth, as proceeding from a rightful iudgement. For ſo long as our ſoule abideth in him as in the root, it abideth in the perfection wherein God created it. But if it fall to ſtarting out of him, it becommeth withered, and droopeth, vntill it turne back and be vnited againe vnto him. **The cauſe then of our vnhappineſſe, is our ſeparating of our ſelues from God; and the cauſe of our happineſſe is our linking in againe with him: and man ſeeketh a happineſſe agreeable to his kinde, as all other things do. The end of man therefore is to turne againe vnto God, that he may become one with him.** Simplicius in his worke of naturalls and vpon Epictetus.

Syrian **the Schoolemaſter of** Simplicius, **writing vpon** Ariſtotle, **hath comprehended the matter in one word;** Wee deale with Philoſophy (ſaith hee) for our owne benefit: that is to ſay, for our owne welfare; which welfare is to be vnited vnto God. Vpõ theſe words, τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἕνωσις.

And Alexander of Aphrodiſe commeth not farre behinde, when he ſaith,

Alexandria in his booke of Prouidence cited by Cyrillus.

faith, that our ſoueraign felicity conſiſteth in deuotion towards God, beyond whom there is not any further reward to be deſired. For ſeeing (ſayth he) that the worthieſt operation of the Soule is contemplation: and contemplation properly is the knowing of the beſt things, and none are ſo good as the things that concerne God: our end and felicity ought to be the contemplation of things belonging to God. To be ſhort, the beſt eſteemed interpreters of Ariſtotle, do make him to yéeld to this point whether hee will or nill, as men aſhamed in his behalfe, that hauing ſought ſo much for the true end of man, hee hath not ſet it downe more certainly.

The end both of the good and of the bad.

Now, the Philoſophers of olde time knew in all times, not onely that thoſe which attaine to the ſaid end for which man was created, are happy: but alſo that thoſe which deſpiſe it do fall into extreme wretchednesſe: the one ſort receiuing euerlaſting felicity, the other ſort beeing by Gods Iuſtice condemned to endleſſe paine. Alſo it is an article expreſſly ſet downe in the Creeds of all people, as a point that is probable to all men at the very firſt ſight: That God is righteous and good; and that euill is accompanied with punithment, and good is accompanied with reward. As for the Cabaliſts of the Iewes, In their booke of ſhame concealed. it is no wonder though they haue handled this matter well: for they haue drawne matter out of the fountaines of the holy Scripture. And therfore let vs heare but the Heathen.

Hermes Trifmegiſt. in his Pœmander. Orpheus. *Pythago. Pindarus. Diphilus. Sybilla.*

Thoſe (ſaith Hermes) which haue obtained the fauor of God, are of mortall become immortall, and conceiue the only good which maketh them to fall into a miſliking of theſe inferior things, that they may indeuour with all their power to returne to him the more ſpeedily.

Orpheus ſpeaking yet more cleerely, bringeth good men into Gods preſence, to the ſeate of felicity, and to the feaſt of the righteous, where he maketh them drunken with the perfect and euerlaſting contemplation: but as for the wicked, he burieth them in a quagmire, tormenting them with vaine thoughts, and making them to drawe water into a Siue: that is to ſay, hee aſſureth the one ſort of perfect contentation, and putteth the other ſort in extreme deſpaire.

Of Pythagoras we haue theſe Verſes:

If reaſon here thou follow for thy guide,
Then at thy parting hence thou ſhalt be ſure,
In Heauen a God immortall to abide,
No death thenceforth for euer to endure.

And theſe Verſes were followed by all Poets, who commonly re-

preſented the receiued opinion: among whom Pindarus and Diphilus proceed ſo farre, as to deſcribe an excellent Garden replenished with all things, and appointed to bee a reward for good men, as if they had heard ſpeaking of the Paradiſe of the Iewes, or elſe had read Sibils verſes concerning a certaine grene Garden which ſhe alſo calleth paradiſe, affirming it to be aſſigned for an heritage to ſuch as follow the way of God: that is to wit, which take him for their ſhot-anker, with whom they ſhall haue euerlaſting life and light: whereas on the contrary part, the wicked (ſaith he) ſhall lye burning like firebrands and Torches in endleſſe paines.

Alſo Timæus of Locres hath not forgotten this poynt in his little booke, where he ſaith thus: There is a certaine vengeance both according to the Lawes, and according to the Oracles, which maketh vs to feare both heauen and earth: For ſtrange and vnintreatable puniſhments are prepared for the wicked in hell.

As for Plato, he taketh ſo great pleaſure in this matter, that he cannot be drawne from it: and hee ſcarcely paſſeth any one Dialogue, wherein he hath not ſome ſpeech thereof; meaning doubtleſſe to doe vs to vnderſtand, that without that, all Philoſophy, and all Diuinitie be maimed: and it ſhould ſeeme that the conſtancie of Socrates his teacher, had confirmed him not a little therein: in whoſe defence of himſelfe, which was as it were his laſt will, we read theſe words. Death would be grieuous to me, if I were not ſure, firſt that when I am departed hence I ſhall go to the wiſe gods (ſo did they terme the Angels or created minds) and ſecondly, to the men that are deliuered out of this life, who out of doubt are in better caſe than thoſe that are here. And vnto Cratylus againe hee ſaith: When the good man departeth this world, hee commeth to great honour, and to a great inheritance: for hee becommeth a Dæmon, according to the true ſignification of the word, that is to ſay, skilfull and wiſe. That then is the perfection of a Philoſopher, whoſe end and profeſſion is to haue knowledge and skil. And in his Theetetus he ſaith, that with the gods there is no euill, but euill walketh here beneath among theſe tranſitorie things, and therefore that we muſt hye vs thither and flée from hence, that is to ſay, we muſt become righteous and wiſe. For ſaith he) ſuch as ſhall haue followed the way of folly and wickedneſſe, ſhall not bee admitted into the reſting place of the bleſſed ſort which are exempted from all euill: but according to their lewd life, they ſhall be condemned to dwell for euer with the euill. In his Gorgias hee maketh mention of an ancient Lawe vnder Saturne: which he affirmeth to haue bin then ſtill in vſe, namely

That is to ſay, they that worſhip the Soothfaſt and euerlaſting God, ſhall inherit life for euer, time without end, dwelling in paradiſe a like euer flouriſhing greene. But of the other ſort he ſayth thus: λειμῶνας ἐπιτηδείους πανηγύρεσι θεῶν πανυ: That is to ſay, roſted continually with firebrands of paines. Socrates in defence of himſelf. Plato in his Cratylus. Plato in his Theetetus. Plato in his Gorgias.

namely, that when good men, do depart out of this life, they be ſent into the fortunate Iles (which Iles Pindarus alſo deſcribeth very curiouſly) and the wicked into the Jayle of vengeance, which hee calleth Tartar; vndoubtedly betokening theſe vnknown places, by places knowne vnto them, which they tok commonly to be either moſt pleaſant, or moſt horrible: like as the Iewes betokened the Reſting place of the bleſſed ſort by a goodly Garden, and Hell by the valley of Onam or Ghehinom, which was an irkſome place neere Ieruſalem. In his Phædon he bringeth in a certain Prophet raiſed from the dead, which reporteth that thoſe which are iuſtified, go on the right hand, pure and cleane, and are ſent vp to heauen: and that the damned ſort go on the left, beſmeared with filth and mire, weeping and gnaſhing their teeth, and in the end are ſent into low deepe places. Plato in his Phædon, and in his tenth booke of Lawes.

Plato in his Axiochus.

Plato in his Commonweale.

Plutarke concerning the ſlowe punishing of the wicked.

Pen and he deſcribeth there the bleſſed Country in ſuch termes, that ſome men haue taken the paines to conferre it, with that which is written thereof in the Apocalyps.

To be ſhort, in his Axiochus, he calleth the place of Iudgement, the field of truth: from whence (ſaith he) they which haue followed the inſpiration of the good ſpirit, ſhall be ſent into a Paradiſe or pleaſant Garden, which he deſcribeth there in the delightfulleſt maner that he can deuiſe, to repreſent the things which he cannot conceiue, by the things which we ſee here on earth: and that they which haue bin led by ἐπιθεσε ἐχειδε δια περιέχου. wicked fiends, that is to ſay, by ỹ inſtinct of the diuel, ſhall be condemned to darkneſſe and confuſion, where he deſcribeth a great number of endleſſe torments. Neuertheleſſe he ſheweth that theſe things are not to be taken according to the letter, when he ſaith in his Commonweale, that neither the punihments nor the rewards of this world are any thing at all either for number or for greatneſſe, in reſpect of thoſe which are prepared for either ſort in the life to come.

Cicero, who would néeds be as a Plato in Latine, followeth him as it were ſtep by ſtep; and ſo doth Plutarke alſo, who counterfaiting Plato, bringeth in one Theſpeſius raiſed from the dead, and maketh him to diſcourſe of the life to come. And without calling in Plotine, Porphyrius, Proclus, Hierocles and ſuch others whom it would bee ouerlong to heare; only Iamblichus ſhall ſuffice, whoſe words are theſe: The good Soule ſhall dwell with God, and walke vp and downe in Heauen, where it ſhall haue a dwelling place. But the Soule that is defiled with curſed deeds, ſhal be ſent vnder the earth, to the iudgements which are there executed vpon ſoules. Now what can wee demaund more of the Philoſphers, than that which they confeſſe? Namely, that

that the happineſſe and the end of man, are not in this life but in the other, and that the marke which man ſhould ſhoot at, is to imploy this life in the knowing of God, that in the other life he may euerlaſtingly inioy all good things.

So then, let vs conclude, both by mans reaſon and by the authority of al Philoſophy, That as the body of man relieth vpon his Soule: ſo his mortal life relieth vpon the Immortal life that is to come: That the end whereto man was created in this world, is to know and ſerue God, & to poſſeſſe him wholly aboue. Howbeit, foraſmuch as by our fall we haue falne from knowledge into ignorance, and therefore although wee haue ſome little glimmering ſight of our end which wee ayme at, yet wot not how to ſhape our ſelues to it: And againe, by the ſame fall we be falne from our ſoueraigne welfare, into a bottomleſſe pit of miſery, where we créepe ſo lame, as it is not poſſible for vs to returne again to our former ſtate: let vs ſee whether God of his mercy, haue not left vs ſome remnants whereby to get vp againe, and to be directed into our right way: and whether he himſelfe alſo doe not reach out his fatherly hand, through the clouds of darknes wherwith we be ouerwhelmed, to pull vs backe, and to call vs home againe to him, as very Baſtards, Rebels, and vnworthy Caitifes as we be.

Chap. XX.

That the true Religion is the way to attaine to the ſayd end, and ſoueraigne welfare; and what are the markes of that Religion.



Haue proued already, That there is but one God, the Father of mankind: that hee created the world for mans vſe: and that he gouerneth both the world and man by his prouidence. Hereupon the leaſt man among all will conclude by and by, That ſith he is our father, we owe him obedience: ſith we hold all things of him in fée, wee owe him fealty and homage: ſith he prouideth all things for vs, we ought to call vpon him in all our doings and in all our neceſſities. Alſo, I haue ſhewed, that Man is of nature immortall: and therefore hee muſt apply himſelfe with all his heart to immortall things. That by ſin he is fallen from

God

God and from himſelf: and therfore he muſt craue forgiuenes of him, that his wrath may be appeaſed: That this offence was acertaine pride and ouerweening of himſelfe; therfore he muſt acknowledge his frailty and wretchednelle, and humble himſelfe before God. Now, in one word, what is all this to ſay, but that as there is but one God, and one mankind; ſo there ought to be but one religion, that is to ſay, one ordinary duty and ſeruice of man towards God? For what els are all the exerciſes of religion, but appurtenances of the Articles which we haue proued: that is to wit, Of the Creation of the World, and of Gods Prouidence; Of the Immortality of the Soule, and of Mans fall, and of mans ſoueraigne welfare? In religion, men crouch, men kneele, men haue ordinances to obſerue: this is done in token of obedience. Againe, they giue thankes and prayſe vnto God, and they giue him the firſt fruits, both of their Cattell and of their Corne: that is a ſigne of acknowledgement that they be but as his tenants: They call vpon him in their aduerſity, and they aſke proſperity of him in all their doings, be they neuer ſo ſmall: It is properly a commending of themſelues to his prouidence. Alſo in Religion, there is weeping, ſorrowing, faſting, putting on of Sack-cloth, and beſprinkling of themſelues with duſt. This is in token that we ought to humble our ſelues beneath the very earth. Againe, there bee Sacrifices both generall and particular: and what are thoſe but proteſtations that all vs and euery of vs haue deſerued death? In the end of all this, there commeth a promiſe and a pretence of euerlaſting life, to ſuch as diſcharge their duety towards God: which is as much to ſay, as that thoſe Ceremonies and obſeruations are not the things that wee muſt reſt vpon, but are means to lead vs to our right end, which is to lift vs vp on high. But betweeu theſe two laſt Articles, namely between the death which we proteſt our ſelues to haue deſerued, and the euerlaſting life that is behighted vs to inuer it, there is a maruellous waſte diſtance to be filled vp: and yet notwithſtanding either it muſt needes bee that man is ſet in the world in vaine, or els, that there is a way or a bridge ordained for the paſſing thereof. Therefore, Religion, which hath brought vs to the pits brimme, muſt alſo ſhew vs this bridge: that ſhe may vnite and link vs againe vnto God, from whom we be gone ſo far & ſo ſtrangely by our fall: and that ſhe may reconcile vs as baſtardly children to our Father, and as rebellious Subiects to our Prince: without which reconciliation or (according to the Latin deriuation) religion, God ceaſeth to be our Father, and we to bee his children: and all religion, how gay and glorious a ſhewe ſoeuer it haue,

haue, is vtterly vnprofitable and vaine. Now, the end that man ſhould ayme at in this life, is to returne vnto God, and it cannot be in vaine: but in vaine it ſhould be, if there bee no way to leade man vnto God, or rather to bring God vnto man. To the intent therefore that neyther God bee defrauded of his glory, nor man of his end and felicity, there muſt (according to my former proofes) needs be a way, that is to ſay, a meane to reconcile man vnto God, and to vnite him againe vnto him, that he may be ſaued; which way we will (according to the common ſpeech) call Religion.

Now, all the ancient men agree fully, that there ought to be a Religion among all men: as indeed there is not a thing that doth more neceſſarily follow, than a God, a Man, and a Religion: a Father, a Son, and an Obedience: a Maker, a Seruant, and a Seruice: a Giuer, a Receiuer, and a Reward: or rather a Lender, a Debter, and a Bond: And therefore, full well doth one ſay; The Philoſophers ought to haue beene the firſt Diuines. For inaſmuch as wee make towards God with two wings, that is to ſay, with Wit and Will: Wit can no ſooner conceiue that God is our Father, but by and by Will inferreth thereupon, Ergo, we ought to obey him and to ſerue him: yea and it proceedeth yet further, that ſith he is our Father, and wee his children, it is for our moſt behoofe to return vnto him. O Lord (ſaith Hermes) What thankes ſhall we yeeld thee? And by and by he anſwereth, Lord, there is but onely one thanke, and that is the acknowledging of thy Maieſty. And againe: The only way to come vnto God, is godlineſſe matched with knowledge: that is to ſay, to know how hee will be ſerued, and therupon to ſerue him. And Pythagoras was wont to ſay to the ſame purpoſe: Foraſmuch as we be nothing without God, it becommeth vs to liue vnto God. Plato commendeth Religion in a thouſand places, whereof I will not take paſt two or three ſayings here. It is mans felicity (ſayth he) to be like vnto God. As how? By being righteous and holy. How may that be? By Religion towards God, which is the greateſt vertue that can be among men. Ariſtotle (thy many mens report) was religious, and as for Auerrhoes his interpreter, he was vtterly irreligious. Neuertheleſſe, ſee how Nature ſwimmeth ouer vngodlineſſe. Ariſtotle ſaith it is graffed in nature to do ſacrifice. And Auerrhoes ſaith, that we be bound by nature to magnifie God with Prayers & Sacrifices. What is this to ſay, but that it is natural to man, yea euen in reſpect of his ſhape & ſubſtance, to haue religion? And why? Alexander profeſſeth himſelf to be the interpreter of Ariſtotle, & therfore he ſhal interpret him for vs here. It is (ſaith hee

There is but one true Religion.

Marſilius Ficinus cõcerning the Chriſtian Religion.

In the laſt chap. of his Euſcubius.

Plato in his Epinomis and in his Theetetus.

Ariſtotle in his fift booke of Moralles and in his firſt of Heauen.

Auerrhoes vpon that firſt booke of heauen.

Alexander of Aphrodiſe, concerning the prouidence of God, cited by Cyrillus,

bee) becauſe our whole felicity conſiſteth in deuotion towards God. For we looke for none other reward but God himſelfe, and him being the very ſoueraigne good, we obtain by ſeruing him. **Now, when we heare theſe words, we may thinke it was a ſtrong torment of conſcience that wrung this truth out of them. For all men know, that chiefly Auerrhoes vrgeth the eternity of the world, and the vniuerſality of one only Minde, which yet notwithſtanding cannot match with godlineſſe.**

Epictetus **maketh not the like flouriſhes of Philoſophy, but yet bee playeth the Philoſopher much better in deed.** If we had wit (ſaith he) what ſhould we doe but prayſe God continually, and ſing Pſalmes of Thankeſgiuing vnto him, euen in digging and tilling the ground, and both in iourneying and in reſting? As how? Euen ſaying thus: Great is God which hath giuen vs theſe tooles to til the earth withall; Great which hath giuen vs hands to worke withall: Great which hath giuen vs to grow euen not woting it, and to breath euen being aſleepe; for

Simplicius vpon Epictetus.

theſe are things that cannot be imputed to our cunning. Such, ſaith he, ought to be the Songs of euery of vs. **And againe,** If I were a Nightingale, I ſhould do as Nightingales do: but being a reaſonable Creature, what ſhall I do now? I will euermore prayſe God (ſaith he) without ceaſing, and I will exhort you all to do the like. **And** Simplicius **his interpreter, hauing firſt made goodly diſcourſes, addeth** that he which is negligent and ſlothfull in ſeruing and honoring God, cannot be diligent in any other thing, how needful ſoeuer the ſame be. Of all vertues (ſaith Hierocles) Religion is the guide, for it concerneth matters of God, and therefore Pithagoras beginneth his precepts thereat. **And the word which he vſeth there for a guide ſignifieth a Queen: which one word importeth very much: namely, that al the vertues which we make account of, as Hardneſſe, Wiſdome, Iuſtice, and Temperance, are nothing if they bee not referred vnto God, and vſed in reſpect of him, that is to ſay: If Religion do not direct and leade them to God, the principal end whereto all our doings ought to tend.** But what is

Hierocles in his firſt chapter againſt Atheiſts.

Hierocles chap. 5. 10, 11.

Religion? It is (ſayth he) the obeying of God, the mother of all vertues, and the diſobeying of all vices. And our obeying of God muſt be of ſuch a ſort, that we muſt rather diſobey our Parents, yea and loſe our liues too, than diſobey him. For, our obeying of our parents, muſt be for to loue God, and it is of his goodnes that we poſſeſſe our liues. Iamblichus ſayth thus: Let vs begin at the beſt and moſt precious: namely, the obſeruing of Religion, which is the ſeruing of God. **And in another place.** Thou ſurmiſeſt (ſaith hee) that there is ſome other way than

Iamblich⁹ in his 45. chapter of Myſteries.

than godlineſſe to attaine to felicity, and thou askeſt of mee what that way may be. But ſurely (ſay I) if the very ſubſtance and original power of all goodneſſe and welfare be in the gods: onely thoſe are happy which conſecrate and vnite themſelues to God after our example. For in that ſtate are both contemplation and knowledge accompliſhed: and beſides the knowledge of the gods, there is alſo the knowledge of our ſelues, which is gotten by caſting back our vnderſtanding towards our ſelues. **To be ſhort,** Proclus **as well vpon his owne iudgement, as vpon the opinions of** Plato, Iamblichus, Porphyrius, Plotin, **and others ſay, that Religion and calling vpon God are proper and peculiar to man,** after the fourth maner (as Ariſtotle **termeth it) that is to ſay: a natural property which agreeth fitly to the whole kind of man, and only to man, & without the which he cannot be a man. Now, I am not ignorant that they ſpeake ſometimes of the ſeruing of the gods in the plurall number, as though there were mee gods than one: inſomuch that ſome of the Philoſophers turned aſide to art magike, and all of them yelded to the Idolatries and Superſtitions of their time. For indeed, to know that God ought to be ſerued, and to know after what ſort hee will be ſerued, and to ſerue him thereafter, are things far differing. But it is enough for this time that we win thus much at their hands, that of neceſſity there is a religion, which thing euen the Nauigations of our time doe ſhew to be imprinted in all the Climates of the world, and in all kindes of men: as which haue diſcouered Nations that wander in Woods, without Lawe, without Magiſtrate, without King; but none without ſome kind of ſeruing of God, none without ſome ſhadow of Religion.**

Proclus in his booke of praying

Hereby then we know that there is a religion, that is to ſay, a way to ſaluation, or **a way whereby to come home againe vnto God. But are there many waies, or but onely one? It is a high queſtion, but yet eaſie to be decided, if we conſider what Religion requireth of vs, and what it is to get for vs. Religion** (as the men of olde time themſelues haue taught vs) **requireth of vs in effect, that we ſhould yeeld full obedience vnto God: full obedience,** ſay I, **ſo as we ſhould dedicate our ſelues to his glory, both our thoughts, words, and deedes, in ſuch ſort that our ſelues and all that euer is in vs ſhould bee referred to his honour. If Religion require this, how can it be any other than one? Or what diuerſity can it admit? And if any require leſſe of vs, contented peraduenture with the outward man (which is all one as if they would rob God of one halfe of a man:) what is their doing but hypocriſie or high treaſon againſt God? But now againe ſeeing that**

That there is but one true Religion.

religion bindeth vs in ſo great a bond, euen by nature, that there is not any man which is not inforced to confeſſe the debt, ſo witneſſed by the whole world: ſurely there is no man that feeleth himſelfe able to pay it, or which doth not willingly pleade guilty: yea, and which is not inforced to ſay, that the moſt part of his thoughts, words, & deeds, are not only far off from God, but alſo tending directly to offend God. Now then, if religion offer vs not as well a mean wherby to diſcharge and cancel the bond, as it offereth the bond it ſelf: It is ſo far off from being the way to welfare which it ought to be, that it is rather a definitiue ſentence of death, & an expreſſe condemning of vs. Therfore let vs ſee whether there bee many wayes of ſatisfaction, or but only one. What ſhal the deuoutеſt man in ỹ world offer vnto God for his owne diſcharge? Shall he offer his firſt fruits? God gaue him both the ſeed and the whole crop. Sacrifices? The wood, the fire & the cattel, are all of Gods gift. The whole world, if a man had it? Hee hath loſt the inheritance and the right thereof, in ſeeking to infranchiſe himſelf from the ſeruice of God. Nay (which more is) God not only gaue ỹ world vnto man, but alſo man to man himſelfe. The world then and all that euer is therein cannot diſcharge man againſt God. What may man himſelfe do? Surely, an acceptable ſacrifice ſhould man make to God as Hierocles ſaith) if he were ſuch a one as he ought to be. But what ſhould the beſt of all men offer vp in ſacrificing himſelfe? Soothly, nothing but enuy, hatred, rayling, backbiting, vain thoughts, vntrue words, wrongfull dealing; and (to go yet further) faint thanks, with cold & counterfait prayers. Now theſe are ſo far off from amounting to a diſcharge, that they turne to a huge heape of worſe & more vndiſchargable bonds according to the infinitnes of the maieſty of the Creator that is offended by them. Now then, if neither the world nor man can diſcharge man againſt God; what remaineth to doe it, but God himſelf, whom religion muſt offer to man for his diſcharge; euen God merciful, to God iuſt: God a paymaſter, to God the Creator: Verily, that hauing ſhewed vs how deeply we be indebted vnto God; it may alſo teach vs the wonderfull meane ordained by God and in God, whereby hee and his ſoueraigne iuſtice may bee ſatisfyed, and our extreme iniquity be therwith releeued. Now the debt of vs all is all of one ſort and nature; namely, that we owe our ſelues all wholly vnto God: and our vnability to diſcharge it is alſo all alike; namely, that all that euer commeth of our ſelues, can deſerue nothing but death vpon death. Our cõmon bond (ſay I) entred into vs all, by Gods benefits towards the firſt man, & by his diſobedience became forfeited, both

both in reſpect of himſelf & of all mankind. Beſides this, the Creditor and the payer are both one, and cannot be but both one. For it is only God that both doth & can ſatiſfie himſelfe. It followeth then, that the true religion can be but one: namely, euen that only one which ſheweth vs the only one mean of ſaluation: and that al other religions, if they abate any whit of mans debt vnto God, are traiterous to his maieſty: and if they ſet not down a ſufficiẽt mean of diſcharge, they be but vaine & vnauaileable ceremonies: and ſo as well the one ſort as the other, vtterly vnworthy of the name of religion. Furthermore, if there be diuers true religions, I meane diuers as in reſpect of the ſubſtance of thẽ, wherof riſeth the diuerſity? Of that thing which they point at? Nay, in God (whõ religion ſeeketh that) there is ſuch vnity, that al other maner of vnity is diuerſitie in reſpect of that. And then if it be ſo that one religion rely vpon one God, & another vpon another, wee be ſure that there is but one God, & that all other gods are either creatures or vanities, inſomuch that (as Proclus himſelf ſaith) no Gods, & no God differ nothing at all. And ſo, what ſhall thoſe other religions be, but either Idolatry or Atheiſme, that is to ſay, vtter godleſneſſe? Whereof then? Of their ground? Nay. Man which is the ground wheron religion worketh, is but one kind of thing. Alſo, as the diſeaſe being in all men cõmeth of one rot, ſo is it of one ſelfſame nature. Likewiſe the remedy therof (as I haue ſaid already) is but only one. Now where the ground is all one, the diſeaſe all one, & the remedy all one to, who will euer ſay that there ſhould be diuerſity of Arts in the handling or miniſtring of them? If a man be to humble himſelfe, I would faine haue them to tell me, what other way there is than to know himſelfe: what other way to know himſelfe, than to behold himſelfe: what other way to behold himſelfe, than to looke into a faire cleare glaſſe? And what clearer glaſſe is there than the Lawe of God, & the perfect obedience which God requireth at mans hand? And ſeeing that this Law, and the perfect obedience required by the ſame, can be but one: how may religion be diuided into moe than one? Againe, if man be to bee lifted vp vnto God, what other way is there than to make him know God as his Creator, that he may honour him, as his Gouernor, that he may call vpon him; as his father, that he may obey him; as altogether iuſt, that he may ſeek to appeaſe his wrath? Which thing ſith he cannot doe of himſelfe, what ſhift hath hee but to haue recourſe to the remedy? And ſeeing that the remedy can be but only one: doth it not follow that ſaluation lyeth in that only religion which sheweth it vnto vs, and that to haue any mo religions, is but confuſion & vanity?

And to ſpeak properly, what is Religion? An Art or ſkill (if I may ſo terme it) how to ſaue men. And wherin conſiſteth this Art? Firſt, in ſhewing men their diſeaſe: ſecondly, in ſhewing them that it is deadly: and finally, in teaching the fit and conuenient remedy. Indeed, the very lawe of Nature leadeth vs very wel to the firſt point. For who is he which euen of nature accuſeth not himſelf, and whoſe conſcience nippeth him not when hee hath ſinned? Reaſon alſo leadeth vs to the ſecond point. For who is he that concludeth not with himſelfe, that the creature which offendeth his Creator, deſerueth not to bee rooted out, that is to ſay, that ſin ingendreth death? And thus far may all Religions come, & all Ceremonies ordained by man: as Prayers, Sacrifices, Waſhings, Cleanſings, and ſuch other. But what is all this but a bringing of vs to hell gate, or rather a ſhewing of Paradiſe vnto vs a far off, howbeit with ſuch a horrible and infinite gulfe betwixt vs and it: as man and all the whole world can neither fill vp nor paſſe ouer? Yet muſt there needs be a paſſage. For the end of man is to be united vnto God, and this end is not in vaine, and the meane to bee united aboue, is to be reconciled here beneath: and the meane to bee reconciled here beneath, is (as I haue ſayd already) but onely one, which is, that God himſelfe acquite vs, without our diſcharging of the debt which we owe vnto him. Only that Religion then (and none other) which leadeth vs ſtraight to the ſayd paſſage, and by the following whereof we finde it, is the true Religion, as that which alonely attaineth to the end of religion, which is the ſauing of man. May not men (will ſome ſay) worſhip God diuerſly, ſome lifting vp their eyes to Heauen, and otherſome caſting their faces downe to the ground? Yes, for the worſhipping is but one, & the humbling of mens ſelues is but one ſtill, though there be difference in the ſignes. But our diſputing heere is not of the Ceremonies, but of the ſubſtance of them. Alſo, may not men offer Sacrifices diuerſly? Yes. But if thy Sacrifices haue no further end then the ſhedding of the blood of a Beaſt: then (as ſayth Hierocles) they be to the fire but a feeding thereof with ſewell and vapors: and to the Prieſts, a ſuperfluous maintenance of butchery. It is requiſite therfore that Sacrifices ſhould be referred to ſomwhat, namely, that by them thou ſhouldeſt proteſt, that whereas the ſilly innocent beaſts do ſuffer death, it is thou thy ſelf that haſt deſerued it both in body & ſoule. Againe, if thou haue nothing els in thy Religion, but Sacrifices and Prayers: how godly a ſhewe ſoeuer they make, thou haſt nothing but a confeſſion of thy fault, and a ſentence of death againſt thee for the ſame. For if thoſe Ceremonies ayme

ayme not at a certaine marke, they be trifling toyes; and if that bee the end whereat they ayme, then come they ſhort, as which do but lead thée vnto death, and there leaue thée.

There are ſome that would beare vs on hand, that Religion is but an obſeruation of certaine Ceremonies in euery Country: by which reaſon, that which is holy here, ſhould bee vnholy in another place; and that which is godly in one Land, ſhould bee vngodly in another. To be ſhort, they make it like the Lawes that depend vpon cuſtome, which paſſe no further than the bounds of the place where they be vſed. If Religion be nothing els but ſo: what ſcience, art, or trade is more vain than that? Or rather what is to be ſaid of it, but that indeed it is no religion at all? Leachcraft is vncertain in many reſpects, as of aire, of water, of age, & of climate: but yet, that which is Leachcraft in one Country, is not manquelling in another. Lawecraft hath almoſt as many ſundry lawes as caſes, & the caſes that are in the world are infinite. Yet notwithſtanding, who ſeeth not that all theſe diuerſities of caſes are brought vnder one bright neſſe and reaſon? and that they which yeeld not thereunto, are not reputed for men, but rather, for enemies of mankind & wild beaſts? Alſo, vertue hath the affections to work vpon, a ground more moueable than the Sea & the wind. And yet who wil ſay, that that which is hardineſſe betwéen the two Propiks, is Cowardlineſſe in all other Countries; or that that which is ſtaiedneſſe in one halfe of the world, is vnſtayednеſſe in the other half? To bee ſhort, what that is more ſubiect to riſing and falling, or to be cried down or inhaunced, than coyn of ſiluer and gold, as which ſeemeth to follow the wils of Princes? And yet notwithſtanding, for all their ordinances and proclamations, both gold and ſiluer doe alwaies kéep a certaine rate and value. What ſhall we ſay then to Religion, which hath a firmer & ſubſtantialler ground than all theſe? I meane not mens bodies, goods, affections, or fantaſies: but the very ſoule and mind of man, who alſo hath ſuch a reſt to ſtay vpon, as is ſetled, vnmoueable, and the Lord of al changes, that is to wit, God. How much more wiſely doth our Pythagoriſt Hierocles teach vs, that religiō is the gouerneſſe of all vertues, & that all vertues tend to her as to their certain end, as who would ſay, they be no vertues if they ſwarue frō her: inſomuch ꝑ hardines, being referred to any other than godlines, becōmeth raſhnes: wiſdome becommeth wilineſſe: and Juſtice becōmeth iuggling: and at a word, all vertue is but maſking and hypocriſie: If Religion bee the end of all vertues, muſt it nédes bee fixed and vnmoueable? Or if it bee moueable, what is there then that is

An Obiection.

iuſt, good, or vertuous? And if the caſe ſtand ſo: what thing in the world is more vnauaileable than man, or to ſpeak more rightly, what thing is to leſſe purpoſe in man than his mind? But there is vertue, and the wickedeſt man that is will auow it: Therefore there is also a certaine Religion, which maketh it to be vertue, and whereunto vertue referreth it ſelfe; and the vngodlieſt man that is cannot ſcape from it.

Let vs looke yet further into the abſurdities of this opinion: Who can deny but that among the diuerſities of Religions, there were many ſorts of wickedneſſe and vngodlineſſe openly executed: ſome worſhipping the Creatures in Heauen, yea and on earth, as the Ægyptians did in old time, and as the Tartarians do at this day: ſome offering vp men in Sacrifice, as the Carthaginenſes did in old time, and as the Weſterne Iles do yet at this day: and otherſome permitting things, not only contrary to all Lawes, but alſo euen horrible and loathſome to Nature. If all this bee good: I pray you what good is there, or rather what euill is there in the world? But if it be euill in it ſelfe, who can deny but that there were wicked and vngodly Religions in the World, (I vſe the word Religion after the common manner) and that a man had need of a Rule whereby to diſcerne the good Religion from the bad? And in very deed, it is ſo rooted in Nature to beleeue that there is but one Religion to bee had, as well as to beleeue that there is but one God: that (as wee may daily ſee) a man will rather indure the change of a temperate ayre into an extreme hot, or into an extreme colde: of freedome into bondage, and of Iuſtice into Tyranny, than any alteration at all (though neuer ſo little) in the caſe of Religion: verily as who would ſay, It were not ſo naturall for a man to loue his native Country, to be free, and to be at his eaſe, as to haue ſome one certaine religion to guide him to ſaluation.

Now my meaning hath been to lay forth this truth after the more ſorts, of purpoſe to take away the doubts, and to auoide the crinkes inuented anew by certaine Libertines. But foraſmuch as there are many Ceremonies which diſguiſe themſelues in the attire of Religion to deceiue vs: it is more needfull for vs to haue ſure and infallible markes, whereby to diſcerne the true Religion. Firſt of all therefore let vs lay this foundation which I haue layd and ſetled already heretofore: namely, that Religion is the right rule of ſeruing God, and of reconciling and of reuniting man again vnto God, that he may be ſaued. Now, mans ſaluation is nothing els but his felicity, happineſſe, ſouereigne good or welfare: and his welfare, as I haue declared

The firſt marke of the true Religion.

clared afore) is to be knit vnto God: For neither the world, nor any creature in the world can make man happy, but onely hee that made man. And it is a cleare caſe that we ought to ſerue him here beneath, who is to make vs happy aboue, and none other but him. All religion therefore (how goodly a ſhew ſoeuer it haue to the eye) which turneth away from ſeruing God to ſeruing the Creature, is but Idolatrie and vngodlineſſe vnto vs. Alſo all Religion, which cauſeth vs to ſeeke our welfare any where els, than onely in him that is the maker of all welfare; will be vnto vs not onely vanity and a thruſting of vs out of the way but, alſo a murthering of our ſelues, and a caſting of vs headlong into all wretchedneſſe. They may well haue in them an offering of firſt fruits of thankſgiuings, and of other ſeruices: but all theſe are but iniuries and blaſphemies againſt God, if we thinke our ſelues beholden to any creature for the things which we neither haue nor can haue of any but the Creator. Alſo, they may well haue prayers, and ſacrifices, but thoſe prayers ſhall be both vaine and vngodly, being made to him that cannot heare them, and which imbute the gouernment of ỹ world to creatures, or to ſuch as either ſee not at al, or ſcarce the things that are afore them. And as for their Sacrifices, they ſhall be but ſmoaky ſauours, yea full of trayterous trechery to God, in that they confeſſe their liues before dead things, and make amends to creatures for the offences which they haue committed againſt the Creator. Now therfore let the firſt marke of the true Religion which we ſeeke, bee this: that it direct vs and all our Church-ſeruices vnto the true God, the maker of Heauen & earth, the only ſearcher of mens hearts, which are the things wherewith hee will chiefly bee ſerued: that this may diſtinguiſh it from all Idolatries, which ſeeke vnto wood, to ſtone, to the Sun, to the Mone, to Men, to Angels, and to all the creatures that are in heauen and in earth. And it is not needfull to heape vp here great numbers of proofs, or to repeat againe the things that haue bin diſcourſed in the 2. & 3. Chapters of this Worke. For ſith there is but one God, and but one Religion: there is not alſo any thing more agreeable to Nature, than to refer the ſame wholly to the Creator. And in very deed Plotin, Porphyrius, Proclus, Iamblichus, and ſuch others, which worſhipped the Angels or good Spirits, as they thought, ſayd: that their ſo doing (wherein neuertheleſſe they were nothing excuſable) was to attaine by degrees to the higheſt God.

But will this ſayd mark alone ſuffice vs? No, we muſt not onely ſerue God, but we muſt alſo ſerue him aright. Now then, what is the rule of thie ſeruice, or who is hee that can ſet it downe in writing? That

The ſecond marke of true Religion.

That we may ſerue him aright, it behoueth vs to know him aright: and which of vs can vaunt of that? How many be there which after long ſtudy, can but ſo much as tell vs what it is not? And what followeth then? but that like as the wiſdome of the world cannot, without the ouerthrow of it ſelfe, attaine any further concerning God, than to ſay what he is not: ſo the ſame wiſedome may well attaine ſo far as to diſcerne what ſeruing of God is falſe: but it can no more ſet downe and point out the true ſeruice, than it can attaine to the knowledge of the Godhead. The Country clowne ſhall bee ſcorned for his labour, if he take vpon him to appoint how his Prince is to be ſerued, and yet is he a man as well as the Prince, differing from the Prince in ſtate and calling, but not at all in nature and kind. What is to bee ſayd then of Man, who is but a worme, yea and leſſe than a worme in reſpect of the euerlaſting God, if he will néeds shape him & ſerue him after his owne fancy? The Philoſopher will ſay, that God ought to be ſerued. And if he be a Diuine, he will paſſe ſomewhat further, and ſay: that he is not ſerued with vapors and ſmokes, nor with the ſhedding of bloud. But which of them hath euer ſayd: God is a Spirit, and ſerued in ſpirit? And if any of them haue come any thing néere it, how wide hath hee wandred away againe, when hee came to the particular pointing out of that ſeruice? Of a truth, what are all the worſhippings of God which man hath ordained of his owne head, but childiſh imaginations, not only vnbeſeeming the Maieſty of God, but alſo inferior to the diſcretion of a man? as gamings, ſhewes, ſtage-playes, runnings of Horſes, Iuſtes, a thouſand ſorts of combates, ſword-playings, wreſtlings, buffetings & ſuch other? And what doth all this betoken, but that man mounteth not aboue man: and that when he thinketh himſelfe to flye his higheſt pitch, he ſcarce heaueth himſelfe vpright vpon his feete, but neuer riſeth aboue the earth? For what man is he which calling his wits about him, and looking aduiſedly vnto himſelfe, could finde in his heart to be honoured and ſerued after that manner? Surely then let vs ſay, that loke how farre God vouchſafeth to ſtoop vnto vs, ſo far be we able to mount vp vnto him: for his comming downe is our mounting vp. For if wee cannot ſee the Sun but by help of the Sun, how well ſighted ſoeuer we be: much leſſe can God be ſeene or knowne of vs, without the help and light of God himſelfe. To be ſhort, wee cannot ſerue God except we know him, nor know him except hee vouchſafe to diſcouer himſelfe to vs, and therefore wee cannot know how to ſerue and worſhip him, further forth than he liſteth to ſhewe it vnto vs by his word.

And

And yet for the diſcouering of himſelfe vnto vs, hee needeth neither to draw vs vp to his brightnes, nor to come downe to vs in his maieſty. For our mindes could no more abide it, than our eyes can away with the beholding of the Sunne: but hee muſt bee faine to ſtoope to our ſmal ability, by telling vs what ſeruice he requireth at our hands, not according to his ſpirituall nature, which we cannot poſſibly comprehend, but as it were through a glaſſe, or a ſcarfe, according to the fleſhly nature which we beare about with vs. Thus haue wee found our ſecond marke of Religion, namely, that the ſeruice of God, which Religion is to teach vs, muſt be grounded vpon his word, and reuealed vnto vs by his owne ſelfe.

Let vs heare what the Heathen ſay in this caſe, who knew very wel that all the Ladders of their Philoſophy were too ſhort to reach thereunto, and that it behoued men to be inlightned and inſtructed from aboue. Diuinity (ſaith Plato) cannot bee laid forth after the manner of other kinds of ſeruing, but hath need of continuall minding. And then our wit is forthwith kindled, as with fire, which afterward gathereth light more and more, and maintaineth it ſelfe. Finally (ſaith hee) we know nothing of Gods matters by our owne skill. If he, which of all the ancient Philoſophers ſaw moſt cleare, confeſſe here, that his ſight faileth very much if it be not aided from aboue: what may we deeme of others? And in good ſoth, in matters of Religion hee ſendeth vs euermore to the ancient Oracles, that is to ſay (according to his meaning) to Gods word. Ariſtotle in his Supernaturals rehearſeth and commendeth a certaine anſwere of Simonides to Hieron King of Sicilie; which is, that it belongeth to none but onely God, to haue ſkil of the things that are aboue nature; and how much leſſe then to bee ſkilfull in Diuinity, and to diſpoſe of Religion, that is to ſay, to ſhew the meane how to ouercome and ſurmount Nature? And whereas Cicero in his Lawes ſaith, that there is not any law among men whereto men are bound to obey, vnleſſe it bee ordained by God, and deliuered, as it were, with his owne mouth: if hee had beene well examined, hee would haue ſayd no leſſe concerning Religion. It is certaine (ſaith Iamblicus) that we be bound to do the things that pleaſe God. But which are thoſe? Surely (ſaith hee) they bee not poſſible to bee knowne of any man, but him that hath heard God himſelfe ſpeake, or which haue learned them by ſome heauenly inſtruction. And Alpharabius the Arabian agreeth thereunto in theſe words: The things that concerne God, and are to bee beleeued through holy Faith, are of a higher degree than all other things, becauſe they proceede from

Plato in his 2. Epiſtle, and in his Parmenides.

Ariſtotle in his Supernaturals.

Cicero in his firſt booke of Lawes.

Iamblicus.

Alpharabius in his booke of Sciences,

Diuine

Diuine inſpiration, & mans wit is too weak, and his reaſon too ſhort to attaine to them. And therefore we read, that as they which haue ordained and ſtabliſhed any Religion in any Nation, haue giuen it forth as proceeding from God; verily becauſe Nature taught them that it belongeth to none but to God alone, to appoint how hee ſhall bee ſerued; neither would the ordinance thereof otherwiſe be obſerued, becauſe the parties that were to obey it, would make as great account of themſelues as of the party that ſhould iniopne it. Thus by the definitiue ſentence of Philoſophers, our ſecond marke ſtandeth firme, which will ſerue vs to diſcerne the true religion from the inuentions of men, ſo as we may well refuſe for vntruth, whatſoeuer is not grounded vpon Gods word. But in following our former purpoſe, let vs conſider yet further whether this will ſuffice or no.

Wee haue neede of a Law that proceedeth from Gods mouth: and what may that (I pray you) be, but the ſame which proceedeth from holineſſe it ſelfe, namely, that we ſhould be holy as he is holy? And if we cannot of our ſelues know God, nor how he ought to be ſerued; alas, how ſhal we perform it whē he hath declared it vnto vs? The end of Religion (ſaith Plato) is to knit man vnto God. The way to bring this to paſſe, is to become righteous and holy, or as (ſaith Iamblicus) to offer vnto God a cleane minde voide of all naughtineſſe, and cleare from all ſpot. What man (as euen they themſelues confeſſe) could euer vaunt thereof? And what els then is Religion to all of vs, but a booke wherein we reade the ſentences of our death, that is to wit, our very death indeede, vnleſſe that in the end we finde ſome grace or forgiueneſſe of our ſinnes? Yet notwithſtanding religion is the Pathway to life, yea euen to eternall life: a Pathway that hath a certaine end, and which beguileth vs not. Therefore it muſt by ſome meanes or other fill vs vp the great gulfe that is betweene endleſſe death and endleſſe life, & betweene the dwelling place of bleſſedneſſe the horrible-neſſe of Hell. And therefore let our third marke bee, That religion muſt put into our hands, a meane to ſatiſfie Gods Iuſtice, without the which, not onely all other religions, but alſo euen that which containeth the true ſeruing of the true God, were vtterly vaine and vnprofitable. Now mans reaſon hath well perceiued, that ſome ſuch meane was needfull in religion: but to know what that meane is, was too high a thing for mans reaſon to attaine vnto. In reſpect whereof the Platoniſts buſied themſelues very much in finding out ſome meane to cleanſe men from their ſinnes, and to knit them vnto God being reconciled to his fauour, and they ſet downe certaine degrees

The third marke of true Religion.

grees whereby to attaine thereunto. But yet in the end they confeſſe all their waſhings and clenſings to bee vtterly inſufficient. There are which ſay, it is to be done by abſtinence, by vertuous behauiour, by ſkill, or by Iupiters myſteries; and ſome ſay, it is to be done by all of them ſucceſſiuely one after another. But yet when they haue beſtirred themſelues on all ſides, Porphyrius concluſion is, That they be Ceremonies without effect, and yet notwithſtanding, that there muſt of neceſſity needs be a meane to purge and iuſtifie men, and that the ſame muſt bee vniuerſall, and that it is not poſſible (admitting Gods prouidence as we ought to do) that God ſhould leaue mankind deſtitute of that meane. And that this remedy ought to bee contained in Religion, he ſheweth ſufficiently, in that he ſeeketh it in taking the Orders, and in the Conſecrations, hallowings, and other myſteries of his owne Religion, which in the end he letteth go againe. But yet more apparantly doth Hierocles ſhew it, who ſaith, that Religion is a ſtudy of wiſedome that conſiſteth in clenſing and perfecting the life, that men may be at one with God, and become like vnto him: and that to attaine to that cleanneſſe, the meanes is, to enter into a mans owne conſcience, and to conſider of his ſinne, and to confeſſe it vnto God. Thus farre he is very well. Neuertheleſſe here they ſtop ouer-ſhort euery one of them: for vpon confeſſion enſueth but death, vnleſſe God (who is the very Iuſtice it ſelfe, and more infinitely contrary to euill than we can imagine,) be appeaſed and ſatiſfied for our offences, whereas in Religion we ſeek for very life. To be ſhort, of ỹ great number of Religions which are in the world, ſome haue no certain reſting point at all; as wee reade of ſome people of Africke, which worſhip that thing which they meet firſt in the morning; and that is but a vain Ceremony. Some haue a reſting poynt, howbeit an euill one: as for example, all they that direct vs to the creatures; and thoſe are nothing elſe but Idolatries. Some doe ſet vnto themſelues a good end, in that they aime at the Creator; but they will needes worſhip him after their owne fanſie, and that is a ſwarming aſide to ſuperſtition, or rather (which is worſe) a ſeruing of their owne fanſie, and not of God. And among the reſidue, there is one which hath an eye to the Creator, and honoureth his Law, and that is the Religion of the Iewes. This againe is a way that leaueth vs in the middes of our way, leading vs into the wood, but not leading vs out againe. But the true Religion indeed, and which deſerueth the name of Religion, is onely that which hath God for her ſhote anker, his Word for warrant of her worſhipping, and a meane appoynted by him to pacifie him withall:

Hierocles in his 14. and 24. Chapters, and in his Preface.

and in that onely, and in none other, reſteth any ſaluation.

An obiection. Some tell vs, that Religion is nothing elſe but charity, that is to ſay, the perfoꝛming of a mans duty towards his neighbour: and thoſe men would tell vs, if they durſt, that Religion is but an inſtrument of ciuill gouernment. But when they haue inlarged the commendations of charity as far as they can, what can they (at a woꝛd) ſay moꝛe than we ſay thereof: namely, that charity is of ſuch foꝛce and weight, that Religion can by no meanes ſtand without it? Neuertheleſſe, to ſpeake pꝛoperly thereof, Charity is not the mark whereby to diſcerne the true Religion, but rather to diſcerne who is rightly Religious. To the intent a man may be happy, he muſt returne vnto God; thereforꝛe he muſt nèds ſerue him, that is the badge of Religion: But the godly oꝛ religious man vttereth his religion, (that is to ſay, that God hath touched him truly in his heart) in that hee perfoꝛmeth all the duties of vnfaigned friendſhip and godly affection towards his neighbour, who is the Image of God. Charity therefoꝛe is nothing elſe but a rebounding of godlineſſe, oꝛ of the loue of God, back vnto our neighbour, oꝛ a reflexion oꝛ ſight vpon this Image. Alſo, that a man may be happy, he muſt be linked vnto God; and that hee may bee linked vnto God, he muſt be reconciled vnto his fauour. Now this Charity which they ſpeake of, is but a linking of man vnto man. It is not that which maketh a man happy, neither doth the fault which hath deſtroyed vs all, conſiſt in want of charity, (I meane that charity which they pꝛetend;) but in rebelling againſt God. Therefoꝛe it boteth vs not to be at one with our neighbour, except we be at one with God. Neuertheleſſe, it is a good ſigne that our heart is feruent in the loue of God, as the childe is in the loue of his father, when being vnable as yet to vnite our ſelues vnto him, we linke our ſelues in one body, & one mind to all thoſe which beare his Image. To be ſhoꝛt, the true marke of fire is not heate; foꝛ there are other things which are hot as well as fire: but it is a vertue that is ſo linked vnto it, that as ſoone as ye heare of fire, it followeth immediatly that there is heate alſo, but not contrariwiſe. Likewiſe, charity is not the true religion it ſelfe, but a vertue which accompanieth it ſo of neceſſity, that a man can no ſooner ſay, there is religion in this man oꝛ that man; but ỹ it muſt nèds follow incontinently, that there is charity in him alſo. And what manner of charity? Soothly, not ſuch as they take it to be which reſtraine from miſ-dealing foꝛ feare of mans law; foꝛ that is but hypocriſie: noꝛ a deſire of credit, that we may haue the better ſpèd in our affaires; foꝛ that is but a chaffaring. Noꝛ a deſire of honoꝛ, whereby we be ſpurred to do well;

well; foꝛ that is but a ſelfe-loue. But it is a certaine feare and loue of God, which maketh vs to cheriſh and loue all thoſe foꝛ Gods ſake, which are of him, & hold of him. Now what man is he that dares vaunt of this perfect charity, that hee loueth his neighbour as he ought, & in ſuch reſpect as he ought, that is to ſay, as himſelfe, and foꝛ the loue of God? Foꝛ how can we haue this Charity, if Religion go not afoꝛe? And if our loue towards God be ſo ſhoꝛt and feble (as I ſaid afoꝛe) what rebounding backe thereof will there be vpon our neighbour?

Now therefoꝛe let vs conclude, That as a man hath but one end, namely, of returning vnto God, ſo there is but one right path to lead him thither, and that is Religion. And that as there is but one God, ſo there can be but one true Religion, that is to ſay, one way that leadeth to Saluation, which Religion hath theſe thꝛee vnfallible markes whereby to diſcerne it; namely, that it woꝛſhip the true God, that it woꝛſhip him accoꝛding to his woꝛd, and that it reconcile to God the man that followeth it. And now let vs conſequently ſee which of all the Religions in the woꝛld it is, that alonely is to be diſcerned by theſe markes.

Chap. XXI.

That the true God was worſhipped in Iſrael: which is the firſt mark of the true Religion.



The firſt marke of ỹ true Religion, without the which it cannot rightly beare the name of Religion, is the ſeruing of the true God. And the true God (as I haue ſaid afoꝛe) is the ſame that created Heauen and Earth, and all things in them; which gouerneth them by his wiſedome; which maintaineth them by his goodnes; which weildeth them accoꝛding to his will, and direcꝛeth them accoꝛding to his glozy.

By this ſo notable a marke wee cannot faile to decipher the true God from the falſe gods, and by the ſelfeſame meane, to diſcerne the true Religion, which beareth our firſt marke, from all other religions; how painted and diſguiſed ſoeuer it is poſſible foꝛ them to bee. This God which hath done thoſe things, can be but one. Foꝛ ſeeing

he

he created all things, all the things which we ſee here beneath are but Creatures. Now then, whatſoeuer religion pointeth vs to any moe Gods than one, we ought to abhorre it euen at the very firſt approach. Againe, the ſame God is alſo infinite and incomprehenſible. For the worke cannot conceiue the Worke-maſter; but contrariwiſe, the Worke-maſter conceiueth the worke. Whatſoeuer worke therefore is made to counterfeit him, or to reſemble him, or to ſhew him vnto vs, can be nothing elſe but Idolatry and Superſtition, inuented by the Diuell, or by Man.

Now let vs come neerer to the rabble of Religions, and we ſhall ſée their throngs of hundred thouſand gods, diſtinguiſhed by ſtrange fantaſticall deuices of men, of women, of beaſts, & of monſters. Yet ſhall we not ſée there any whit of that which we ſéeke for. But there is one religion to be ſéene among all the reſt, which for all the reſt beareth this marke graued in her forehead; In the beginning God created the Heauen and Earth: and ſoundeth out this ſpéech alowd euery where; The Lord our God is but one God; and, in the mids of all the rout, that barketh and biteth at her on al ſides, crieth out couragiouſly; All your gods are but error & vanity. Therfore without ſtaying vpon ỹ others, which are not worthy ſo much as to bee loked on, wee will proceede to that onely one Religion, which alonely in truth profeſſeth the true way, & the knowledge of the place whereunto we would come. Now, to ſhew the way, the end whereto it leadeth, muſt be knowne: and the end which all of vs tend vnto, is a happy life. And to lead a happy life, is to liue in God, who is the very happines it ſelfe. And the ſame God (as I haue made the Heathen men themſelues to confeſſe) is but one. The religions therfore which weare not the liuery of one, but of many, cannot bring vs to the happines which we ſéeke: for it is but one, & to be had at the hand of that one. Which then is the one religion that ſhall lead vs to the one God? Shall wee ſéeke for it among the Aſſyrians? They worſhipped as many gods as they had Townes. Among the Perſians? They had as many gods as there be ſtars in the ſky, and ſires on earth. Among the Greekes? They had as many gods as they had fancies. Among the Ægyptians? They had as many gods as they ſowed or planted Fruits, or as the earth brought forth Fruits of it ſelfe. To be ſhort, the Romanes in conquering the world, got to themſelues all the vanities in the world, and they wanted no wit to deuiſe others of their owne braine. What ſhall it auaile vs to aſke the way of theſe blind ſoules, which go groping by ỹ walles ſides, & haue not ſo much as a Childe or a Dog to leade them, as ſome blinde folke haue,

haue, but catch hold of euery thing that comes in their way? But yet among theſe great Nations, we ſpy a little Nation called the people of Iſrael, which worſhipped the maker of al things, acknowledging him for their Father, calling vpon him alone in al their néedes, as (for all the ſmall account that others made of them) abhorring all the gliſtering glorioulneſſe of the great kingdomes that were out of the way. It is in the Religion of this people, and not elſwhere, that wee ſhall find our ſayd former marke. And therefore we muſt ſeeke it only there, and leaue the damnable fottéeps of the reſt, as being aſſured that we may more ſafely follow one man that is cleare ſighted, than a thouſand that are blinde. For what greater blindneſſe can bee, than to take the Creature for the Creator: a thing of nothing for the thing that is infinite?

Now that the people of Iſrael worſhipped the true God in ſuch ſort as I haue deſcribed him; the continuance of their whole Hiſtorie ſheweth well enough. All men know in what reuerence the Byble hath been had in all times among the Hebrewes: and if any man doubt whether it be Gods word or no; that is a queſtion to be decided otherwiſe. But yet for all that, it is out of all doubt, that the Hebrewes themſelues toke it to be ſo, and that we cannot better iudge of their Beléefe and Religion, than by the Scriptures, for the which they haue willingly ſuffered death: and what els do thoſe Scriptures preach from the firſt word of them to the laſt, than the only one God the maker of Heauen and of Earth? As ſoone as you do but open the Byble, by and by you ſee there, In the beginning God made the Heauen and the Earth. At the very firſt ſtep in at the gate of that booke, it excludeth al the gods made or deuiſed by man frō that people, to the intent to keepe them wholly to the true God that created man. Open the booke further foorth at all aduenture whereſoeuer you liſt, and from line to line you ſhall meete with nothing but the prayſes of that God, or proteſtations & thunderings againſt the ſtrāge gods. God made man excellent, who for his diſobedience is become ſubiect to corruption. Who could puniſh and impriſon ſuch a ſubſtance, but he that made it? Hee founded the world & peopled it, which afterward was ouerwhelmed by the floud: and who could let the waters looſe, but he that held them at commandement? The people of Iſrael found dry paſſage through the red Sea; and who prepared them that way, but he that founded the Earth vpon the deepes? Alſo the Sun ſtood ſtill and went back at the ſpeaking of a word; and of whoſe word? but of his whoſe word is a deed? I diſpute not heere as yet whether theſe things be true or no;

but

but I ſay onely, that the Hebrews beleeued them, yea and that they beleeued them in all ages; and that they worſhipped him whom they beleeued to be the doer of thoſe things: who certeſſe cannot be any other, than the ſame of whom the firſt line of the booke ſaith; That he
Iob. 38. made the Heauen and the Earth. Aſke of Iob, who it is whom hee worſhippeth; and he will not ſay, it is he whom the inuention of the Craftſman, or of the Imbroyderer, or of the Painer of Vines hath deuiſed, nor that is ſpunne, weaued, or hammered: nor that hath a Taile cut with a Razor: nor an Image turned arſie-uerſie, nor ſome Iuggling tricke to dazle children's eyes withall: for ſuch (as we ſhall ſee more plainly hereafter) are the gods of the Heathen: (but he will ſay) it is the ſame God that founded the earth, and ſtretched out his Net-line ouer it, which hath ſhut vp the Sea within dores, and bounded the rage of his waues: which made the light and the darkneſſe: which holdeth backe the Pleiades, and vnbindeth Orion: which hath
Pſal. 104. created the world, and giuen vnderſtanding to man. It is hee (ſaith Dauid) which ſpreadeth out the Heauens as a Curtaine, and maketh him Chambers among the Waters: which hath ſettled the earth vpon her Pillers, and chaſed away the Sea at one onely threatning of his: which maketh the Windes his meſſengers, and the Elements his ſeruants. It is he (ſaith Eſay) which is the firſt and the laſt: His
Eſay 48. & hand hath grounded the earth, and his right hand hath meaſured the
61. Heauens. As ſone as hee called them, they appeared together before him: Heauen is his ſeat, & the Earth is his foot ſtoole. Yea, & beſides all this, Moſes will tell vs, that ſtraine we our ſelues to ſay what wee can of him, we can ſay no more of him, but that it is he whoſe name is, I am that I am: euen hee that alonely is, of whom all things that are haue their being, and in compariſon of whom all things are nothing, whom neither words nor works can expreſſe, onely in effect, and yet infinite therewithall.

Some man will ſay, It may be that this ſo great a God vouchſafeth not to ſtope downe vnto vs, but hath left the charge both of the world and of men to ſome ſeruants of his, whom it behoueth vs to worſhip. Nay, as he is high and great in power, ſo is he deepe alſo in wiſedome and goodnes. Art thou ſicke? It is he that both maketh health, and ſendeth ſickneſſe; thou ſeeſt how he was Ezechias Phyſician. Wouldeſt thou haue children? It is hee that openeth and ſhutteth the bearing-place: inſomuch that he made the old age of Sara fruitful, and the barren Anne a Mother and a Nurce. Doth thine enemy vexe thee? He is the God of Hoſtes, whom Gedeon findeth as ſtrong with a ſmall Army

Armie as with a great. Wouldeſt thou haue a proſperous winde? It is he (ſaith Iob) that ſendeth forth the Eaſterne wind vpon the earth, Iob. 38.
and at whoſe call the Northwinde commeth. Doth thy Husbandrie dry away with drought? It is hee that dealeth forth both the morning and the euening raine; which begets the drops of the deaw, and which maketh it to raine vpon the ground, yea euen where no body dwels. To be ſhort, art thou afraid of famine? He prepareth food for the Ra-
Pſal. 104. uens to prey vpon, and their yong birds cry vnto none but him. The Lyons whelpes roze vnto him for food, and all things that liue in the aire, on the land, and in the water, doe wait vpon him for the ſupplying of their needes. And what is all this in effect, but that GOD, whom Iſrael worſhippeth, is the Creator and Gouernor of all things? The very true God which maintaineth all things by his goodnes, as well as hee made them by his power. As careful for all things, yea euen to the leaſt, as he is mightfull and of ability to maintaine them. All the whole Scripture from the one end to the other, that is to ſay, the people of Iſrael from age to age, ſing nothing elſe but that. Now, if we reade ouer the old Ceremonies of the Ægyptians, Perſians, and Thuſcanes, leafe by leafe; where ſhall wee finde in them one word of the true God, but onely in renouncing and blaſpheming him? And what are all their gods but carriers of Receipts, like theſe Dogge-leaches which profeſſe but the curing of ſome one diſeaſe onely, or like theſe common Craftſmen, which profeſſe but the ſkill of ſome one Craft or myſtery? But this true God (as I haue ſaid) is the one onely God. What other people haue beene forbidden to call vpon many Gods? Nay rather, what other people haue not beene commanded to haue infinite Gods, as a token of Religion? Hee is a quickning Spirit which cannot bee counterfaited nor conceiued. What other God hath ſaid: Whereunto will yee liken mee, which doe hold the earth betweene my fingers? What houſe will yee build for me which make the earth my footſtoole, and the Heauen my ſeat? And to what other people hath it beene ſaid, Thou ſhalt not make any grauen Image? Origen a-
And what other people hath choſen rather to die a thouſand times, gainſt
than to breake that commandement? Inſomuch that they would not Celſus, l. 3.
admit either Painter or Caruer into any of their Cities. Contrariwiſe, which of all the gods of the Heathen haue not required Images? Yea (and as we reade in Porphyrius) taught how they ſhould be painted? Much more vaine in good ſoth than the men that worſhipped them. To bee ſhort, the true GOD which gouerneth the whole world, muſt alſo (as I haue ſaid afore) gouerne both men and

their wits to his glory. And to gouerne them ſo, it behoueth him to know them; & to know them, it behoueth him to ſee them; and to ſee into their hearts, it behoueth him to haue made them. For the Father which thinketh himſelfe to be the begetter of a Child, ſeeth not into the heart thereof; neither doth a Schoolemaſter ſee into his Scholers wit, whereof he thinketh himſelfe to be the framer. And much leſſe can an Imaginatiue god do any of thoſe things, hauing not made the one nor the other. What other God ſhall yee reade to haue ſayd, Thou ſhalt not couet: or to haue required the ſacrifice of the heart, or the faſting of the ſpirit, or a heart broken and lowly minde? Who els can forbid Couetouſneſſe and hypocriſie, but he which is able to puniſh it? And who can puniſh it, but hee that ſees it? And who can ſee it in man, but he that made man? On the contrary, who ſees not, that the Lawes which are reported to haue béene inſpired by the gods at Rome, in Athens, and in Lacedemon, extend no further than the outward man? inſomuch that none of them (as ſaith Cato) is found to haue ſayd; Hee that is minded to ſteale, but onely, Hee that ſtealeth, ſhall be guiltie. Which is as much to ſay, as that they be but Lawes of men, who ſee not into folkes hearts; Lawes of Creatures, which pearce no further than the Cote or the Skinne. The people of Iſrael therefore are the people that ſerued the onely true GOD that made man, and all other people ſerued gods made by men.

Cato in his oration for the Romans.

Now this ſillie people (as we read in Hiſtories) was ſtrangely deſpiſed and trampled vnder foote, as though all the diuels had conſpired and banded themſelues againſt that people, which alonely worſhipped the true God. But what are the Heathen compelled in the end to confeſſe? Varro the beſt learned of the Romanes, who made a beadroll of all the gods, for feare (as he ſaith) leſt they ſhould ſtray away, concludeth in the end, that thoſe do worſhippe the true God, which worſhip the onely one, without Images, and which beleeue him to be the gouernor of the whole world. Yea & (which more is) he ſaith that the Iewes (by what other name ſoeuer they call him) do worſhip the ſame God truely: & that if after their example all Images had bin forbidden, (as they were a long time in Rome) men had not fallen into ſo many ſuperſtitions & errours. It is not to be doubted, but that he, which ſpake ſo of the whole rabble of falſe gods that were in Rome, would haue ſpoken much more of them, if he had not feared men more then his gods. And whereas ſome of the heathen, to excuſe their owne ſacrilege, haue borne the world on hand, that the Iewes worſhip-

The Heathen acknowledged the true god to be in Iſrael.

Auſtin. in the Citie of God, li. 8, chap 31. Denis of Halycarnaſſus, li. 1

worſhipped the head of a wild Aſſe, becauſe a beaſt of that kind had ſhewed them a fountaine in the wilderneſſe, at a time that they were diſtreſſed with thirſt: Polybius, Strabo, and Tacitus himſelfe, the maker of that goodly report, do witnes, that in the Temple of the Iewes there was neuer yet found any Penon, Penſil, Relique or Image, neither at the time that Antiochus, through couetouſneſſe, ſacked it, nor when Pompey for reuerence ſpared it. And truly the ſaid Aſſish report of the Aſſes head is ſcarce worth the diſprooſe. But more rather, becauſe the Iews reſted vpon the Sabboth day, which the Gentiles dedicated afterward vnto Saturne, many men haue thought that they worſhipped Saturne, whereas if the Heathen had aſked but ſome Babe of the Iewes concerning that matter, he would haue taught them, that the God of Iſrael neuer fled away for feare of a man, as Saturn did, but that he abideth in Heauen, & that the whole earth quaketh at his preſence. Notwithſtanding the chiefe Monarchies of the world armed themſelues in all ages againſt this ſmall people: but yet the ſmaller ŷ they were, the greater appeared the mightines of their God. Senacherib King of the Aſſyrians had ſubdued all his neighbours, & intended to fill vp the ditches of Ieruſalem, as he had done by the ouerthrow of other Cities. For performance whereof he ſent Rabſaces the Generall of his Hoſt, to ſubdue Ezechias King of Iuda. In the opinion of men Senacheribs argument was good, & well concluded. If I ſhould ſend thee two thouſand horſes (ſaith he) ready furniſhed to battell, thou couldſt hardly furniſh as many men to ride them. And canſt thou think then that thou art able to reſiſt my whole army? I haue conquered Aram, and Arphad, and Ana, & Aua, and Sepharuam, and what ſhall then become of Ieruſalem, if it ſtand wilfully againſt me? But when as he ſayd, Conſider what became of the gods of thoſe Nations, ſuppoſing the God of Iſrael to haue béen of the ſame ſtampe: therein his argument failed, not for that (as the Logicians ſay) he concluded from the particular to the generall, or from that which is true ſimply, to that which is true but in ſome certaine reſpect, but for arguing from that which is nothing at all, to ŷ which is all, namely, from the vanity of Idols, to the Almightineſſe of the Creator. But what became of this victorious Monarke, and of his men, and of their Idols? Although the holy Scripture had ſaid nothing therof, Herodotus can tel vs it ſufficiently. The Hoſt of Senacherib (ſaith hee) was miſerably diſcomfited, his ſtate came to decay, his owne ſonnes murthered him in the Temple of his Idols, the Babylonians gathered vp the ſcatterings of his Empire, and (to ſay no more) in a certain Temple of Ægypt, an Image of his was ſet

Tacitus lib. 5. (or as ſome editions haue) li. 2. Appion againſt Ioſephus.

2 King. 18. & 19.

εἰς ἀκέπης ἁρμὸν ἐυσεβῆς ἔσω.

vp with this Inſcription, Learne at the ſight of mee to feare God. What more almoſt ſaith the holy ſcripture vnto vs therof? And who can ſay that this was not a very arch of victory and triumph to the God, againſt the gods of the Heathen, in the perſon of that Prince which had deſtroyed ſo many of them? From henceforth the Monarchy of the Aſſyrians did neuer proſper, but the Medes and Perſians began to be Lords of it, who by his example may ſéeme to haue growne wiſe. For they reſtored the Iewes home againe into their Countrey, according to the Propheſies, and gaue them leaue to build vp their Temple againe, furthering them by all meanes therein, and giuing them certaine allowances for the maintenance of their Sacrifices, acknowleging in their letters to their Lieuetenants, that the God of the Iewes was the true God, and none other.

But what ſhall we ſay of the gods of Greece, who in conquering the Perſians, came to take a foile in Iewry? For Alexander hauing ſubdued the Perſians, made men to worſhip him as a god, and hearing that in the mountaines of Paleſtine there was a people whom neither the Aſſyrians nor Perſians could ſubdue to their gods, for all the rigor and cruelty they could ſhew: inſomuch that at his owne being in Babylon, certaine Iewes that had been conueyed thither, did flatly diſobey him, when he meant to haue builded there a Temple to Iupiter Bele, as Hecatæus reporteth, who accompanied Alexander in that voyage: he turned head towards Ieruſalem, with a venemous rancor to that poore people. But when Iaddus the high Prieſt of the Iewes came before him in his Prieſtly attire, accompanied with his Leuites about him; Alexander caſt downe himſelfe at his feet, and worſhipped him. This God, I ſay, whō the greateſt perſonages worſhipped thencefoorth, did there worſhip a man that came to make a ſupplication vnto him. Parmenio thinking this to bee a ſtrange ſight, aſked Alexander the cauſe why hee did ſo? It is not the Man (quoth Alexander) whom I worſhip, but the GOD whoſe Prieſt he is: for I ſaw him (ſaid hee) in the ſame attire, when I was in Macedony: and when I doubted whether I might meddle with Aſia or no, he gaue me courage to proceed, aſſuring mee that by his guiding I ſhould ouercome the Perſians. Whereupon hee went vp into the Temple, and offered Sacrifice vnto God, in ſuch manner as the high Prieſt inſtructed him: who ſhewed him the booke of Daniel, wherein it was propheſied certaine hundred yeeres afore, that a certaine Greeke ſhould come and conquer the Perſians, which now fell out to bee hee. Whereupon hee ſuffered the Iewes to liue after their owne Lawes, and from ſeuen yéares

Hecataeus the Abderita.

* Mœnina.

Alexander who vaunted himſelf as a God. Joſephus in his Antiquities. lib. 11. ca. 8

yeeres to ſeuen yeeres releaſed to them all tributes, which thing hee denied to the Samaritanes. Now, of all the great number of Nations, of whom he conquered many moe than he ſaw, where reade wee that euer he did the like to any of them? And whereunto ſhall we attribute this déed of his, but to his bethinking him of the thing which hee had learned in ſecret of the great Prieſt of the Ægyptians, called Leon, namely, that all the gods whom the Gentiles worſhipped, were Kings of old time, of whom the memoriall had béene conſecrated by their poſterity? and therefore hee, as a greater King than any of them all, thought alſo that he might well be the greateſt God of them all. But in the God of Iſrael he acknowledged another manner of thing: namely, that he was God of gods, and King of Kings, the changer of Empires at his pleaſure, which vpholdeth Kings with his hands, not to performe their vaine attempts, but to bring to paſſe his owne euerlaſting decrees. By the death of Alexander the Monarchy of the Greekes came to be diſperſed, and the Ptolomies got the Soueraignty in Ægypt. And what greater proofe would wee haue of their acknowleging the only one God, than to ſée Ptolomie Philadelph cauſe the Bible of the Hebrewes to bee ſo ſolemnly tranſlated at his owne charges? For what do conquerours deſire, but to giue lawes to thoſe whom they haue banquiſhed? But now what elſe was this, than a receiuing of lawes at the hands of the Iewes? And ſeeing that the men of Iſrael were weaker than the men of Ægypt, what can wee ſay, but that the God of Iſrael had ſubdued the gods of Ægypt? And ſothly, afterward when Ptolomy, ſurnamed the Bountifull, had gotten the ſoueraignty of Syria, he offered not ſacrifice for his victories to the gods of Ægypt (which notwithſtanding were very many in number, and ſeemed to haue giuen law to the Nations round about them:) but he went to Ieruſalem, and there acknowleging himſelfe to haue receiued his proſperity of the God of Iſrael, did conſecrate the Monuments of his victories vnto him. And yet was this in the time of the greateſt aduerſitie of the Iewes, euen when their Country was forraied, & their Temple vnhallowed by their enemies, and by their own Prieſts themſelues; that is to ſay, at ſuch a time as all outward things ſhould haue diſſwaded him from worſhipping of the God of that people, but not the moſt manifeſt truth driuen him to the contrary.

As touching the Romanes, what time they extended their warres into Iewry, we reade, that they reuerenced the Temple of Ieruſalem: inſomuch that Auguſtus ordained certaine Sacrifices to bee offered there both yéerely and daily; and that diuers Heathen Princes being

prouoked by his ſending of offerings thither ſo carefully, followed his example in doing the like. But ſeeing the Romanes brought all the gods of all the Nations whom they had conquered, into Rome: how happeneth it that onely this God could finde no place there? Cicero anſwereth, that it beſeemed not the Maieſtie of the Empire. But if I ſhould appoſe him vpon his conſcience, did Bacchus, Anubis, Priapus, and their ſhamefull night-wakes, and myſteries celebrated in the darke, yeeld renowne to the eſtate of the Empire? Nay, if he will ſay the truth, they knew that the God of Iſrael (and none other) was the true God; and that for the harbouring of him, it behoued them to driue away all the reſt: but they had ſo long time foaded folke with Idolatry, that they were afraid (as many Princes are at this day) leſt they might be depoſed by their Subiects in receiuing their rightfull Lord.

Cicero in his Oration for Flaccus,

Yet notwithſtanding (will ſome ſay) this ſilly people of the Iewes were carried away from their owne Countrey into the foure quarters of the world, ſcattered among other people, and parted among all Nations of the earth, at the pleaſure of their enemies that had gotten the vpper hand of them. Surely Gods wonderfull prouidence is to be noted in this caſe, farre more without compariſon, than if that people had conquered the whole world by force of armes. For by the things which the Poets haue written of them, we ſee in what contempt they were had of al men. But yet let vs heare the wonderment ẏ was made thereat, not by a common perſon, but by the great Philoſopher Seneca. Yet notwithſtanding (ſaith he) the cuſtome of that Nation hath ſo preuailed, that it is the rather receiued of the whole world: and they being vanquiſhed, haue (I wot not by what meanes) giuen lawes to their Conquerours. Who ſeeth not here a great motion of minde in this Philoſopher? And what man, hauing common reaſon, is not rauiſhed thereat as well as he? Is it poſſible for Kings to haue ſubdued a people whom they could neuer inforce to change their owne lawes? The example thereof is Iewrie, which hath been troden vnder foote by the Aſſyrians, Perſians, Greekes, and Romanes; and yet for all their changing of their Maſters, they could neuer be brought to alter their Law. There may, perchance, ſome like conſtancy bee found among other Nations, as in reſpect of their lawes: but that a people being conquered, carried away, brought into bondage, vnaccounted of, led in triumph by diuers Empires, as the Iewes were, ſhould not onely ſubdue the hearts of their Conquerours to their God, ſo as the Conquerours could not faſten their lawes vpon the vanquiſhed ſort, but contrariwiſe,

Seneca in his booke of Superſtitions,

trariwiſe, the vãquiſhed ſort haue faſtned their lawes vpon their vanquiſhers, ẏ ſubiects vpõ their Prince, the Captiues vpõ their Maſter, ẏ the condemned vpon their Iudge: who (I pray you) would beleeue it vnleſſe he ſaw it? And if a man ſée it, how can he ſay, that any other can poſſibly do it but God? But if Seneca will vouchſafe to heare Seneca quietly, it may be that he himſelf ſhal find a reſolution to his own wonderment: namely, that the gods (as hee ſaith) which were called Inuiolable ẏ Immortall, whom the Iewes left to other Nations, were dumbe and ſenceleſſe Images, diſguiſed in the ſhapes of Men, Beaſts, & Fiſhes; and ſome in vgly and il-fauoured monſters; and that the Fiends which poſſeſſed thoſe Images, required worſe things of men for their ſeruice, than the horribleſt Tyrants that euer were; as that men ſhould gaſh themſelues, maime & lame themſelues, geld themſelues, and offer men, women, and children to ſacrifice to them. But when folke heard ſpeaking of the true God, the maker of Heauen and Earth, and that he will be ſerued with the hearts and minds of men: that word iſſuing out of the mouth of a poore priſoner, caught men priſoners, and ouercame their gods. And in very déed (as wee ſhall ſee hereafter) if we reade the good Authors of that time; either they ſpeake but of the one God, or if they ſpeake of moe gods, it is but for cuſtome ſake, and in way of condemning them. What elſe then were the manifold flittings of the Iewes, but as many conueyings abroad of companies of Preachers, to ſhew forth the true God; and as many Armies to deſtroy the Idols, and to roote them out? Wee reade that the Coniurers which were in old time among the Gentiles, did vſe the name of the God of Iſrael, the God of the Hebrewes, and the God that drowned the Ægyptians, in coniuring ſuch as were poſſeſſed of Diuels, and that the Diuels trembled at that name. This ſerueth not to proue that they worſhipped not other gods, but that they knew thoſe gods to be of no force. Iulian the Apoſtata did vnderſet his ſhoulder, to ſhoue vp the ſeruice of the falſe gods as much as hee could. But yet durſt he not deny, but that the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob is a great and mighty God; ẏ he ſware by all his gods, that he was of one of them that were conuerted to his ſeruice, and that hee knew him to bee very gracious to ſuch as ſerue him as Abraham had done. Who now could euer make an Iſraelite confeſſe that any other God was good, than the ſame whom he worſhipped? And if hee be the good God, how can it be (euen by Iulians own ſaying) that all the reſidue ſhould not be euill, ſéeing that this good God condemneth them, ẏ declareth them to be all wicked ſpirits, and enemies of mankinde? But if Iulian himſelfe

Seneca in his booke of Superſtition.

Origen againſt Celſus. lib 3.

Iulian againſt the Galileans.

himſelfe would tell vs what befell him at Antioche, when hee aſked counſel of his diuels, who made all his Philoſophers to quake, and all his great Sorcerers to runne away for feare: we ſhould ſee well enough what ſtuffe they bee; inſomuch that euen his owne Hiſtoriographer Zoſimus is aſhamed to make report of it.

Now, I would faine that the Heathen or their Aduocates ſhould but ſhew mee one of theſe two things: either where any author of the Iewes proueth record to any god of the Heathen: or where any graue Heathen Author hath condemned the God that is worſhipped by the Iewes. Foraſmuch then as in a Chapter appropried to the ſame purpoſe, I haue already proued by all the ancient Authours, and by conſent of all people, that there is but onely one God: and by Varro euen now, that the Iewes do worſhip the ſame God: what followeth thereof, but that all of them be Iewes in that point, and that as many as are not ſo, are all Idolaters, and deceiued? And for that cauſe when Orpheus had praiſed God in theſe and ſuch like verſes alleaged in the third Chapter,

There is but one perfect God the maker of all things:
Who cheriſheth and ſoſtereth all things.

He addeth immediatly,

Neuer man yet knew his incomprehenſible being, ſauing one of the bloud of the Chaldees.

Which ſaying of his ſome referre vnto Abraham, otherſome to Moſes: and ſome of the Platoniſts to Zoroaſtres, the grand-childe of Noe. And Apollo himſelfe being demanded by the Gentiles, what people was rightly religious from of old time: anſwered thus;

The Chaldees & the Hebrewes haue all wiſedome twixt them twaine,
And of the true God onely they the worſhip doe maintaine.

Whereunto agreeth this verſe of Sybilles:

The Iewes are ſure a heauenly race, diuine, and full of bliſſe.

But it will be yet much more, if we can by their owne beſt Authors, proue their gods to bee nothing but vanity and leazing: which is as much to ſay, as that they haue not onely allowed the God of Iſrael, but alſo condemned all their owne gods.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

That the gods worſhipped by the heathen, were men conſecrated, or canonized to poſterity.

I Haue ſufficiently ſhewed heretofore in the ſecond and third chapters, that there is but one God: That both Angels and Feends are but Creatures, the one ſeruants, and the other ſlaues: That Nature and Philoſophy conſent together therein, notwithſtanding that ouerrooted cuſtome haue like a water-ſtreame carried folk away, and that the wiſe of the world haue loued better to follow the courſe of the ſtreame, than to rowe againſt it. Yet for all that, it ſhall not be ſuperfluous to ſee what they themſelues haue written of their owne gods, both generally of them all, and particularly of euery of them. Therefore, to begin with Hermes, whom we haue heard ſo highly commending the onely one God: He writeth of them in theſe words: Like as the Lord God (ſaith hee) is the Maker of the gods in heauen, ſo is man the maker of the gods that are content to dwell in Temples, that they might be neer vnto men. Man then maketh Images after his owne likeneſſe, whereunto he calleth ſpirits by Art Magick, or els they come into them of their owne accord, and foretell vnto men things to come. But the time will come, that all this kind of Religion of the Ægyptians ſhall be aboliſhed, and that all their worſhippings ſhall vaniſh away. And in very deed (ſaith he) Eſculapius the Graundfather of Aſclepius, and Mercury mine owne Graundfather, which are worſhipped at Hermopolis in Ægypt, were men, whoſe worldly men (that is to ſay their bodies) ly the one in Lybia, and the other in Hermopolis, and vnder their names are worſhipped certaine Diuels, whom I allured and drew into their Images. What more ſubſtantiall witneſſe now could wee produce againſt the gods of Ægypt, than the very party himſelfe that made them? And what els were they then, than either men or Diuels ſhrowded in the Images or in the dead carkeſſes of men? But I proceed with theſe two parts the one after the other.

Hermes in his Euſculapius, tranſlated by Apuleius, *Aug. de Ciuitate Dei. lib.*8, *cap.*23. The gods of the Egyptians.

The great High Prieſt of Ægypt, called Leon, being aſked ſecret-

Cyprian cõcerning the vanity of Idols.

ly

ly by Alexander, concerning the originall of their gods, and fearing more his power than their wrath; bewrated vnto him, that all ẏ great gods, yea euen thoſe whom the Romans termed, The gods of the greater Nations, were all of them men. But he prayed Alexander that hée would not tell it to any body, ſauing his mother Olympias, and that ſhe ſhould burne his Letter as ſone as ſhe had read it. For as for the beaſts which the Ægyptians worſhipped, Plutarke ſaith, that ſome of them were worſhipped as Planets & ſignes celeſtiall: and otherſome, becauſe that when Oſyris led his people to battell, hee had diuers Antesignes, according to the diuerſities of the Countries, as in one a Dog, in another an Ore, and ſo forth: which afterward through emulation were turned into Superſtition. As touching the Phœnicians, theirnext neighbors, Sanchoniathon their owne Chronicler writeth, that they honoured ſuch men for gods as had bin great among them, or had inuented any thing profitable for the life of man: and that as they were long times Lords of the Sea, and conuaied many companies of their owne countri-folke into Libya and Spaine to inhabite there: ſo they peopled them with their gods alſo. Concerning the gods of the Greekes, we read that Orphe, Homer, & Heſiodus were the firſt bringers of them in, and did ſet down their Pedigrées in writing, giuing them names and Surnames, and appointing them honours at their pleaſures, of whom Pythagoras ſayth, that their ſoules were hanged vpon a Tree in Hel, and there pinched with Serpents on all ſides for their ſo damnable deuices. And what hee himſelfe déemed of thoſe gods, we may ſée in his life, written by Porphyrius. For he wrot verſes vpon the Tombe of Apollo at Delphos, declaring him to haue bin the Sonne of Silenus that was ſlaine by Pithon, and buried in a place called Tripos, becauſe the three daughters of Triopus came thither to mourne. Afterward againe, comming into a Caue of Ida, where hée found a Throne ſet vp vnto Iupiter, hee wrote this inſcription vpon it: Pythagoras to Iupiter. Here lyeth the great Zeus whom men call Iupiter. Socrates in deſpite of thoſe gods did ſweare by an Oke, by a Goate, and by a Dog: and was condemned to drink poyſon, becauſe he taught that there was but only one God. Which is as much to ſay, as that hee déemed leſſe godhead to be in thoſe gods, than in the leaſt creatures. Yet notwithſtanding, he was the only man whom Apollo anowed to bee the wiſeſt man of all Greece: wherein hee had ſhewed himſelfe to haue had leſſe wit than thoſe Beaſts, if he had déemed ſuch a one to bee the wiſeſt as had condemned the Godhead. But it is the property of the diuell, both to abuſe men and alſo to mocke them for their

Plutarke in his Treatiſe of Iſis and Oſyris.

Porphyrius in the life of Pythagaras.

their labour. They cryed out againſt Socrates that he was a blaſphemer, and made him to drink his own death. But within a while after the Athenians did ſet vp an Image of him in one of their Temples, and in a rage did put his accuſers to death: (which deede of theirs made notably again ſt th ẽſelues) for ſurely they could not better haue condemned their gods, than by their iuſtifying & honouring of the partie that condemned them. As for his diſciple Plato, this ſaying of his ſhall ſuffice. When I write vnto you in good earneſt, I ſpeake but of one God, and when I meane otherwiſe, I ſpeak of many. He emploied his gods about vanity, becauſe hee eſteemed them to be but vaine. To be ſhort, one ſayes, If they be gods, why mourne ye for them? and if they be liueleſſe, why worſhip ye them? Another ſayes, Be of good cheere my Country-men, men liued afore the gods, and the gods dye afore men. And the Poets themſelues, who made the gods to be ſuch as they be, take as great pleaſure in the vnmaking of them, as little Children do in playing with their puppits: inſomuch that there is no Tragedy good, which doth not baffle ſome one of the gods, as Euripides (among the reſt) doth in theſe verſes.

Thou Neptune and thou Iupiter, and all you other gods,
So wicked are you euery one, ſo fell ſo far at oddes,
That if due iuſtice for your deeds were iuſtly on you done.
Ye ſhould be baniſht out of Heauen and from all Temple ſoone.

You will ſay perchance that the Romans may poſſibly haue ſome better ſtuff. By the original of them which they themſelues deſcribe, wee may iudge what they were. And let vs note that the writers of theſe things were no Greeks, which might haue bred ſome ſuſpicion: but they were Romans, euen the Idolaters themſelues. The firſt that ordained Religion among them, was King Numa: who to authoriſe it the more, fained himſelf to haue had conference with a goddeſſe called Egeria, which was a Witch: and vnder that gap pretence, hee bewitched the ignorant people with a thouſand ſuperſtitions. Along time after, in the Conſulſhip of Cornelius & Bebius, it hapned that in the ground of a certaine Scriuener named Petilius, neere to the place called Ianiculum, there were found two Coffines, in one of the which was the bodie of Numa, and in the other were ſeuen books in Latine concerning the Laws of their Prieſthood, that is to ſay, their Ceremonies and Church ſeruices: and other ſeuen books in Greeke concerning the ſtudy of wiſdome: whereby he ouerthrew, not onely the gods of other Nations, but alſo the very ſelfeſame whom he himſelfe had inſtituted.

The gods of the Romanes.

Titus Liuius, Dec. 4 lib vlt. Valerius Maximus. lib. 1. Plin. lib. 13 cap. 13. Auſt lib. 7. cap. 14. Lactantius lib. 1.

The

The Senate hearing thereof, cauſed the boks to bee burnt openly before the people: which was as much to ſay, as ỹ they condemned all the gods and all their ſeruices to the Fire. Among many other Stories, Varro repoꝛteth the ſame too: and he concealeth not that Numa vſed Waterſpelling, and had communication with Diuels. And as touching the gods whom the Latines woꝛſhipped beꝛore the time of this Numa Pompilius: Varro and Caius Baſſus ſay, that Faunus oꝛdained Sacrifices to his grandfather Saturne, to his father Picus, and to his ſiſter & wife Fauna, whom the good huſwiues call Fatua of Fate, that is to ſay, Deſtinie, becauſe thee was wont to areede their Foꝛtunes: and afterward the people woꝛſhipped her by the name of Good Dame, oꝛ Goddeſſe. And ſurely of no better value were thoſe whom Æneas bꝛought thither, whom Virgill termeth vanquiſhed gods, and after a ſoꝛt putteth them & little Babes both together in one Baſket. Scæuola the High Pꝛieſt of the Romans (as I haue ſayd afoꝛe) made thꝛee ſoꝛts of gods: Poeticall, woꝛſe than the woꝛſt men: Philoſophicall, whom they taught to haue been men, howbeit that it was not good foꝛ the people to know it: and Ciuill, made by Pꝛinces to holde their people in awe with: foꝛ the which purpoſe alſo Varro addeth, that it is good foꝛ Captaines and Gouernours to bee perſwaded that they be deſcended of gods, that they may the moꝛe boldly vndertake, and the moꝛe happily perfoꝛme their enterpꝛiſes. But who could anſwer better to the matter, than the High Pꝛieſt himſelfe? And which arethoſe better gods, which are no gods at al furtheꝛoꝛth then it pleaſeth men? Varro ſaith likwiſe, that his wꝛiting of humane things afoꝛe diuine things, is becauſe there were Cities afoꝛe there were gods made by them, as the Painter is afoꝛe his Picture. How much moꝛe reaſonable had it bin that the gods ſhould haue cõmitted themſelues to the cuſtody of the Cities, than that the Cities ſhould haue committed themſelues to the cuſtody of the gods? Alſo hee diuideth the gods into certaines and vncertaines. The certaine (ſaith he in his ſecond booke) are as much oꝛ moꝛe ſubiect to vncertainty than the vncertain. What certainty will he repoꝛt of the gods, if they themſelues bee vncertaine. But behold the godlineſſe of the man. Hee ſaith, hee will make a Regiſter and an Inuentoꝛie of them: and wherefoꝛe? Foꝛ feare (ſaith hee) leſt they ſhould be loſt, not ſo much by ſome ſacking of the City, as by the negligence of the Citizens, which began ſoꝛe at that time to make no account of them. Sothly the Romans had been the moꝛe excuſable, if they had deified this Varro that had ſuch a care to ſaue and pꝛeſerue their gods. But the wiſe Senate thought themſelues

Aug. de Ciuitate Dei lib. 7. cap. 17

ſelues to haue pꝛouided wel foꝛ the matter, by making this oꝛdinance, That no God ſhould be admitted into Rome without their aduice. As who would ſay, that to be a God, it was meete that a bill of petition ſhould firſt be exhibited vnto them, and men were to be ſued vnto foꝛ the obtainment of their voices. By which one argument of theirs they declared themſelues to be moꝛe diuine than their Gods. And thereupon it came to paſſe that they receiued into their Citie all the Deuils, all the Tyꝛants, and all the filthy Rakehels of the woꝛld foꝛ Gods. As foꝛ the onely one true God the Creatour of men, the founder of Cities, & the remouer of Empires, hee had no name at all among them. Concerning the nature of the gods, Cicero hath wꝛitten thꝛee bookes, which to ſpeake pꝛoperly, are made to ouerthꝛow al the gods of the Romanes. Foꝛ hee reckoneth vp their ages, their garments, their deckings, their offſpꝛings, their anceſtoꝛs, and their alliances. He ſaith that their Temples are their Tombs, their Sacrifices and Ceremonies, repꝛeſentations of their liues, & that from the leaſt of them to the greateſt, they were all men, & all their Religions, Superſtitions, and old wiues tales. As touching the true God, hee ſpeaketh far otherwiſe. Foꝛ he ſaith that he made all things, that hee made man, that he made the very gods themſelues, & to be ſhoꝛt, that it is much eaſier foꝛ him to wonder at God, than to vtter what he is, and to declare what he is not, than what he is. And whereas ſometimes after the manner of the Stoicks, he goeth about to dꝛaw natural things out of the fables of the gods: he doth it but onely to keepe the people in ignoꝛance, and accoꝛding to his own ſaying in the ſelf ſame bookes, where hauing condemned his own gods, he ſaith that yet foꝛ all that, thoſe things are not to be vttered to the people, and his Allegoꝛies are ſo cold, that it is to be thought that euen he himſelfe laughed at them. As touching the Birdgazers, he himſelfe being a Birdgazer doth flatly ſcoꝛne them, that is to ſay, euen his owne pꝛofeſſion, yea, & al ſuch as ſought counſell at Crowes & Rauens, that is to wit, the whole Senate of Rome. Likewiſe we read that Cæſar held ſtill the Pꝛouince of Affrick againſt the foꝛewarnings of the Birdgazers, and that Cato wondered how two Birdgazers could meete one another, oꝛ loke one vpon another without laughing. And Seneca ſaith in his bookes of Queſtions, that the Bowelgazers were inuented foꝛ no thing elſe but to hold the people in awe. So little did the wiſe men beleeue ỹ things which they themſelues did to be wondered at & woꝛſhipped of ỹ common people: And thus much cõcerning their gods in general. But if we come to the particulars, ỹ matter wil be yet moꝛe

cleare,

Cicero cõcerning the nature of the gods, the firſt of his Tuſculane queſtions.

Seneca, li. 2. ca. 4. & 41.

The gods of greater Nations.

cleare, wherein I will be as briefe as I can, becauſe it is a matter that is treated of expreſſly by others. Among the innumerable rabble of gods, they haue twelue of principall renowne, whoſe names are comprehended in theſe two Verſes of Ennias:

Iuno, Veſta, Minerua, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Iupiter, Neptune, Vulcanus, Apollo.

Euſebius de præpar. euangelica. lib. 4.

And vnto theſe ſome added Bacchus and Saturne; this later, becauſe he might ſéeme to haue wrong, if he ſhould not bee counted a god as well as his ſon: and the other, becauſe it might come to paſſe, that (being a fiery fellow) he would els make ſome fray, ſéeing that Ceres is a goddeſſe: To diſpatch the chiefe of them quite and cleane of that doubt, Euhemere of Meſſene will alone ſuffice: who gathering the hiſtory of Iupiter and the reſt, ſetteth down their titles, Epitaphs, and Inſcriptions which were in their Temples, & namely in the Temple of Iupiter Triphillian, where was a pillar ſet vp by Iupiter himſelfe, whereon the notableſt of his doings were ingrauen. And this Hiſtory being called holy, was tranſlated by Ennius, the words whereof are theſe: Saturne (ſaith he) tooke *Ops* to his wife, & *Titan* being his elder brother, claymed the Kingdome: but *Veſta* their mother, and *Ceres* and *Ops* their Siſters, counſelled *Saturne* to keepe his poſſeſſion: which thing when *Titan* perceiued, finding himſelfe to bee the weaker, he compounded with *Saturne*, vpon condition that if *Saturne* had any ſonnes, hee ſhould not ſuffer them to liue, that the Kingdome might reuert againe vnto his children. According to which compoſition, the firſt childe that was borne to *Saturne* was killed. Afterward were born *Iupiter* and *Iuno* Twinnes, both at one birth: of whom they ſhewed but *Iuno*, & deliuered *Iupiter* to *Veſta* to be brought vp ſecretly. After them came *Neptune*, who was ſerued likewiſe. And laſt of all came *Pluto* & *Glauca*; of whom only *Glauca* (who died within a while) was ſhewed, and *Pluto* was nurced ſecretly as *Iupiter* was. Now this came to *Titans* hearing, who aſſembling his ſonnes to him, tooke *Saturne* and *Ops* & put them both in priſon. But as ſoone as *Iupiter* came to age, he gaue battell to the *Titans*; and getting the vpper hand of them, deliuered his father & mother out of priſon. At length perceiuing that his father, whom he had ſet vp againe, was iealous ouer him, and ſought his life: he depoſed him from his eſtate, and droue him into Italy. In this only one Hiſtory wee ſee, what Saturne, Iupiter, Iuno, Veſta, Ops, Neptune and Ceres were, that is to wit, men and women; Men amongſt men, and no better then other men: although they were the fathers & mothers of the reſt of the gods. Now they raigned in the Iles

Euhemere as he is cited by Lactantius

Iles of the chiefe Midland Sea; and in Candy a little afore the wars of Thebes and of Troy. And by that meanes we ſée alſo, from whence the Poets haue fetcht their fables; which are not (as ſome think) meere fancies or imaginations without ground, but diſguiſings of the truth and of the Hiſtorie: True in that they report déeds rightly beſéeming men: vntrue in that they attribute them as to gods, and not as to men. Saturne is taken for the father of them all. And looke what is found of the father, is to be verefyed of his Of ſpring. The Hiſtoriophers therefore haue ſayd, that his Wife did hide his children from him: and the Poets haue ſayd that hee did eate them vp, becauſe a Sooth ſayer had told him that one of them ſhould depoſe him. To auoid the abſurdity of the word Krouos which is Saturne, the Stoikes haue turned it to Chronos (that is to ſay, time) which deuoureth all things. But how will they apply all the reſt of the Allegory vnto the Hiſtory? Who ſhal be the daies loſt, and who the daies ſaued? What ſhall Ops be, and Iupiter, and Pluto? who ſhall be this ſonne of time, that periſheth not with the time nor afore it? But Hermes (whatſoeuer he be) who knew this pedigree well enough, holdeth himſelfe to the letter, accounting Vranus, Saturne, & Mercurie, among the rare men that were in time paſt. And Ennius ſaith, that this Vranus was the father of Saturne, and raigned afore him. Now becauſe Vranus in Greeke ſignifieth Heauen: the Stoicks more fabulous, as ſayth Plutarke, then the Poets haue called his ſonne, Time; and his grand ſonne Iupiter, the Welkin or higheſt region of the ayre: whom Euhemere reporteth to haue ordained Sacrifices vnto Vranus. And Ennius his tranſlator reporteth, that he ordained them vnto his grandfather Heauen, who dyed in the Ocean, and lies buried in Aulatie. To be ſhort, of all theſe writers of antiquities, ſuch as Theodore the Greeke, Thallus, Caſſius, Seuerus, Cornelius, Nepos and others were: none deſcribeth him otherwiſe than a man: inſomuch that euen Orpheus himſelfe who canonized him euen for a God, ſpeaketh of him after the ſame manner. What reade we of Iupiter? Iupiter (ſaith the Hiſtorie) depoſed his own Father, held his aſſemblies in Mount Olympus, ſtole away Europa in a ſhippe named the Bull, and carried away Ganymede in another ſhippe called the Eagle: but hee for bare Thetes, becauſe an Achilles (which ſhould be a man of greater might then his Father) was to be borne of her. Finally, after he had made certain lawes, and parted the offices of his eſtate among his friends, he dyed and was buried in the towne of Gnoſus. What a life is this, but the life of a man? yea, and of a moſt wicked man, vnworthy,

Hermes in his Aſclepius.

vnworthy, not to raigne in heauen, but euen to go vpon the earth? Neuertheleſſe, becauſe his ſucceſſors inforced men to worſhippe him as well as his grandfather, yea, and he himſelfe in his life time had cauſed his Subiects, Vaſſales and Confederates to dedicate Temples vnto him; by reaſon whereof we ſee he was called by the names of Labradie, Araburie, Tryphill, and diuers others: all things were faine to be applyed and referred vnto him: inſomuch that of a man, the Poets made him a god; of the Mountaine Olympus, they made Heauen, of a Ship, an Eagle, and of Thetis, a Goddeſſe. Yet for all this his buriall place putteth all out of doubt, & ſo doth the Epitaph that Pythagoras wrote thereon. For to haue a Temple in one place, and a Tombe in another, and to bee worſhipped with prayer in the one, and to be eaten with wormes in the other, are things farre differing. Callimachus will needs taunt the Cretanes for ſhowing his Tombe with this inſcription, ὁ Σὰς τῷ Κρόνῳ, that is to ſay, Iupiter the ſonne of Saturne: and yet he conſidereth not, that in ſaying that Rhea was deliuered of him among the Parrhaſians, hee himſelfe maketh him to die. For what is birth but a beginning of death? And therfore Sybil ſpeaketh of the gods in theſe words:

> The fond vaine-glorie which the Cretanes vſe
> About their Gods doth many a man abuſe.
> They be but gaſtly Ghoſts and feends of hel,
> Or graues of men, in whom no ſoule doth dwell.

To be ſhort, Amalthea, and her Goate that nurced Iupiter, which were honoured in the Capitoll, and all his other myſteries, repreſented nothing elſe but the trauells of his childhood and of his life, as how he was ſtollen away, how he was hidden, and how he was nurced: all which things are a manifeſt derogation of his Godhead. And Seneca taketh it to be a matter ſo worthy to be laughed at, that he forgetteth his own grauitie, to giue a mocke vnto it. Seeing (ſaith he) that this *Iupiter* was ſo lecherous, why begetteth he not children ſtill, if he be yet aliue? Is it becauſe hee is threeſcore yeares old? Or hath the Law of *Papie* reſtrained him? Or hath he obtained the priuiledge of three children? Or finally, is it come into his minde to looke for the ſame meaſure at other folks hands, which hee hath meaſured vnto others, ſo as he is afraid leſt ſome ſonne of his ſhould deale with him as he himſelfe dealt with *Saturne*? After that manner did this great Philoſopher mocke at that great God, wherein he was ſo much the leſſe to be excuſed, becauſe hee worſhipped him, knowing ſo much as hee did.

Seneca in his Morals

The lawe of three children.

As

As touching Iuno, I wil not ſtand ſo much vpon the Poets. Varro himſelfe ſaith, that ſhe was brought vp in Samos, and there married to her brother Iupiter, by whom ſhe could not conceiue; in reſpect wherof, that Iland was called Partheny, that is to ſay, Maydenland. There alſo was her famouſeſt Temple, where ſhee ſtood in wedding attire; and her yeerely feaſts are in very deede but playes ordained after the faſhion of old time, to repreſent her life, that is to wit, her marriage, her iealouſie, and her inceſt.

And as concerning Minerua Iupiters daughter, wee read that ſhee was deflowred by conſent of her father, who had made a promiſe to Vulcane, not to deny him whatſoeuer he would aſk: ſo monſtrous and lawleſſe was the whole race of them. For as for Venus, whoſe aduoutrers were more then her children; whom Euhemere reporteth, to haue been the firſt bringer vp of Stewes in the world, and that her worſhippers did often call her φειλάσιαν, ἑταίραν, καλλίγλυπτον, χειροδάμαλιν, vſing them as titles of honor (which yet the moſt vnchaſt women can not heare without bluſhing:) and to be ſhort, ſhe in whoſe Temple Cinaras K. of Cyprus was buried, being the firſt that had lewd and fleſhly converſation with her: how can ſhe (I ſay) be worthy to be eſteemed a woman? much leſſe a goddeſſe. Surely, I am aſhamed that the Heathen were not aſhamed of this ſhamefulneſſe: but much more, that Chriſtians bluſh not to name her in their Verſes.

Let vs proceed to the reſt. Neptune (as their holy hyſtory reporteth) had the Seacoaſt for his ſhare, or (as otherſom affirm) he was Iupiters Admiral, in reſpect wherof the Poets of our time call Admirals, Neptunes. Pluto had the gouernment of low Countries, which they diſguiſing turned vnto hell. Mars had the leading of Souldiers in the wars, and ſhould haue bin hanged at Athens for a murther. What maner of gods (I praay you) be theſe, which ſtand at mēs curteſy for their grace? And what is the lawe of that heauen, which receiueth thoſe for gods, whom men would haue hanged on the gallowes vpon earth? Alſo Apollo became a Shepheard for loue; and of a ſhepheard, Laomedons Maſon. He played a few iuggling tricks to deceiue folke withall, but in the end (as Porphyrius telleth vs) he was killed by Python, mourned for by the daughter of Triopus, and buried at Delphos. Who euer ſawe a thing more againſt reaſon, than the tranſforming of him into the Sun? which is as much as to ſhut vp the Sun into the earth. But yet ſuch as are the gods of the Greekes and Romanes, that is to wit, dead folkes: euen Kings and Queenes whom loue or feare had made to be taken for gods. And to ſpeake troth, men in times paſt did not

any worſhip to their gods, which theſe did not to their dead friends and ſuch as were of reputation. They made them Temples, Chappels, and Altars, they apparelled them after their age, they ſet them vp Penſils and Penons according to their degrée or trade of liuing, they made them a funerall feaſt, they celebrated Anniuerſaries or Peereminds all of one ſort: Inſomuch, that (as Tertullian ſaith) the Obitfeaſt differeth not from Iupiters feaſt, nor the woodden Can from his drinking cup, nor the Cearer of dead folks from the Birdgazers, for the Birdgazers alſo had to deale with the dead. And therfore we muſt not think it ſtrange, that Alexander would needes be a god, ſith hee knew that men worſhipped ſuch: or that Scipio Affricane thought, that the great gate of heauen ought to be ſet open for him: for his argument concluded the like ſaying:

Scipio Affrican in Ennius.

If men, for ſlaughter made, to Heauen admitted be,
Then ſhould the greateſt gate of Heauen be opened vnto me.

Or that the gentle Ladies Laurentia and Flora were Canonized at Rome, for they deemed themſelues to haue deſerued as much by their profeſſion, as Venus had deſerued at the hands of the Cyprians: or that Caligula tooke vpon him to haue Altars erected, and ſacrifice offered vnto him, for he was both mighty, and alſo more miſchieuous than thoſe whom he worſhipped. Let this ſuffice for the great ones. And for the little ones, we will content our ſelues with Eſculapius alone, whom the Emperor Iulian, that great enemy of Chriſtians, commendeth as his Sauiour aboue all the reſt. He is (ſaith he) the ſonne of Iupiter. Then (ſay I) he is a man: for men begot not gods. But he came downe into the world by the Sun, and from the Sun vnto the earth, for the health and welfare of men. What Author either in earneſt or in ieſt, did euer ſo? No, but he was (ſaith the Hiſtory) the ſon of the faire Coronis renowmed in theſe Verſes:

Eſculapius Iulian againſt the Galileans.

A goodlier Lady was not to be found,
In all Emonia going on the ground.

This Coronis, being with child by Apollos prieſt, gaue it forth, for the ſauing of her honour, that ſhee was gotten with childe by Apollo himſelfe: wherby it appeareth that her ſonne Eſculapius, was not the child of heauen, as Iulian reporteth, but (as men ſayd in old time) a child of the earth, that is to ſay, a baſtard. And Tarquilius Roman writeth, that he was a child found in Meſſene, and learned the vertues of ſome hearbs at the hand of Chyron the Centaure, and plaid the Pedlar a while at Epidaure; and that afterward being ſtriken to death (as Cicero ſaith) with Thunder, he was buried at Cynoſures. To be ſhort, what

what miracle read wee to haue bin done by him, more than that hee ſhewed men the hearbs called Scordion and Aſclepiodotes? By which reaſon, we may as wel deifie the bird Ibis for the Cliffers, or the Stag for the herb Ditany. But to conclude, what a beaſtlineſſe were it to leaue the Creator of all things, and to worſhip a man for his knowing of ſome two or three of them? Among other Nations of the world, the Ægyptians haue vpon the like reaſons deified their King Apis, forbidding all men, vpon paine of death, to ſay he was a man: and I am euen ready to ſhudder at the remembrance of his myſteries. Likewiſe, the Babylonians deified their Bele, the Mawres their Iuda, the Macedonians their Cabyrus, the Latines their Faunus, the Sabines their Saucus, and the Romans their Quirinus: that is to wit, the firſt founders of their Towns and Cities, or the leaders of them to inhabite in forrain Countries, and the eldeſt of theſe their gods, that is to ſay, their ancientеſt Princes, they called Saturns, their Sons, Iupiters, their grandſonnes, Herculeſes, and ſo forth: whereupon it came to paſſe, that in diuers Nations there were diuers Saturnes, Iupiters, and Herculeſes. Afterwards, the Emperors deified themſelues, and their friends, and ſome their Mynions, as Alexander did Epheſtion, and as Adrian did Antinous, and ſome their children, and ſome their wiues. Cicero being but a Citizen of Arpie, was ſo proud, that he would needs deifie his daughter Tullia, and hee ſticked not to ſay to Atticus, that hee would make her to bee worſhipped as another Iuno or Minerua, conſidering that ſhee was not inferiour to them in any thing. But hee came in too rough a time to make gods. What more? Euen in one man were a thouſand gods to be found. For they made gods of faithfulneſſe, of conſtancie, of wiſdome, and of all the other vertues, and likewiſe of Loue, of Pleaſure, of the inſtruments of pleaſure, and of all other vices: Alſo of feare, paleneſſe, gaſtfulneſſe, and all paſſions: Likewiſe of maladies and diſeaſes, as of Agewes, of the Hemorodes, and of the Falling ſickneſs: Alſo of Dunghils, of Snow, of Blaſtings, and of the very winds: inſomuch, that the great Emperor Auguſtus did ſacrifice to the wind Circius, which troubled him in Gal. The cauſe of theſe abſurdities is in two things, the one is Gods iuſt ſtriking of men with blindneſſe for their turning away from him vnto man, inſomuch that whereas they will needs become equall with God, they fal by degrées from point to point, euen to the caſting of themſelues down vnto Beaſts and Wormes, that is to ſay, they become inferiour to beaſts. The other is, that Princes vninlightned by God, are ſo deſirous of vaine-glorie, and their ſeruants are ſuch flatterers that they

Xenophon in his æquiuocations.

perceiuing themſelues to haue men at their commandement, thinke themſelues more than men: and their ſeruants to bee made Idoles themſelues, do willingly make Idoles of their Princes. Hereof we read in the very laws of the Chriſtian Emperors, that their anſwers are called Oracles, their perſons godheads, and their countenances diuine brightnes. Who reading this can doubt, but that if ſuch Lawyers had come in the firſt ages, they would haue made vs god ſtore of gods? May, would God we ſaw not ſtill among vs, great numbers of liuely & plaine ſpeaking examples, of mans inclined diſpoſition to the worſhipping of creatures, notwithſtanding that our Law in euery line thereof doth reproue vs for it, and after a ſort twitch vs euery houre by the Cote, to pull vs from it. Now therfore, let the premiſes be a preſident vnto vs, both of the vanity of the gods, & of the blockiſhnes of men, which haue both worſhipped them and made them. And to let vs commit the knitting vp of this matter to Cicero himſelfe, who ſaith thus: The conuerſation and cuſtom of men (ſayth he) hath allowed the aduancing of thoſe men into heauen, both in reputation and in good will, by whom they had receiued any great benefit. Of that ſort are Hercules, Caſtor, Pollux, Eſculapius, Liber, and ſuch other; ſo as Heauen is peopled with mankind. And if I liſted to ſearch & ranſacke the Antiquities & Regiſters of the Greeks, I ſhould find that the ſame gods who we take for the greateſt, haue had their original from among vs. And for the verifying thereof, inquire whoſe the Tombes are that are ſhewed in Greece, and conſider with thy ſelfe what their myſteries and ceremonies are: and thou hauing acceſſe thither, ſhalt vnderſtand, without doubt, that my ſaying reacheth very farre.

Cicero cõcerning the Nature of the gods, in his booke of Lawes, and in his Tuſculane Queſtions.

Chap. XXIII.

That the ſpirits, which made themſelues to be worſhipped vnder the names of thoſe men, were Feends, that is to ſay, Diuels or wicked Spirits.

NOw ſeeing that the ſayd gods were but men, yea, and not men, but Stockes and Images of men, and that the ſame ſtocks, if they had bin any more than ſtocks, ſhould rather haue worſhipped men: we muſt needs ſay with Seneca, that the men which worſhipped them, were become worſe than ſtockes.

But

But hereunto it will be anſwered, that they gaue anſwers of things to come, and that they wrought effects beyond the reach of man; which ſhewed that there was a life and power in them, or elſe they had not ſeduced folke ſo long a time. This is the ſecond part which I haue taken in hand to proue: namely, that although the ancient Philoſophers agree, that there are both good Spirits and bad, the one ſort (whom we call Angels) Seruants and Meſſengers of God; and the other ſort Diuels, enemies to Gods glory, and our welfare: yet notwithſtanding, the Spirits which were ſerued in ſtockes and Images, as Hermes hath told vs, were vncleane and miſchieuous Spirits. Theſe Fiends therefore (to purchaſe themſelues authority) did borrow the names of men, and moſt commonly of the wickedeſt men. Yea, and when they were aſked, they made anſwere in their Oracles, that they were thoſe men: as for example, hee that was worſhipped at Delphos, ſaid he was the ſonne of Latona, Eſculapius the ſonne of Apollo, Mercury the ſonne of Iupiter and Maia; and ſo forth, as we read in Oracles rehearſed by Porphyrius. But no honeſt man will yeeld, no not for the greateſt gaine, to take vpon him the name of a wicked man: but rather abhorre both the name, and the very remembrance of him. And who then will not conclude, that thoſe Diuels, which (to winne themſelues credit) clothed themſelues after that ſort with the caſes of ſo wicked men, were worſe than the men? Alſo, they were drawne (ſaith Hermes) into Images by Art Magicke; yea, and (by the report of Porphyrius and Proclus) they taught men receits wherewith to draw them thither, and to binde them there, as wee read of Proſerpine, Hecate and Apollo. Of whom, one commanded to beſet her Image with Wormewood, to paint a certaine number of Rattes about it, and to offer vnto her Bloud, Myrrhe, and Storax, to draw her thither. Another commanded to wipe out the lines and figures, to remoue the garlands of flowers from his féete, and to take the branch of Oliue out of his hand, that is to ſay, from his Images hand, for by theſe things they were bound and looſed. Who ſees not that they were willing to be drawne in, and driuen out, bound and looſed by things that haue no power, ſpecially ouer ſpirits? But (as Iamblicus well obſerued) they would ſeeme to bee drawne and enforced, though they came willingly; and to be ſent away, when they departed voluntarily. And to bee ſhort, they were more greedy of lying and deceiuing, than we of hearing and beleeuing. And when they obeyed vs, or pretended to obey vs, let vs ſee what ſeruice they required at our hands: verily, that their Images ſhould be well painted, and wel

Porphyrius in his booke of the Anſweres.

Euſebius de præparat. euangel. lib. 3. cap. vlt. Porphyrius in his ſaid booke of the anſweres of the gods. Euſeb. de præpar. Euang. lib. 5 cap. 6. & 7. Iamblicus cõcerning Myſteries, cap. 27. & 31.

coated, and that they might be worſhipped, prayed vnto and ſenced. Now, if they were the Images of Spirits: what greater vntruth can there be, than for a ſpirit to be reſembled by an Image? And if they were the Images of men; what greater beaſtlineſſe (ſaith Seneca) can there be, than to offer Sacrifice to a Stocke, and to make the Carter which made it, to eate at the ſecond table, and to knéele downe before a counterfeit of his owne making, or to make the Painter ſtand bare-headed vnto it? Now then, what elſe were they but leaders of vntruth, whoſe intent was to turne men, not onely from God to his workes, but alſo to themſelues, and finally into very ſtockes?

Apollo being aſked what ſeruice was to bee yeelded to the gods, declared that Sacrifice is to bee offered to them all, as well them that dwell in the Ayre and the Fire, as them that dwell in the Sea, and in the Earth; to ſome with white beaſts, and to ſome with black; to ſome vpon Altars, and to otherſome vpon bankes of Earth: to ſome the foreparts of beaſts, and to otherſome the hinder parts, and ſuch other like ſtuffe. And becauſe they would needs play the Apes with God in all things: they required this ſeruice after the example of the old Teſtament. For (as ſaith Porphyrius) nothing delighteth them more, than to be eſteemed as gods: inſomuch that the greateſt of them all (whom they call Serapis, and we Beelzebub) will needs be worſhipped as the Soueraigne God. But what reſemblance is there betwixt them and the true God? God requireth of vs the firſtlings of our fruits and of our Cattell. And foraſmuch as he hath created them for vs, is it not reaſon that wee ſhould acknowledge our ſelues beholden to him for our Corne, and for our increaſe of Cattell? On the contrary part, theſe gods require the acknowledgement of thoſe things to be done to themſelues, and to their Images. Gods inioyning of vs to ſacrifice brute beaſts, is to witneſſe the death that we deſerue by our ſinne: but they beare vs on hand, that by the death of a beaſt we be diſcharged from all ſinnes. God ſaith vnto vs, Your Sacrifices are nothing worth, I will haue obedience and not Sacrifice: your Oblations loath mee, and your Incenſe ſtinketh: the thing that I looke for, is a broken and a lowly heart. The falſe gods ſpeake of nothing but of the ſhedding of bloud, without telling or knowing why or wherefore, without end, without ground, without ſignification, and without comming any whit nére the heart. Now then, what are they elſe than ſlauiſh Rogues and Rebels, endeuouring to filch away the praiſe of our Creator? And yet for all their diſguiſing of

Porphyrius in his booke of Anſwers, &c. Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 4.

The ſacrificing of Men. Euſeb. lib. 4. Cap. 7. Deuil of Malvern hatlles, li. 2.

of themſelues for a time, they be not able to conceale their own lewdneſſe any long while. For they command vs to ſacrifice Sons, Maids, and Children vnto them. Had they ordained ſuch things at their firſt comming in, who would not haue abhorred them? But when they had once wound themſelues into credite by ſome anſwere delightfull to our curious eares, and by ſome Iuggling tricks which ſéemed wonderfull to the weakneſſe of our eyes: we ſuffered them to goe by little and little whitherſoeuer they themſelues liſted, as though it had been vnpoſſible that they ſhould haue ſayd otherwiſe than well, or that we ſhould haue done otherwiſe than well in obeying them. According whereunto we read, that children were ſacrificed to Saturne in Candy, after the manner of the Curates: in Rhodomene, the firſt day of the moneth Geitnion: In Phenice, in times of Plague, Warre, and Famine: and likewiſe in Affricke they ſacrificed men, vntill the Vice-conſulſhip of Tyberius, who cauſed the Prieſts themſelues to be crucified in the ſame Woods where they were wont to do their ſacrifices. Alſo, they offered the like kinde of ſacrifice in Cyprus to the Nymph Agrawlis, and to Diomedes: and in the Ile of Tenedos vnto Bacchus: and in Lacedemon to Mars. And all theſe abominations are reported by Porphyrius, who thereupon concludeth, that all ſuch gods were of the wickedeſt ſort of Diuels. Moreouer, wee read, that Ariſtomenes of Meſſene ſacrificed three hundred men at once to Iupiter Ithometes, of whom Theopomp, King of the Lacedæmonians was one: And that the Latines ſacrificed the tenth of their owne children to Iupiter: and that becauſe they had diſcontinued the doing thereof, they thought themſelues to be plagued with dearth and diſeaſes. That thoſe falſe gods themſelues anſwered the Carthaginenſes, that the miſfortunes which lighted vpon them, hapned for that whereas they had vſed to ſacrifice the choyſeſt of their children, they ſacrificed none but their Raſcals, Changelings, Baſtards, and Bondlings.

Diodorus of Sicily. lib. 20. Porphyrie in his booke of Abſtinence. Hiſtius & Manethon cited by Euſebius. Tertullian in his booke of Apologie. Erichtho in Lucane. The gloſſe Aeneas in Virgill.

The like was done by the Druides in Gaulond, by the Almanes, by the Scandinauians, by the Tawricanes and others; inſomuch that Chyron the Centaure had ſuch Sacrifices offered yeerely vnto him. So farre, and with ſo ſurpaſſing ſuperſtitious cruelty was the Diuels kingdome extended, that the Diuell, and none other could bee the founder thereof. Who can now doubt after all this, but that thoſe gods were Diuels, which were workers of ſuch things, as not onely good men miſlike, but alſo euen wicked men cannot but abhorre? And indeede wee reade, that one Diphilus King of Cyprus, made the Idoll of Cyprus to bee contented with an Oxe in ſtead of

Cæſar in his bookes of his warres in Gaule. Procopius, Lucan, the gloſſe vpon the verſes in Eccleſiaſt.

a Pan; & that Amoſis King of Ægypt appoynted that in ſtead of the three young men which were wont to be ſacrificed to Iuno in Heliopole, there ſhould bee offered three Calues: and that afterward Pallas of Laodicea was contented with a Hynde: and that Hercules in traueling through Italy, gaue them men of Hay to be throwne into Tiber: but ſurely it had been more to his commendation, if he had puniſhed theſe gods, than to haue ouercome the great monſters for which he is ſo renowned. Yet was that cuſtome obſerued ſtill: Inſomuch that euen in Rome, euery yeare the ſame day that men had been wont to be ſacrificed, the altars were waſhed with mans bloud, howbeit, about a foureſcore yeares afore the cõming of Chriſt, the Senate had condemned ſuch Sacrifices at Rome. Now ſeeing that (as Seneca ſaith) they required ſuch a ſeruice as Buſyris or Pharis durſt neuer to haue demaunded: who will not conclude with Porphyrius, (as great an enemie to Chriſtians as he was) that they were all Diuels and wicked Fends? Or with Quintilian, that ſuch gods could not bee but witleſſe and ſtarke madde? And whereas the Senate, which worſhipped them, did neuertheleſſe condemne and aboliſh their ſacrifices, was not their ſo doing a condemning of the founders of them alſo? I meane of the wicked Feends themſelues which required thoſe kindes of Sacrifices ſo inſtantly, and were ſo ſore offended at the diſcontinuing of them? Labeo, whome men take for a great maſter of thoſe Myſteries, ſayd, that the good ſpirits were to be diſcerned from the wicked by this, that this latter ſort became not fauourable but by manſlaughters and deadly ſupplications, (which was a flat condemning almoſt of them all): and that the other ſort were pacified with Playes, Gamings, Feaſts and Banquettings, Mummeries, and Maskings, & ſuch other things. But if theſe good ones (as they tearme them) delight in ſuch things as wiſe-men ſhunne and fooles are aſhamed of, what followeth but that euen theſe good ones are worſe than the worſt men? Let vs examine their playes and ſhewes, for it is the difference that Labeo ſetteth downe. The Gods, being ſought vnto in an extreame plague, commanded for aſſwaging thereof, that they ſhould ordaine certaine Stageplayes. Contrariwiſe, Scipio Naſica, the Higheſt of thoſe Feends, to the intent (as he ſaide) to eſchewe the plague, forbade the ſetting vp of the Scaffolds. Now of this Scipio or of the gods, which I pray you ſhall be found the wiſer? The Stageplayes that were meant, where tales of loue, of aduerſitie, and of lecherie, interlarged with a thouſand filthy ſpeeches, inſomuch that the

Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 7.

The yeare after the building of Rome 657. Plinie lib. 30. c. 1. Quintilia. in his booke of Fanaticall things

Shamefull Seruices. Auſtin in his ſecond booke of the citie of God. ca. 11

Auſtin in his firſt booke of the citie of God. c. 32.

the Huſbands forbade their Wiues, and the Parents their Daughters to come at them. Fooles laughed at them, and wiſe men bluſhed at them, and all men at their going away from them, did with one cõmon conſent baniſh the players of thoſe Enterludes out of all good company, and declared them to be infamous perſons, by excluding them from all Offices, and by reiecting them from bearing any witneſſe. Now ſeeing that the ſeruing of God is ſo commendable a thing; if theſe were gods, why was it an infamy and reproach to ſerue them? The requirers of thoſe Playes are honoured; and why then are the players of them reproached? The Greekes ſtep vp to reaſon againſt the Romanes, and ſay, that ſuch gods are worthy to bee worſhipped, their Stage-players deſerue to be reuerenced too. This propoſition of theirs is well grounded, and apparant of it ſelfe. But the Romanes taking another ground as ſure as that, affirme it to bee impoſſible for the Comedy-players to deſerue reputation, conſidering what they do and ſay. Whereupon we are to conclude, that thoſe gods ought not to haue been worſhipped at all. And ſo hath Naſica gotten the better hand againſt his owne gods, and their plaies. And yet are they the ſelfeſame gods that were confirmed by ſo many Oracles, whom Zoſimus that great enemy of Chriſtians ſo much bewaileth, that he affirmeth the welfare of the Roman Empire to haue ended with the aboliſhing of them by Conſtantine. And what elſe are the myſteries which hee highly commendeth, but remembrances of the whoredomes, inceſts, murders and deceits committed by the men whoſe names thoſe Diuels did beare? And what man is ſo brazenfaced, as that hee will not be aſhamed of his ſin, and bluſh to heare it told vnto him? May, who doubteth, that if thoſe men were aliue againe, they would bee both aſhamed & aſtonished at thoſe things before the ſtanders by? And who then can doubt that thoſe gods were of the worſt ſort of diuels, which not onely take pleaſure in ill-doing themſelues, but alſo doe bedaube themſelues with the euill which they did not? As for example, Who would thinke that the goodly goſſip, whom they call the Mother of the gods, but whom the veriеſt caitiffe in the world would be loth to haue to be his mother, could haue heard the villanous ſpeeches wherewith her feaſt was ſolemnized, and not haue hidden herſelf away for ſhame? And if Dame Flora could haue read ỳ Floralis of Auleius, who doubteth that ſhe would not haue done the like, and much more been abaſhed to ſee ſo great a Clerke, and ſo graue a Senator as Cicero, caried with deuotion to the celebrating of them? For what elſe, at a word, are all thoſe myſteries, but Schooles of Lechery, Sodomy, and inceſt? And if

Auſtin lib. 2. cap. 4. 5. 6. 13. In infinite places in his Diageſtes.

Zoſimus, lib. 2.

the

the end of Religion be (as Plotin ſaith) to become like the party that is worſhipped, what elſe could be the marke that thoſe ceremonies aimed at, than to make men ripe in al ſorts of wickednes? and what readier way could there be to become diuels indeed, than to reſemble the? For whereas they ſay, that after their ſpewing out of all thoſe filthy things openly, they giue ſome precepts of vprightnes and modeſty to their Schollers in ſecret: thereby their naughtineſſe appeareth the more plainly to be altogether diueliſh, in that they firſt corrupt the manners of a whole people, both by their Religious ſeruices, and by their example, and afterward preach of modeſty and temperance to two or three, making as it were publick Sermons of all naughtines, to lay the bridle in euery mans necke, and then (to keepe credit with a few that are of more conſcience than the reſt) rowning them ſecretly in the eare, with ſome little talke of vertue. For who hath euer read, that any of them did euer giue one good precept, or one good example to the people, whether it were for the withdrawing of them from vice or for the drawing of them to true vertue? And yet notwithſtanding, to what end deſire we to haue God or his bleſſed Angels conuerſant with vs fraile and weake men, but that they of ſingular good will, ſhould induce, lead and guide vs into the way of ſaluation?

The Oracles of the gods were falſe, vncertaine, vaine, and wicked.

But their defenders reply, ſaying: Yet notwithſtanding, they propheſied, and wrought great and ſtrange miracles. Let vs omit that it is more naturall to beleeue the party which preacheth good things, with diuinations and miracles, than to beleeue the party that keepeth a ſchole of euils, though he propheſie and worke miracles. But in the end what were the Oracles and Miracles which they ſo highly commend? The Oracle of Delphos was one of the greateſt in reputation. The beginning thereof may bee an argument for the reſt. A heard of Goats (ſaith Diodorus) was the firſt meane to bring it into credit. And afterward a yong wench was ſet there, to vtter forth the Oracles which ſhe received (as they ſay) by her priuy parts. And for the ſlanders that grew thereof, it was ordained, that the wench ſhould be a maid of fifty yeares old. By theſe circumſtances a man may gather what manner of god that could bee. To Croeſus therefore being deſirous to know what ſhould bee the iſſue of his warres againſt the Perſians, the Oracle anſwered:

King Croeſus paſſing ouer Haly ſtreame,
Shall ouerthrow the proud and ſtately Realme.

Croeſus gathered hereof, that hee ſhould ouerthrow the Empire of the

Perſians, but indeed he ouerthrew his owne: wherein, on both ſides the diuell had prouided for his owne credit, by making the anſwere ſo doubtfull, that it might be taken both wayes. Yet was there great reaſon that Apollo ſhould haue preſerued Croeſus: for of ſingular deuotion hee had greatly enriched his Temple at Delphos. And vnto Pyrrhus (as Ennius ſayth) he anſwereth thus:

I ſay the ſonne of Æacus
The Romanes ſure ſhall ouercome.

Wherupon Croeſus preſuming that he ſhould ouercome the Romans, was himſelfe ouercome of them. Alſo hee counſelled the Athenians to fly before Xerxes: and he foretold the Salaminians, that they ſhould be ouercome by the Perſians either in Winter or in Summer. Who perceiueth not by theſe doubtfull ſpeeches, that Apollo knew nothing certainly? and therefore that he euer left himſelfe a back doore to ſcape out at all aſſayes? And as for the comming of theſe foreſayings to paſſe; who doubteth that Themiſtocles perceiuing ſo puiſſant an army to approach, deemed not as much thereof himſelfe? ſpecially ſeeing that afore he had heard the anſwere of Apollo, hee counſelled his Countrey-men to wait for their enemies vpon ſea. And what a number of wiſe Senators, and good Captaines were there (thinke wee) in thoſe free Cities and Kingdomes, which would haue giuen their aduice more to the purpoſe in that caſe?

Zoſimus reporteth, that when the Palmirenes aſked counſell whether they ſhould obtaine the Empire of the Eaſt or no; an Oracle anſwered them in this wiſe:

Go get ye hence like guilefull folke, and Couzeners as ye be;
The things ye now do take in hand, diſpleaſe the Gods, I ſee.

And ſome ſuch other doth Zoſimus report, whereof hee maketh great reckoning. But what elſe are ſuch wandring and generall anſweres, but deceitfull doubts, and (as yee would ſay) ſhooes that will fit both feete, as agreeable to them that are furtheſt off, as to the parties that aſke the Counſell? Therefore Oenomaus a Philoſopher and Orator of Greece, hauing oftentimes (as he himſelfe confeſſeth) been beguiled by the Oracle of Delphos, gathered a Regiſter of the lies thereof, and did ſet forth a booke againſt it, intituled, The falſehood of Oracles. And Porphyrius, who likewiſe made a collection of them, euen without adding, diminiſhing, or changing ſo much as one word, ſaith; that vpon examining of them, hee found them ordinarily falſe: and hee addeth the cauſe thereof to bee, That their foretelling of things is not by foreknowledge, but by coniectures

taken

Porphyrius in his bookes of the Anſweres of Oracles.

taken of naturall cauſes, and of the mouings and meetings of the ſtars, as hath appeared in many Oracles. For *Apollo* being asked by one, whether he ſhould haue a Sonne or a Daughter, anſwered; a Daughter; becauſe (quoth *Apollo* himſelfe) that at the time of the conception *Venus* ouerſhadowed *Arares*. And being asked another time, whether that yeare ſhould be vnhealthfull or no; hee anſwered yea, becauſe the conſtellation therof was dangerous for the lungs: and ſo of other things. How many wiſe women and learned Phyſicians would haue anſwered that matter better, and yet for ſo doing, men would not haue offered ſacrifice vnto them? Nay, which is more, Porphyrius ſaith, that vpon a time Apollo of Delphos being vnable to coniecture by ẏ ſtars, deſired folke to let him alone, telling them flatly, that if they were importunate vpon him, he would anſwere them with lies. And that at another time he anſwered flatly, that at that inſtant the courſe of the ſtarres could ſhew him nothing. Now, I pray you, what manner of gods are theſe, which learne their wiſedome of the ſtars? Nay, which worſe is, how can they be ſaid to be good Spirits, which threaten to lie, if they be vrged to farre? And in good ſooth ſuch are the anſweres which the continued Diuels do yeeld yet ſtill at this day by theſe Sorcerers and Witches; for the doing whereof, theſe ſeruants of theirs are by all Lawes condemned to bee burnt, as hee was that deceiued Manfred, when he was to fight with Charles, Duke of Aniow, in the Realme of Naples, by this doubtfull conſtruction of Grammar, *Non, non Gallus ſuperabit Appulum*: which may be Engliſhed as doubtfully thus: No, the Frenchman the Italian ſhall not ouercome. For Manfred conſidered not that in Latine two Negatiues may counteruaile an Affirmatiue. Many ſuch other like trickes there are, which wee may with leſſe trouble read in Hiſtories. And if they know not the certainty of the things that are demanded of them; why do we either worſhip them, or wonder at them? And if they ſpeake that which they know not, are they not deceiuers? And if they ſpeake againſt their owne knowledge, are they not liers? And if it belong vnto gods to deceiue and to lie, wherefore do we blame our neighbours, and beat our children for ſo doing? Nay (which more is) to lie and to deceiue in matters of ſuch importance, where the caſe concerneth the bloud of ſo many ſilly ſoules, and the ſacking of ſo many poore houſes: who can deny it to be the property of the diuel, who euen from his very firſt beginning hath been found to bee both a murtherer and a lyer? As for Bird-gazers, I haue touched them in a word or twaine afore. The Egyptians obſerued them after one ſort, and the Africans after another;

ther; the Greekes on the right ſide, the Romanes on the left: and Ariſtotle ſcorned them, becauſe they determined not the time; and Plinie mocked them, becauſe that euen by their owne doctrine, they touched them not at all which had no regard of them. Yea, and euen the greateſt Birdgazers themſelues, as Cato, Cæſar, and Cicero made a mock of it. And if at any time they happened to hit right vpon a thing; it was but after the manner of our Almanacks, the flat contrary whereof whoſo followeth, ſhall commonly come neereſt the truth. Neuertheleſſe, if their gods foreſaw any plague by naturall coniectures, as Philoſophers, Phyſicians, Hunters, and Shepheards alſo doe; they fayned themſelues to be angry at ſome State or Common weale. And for what cauſe? Forſooth, for omitting of Common Players and Enterludes; that is to ſay, for ſhutting vp the Schooles of Lechery and Ribaldry: Or for that they had not made their wonted ſhewes of Fencers and Sword-plaiers, that is to ſay, of men that ſlew one another openly to pleaſe them withall, and to make a whole State guilty of man-ſlaughter and murder. And if they iudged by the ſeaſon of the yeare that the plague ſhould ceaſe: then it was the goodly Sacrifices that had pleaſed them, and that made men the carefuller to continue them. Inſomuch that when the Romans had loſt the bloudy battell at Cannas, it was ſayd to be, becauſe their Conſull Varro had put a faire yong boy to the Galley. And when things went amiſſe in the Citie, it was either becauſe ſome Daunce or Gambolder had diſpleaſed them at the gamings and ſhewes in the Kirke, or becauſe ſome malefactor had beene conueyed that way to the Gallowes. What a godhead is that, I beſeech you, which is prouoked to anger by modeſty, and appeaſed by miſchiefe? In the fauour whereof a man cannot ſtand, but by dealing wickedly: but is ſo ſtrangely offended by the doing of Iuſtice?

But let vs ſee further, whether they bee any better Diuines than Prophets. The Oracle of Delphos ſaith thus:

A God in ſooth is Cleomede, and not a mortall wight:
The laſt begot of heauenly race, an Altar to him dight.

This Cleomede was a ſtrong buffeter: who is reported to haue ſlaine his aduerſary at one blow: and with this mans fiſt and fight ſo greatly were thoſe good gods delighted. But of ſuch a one as Socrates, Plato, or Pythagoras, he would neuer haue ſaid ſo much.

Againe, he ſaith thus;

Archilocus is a very Saint and Seruant of the gods: yea verily of ſuch gods indeed; for hee choſe the wickedeſt and lewdeſt ſubiect of whom

whom to make his verſe. But of Theognis, or of a Phocylides, which had exhorted folke to good life, hee would neuer haue ſaid ſo much.

Of Cypſelus he ſaid thus;

A happy man is Cypſelus, and loued of the gods. If it bee ſo: then what are Buſiris, Phalaris, and all other Tyrants? For there neuer was a greater Tyrant than hee. But the ſayd Oracles ſaid alſo, that Iupiter and Apollo had prolonged the life of Phalaris for his wel handling of Chariton and Menalippus. Now, what fitter meane can there bee to make Tyrants, (that is to ſay, enemies of mankinde) in the world, than to beare men on hand that ſuch are beloued of the gods: Zoſimus their great Patron, rehearſeth an Oracle which anſwered, that for the appeaſing of an Earth-quake at Athens, it behoued them to honor Achilles as a God. This was a plaine turning away of man from God to the Creature. The ſame anſwered likewiſe to the men of Methymnus, that it behoued them to worſhip a wodden Head of Bacchus, that was found by fiſhing in the ſea. And this was a making of them more blinde than the ſtocke it ſelfe. And when they were demanded concerning the manner of worſhipping and ſeruing theſe gods; they anſwered:

κεφαλὰς κεφαλῇ, καὶ τῷ παρὰ πείσιστρατῳ.

What is to ſay:

Send you the heads to Iupiter, the men vnto his Syre.

The double ſignification of the Greeke word φῶς Fos, which ſignifieth a Torch or a Light, and may alſo ſignifie man, did cut off the liues of many folkes. Which doubtfulneſſe of ſpeech the Idoll affected, not of any intent to ſpare them, but to haue matter of excuſe againſt ſuch as made conſcience to do it. For being aſked by the Athenians, how they might make amends for their killing of Androgeus; he willed the to ſend yeerely to King Minos, ſeuen bodies of either ſere choſen from among them all, to appeaſe the wrath of God; and that kinde of ſacrifice continued ſtill in Athens in the time of Socrates. Now then, what elſe is all their doctrine than a ſeruing of the Diuell, & of Creatures yea, euen with a ſeruice which in very deed is diuelliſh and horrible? All theſe Oracles are reported by Oenomaus a Heathen, who gathered them together: by Porphyrie our enemy, who by them would induce vs to make great account of them; who in the beginning of his booke, appealeth vnto God, that hee ſetteth not any thing downe of his owne head: by Chryſippus the Stoicke in his booke of Deſtinie, who by theſe Oracles goeth about to proue it: and by Zoſimus himſelfe, who maketh ſo great moane to ſee their mouthes ſtopped, and their

their Temples ſhut vp. And ſurely it is not to bee marueiled, though the Peripatericks putting them to triall, did vtter great grieuances againſt thoſe gods: and that the Platoniſts (which went to worke faithfully) were driuen to conclude, that not only the vncleane ſpirits, but alſo euen their gods, whom they thought to bee pure, were ſubiect to lying.

Let vs come to their Miracles. In the Temple of Venus there was a Lampe that neuer went out; and the Image of Serapis hung vnfaſtened in the ayre. Diuers deceits may bee wrought in the like caſe; and it is well knowne, that the like wonders are ſeene euen in naturall things, as a Fountaine to light a Torch, and a ſtone to take vp Iron into the ayre. And they which haue the ſkill to vſe ſuch things, and to gather together the vertues of many into one, may wonderfully bleare the eyes euen of the wiſeſt. As for example, it hath been ſeene that ſome haue found out a deuice how to burne vp one water with another; and to breake open a ſtrong locke almoſt without touching it. And that the Fiends (which know more than wee) doe better ſerue their owne turnes with the wonders of nature than we do, it is not to be doubted: Inſomuch that the Phyſician which knoweth the vertues of hearbes, maketh things of them, which the Gardiner that ſowed them, and cheriſhed them vp, would wonder at, and cannot do. But loe here a ſtrange caſe: Accius Nauius the great Bird-gazer of Rome, did cut aſunder a whetſtone with a razor, in the preſence of the King Tarquine. What a number of Witches are daily burned, which do much more by their familiarity with the Diuell? For they ſtop a Tun that is pierced full of holes, they hold faſt a water-ſpout from running; and they bind the naturall abilities: and yet notwithſtanding, they confeſſe that their ſo doing is by the wicked ſpirits, and the wicked ſpirits diſcouer not themſelues otherwiſe than ſo vnto them. And in very truth, the Angels & the Fiends differ not properly in ſtrength & power, but in will and practice: like as among men, the good men differ not from the wicked men either in ſtrength of body, or in ſtoutnes of courage, but in the applying of their bodies and mindes. Alſo, it may bee that the Image of Feminine Fortune hath ſpoken, and likewiſe the Image of Iuno Moneta, and ſuch others: And that Caſtor and Pollux haue wiped away the ſweat from the Horſes of the Romanes, as they trauelled: And that the Lady Claudia drew the ſhip wherein the Idoll of the goddeſſe Bona was, which ſo many young men could not once ſtir. Let vs admit all theſe things to be true, notwithſtanding that Titus Liuius ſayth, that he becommeth old in reckoning them vp.

False Miracles.

We

Wee ſtand not to diſpute whether Spirits can ſpeake by Images or no: for we doubt not thereof. But I ſay, that the ſpirits which ſpeake in them be wicked ſpirits, and turne vs alway to the Creature, to make vs offend the Creator. Neither do I hold opinion, that Spirits cannot take bodies vpon them; nor that they bee vnable to doe feates farre paſſing the power of men: for thereof examples are to be ſeene, yea moe then were requiſite. But the thing that I vphold is this, that the ſpirits which ſeeke to haue the praiſe of a victory obtained, or of the aſſwaging of a plague, which is due but to the onely one God; or which will haue them aſcribed to Fortune, which is but an imagination; or to Iuno, which is but a blocke; or to the goddeſſe Bona, the mother of the gods, a mother whom the veriеſt wretches in the world, (as I ſaid afore) would diſclaime to be their mother, are very diuels. And in good ſooth, whereas the diuell which tooke vpon him the name of that goddeſſe, ſuffered himſelfe to bee drawne by Claudia, who had ſo ill report among all men: It agreed very well to the life which the goddeſſe her ſelfe had led, and to the miracles of the Fiends, and to the marke that they ſhoote at: namely, to giue the more boldneſſe to Claudia to continue her lewd life, and occaſion vnto others to follow her.

Iupiter. Scarefly. Also, one was counted a God becauſe he draue away Graſſhoppers; another becauſe hee killed Frogges, Crickets, and Flies. And hereof it came, that the Chananites called their Belzebub, and the Greekes their Iupiter, by the name of Scarefly. Another (ſaith Zozimus) ſent Birds to deuoure the Graſſhoppers. Admit that all theſe effects haue not their particular cauſes: yet what miracles are they to make gods withall? For by that reckoning, why ſhould not thoſe alſo which by certaine receits do kill Serpents, Rats, and Field mice, or which do more ouer driue away vermine out of mens bodies, bee counted gods? Nay, if wee will ſee miracles, let vs looke vpon the doings of the onely one God, which are vtterly vnpoſſible, wonderfull, and incommunicable to any creature. He made the world, and he deſtroied it. He made the Sea, and he driеth it vp. Hee made the Sun, and he cauſeth it to ſtand ſtill. Yea, and (which is yet much more) hee made all theſe things by his word, and with a blaſt of his mouth hee changeth them as he liſteth. Theſe are the miracles of the God of Iſrael, which haue not their like among the other gods. And if they will deale vprightly in diſputing, they muſt as well beléeue our bookes for theſe miracles, as we beléeue their bookes for theirs.

Also, if we looke vpon the miracles of the good Spirits, and of the ſeruants

ſeruants of that one God; they be not raſts of Legerdemaine to dazle mens eies withall, nor nimble tricks and ſlights, nor wonders to no end, to no reaſon, to no inſtruction: but when they ſtrike, it is to chaſtice men, and when they heale, it is to glorifie God. If they ſpeak, it is to teach, and if they appeare to vs, it is to lead vs to welfare. If they foretell, they doe it as meſſengers from God, and if they worke miracles, they do it as executers of his power. And they be ſo farre off from being angry at a Song miſtuned, or at a Gambauld miſbegun in the honour of them after the manner of the Heathen gods, that (as wee read in the Scriptures) they be offended with nothing more, than when men thanke them or honour them for the things which they ought to thanke and to worſhip the Creator.

Markes whereby to knowe Diuels.

By the tokens which the Platoniſts giue vs thereof, wee ſhall perceiue yet better whether thoſe gods were good Spirits or bad, Angels or Diuels; notwithſtanding that that Sect was to too much ouertaken in the ſeruing of them. The Diuels or wicked Spirits (ſaith *Porphyrius*) delight in bloodſhed, in filthy and ribaldly ſpeech, in giuing poiſon, in furniſhing folke with charms of loue, & in prouoking thē to lecherie, & to al vices. Yea, & they bear men on hand, that al the gods and the very Soueraigne God himſelfe taketh pleaſure in ſuch things; either feining themſelues to be the Soules of ſome dead folkes, or taking vpon them to be gods. Which of all theſe tokens haue I not noted already in their gods? Againe (ſaith Porphyrius) They turne themſelues as much as they can into Gods, that is to ſay, into Angels of light, and aſtoniſh our ſenſes and imagination with vaine wonders: Inſomuch that hee that is the chiefe of them, will needes bee eſteemed to be the Soueraigne God. And yet notwithſtanding, their foretelling of things is but by gueſſe, and all of them generally be ſubiect to lying and deceiuing. They bee angry at euery ſmall trifle, and are pacified againe with fonde and vaine things. Neuertheleſſe they haue beguyled ſome vaine Poets and Philoſophers, and conſequently by them haue drawne the ſilly people to the worſhipping of them as gods. What is all this, but a deſcription of the very ſame Gods whome hee himſelfe worſhipped? Likewiſe Iamblicus, who maketh an Anatomie of them, ſaith thus: They transforme themſelues (ſaith hee) into good Spirits, but indeed it is but a brag wherby they pretend more than they be indeede. They make a gallant ſhowe, and yet are daunted with words. They play the gods, and yet are troubled with light paſſions. But the great Witch Apuleius ſaith yet more. They be pacified with gifts (ſaith hee) and

Porphyrius in his ſecond booke of Abſtinēce.

In his Epiſtle to Anebon alledged by Euſeb. lib. 4. cap 11.

Iamblicus in his booke of myſteries in many places.

Iamblicus in his booke of Myſteries.

Apuleius.

wroth with wrongs. They be pleaſed with Ceremonies, & angred with the want of them, be it neuer ſo little. They take vpon them the ruling of Birdgazers, and Bowelgazers, and of the Oracles and Miracles of Witches and Wizards. To bee ſhort, they bee vnkindly wights, paſſionate of Spirit, reaſonable of vnderſtanding, ayrie of body, and endleſſe of time. To whom can theſe things agrée, but to his owne gods? And what remaineth then, but that they were Diuels? ſo much the more miſerable, as they be more vehement in their paſſions, and immortall in their nature.

Now is there nothing behind but their own confeſſion, and thereof we ſhall yet not faile. Apollo therefore, as one vpon the Rack, doth in many of his Oracles acknowledge the ſoueraigne God: and to make the moſt of himſelfe, he termeth himſelfe one of his Angels, as appeareth by this Oracle of his alledged afore:

We Angels are a parcell of the Soueraigne God of all.

And being aſked vpon a time by what name he would be called, and prayed vnto, he anſwered:

Call me the Fiend that knowes all things, to whom belongs all skill.

And in another:

We Fiends which run through Sea and Land, doe tremble, ſhrinke and ſhake,
To ſee the whip of that great God, which makes the world to quake.

Auſtin in his ninth booke of the Citie of God. cap. 19.

And yet notwithſtanding, the Greeke word Dæmon (which is the word whereby they termed their gods, and which in the place I Engliſh, Fiend) was ſo odious euen among the learned men themſelues, who knew the originall thereof, that they would haue béene loth to call a Slaue ſo. But when as wee read further, that theſe Gods doe quake at the naming of the Stygian marriſſe, that is to ſay, of hell, inſomuch that euen Iupiter himſelfe ſweareth thereby, and is afraid to be forſworne: what elſe is to be thought thereof, but that theſe gods which fayne themſelues to reigne in Heauen, are tormented in Hell? Beſides this, the miracles and Oracles of theſe gods are come to an end, and their Seruices and Sacrifices are come to nought, and at length folke haue acknowledged the onely one God the maker of Heauen and Earth, and Ruler of the whole World, to bee the ſame who the Iewes haue worſhipped. And in that reſpect it is that Seneca cried out, That the Slauiſh Iewes had giuen law to the whole Earth. But who can marueil that he which made both the World and Man, ſhould in the end make men to acknowledge him to be as hee is? So then, let vs conclude for theſe three laſt Chapters, That there is but onely

onely one God; That the ſame was worſhipped, ſerued, and called vpon by the people of Iſrael: That the gods of the Heathen were men; That vnder the names of thoſe men, Diuels were worſhipped; and finally, that our firſt mark whereby to know the true God, is not to be found elſewhere then in the Iewiſh Religion; whereupon it followeth, that all other Religions were Idolatry and Vanitie. For whereas ſome alledge in excuſe, that the ſeruing of many gods may well ſort with the ſeruing of the onely one; If they bee Gods indéed, that is to ſay, Angels; they take themſelues to haue wrong, for they ſeeke nothing but the honouring of God. And if they be Diuels, then are they Gods enemies; and then the worſhipping of them is a rebellion againſt God. To bee ſhort, as little agrément is betweene the ſeruice of the true God, and the ſeruice of the Heathen gods, as is betweene light and darkneſſe; the true godneſſe and vtter naughtineſſe; moſt extreme holineſſe of will (which is in him) and extreme lewdneſſe of will (which is in them;) welfare and Soule-health, whereof we be deſirous, and deſtruction and wretchednеſſe, which they haue purchaſed to themſelues by their rebellion.

Chap. XXIIII.

That in Iſrael Gods word was the Rule of his Seruice, which is the ſecond marke of true Religion.



OW haue wee ſeene by the former Chapters, how blinde Man is in matters concerning GOD, and his owne welfare; ſeeing that in ſtead of the true God, his Maker and Sauiour, hee hath worſhipped not onely the vileſt and baſeſt Creatures, but alſo the very enemies of Gods glory, and of his owne welfare. And that ought to warne vs the more, how néedfull this ſecond mark ỳ I haue giuen forth, is in religion; namely, that Gods word is ỳ rule of his ſeruice. For ſurely he that ouerſhooteth himſelfe ſo farre, as to take, not a ſtarre, but the very darknes it ſelfe for the Sun, cannot but ouer-ſhoot himſelfe much more in diſcourſing of the nature, motion, courſe and power thereof.

And like as hee that hath miſſed his way at his firſt ſetting forth,

the more he hateth him, the more he goeth aſtray: ſo doubtleſſe he that is ouerſéne in the obiect of religion, that is to wit, the true God, the more he talketh of religion and diuine ſeruice, the more ſhall hee blaſpheme the name of the euerlaſting, & the further ſhall he wander away from his welfare. The heathen (as we haue ſéene) did worſhippe the diuel in ſtead of the true God; and what worſhip inſued of this error, playes, fables? Combats, which were ſchooles of whoredome, of Inceſts, and of murder, bloudy ſacrifices, and ordinary manſlaughters. If their godlines were ſuch, what might their vngodlines be? These extreme miſchiefes made ſome to ſuſpect ý there was an error. But what did that auaile them? One ſort ſayd, Séeing that religion conſiſteth in ſuch things, it were meete to be baniſhed quite out of the World: and thereof ſprang the Schoole of Epicurus: and that is a falling from one breakeneche to another. Another ſort ſacrificed as the common people did: and held opinion in their hearts with the wiſeſt ſorte. Such were Ariſtotle, Cicero, and others: of whome the former bequeathed a Sacrifice to Ceres by his laſt will: and the other celebrated the ſhamefull feaſts of the goddeſſe Flora. What elſe is this, than a mocking of God, a deceiuing of folke of ſet purpoſe, and a betraying of their owne ſaluation? There haue beene ſome few, who in their writings haue let ſlippe ſome words againſt ſuch vngodlineſſe, and haue taught that there is but onely one God, and that he was not ſerued with ſuch Ceremonies. But when they come to giue a rule of Religion, how far wide are they? One ſpeakes one thing, and another another, euery man after his owne fancie. They diſpute and cry out one againſt another, to ouerthrowe one another. But if yee take the hoteſt of them aſide, and let them coole their heate a little: they will tell you that they be ſcarce ſure of that which they aſſure you: and that they be but the opinions of men, and therefore are diſputable on both ſides: onely they think they finde more likelihood of truth in their owne, than in the opinion of their aduerſaries. To be ſhort, among all the things which the wiſe men of the world haue written here & there of the ſeruice of God, yee may hap to find ſome one good ſaying in an hundred yeares, & ſome one other in another hundred: but when ye haue gathered them al together as diligently as ye can; yet ſhall ye be able to make of them neither rules, nor grounds, nor ſcarcely good Problems. So greatly is man by his corruption, both blinded in things concerning God, and retchleſſe in things that concerne his owne welfare. Yet is it ſoth (and ſo haue we proued) ý God hath ſet man in this world to ſerue God his Creator;

Creator; and that ſeruice we call religion. Whereupon it followeth, that euer ſince the firſt time that there was any man in the world, there hath alſo béen religion. For the duety which man oweth vnto God, is of the ſame date that man himſelfe is; and the duty which he oweth vnto God, is true godlineſſe & religion. Againe, religion could not be the inuention of man: for the inuentions of men tending to their owne pleaſure or profit, proceede from ground to ground, from principle to principle, and from experience to experience, & at the firſt are rude, and afterward are poliſhed, not by the ſame man that found them out, but moſt commonly a hundred yeere or twaine after: whereas religion (that is to ſay, mans duty toward God) was not ſo much inſtituted as bred with man, for his owne welfare and for the glorie of God. The thing (ſay I) without the which, God ſhould not haue made man, and man might haue beene ſorry that he had beene made, ought (euen at the firſt beginning) to be perfect and fully accompliſhed to his end: which thing Religion could not be, if it were diuiſed by mans braine, conſidering that after his fall he was ſtricken with ignorance in his wit, and with frowardnes and lewdeneſſe in his will. Néedes therefore muſt it be that the rule of Gods ſeruice was giuen to man by God himſelfe, who alone is able to vtter his owne will, to make rules of his ſeruice, and to tell vs what things doe pleaſe him. Now, true religion is the true ſeruice of the true God: and the true God (as I haue proued already) was not knowne in old time elſewhere than in Iſrael. As for the gods of the Gentiles, they were Diuels, and conſequently their Oracles were the word of Deuils. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no ſéeking for the true ſeruice of God, and for the true word of God, but onely among the people of Iſrael: yea, and that it muſt of neceſſitie alſo be found there. For ſéeing that of neceſſitie there muſt néeds be a Religion: and that in Religion there muſt needes be a rule proceeding from God, according to which rule God will be ſerued: and that God was ſerued in Iſrael and no where els: The rule which we ſéeke, muſt needs be found in Iſrael too. For as it is impoſſible that it ſhould bee elſewhere, becauſe the true God was not any where elſe: ſo is it not poſſible that it ſhould not be there, forasmuch as both Religion is, and that no where elſe thē where ý true God is. Now therfore, the people of Iſrael had alwayes certaine bookes which we call the Bible or old Teſtament, which books they receiued & followed as the very word of God, whereby he hath ſhewed vnto men after what manner he will be ſerued and worſhipped. And thoſe books haue béene kept continu-

What and where the true Religion is.

ally from time to time, euen ſince the creation of the worlde: and they haue bẽ of ſuch authority among the true Iſraelites, that they beleeued not any other bookes, & for the maintenance of them haue indured warres, oppreſſions, baniſhments, remouings, deaths, and ſlaughters, which are ſuch things as are not to bee found among other Nations, notwithſtanding that the lawmakers of other nations, in giuing them their lawes, made them beleeue that they proceeded from the gods, becauſe it was a thing as good as granted among al men, that the ſetting down of rules for religion, & for mans ſoulehealth, belonged onely vnto God. And therfore we might well gather this concluſion, whereof the premiſſes are proued heretofore; That there is but one true God, one true Religion, one true Rule of ſeruing God, reuealed by & from the true God. And that this true God was not knowne and worſhipped elſkwhere than among the people of Iſrael. Vnto Iſrael then was the ſaid word reuealed, & that word muſt needes be the Bible, or Old Teſtament, whereby the Iſraelites were taught the ſeruice of God. But forasmuch as we haue to do with folke that will ſooner bee driuen to ſilence by arguments, than perſwaded by reaſon to beleeue, as though it ſtood God on hand to perſwade them for his honor, and not them to beleeue for their owne welfare: I will, by the Readers leaue, ſet forth this matter at large.

Markes whereby to diſcern GODS word.

Firſt of all, forasmuch as there is a ſeruice of God to be had, & that ſeruice ſhould rather be a miſ-ſeruice than a ſeruice, if it were not according to his wil; and his wil cannot be cõceiued of vs by cõiectures, but muſt be manifeſted to vs by his word: I aſke them vpon their conſcience, if they were to diſcerne that word from all others, by what marks they would know it, ỹ they might not be deceiued. This word (ſay I) is ỹ rule of Gods ſeruice, & the way of welfare. Vnto this ſeruice is man bound from his very creation, and it is the mark whereat he ought to ſhoot, from his very birth. Will it not then bee one good mark of this word, if it be ancienter then all other lawes & rules, than all other words, than all inuentions of men? And wil it not be another good mark, if it tend to none other end than the glorifying of God, & the ſauing of mankind? If (ſay I) it withdraw man from all other things to lead him vnto God, & to turn him out of all bypaths? how great pleaſure ſoeuer there bee in them to lead him to ſaluation? May I ſay yet more: If we find things in the Scripture which no creature could euer haue foretold or ſpoken: things which could neuer haue come into any mans mind; things not onely aboue, but alſo againſt nature; wil any man be ſo wilful, & ſo very an enemy to his owne welfare, as not to yéld

yéld & agrée when he ſéeth both the hand, the ſigne & the ſeale of God? Indéed I vndertake a matter beyond my ability, but yet the higher it is, the more will God aid me with his grace. And firſt of al, forasmuch as the world was made for man, & man for God, and man could neuer be without true religion, nor true religion without the word of God: I demand of the great nations, & flouriſhing kingdomes that haue giuen lawes to all the world, and among whom the liberall Sciences, Arts and learning haue bin moſt renowned, whether any one of them is to be found, that hath had a law ſet down in writing, concerning the true ſeruice of the true God? yea or one word either right or wrong, that hath bẽ beléeued to proceéd from him, I meane from the onely one euerlaſting God, the maker of Heauen and Earth? Alſo I demand of them, whether among the Aſſyrians, Perſians, Greekes and Romans, a man ſhall finde an Hiſtory of Religion deduced from the firſt beginning of the world, and continued ſo on from time to time, and from age to age? And on the contrary part, whether there be any Heathen man which is not driuen to confeſſe, that the very lateſt writer of our Bible, is of more antiquity than the ancienteſt authors, that are renowmed among the Gentiles? And whether that little which the Gentiles haue learned concerning God, be not borrowed from other men; and finally, whether in matters of religion, they haue not walked by groping, without light, and without any direction? This matter is handled at large by diuers ancient writers. Neuertheleſſe, for the eaſe of them which cannot read them all, I will gather them here together in few words.

That the Bible is of more antiquity than all other writings.

The Bible beginning at the creation of the world, & of man, leadeth vs from time to time, and from Father to Sonne, euen vnto Chriſt. It deliuereth vs a diuiſion of men into Gentiles and Iſraelites, into Idolaters & true worſhippers of the ſoueraigne God: and their ioyning together againe into one after a certaine time, & by a meane appoynted euerlaſtingly to that end by God. And the writers thereof are Moſes, Ioſua, the Chronicles of the Iudges, and Kings, the Prophets euery of them in his time, Daniel, Nehemiah, and Eſdras; of whom euen theſe lateſt were about three thouſand & ſix hundred yéares after the Creation, and yet were they afore any Chronicles of the world were in the reſidue of the world. I deſire all the Antiquaries of this time, which make ſo great account of the antiquity of the Greekes & Romanes, or of an old Coyne, or of a weatherbeaten Piller, or of a halfe eaten Epitaph, what find they in their rubbiſh like vnto this? Eſdras is the lateſt in the Canon of the Hebrew Writers, and

yet liued he afore the time that Socrates taught in Athens. And what Rule of Religion was there among the Greekes of his time, who condemned him for ſpeaking of the onely one God? At the ſame time were Pythagoras, Thales, Xenophanes, and the ſeuen Sages, which haue borne ſo great fame in Greece, who in their whole life time had ſayd ſome good words concerning manners, and conuerſation among men; but as for God, they haue ſpoken nothing of him but dreamingly, nor deemed of him, but ouerthwartly, nor knowne ought of him, but that little they learned of the Ægyptians. Thither went Orpheus, Homer, Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, Plato, Heraclitus, Democritus, Thales, Oenopis, and the reſidue of them to ſchoole, as they themſelues doe boaſt in their bookes. And what learned they there but Superſtition, as I haue ſhewed afore? and what elſe then could they bring into Greece? And what groſſe ignorance, think you, was there, where, to be counted wiſe, was ſo cheaply got? Of the ſame date are the lawes of Solon in Athens, and (anon after) of the twelue tables at Rome, which the Romanes ſent to ſeeke in Greece by the aduice of one Hermotimus, and Epheſian. As touching God and his ſeruice, which ſhould bee the ground of all good Lawes, ſcarce was there one word. Of very Iuſtice in deed, further than peculiar intereſt required, was very little. But ſhall we ſeeke the lawe of godlineſſe at the hand of the Greekes and Romanes, who a three thouſand and fiue hundred yeres after the creation of the world, knew not whether there were many Gods, or but onely one? nor knew any further of religion, than they had learned by their trafficke into Ægypt? Who in reſpect of others, are of ſo late time in the world, and (which worſe is) had reigned three or foure hundred yeres without inquiring after godlines and righteouſnes? Surely wee muſt hold vs to this poynt, that ſince the very firſt breeding of Man in the World, there hath alwaies beene religion in ỹ World. For he was not bred in vaine: neither could there be any religion without reuealing from God. For (as the Philoſophers ſay of Nature) God faileth not in things needfull. And therefore where men haue been ſo lateward, and God ſo ſmally knowne: there we ſhall not finde it. For as for the Oracles, that is to ſay, the ſayings of the Diuels that abuſed them; if they were of elder time than the people, they ſpake not to them: and if they were bred after them, then were they new. And in very truth, euen by their owne Hiſtories, the firſt originall of the falſe gods of Greece, and of their miracles, toke beginning about the warres of Troy, which befell about the time of the Iudges, towards the two thouſand and eight

Cicero in his ſecond booke of the Ends of things.

Aulus Gellius in his 20. booke. chap 1.

Denis of Halycarnaſſus, lib. 2. cap. 2.

Plinie lib. 34. cap. 5.

Pomponius ff. of the originall of Law.

eight hundred yeere after the creation of the world. The great Kings of Aſſyria be of more antiquity than the Greekes; for they fell into the times of the Kings and Prophets of Iſrael, whereas there was not any notable thing in the ſtory of the Greeks afore the captiuitie of Babylon. But how will they ſhew vs any law concerning the ſeruice of God? yea or how could they haue any, ſeeing they forſook the true God, and worſhipped falſe gods? Nay, as touching falſe gods, what memoriall almoſt haue we of them, but in the Bible? and that is of the victories which the true God had againſt them, and of his conqueſts ouer them, which are ſpoken of from leafe to leafe, to their ouerthrow and vtter confuſion. Contrariwiſe, what bee the Kings of Iſrael, but maintayners, and the Prophets but expounders of the lawe of Moſes? Theſe as publiſhers therof from time to time, to the intent that folke ſhould not forget it, which thing we ſee not in any other Nation; and the others as compellers of men to obſerue it, as whereunto euen Kings themſelues are bound. But if we go back from the time of the ſetting forth of the lawe of Moſes; what haue the heathen of that time to ſet againſt it? I ſay not only in reſpect of godlineſſe, but alſo for iuſtice, and well neere for the common ſocietie of men. The Athenians will alleage Cecrops the founder of their Citie, and the Thebans their King Ogyges. And of them they learne all things of antiquity, Cecropian and Ogygian: And peraduenture they will tell vs that at that time folke bred out of the earth in the country about Athens; as though they ſpake of Muſhromes and Graſhoppers. And when they ſay ſo, what ſhall we looke for at their hands concerning the ſeruice of God and heauenly things, ſith they think men to haue been bred of the earth? But yet they will not deny that this Cecrops was an Ægyptian, who brought them certaine lawes for the ordering of mariage; which is a ſure proofe that they were vtterly ignorant of the Lawe of God and man. Long time after him came their gods and Oracles; inſomuch that all the Greekiſh Hiſtory is (as ye would ſay) tongue-tyed for many hundred yeeres after, like a brook that loſeth himſelfe within thirty paces of his firſt ſpring. Among the Ægyptians and Syrians there was more forme of gouernment: but as for Religion, they worſhipped the Heauens, the Planets, and the Stars, which are in very deede, made for man, and for mans vſe are put vnder certaine lawes by God, and therefore much leſſe are thoſe gods able to make men ſubiect vnto them. And if there were any among them that knew more than others, it was the Birdgazers & the Bowelgazers, which are a kinde of Witches that turned men away from God to the Creatures,

tures, and therfore in no wiſe directed them to ſaluation. What ſhall we find among the people of Iſrael at that time? A Moſes that preacheth but the only one God, and teacheth from him how he will be ſerued; and a Law that ſetteth the bounds both of Religion and Policy; and the duty of man both towards God & his neighbor; which euery ſeuenth day is read openly to all the people; which the Kings haue before their eies, the Prieſts beare about them, the fathers teach to their children, & the Maſters to their ſeruants, and which the very walls and forefronts of their houſes do ſhew, both to ſtrangers and to their houſhold folk. At the happieſt time that ye can chuſe in Rome or Athens (for I am willing to omit their barbarouſnes) what haue we (I ſay not of Religion, but of Order in Iuſtice & ſtate of Gouernment) that commeth any thing nere to that? Contrariwiſe, what law was there euer ſet forth among them, which was not abolished againe ere it was knowne to the people? Or who made account of it but the Lawyers? Or who hake not the law afore he knew it? To be ſhort, where haue we read that any whole Nation were all Lawyers & all ſkilfull in the Laws of God & men, but the people of Iſrael? And why was that, but becauſe the ſame Law contained ỹ rule of ſaluation, the which it was méet that al folk without exception ſhould know & vnderſtand, becauſe that naturally all men ought to tend vnto their ſaluation? And as touching the antiquity of Moſes the ſetter forth of that Law among that people: I will not haue ye to beléeue me, but the Gentiles themſelues. The very ground of the antiquity of Greece (ſay Diodorus & Denis of Halycarnaſſus) was Inachus, who liued 20. Generations (that is to ſay, about 400. yéres) afore the wars of Troy. And Ptolomie of Mendeſe a Prieſt of Ægypt (who gathered his Hiſtory out of the holy Regiſters of the Ægyptians) ſayd, that Amoſis king of Ægypt raigned the ſame time ỹ Inachus raigned in Greece, & that in the time of the ſame Amoſis, Moſes went out of Ægypt with the people of Iſrael. The ſame thing is affirmed by Appion the Grammarian, the great enemy of the Iewes: and alſo confirmed by Beroſus the Babylonian, Polemon, Theodotus, Ipſicrates, & Moſchus, writers of the ſtories of the Phenicians, cited by Euſebius & Affricanus. Eupolemus in his book of the Kings of Iewry ſaith, that Moſes taught letters to the Iewes; the Iewes to the Phenicians: and the Phenicians to the Greeks by Cadmus. And ſo that by reckoning, Moſes ſhould be, not only of moſt antiquity in their hiſtories, but alſo of more antiquity in their Hiſtories, but alſo of more antiquity than all Hiſtories. Numenius ſaith, that Plato & Pythagoras had nothing but from the Ægyptians & Syrians, and namely from

Denis of Halycarnaſſus.

Appion in the fourth book of his Hiſtory againſt the Iewes.

Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 3.

frō Moſes, inſomuch that he reciteth his hiſtory almoſt word for word as we haue it in the Bible, ſaying, that Moſes was a great Diuine, Law-maker and Prophet. Alſo, Diodorus of Scicile ſaith, that he vnderſtood by the Ægyptians, (who notwithſtanding were enemies to Moſes & to all his race) that he was the firſt Law-giuer of all, & moreouer a man of great courage, and of very commendable life, and that the Iews eſteemed him as a god, as well for the knowledge that he had of God, as for his authority & preeminence. And he (ſaith Diodorus) gaue a Law vnto the people of Iſrael, which he ſayd he had receiued of IAH, for ſo do they call the God whom they worſhip. And who this God is, Strabo ſheweth vs ſufficiently, where he ſaith: That Moſes having rebuked the Ægyptians for their vanities & follies, and for reſembling God (who is to be worſhipped and ſerued otherwiſe) by the Images of Beaſts & men; withdrew himſelfe from among them, that he might ſerue God. To be ſhort, Porphyrius in his fourth book againſt Chriſtians, beareth this record of Moſes, that he had written the Hiſtory of the Iewes truly, which thing he had perceiued by conferring it with Sachoniathon the Berutian, who rehearſeth the very ſame circumſtances, the which he had learned out of the Regiſters of one Hierobaal a Prieſt of the God of Leui, that is to ſay, of the God of Iſrael, and out of the Chronicles of the Cities, and out of the holy books which were wont to be dedicated to Temples. And this Sachoniathon (ſaith he) was ſomewhat after the time of Moſes, about the time of Semiramis. Now Porphyrie giues vs here more than we aſk: for we ſet Abraham in the time of Semiramis, and Moſes came certain hundred yeeres after: Now then the books of Moſes do lead vs from Son to Father, vnto Abraham, from Abraham to Noe, from Noe to the firſt man, & from the firſt man to God the Creator, beyond whom it is not poſſible to paſſe any further, as I haue proued already: and intreating of the creation we muſt alwaies needs come backe againe. And throughout all this diſcourſe Moſes telleth vs of the things that God hath diſcouered to men, & the laws which he hath giuen after maner of a couenant, to the intent they ſhould be his people, and he ſhould be their God: The which couenant it had ſurely bin both a ſhame & folly for him to haue deuiſed for that hard-hearted and ſtubborn people, whom he burdneth not with any other thing, but that which was notoriouſly knowne vnto them, & therby they were certified of their originall nativity. Neither is it to be ſuſpected that he wrot theſe things (as ſome lift to ſay) to get authority to himſelf & his: for he brandeth his Grandfather Leui with an opē mark of reproch expreſſed in theſe words of Iacobs Teſtament: *Simeon & Leui* are cruel inſtrumēts in their vanquiſhings, &c.

Strabo, lib. 15.

Porphyrius, lib. 4.

Euſebius in his booke of preparation to the Goſpell.

Gen. 49. 5. 7.

Curſed

Curſed be their wrath, for it was ſhamefull; I will diuide them in *Iacob*, and ſcatter them in *Iſrael*, &c. As who would ſay, he meant to diſgrade Leuy and all his race: to the ſaying whereof nothing compelled him. Alſo he repꝛoueth Aarons idolatrie and Maries murmuring, notwithſtanding that he was his bꝛother and ſhe his ſiſter; and he repeateth oftentimes, that foꝛ his owne fault, God had tolde him that he ſhould ſee the land of Canaan, but not enter into it. To be ſhoꝛt, he obtaineth and leaueth Ioſua to be his Succeſſoꝛ, wheras by reaſon of the authoꝛity which he had among that people, he might by all likelihod haue ſet vp his owne ſons. And yet we ſee that naturally we conceale the faults of our Parents, and coꝛrupt their pedigrées to make them the moꝛe bertuous, & our ſelues the moꝛe commendable by their vertue, and we be loth to acknowledge our owne faults. (I meane euen the honeſteſt men of vs al) except it be amongſt our moſt ſecret friẽds and as late as wee can. Much leſſe can we find in our hearts to publiſh them to the knowledge of poſterity. To be ſhoꝛt, wee bee ſo deſirous to leaue honour & eſtimation to our childꝛen, that ſuch as would not haue bin ambitious foꝛ themſelues, cannot refraine from beeing ambitious foꝛ their poſterity. Now then, what may wee conclude thereof, but that he yeelded the honoꝛ of his anceſtours, and his owne too, vnto Gods gloꝛy and the truth? And although wee pꝛocẽd not ſo far as to conclude abſolutely, that hee wꝛought at that time as from God, and not as from man: yet notwithſtanding, foꝛaſmuch as in his wꝛitings he ſtrippeth mans nature naked, ought we not at leaſtwiſe to conclude, that he which made leaſt account of himſelfe and his then of the truth, would not haue pꝛeferred vntruth befoꝛe it foꝛ any reſpect? Some miſerable Caitife that is quarelous againſt his owns welfare, will ſay here, Admit that Moſes, Ioſua, Dauid, Eſay and others were as ancient as yee liſt: yet how ſhall I bee ſure that thoſe bookes alſo were as ancient, and of their wꝛiting? It were enough to anſwere him, How beleeueſt thou that ſuch bookes oꝛ ſuch were Platoes, Ariſtotles and Ciceroes? Marry (ſaiſt thou) becauſe they haue bin conuaied vnto vs from them from hand to hand. Vſe thou the like equity towards the others, which as great a number of men doe aſſure thee to haue come from them. But if that will not perſwade them, yet want we not wherewith to inforce them. Firſt and foꝛmoſt, I appeale to the conſcience & iudgement of all perſons, which know what it is to indite, whether the ſtile of the Scriptures be not ſuch & ſo peculiar, as it cannot by any meanes be counterfaited oꝛ diſguiſed. And if there be any that will needs doubt therof, I pꝛay him to make a tryall

Obiection.

all thereof but in ſome one ſide of a leafe, bee it in plainneſſe of ſetting things down as they were done, oꝛ in fervẽtnes of pꝛaying, oꝛ in pithineſſe of pꝛophecying: and hee ſhall foꝛthwith perceiue, that as well in the matter it ſelf, as in the maner of inditing, there is a certain new taſte in ſtead of the old, which is peculiar to all times, ſo as no man can attaine to the ſame naturall veine, the ſame zeale, and the ſame efficacy, vnleſſe he be led by the ſame hand, moued by the ſame ſpirit, and pricked with the ſame ſpur that Moſes, Dauid, & the Pꝛophets were. To be ſhoꝛt, if it be hard to father a booke vpon Plato, Herodotus, and Hipocrates, but that he which ſhal haue read them aduiſedly, will by & by eſpy it euen a far off: ſo is it as impoſſible to father the other bookes vpon thoſe which haue a ſtile ſo farre differing from other wꝛitings, vnleſſe a man will beare himſelf on hand, that ſuch baſtard bookes were made in the ſame ages, oꝛ neere about the ſame times that thoſe Authoꝛs liued in. Let vs ſée how it may be poſſible to haue bin done in the ſame ages. Moſes publiſhed the Law befoꝛe all the people, and he curſeth the party with death both of body & ſoule, which ſhall adde, diminiſh oꝛ alter any thing. He bindeth the people houſhold by houſhold, to take faſt hold thereof. His bookes are deliuered to euery Tribe, they be read openly euery Sabboth day, they by kept carefully in the Arke, and the Arke is kept as carefully by all the Tribes. And that this was done, it appeareth not only by his booke, but alſo by the effects that inſewed therof from time to time, and by the footſteps thereof which are euident euen among the Iewes. If it be poſſible foꝛ a bꝛk to be pꝛeſerued frõ falſifying, and foyſting, what booke ſhal that be but the Bible? which was guarded by 1000000. men, and copied out, not by ſome Scriueners only, but alſo by all the people. Afterward came Ioſua, who renewed the ſame couenant, pꝛoclaimed the law, and yeelded recoꝛd vnto Moſes. Likewiſe, the Iudges ſucceeded Ioſua, Samuel ſucceeded the Iudges, the Kings & the Chꝛonicles ſucceeded Samuel, and the Pꝛophets ſucceeded them all. Theſe books followed one another immediately and without interpꝛetation; and euery one that followed, pꝛeſuppoſed the things to bee an infallible truth which had bin wꝛitten by them that went afoꝛe: neither was there any that did caſt any doubts oꝛ repꝛoue any of the foꝛmer Hiſtoꝛies, as is found to be done in other Hiſtoꝛies: as foꝛ example, Hellanicus repꝛoueth Ephorus, Ephorus finds fault with Timeus, and conſequently Timeus repꝛehendeth them that wꝛote afoꝛe him. But Ioſua gathereth a certain and vnfallible conſequence of Moſes, the Iudges of Ioſua, Samuel of the Iudges, Dauid of them all, and ſo all the reſt.

And

And to ſpeak of the Prophets, they be not like the bookes of our Aſtrologers, which reforme one anothers Calculations, and controle one another's Prognoſtications: But as they ſhot all at one mark, ſo they agree in one thing, notwithſtanding that they wrot both in ſundry times and in ſundry places. May (which more is) we ſée that the people were ſo ſure of that Law, that from age to age they choſe rather to abide all extremities, than to giue it ouer: inſomuch that they defended it againſt the Chananites, the Philiſtines, the Aſſyrians, the Babylonians, the Perſians, the Greeks, and the Romans. Who then durſt be ſo proud & bold, as to violate and embaſe the thing that was held to be ſo holy, defended with ſo many liues, and confirmed with ſo many deaths? If ye ſay the Heathen, their intents was not to mar it, but to make it quite away. For what profit could haue redounded vnto them of that paine? to what end ſhould they haue done it? or how could they haue corrupted it in the ſight and knowledge of ſo many folke? Moreouer, who knoweth not that the Scriptures were carried by the baniſhed Iewes into diuers countries of the world afore they came into the hands of the Gentiles, as of the Greeks or Romans? As for the Iewes, their ſhotanker and felicity conſiſted in the keeping of them, and the reward of corrupting them was death: and what could it then haue benefited them to haue corrupted them? May yet further, which of them would haue dyed afterward for a lawe, which they knew to bee corrupted or counterfaited? And ſothly, we ſée throughout their Hiſtories, that there paſſed not ſo much as any one halfe hundred yeeres without perſecutions and wars for that Law.

And whereas it might bee ſayd, that ſome ſuttle-headed fellow among the Iewes had done it to abuſe the reſt: againe, how could that be, ſeeing it was not in the hands of foure or fiue Prieſts only, as the Ceremonies of the Herturians and Latines were, but in the hands of the whole people: ſo as one ſyllable could not be changed, but it was to be eſpied euen by young Children? Conſidering alſo that wee read not of any King how wiſe ſoeuer he were, that euer durſt preſume to adde, diminiſh or alter any whit thereof: whereas notwithſtanding, all other lawes of the world were made by piece-meale, and Kings, and Senates haue alwaies reſerued to themſelues a prerogatiue to correct and alter them at their pleaſure, eſpecially when they limited their authority, and ſerued not for the maintenance of their profeſſion. And if any man to bereaue vs of this argument, will ſtep forth and ſay, that our Scriptures are as an Hiſtory gathered out of the Regiſters of many ages, by ſome one author: as we ſee Beroſus hath done for the Chaldees, Duis for the Phenicians, Manetho for the Ægyptians, and ſuch others: let him tel vs then (I heartily pray him) in what age of the world the Author is likely to haue liued. If in the time of Moſes, of Ioſua, or of the Iudges: How commeth it to paſſe that he writeth of the raignes of the Kings? If in the time of the firſt Kings, how writeth he of the laſt King? If in the time of the laſt Kings: how is it poſſible that the Iews being afore that time carried away into diuers places of the world, and ſcattered abroad euery where like the members of Pentheus, ſhould carry & keep with them the bookes of Moſes, which (by theſe mens reckoning) were not yet made, according to which book both themſelues did notwithſtanding then liue, and alſo taught other Nations? I meane the tenne Tribes by name, which by three former remouings were ſcattered ouer the whole earth, whereof the markes are too apparant to be denyed. The firſt in the time of Achaz King of Iuda, and of Phacea King of Iſrael, by Thiglath Phalaſſar king of the Aſſyrians, who carried away Ruben, Gad and halfe the Tribe of Manaſſes: the ſecond in the time of Oſe by Salmanaſar, who carried away Iſachar, Zebulon, and Napthali into Aſſyria: and the third anon after by the ſame Salmanaſar, who conuaied away Ephraim and the other halfe of Manaſſes: as it is witneſſed both by the ancient Records of many Countries, and alſo by the Chronicles of the Hebrewes. And at that time while Printing was not yet in vſe, what mean was there to diſperſe thoſe bookes ſo ſonne & ſo far off? May which more is, what will they ſay, when they ſhall find the bookes of Moſes to haue bin kept from father to ſon, euen in the vttermoſt coaſts of Ethiopia, whither the Emperors neuer came, which bookes they ſay they haue had there euer ſince the time of Salomon, and that they were brought thither by the Queene of the Prouince of Saba? Thus haue I ſpoken enough of this matter, both for them that are contented to bee ſatiſfied with reaſon (for if they do but read our Scriptures, they haue wherein to reſt) and alſo for thoſe which are otherwiſe, for it is hard to ſhew him ought, which by his will will ſee nought. But there are yet further which tell vs that in the time of the Machabees, Antiochus abolished the law of Iſrael, and all the bookes of the Bible: and they thinke themſelues to haue made a great ſpeak, and hard to be reſolued I leaue it to the conſideration of all men of iudgement, whether it be eaſie for a Prince, though he vſe neuer ſo great diligence, vtterly to abolish any manner of booke whatſoeuer, ſeeing the nature of man is ſuch, that the more that things are ſought to be plucked from him, the more he graſpeth himſelfe to keepe them. But when a booke is once beleeued and reue-

reuered

reuced of a whole Nation, not for delight of things done by men, therin contained, but for the ſaluation of man therein reuealed; for the truth whereof men are not afraid to endure both death & torments, as was witneſſed by many in the time of the ſame Antiochus: what diligence of man can ſuffice to abolish it? But let vs put the caſe that it was abolished in Iewry: yea and that it was abolished throughout his whole Empire: what can yet enſue therof, ſeeing that the ten Tribes (ouer whom Antiochus could haue no authority) had carried them and diſpearſed them abroad to the vttermoſt bounds of the world? And ſeeing that the remouing of the other two Tribes, had made them riſe among the Perſians and Babylonians? And that the Ptolomies cherished the Iewes right tenderly in Ægypt, giuing them open Synagogues with franchiſes & liberty? And alſo that Ptolomy Philadelph had cauſed al the Bible to be tranſlated into the Greek tongue by .lxx. Interpreters, and had layd it vp in his Library as a Iewell? And to be ſhort, that the Iewes were at the very time ſo diſperſed among the Greeks themſelues, as there was ſcarcely any City which had not receiued them with their Synagogues?

But although none of all theſe reaſons were to be had; then if the Bible was loſt and abolished, how was it found againe ſo ſodainly in one inſtant? Who could (as ye would ſay) call it vp whole out of his ſtomake at once? Or who hath euer read, the Iewes made any mone for the loſſe of it, or took any paine for the ſeeking of it out againe? And to cut off ſuperfluity of ſpeech, whereof cõmeth it, that of ſo many Grammarians, being of opinion that they ſhould becom wiſe men in one day, if they had Ciceroes bokes of Common weale to read: none of them all being more ſubtle-headed than the reſt, hath vndertaken to counterfet them in his name? No no: let vs rather ſay, the Scriptures are of more antiquity than all other writings; and the more they be ſo, the more aduerſity haue they indured: the rage of Tyrants hath ouerflowed them; and yet they could neither drowne them nor deface them: they haue bin condemned to the fire, & yet could not be conſumed. Contrariwiſe, the bokes of the greateſt men, how great authority ſoeuer they had, haue bin loſt, and for all the paine that hath bin taken to preſerue them, yet haue they often come to nought. The Chronicles of Emperors (ſay I) bee perished, when the Chronicles of the ſmall Kings of Iewry, and of that poore outcaſt people, and I wot not what a ſort of banished ſhepheards deſpiſed of the world, and deſpiſers of the world, haue continued to poſterity, in deſpite of the world. Therfore it muſt needs be ſayd, that the Scriptures haue bin preſerued by Gods ſingular

gular prouidence, both ſo long time & againſt ſo many iniuries of time. And ſeeing they be the only writings which onely he hath preſerued frõ the creation of the world vnto our daies, ſurely they were for our behoof. And ſeeing they haue bin reiected of the world, & yet notwithſtanding do liue & raigne in deſpite of the world: ſurely they bee from ſomewhere els than of man or of the world: that is to wit, reuelatiõs from God to man, continued frõ time to time for his glory & our welfare. And ſo by this diſcourſe we haue gained this point, ỹ our Scriptures which are left vs by Moſes, Ioſua, & the Prophets, are the auncienteſt of all writings, and vtterly void of all likelihood of mingling or counterfaiting: and ſith that euen frõ the beginning there hath bin a religion reuealed from God, and we finde no other than this to haue continued from the very creation vnto vs, we may infer, that the ſcriptures wherein we read of it, are of God, becauſe that from line to line they containe his reuelation made vnto mankind. But let vs paſſe from this antiquity, which is but the barke of the Scriptures, and let vs come to the ſubſtance of them, which wil giue vs aſſurance of the place from whence they come. Now then, let vs read the bokes of men as wel of old time as of our time, & what is the ſcope, the ground, the form, & diſcourſe of them, further forth than they either expound or follow our Scriptures? Some write to celebrate the Kings and great Captains of their time: theſe be but vantings of men, rumors of people, conſultations to deſtroy one another, & ſuttle deuices, to diſappoint or vndo one another. God men by reading them become malicious, & euil men become worſe. And by the way there muſt be ſome pretty ſpeech of Fortune, which ſwateth the battels. As for God who maketh Kings & vnmaketh them again, who holdeth both the entrances and iſſues of all things in his hand, there is not ſo much as one word in al a great volume. Who doubteth that theſe be bokes of men, which containe nothing but the paſſions, the ſubtilties, and the indeuors of men? Another ſort write (as they thẽſelues ſay) to make themſelues immortall. They write goodly diſcourſes, to make themſelues to be had in admiration. If they chance to ſtumble vpõ ſome good ſaying for maners or for the life of man, they turne it a thouſand wayes to make it ſeem good for their purpoſe. They deliuer their words by weight, they drawe their clauſes to fall alike, they eſchew nicely the meeting together of vowels: and what greater childiſhneſſe can there be in graue matters, than ỹ? Yet notwithſtanding, they make bokes of deſpiſing of vainglory, & their bokes themſelues are full of Ambition: of the bridling of affections: and their arguments are rank poiſon and contention.

The Bible tendeth altogether to the glory of God.

If they happen to ſpeak of the ſeruing of God, it is with ſacrificing to Diuels and to their own Louers, and friends, as we read that Socrates Plato and Ariſtotle did. Who is he then which euen by the firſt line or by the opening of the booke, may not perceiue that they which ſpeak be men, yea & but very men in déed; conſidering that in all their bookes they ſauor or ſpeake of nothing but like men? When (ſay I) that ſeeke the glory of men & not of God: preaching vanity, and not the ſaluation of man. On the contrary ſide, we heare how the Scripture ſaith, In the beginning God made Heauen & Earth. What is ment by this entrance, but ỳ the Reader ſhould not in the reſt of the diſcourſe look for the follies of men, but for the wonderous workes of the Creator? And what other Author did euer begin his worke ſo? Herodotus beginneth his Hiſtory after this maner: Herodotus of Halycarnaſſus hath ſpoken theſe things. Though he had not ſaid ſo, it would neuer haue bin ſurmiſed that he had ſpokẽ any thing but that which came of man. For what is his whole book but vanity? Or what hath he which is not inferior to man? And thus begin others their bookes: Hyppocrates, Of the nature of man: Timæus of Locris, Concerning the Creation of the world: which Authors I alleage, becauſe they are ſome of the ancienteſt. But if we go through the whole ſcripture from the one end to the other, we ſhall find nothing but that which ſéemeth to haue bin intimated in the firſt word; I meane, liuely Characters which no man can imitate (as teſtifying that the booke hath by inſpiration proceeded from God) to wit, Gods glory & the welfare of man. Seek we the glory of God? it declareth to vs the Creation of the world, and of man, the ſin of Adam, the corruption of Mankind, the flood that followed therupon, the deliuerance of Noe, the cõfuſion of tongs, the calling of Abraham & his ſéed, the plagues of Pharao, and the wonders of Ægypt: what is there in al theſe things, that ſauoreth of man, or of the vanity that poſſeſſeth him? what hath he there which maketh him not either to ſtop vnto God, or to ſink into hell? Again, on the other ſide, what els doth ỳ whole diſcourſe ſhew vs, but ỳ highnes of the Euerlaſting, his mercifulnes towards the lowly, and his iuſtice & iudgements towards the proud, when we ſée all loftineſſe of the world caſt down before him, & al the puiſſance of Empires giuen ouer to Caterpillers & to the worms of the earth? Afterward Moſes commeth to the rehearſing of the law that God gaue to that people. Whence came that extraordinary wildome, & why rather in Iſrael than elſe where, in the time when all other Nations were ſo rude? and what manner of law was it? Soothly, a law comprehended in ten Sentences: and yet thoſe ten

ten Sentences contain whatſoeuer can belong to Godlines, Vprightnes & Iuſtice, either touching Gods worſhip, or the duty towards our neighbor: Inſomuch that all the great volumes of lawes where of the world is full, hauing neither bottome nor bounds; and yet do entreat but only of Iuſtice (leauing godlines almoſt vntouched) may be referred to Gods Law, as to the mark they ſhot at, and haue not any thing which is not there; yea ſcarce half ſo much. Againe, all theſe ten ſayings are vnfolded in two words: namely, to loue God with the whole heart, and a mans neighbour as himſelfe. Let the Athenians ſhew me the lawes of their Draco, and the Romans the lawes of their 12. Tables; if there be one word of true godlineſſe & iuſtice in them. Let the Greeks and Romans ſhew all that euer they wrot by the ſpace of 1000 yeeres: and ſee if ye ſhal find ſo much thereof, as is contained in thoſe two ſayings only. And as for our Philoſophers, which make ſo great brags of the ten Predicaments of their Ariſtotle, which are but the ſeed of Sophiſtrie & vaine babbling; I aſke them (at leaſtwiſe if they haue any eyes) what account they ought to make of this lawe, which hath conuaied in ſo few words, both the matters of the world which are infinite, and the matters of God which are vncomprehenſible to man, together. The Iſraelites come to take their iourney into Canaan vnder Moſes; they be brought in thither by Ioſua; and they be ruled and gouerned there by the Iudges and Kings: And in this diſcourſe there fal out many humane things, many enterpriſes, ſurpriſes, Sieges, Battels, victories, & conqueſts. Here it behoueth vs to enter into our ſelues, and by our ſelues into the natural diſpoſition of al men. When we goe to giue the onſet, I meane, the better ſort of vs; what ſay we? Lord, we ſet our battailes in array, but thou giueſt the victory. After that maner ſpeake the Chriſtians at this day. Nay, but if God proſper vs, what will we ſay at our return? Marry, I won ſuch a hil, I brake the Vauntguard, the enemy was diſcomfited by my counſell: and hereupon riſe quarrels who ſhall haue the honour of the victorie. But as for God, we ſhall heare no more ſpeaking of him, than if there were no God at all. The Hiſtory writers which deſcribe their victories, are curious in naming euen the meaneſt Captains, for offending any man: and moreouer in deſcribing of the aduantages of the places, of the ſun, of the wind, of the duſt, of him that led the ſoldiers to hand-blows, & of the conſultations of the Captains: ſo as he balanceth the battels after his own ſcoales; and as for mens ſins which are the procurers therof, he neuer once thinks of thẽ. Seeing then ỳ the Authors of our Bible are the ancienteſt of all others, wherof cõmeth this new

kind of inditing, or whence haue they learned it, that in all their hiſtories they giue the glory of the battels & of al feats of arms alonly vnto God, both afore & after? Or whence come theſe ordinary words, God giueth thē into our hands, God is our victory, God is as ſtrōg in a ſmal number as a great? Whence alſo come the godly ſongs, which we ſhal not find in any of the heathen writers: but of this, that they wrot the wars of God & the victories of ỹ Lord, yea & euen in his behalf which was the doer of them? If they wrot on mans behalfe, why wrot they not in mans vſuall order of inditing? Why wrot not Moſes & Ioſua, (ſay I) as Polybius & Cæſar wrot? Or who letted thē to take to themſelues the glory of their high enterpriſes? Or if they wrot for Kings & by commandment of kings; why find we no cōmendations of Ioſua, Dauid, Ioſaphat, & Ezechias: as wel as of Themiſtocles, Miltiades, Alexander, & Traiane? For what other commendation find we of them, than ỹ they walked in the way of the Lord, that they deſtroied the high places, that they ouerthrew the Idols, and ſuch like, howbeit that we read of heroicall & Martial deeds done in their times? And what ought we then to conclude, but that as al other bokes which tend to the glory of men, and concerne but themſelues or ſome others, are the works of men, ſo theſe bokes, which tend alonly to the glory of God, yea euen by the contempt of men, are the works of God, that is to ſay, inſpired by God? As much is to be ſaid of the Prophets, who when they ſpeak of any ſuccor ỹ was com to the people of Iſrael, or of any enemy that was to come ſodainly vpō them: they ſaid not, your friends ſhal ſuccor you, or your enemies ſhal run in vpon you: but the Lord wil ſend Cyrus to deliuer you, the Lord wil arm the Babylonians to ſcourge you. Maine are al your dealings, if your truſt be not in him: and al this is to aſſure you, that all things are ſubiect vnto him: inſomuch, that euen they, which thinke themſelues to make war againſt him, do fight for him & by him. To be ſhort, if we inquire of them concerning the ſtate of the earthly kingdoms; they anſwer vs of the heauenly. If a man be cumbred with this preſent life; they teach vs the life to come. And oftentimes a man would think that they ſpake nothing materiall to our demands, becauſe they anſwere not directly to our demand, but to that which we ought to demand. Let vs conſider ſomwhat nerly of what minde the Soothſayers are, both by the Oracles of the diuels, and by ſuch as make profeſſion of Soothſaying. The diuels require ſacrifices for their anſwering to curious queſtions. The Aſtrologians are faine to ſeek out Princes. The foreteller of things to come by Palmiſtry, or by Phyſiognomy, or by the inwards of Beaſts, or by the ſignes of the ſky do the like.

And

And ordinarily who be more vain and more puffed vp with pride, than thoſe kind of men? What iarring is there among them, what diſagrément in their foreſayings? May which of them haue we ſeen, which is not a mony man? Or that would rather dye, than not declare Gods wrath to a Prince? Or ỹ hath not ſoothed a Prince in his ſins, to ſuck gain out of him? Or that hath giuen the glory vnto God, and not to his owne cunning and ſkil? Or refuſed the honour that was offered vnto him as a notable iniury? Witneſſes hereof may Apollonius, Apuleius Maximus, and ſuch others be: who by their foretellings neuer ſought other thing than Images of themſelues to bee ſet vp in Halles of Cities, and Penſions in the Courts of the moſt vicious and deteſtable Princes. And what is to be ſaid then of theſe folk, who go willingly to declare the ouerthrow of States, and the deaths of Princes? Which forſake their apparant eaſe, to go & ſhew forth Gods wrath? Who of all their wonderfull knowledge yéld none other reaſon but this, The Lord hath ſayd it vnto vs, nor ſéek any other reward, than the glory of God, yea matched oftentimes with their owne death?

Let vs come to the Poetries of our Scriptures, & let the Heathen ſet theirs againſt them, and who will doubt but that they ſhall bluſh for ſhame? To omit the Art, the meaſure, and the antiquity of them, which are but the outſides of them, but yet more beautifull in ours, than in the Poetries of the Greekes or Romanes: What (I pray) are theirs but the bauntings of men, counterfaited prayſes, and diſcourſes of Loue-Songs, not manly, but vnmeet for men? One ſingeth me the rage of Achilles; another, the wandring of Æneas, and a third, the loue of Paris and Helen. And ſo far hath this kind of dealing paſſed into cuſtome, that it ſeems vnpoſſible for man to bee a Poet, a Diuine, and an Hiſtoriographer altogether. So far are our mirth and Songs eſtranged naturally from God and from truth. What ſhall wee ſay then to the Poetries, ſpecially of Dauid, conſidering that he was afore all the Poetries of the Heathen; but that thoſe Poetries are not an imitation, but a ſimple affection? If we ſeek there for ſongs of victory, we haue of them; but they concerning the God of Hoſts: if for bride-ſongs, they be not wanting; but they be of God and of them that feare him: If for burning loues; there be Songs of the very Loue it ſelfe, howbeit kindled of God himſelfe: If for Shepheards Songs, it is full of them, but they concerne the Euerlaſting for the Shepheard, and Iſrael for the flocke. The Art of them is ſo excellent, that it is an excellencie euen to tranſlate them. The affectiōs ſo liuely, that they quench and choke all others. If hee had written in mans behalfe, had hee not

as good a ground as Homer had? what were his combat with Golias, his victories ouer the Philiſtines, his loue of Berſabee, and ſuch others? Do thinke we that he was not ſubiect to the ſame paſſions, or made of the ſame mould that we be? Or that he which wakeneth vs ſo much, was drowſie himſelf? Or that he which ſpeakethof nothing but Loue and Honor, was without them himſelf? No, but in very deed it was another maner of pulſe that did beat in his veins, that beateth in ours, and another maner of fire that burned in his marow. Which thing no man can deny that readeth his Pſalmes, ſo liuely, ſo feruent, and ſo ful of affections: howbeit, that he directeth his loue and his behement deſires to another marke, as one that beheld a far other beauty, coueted a far other Honour, & taſted a far other pleaſure than of the world. For all theſe bookes aime at none other mark than the honour of God, contrary to mans nature, which robbeth God of his honour as much as can be, to cloath it ſelfe therewith, and coueteth nothing ſo much as glory. But let vs come to the other mark which followeth this ſutſtiuely, namely, the welfare of man. Foraſmuch as I haue ſayd, that the mark whereat man ſhooteth in this life, is his owne welfare: If God haue left him any word, or giuen him any reuelation, to what end ought we to acknowledge the ſame to be done, but to light him in the way of welfare, and to turne him from all croſſe-pathes and byewayes which might leade him from the end that he aymeth at? How let vs hardly read all the bookes of the Heathen, and there is none of them which buſieth not our braines about Mooneſhine in the water, making vs to ſpend night & day therein, as though we had no other reſting place to ſeeke: whereas none other book than the Bible doth put vs in mind of our way. Our welfare is our ſhootanker, and the welfare as well of one of vs as of another, is to liue immortally vnited vnto God. How ſhal Ariſtotle put vs in mind therof, who leaueth vs in doubt, whether there be any immortality or no, and which ſetteth our ſhootanker in I wot not what muzings, peraduenture vpō Logick and natural Philoſophy, as his owne? How ſhall Plato do it, who ſuffereth himſelfe to be carried away with the common error? Or Seneca (how high ſoeuer he ſoare with his wings:) who will haue the wiſe man to play the foole, the harebraine and the Lecher, and to giue ouer himſelfe to all maner of vices, for the bringing of his affaires to paſſe, yea euen to his own harme, and to the blaſpheming of God himſelf. But if we harken to the holy Scriptures, we ſhall perceiue from time to time, that they bee no vntruſty guides of our wayes, neither ſuch as ſtand doubting at the firſt foure waileet, whether a man ſhould take

Mans welfare.

Seneca in his exhortations.

take on the right hand or on the left: but they be ſure guides, ſuch as are able to draw vs out of the mire, and to conuey vs through the wild Forreſts of the world, not only by leading vs by the hand, but alſo by ſeruing our turns, both for a guide, and for a Creſſet, and for a path altogether. Therfore at the very firſt entrance they tell vs that God, hauing created the world, made man of the duſt of the earth, and that he made him after his own Image & likeneſſe, and gaue him power ouer all the things that he had made here below. And what els is this, but a teaching of man at the firſt word, that he is indebted to God for all things, that his felicity conſiſteth in ſeruing God, and that hee is made to another end than other liuing wights: namely, for God himſelf? From hence it leadeth vs to our diſobedience, and is the puniſhment that inſued therupon: to wit, that by ſeeking our welfare elſewhere than in God, wee fell into all miſchiefe. As touching the immortality of our ſoules, & the prouidence of God, foraſmuch as they be no School-points to brawle vpon, but vndoubtedly grounds to as many as cōceiue that there is a God (which thing al men do) and ſuch as men ought not to doubt of or to be taught, but to practiſe & exercize all their life long, wee ſee no diſputing there as is among the Philoſophers. Henoch therfore indured many hard things in that froward generation, for ſeruing God: and by eſpecial priuiledge was ſone taken out of this life. And to what intēt, but to haue a better? Abraham, Iſaac, & Iacob wayfared from place to place vpon the earth. And did they ſo in the hope of the Land of Canaan? Nay, who would haue indured ſo much hardneſſe for his Poſterities ſake? Or for a promiſe that ſhould not bee performed till 400. yeeres after? Then was it becauſe they grounded themſelues vpon a better inheritance: and that is the ſelfſame which God ment when he ſayd to Abraham, I am thy great reward. Moſes came ſomewhat neerer this promiſe: for he ſaw the Land, howbeit but from the top of a high mountaine. And wherefore languiſhed hee forty yeers in the wilderneſſe among a thouſand grudgings, at the point to be ſtoned euery houre by his own Countrimen, & yet was faine to dy at the inſtant of obtaining his hope? Soothly he had ſeen another country neerer him, wherunto he aſpired: and far better (which he was to poſſes in the life to come) then he forewent in this life. The like is to be ſaid of Ioſua, of ỹ Iudges, of Samuel, of Dauid, and of the Prophets: whoſe liues were not a Schol-diuinity like vnto the Philoſophers, but a continual practiſe of this faith: namely, ỹ mans ſhootanker is not in this world, nor our welfare to bee ſought here: but that it behoueth vs to ſeek it in God, & to turn again to him that we may inioy it.

To that end ten theſe p̄cepts which are giuen to men in the Law, Thou ſhalt loue God with all thine heart, with all thy Soule, and with all thy ſtrength. To what end? To be oppꝛeſſed by Pharao, turmoyled vp and down in the Deſart, beaten by the Philiſtines, ouerthꝛown by the Aſſyrians, carried away by the Babylonians, and troden vnder foot by all Nations? If the loue of God bꝛing vs no better reward than ſo, what gaine we by being his people? Nay, it is to ſhew vs, that our welfare dwelleth not here belowe; that theſe Dalks which welcome vs into our Inne with ſmiling countenance, doe cut our thꝛoats in our beds; that the reward of ſuch as ſerue God, is not the woꝛld noꝛ any woꝛldly thing, but the very maker both of man and of the woꝛld. Then followeth there another p̄cept; namely, Thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe. What would Carneades haue ſayd, oꝛ rather what would he not haue ſayd, if hee had examined this Commandement? This Philoſopher being ſent Ambaſſadour on a time from Athens to Rome, made an Oꝛation of Juſtice beſoꝛe Cato the Cenſoꝛ, whereof he ſpake wonders. The nexꝛt day hee made another, wherein he pꝛoued that it was but folly and fondneſſe; oꝛ that the Romans ſhould be faine to come backe againe to their Cotages, & that all traffickе and whatſoeuer els it be, whereby Cities are made to flouriſh, would come to nought. What is to bee ſayd then of this lawe, which extendeth ſo farre as to ſay, not onely, Doe not that to others which you would not haue done to your ſelues; but alſo, Doe that to others which you would haue done to your ſelues? And ſurely if our welfare cõſiſt in this woꝛld, what godlier law canthere be, than foꝛ a man to loue himſelf & his own, and to wꝛeſt al his neighbours affairs to his own pꝛofit? And contrariwiſe, what greater fondneſſe, than to be another mans Bayly, that is to ſay, to pꝛocure oftentimes a mans own loſſe? But the Philoſopher was ignoꝛant that godlines is the roꝛt of Juſtice, & that Charity is nothing els but a rebounding back of the loue which we owe to God, vpõ mankind which is his Image: and the aiming point of this Cõmandement, which being reſtrained within one woꝛd, ſpꝛeadeth it ſelfe thꝛoughout the whole Law of Iſrael, is none other, than to ſhew vs that our chief dwelling place is elſewhere than here, & that wheras we loue all things here foꝛ our owne ſakes, we ought to loue other men as our ſelues, & our ſelues foꝛ Gods ſake, who is our ſole & only welfare. Hereunto do all the Scriptures guide vs, be it by authoꝛity of the Law, oꝛ by example of holy perſons, oꝛ by exhoꝛtation of the Pꝛophets: and there is not that line which twitcheth vs not by the eare, to waken vs out of the ſleep of this woꝛld: and which

which plucketh vs not from the Stoole and the Table, and from the gleaming vanities that ſticke ſo faſt to vs; to bꝛing vs backe to gloꝛie and to the inioying of God who is our welfare. Seeing then that naturally wee thinke ſo little vpon this gloꝛy of God, what a booke is that, which ſpeaketh of nothing elſe? Seeing wee bee plunged ſo deepe in the woꝛld, and the woꝛld in vs; what a booke is that, which withdꝛaweth vs from it euery houre? And what would become of man, if he had not another ſpirit than the ſpirit of man and of the woꝛld, which biddeth battell both to man and to the woꝛld? Soothly wee may well ſay therefoꝛe, that the Scriptures are verily of Gods inſpiring, which haue ſo exꝛpꝛeſſe reſemblances of him, and ſo contrary to the hand, ſtampe, pꝛint and wꝛiting of the whole woꝛld.

Chap. XXV.

That throughout the whole proceſſe of the Bible, or old Teſtament, there are things which cannot proceed but from God.

We haue learned heeretofoꝛe, by peruſſing the vniuerſall woꝛld, that all things tend to Gods gloꝛy: and by the examining of man, that his onely and whole welfare is to cleaue vnto God. Now therefoꝛe, ſith we ſee ỳ the Scriptures pꝛeach vnto vs the ſame thing that we haue read both in the woꝛld and in our ſelues; ought it not to be a good pꝛoofe to vs, that he which made the Woꝛld and Man, hath alſo made the Scriptures to rule them by? And that hee which hath ſpoken to all Nations by his creatures, hath alſo vouchſaked to ſhew himſelf moꝛe nærely to them by his Scriptures? Again, ſeeing that the Scriptures command vs to loue God with all our heart, & that the creatures haue heretofoꝛe declared vs to bee bound thereto; ſo as the creatures teach the ſelfeſame thing which the ſcriptures command: what can we ſay, but that both thoſe bookes haue one ſelfeſame authoꝛ? Howbeit, foꝛaſmuch as our eyes be ſo dazeled by our fall, that the Creatures were vnto vs as a claſped booke, oꝛ as a thing wꝛitten in Cyphers; God, to apply himſelfe to the weakneſſe of our ſight, hath giuen vs his Scriptures: and that foꝛaſmuch as our wils are wholly turned from him, it behoued vs to be commanded our owne welfare, which (were wee

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according to our firſt creation) we ſhould couet and follow earneſtly at the onely ſight of the firſt booke. But foraſmuch as it may ſtill bee ſaid, that theſe bookes are rather the workes of good men, and of ſuch as feared God, than of God himſelfe: let vs ſee if they haue not in them ſome proper and peculiar markes of Gods ſpirit, I meane, ſuch as no creature can be partaker of, but by inſpiration from God. For like as in his doings there are certaine miracles, wherein euen the wickedeſt acknowledge ẏ finger of God: So in his words, or Scriptures, there may vndoubtedly be ſome ſuch thing, as cannot proceed but from God himſelfe. Let vs begin at the Stile. In mens affaires we haue two ſorts of writing. The inferior ſort, and men of equality, endeuour to perſwade folke by apparant reaſons; for they know they haue no authority to giue them credit. But Princes will of their mere authority looke to be beleeued whatſoeuer they ſay: for they thinke they haue the world at their commandement, and that they may ſpeake what they liſt: and they ſuppoſe it to be ſome derogation to them to alleage any reaſon. And in humane ſciences the caſe is all one. For ẏ Phyſician is beleeued of his Patient without alleaging why: but of another Phyſician he is not ſo. Likewiſe the Schoolemaſter is beleeued of the Scholler, yea euen in things which were diſputable for him with one of his fellowes. So much more therefore ſhall this rule take place in matters diuine, which ſurmount both the vnderſtanding of the learner, and the ſkill of the teacher himſelfe. Againe, we ſee how the Philoſophers do mount vp from things euidently knowne, to things leſſe knowne, and from grounds & principles, to concluſions. And therefore Ariſtotle, intending to proue that there is a God, made a whole ſcore of bookes of it: and Plato, ſpeaking of things diuine, will haue the ancient Oracles to be beleeued, & not his own ſayings: which argueth, that euen by nature men know wel, that they deſerue not to be beleeued further forth than they make proofe, no not euen in the leaſt things; and therefore ẏ they be worthy to be laughed at, if they thinke their ſayings to be authority in matters diuine. Now then, ſith it is ſo, that the Stile is ſuch, both of all men in their common diſcourſes, and of all the Philoſophers in high matters: what ſhall the Author of our Bible bee, whoſe will and meaning is to be beleeued vpon his bare word, euen in ẏ things which exceed both the naturall beleefe of ſuch as heare them, & the vnderſtanding of all men which take vpon them to ſpeake of them? God created Heauen & Earth: Man is falne from his originall ſtate by ſin. If thou be a man that ſayſt it, who will beleeue thee vnleſſe thou proue it? And yet notwithſtanding, it appeareth that he wrote it to bee beleeued: for he

The Stile of the Scriptures

he commandeth it to be beleeued. Therefore his ſpeaking is of authority, and not by perſwaſion. Yet notwithſtanding, no body is beleeued vpon his bare word, ſauing in things which lye in his owne power, & his owne knowledge. Whoſoeuer then, in things ſurmounting man, (I meane in matters concerning God, and mans ſaluation) will looke to be beleeued of authority, onely becauſe he ſayes it; yea, and to bee more beleeued without proofe, than others vpon proofe; muſt needs bee the Prince & Father of man, and not a man. Now, who ſees not this courſe kept throughout all the Scriptures: and yet where is there any one Syllogiſme, or Demonſtration in them, ſauing ſuch as theſe, which ſothly bee more firme than any Syllogiſme, and more needfull than any demonſtration: namely, The Lord hath ſaid it, and it is done; The Lord hath ſpoken it, and he wil be beleeued? And what other booke finde we which proceedeth after that manner, howbeit that ſome deceiuers haue long time ſince preſumed to imitate the ſame?

Alſo, wee haue many bookes of manners written by the Heathen. How proceed they againſt vice? or how deale they with Vertue? They define, they diſtinguiſh, they diſpute of the generall, and of the vnderkinde, of the meane, and of the extremes. It is ſpoken (ſay they) from one Countermatch to another. And if they offend the lawes of Logick, they bee afraid of reproofe. The Lawes of God ſpeake a little more plainly: He that ſtealeth, ſhall pay foure-fold: He that killeth, ſhall be punished with death. Which is as much to ſay, as that the authority of the one dependeth vpon their power, and the authority of the other dependeth vpon their proofe. To bee ſhort, euen our ſpeech extendeth ordinarily no further than our power: and therefore the Teacher ſpeaketh after another maner than the Learner, the Prince than the Subiect, and the Senator than the Orator. What manner of booke then, I pray you, is this, which ſpeaketh to all men alike, to Kings as to Subiects, to great as to ſmal, to old as to yong, to learned as to vnlearned; ſauing that it ſurmounteth the capacity of the one as well as of the other? Neither intreating nor perſwading any man, but abſolutely bidding or forbidding all men. Neither (which more is) doth it ſay to any man, Thou ſhalt liue as a Recluſe within the precinct of thine own houſe all thy life long, or thou ſhalt lie in continuall priſon; but, Thou ſhalt liue or die for euer without end. In what other booke reade wee ſuch commandements? Yea, in what booke read we ſuch punishments and ſuch rewards? And if euery bodies ſpeaking bee according to the ability of his power; from whom is this ſpeech which dareth pronounce or threaten euerlaſting things, but from the partie himſelfe

The lawes and commandements in the Scripture.

that

that is euerlaſting? If it be a creature that ſpeaketh it, either it is a good creature, or an euill. If it be an euill creature, why forbiddeth he euill ſo rigorouſly, and commandeth good ſo expreſſly? or (to ſay better) how commeth it to paſſe, that the marke which he aimeth at, is Gods glory, and our welfare? Or if it be a good creature, how happeneth it that hee challengeth to himſelfe that which belongeth to God, and which cannot be imparted to any Creature, which is the very ſin that ouerthrew both the Diuell into Hell, and man into deſtruction? And if it bee no creature neither good nor bad; what remaineth then, but that it muſt needs be the Creator? Now what leaſe is there in the whole Scripture, where wee meete not with ſuch matter? And herewithall we ſee that thing in the obſeruers of that Law, which is not read of any others: namely, that they haue yeelded their liues, and incurred the hatred and diſdaine of the whole world, rather than they would breake or deſpiſe it; verily euen in this reſpect, and none other, that they were ſure that they ſerued ſuch a Law-giuer, as not only had power ouer the barke of man, and ouer this preſent wretched life, as other common Law-giuers haue; but alſo was of power to giue either euerlaſting life, or endleſſe death. The ſame appeareth yet more, in that the lawes which are giuen to men in the Scriptures, are not enioyned alonely to the outward man; but do pierce euen to the heart of man. Indeed they require Sacrifices; but yet they preferre obedience. They enioyne faſting: but that is from ſin. They enioyne Circumciſion, but it is the circumciſion of the heart. To bee ſhort, for a ſummarie of all ſinnes, they forbid luſting and coueting: which thing (as I haue ſaid afore) is not to bee found in any Law of the Heathen. Who, I pray you, knoweth the very Anatomy and ſecret conceits of our hearts, but he that made them? Or who can looke into man, but the maker of man? And who is hee, either Man or Diuell, that euer durſt preſume to enioyn a law to mens thoughts? But all theſe things come ſtill to this poynt, that the party which ſpeaketh ſo vpon authority, threatning things that exceed mans ability, and making a law for the things whereunto we cannot come, muſt of neceſſity be of more power then we.

The Doctrine of the Scriptures exceedeth the reach of man.

Againe, what a number of things haue we taught vs in the Scriptures, which cannot breed of mans braine, nor come from elſewhere then from aboue? And if they cannot breed in his minde, how can they come from his hand, or from his mouth? We can wel ſay, there is one God: for if we enter into our ſelues, we find him there: and if we goe neuer ſo little out of our ſelues, we meet him euery where. But that

in one Eſſence there ſhould be three perſons, the Father, the Word, & the Spirit: how can it breed in the imagination of man? Or who could euer haue thought of it? Alſo, from the Creatures we come to ỹ Creator: from moouing, to a reſt: from nouelties, to a beginning: and there mans reaſoning ſtaies. But although the firſt man might know when he was created: yet how could he haue knowne when the world was created? And although that by the new things therein wee deeme it to be new: who euer durſt haue limited the firſt day, and the firſt houre thereof? Or how could that Chymera haue come in any mans minde? And yet in very deed wee haue diuers Chymeras among the ancient writers, concerning the creation of the world, according to the diuerſities of opinions that were among the Philoſophers, and the diuerſities of imaginations among the common people. But was there euer any afore this booke of the Bible, that began his account of times, or his Hiſtory at the firſt day of the world, though hee were of opinion that the world was created? And ſeeing that the intent of all writers of Stories is to bee beleeued; what elſe had this beginning of an Hiſtory at that poynt béne, but a cracking of his credit at his firſt entrance in, if the maieſty of the author had not ſerued for a warrant? Likewiſe, that man, to attaine to his appointed end, needed the handiworke of God himſelfe; it appeareth vnto vs by the weakneſſe of our nature. But that for the appeaſing of Gods iuſtice, God himſelfe ſhould be faine to come downe, and to take mans fleſh vpon him: who would ſay it, but onely God? and who could bee beleeued in that caſe, but onely hee? So is it alſo concerning the conception of the Virgin, concerning the promiſes that were not to come to paſſe vntill foure hundred yéeres after, concerning the comming of the Meſſias, and ſuch like things: which would neuer haue come into a mans head to haue written: ſo farre off are they from mans wit, I meane, as of it ſelfe, and without imitation. And I dare boldly ſay, that whoſoeuer readeth the Scriptures aduiſedly, and with intent to marke them: ſhall in euery book find many matters, which euen by his owne iudgement had neuer come into mans mind, notwithſtanding that they be ſpoken by wiſe men, who both beleeued them firmely, and meant to bee beleeued in ſpeaking them.

What ſhall we ſay then to the Prophecyings, or true foretellings, which are ſowne euery where in ỹ Scriptures, that is to wit, of Gods Spirit, which is ſhed forth from the one end to the other, I ſay not, in ſcattered leaues, as the Propheſies of Sybil were, but aiming all at one poynt, notwithſtanding that they were vttered both at diuers

Propheſies ſowed throughout all the Bible.

times,

times, by diuers perſons, and in diuers places: I omit the firſt Prophesie, concerning the womans ſeed that ſhould cruſh the Serpents head, and ſuch like pertaining to the redemption of man by the Meſſias, becauſe that that doctrine ſhall haue his place hereafter: and I will alleage none other things than ſuch as are already proued, and
Gen. 15 out of controuerſie. Vnto Abraham was giuen this promiſe: Thy ſeed ſhall do ſeruice in a ſtrange Land, and be hardly intreated there foure hundred yeeres: and then will I iudge the nation whom they ſhal haue ſerued: and in the fourth generation ſhall they come hither againe. What Oracle did euer foretell a thing ſo preciſely, ſo manifeſtly, and ſo long afterhand? And yet was that prophesie fulfilled at the appointed time: and it cannot be ſaid to bee a counterfeit: for Moſes in leading the people of Iſrael through ſo many turne-againes, grounded himſelfe vpon none other thing. And it ſtood him on hand to ſpeake of a Prophesie that was common among them, and deliuered from hand to hand, conſidering that he taketh it for his Theame and Anker-hold, both to ſpeake vpon, and to worke vpon. And ſoothly, as it was receiued by Abraham, ſo was it receiued by Moſes, and put in execution by Ioſua. Iacob made his Teſtament in Ægypt: wherein there are as many Prophesies as words: not for his owne children onely, but alſo for the Tribes that ſhould come of them. Neuertheleſſe, I will ſtand
Gen. 49 but vpon one of them. Thou Iuda, (ſaith he) thy brothers ſhall commend thee, and thy fathers children ſhall yeeld thee reuerence. And the Scepter ſhal not be taken from Iuda, nor the Lawmaker from between his feet, vntill Silo come. The effect hereof is, that the Scepter ſhall remaine with Iuda, and that he ſhall haue ſoueraigne iuriſdiction vntill the time of the Meſſias: and ſo doe the Hebrewes interpret it. Yet were Ruben, Simeon, and Leuie the eldeſt brethren of Iacobs houſe: and therefore his doing was againſt the order of nature. And Moſes, who led the people of Iſrael out of Ægypt, was of the Tribe of Leuie. Ioſua, who brought them into the Land of Canaan, was of Ephraim: The Iudges were raiſed vp one while out of one Tribe, and another while out of another: and Saul, the firſt King choſen by the people, was of the Tribe of Beniamin, which was the yongeſt of all. Theſe things therefore were a curſt ſhaking to the prophesie. In the meane while the Scepter paſſed from Saul to Dauid, from a King to a yong Shepheard of Iuda, and there was ſetled for euer, notwithſtanding the murmurings of the ten Tribes againſt it, and the falling away of Iſrael, and the captiuity of Babylon. And whereas hee ſaith, vntill Silo come, it ſufficed vntil another time, that by the ſpace of two thouſand

thouſand yeeres, the houſe of Iuda reigned ſtill in Iſrael, and had the eldership, together with a direct obſerued pedigree: which thing wee read not of any other ſtocke in the world. Here they will ſay, Who ſhall aſſure vs that Iacob ſpake thoſe things? If I ſhould aſke them as much concerning their hiſtories, what know they more of them? And what ſhould Moſes haue gained by the deuiſing thereof, being himſelfe of the Tribe of Leuie, and giuing ouer his charge to one of the Tribe of Ephraim: which had rather bēn an occaſion to make Iuda (which was the ſtrongeſt of all the Tribes) to grudge againſt him, ſeeing that that Tribe had been authoriſed both by Iacobs laſt will, and by anſwere from God. Or if he did it to gratifie Iuda, why was hee not afraid to diſpleaſe Ruben, Simeon, and Leuie: or rather, why made hee not the prophesie to fall vpon Leuie, to authoriſe himſelfe? May, what gratifying of Iuda could it yet be, conſidering that Iuda was excluded from it at that time, and came not to it a thouſand yeeres after? Surely (the foreſaid circumſtances being well weighed) either there was neuer any prophesie vncorruptly reported, or if euer any were, this muſt needs be it. And as touching theſe good Philoſophers, which will haue prophecying to proceed of a coniunction of the vnderſtanding, which they call Poſſible, with an vnderſtanding which they terme Separated, by meane of imagination: and that old men cannot prophesie, by reaſon of the weakeneſſe of their imaginatiue power: what will they ſay here to Iacob, who was an older man than any of their time, and yet notwithſtanding ſaw ſo clearly, and ſo farre off? For if their doctrine be commonly true, and yet notwithſtanding, old Iacob prophesied: doth it not follow that his prophesie is extraordinary, and commeth from a higher power than the ſaid pretenſed vnderſtanding: that is to wit, from God? And if his prophecying was according to their rule: doth it not follow, that their doctrine is falſe, that is to wit, that prophecying commeth not from the force of our imagination, nor of our ſelues, conſidering that it weakeneth not with vs, but that it commeth by inſpiration from God? In the bleſſings that Iacob gaue to his poſterity, the matter ought not to be paſſed ouer ſo lightly, where hee ſpeaketh of the parts that ſhould bee allotted to euery of his children in the land of Canaan, as if hee had made them himſelfe, aſſigning to one the ſea-coaſt, to another the Corne-country, and to another the vine-grounds, euen after the ſame ſort that they were diuided vnto them certaine hundred yeeres after by lot. For how could he come to the knowledge therof, but by him that ouer-ruleth all lots? And ſeeing that the foretellings of Aſtrology are a meane betwēn neceſſity

Rabbi Moſes vpon the booke Ababacher.

and

and caſuall, as Ptolomy teacheth, and nothing is more caſuall than lots, what manner of Aſtrology is this, which iudgeth of lots both ſo long afore hand, and alſo ſo certainly? But when as in the Chapter going next afore, we read that Iacob, in bleſſing the children of Ioſeph, preferred Ephraim, the yonger ſonne, before Manaſſes, who was the elder; and being warned thereof by their father, anſwered againe, that hee was not deceiued, but that the yonger brother ſhould bee the greater, and that his ſeed ſhould grow to a multitude of people: what Art moued Iacob to ſay it? or what profit moued Moſes to contriue it? If yée ſay Phiznomy, or Iudiciary, the good old man was blinde. But what lineaments can foreſhew for a whole race? or what Conſtellations can ſhew what ſhall befall to whole Nations that are yet vnborn? If it be ſaid, that Moſes loued the one better than the other: The two of whom he ſpeaketh, were already dead at ỳ time, and the people that were to come of them, were but then in comming. And yet was that prophecie fulfilled; for the Tribe of Ephraim was alwayes mightier than the tribe of Manaſſes, as appeareth throughout ỳ whole proceſſe of their Hiſtories, and in the end the kingdome of the ten Tribes was grounded chiefly vpon that. And in confirmation of this word, as oft as Moſes, Ioſua, the booke of Kings, or Chronicles ſpeake of thoſe two Children, the yongeſt is euer named afore the eldeſt: which thing vndoubtedly the Tribe of Manaſſes would neuer haue endured without taking exception to it, if they had not thought themſelues to haue reſted vpon the will of God, and not vpon the fancie of man. What ſhall we ſay of Moſes? He ſpeaketh to the people continually of the conqueſt of Chanaan, according to that promiſe, and therfore it muſt néedes bee, that it was a prophecie very commonly knowne among them. And indéed Ioſeph picked out a long time for it afore his buriall. Nay, moreouer, Moſes diuideth the Land vnto them in minde; appointeth them arbitrators to make their partitions; giueth them lawes to ſettle themſelues vpon; appointeth them what orders they ſhould kéep there, ſetteth them downe the platformes of their Cities, ſuburbs, and houſes; enioyneth them the tilling of their grounds, the reſting of the ſeuenth yéere, their Feaſts and Solemnities, and appointeth them their Cities of refuge for caſuall man-ſlaughters. A man might ſay, that his ſpeaking of theſe things, was, as if a father ſhould diſpoſe of his goods that he had gotten, and which he had already in his hand. What likelyhood hereof was there, at ſuch time as they burned bricke in Ægypt? or when they lingred in the wilderneſſe? yea, or at the returne of the men that were ſent to ſpy out the Land, when they reported nothing but

but hardneſſe to the people? I pray you, if a man ſhould at this day part Italy or Greece among vs in his imaginatiõ, to euery of vs ſhare and ſhare like: would we not ſay (according to the prouerbe) that he parted his Menſon before he had caught it? And yet what a number of men haue paſſed the Alpes vnder the Standard? And ſith it is ſo, that Moſes entred into that land, and thoſe which waited for it, died in the way, and yet that at the time appoynted, the Canaanites gaue place to that people: who ſeeth not that of neceſſity the ſame people were driuen by ſome other than man to follow Moſes, yea, Moſes himſelfe to take vpon him the leading of them through ſo many diſtreſſes; both of them beeing grounded (ſay I) not vpon mans fanſie, but vpon expreſſe promiſe, which they by vnfallible records beléeued to bee of God: but he procéedeth yet further. For as he foreſaw them in Canaan afore they came there: ſo foreſaw he them there to offend God, by ſeruing Baal after they came there. I ſay he ſaw them forget God, & God mindful of them in his wrath: he ſaw them diſperſed & ſcattered ouer the foure quarters of the world, and troden vnder the fét of ſtrangers. To be ſhort, he ſaw the Gentiles called of God into his Church in their place: yea, and he ſaw it ſo clearely, that he foretold it to them all in his Song, which he willed them to preſerue from hand to hand, as a witneſſe againſt them, and a diſcharge to himſelfe. Though from the top of mount Nebo he could behold the Land of Canaan to ſpeake ſo fully thereof: from what mountaine could he ſée the things that were yet in the reines and hearts of men, as then to come, yea, which lay hidden yet many hundred yéeres after: or in what booke could he haue ſéene them, and read them, but in the book of life, that is to ſay, in God himſelfe? The word that was ſpoken by Moſes, was performed word for word by Ioſua, without adding or diminiſhing any whit, contrary to the ambitious minde of man, which liketh not to follow another mans lure; which thing was no ſmal ſign ỳ Ioſua did not ſo much obey Moſes, as God ſpeaking by Moſes. And this curſe that Ioſua pronounceth in his book, againſt the man that ſhould build Iericho again, is not to be forgotten: He ſhall lay the foundation therof vpon his firſt born, ſaith he, & ſet vp the gates therof vpon his yongeſt ſon. That is to ſay, he ſhall be puniſhed with the ſudden death of all his Children. For about fiue hundred yeeres after in the time of Achab, Hiel of Bethel builded vp Iericho, the which he founded vpon Abiram his firſt ſonne: and hung vp the gates of it with the death of Segus his yongeſt ſonne, and the booke of Kings ſaith there, It was according as the Lord had ſpoken by the mouth of Ioſua the ſonne of Nun, to ſhew that Gods

Deut. 31.

Ioſua. 7.

1 King. 16. verſ. 34.

word is euerlaſting, and that it neuer ouerſlippeth the time. And in very deede it lieth ouerthrowne at this day, and was neuer repayred ſince that time, howbeit that the beautifull ſituation thereof might haue allured euery man, as we reade in the ancient Geographers. In the bookes of Ioſua and of the Iudges we ſee the things perfourmed which were foretold by Moſes, & ỹ commingto paſſe both of the promiſes and of the threats that were made by him. For accordingly as the people of Iſrael did either turne away from God, or returne vnto him; God raiſed vp Tyrants in Chanaan to puniſh them, or deliuerers in Iſrael to deliuer them. And as for the bookes of Samuel, of the Kings, and of the Prophets; either they be prophecies of effects to come, or effects of prophecies forepaſt. To be ſhort, in all the diſcourſe of the Bible, there is not any ſeaſon to be found without both Prophet and prophecie, as well in proſperitie as in aduerſitie: Whereby we might ſee both the heauenlineſſe and the truth of them the more clearely, if wee could ſet the places, perſons, and ſtate of that time before our eyes. But out of this continuall prophecying, we will drawe ſome peculiar points ſo euident as cannot be gaineſaide, which will vndoubtedly be of credit among all indifferent perſons. At ſuch time as Ieroboam
1. King. 13. the Son of Nebath made the ten Tribes to fall away from Roboam the Sonne of Salomon; to ỹ intent they ſhould haue no occaſion to returne againe to their former ſtate, by reſorting to Hieruſalem to worſhip there: he reared an Altar in Bethel, contrarie to the Law of God. Then came a man of God (ſaith the hiſtorie) to Bethel by the commandement of the Lord, and ſayd to Ieroboam; Behold, a Son ſhal be born
1. King. 13. of the houſe of Dauid, whoſe name ſhal be Ioſias. He ſhal ſacrifice vpõ thee the Prieſts of the Hil altars which offer incenſe vpõ thee: And this ſhall be the ſigne thereof: Thine Altar ſhal riue aſunder, and the Aſhes that are theron ſhal be powred downe. This Prophecie was fulfilled
2. King. 22 verſ. 15. 16. in al poynts by Ioſias three hundred yéars after. And when Ioſias (ſaith the hiſtorie) had ſo done, he ſaw a certaine tombe, and aſked whoſe it was intending to haue burnt the bones of him that lay there, as he had done of the other Prieſts in Bethel. But it was told him that it was the Tombe of the man of God, which had foretolde thoſe things ſo long agoe: wherevpon he forbad any man to touch it. Now they that know how thoſe bookes of the Kings were compoſed, will not call the Hiſtorie in queſtion. For the Hiſtories of the Kings were written by the Prieſts and Prophets, according to the meaſure of the time that they raigned, and were holden ſo holy, that it was felony to touch them. Furthermore, if this Prophecie was written afore the

the comming of Ioſias, how could it bee falſified? for who could haue hit vpon his proper name? And if it were written after, and deuiſed vpon the euent: how came the ſame Tombe to bee made at the ſame inſtant? Or was there none other deuice wherewith to haue diſguiſed it, without taking any further paine? Might it not haue ſufficed to haue ſaid, One Ioſias ſhall come, &c. without ſpeaking either of the death of the man of God, or of his meeting with the Lyon, or of the talke which he had with the Prophet of Samaria; but that he muſt take paine to be found a Lyer by the Samaritans, which knew the originall of the Tombe, or could at leaſt wiſe haue enquired it? But in very deed, this prophecie which doth ſo ſet down the name, the place, and the circumſtances in the doing, is ſuch, as cannot bee fathered but vpon God, as vnto whom alone things abſent, or to come, are preſent. And to ſhew the vncorruptneſſe of the Scripture the more clearely, it concealeth not, that the ſame man of God, by whoſe mouth God had vttered the ſaid Prophecie, was ſlaine by a Lyon, for going backe againe, to eate with the Prophet of Samaria, contrary to the word of the Lord; which doth vs to vnderſtand, that men are nothing of themſelues, but onely ſo far forth as they be Gods tooles and inſtruments. Now then, by what coniecture can we deeme that man to haue beene the deuiſer of a lye, who, to tell the truth, ſticked not to diſhonor the remembrance of ſo great a Prophet, whoſe ſincerity appeared by ſo many circumſtances?

Wonderfull is Eſay in the things which he foretelleth concerning the kingdome of the Meſſias, & the calling of the Gentiles: for he ſéemeth rather an Euangeliſt than a Prophet. Alſo, when he threatneth Ieruſalem with the captiuity of Babylon, or cheereth them againe with hope of their deliuerance: his manner of inditing ſheweth, that hee ſpeaketh as one that ſaw them both: and in that reſpect alſo were the Prophets called Seërs. And in very truth, he ſaith not, The Lord will do, the Lord will call, the Lord will deſtroy, & ſo forth: but, he doth, he calleth, he deſtroyeth. Yea, and oftentimes, he hath done, he hath called, he hath deſtroyed, and ſo forth; as though he ſpake not of things that were but onely neere the execution or performance; but of things already come to paſſe. After that maner did he foretell things, in the time that the people proſpered, and truſted in the allyance of the Chaldees, and that all likelihoods were to the contrary. But I aſke of ſuch as doubt of our Propheſies, by what ſpirit could Eſay ſay; I am the Lord, which ſaith to the deepe; Be dry, and I wil dry vp thy flouds; and of Cyrus, Thou art my ſheeppeard, thou ſhalt fulfill all my will: Eſay 44. & 45.

and which ſaith vnto Ieruſalem, Thou ſhalt be builded againe; and vnto the Temple, Thou ſhalt bee founded againe.

And againe: Thus ſaith the Lord to Cyrus his Anoynted, whom I haue taken by the right hand to ſubdue the Nations before him, and to weaken the reines of Kings. I will go before thee, & leuell the crooked wayes: I will breake open the brazen gates, and wring aſunder the Iron bars, and ſo forth, that thou mayſt know how that I am the Lord, the God of Iſrael, which calleth thee by thy name. For loue of my ſeruant Iacob, and for Iſraels ſake, haue I named thee by thy name, and called thee though thou kneweſt mee not, &c. **How many wonders ſhall we finde in theſe few words, if wee liſt to examine them? At the ſame time that the people of Iſrael triumphed vnder their allyance with the Chaldees, Eſay threatned them with deſtruction by the ſelfe-ſame people. This is ſomewhat.**

But ſome will ſay, that mans wiſdome may reach as farre as that. Yea, but he foretelleth, not onely the captiuity of that people, the ſacking of the Citie, & the ouerthrow of the Temple: but alſo the deſtruction of the Chaldees by the Perſians, and the building vp of Ieruſalem, and the Temple by them againe. Well may mans ſkill wade into matters & moneths: but conſidering the vncertainety of worldly matters, it can neuer wade into yeeres, and much leſſe into hundreds of yeeres, and into the whole continuance of a mighty and long-laſting Monarchy, as Eſay doth there. Inſomuch that he nameth Cyrus a hundred yeeres afore he was borne. And afore his Grandfathers were named in the world, he calleth him by name to deliuer Iſrael. And in another place, he ſummoneth the people of Cethim (that is to ſay of Macedonie) to the deſtruction of the Perſians. And in his eighth chapter hee taketh Vrias and Zacharias, the ſons of Iabarachias, by name, to be witneſſes of his propheſie, who were vnborne a hundred yeeres after. Let the greateſt enemies of the truth enter into their owne conſciences, & tell me what humane ſkil or cunning there could be in thoſe things. They cannot ſay here, that theſe Propheſies were forged by ſome man vpon the euent. For by the remouing of the Iewes vnto Babylon, the Lawes, Propheſies, and Scripture of Iſrael which were common among that people, were conueyed into diuers places of ỹ world; among the which they had this Propheſie afore Cyrus was borne: and being in diuers mens hands, it was vnpoſſible to bee falſified. And in good ſoth, ſith wee ſee that the Kings of Perſia being Conquerours, cauſed the Temple to bee builded againe, it ought to bee a marke vnto vs, that in the Idolatry out of which they came, they had

had ſeene wonders of the God of Iſrael, and that according to Eſayes ſaying, they perceiued themſelues to be called by him. The ſame is to be conſidered of vs in Ieremy, and Ezechiel, who being in places farre one from another, the one in Ieruſalem, and the other in captiuitie at Babylon, foretell the ſelfeſame things, as ſure regiſters of one Court. Ier. 25. 26. 27. 18. 19. 20, &c.

But Ieremy is the more wonderfull in this behalfe, in that he propheſieth expreſſly, ỹ the people which were carried away priſoners, ſhould be brought home againe at the end of threeſcore & ten yeeres, contrary to all likelyhood, and yet with ſuch aſſurednelle, as a man would verily haue ſaid, that he had led them home by the hand into Ieruſalem. And in very deed, at the threeſcore and tenth yeeres end, the people were conueyed home againe at the forenamed inſtant, as though Cyrus had bẽn bent, of ſet purpoſe, to verifie the propheſie, or as though hee had bẽn waged by the Prophet. And it appeareth by the ninth chapter of Daniel, (where this propheſie is alleaged) that it was common among all the people. As for Daniel himſelfe, who was borne vnder the firſt Monarchy, he ſeemeth rather an Hiſtoriographer than a Prophet, as in reſpect of the Monarchies, & things that enſued; (for he ſpeaketh of the Perſians, Greekes and Romanes, of the tyranny of Antiochus, of the vnhallowing of the Temple, and of other things that were done fiue hundred yeeres after his time, as of things already come to paſſe:) and like as hee cloſeth vp the propheſie from the creation of the world to the comming of Chriſt: ſo ought he to ſtop all mens mouthes that will ſpeake againſt him. For if a man will not beleeue the Iewiſh Chronicles, in that they report, that the Propheſie of Daniel was read vnto great Alexander at his comming to Ieruſalem, to ſhew him what was foretold him: yet is it euident, and cannot be denied, but that when Ptolomy cauſed the Scriptures to be tranſlated, the propheſie of Daniel was then extant, and was tranſlated with the reſidue; which was long time afore the tyranny of Antiochus, the which hee deſcribeth to the eye. And therefore if it could not be falſified in that behalfe, as little could it be falſified in all the reſt, conſidering ỹ all of it doth equally and infinitely exceed the reach of all creatures, and cannot proceed from any moe, than one Spirit. Dan. 9.

Now then, let vs looke vpon the things that are in this Prophet; and whence could he haue them, but from him that maketh and vnmaketh Kings at his pleaſure? Hee forewarned Baltaſar the ſonne of Nabuchodonoſor, that he ſhould haue a fall, becauſe he had not taken example at the chaſtiſement of his father, but had aduanced himſelfe againſt God. Dan. 5.

It will perhaps be ſaid, that it is the ſaying of wiſe men, that when pride goes afore, ſhame commeth after. But when as Baltaſar was ſlaine that ſame night in the middeſt of his iollity; it was a marking of the thing more preciſely, which had béen foretold by the former Prophets alſo. But in that which followeth, there is no ſhift at all. Behold, Darius was but newly entred into the Monarchy, when euen in the firſt yeare of his reigne Daniel ſaid vnto him: Three Kings ſhall ſtand vp yet in Perſia, and the fourth ſhal be inriched with great riches aboue them all: and when he is ſo increaſed, he ſhal ſtirre vp euery man againſt Greece. Theſe foure or fiue words containe the Hiſtory of ſeuen or eight ſcore yéres. We haue great learned men, which by reaſon of their long experience, haue made (as it were) an Anatomy of our ſtate: but which of them, I pray you, durſt euer take vpon him to tell how many Kings ſhould come after, & much leſſe to foretell what would be done by the fourth King ỳ was to come, as Daniel doth here, who maketh expreſſe mention of Darius voyage againſt the Greekes?

Eſay 13. 21 47. Ier. 50. Daniel 11.

Let vs heare him yet further. But a mighty king ſhall riſe vp (ſayth hee) and reigne with great authority, and do whatſoeuer he will. Who ſéeth not here, how Alexander commeth out of Greece againſt Darius, and ſubdueth the Perſians? And when he is in all his royalty (ſaith he) his kingdome ſhal be broken, & diuided to the foure winds of the aire, howbeit not to his own race, but vnto ſtrangers, for his kingdome ſhal be plucked vp by the root. Hee could not haue painted out Alexanders Monarchy more liuely, which was but as a flaſh of lightning that paſſeth from the Weſt into the Eaſt, & toke end in it ſelfe, & was diuided into many kingdomes, as Macedonie, Thrace, Syria, and Ægypt, among Princes that were not of his race. Whoſoeuer would haue made an Abridgement of the whole Hiſtories of the Monarchie of Greece in few words, hee could not lightly haue done it in other than theſe. Neuertheleſſe, it is a glancing ouerthwart through two Monarchies, and two whole hundred yéeres, whereas all the wiſedome of the world put together, could not ouer ſee ſo much as two yeeres, no not euen in the commoneſt affaires of a houſhold. Now, the Story of the Macedones was not the thing that hee aimed at: but the chiefe thing that he ſought into, was the ſtate of the Church to come among the Iewes, and therefore he letteth the reſt of the branches alone, and goeth on but onely with the Kings of Syria and Ægypt. Therefore let vs read the reſidue of the Chapter. There he painteth out the warres of Antiochus, King of Syria, againſt the Iewes, the reſiſtance of the Machabees, the oppreſſion of the righteous, and the defiling of all holy things,

things, ſo liuely and manifeſtly, that hee which were not told of it afore he reades it, ſhould not be able to ſay whether it were a Prophecie or an Hiſtorie. In his eighth Chapter hee deſcribeth a battell betweene a Ramme and a Goate. The Ramme (ſaith he) that had two hornes, is the King of Medes and Perſians, becauſe thoſe two States went ioyntly together. The Goat is the King of Greece, and the great horne that hee had betweene his eyes, is the greateſt King, that is to wit, the great Alexander: and yet none of them both liued fiue ſcore yeeres after. In the ſeuenth Chapter hee deſcribeth all the foure Monarchies, but ſpecially the Romanes; which (ſaith hee) had téeth of Iron, wherewith it brake and deuoured all the reſt. And hee purſueth it ſo farre, that hee declareth himſelfe to haue had a ſight in his minde, both of the breeding, of the proceeding, and of the decaying thereof. If wee conſider what Rome was at that time, it was then ſcarce hatched: and a great while afterward, Alexander hauing but a ſmall cut ouer the Sea that is betwixt that and Greece, knew it not. To bee ſhort, in the ninth Chapter hee foretelleth, that at the end of threeſcore and ten weekes, (accounting from the day that the word was vttered by Ieremie for the building vp of the Temple againe) Ieruſalem ſhould bee deſtroyed by a Prince of the people that was to come, that is to ſay, by an Emperour iſſuing from the Commonweale of Rome, which at that time was not in béeing: which thing I could ſhew here to haue come to paſſe at the inſtant aforenamed, according to the Prophecie. But forasmuch as this poynt pertaineth properly to the comming of the Meſſias, whereunto wee reſerue many things that may confirme vs more & more in the holy Scriptures, it ſhall be treated of in his peculiar place. Now then, we ſhall haue a continuance of wonderfull prophecies, from the creation of the world euen vnto Chriſt, vttered and ſet forth a long while aforehand, and come to paſſe iuſt in their times; not generall, but marked with their circumſtances; not doubtfull, but ſuch as expreſſe the things and perſons by their names. And therefore to knit vp this matter withall, I demand, vnto what we may attribute them, but to the inſpiration of God? Some in ſtead of holding themſelues within their bounds, will needs ouer-leap them, by denying all. But, beſides the reaſons afore alledged, ſeeing that the ſame time that the Iſraelites worſhipped their God, the Nations about them had Oracles, which anſwered vnto all queſtions; and that man is ſo inquiſitiue of things to come, that if hee cannot bee certified at home, hee ſeeketh euery where abroad: I would haue them to anſwere me whether this people were of another

Dan. 8. Dan. 7. Dan. 9.

nature than all other Nations, whom we know to bee yet ſtill at this day more giuen to prophecyings than any other nation? And how, being ſo giuen thereunto, and not hauing ought at home wherewith to ſatiſfie their curioſity, they could in the midſt of ſo many miſeries, hold themſelues to the ſeruing of the one God, who alone, of all others, did not ſpeake, but alonely had kept ſilence to all their requeſts: For if it ſeeme ſtrange and miraculous vnto vs to haue had Prophecies: much more ſtrange and miraculous ought it to be, to haue made more account of a God that gaue no anſweres at all, ſpecially in ſo many diſtreſſes and oppreſſions, than of the gods of the Heathen which did nothing elſe.

Obiections. But foraſmuch as none of the men of old time was ſo impudent, as to deny them, but all were inforced either to wonder at them, or to alledge cauſes to diminiſh the eſtimation of them: let vs examine the reaſons which they bring. One ſayes, that the Prophets were tied to the ſtars, and yet they mocked at the diuinations of the Chaldies euery where. Now then, of ſo many Aſtrologers as were among the Gentiles, and haue made bookes thereof, name me any one that hath foretold the doings, not of an Empire, but of ſome one man: not a hundred yeeres aforehand, but a yeare aforehand; ſauing that the Diuell now and then, by Gods ſufferance, hath executed the ſame euill, which hee himſelfe foretold vpon the partie that aſked counſell of him. But Ptolomy will ſay, the foretellings of the Aſtrologers are a meane betweene neceſſity and chance: for they foreſee not the euents, or fallings out, but onely the inclinations or diſpoſitions of things; and as many as promiſe any further, doe but abuſe men. What thinke wee then, that this Ptolomie would haue ſaid, if he had read theſe prophecies, ſo particular, that they ſeeme rather ſtories of things paſt, than foretellings of things to come? Surely, he would haue ſaid, that they could not haue proceeded but onely from God, as he ſetteth down and deemeth very well in leſſer things: and that they which foretell particular things, muſt needs be inſpired of God: And againe, that the iudgements of ſuch as gaze vpon the Starres, are doubtfull; howbeit that they which foretell the good part, approach neerer the truth, by reaſon of a certaine power that beareth ſway in their Soule, although that otherwiſe they haue no ſkill at all in the Art. And in very deed, the beſt Aſtronomers haue reiected Iudiciall Aſtrologie, as in vaine, and without foundation; yea, euen after they haue well tyred themſelues in it. But in Iſrael we read of a Neat-heard, called Amos, whoſe Prophecies were no leſſe euident for the matters they treated of, than were

Ptolomy in his booke of the fruit.

were the Prophecies of Eſay and Daniel. Auerrhoes and his followers haue a peculiar opinion of mans Soule, namely, that wee haue a certaine capacity of vnderſtanding, which they terme an vnderſtanding in poſſibility, the which informeth & teacheth, by the working of an vniuerſall mind, which by the particular imaginations of euery man commeth to be ioyned to the vnderſtanding in poſſibility that is common to al. And therfore they ſay that prophecying proceedeth properly of this coniunction in men that haue a ſtrong and liuely imagination. If it bee ſo, I would haue the diſciples of Auerrhoes (who had ſo The ſame thing doth Moles of Narbon ſay vpon the booke of Abubacher and Auempare, gwdly an imagination) to imagine this, to ſhew me ſome prophecy of their maſters or of their owne. Alſo let them anſwere me, how it happeneth that our Prophets (for the moſt part) haue commonly bin old men, ſeeing that (after their doctrine) old men cannot prophecy, by reaſon of the feebleneſſe of their imagination? But foraſmuch as theſe men do preach vnto vs that the world is eternal; how happeneth it that prophecying hath not beene inſtilled into men by the ſaid coniunction, euerlaſtingly concerning time, & in al times, ſeeing that to become a Prophet there needeth no more but to haue a very ſtrong imagination, foraſmuch as the ſeparated vnderſtandings are euermore ready and diſpoſed to the ſaid Coniunction? How happeneth it alſo that a man being come to that point, prophecieth not of all things that he can imagine? But hereby we ſee manifeſtly, that this prophecying of theirs is not an habit, but a paſſion that fadeth away like the ſound of a Lute, when the plater ceaſeth to ſtrike. Or if they ſay that a man muſt firſt get him both the actiue and the contemplatiue habits, and then the ſaid vnderſtanding matcheth it ſelf with our imagination, as the forme of a thing matcheth with the ſubſtance therof; whereof commeth it, that Dauid being a Shepheard, & Amos a Neatheard, did prophecy ſo wonderfully? Some will haue it, that prophecying is deriued into man by the Starres, condicionally that he be diſpoſed to receiue it. Hereupon they preſcribe him a certain diet; wherby he muſt make his body equall and euenly counterpoiſed by Alchymy; and afterward he muſt gather together the beames of the Skie into a mirror, which they call Alchymie, made according to the Rules of Catoptrick: and finally, hee muſt ſtellifie by Aſtrologie as well the man himſelf, as the food that he vſeth. And they ſay, that Apollonius of Thianey prophecyed after that maner. Theſe are toyes to be laughed at rather then worthy to be anſwered. And let euery man conſider, whether our Prophets being ſhepherds, & Neatheards, and vnlearned, were framed with ſuch curioſities, to prophecy, according to diet. Nay, when his wits bee wakened he

Roger Bacon in his booke of the ſixe ſciences of experience, and in his abridgement of diuinity.

he that perceiue that they were inſpired with things which the Starꝛs could neither do, noꝛ betoken, noꝛ know, foꝛaſmuch as they be ſtill in the hand of the firſt cauſe, and are not come downe ſo lowe as to be ſubiect to the ſecond cauſes.

The Platoniſts therfoꝛe come ſomewhat neerer the truth, ſpecially Iamblichus and Porphyrius by name. Foꝛ they ſay, that the foꝛetelling of things far off afoꝛehand, cannot be done neither by Art noꝛ by Nature, but only by inſpiration from God. Howbeit, foꝛaſmuch as they ſpeak of many gods, and take the diuels foꝛ Angels, it may be obiected againſt vs, that our pꝛophecies pꝛoceed either from diuels, oꝛ from Angels. But if we cal to mind the Oꝛacles of diuels, & compare them with our Pꝛophecies, there will appeare as much difference betwixt them, as is betweene the diſcretion of a wiſe man and the tittletattle of a foole.

Therfoꝛe let vs heare what they ſay. The gods (ſaith Porphyrius) foretell natural things by the order of natural cauſes which they mark, and they foretell things that depend vpon our owne will, by coniectures taken of our doings. But foraſmuch as they be ſwifter than we, they preuent vs and outrunne vs, and that in ſuch ſort, that as naturall things are deceiueable, and mens caſes are variable and vncertaine: ſo they both, as well the good as the bad, be ſubiect vnto lying. What els is this to ſay, but that they can foꝛetel nothing of vs furtherfoꝛth than they learne by our doings; noꝛ of naturall things furtherfoꝛth than they read them in nature, that is to ſay, than they read them as in a booke, howbeit with a ſharper and ſwifter eye-ſight than we: but neither diuel noꝛ Angel can read that in the Starꝛs which is not there; noꝛ in men, that which men themſelues know not, ſpecially conſidering that the greateſt learned men do hold opinion that they enter not ſo far. In the Starꝛs they could not reas the name of Ioſias, Vrias, oꝛ Cyrus: neither in the hearts of Ioſias, Vrias, and Cyrus themſelues (who were not at that time in the woꝛld) could they read the dedes which they were to do certaine hundꝛed yeres after. Foꝛ onely vnto God are thoſe times pꝛeſent which are to come: but as foꝛ to Angels and vs, there is no moꝛe of the role of time knowne, then it pleaſeth God of his gracious goodnes to vnfold vnto vs. It followeth then by the doctrine of theſe Philoſophers, that our Pꝛophecies beeing ſo cleare, ſo particular, and ſo neere ta things a far off, could not bee inſpired from many gods.

Yet notwithſtanding, all Pꝛopheꝛying (ſay they) pꝛoceeds either of Art, oꝛ of Nature, oꝛ of ſome ſpirit, oꝛ of God himſelfe. Of Art, as by

by Aſtrologie; of Nature, as when mans nature is ready to receiue the influences of the vniuerſal, and of ſome Spirit, as by ſome league oꝛ couenant made with him. But of none of all theſe three could the pꝛophecies of the Hebrewes pꝛoceede, as I haue ſhewed euidently afoꝛe. It remaineth therfoꝛe that thoſe pꝛophecies are of God, & conſequently that their Scriptures are Gods woꝛd, which is nothing els but either thoſe pꝛophecies themſelues, oꝛ the effects of thoſe pꝛophecies. And to ſhut vp this Chapter, it will not bee amiſſe to rehearſe this recoꝛd of Porphyrius, that the religious ſect of the Eſſens among the Iewes, by reaſon of their occupying of themſelues in thoſe Pꝛophecies, made a pꝛofeſſion of pꝛopheꝛying, and ſeldome times miſſed. Foꝛ indeed there is great likelyhood, that if we vnderſtood all the pꝛophecies of the Bible (which thing is vnpoſſible foꝛ vs, becauſe wee cannot lay the ſtates of all times together) we ſhould find there many things which are dark to vs at this day, and yet were cleere, well vnderſtood, and eaſie, euen to the very common people, euery one in his time.

Chap. XXVI.

That the things which ſeeme moſt wonderfull in our Scriptures, are confirmed by the Heathen themſelues, and a ſolution of their chiefe Obiections to the ſame.

NOw that wee know that it is God that ſpeaketh in the Scriptures; there ſhould remaine no moꝛe foꝛ vs to doe, but to harken to him with ſilence. Foꝛ ſeeing hee hath made all things by his woꝛd; his woꝛd cannot haue ſayd any thing which he hath not bin able to doe. And if wee crouch, and lay our hand vpon our mouth at the ſight of a Kings Seale: ſurely it were moꝛe reaſon that wee ſhould diſpoſe our mindes to beleeue, and our wils to obey, without ſcanning, wꝛangling, oꝛ gainſaying, when we ſee the expꝛeſſe ſigning and ſeale of God in his Scriptures. Howbeit, to the intent we may leaue no cauſe of doubt to the Reader, foꝛaſmuch as ſome haue pꝛeſumed to obiect, I deſire that I alſo may haue leaue to aſſoyle their demands.

Now

An Obiection concerning the writes of the Greeks. The answer.

Now therefore, let vs ſée what is obiected againſt vs, as well by the Infidels of old time, as of our dayes. Firſt of all, As great account (ſay they) as you make of your Scriptures; there is no record yéelded vnto them by any of our ancient Authors Gréeke or Latine, as Plato, Ariſtotle, Theophraſt, and the reſt of ſo many Philoſophers, Hiſtoriographers, and Poets. This is euen as much as if a man ſhould aſk witneſſe of the men of Perow, concerning the Hiſtories of France or Spaine. For in the times whereof our Scriptures ſpeak, what were the Greekes and Romanes in reſpect of the Iewes, but ſilly ſauage people that fed vpon Maſt? Or ſothly it is al one, as if a man ſhould aſke a child of the things that were done after he was borne; conſidering that the lateſt Hiſtories in our Bible, are of more antiquity than the Schooles of Greece, or the vſe of reading was in Rome. Nay moreouer, from the time that the Greekes knew there was an Ægypt, they went thither to Schoole, and there had communication with the Iews, (as I haue proued already) at whoſe hands they reaped that little knowledge which they had concerning the true God, the creation of the world, and the fall of man. Inſomuch, that Plato alleageth our Authors vnder theſe words; As the Authors of old time report, or as it is reported in the ancient Oracles. And Numenius, hauing eſpied ý Plato could not get that ſkil frō elſewhere than out of Moſes, termeth him Moſes, ſpeaking in the language of Athens, that is to ſay, tranſlated into Greeke. The Hiſtories of Greece begin about the time of Cyrus. But (ſaith Ariſtobulus) the law of Moſes, and the departing of the Iſraelites out of Ægypt, were tranſlated into Greek afore the raign of Alexander, yea or of the Perſians themſelues. Which is as much to ſay, as that the Greekes euen from their firſt vpriſing, or at leaſtwiſe from the firſt time that they began to know themſelues, heard ſpeaking of our Scriptures, and were deſirous to haue them. And Hecatæus the Abderite, who attended vpon Alexander in his Conqueſts, made a booke purpoſely of the Iewes, which thing hee did not of any of all the flouriſhing Nations which hee had ſeene in his voyage. Alſo, Herennius Philo hauing read the ſaid Philoſopher, ſaw him ſo wonderfull in the things that he had learned of the Iewes, that he beléeued him to haue béene become a Iew, and to haue béene conuerted to their Law. Anon after, when the time of the calling of the Gentiles approched, that it behoued the Prophecies to be made knowne to the whole world, to rid away all ſuſpition of contriuing of them vpon ý euents; God did put into the heart of Ptolomie Philadelph, King of Ægypt, to make a Library, in the which (by the counſell of Demetrius Phalareus,

Ariſtobulus writing to Ptolomy Philometor [illegible] concerning the Scriptures.

Herennius Philo concerning the Iewes.

reus a Diſciple of Theophraſtus) it was his will to haue the Bible of the Hebrewes, and therefore at his great charges cauſed it to be tranſlated into Greeke. The Hiſtory of this tranſlating is ſet out by one Ariſtæas a Chamberlaine of King Ptolomies; who with another named Andrew, was ſent to Eleazar the High Prieſt of the Iewes to fetch the Bible, & ſix men of euery Tribe that were learned in both the languages, to tranſlate it. And he ſaith, that Demetrius Phalareus made report vnto the King, that theſe Scriptures were the only writings that were diuine indeed; and that therupon the King aſked him in his preſence, how it hapned that he had not thoſe bookes ſooner, ſéeing he ſpared not for any coſt, & that Iewry was ſo neer hand: Whervnto Demetrius anſwered, that they were written in a peculiar language, & therefore it behoued him to write to the High prieſt to haue Interpreters: according to which aduice, the King ſent Ambaſſadors with letters & preſents to Eleazar (of which Ambaſſadors he himſelfe was one:) And that by the conſent of all the people, the 70. Interpreters were ſent into Ægypt. Yea & in this Hiſtory (which is extant ſtil at this day) yee may ſee the Copies of the letters that were written from Demetrius to Ptolomy, from Ptolomy to Eleazar, and from Eleazar to Ptolomy. And the ſayd Ariſtæas addeth, that when the Bible was once tranſlated, & peruſed in the preſence of the chiefe Peeres of his Realme, the King cauſed a ſolemn curſe to be proclaimed wt loud voice, againſt all ſuch as ſhould adde any thing to it, take ought from it, or alter ought in it. And afterward (ſaith hee) when the King vpon further reading therof, did maruel that of ſo many things & ſo worthy of remembrance, there was no mention made by the Hiſtory writers & Poets of Greece: Demetrius Phalareus anſwered him, that it was a diuine law giuē of God, which ought not to be touched but with clean hands (as Hecatæus himſelf writeth) affirming moreouer that Theopompus a diſciple of Ariſtotles had done him to vnderſtand, ý whereas ſome had gone about to diſguiſe the Scriptures of the Iewes with Greeke eloquence, they were ſtricken with amazednes for their labour, and vpon praier made vnto God were warned in a Dream, that they ſhould forbeare to vnhallow or defile thoſe heauenly matters, with the gloſſe of their owne inuentions. Yea, and that Theodotus a Tragicall Poet had tolde him, that becauſe he intended to haue intermingled ſome matters of the Scriptures with his Tragedies, that is to wit, by drawing grounds of his Poetries out of the Bible, as other Poets had done with the warres of Thebes and Troy: he had ſodainely forgone his ſight, which was afterward reſtored againe

Ariſtæas cōcerning the tranſlation of of the 70. Interpreters

Euſebius in his 8. booke of the preparation of the Goſpel.

gaine vnto him vpon continual prayer and long repentance. And this befell iuſt in the ſame time that the Greekes and Romanes did but beginne to deale with Philoſophy. Alſo Numenius the Pythagoriſt, whom many prefer before Plato, made ſo great account of the Scriptures, that his booke of Welfare, of Number and of Place, and his booke intituled, The Lapwing, were full of Texts alleaged out of Moſes and the Prophets, with great reuerence: And he is the ſame Philoſopher whom Plotin had in ſuch eſtimation, that hee vouchſafed to write a Commentary vpon him. But I would that the Greekes ſhould but ſhew me the like record of their own writings, and of their owne Lawes, not in our books, but euen in their owne books; and I beleeue that no indifferent perſon would refuſe that offer.

Origenes in his forth booke againſt Celſus.

An Obiection concerning the ſtile.

The Solution.

Here followeth another obiection: namely, that the Scriptures haue a ſimple, bare, and groſſe ſtile: but if they were of God, they would ſpeake far otherwiſe. I demaund of them, whether mens ſtiles ought not to bee according to the perſons that ſpeak, and whether the grace of eloquence conſiſt not in obſeruing ſeemlineſſe: as namely, whether the eloquence of a Subiect, ought not to differ from the eloquence of a King: the eloquence of a Child, from the eloquence of a Father: and the eloquence of an Aduocate, from the eloquence of a Iudge: or whether by the rules of Rhethorick, that which is eloquence in the one, ſhall not be folliſhneſſe in the other? Therefore, if the Lawyer or Aduocate will plead eloquently, he muſt moue affections: to the intent he may moue other men, he muſt firſt moue himſelfe:

The Iudge muſt vtter his words grauely, and he muſt alſo be inflexible and vnutterable without mouing and without affection. The King muſt ſimply & abſolutly command; for he is both the voice of the law & the rule of the Iudge. But if either the King come to perſwade, or the Iudge to debate caſes: then muſt the one put on the ſtate of an Aduocate, and the other the ſtate of a Subiect, & lay aſide the ſtate of a King and Iudge. What then, I pray, ſhal become of the law of God, the King of Kings, who is infinitely further aboue the greateſt Monarches, than the greateſt Monarches are aboue their meaneſt Subiects; and who exceedeth alike both the Iudges, & the parties that are to be iudged? We would haue him to vſe Inductions, as Plato doth, or Syllogiſmes, as Ariſtotle doth, or pretty ſleights, as Carneades doth, or outcryes as Cicero doth, or fine conceits as Seneca doth. We would haue him to vtter his words by weight, ỳ they might fall in iuſt meaſure and ſound; and to interlace ſome far-ſought words, ſome allegoricall matters, and ſome ſtrange deuices, wherewith common vſe is vnac-

vnacquainted. If wee ſhould ſee a Kings Proclamations ſet forth in ſuch a ſtile, which of vs would not by and by note it as ſmelling too much of the Inkhorne: and which of our eares would not rather glow at it, than like of it? Surely then, the ſimpler that Gods Lawe is, the better doth it beſeeme the Euerlaſting; conſidering that the ſimpler it is, the more it reſembleth the voice of him that can do all things, yea and (which more is) the ſimpler it is, the better doth it fit all people. For the Lawe that is ordained for all men without exception, ought to be as an ordinary food, or rather as a common kind of bread applyed to the taſte and reliſh of all men. But what will you ſay, if the Scriptures haue in their lowlineſſe more ſtatelineſſe, in their ſimplicity more profoundneſſe, in their homelineſſe more allurance, and in their groſſeneſſe more liuely force and sharpneſſe, than are to be found any where elſe? We reade in the firſt Chapter of Geneſis; God created Heauen and Earth; God ſpake, and the waters were ſeuered from the Earth; He commanded, and the Earth brought forth hearbes.

There is not ſo very an Idiot or ſo ſimple a man, but he can vnderſtand theſe things, I meane ſo farre as is requiſite to his ſaluation, yea & conſent at the very hearing of them, that the things muſt needs be as it is ſayd there. But if a man will wade deeper into the matter, as how God hath in all eternity choſen (as yee would ſay) one inſtant whereat to begin this worke, without ſtuffe or matter to worke vpon; and how he made it by his onely bare word: they be ſuch bottomleſſe deeps, as will make euen the ſtouteſt afraide, and inforce the wiſeſt to ſtoupe to the ſkill of the lowly and little ones: ſo excellent is the ſimplicity of the Scripture, both to inſtruct the lowly and to confound the proud both at once. In our Bible we haue Hiſtories, and in Hiſtories what deſire we? A truth: for that is the very ſubſtance of them. Now, what greater proofe of truth can there be than ſimplicity? A ſtile or manner of inditing, that ſetteth downe things paſt before our eyes, as if they were preſently in doing? What greater token would we haue thereof, than (in our reading) to feele the very ſame affections, which thoſe felt of whom we read: Let the hardeſt hearted men, and the moſt vntoward in the world go read the Hiſtories of our Bible, as how Iſaac was led to be ſacrificed, how Ioſeph become known againe to his brethren, how Iephthe was vered with the meeting of his daughter, or how Dauid was greeued at the death of Abſalon: and (if they will ſay the truth) they ſhall feele a certaine ſhuddering in their bodies, a certaine perning in their hearts, and a certaine tender affection all at one inſtant, far greater than if all the Oracles of Rome,

or

or Athens, ſhould preach the ſame matters whole dayes together. Let them read the ſame ſtories againe in Ioſephus, to whom the Emperor Titus cauſed an Image to be ſet vp for the elegancy of his hiſtory, and they ſhal find, that after his ranſacking of them with all the ornaments of Rhetoricke, hee ſhall finde them more cold and leſſe moued then hee found them. And that is, becauſe that in very deede true beauty deſireth no painting: but the more naked it is, the more it allureth; and (as Iewellers & Lapidaries ſay) the fairer that any Precious Stone is, the leſſ doth it need both of Gold and of workmanſhip. And ſoothly, to ſet vp our Scriptures vpon high words, is nothing els but to ſet vp a well proportioned tall man vpon a Scaffold, which diminiſheth ſomewhat of his naturall proportion, and yet addeth not any whit to his ſtature.

Alſo in all our Scriptures we haue Prophecies, and in thoſe Prophecies we haue threatnings, exhortations, and vehement ſpeeches. And it is in ſuch matters, that the Orators are wont to thunder and to mount vp to their lofty ſpeeches. In this kind, the Latines make great account of Cicero. But I report me to all ſuch as haue read both of them with like Iudgement, what compariſon there is betweene him and Eſay? betweene his flattering inſinuations with childiſh excuſes of ignorance, and the entrances of Eſay, liuely, graue, and full of maieſty? Betweene his long periods to the which hee harkeneth ſo deuoutly: and the others cutting words, which are the thunderſtrokes doubled, to daunt the ſtoutеſt ſtomake that is? But among all the Greekes, Cicero himſelf wondreth at Æſchines againſt Demoſthenes in a certaine place, where he layeth open his iniurie, and paſſions againſt him, in deed more like a Bedlam, than a man in his right wits. And what eloquence, what force, or what pearcing hath that place (I beſeech the Readers with all my heart to reade, both the one and the other) in compariſon of this beginning of Eſayes? Harken yee Heauens (ſaith he) and giue eare thou Earth; for the euerlaſting hath ſayd, I haue nouriſhed Children and brought them vp, and they haue rebelled againſt mee. The Oxe knoweth his owner, and the Aſſe his Maſters cribbe: but Iſrael hath not knowne mee, my people haue no vnderſtanding: Ah ſinfull people, people loaden with iniquity, to what purpoſe ſhould ye be chaſtiſed any more, ſith ye heape ſinne vpon ſin? The whole head is ſicke, and all the body is ful of ſores. From the ſole of the foote to the crowne of the head, there is not any ſound part.

Cicero in his Tuſculane Queſtions.

What aboundance of freeneſſe, and eloquence, of humility and ſtatelineſſe, of reaſons and affections, is there in theſe fewe words? and

how much greater ſhould we find them in their owne Language, and in their own accents? Truly, ſome great learned men of our time (which thing I think not to be any abatemēt of their commendation) haue vndertaken to make Paraphraſes vpon this Prophet & others, full of godly ſentences, and humane eloquence, which haue ſerued fitly to giue him the greater grace. And if our Rhetoricians find fault with thoſe ſimilitudes as ouer homely: I would haue them tell me to what vſe ſimilitudes ſerue, but to make things cleere; and what is the meane to make matters cleere, but by taking ſimilitudes from things beſt known? And what maner of ones were the Metaphors of the Romanes, but at the firſt rude and homely, and afterward taken from wars, and in proceſſe of time taken from pleading and Oratory, according as they grew to be more corrupted? And what elſe are the militudes of Cicero himſelfe in his treatiſe of old age, but likenings taken from huſbandry and Vines, becauſe hee himſelfe delighted in thoſe things? To bee ſhort, when it commeth to the purſuing of a ſimilitude euidently, to the ſetting downe of a deſolation liuely, to the reproouing of vices ſharply, or to the promiſing of deliuerance brauely: our Prophets do ſet forth euery thing ſo naturally, ſo preſently, ſo forcibly, & ſo liuely; as that it appeareth manifeſtly that they had the perſons, the places, the times, and the things themſelues whereof they ſpake, all preſent before their eyes: yea, and that maner of inditing is common to all our Prophets vniuerſally. Of all theſe things I require none other witneſſes, than our very deſpiſers of God themſelues: whoſe contempt of our Scriptures, which they neuer had leiſure to read, entereth for the moſt part vnder this colour, that ſome maiſter of Art which neuer read any more than his Cicero, ne can ſkill to diſcerne what beſeemeth either others or himſelfe, hath ſcorned the things which hee hath not the ſkill either to peiſe or praiſe. From ſuch people (ſay I) ſpringeth the contempt of our Scriptures, ſpecially in Italy; who being out of their Schooles are not able to ſay one word to the purpoſe, no nor ſcarcely ſo much as ſimply to talke. Politian (ſaith Viues) did altogether deſpiſe the reading of the ſcriptures. Therfore let vs ſee what hee commended. He ſpent his whole life in ſcanning whether a man ſhould pronoūce Vergilius or Virgilius; Carthaginenſes, or Carthaginienſes; Primus, or Preimus: and if he had any further leaſure, he ſpent it in making ſome Greek Epigram in the cōmendation of Lechery and Sodomy. A graue iudgement ſoothly for vs to ſet our minds vpon. Another called Domitius Calderinus, turned young men from the reading of the Scriptures: but what goodly

Oſorius the Portingale.

matter tooke he to occupie himſelfe withall? Forſooth, he paſſed his life in making a Comment vpon Virgils Priapus, a booke which all men that haue any peece of manhood in them, are aſhamed euen to ſpeake of. But what greater proofe of the praiſe of our Scriptures would we haue, than that ſuch perſons do deſpiſe them? Contrariwiſe, Marcilius Ficinus, and Iohn Earle of Mirandula the honour of Italy, and of his age for ſkill in all Sciences, hauing read all the good Authors in the world, came at length to reſt themſelues in our Scriptures, and were in the end out of liking with all others; but as for theſe they could neuer haue their fill of them. If there were no more but the affirmation of the one, and the deniall of the other; vnto which of them, I pray you, ought we rather to yeeld? Nay, I dare ſay, and I will maintaine it among all ſuch as know what it is to ſpeak to the purpoſe, and accordingly as may beſt beſeeme euery man; that our Scriptures are written in ſuch wiſe, as may moſt fitly beſeeme both God & the Author of them, and the matters that they treat of, and the parties to whom they be ſpoken, & that a more ſeemely ſtile than that cannot be imagined, either for God (for he is our Prince, and it beſeemeth not princes to perſwade) or for the matters; for they be holy and graue, and graue matters (as ſaith Ariſtotle) ſhould not be painted: or for the parties to whom they be ſpoken, for they were folke of al ſorts without exception: and like as all of them were bound to beleeue and obſerue them, ſo was it behouefull that all ſhould vnderſtand them.

Obiections concerning the vncredibleneſſe of things in the Scriptures.

But now enter they into the matter of them. The Scriptures (ſay they) doe tell vs things vnpoſſible and vncredible: more like the fond fables of Poets, than the reports of ſound Hiſtories. I would haue them to tell me to whō they be vnpoſſible, & to whom they be vncredible: ſeeing they father them not but vpon God the Maker of Heauen and Earth, to whom all things are alike eaſie? The Poets ſay, that Iupiter thundreth aboue, and, that Neptune turmoileth the Seas, and rowleth vp the earth: and we know that both Iupiter & Neptune were men as we be: and therfore we ſay iuſtly that they report fables: for they father things vpon men which are aboue the ability of man to do, and which ſurmount the power of al Creatures. But when things that are vnpoſſible to Creatures, are reported of God, whoſe power is infinite: although men doubt whether they were done or no; yet can they not deny but that he was able to do them. And if their ſuſpecting of them be, becauſe they read the like things in their owne Fables: I haue proued already, that theſe things were written long time afore they had either writers of Hiſtories, Poets, yea or any writing at all.

And

And therefore they ought to thinke that their Fables were deuiſed vpon our hiſtories, and their Leaſings vpon our truths. For like as a man hath been afore his portrature, good Coyne afore counterfait Coyne, a true Seale afore a forged Seale, and a true Copie afore a forgerie: ſo alſo was the true declaration of things afore Fables: according to this rule of the Philoſophers, that euill hath not any being of it ſelfe, but in another thing, ne is properly a ſubſtance, but a corruption of a ſubſtance. Therefore we beleeue not the Fables of Homer, nor the inuentions of Euripides and Sophocles made vpon the battell of Troy; and yet we deny not but there was a Warre of Troy. As little alſo doe we beléeue the Romanes which vaunt of the twelue peeres of Charles the great, the King of France; and yet we doubt not but there was a great Charles that did great things in his time, and had great ſtore of noble perſonages in his ſeruice. To bee ſhort, had there neuer beene any Dogge, Horſe, Beare, or Lyon in the world: neither Poets had fained, nor Painters painted vs any Cerberus, Pegaſus, or Chimera. Likewiſe, had there not bin a truth of things whereupon the Poets made their Fables, we ſhould not haue had at this day any Fables in the World. Let vs come to particularities. In all the whole Scripture there is not a more wonderfull thing, than the creation of the world and of man: And if wee admit thoſe two points, nothing ought to ſeeme ſtrange vnto vs in the reſidue of the Bible. For all the miracles which we wonder at, are but ſparks of the infinit power which vttered it ſelfe at that time in the creating of all things. Now I haue proued already both by liuely reaſons, and by witnes of the ancient writers, that the world and all things therin were created, and that they were created by the onely will of God, at ſuch time as pleaſed him, and that it cannot be otherwiſe imagined. Vpon this truth haue the Phenicians & Ægyptians faſhioned their fables: ſaying, that in the beginning there was a darkeneſſe, and a Spirituall Ayre, and in an infinite Chaos: that this Spirit couered the Chaos: and that of the coniunction of them twaine, was bred a certaine Moath, that is to ſay, a certaine ſlime, wherof all liuing things were ingendred. It cannot bee denied but that this was a miſtaken Copy of the holy and native Copy written by Moſes.

The creation of the world and of man.

Concerning the creation of Man, the Ægyptians ſay he was created both Male and Female. Hereupon Plato gathereth that hee was a Man-woman or Herkinalſon: and the Scripture had ſaid that God had created them Male & Female. So befalleth it properly to a Portrature that is drawne by another. That which is taken at the liuely

Image loſeth a little of his nature. That which is taken at the Patterne, loſeth ſomewhat more: And ſo from one to another, they varie in the end ſo far from the Originall, that a man can ſcarcely find a reſemblance thereof. The fall of man hath been proued of me by many reaſons, and approued by all the Philoſophers, and euen by the very feeling of our corruption, all men are inforced to confeſſe it. But Moſes is the onely man that ſetteth vs downe both the hiſtory and the cauſe thereof. Hereupon the Emperor Iulian quarelleth, thinking it ſtrange that a Serpent ſhould ſpeak, which is no more but that the diuell ſpake by the Serpent. And what is there herein, which befell not daily among the Gentiles? Diuels, to deceiue men, ſpake to them frō out of Images. The Foend of Dodon ſpake out of an Oke: Philoſtratus ſaith, that an Elme ſpake to Apollonius of Thyaney: A Riuer (ſaith Porphyrius) ſaluted Pythagoras. Euen Iulian himſelfe and his Philoſopher Maximus, heard the diuel ſpeak in diuers voices & in diuers maners; and in al this geare there is thought to be no ſtrangenes at all. For ſeeing that the diuell of himſelfe is not viſible to our eies; muſt he not be faine to put on a borrowed ſhape? And if hee borrowe one, why ſhould hee rather take ſome other ſhape than the ſhape of a Serpent? And if he ſpeak, why ſhould hee not ſpeake as well by the mouth of a Serpent, as of another liuing wight? and as well of a liuing wight, as of a thing that hath no life? May further, this creature hath a manifeſt figure, in that it traileth vpon the ground, and liueth of the duſt: and in that wee vp our winding away from God, to the baſe and earthly things, are brought to the ſame point at this day.

The fall of Man.

The age of the firſt men.

We read of the men of the firſt age, that they liued ſeuen, eight, or nine hundred yeers: which thing ſome thinking to be incredible, haue imagined that thoſe yéeres were but moneths, notwithſtaning that in the hiſtory of ỹ vniuerſal Floud which inſued, the moneth is ſet down to be of 28. dayes, and the yeere to bee twelue moneths; and that otherwiſe we muſt bee faine to admit, that they begate children at leſſe than ten yeeres of the Sunne. And yet is that one of the griefs which they conceiue againſt our Scriptures: as who would ſay, it were not as eaſie to God to extend one liues vnto ten thouſand of yéers, as to a hundred? to God I ſay who hath made both the life it ſelfe, and the yéeres, and the worlds of yeers. Yet notwithſtanding Manethon the Egyptian, Beroſus the Chaldean, Moſchus, Heſtiæus, & Hierome, who wrote the Storyes of the Phenicians, doe confirme the ſaying of Moſes concerning the firſt men. Alſo, Heſiodus, Hecatæus, Acuſilaus, Hellanicus, & Ephorus agree therunto: affirming that they were ordained to

to liue ſo long time, as wel for to ſtudie the Sciences, as to inuent the Handicraftes; and ſpecially for the finding out of Aſtronomy, becauſe (ſay they) if they had liued leſſe than fiue hundred yeeres, their obſeruations had bin in vaine, becauſe the great yeere continueth ſo long. To be ſhort, the matter was ſo cléere, and ſo common in all ancient Hiſtories, that Varro palleth it not ouer as a light thing, but laboureth to yeeld a cauſe thereof.

For the punishment of mankinde there followed a generall Flud. What Nation hath not beléeued it, and what Author hath not ſpoken of it? Among the Ægyptians, Phenicians, Greekes and Romanes nothing was more common. And becauſe they had heard that it befell in the prime time of the world, and were ignorant in the accounts of the times; euery writer of Hiſtories did ſet it downe in the time which he thought to be of moſt antiquity: as for example, The Thebans referred it to the time of Ogyges: the Theſſalians to the time of Deucalion, and ſo forth of others. Moreouer, in Braſilie, in the new Spaine, and in the Florida, the beleefe thereof is common, and all of them impute it to mans ſin, and to the wrath of the Higheſt powred out vpon mankind. But let vs come yet to more particular points. God commanded Noah to make an Arke for the ſauing of himſelfe and his houſhold, and for the preſeruing of the ſéed of the world there. And he reckoneth vp vnto vs all the whole length, breedth, & depth therof: which is a proofe that hee had the truth it ſelfe, whereof the reſidue had but the ſame. Yet notwithſtanding, Alexander, Polyhiſtor, and Abidene do write, that Saturn foretold vnto Xyſuthrus the Flud ere it came; and that he made him an Arke, to ſaue all kind of Cattell with him: that he preſerued his holy writings by ingrauing them in certain pillers at Heliopolis in Ægypt, and ſayled in his Arke towards Armenie: that after certaine daies hee ſent forth certaine Birds, which found no dry ground: that at the end of certaine other daies, he ſent out certaine other Birds: and that in the end perceiuing dry land, hee came downe out of the Arke in Armenie, where (by their ſaying) the remnants of the Ark are diligently kept by the Inhabitants, who help themſelues with it in many diſeaſes. And their talking of Saturne is according to the maner of the Greeks, who ſurmiſed the Iewes to haue worſhipped Saturne, becauſe they kept holy the ſeuenth day. And it may bee that Xyſuthrus may in the Aſſyrian tongue betoken as much as Noe, who in diuers places had diuers names as we read. Neuertheleſſe, this difference ſerueth vs for a proofe, becauſe we ſée it is not a ſimple ſuppoſall, but a firme tradition from the Father to the Sonne.

The generall Field.

Alexander Polyhiſtor Abydenus alleaged by Cyril in his firſt booke againſt Iulian

Ioſephus in his firſt booke of his antiquities cap. 3

The ſame thing is reported by Beroſus, not the counterfet Beroſus, but the ſame Beroſus whom the ancient writers alleage; and by Ieron the Ægyptian, Mnaſeas the Phenician, and others. Yea and they adde further, that the place where Noe came downe out of the Arke was called Saleh Noah in Greeke Σωτὴρ Ναυβάτης, that is to ſay, Noes comming downe: and that it was a certaine Mountaine called Baris or Paropaniſus, which (according to their language at that time) ſignifieth to come all to one. Alſo Plutarke ſpeaketh expreſſly of the Doue that Deucalion ſent out of the Ark to ſeek dry land: and Phauorinus and Stephanus ſpeake of the place where the Arke reſted: which cannot be vnderſtood of any particular flood of Theſſalie, which doubtleſſe was contrived out of the other vniuerſall flood. Now therefore, not knowing what to reply in this behalfe, they picke a quarrell at the meaſure of the Ark, imagining it hard for God to doe that which they themſelues cannot doe. But beſides that the Arke was a figure of the Church, wherinto all Nations ſhould one day be gathered and ſaued: Origen ſheweth to Celſus the Epicure by the Geometricall Cubit, that it was of a marueilous greatnes and capacitie. And Buteon a Mathematick declareth expreſſly in a book, what it contained foot by foot. To be ſhort, ſith we read that the flood was vniuerſall, conſidering that that could not bee but by Gods appointment, who notwithſtanding intended to ſaue thoſe that were his: the ſight of ſuch a miracle ought to make all the reſidue credible, without alleaging of meaſures in a power which is without meaſure. For whereas ſome will needs impute that Flood to a certaine great Coniunction of Planets which was at that time: I ſend them to the Earle of Mirandula, who not onely proueth that there was not then any great Coniunction at all, but that although there had bin one, yet they could not aſſigne it to the named point: but rather that by their own rules the coniunction was ſuch at that time, that it betokened rather an vniuerſall burning than an vniuerſall drowning of the world.

In his Treatiſe that beaſts are capable of reaſon.

Iohn Picus Earle of Mirandula againſt Aſtrologers.

At the going away of this Flood, the Scripture telleth vs of a Ham, or Cham, which diſcouered the ſhame of Noe his father. The Chaldees ſay it was Zoroaſtres, who would, with his charmes, haue made him barren. The Greekes after them fained their Iupiter Hammon to haue gelded him. Thus turned they the Hiſtory into a Fable. Likwiſe Iaphet is none other than the Iapetus of the Poets, who tooke the renewing of the world after the Flood, for the very firſt creation therof. Then followeth conſequently the confuſion of the tongues. It is a very cleare caſe, that languages are to no vſe, but in reſpect of the diuerſity of them; inſomuch that if there were but one in all the world, it were meere fondneſſe to know any mo than that. Therefore, like as reaſon hath led vs to one firſt man: ſo ought it alſo to lead vs to one firſt language; which was but one alone, like as there was but one man alone with his wife. If the diuerſity of them conſiſted as now, but in propriety of phraſes, and ſome of words, it might be ſaid, that they had been altered by proceſſe of time. But it is well knowne, that there are many languages, whoſe very originall words are farre diuers, and vtterly vnlike one another, ſauing in ſome few words that haue beene brought out of the other Countries by Trauellers, and trade of Marchandiſe, which haue euery where retained ſtill the ſame names they had in the place from whence they came. Ye will ſay then, that men inuented them when they conueyed Inhabiters abroade to people of other Countries. But what a vanitie had that been? What life of man could haue ſuffiſed to do it? What benefit could haue enſued of it, either to the inuenters themſelues, or to their followers? Nay, who ſeeth not that it had been a publike miſery? not a knowledge, but an ignorance: not a pleaſure, but a hell to poſterity? Certes, we ſay therefore, that reaſon leadeth vs to that which the Scripture ſaith: namely, that at the beginning there was but one Language: That the diuiding of Languages came not of men, but that the diuiding of men came of the diuiſion of Languages: and that it was not a deuice of men (who at that time were ſufficiently occupied in the needfull knowledge of nature, and in the finding out of profitable Arts and Sciences) but a puniſhment caſt of God vpon mankind.

Cham.

The confuſion of tōgs or languages.

Let vs ſee how the ancient writers doe further theſe reaſons. The common opinion is (ſay Abydenus and Alexander) that men beeing bred of the earth, and truſting in their owne ſtrength, would needs in the deſpite of the gods go reare a Tower vp to the Sunne, in the ſame place where *Babylon* now is: and that when they had raiſed it very high, the gods ouerthrew it and caſt it downe vpon their heads with a great wind, and that at that time began the diuerſity of Languages: whereupon the Hebrewes called that place *Babel*. Of theſe things ſpeaketh Sybil alſo in her verſes in the ſelfeſame termes. And Heſtiæus & Eupolemus do adde, that the Prieſts which ſcaped from thence, gat themſelues with the myſteries of their Iupiter (the ſame was either Nemrod or Iupiter Belus) into the plain of Sennaar, from the which place men departing, by reaſon of the confuſion of tongues, began to ſeuer themſelues abroad to people the reſt of the world.

Alexander Polyhiſtor Abidenus.

Sybilla. Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 4. de præpar.

Here it pleaſeth Iulian to fall to ſcoffing. For (ſaith he) a great ſort of

ſuch Globes as the whole earth is, beeing heaped one vpon another, were not able to reach halfe way to the Sphere of the Moone. But the reaſon of this enterpriſe of theirs is euident, namely, that their intent was to haue had a refuge againſt the height of the waters, if any flud ſhould come again, that is to ſay, to make a bank againſt Gods wrath, which it had bin better for them to haue pacified by prayer. And this pride of theirs is not to bee thought ſo ſtrange a matter, conſidering how we read in the hiſtories of the Greekes, that one Xerxes ſent letters of defiance to the Sea: and in the Hiſtories of the Romanes, that one Caligula vndertook a quarrell againſt Iupiter. And Iulian himſelf was not a whit wiſer, when hee would needes take vpon him to impeach the Kingdome of God, by prohibiting the Chriſtians to reade Poets. And whereas Celſus will needs beare himſelfe on hand, that the ſaid Hiſtory was taken out of the fable of the Aloides: all men know that Homer was the firſt Author of that fable, who came a long time after Moſes. And in good ſooth, theſe particularities of the confounding of Tongues, of the diſperſing of men abroad, of the place where it befell, of the naming of Phaleg who was borne at the very time of the diuiſion, and ſuch other circumſtances; do euidently ſhew that Moſes ſpeaketh not at rouers: whereof there is alſo this further proofe, that the originals of Nations according to the diuiding of houſholds at that time, are not read of in any other Author.

As vaine alſo is this ſaying of theirs, that the burning by of Sodom is taken from the tale of Phaeton, which is indeed as farre from it as Heauen is from the Earth. For euen at this day there are yet ſtil to be ſeen the remainders of Gods wrath, noted by Strabo, Galen, Mela, and others: namely, the bitter Lake wherein nothing can liue; the banks thereof lined with Bitumen: the ſtones ſtinking and filthy, the Trees bearing fruites faire to the eye, but falling to Cinder and ſmoke in the hand; which things we read not of to haue bin ſeene any where elſe, and yet in a valley moſt beautifull to behold, where ſtood at that time fiue Cities, or according to Strabo thirteene, which were all conſumed with fire for ſinne againſt nature. And Ioſephus ſaith, that the Image or Pillar of Salt whereinto Lots wife was turned, was to be ſeene there euen in his dayes. Theſe are the greateſt wonders of the booke of Geneſis. The reſidue thereof conſiſteth in the Hiſtory of Abraham and of his children. As for the Princes of thoſe dayes, we haue neither Pedegree nor hiſtory of them among the Heathen writers: and therefore it is the more to be wondred at, that they haue ſpoken of our Shepheards.

Sodom. Galen in his bookes of Simples.

For

For Beroſus ſaith, that about a ten generations or deſcents from the vniuerſall flood, there was among the Chaldees, a great man that excelled in Aſtronomy. And that by him, Beroſus meant to betoken Abraham, Eupolemon declareth; for he ſaith, that in the ſaid tenth generation, Abraham was borne in Camerine, a town of Babylonie, otherwiſe called Vr, or Caldeopole; who inuented Aſtronomie among the Chaldees, and was in the fauour of God, by whoſe commandement he remoued into Phenice, where he taught the courſe of the Mone, of the Sun, & of the Planets, whereby he greatly pleaſed the king: notwithſtanding that he ſaith, he had receiued it from hand to hand frõ Enoch, whom the Greekes (ſaith he) called Atlas, vnto whom the Angels had taught many things. Alſo he rehearſeth the battell that was made by Abraham for the recouery of Lot, the entertainment of Melchiſedeck, the ouerthwarts that Abraham indured for Sara his wife in Ægypt, & the plague that God did caſt vpon Pharao to make him deliuer her to Abraham againe. And Artabanus in his ſtory of the Iewes, reporteth almoſt the ſelfeſame things; adding, that of Abraham the Iewes were called Hebrews, wherin the nearneſſe of the names deceiued him. Melon in his bwks againſt the Iewes, wrot that Abraham had two wiues, and that by the one of them, which was an Ægyptian, he had 12. children, among whom Araby was parted, which euen in his time had 12 Kings ſtill: (thoſe were the 12. ſons of Iſmael the ſon of Abraham, by Hagar the Ægyptian, which are ſet downe by name in Geneſis.) And that by the other (which was a woman of the Country of Syria) he had but onely one ſon, named Iſaac, who likewiſe had twelue ſonnes, of whom the yongeſt was called Ioſeph, of whom Moſes (ſaith hee) deſcended. Alſo Alexander ſetteth forth Abrahams Sacrifice at length, and the children that he had by Chetura. And in his hiſtory hee alleageth one Cleodemus a Prophet, otherwiſe called Malchas, whom hee affirmeth to agree with Moſes in the hiſtorie of the Iewes. Again, Hecataeus the Abderite hauing bẽn in Iewry, did purpoſely make a book of Abrahams life, which thing he had not of his owne maſter, King Alexander. To be ſhort, that which Orpheus ſaith of a certain Chaldee, vnto whom onely God manifeſted himſelfe, ſeemeth to bee ſpoken of Abraham. For he had been conuerſant in Ægypt, where the renowme of Abraham was ſo great, that euen in their coniurings they made expreſſe mention of the God whom Abraham had worſhipped. The ſame Alexander writeth the fleeing of Iacob for feare of his brother Eſau; his abode in Meſopotamia; his ſeuen yeeres ſeruice; his marrying with two ſiſters; the number of his children; the rauiſhing of Dina;

Euſeb. lib. 9. de præpar. cap. 4. Eupolemus in his booke of the Iewes.

Abraham & his race.

Artabanus in his Hiſtory of the Iewes.

Melon againſt the Iewes.

Dina; the ſlaughter of Sichem; and likewiſe the ſelling of Ioſeph; his impriſonment, his deliuerance for expounding of dreames, his authority in Ægypt, his marrying with Askeneth the daughter of Pethefer the high Prieſt; his two ſonnes by name which were borne of her; the comming of his brothers into Ægypt; the feaſt that he made them; the fiue parts he gaue to Beniamin (whereof this Hiſtoriographer intendeth to yeeld a reaſon) the comming of Iacob, and of his whole houſhold into Ægypt, of what age euery of them was, and how many children euery of them had. And ſo he bringeth vs downe from Noah to the flood, from the Flood to Abraham, from Abraham to Leuie, & from Leuie to Moſes; howbeit euer among with faults in reporting the things done, with differences in accounting the yeers, and with ſome additions of ſmall importance here and there: which ſerue to ſhew that he had not thoſe Hiſtories immediately out the Bible, but out of ſome other bookes which he had ſeene elſewhere. The ſelfeſame things did Theodotus conuey into his Poetry: and likewiſe Philo Biblius, Nicholas of Damaſco, Ariſtæus, and others. Of whom this latter made a peculiar deſcription of the ſtory of Iob, how hee was tempted as well by the diuell as by his neighbours; affirming him to haue beene the ſonne of Eſau, dwelling in the marches betweene Idumea and Araby, which thing he could not haue read in the Scripture. To be ſhort, the places which beare the name of Abraham both in Damaſco, in Chaldee, and in the land of Chanaan; and of Ioſeph in Ægypt, together with the Well of wonderfull antiquity neere to Aſcalon, do giue vs aſſurance both of their aboad in Paleſtine, and of their remouing into Ægypt. And Manethon the Hiſtoriographer of Ægypt ſetteth vs downe their Originall, and their comming downe into Ægypt, terming them in his language Shepherdkings, which was, becauſe, that as wee reade in the Scriptures, their wealth conſiſted in Cattell. But of all theſe ancient Writers wee haue but fragments, ſuch as we could gather together out of the ancient Authors.

Now let vs come to Moſes. Alexander ſaith, that he was the ſonne of Amram, the ſonne of Elat, the ſonne of Leuie, the ſonne of Iacob, and ſo forth: that is to ſay, a naturall Iſraelite, and not an Egyptian. But let vs heare Arrabanus concerning his firſt comming vp, and the diſcourſe of his whole life. He ſaith, that Meris, the ſonne of Kenephris, King of Egypt, being vnable to haue children, adopted a childe of the Iewes, called Moſes, and inſtructed him in the Lawes; who afterward gaue letters to the Egyptians, and was reputed of them as a God, and named

Arrabanus concerning the Iewes.

named Mercury: That Kenephris being enuious of his reputatiõ, ſent him into the warres againſt the Ethyopians, with an army of Iewes vntrained, to the intent that both he and they might haue periſhed together: And that Moſes demeaned himſelfe ſo wiſely, that the Ethyopians being ouercome, had him in ſuch eſtimation, that they receiued circumciſion of him: That at his returne, great countenance was made vnto him, howbeit that he perceiuing it to be done vpon an euill mind, withdrew himſelfe into Arabie, where he married the daughter of Raguel, a king of that Country: In the which meane time, the king of Egypt that had oppreſſed the Iewes with ſo many toyles, and (to the intent he might the more ſafely kil them) had appointed them a certain Liuery; died very ſuddenly of a Leproſie. Theſe things are not reported by Moſes; for he wrot not any thing to the aduancement of himſelf, but treated altogether of Gods victories, and not of his owne. But in the ſelfeſame author there followeth the calling of Moſes. This Moſes (ſaith he) was occupied in continual prayer to God for the deliuerance of the people: And one day as he was earneſt in praying, there iſſued a fire out of the earth, where was not any fit matter to burn, and a voyce told him, that hee ſhould deliuer the Iewes, and bring them into their country. Whereupon, without raiſing of any force, he, by the counſel of his wiues father, declared the will of God to the King, who by and by committed him to priſon. But the priſon dores were opened vnto him by miracle, and he went to the Kings bed ſide, and ſummoned him again to obey God. And when the King had asked him the name of the God, Moſes told it him in his eare, whereat he fell into a ſwoune, but Moſes raiſed him vp again by the hand, & the Prieſts that made a ſcoffe at it, dyed out hand. Hee declareth afterward, that the King required ſignes, and that Moſes turned his ſtaffe into a Serpent: That hee ſmote the riuer of Nyle, & made it to ouerflow: that he ſtrake it again, and it returned within his bankes: that thereupon the Prieſts of Memphis were commanded to do the like matter vpon paine of their life, and that they by Art Magicke brought forth a Dragon, and changed the colour of the riuer: by meanes whereof the King became ſo proud, that he hardened his heart againſt the Iewes: That then Moſes ſmote the earth with his rod, and the earth brought forth firſt venemous Flies, next Frogs, then Graſhoppers, and afterward other ſtrange things: Whereupon (ſaith this Hiſtoriographer) there hath growne a cuſtome of keeping and reuerencing a rod in their Temples euer ſince, becauſe they hold opinion, that Iſis the Earth, which being ſtricken with that rod, brought forth thoſe things. In the end there was (ſaith

(ſaith he) ſuch an earthquake ouer all Ægypt, that the King determined to let that people go. But in this poynt the Prieſts diſagree. For the Prieſts of *Memphis* ſay, that *Moſes* marking the tyde, paſſed the Sea at a low water. But the Prieſts of *Heliople* ſay, that the Kings intent was to purſue the Iſraelites, to recouer the Iewels which they carried away with them out of Ægypt: and that *Moſes*, being warned of God, ſtrake the ſea, which gaue place to him and all his people; and that the Ægyptians were partly deſtroyed with thunder and lightning, and partly drowned in the ſame waters. When they were paſſed the ſea, they liued thirty yeeres in the wilderneſſe, and were fed with a certaine Snow, which God did raine downe vpon them from Heauen. And this *Moſes* was a man of a tall ſtature, browne, with long haire on his head, and a long beard, and a countenance full of maieſty; and when hee did all this worke of his, he was foureſcore and nine yeeres old. Wee read of the ſame things written by Demetrius, and Eupolemus, Greeke Hiſtoriographers, who doe adde many particularities moe: and Manethon nameth the King Terhmoſis, vnder whom theſe things were done. Alſo Numenius the Pythagoriſt ſaith, that hee had read the life of Moſes in Hiſtories worthy of credit: and hee rehearſeth how hee was taken out of the water, how he was brought vp in the Court, and that afore he was circumciſed, he was called Ieholachim, howbeit that by report of ſuch as profeſſed the knowledge of myſteries, he had a ſecret name in heauen, to wit Melchi; that he wrought great miracles before the King of Ægypt, and that certaine Magicians called Iannes and Iambres would haue done the like: which are things that are not ſet downe in our Scriptures, but muſt needs be had of them out of the holy Regiſters of Ægypt. And in very déed, in the coniurations of the Ægyptians, they vſed theſe words to the Diuels. The God of Iſrael, the God of the Hebrewes, the God that drowned the Ægyptians with their King, in the red Sea. Which ſheweth euidently, that the matter was commonly knowne, and out of all doubt. And I remember not any Author that denieth Moſes to haue conueyed the people of Iſrael out of Ægypt with great miracles. For ſoothly, it had béen a miracle of all miracles, to haue made them to ſuffer ſo many aduerſities without miracles. But yet ſome Authors haue attributed thoſe miracles to Magicke, and otherſome to naturall reaſons.

Secundum Apyllas.

Origen againſt Celſus. l. 2

There is (ſaith Plinie) a kinde of Magicke which dependeth vpon Moſes, and the Cabale; but yet had Magicke neuer ſo great ſcope, (ſaith he) as vnder Nero, neither was it euer found to be more fable and vaine. And in truth, what likeneſſe is there betwéen the Illuſions of

Moſes his miracles.

of a Magician, which vaniſh away in the twinckling of an eye, and the leading of a mighty great Nation through the Sea, and (which more is) the maintaining of them from hunger and thirſt ſo long a time? But yet hath the Scripture prouided againſt this ſlander. For no law elſe in the world doth ſo expreſſly forbid Magicke, as doth the law of Moſes: and the Cabale whereof Plinie had heard ſpeake, is further off from ſuch doings, than either Arithmeticke or Grammar. And whereas others do report, that Moſes marked the ebbing of the water, that he might paſſe the red Sea: ſurely they make the counſell of the Ægyptians very groſſe witted, in caſting themſelues away ſo raſhly. Nay, I ſay further, that if it had been ſo, the waters that drowned the one people, would not haue ſpared the other. But euery man knowes that the gulfe of Araby is not ſubiect to ſuch tydes as thoſe are: and though it were, yet cannot the like caſuall take place in all the reſidue of the miracles that are attributed vnto him. As vnmeet alſo to be admitted is the ſlander of Iuſtine the Hiſtoriographer, and others, that Moſes was driuen out of Ægypt, becauſe he was a Leper, and that he carried all the Lepers of the Realme away with him. For it is a cléere caſe by record of all ancient writers, that the people whom he caried away, was a ſtranger in Ægypt: and when he himſelfe rehearſeth openly the benefites which that people had receiued at Gods hand, You know (ſaith he) that there hath not beene any ſickneſſe or diſeaſe among you, ſince the time you came out of Ægypt. And on the contrary part, he menaceth them with Plagues, Byles and Botches of Ægypt, if they offended God. Inſomuch, that whereas in any other ancient lawes there is no mention made of any order for them that are infected with the Leproſie: in this law (as though God had meant to preuent that ſlander) they bee ſeparated from the company of men, their clothes are to be layd away, their houſes to be ſcraped, and certain other things are to be done, which is a ſufficient proof, that thoſe which gouerned that people, and had authority ouer them, were no Lepers.

In ſtead of Cabala, Pliny hath Iocabela.

This people went out of Ægypt, and the Scripture ſaith, that they were ſixe hundred thouſand men on foot, beſides women and children. Here againe they cry out: They were but threeſcore and ten when they went into Ægypt, and how then is it poſſible that they ſhould be ſo many at their going out? I will not alledge any miraculouſneſſe, though the Scriptures declare, that that people increaſed very greatly, inſomuch that it termeth them by the word Frye, as though it ſpake of Fiſhes. But I beſéech them to make ſomewhat a nearer reckoning,

Exod. 12. The number of the children of Iſrael,

koning, not with the largeſt, but after the ordinary manner, what number might riſe of threeſcore and tenne perſons in foure hundred yeeres, or thereabouts, which was the time that they were in Ægypt, and they ſhall finde their full number afore they come to two hundred and fiftie yéeres.

After the ſame manner do we ſee that threeſcore houſholders of Arabians paſſing into Affrica in the time of the diuiſion vnder Calis, had peopled it throughout in leſſe than three hundred yeeres: inſomuch that euen at this day, the Prouinces beare the names of Beni Megher, Beni Gauriten, Beni Fenſecar, and ſo forth; that is to ſay, the children of Megher, of Gauriten, and of Fenſecar. And there was not the Family which peopled not ſome one Shire or other. Alſo, the Weſt Indies, which haue not béen known vnto vs aboue one hundred yéres, will within one hundred moe, bee peopled with Spaniards. To bee ſhort, Viues ſaith, he ſaw an honeſt man in Spaine, which had peopled a Village of a hundred houſes, with the iſſue of his owne body, ſo as the names of kindred failed. And this preſent yeere there died a noble Lady in Germanie, which had ſeene a hundred and threeſcore children borne of her ſelfe and hers; and yet the one halfe of her children dyed afore they were married: and thoſe that are married are of age to haue many moe. Their ſaying therefore bewraieth a manifeſt ignorance, like as theirs doth, who being ignorant of progreſſion in Arithmetick, will eaſily bargaine for a horſe, or ſome other thing, to giue euery day double for it, during a whole moneth, beginning with a penny: who by that time that they come but to the middeſt of the moneth, begin to perceiue that which no reaſon could haue beaten into their heads afore: namely, that all the goods they haue, are not able to ſerue the turne.

Ioſua. After Moſes ſucceeded Ioſua, who brought the people into the promiſed Land, ſo as the Canaanites did partly flee before him, and partly were made tributaries vnto him. He that ſhall read the voiage of this people from iourney to iourney, and conſider the bounds and coaſts of their portions, will by & by iudge the truth of the ſtory. But yet Procopius in his ſtory of the Vandales, leaueth vs a notable mark thereof in theſe words: All the Countrey (ſaith he) which lieth from Sidon to Ægypt, was in old time called Phenice; and they that wrot the Hiſtory of the Phenicians, report, that in old time it was all vnder one onely King. In theſe coaſts dwelt the Gergeſites, Iebuſites, and other Nations: who at ſuch time as they ſaw the great armie of Ioſua comming toward them, remoued into Ægypt. But within a while after, becauſe that

Procopius in his ſecond booke of the warres of the Vandales.

that Country could not beare them, they paſſed into *Africk*, where they builded many Cities, and peopled the whole Country euen to the Pillars of *Hercules*, and their Language is halfe *Phenician*.

Alſo in *Numidi* (among other Cities) they builded *Tinget*, the ſeate whereof is very ſtrong, where are two Pillers of white ſtone to be ſeene neere vnto a great Fountaine, wherein are grauen theſe words in the *Phenician* tongue: We be thoſe that fled from the Robber *Ioſua* the ſonne of *Nun*: Such (ſaith he) is the Originall of thoſe Nations: whom we call at this day *Mauruſians*. And Eupolemus ſaith, that Ioſua prophecied a hundred and ten yeeres, and placed the Tabernacle in Silo. From thence he leaped to Samuel, and from Samuel to Saul, whome hee affirmeth to haue béene anointed at Gods commandement, and ſo to Dauid, whom (taking the one for the other) he calleth the ſonne of Cis. Saul. Dauid.

But betweene Ioſua and Saul, we haue the time of the Iudges, in the ſtorie of whom ſome haue marked, that the mighty deedes of Hercules are fained out of the doings of Sampſon, and the bow of Agamemnon out of the bow of Iephtha. Dauid (ſaith the ſame Author) ſubdued the Ammonits, Moabits, Itureans, Nabatheans, & other nations that extend vnto the Riuer Euphrates, and made the King of Tyre & the Phenicians tributary to him. Afterward an Angel called Nathan, ſhewed him the place where the Temple ſhould be builded, for the which he prepared workemen and rigged forth Ships at the citie Melan in Arabie, and ſent them to an Ile of the red ſea called Vrphen, from whence he fetched great quantitie of Gold, Copper, Cedarwood and ſuch other things. Notwithſtanding (ſaith he) the Angell would not that he ſhould build the Temple, becauſe he had béen ſtayned with bloud in the Warres, and ſo that worke was reſerued to Salomon his Sonne, who came to the Crowne at the age of twelue yeers. And of how great riches Dauid was, it may appeare by his Tombe, wherin after the cuſtome of thoſe times, he did lay vp great treaſures. For about an eight hundred yeeres after, Hircanus being aſſailed by Antiochus the godly, took 3000. Talents out of one vault to content him withall. And within a while after, Herod opened another vault and found as much there. What notable things read we of Salomon? First his building of the Temple, which is deſcribed (ſaith Ioſephus) as well in the Chronicles of the Tyrians, the competitors of the Iewes, as in ours. And in their Treaſury are kept the Letters of Salomon to Hiram King of Tyre, and Hirams lettars vnto him; which make mention of the great number of Carpenters that Hiram ſent vnto him: of the

The ſcripture of the Prophet. Ioſephus lib. Anti. 15. cap. 16. & lib. 16. c. 11. & of the Iewiſh wars, lib 5 cap. 12. Salomon. Ioſephus in his antiquities. lib. 8. cap 2. Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 4.

the order that Salomon took for the finding of them by impoſts, & of the Contribution that euery Prouince made to that end; which things are reported at length by Eupolemus alſo, and likewiſe by Alexander Poliſtor, Hecatæus the Abderite, Dius a Phenician, and diuers others, yea, and that ſo particularly, and with ſuch care, as that there is not that meaſure, veſſell, toole, or inſtrument of the Temple which they haue not noted: which thing we read not, that they haue done in behalfe of any of their owne Temples. Yea, and the Tyrians doe note the very yeere, and the day thereof in their Chronicles: that is to wit, that it was an hundred forty and three yeeres, and eight moneths afore their building of Carthage. Secondly, the Scripture maketh great commendations of Salomons wiſdome; inſomuch that the Queene of Saba came from a farre to ſee him. And we read in Plutark, that it was a cuſtome among the Kings of old time, to put queſtions one to another, to try the abilitie of their wits, and that a certaine prize was appointed for him that wonne the victory. And Dius, an Hiſtoriographer of the Phenicians, rehearſeth the riddles and queſtions that Salomon ſent to king Hiram, ſaying, that it coſt Hiram very much, becauſe he was not able to anſwere them, vntill at length hee found a yong man of Tyrus, named Abdemon, who deciphered vnto him the moſt part of them. As touching the Queene of Saba, who came from the Ile of Meroe to ſee Salomon, the Chronicles of Ethiope report, that her name was Mackeda, and that ſhe had a ſonne by Salomon, which was firſt named Meilith, and afterward Dauid, whom ſhee made her heire of that great Empire which wee now-a-dayes doe call Preſter Iohns Land. Likewiſe, it reporteth, that ſhe carried with her twelue thouſand Iewes, of euery Tribe a thouſand. And becauſe the nobleſt men of that Country do vaunt themſelues to be of the bloud of Iſrael; although they haue receiued the Goſpell, yet doe they retaine circumciſion; not that they thinke it neceſſary to ſaluation (ſay they) but to keepe ſtill the prerogatiue of their bloud.

Plutark in his ſeaſt of ſeuen Sages.

Ioſephus lib.8. cap.2

The hiſtory of Ethiope. Mackeda.

What remaineth yet further? The ſailing of Salomons ſhips, which laſted three yeeres: and that ſeemeth vnto them incredible. And ſo by that rule, let vs alwayes be at this poynt, neuer by our good wils, to beleeue that which wee vnderſtand not. But who is he at this day, whom the Spaniards and Portingals haue not perſwaded that? Specially the Portingals, which are a yeare and eight moneths a making their voyage, notwithſtanding that they haue both the vſe of the compaſſe, and better knowledge of the Seas, and more certaine Harboroughs, and a ſhorter cut. And ſurely it is not to be paſſe ouer lightly, that

that the gold that was brought home by the ſaid Nauigations, is called in Hebrew in the duall number Paruaim, as if a man would ſay, brought from the Perous, or from the Indies, as well the Eaſt Indies as the Weſt Indies, as a certaine learned man of our time hath noted. So is the wood Brazill called by the name of the Countrey of Braſill, from whence it is brought: and Machoachan the drug, by the name of Machoachan the Countrey, and ſo forth of other things. For as touching the Nauigation to the Indies, by the red Sea, it was ouer common, both to imploy ſo much time about it, and alſo to make ſo great a matter of it.

2.Chro.3.

Gilbert Genebrar. in his Chronologie.

In the hiſtories of the Kings following, the chiefe things that are to be marked, are the three remouings away of the ten Tribes of Iſrael, the firſt vnder Phacea the ſon of Romelia, and Oſeas King of Iſrael, by Tiglath Phalaſſar, and Salmanaſar King of the Aſſyrians. The maner whereof was, that the Iſraelites were carried away into farre countries, (ſpecially the beſt ſort of them) and other Nations were placed there in their ſtead. For the Iſraelites were conueyed thence into Media, and receiued the vninhabited Countries to dwell in, and of them came partly the Cholchians, who in ỹ time of Herodotus cauſed themſelues to be circumciſed; and partly the Tartarians, who about the yeere of our Lord 1200. ouerwhelmed the earth like a water-floud, vnder the leading of Cingi, and afterward did ſet vp the Empire of great Cham. And in very deed, they were circumciſed afore euer they heard of Mahomet: and they yelded willingly to goe to his law, ſo much the rather, becauſe it ſeemed to hold of theirs. And the word Tartars, or Totars, ſignifieth Remnants, or Leauings, in the Syrian tongue. Verily euen among the Hoords of the Tartars, in the furtheſt part Northward, there are which haue retained ſtill the names of Dan, Zabulon, and Nepthali: and therfore it is not to be wondred at, that there be ſo many Iewes in Ruſſie, Sarmatia, and Lituania, and ſo the nerer to the Tartarians, ſtill the moe. The ſame hath no leſſe likelihood of truth, concerning the Turkes. For the word Turke in Hebrew, ſignifieth baniſhed men, and is taken in way of reproach. And it is very likely, that Mahomet, to eſchew the offending of ſo many great Nations, which at that time began to awake, held ſtil circumciſion, and the cleanſings, and the ceremonies of Moſes law.

2.King.17. 4.Eſdr. 13.

Herodotus lib.2.

As touching the remouing away to Babylon, which was peculiarly of the Tribe of Iuda: Alexander Polyhiſtor ſaith expreſſly, that in the time of Ioachim, King of Iuda, Ieremy was ſent vnto them from God, to foretell them of extreme calamity, becauſe they worſhipped

an Idoll called Baal; Ioachim commanded him to be burned quicke; and that Ieremie ſaid further, That the King of Aſſyria ſhould make them labour to digge a Channell to ſaile out of Euphrates into Tygris: and that vpon that hope, Nabuchodonozor putting himſelfe in Armes, with all his power, ſpoyled Samaria, toke Ieruſalem, and led away Ioachim priſoner. The ſame thing is witneſſed by Diocles, and likewiſe namely by Beroſus the Chaldean, who ſaith, that the ſaid captiuity indured threeſcore yeeres and tenne. Alpheus addeth, that Megaſthenes, an ancient Author, writeth, that Nabuchodonozor at his returne home, was ſtricken with madneſſe, and dyed crying inceſſantly to the Babylonians, that a great miſchiefe was neere them, which all the power of their gods could not ſtay. For (ſaith hee) a Halfe-aſſe of Perſia ſhall come and make vs his thralles. The man that he ſpake of, was Cyrus; who (as Alexander Polyhiſtor, and Hecataeus the Abderite doe witneſſe) builded vp the Temple of Ieruſalem againe.

The Deliuerance by Cyrus.

Ioſephus in his Antiquity lib. 8. cap. 4.

As concerning Seſakes voyage againſt Roboam, Herodotus ſpeaketh euidently enough, albeit that hee name him not, declaring that hee crept vpon his belly to Ægypt, Syria, and Paleſtine. And the ſtorie of Senacherib is there vnder that ſelfeſame name, and how hee was ſlaine at his comming home, and that an Image was ſet vp vnto him with this Inſcription: Learne by mee to feare God, for a memoriall of Gods iudgement againſt him. Moreouer, Menander, an Epheſian, made mention in his Tyrian Hiſtorie, of the great Drought that was in the time of Achab, and of the aboundance of raine that was obtained by the prayers of Helias: after the imitation whereof, the Greekes fained the like of Æacus. And Ioſephus witneſſeth, that he had read the ſtory of Ionas in many Commentaries; the which is rife in remembrance yet ſtill among the Arabians of Affrick. And as touching the greatneſſe of Niniuie, it is deſcribed fully alike in Diodorus.

1. King. 14. Herodotus li. 2.

2. King. 18.

Diodorus lib. 3.

The token that God gaue to Ezechias by making the Sun to retire backe certaine degrees, was regiſtred in the Chronicles of the Babylonians, and of the wiſe men of Perſia; the which token (ſome ſay, and not without ſome ground) was giuen ſo vnto him, becauſe he delighted in Aſtronomy, and had reformed the Hebrew Kalender. But many ancient bookes are loſt, which might tell vs much more of theſe matters. Neuertheleſſe, I would faine haue theſe controllers of our Scriptures, to tell me, if they haue any Hiſtorie among the Heathen, that hath no witneſſes of the trueneſſe thereof, than the hiſtorie of the Iewes.

Eſay 38. Demis in his Hierarchie.

Iewes. And whether any, euen of the greateſt Empires of the world, be ſo confirmed by the Hiſtories of friends, as the Hiſtory of that little Nation is confirmed by his enemies.

And whereas they obiect, that we ſée no ſuch miracles in our daies: I will proue vnto them in another place, that the like haue béene ſeene ſince, which haue proceeded from the ſame power. But it is enough for me at this time to put them in remembrance, that if true miracles had not beene wrought in the World, wee ſhould not haue had ſo many falſe miracles among the Heathen. Nay, I ſay more, we ſhould not haue ſo much as the very name of Oracle, which could not haue beene giuen at the firſt, but to things that exceed the ability of man; yea, and of all other Creatures, as things rightly worthy of that name.

Obiections cõcerning Abſurdities.

Now remaine the Abſurdities which they will needs find, becauſe they vnderſtand not the reaſon. That law of yours (ſay they) ſtands talking of Beaſts, of Paſtures, of Oxen that toſſe with their hornes, & of ſuch other things. Theſe are two baſe things for the word that proceedeth from God. Why ſay they not likewiſe, that they were two baſe things for God to create? And wherefore are lawes made, but for the benefit of man? And although they might ſéeme vile in reſpect of God, can they deny them to haue béene profitable in reſpect of men, at that time when men for the moſt part liued by grazing? But of theſe nice fellowes I would know what the Lawes of Plato were, and what the Lawes of ẏ twelue Tables were, at ſuch times as the Romanes were Tilmen and Graziers? or what the lawes of Venice were, when they were but Fiſhers? Yet doe we reuerence thoſe Lawes for their antiquitie: inſomuch that if we finde but ſome old fragment of them, wee thinke we haue a Iewell: and the Emperours of Rome being in their chiefe glory, raced not out of their Digeſts the Lawes that beginne thus: If Cattell: nor the Venetians their Statutes of Fiſhing: nor the Frenchmen their ordinances of Hunting and Hawking; which might in many Countries ſéeme matters to be laughed at in our dayes: and yet there were euen then, which caried them into other Countries, as neceſſary to appeaſe ſtrifes in their due time and place. To bee ſhort, as long as Rome was champian ground, it made Lawes againſt the harmes of Cattell. But when it fell once to building, it made lawes for Gutters, Channels, and Sinkes. When it beganne to ſeeke the ruine of other men, it made Lawes of Battell, of Warfare, and of the ſacking of Cities. And when it liſted to deſtroy it ſelfe, it made lawes of Rebellions, Proſcriptions, and Banithments. All the which were

alike behoofefull and neceſſary in their times: and the firſt Lawmakers were no leſſe honoured than the latter: howbeit that the ſtate of the Common-weale was worſe, and more corrupted in the latter time, than in the other; becauſe, that whereas in the former times it had to doe but with the repreſſing of Beaſtes, in the latter times it had to deale with the bridling of Men worſe than wilde Beaſtes; or to ſpeake more truely, men that were become wood beaſtes themſelues.

They adde, God (ſay you) created all things: and yet notwithſtanding, Moſes denounceth ſome beaſts to bee cleane, and ſome vncleane. Whereto may theſe bee good? They ought to conſider, that oftentimes the things which of themſelues are cleane, become vncleane by the abuſe of them, like as the thing that is good and wholeſome by nature, becommeth euill and vnwholeſome by exceſſe or ſurfeiting. And in that reſpect hath Wine béene prohibited among many people, and there are few which haue not abhorred ſome beaſtes or others; after which manner we ſee that at Rome, ſuch as had murthered their fathers, or their mothers, were put into a Sacke with an Ape, a Cocke, and a Viper, and caſt into the water; a thing whereof it were vneaſie to yéeld a reaſon. But the ſayd law of Moſes, not being vnprofitable, nor tending any higher than this preſent life, did not without cauſe put a difference betwéene brute things. For if we looke wel to it, it denounceth all thoſe brute things vncleane, whereby the Ægyptians made their diuinations, or took their foretokens, as the Wolfe, the Fox, the Dragon, the Hare, the Sparhawke, the Kite, and ſo forth. And that was to make the people of Iſrael to abhorre the vanities and abominations of Ægypt; like as if a man would keepe his children from fire, he would prohibit them euen the chimney. And becauſe thoſe abuſes were knowne among them, the end and aiming poynt of that Law was, the redreſſe of them. And therefore vpon this point, I deſire our deſpiſers to ſuſpend their iudgement in the things they vnderſtand not. For as in that time no fault was found with this difference in the Law of Moſes, ſo ſhould no fault be found with many others at this day, if we could ſet before vs the ſame time againe. I omit concerning the things that liued vpon prey, that ouer and beſides that men took foretokens at them, they had this doctrine in them without much ſtepping aſide from the letter, that men ſhould not take away one anothers goods. And as touching the Swine, it is well knowne, that for the inuention of Tillage which he ſhewed to the Ægyptians, by rooting vp the ground with his groyne, they worſhipped

Origen againſt Celſus, lib. 4.

ped him as a God, in conſideration whereof he was declared to be abhominable: beſides the which thing, there appeared this euident allegory, that men ſhould not bemire themſelues in the dirt and dung of this world.

As for the Sacrifices, I haue touched them heretofore, and will treat of them more at large hereafter, foraſmuch as they did put men hourely in remembrance of death due for ſinne, and of the neceſſity of a ſacrifice to cleanſe away the ſame, namely, of the ſacrifice of Ieſus Chriſt then to come, which ſhould ſerue for the cleanſing of all mankinde. But admit that God, to bring vs to obedience, had liſted to giue vs Lawes whereof we could not conceiue the reaſon: What is it more than many Princes and Lawmakers haue done, as Plutark ſaith? Or than we our ſelues do to our children and ſeruants? And yet who will thinke it meet that they ſhould aſke vs a reaſon why we do ſo? Surely I deſire no more, but that they which come to our Scriptures, ſhould yéeld at leaſtwiſe the like regard that they yéeld to Homer, or Virgil. If they find in them any darke ſentences; they ſay, they will marke them with croſſes, and leaue them to Grammarians to martyr themſelues withall. Therefore let them not thinke it ſtrange, that God hath left ſuch things in his Scriptures, to humble the mindes of Diuines withall. If in the Poet they méet with Soleciſmes, that is to ſay, incongruities of ſpéech; by & by they be elegancies, or figures. Let them conſider in the Scriptures alſo, that the thing which they thinke doth diſagree at the firſt ſight, will be found very fit of him that vnderſtandeth the figure. To bee ſhort, if a Poet haue ſpoken a word that ſeemeth needleſſe, or without reaſon; the Scholemaſter turneth it into all ſences, to finde ſome ſence in it: the Scholler is out of patience if his Maſter find none: and the Scholler will rather finde fault with his Maſter, and the Maſter with his owne ignorance, than confeſſe any imperfection or ouerſight in the Poet. Now then, if in theſe bookes, confirmed with ſo many miracles, and proceeding from ſo great authority, we méet with things, which to our fleſhly wit, ſeems vnprofitable, or abſurd; it were good reaſon that we ſhould be ỳ more diligent and héedfull in ſearching them, and in turning them into all ſences. And if in the end of all this, we finde not wherewith to ſatisfie vs, let the hearer confeſſe his dulneſſe of vnderſtanding, and the teacher acknowledge his owne ignorance; and let vs pray God to vouchſafe to inlighten vs with his Spirit.

Now, I think I haue ſufficiently ſhewed, by the antiquity, the ſtile and the matter, by the end alſo, & by the particularities of our Scriptures;

tures, that they be of God, and that they cannot proceede from any other than him. By antiquity; for they be the first of all writings, and God hath been reuealed in them euer ſince there were any men. By their ſtile; for they inſtruct the lowly, and pull downe the high-minded, ſpeaking with like authority to all men. By their matter: for their onely treating is of Gods doings, and of his communicating of himſelfe to men. By the marke whereat they aime: for they tend not to any other thing than Gods glory and mans welfare. And by their ſingularneſſe: for there are things without number, which cannot be tryed in the minde either of Man or Angel. The abſurdneſſe which we ſuppoſe to be there, is but a ſeeming ſo to our ignorance: and the impoſſibility which to our ſéeming is in them, is but in compariſon of our diſability. The truth of them is witneſſed vnto vs in Hiſtories, at leaſtwiſe if the caſe ſo ſtand, that Gods word haue néed of mans record. He that is the childe of God, knoweth his fathers voyce: but yet it may be, that for the better confirmation of him, my writing hereof ſhall not be in vaine. Whoſo refuſeth that, no man can perſwade him thereto: but yet ſhall this ſerue to conuict him; and (by Gods helpe) a great ſort which as yet haue had their eares ſo dulled with the noyſe of this world, that they haue hitherto but ouerheard it, ſhall hereafter incline both their eares and their hearts thereunto. Now I beſeech the Almighty, who ſpake the word, and the world was made, to ſpeak effectually in our dayes, and that the world may beléeue him. And becauſe the marke that beliefe ſhots at, is the welfare of man: let vs ſée what welfare we find in this word: which is our third marke of Religion, and ſhall be the matter of the chapter next following.

Chap. XXVII.

That the meane ordained of God for the welfare of mankinde, hath been reuealed alwayes to the people of Iſrael; which is the third marke of Religion.

NOw remaineth the third marke of true Religion to bee examined: which is, that it teach the true and onely way ordained of God for the ſaluation and recouery of mankinde; without the which (as I haue ſhewed already) all Religion is vnauaileable and vaine. Howbeit foraſmuch as this Doctrine importeth the welfare of the world, and I haue inter-

interlaced many things by the way, which may dim the remembrance thereof: let vs here call againe to minde how needfull this marke is in religion. And ſothly, it will be one further marke of the Heauenlineſſe of our Scriptures, if we finde that they teach vs the neceſſity of that onely meane, and alſo direct vs to it from the beginning forth on from time to time. We haue read in the booke of Nature, that Man is immortall: That his happineſſe is not here beneath, but in the endleſſe life: That the bleſſednes of that endleſſe life, is to enioy God aboue: and, That the meane to attaine thereto, is to ſerue and honour him here beneath with all our heart. But the ſame booke hath taught vs alſo, that by ſinne wee bee faine from our Originall: That we be faine from Gods fauour into his wrath: That we be infinitly departed away both from ſeruing him, and from ſticking to him: and conſequently, that we be gone aſtray from the happineſſe which wee ſhould ſeeke, and cannot finde elſewhere than in him. What remaineth then for vs, but vtter deſpaire? And whereto ſerueth the ſaid endleſſe life, but to bee turned into endleſſe death? And the euerlaſting happineſſe whereunto we were created, but to our euerlaſting griefe? vnleſſe ſome word be left vs at hand to ſaue vs from our ſhipwrack? I meane vnleſſe God do make vs ſome way, both to appeaſe his wrath, and to come againe into his fauour. In this extremity therefore wee meete with Religion, which directeth vs to the true God. But what elſe is that, than a ſending of an offender to his Iudge? or a laying of ſtraw to the fire? conſidering that God is infinitly good, that is to ſay, infinitely contrary to euill: and if contrary to euill, then alſo vnto vs, whoſe thoughts, ſayings and doings are altogether euill. The ſame Religion hath ſet vs downe the Scriptures, wherein wee reade the will of our Creator: but what haue we yet found there? That mankinde is corrupt from his rot, and as it were rotten at his core: That all the imaginations of mans heart are alwayes vtterly euill: and yet notwithſtanding, that God commandeth vs to loue him with all our heart, and our neighbour as our ſelfe: behighting to them that doe it, euerlaſting life; and to them that do it not, euerlaſting death. Which of vs féeleth not a ſtriuing in all his members againſt the will of God? And conſequently, who is he that ought not to féele a very Hell, when he entreth into himſelfe, and into the Scriptures; to read his arraignment and condemnation? And ſo what is Religion but vanitie, and what is the Scripture, or Gods word, but a heartbiting, if wee finde not there the Charters of grace and remiſſion, which reconcile vs to God, and knit vs againe vnto him, and by that vniting doe reſtore vs

The neceſſitie of this third marke.

the happines whereunto we were created: So falleth it out, that God cannot be diſappointed of his purpoſe, and that the religion which hee hath grauen ſo deeply in mans heart, cannot be in vaine. Needs then muſt it be, that in the true religion, and in the Scriptures, wee muſt finde out grace, and the meane thereof, which is the third and chiefe marke that we ſeeke.

Let vs expreſſe this Doctrine yet plainlier, for it is the very knot and forme, or inſhape of all religion. The happineſſe of man is to be united vnto God, and the way to be united vnto him, is to ſticke vnto his will. The firſt man being created free, and capable of good, diſobeyed God, and by his diſobedience became a bondſlaue to ſinne. So was he farre remoued from God, and from his own welfare, and (had not grace ſtepped in) he had beene in extreme miſery, which wee call Hell. Of this Rebell are we all borne, and his fleſh hath begotten vs both fleſhly, and bondſlaues of ſinne, as hee was. By nature then wee can looke for none other than the wages of ſinne, which is death; neither can we haue any other inheritance than our father, who hath left vs nothing elſe to inherit but damnation. Now let vs ſée what we our ſelues haue brought to this decayed ſucceſſion. In ſtead of diſcharging our Obligation, we runne on further in arrerages: and liking well thereof, we daily increaſe our debt. For none of vs all diſchargeth himſelf to Godward, of the things which he requireth of vs iuſtly in his Law, and therefore we continue ſtill behind hand. Nay, there is none of vs which offendeth not the Lord infinite wayes daily, in thought, word, and deed, by meanes whereof wee plunge our ſelues in, euer deeper and deeper. Now then, though wee found not our ſucceſſion ſo decayed; yet do we our ſelues make it ſuch by our exceſſiue debts, and continuall offences; which in effect is all that we can bring thereto. And againſt whom ſee we theſe offences? Euen againſt God, againſt our Father, againſt our Maker; all which is a great aggrauating of our fault: namely, that the childe ſhould rebell againſt his father, or that a thing of nothing ſhould turne away from his Creator; yea, and (which worſe is) take wages of the Diuell to fight againſt him. The crime is ſo out of all meaſure great, that it cannot, or ought not to be inhanced. But were there no further matter than this, that forasmuch as God is infinite, and that the offence is multiplyed according to the perſon againſt whom it is committed: our offence againſt God cannot but be infinite, and conſequently, ſo muſt our puniſhment be too.

Now therefore we poore wretches ſubiect to infinite paines without number,

number, which by our continuall miſdeeds doe daily multiply the infiniteneſſe of our puniſhments ſtil, euen to the vttermoſt; haue neede of a remedie. And what ſhal that remedy be? Gods mercy? Nay, mercie may not be contrary to his Iuſtice. What then? Gods Iuſtice? No, wee haue néed of mercy. By what meane may God execute his Iuſtice without diſannulling his mercy; or exerciſe mercy without preiudice of his Iuſtice: ſo as both of them may be verified, as well that God is infinitely gracious, as that he infinitely hateth all euill, both together? If hee ſhew mercy abſolutely to an infinite offence, where is his Iuſtice? Or where is his vniuerſall gouernment, whereby he yeeldeth good to the good, and euil to the euil? Yea, and where is our owne Iuſtice become, which is but a ſhadow of Gods? Againe, if he execute meere Iuſtice, what ſhal become of mankind after this life? Or rather, why hath hee maintained him euer ſince his firſt fall, that his iuſtice hath not deuoured vs all this while, vs (I ſay) in whom is not any thing which burneth not before his wrath? It remaineth then, that to appeaſe his wrath & to make way to mercy, which wrath of his is nothing els but a iuſt intent to puniſh, and which mercy of his likewiſe is but a iuſt intent to forgiue: there muſt come ſome ſatisfaction between God & man, without the which there would be (as ye might terme it) an vtter emptineſſe in the world, whereunto nature it ſelf cannot agrée. But what a depth is here yet ſtil, conſidering that the fault is infinite, and the puniſhment muſt be proportionable to the fault, & the ſatisfaction likewiſe to the puniſhment, that is to ſay, that ſatisfaction infinitely infinite is required at our hands? Let man offer the whol world vnto God; and what offreth he, but that which he hath receiued of God, and that which he hath loſt by his diſobedience? And ſith God hath created this world of nothing, how ſhould a thing of nothing multiply ſo infinitely, as to ſatiſfie for an infinite offence? Let man offer himſelfe: what offereth he but vnthankfulnes and diſobedience, blaſphemy and froward deedes? That is to ſay, what ſhall he els doe but prouoke Gods wrath more and more againſt him? Nay, let the very Angels ſtep in, the Creature to pacifie the Creator: the thing that is finite in goodneſſe, to couer an infinite euill: the indebted in all reſpects, to diſcharge another more indebted: and what els will this bee, than a couering, that (as the Prophet ſayth) doth but halfe couer: and a plaiſter infinitely too little for the ſore? Surely, let vs ſay therefore, that God himſelfe muſt bee faine to ſteppe in betweene his Iuſtice and his mercy, and as hee created vs at the firſt, ſo to create vs new againe: and as hee created vs then in his fauour, ſo

One Mediatour, God and man.

ſo to acquite vs now from his wrath: and as he vttered his wiſdome then in creating vs, ſo to imploy the ſame now again in repairing vs: and ſothly, ſo much the more (if more may be) becauſe that in our creation nothing reſiſted the goodnes of the Creator, whereas in our reparation our naughtineſſe withſtandeth him as much as is poſſible. Out of one bottomleſſe deep we go ſtil into another: but God be praiſed, they be the deepes of his grace. Who then (ſay you) ſhall be this Mediator, God vnto God, Infinite vnto infinite, and able both to diſcharge the bond, and to aſſwage the infinite puniſhment? Here let vs bethink vs againe what hath bin ſaid afore in the 5. and 6. Chapters. I haue declared there, both by reaſon and by record of all antiquity, that in God there are three Perſons or Inbeings in vnity of one eſſence, and that the ſame are coeternall and coequall in all reſpects: The Father as the ground and Welſpring: the Sonne, as the euerlaſting Word and wiſdome of the Father: and the holy Ghoſt as the bond of kindneſſe and loue, whereby the Father and the Sonne are linked together: and I pray the Reader, that for the refreſhing of his memory, he will vouchſafe to read ouer thoſe Chapters againe vpon this point. Needs then, I aſſure you, muſt one of thoſe three perſons ſteppe in betwixt Gods wrath and our infinit fault. And ſith it is ſo, which of them ſhould rather doe it than the wiſedome, conſidering that the caſe ſtandeth vpon the new creating of vs againe, and that we were created by the ſame at the firſt: or than the Sonne, ſeeing we be to be adopted, that is to ſay, to bee admitted to an inheritance? May moreouer, it behoued this Mediator to ſtep in for euer. For inaſmuch as the world was created for man, and man is falne away from God: neither the world nor man now after his fall, could haue abidden before God one moment of an houre. Behold, in the manner of this mediation, there is againe another incomprehenſible myſtery, howbeit ſuch a one, as when it is once reuealed vnto vs, we deeme it vnpoſſible to haue bin otherwiſe. We haue God infinitly iuſt, and man infinitly ſinful. The infinit Juſtice due to ſo infinite offence, could not be ſatiſfied, but either by infinite puniſhment, or by an infinite reparation: and this infinite reparation could not proceed but from him that is infinite, that is to wit, from God himſelfe. It behoueth then that our mediator be God, & of his gracious goodnes ſuch a one haue we. But this infinite God-head is not to recompence our diſobedience otherwiſe than with obedience; nor our vndeſert, otherwiſe than with deſert; nor our ſtubbornneſſe otherwiſe than with lowlineſſe: neither againe is he to purchaſe vs grace, but by puniſhment; or life, but by

by death. And to the intent he may obey, hee muſt abaſe himſelfe; to deſerue, he muſt ſerue; to become lowly, he muſt ſtoop downe beneath himſelfe; to ſuffer, he muſt become weake; and to dye, he muſt become mortall. Certes we ſay therfore, that it is conuenient and behoueful, that our Mediator ſhould be both God and man. Man, to be borne vnder the Law, God, to perform the Law: Man to ſerue, God to ſet free: Man, to humble himſelfe to the vttermoſt, God, to exalt himſelfe aboue all things: Man, to ſuffer, God to ouercome: Man, to dye, and God to triumph ouer death. May moreouer, foraſmuch as he ſubmitteth himſelfe willingly to ſuch things, for our ſakes (ſay I) and not for his owne: needes muſt his obedience become a diſcharge for the diſobedience: his deſert a diſcharge of the vndeſert, and his lowlineſſe a ſatiſfaction for the ſtubbornneſſe of them that beléeue in him: yea, and moreouer a purchaſe of obedience, deſert, and lowlineſſe vnto them: ſo that looke what is due to his obedience, that is to wit loue: to his deſert, that is to wit, reward: to his humility, that is to wit, honour: to his ſorrow, that is to wit, ioy: to his death, that is to wit, life: and to his victory, that is to wit, Triumph: the ſame is purchaſed and giuen by him, and imputed and made due at Gods hand to all ſuch as honour that great benefite, and call vpon the Father in his name. From this point wee may proceede afterward to other conditions and circumſtances requiſite in the Mediator God and Man, ſeeking him alwaies as may be moſt conuenient & agreeable, both to Gods Juſtice, and to the office and dignity of the Mediator. It is neceſſary for our welfare, ſay I, that the Mediator ſhould be man, to beare the puniſhments of men, and to reconcile mankinde. And if he were not a man; then like as we ſhould haue no part in him nor he in vs: ſo ſhould he not auaile vs any whit, neither in way of ſatiſfaction, nor in way of deſert. Meet it is therfore that he ſhould be borne of our race, and that he ſhould be fleſh of our fleſh, and bone of our bone, to the intent that as in Adam we be all become bondſeruants to ſin; ſo in him we may bee deliuered and ſet free from the reward of ſinne, which is death. Againe, foraſmuch as he was to ouercome ſinne, it behooued him to be without ſinne: and foraſmuch as it was for him to make vs cleane, it behoued him to be without vncleanneſſe. For we know that all of vs are conceiued in iniquity, and borne in vncleanneſſe and corruption: and therefore it behoueth him to bee ſuch a man, as is conceiued after another manner than man is. And this, after ſo many wonders, ought not to be counted a wonder: for hee that deriued woman out of man, without helpe of woman, can alſo deriue man out of woman, without helpe

Man born without corruption.

helpe of man. To theſe particularities wee ſhall come time enough hereafter, and it ſufficeth at this time, that Gods Iuſtice & mans offence haue euen by humane reaſon directed vs to a very neceſſity of a Mediator, God and man, able to diſcharge man of euerlaſting death againſt God, and to purchaſe him the ſoueraigne felicity of life. And this is it that I meant in the beginning of the Chapter: namely, that this marke is ſo of the very ſubſtance and inſhape of Religion, that Religion without that ſhould be vtterly vnauaileable and vaine. The Heathen ſeeme to haue perceiued this neceſſity by many examples. They knew that man was created to liue for euer, and that hee could not enioy that benefit, but by turning againe vnto God. But in this they fell ſhort, that they conſidered not that from vs to God the way is vnpaſſible to man, if God himſelf be not our way whereby to come thither. It may be that they haue heard, that it behoued a man to dye for the ſinnes of the world. And thereupon the diuell did put in their heads to ſacrifice men, and ſo to lay the ſins of a whole City or country vpon the backe of ſome one poore wretch. And look who was the greateſt offender of all others, and whom they had vowed to the gallowes for the multitude of his miſdeeds: him did they put to the pacifying of Gods wrath towards them. Such are the accuſtomed apiſh tapes of the diuell. But how ſhall he that is in Gods diſpleaſure, appeaſe his diſpleaſure? And what ſhall the worſt doe, if the beſt can doe nothing? The Emperor Iulian could not tell how to rid his hands of this neceſſity in his diſputations againſt the Chriſtians. By reaſon whereof, perceiuing that there muſt needs be a meane betweene God and man, for the cleanſing of mens ſoules, hee bare himſelfe on hand, that Eſculapius the ſon of Iupiter was manifeſted to the world by the liuely ingendring of the Sun, and that he ſhewed himſelf firſt in Epidaurus, and afterward in diuers other places, to heale mens bodies, and to amend their Soules: Which is a proofe, that the impoſſibility of the Incarnation of the Sonne of God, which is pretended by ſome, ſeemed not to him to be vnpoſſible, foraſmuch as the Incarnation of Eſculapius the ſonne of Iupiter, God (in the opinion of Iulian) and the Sonne of God, ſeemed to him not only poſſible, but alſo come to paſſe. And in very deede, why ſhould it ſeeme ſtrange, that hee which hath knit the Soule of man being a ſpirituall ſubſtance, vnto his body being an earthly; ſhould be able to vnite himſelf vnto man? But I haue ſhewed afore that this Eſculapi⁹ was a man: and that the ſpirit which abuſed his name, was a Diuell, and that both of them were wicked creatures.

The opinion of the Heathen concerning the cleanſing of mankinde.

And

And moreouer, who eur beleeued or ſet forth this Fable of Eſculapius, but only Iulian? May verily, Porphyrius hath outgone all antiquity in this behalfe. For hauing layd this foundation, that the ſoueraign welfare of the Soule is to ſée God, that it cannot ſee him, vnleſſe it be firſt cleanſed from the filth thereof, and therefore that by Gods prouidence there muſt be ſome meane procured to cleanſe mankind: when he commeth to the ſeeking of it out, he ſaith, that the Arts and Sciences doe well cleere our wits in the knowledge of things, but they cannot ſo cleanſe vs, that we may come vnto God. And whereas many men deceiued themſelues in ſeeking this cleanſing by Magicke and Theurgie: he ſaid, that imagination and common ſence might wel be helped thereby in the perceiuing of bodily things: but they attained not to the purging of the vnderſtanding of the Soule, neither could they make a man to ſée his God or the truth it ſelfe. Againe, whereas ſome Philoſophers ſought this cleanſing in the myſteries of the Sun, and of Iupiter, that is to ſay, in communicating (as they ſurmized) not with diuels, but with ſuch as were eſtéemed to be good Gods, hee declareth that there was as ſmall likelihood thereof in their myſteries, as in ỳ myſteries of the reſt: and moreouer, that thoſe things extended but to very few men, whereas this cleanſing ought to be vniuerſal to the benefit of all mankind. In the end, hauing reiected all other cleanſings: his concluſion is, that the beginnings onely & none others, can worke and be the meane to worke this vniuerſall cleanſing. What he meaneth by the beginnings, the Platoniſts can tell well enough; and I haue declared it by many ſentences of his in my 5. and 6. Chapters: that is to wit, the perſons of proprieties that are in God, whom Porphyrius calleth expreſſly the Father, the Vnderſtanding of the Father, & the Soule of the World. Yee could not almoſt haue come any nérer vs, vnleſſe he ſhould haue met iumpe with vs: and ſurely hee ſéemeth to haue had this of ỳ Chaldees, from whom he acknowledgeth himſelf to haue receiued many diuine Oracles concerning this matter. But it is enough for vs that we haue gained theſe points of him, that there muſt of neceſſity be ſome mean ordained of God for the cleanſing and ſauing of mankind: that none can worke that cleanneſſe, except it be ſome one of the Beginnings, that is to ſay, except it be God himſelfe; and that he neuer met yet with any Sect in al Philoſophy that ſetteth forth the meane thereof. Therfore it ſtandeth vs on hand to ſeeke it; not in Philoſophy, but in our Scriptures. For ſeeing they be of God, and are reuealed for the welfare of man, they ought to direct vs to the only meane of the ſaluation which we long for. And like as Religion

S. Auſtin cõcerning the Citie of God li. 20. ca. 9. & 23. & 32.

was

was bred and borne as ſoone as man, as I haue ſayd afore; ſo muſt it néeds be, that the meane of ſaluation was reuealed as ſone as religion, and ſet forth in the holy Scriptures from time to time. And if we find it ſo; it will be an vnfallible teſtimony, both of our religion, and of our Scriptures together.

The Mediator promiſed in the Scriptures, frō the one end of the to the other.

Let vs then begin with the creation of man. The Scripture ſaith, that as ſone as he was created, God gaue him this Law: If thou eate of the tree of the skill of good & euil, thou ſhalt dye the Death. That is to ſay, If thou turne away neuer ſo little from the obeying of mee, thou ſhalt fall into my diſpleaſure, and from my diſpleaſure into endleſſe death. By and by after, man is ſeduced by the Serpent, that is to ſay, by the Diuell, and breaketh the Lawe of his Creator: by meane wherof he is in his diſpleaſure, and by ſin is become ſubiect to endleſſe damnation. Now ſéeing that this man was alone: and that the world was made for him: what ſhould haue followed but the vtter deſtruction of the world out of hand, and the burning of man euerlaſtingly in Gods wrath? But ſée how Gods wiſdome ſtepped in for the ſauing of man, and for the preſeruing of his owne worke: and ſin was no ſoner bred, but the Scripture immediatly ſheweth vs the remedy thereof.

Gen. 3. Chriſt is a ſpirituall King contrary to the opinion of the Iewes of our time. Let the Reader beare in mind once for all, that the word Meſſias in Hebrew, and the word Chriſt in Greeke, ſignifie both one thing, namely, the Lords Anointed.

I will ſet enmity (ſaith the Lord to the deuil) betweene thy ſeede and the womans ſeed: Her ſeed ſhall cruſh thy head, and thou ſhalt bite it by the heele. That is to ſay, I will cauſe One to be borne of the womans ſeed, which ſhall ſubdue the deuill; and the diuell ſhall doe his indeauor to trip vp his héels by tempting him all maner of waies; but he ſhall tread the diuell vnder his féete, and make him to yeeld vp his weapons, that is to wit, ſin & death. Now, who ſéeth not, that to ouercome the diuell, it behooueth him to be God; and that to be borne of a woman, it behoueth him to be man, that is to ſay, both God and man, as I haue ſaid afore? Here beginneth our controuerſie againſt the Iewes of theſe latter times, who hold opinion ỳ the Meſſias or Chriſt, whom we vphold to be the Mediator betweene Gods Iuſtice & mans ſin, ſhal be ſome great Emperor that ſhall deliuer them frō bodily oppreſſion: wherunto I haue anſwered at large heretofore. Howbeit, they cannot deny, but that by the death which God threatned to Adam for his tranſgreſſion, Rabbi Moſes Ben Maimon vnderſtandeth a ſpiritual death, that is to with, the death of the Soule wounded with ſin, and forſaken of her life which is God: and that by the benome of the Serpent he meaneth ſin it ſelfe, which ſhall ceaſe (ſaith he) vnder the Meſſias; and that the ſame is alſo the interpretation of the ancient Cabaliſts: and likewiſe, that the Synagogue of old time vnderſtood the ſaid

ſaid text to bee meant of the Meſſias, as the Interpretation of the 70. Interpreters, and the ancient tranſlation of Ieruſalem it ſelfe do giue vs cauſe to beleeue. For (ſaith this latter expreſſly) So long, ô Serpent, as the womans children keepe the lawe, they kill thee: and when they ceaſe to doe ſo, thou ſtingeſt them in the heele, and haſt power to hurt them much. But wheras for their harme there is a ſure remedy, to heale it, for thine there is none. For in the laſt daies, they ſhall cruſh thee all to peeces with their heeles, by means of Chriſt their King. Now if the death be ſpirituall, & the enemy ſpirituall, and his weapons ſpirituall: how can it be denied ỳ the battel betwéen him and the Meſſias who is to vanquiſh him, is likewiſe ſpirituall, his power ſpirituall, and his kingdome ſpirituall? Moreouer, what were Adam, Henoch, Noe and Abraham benefited by this promiſe; if it extend no further that to temporall things? Which of vs would endure here a thouſand miſeries, vnder pretence ỳ certaine thouſands of yéers hence we ſhould haue an Emperor borne which ſhould be redouted euery where? Now like as the Scripture beginneth with the promiſe of the Meſſias, that is to ſay, of the deliuerer of our Soules: ſo doth it ſhew euidently, that it aimeth not at any other mark then that. For leauing the great States of the world, and the bréeding of kingdomes & Principalities, which are things whereon hiſtories ſtand ſo curiouſly: it leadeth vs directly to the birth and off-ſpring of Abraham, wherof the Meſſias was to be born. And vnto the ſame Abraham doth God repeate this promiſe oftentimes; that in his ſéede all nations ſhould be bleſſed; that is to ſay, that One ſhould be born of his ſéed, by whō ſaluation ſhould be profered to all Nations of the earth. And again, that in Iſaac the ſeed ſhould be called vnto him: which thing ſurely is not ſpoken of the poſterity of his ſon Iſmael, notwithſtanding that God told him that his fleſhly poſterity ſhould be very flouriſhing. But this preface which the Lord maketh, Shall I hide any thing from my ſeruant Abraham, &c. ſheweth euidently how it is a myſtery that paſſeth all vnderſtanding of man, and wherunto Abraham had no leſſe right than his ſeed. From Abraham this promiſe paſſed by hand to Iſaac, from Iſaac to Iacob, and Iacob left it by his laſt will to his children, with theſe words: The Scepter ſhall not be taken from *Iuda*, nor the Law-giuer from betweene his feet, vntill *Silo* come; and vnto him ſhal the Nations reſort. Which words were ſpoken to Iuda by name, becauſe the ſaid holy ſeede was to come of his ſtock. And that the ſame ſaying was meant of the Meſſias, the Thargum of Ieruſalem and the Onkelos which are bookes of chiefe authority among the Iewes, doe aſſure vs. For they tranſlate it

The Thargum of Ieruſalem.

thus,

thus, vntill Chriſt or the Anointed come; whereunto is added this; to whom the kingdome belongeth. And the ſchole of Rabbi Sila being demanded in the Thalmud, what ſhould bee the name of the Meſſias; anſwereth, Silo is his name: for (ſay they) it is ſaid, Vntill Silo come. Albeit now that the ſaid kingdome be other than a temporall dominion: yet is the Text formall in that place. For the Iewes waite that the Meſſias or Chriſt ſhould come of the Tribe of Iuda, and that at the time of his comming the Scepter & the Lawgiuer ſhould both bee taken from Iuda. Surely the thing that Iſrael loked for as then, was not to ſubdue other Nations, ſeeing that Iſrael himſelf was not to raigne at that time. And wretched had the hope of other Nations bin, which loked for him alſo according to this Text, if his comming ſhould haue bin but to ſpoile them and make hauocke of them. But hee was to reigne, yea euen ouer all Nations, yea and to the benefit of all Nations. His reigning then ſhall be according to the firſt promiſe, namely, ouer mens ſoules, the which he ſhall deliuer from the bondage of ſin, and the tyranny of the diuell.

The Thalmud in the Treatiſe intituled Sãhedrim. in the Chapter Melee.

In the Law of Moſes, the Sacrifices and Ceremonies do repreſent vnto vs the ſatisfaction which Chriſt was to make for the ſins of the people, by the ſacrificing of himſelfe. But ſpecially the Paſſeouer Lambe, the ſacrifice of the red Cowe, the ſending of the Scapegoate into the wilderneſſe, and the raiſing vp of the Brazen Serpent for the healing of diſeaſes, were all of them memorials for the people, to put them in mind both of the comming of the Meſſias, and to what end he ſhould come. For whereas we read, that the dore poſts of the houſes were beſmeared with the bloud of a Lambe, to the intent that the deſtroying Angel ſhould not touch them: that the aſhes of a Cowe without ſpot were kept for the ſinnes of the Congregation: that the high Prieſt laying his hand vpon a Goats head, acknowledged the ſins of the people ouer him, and the Goat went away with them into a place vninhabitable, to the intent (as ye would ſay) he might neuer be heard of any more: and that as many as beheld the Brazen Serpent, were healed incontinently of the ſtinging of Serpents: ſeeing ỹ the things which were imployed to thoſe purpoſes, could not of their owne nature ſerue therunto: we muſt needs conclude, that they were ſignes; ſignes (ſay I) of ſpirituall and inward matters, like the Scripture it ſelfe, which is ſpirituall, and ſerueth for the inward man: That is to wit, That the Diuell hath no power ouer thoſe which are reconciled to God by the ſacrifice of the Meſſias, who is charged with their ſinnes: and that thoſe which haue an eye vnto him, are by and by healed

are by and by healed of Serpents deadly ſting. And whereas ſome thinke it ſtrange, that ſo great a thing ſhould be figured by ſo vile and baſe things: the figure is the more profitable, and the leſſe dangerous in that it is ſo. For had ſo high things bin figured or foretokened by things approching to their highneſſe: men might haue been deceiued by them, and haue taken the figures for the things themſelues, and ſo haue reſted vpon the gayneſſe of the ſheath, without looking into it. As for example, if in ſtead of the Goat, they ſhould haue ſacrificed the man of greateſt reputation in the Congregation: men, being giuen to yeeld too much vnto man, would haue miſtaken him for the very Mediator himſelfe. But when the figure of our reconcilement vnto God, and of the forgiueneſſe of our ſinnes, is taken at a brute beaſt which hath nothing ſutable thereto, ſauing that hee is guiltleſſe and capable of death: we be taught that it is but a figure, and that it behoueth vs to wade into the thing it ſelf: and that ſo much the more, becauſe thoſe Sacrifices are ſo ſolemnly and ſo expreſſly commanded to poſterity, as things which for the welfare of mankind ought to bee alwaies in remembrance, or rather preſent before mens eyes.

But yet the Hebrewes held opinion that Aſer, Elcana, and Abialaph the three ſonnes of Chore mentioned in the 6. Chapter of Exod. were authors of diuers of the Pſalms that are gathered into the ſecond book of Dauids Pſalter, and ſo is Moſes alſo of ſome one or two in the third booke; wherby they comforted the Fathers in the wildernes, aſſuring them of the comming of Chriſt. Vnto Dauid (who was of the Tribe of Iuda) God himſelfe confirmeth the ſaid promiſe, telling him that the bleſſed ſeed ſhould come of him. I will raiſe vp (ſaith hee) thy ſeede after thee, which ſhall come out of thy loines: his Kingdome wil I ſtabliſh for euer: I wil be to him for a father, and hee ſhall be to me for a ſonne. And although this may ſeeme to be meant of Salomon, Dauids ſonne, who was indeed but a figure of Chriſt: yet notwithſtanding, the often repeating of theſe words, eternally, euerlaſtingly, & for euer, giueth vs to vnderſtand, that it cannot bee verified but of the thing figured, that is to wit, of the eternall or euerlaſting King. And in very deed Dauid ſheweth well in his Pſalmes, that he hath loked further with the eyes of his minde, than to his Son Salomon. For in Pſalm. 2. Thou art my Sonne (ſaith the Euerlaſting) this day haue I begotten thee. I will giue thee the Gentiles for thine inheritance, & the vtmoſt coaſts of the earth for thy poſſeſſion. And in the 45. Pſalm, ſpeaking of the marriage of this Sonne, with an extraordinary preface, Thy throne, O God (ſaith hee) is from euerlaſting: and the Scepter of thy

Midrach Thehilim. A tradition of the Hebrewes.

1. Sam. 7
1. King. 5. 6
1. Chro. 25
Pſal. 89.

Pſa. 2. & 45 & 47. & 67 & 72.

kingdome is a ſcepter of righteouſnes. And in the 47. The Princes of the Nations are aſſembled together (ſaith he) to be the people of the God of Abraham. And in the 67. Thou ſhalt iudge folke righteouſly, thy ſaoing health ſhall be knowne to all Nations, and thou ſhalt direct the Nations of the earth. And this latter clauſe is ſhut vp with this word Selah, which the Hebrewes are not wont to vſe, but in ſome profound myſtery. To be ſhort, in the 72. Pſalme, after he hath ſaid, All Kings ſhall worſhip him, and all Nations ſhall ſerue him: He addeth, for he ſhall deliuer the poore that cry vnto him, and the diſtreſſed that hath no help. Yea, and which more is, All Nations ſhall report themſelues to bee bleſſed in him, and they ſhall alſo bleſſe him. Dauid is ful of ſuch ſentences, which ſhew that he ſpeaketh of a king, howbeit of another than Salomon his owne ſonne. For Salomons kingdome extendeth not much further than his fathers, neither did the Nations meete together vnder him: and as for his kingdome, it ended with his death, and within a day or twaine after was rent in peeces.

And therefore the auncient Synagogue did alwaies vnderſtand thoſe texts to be meant of Chriſt, who was to be borne of the Seede of Dauid, as we may perceiue by the Chaldee tranſlation, which interpreteth them to be ſpoken concerning the ſame party. Howbeit, ſith it is not ſayd in any of the Pſalmes, Reioyce thou Iſrael, for thou ſhalt reigne ouer the Gentiles: but, Reioyce ye Gentiles, be glad yee Nations and Kings, for I wil giue you a King: ſurely, it is euident that the ioy which hee reporteth to be ſo great, is not for that they ſhould haue a Iew to be their King, for euery Nation had rather to haue one of their owne Country: or for that this King ſhould haue a ſoueraigne Monarke aboue them all to controll them, for euery of them had rather to reigne by himſelfe alone: but rather becauſe this King ſhould be of a farre other nature and quality than all other Kings, namely, a King of Soules, a deliuerer of men from the bondage of ſinne, and a ſpirituall Monarke.

Alſo the Song of Songs is an exprelle poetry concerning the vnion of Chriſt and his Church, and hath bin ſo vnderſtood of the Iewes, as it appeareth by the Chaldee Paraphraſe therof which we haue. As for the Prophets, we find nothing els in them almoſt line by line, but foretellings of Chriſt to come, of the Nature of his kingdome, of the calling of the Gentiles, of the eſtabliſhing againe of godlines, and ſuch other matters; as wel to put the people then preſent in remembrance of them, as to prepare the aftercommers to receiue them. Inſomuch that

that if the Prophets ſpeake of the returne from Babylon, of the eſtabliſhing againe of the kingdome, of the building againe of the Temple, and ſuch other things; by and by within two or three verſes, yee ſhall ſée them carried away to the ſame ſpiritual kingdome of Chriſt, and to the true Temple which is the Church: as though they had meant to ſay vnto vs, that we muſt not reſt vpon theſe tẽporal things which are but ſhadowes: but remember that we be men, and that our welfare conſiſteth not in liuing, in gouerning, and in reigning here, but in ſeruing God that we may be vnited vnto him, & ruled by him, howbeit not ſo as we ſhould reigne in the world, but that God ſhould reigne in vs by the Scepter of his word, and by the power of his Spirit & be obeyed of vs. It ſhall come to paſſe (ſaith Eſay) that in the latter dayes the hill of the Lords houſe ſhall be ſet vp vpon the top of the mountaines, and that all Nations ſhall come flocking to it, and many folke ſhall ſay, Come, let vs goe vp to the Lords hil, and to the God of Iacobs houſe. This text is ſpoken manifeſtly of Chriſt & of his reign, and of the bleſſing that was to bee ſhed out vpon all Nations by him. But let vs read further. He will teach vs his waies (ſaith he) and wee ſhall walke in his pathes. The Lawe ſhall come out of Sion, and the word of the Lord from Ieruſalem. He ſhal iudge among the Heathen, and reproue the Nations. They ſhall turne their Swords into Culters, and their Speares into Sithes. Here is no ſpeaking of warres, of fighting or of force: but of the Law of Gods word, and of teaching. And in Chap. 4. At that day (ſaith he) ſhall the Lords branch bee much made of, and glorious, and whoſoeuer abideth in Ieruſalem, ſhall bee called holy. If this glory were not expounded, ſome would thereby behight himſelf a triumph. But At the ſame time (ſaith he) the Lord wil waſh away the filthineſſe of the daughters of Sion, & cleanſe away the blud of Ieruſalem from the middes thereof, by the Spirit of iudgement and the ſpirit of burning. It is then a glory, yea and a true glory: but yet a farre other glorie than the fleſh vnderſtandeth.

Eſay 1. Micheas 11.

Eſay 4.

Now the Iewes vnderſtand this Text of the Meſſias: for whereas the Hebrew hath Branch: the Chaldee Interpreter hath tranſlated it, The Lords Anointed, or Chriſt. In his 9. chapter he ſaith, that he ſhall be called the Prince of peace: (and the Chaldee Paraphraſt hath tranſlated it The Chriſt, or Anointed of peace:) and that his kingdome ſhall be increaſed, and that there ſhall be no end of his reigne, and that he ſhal execute Juſtice vpon the throne of Dauid for euer.

Eſay 9. Eſay 11. Hee had ſaid afore, that the high Cedars ſhould bee caſt downe, that is to ſay, the great Princes.

If hee ſhall bee a Prince of peace, where ſhall war become? And if there bee no warre, what ſhall this increaſe of his kingdome bee?

And against thoſe Cedars hee ſetteth expreſly this little branch of the roote of Ieſſe, or Iſay. This Ieſſe or Iſay was Dauids father

That doth he ſhew vs apparantly in his Chap. 11. A bloſſome ſhall ſpring (ſaith he) out of the ſtocke of *Iſay*, and a branch ſhall grow out of his root. The ſpirit of the Lord ſhall reſt vpon him, the ſpirit of wiſdome and vnderſtanding, the Spirit of counſell and ſtrength, the ſpirit of knowledge and of the feare of the Lord. Hee ſhall ſmite the Earth with the rod of his mouth, and kill the wicked with the breath of his lippes. The Goate and the Lambe ſhall dwell together, and the Leopard with the Kidde. The earth ſhall bee full of the knowledge of the Lord, as with an ouerflowing of the Sea, and the Gentiles ſhal inquire after the root of Iſay, which ſhall be ſet vp as a Standard for people to reſort vnto. **The Conqueſts then of this Emperor ſhall be of mens Soules; his tributes, their worſhippings; his armour and weapons the Spirit of the Lord: his peace, the vniting of all folke together into one Church, in the fauor of their Maker. Alſo in the 25. he ſaith thus:** Iſa. 25.35. 42.49 Hee ſhall deſtroy death for euer, and take away the veyle that hideth the face of all people. **And in the 35.** The eyes of the blind ſhall bee opened, and the eares of the deafe ſhall bee vnſtopped. **And in the 42. and 49.** He ſhall be no outerier nor loud of ſpeech: his voice ſhall not be heard in the ſtreets. Hee ſhall ſet iudgement on the earth, and the Iles ſhall wayte for him. He ſhall bee a maker of leagues among people, and a light vnto the Gentiles. Some ſhall come from the North, and ſome from the South: ſo as the land ſhall be too narrow for them. The Kings themſelues ſhal be fofterfathers to my people, and Queens ſhall be their Nurſes. **Which of all theſe things can be vnderſtood otherwiſe then of a ſpirituall Kingdome? On the contrary part, let vs ſee how the ſame Prophet ſpeaketh of Cyrus the great Emperour, which was to deliuer Iſrael by force of armes out of the hands of the** Chaldees. I haue taken thee by the right hand (ſaith the Lord) to make Nations ſubiect vnto thee, and to weaken the reignes of Kings: to ſet open the dores vnto thee, and to vnlocke the gates againſt thee. I will breake open the gates of braſſe, and burſt aſunder the barres of Iron. I wil giue thee the hoorded treaſures, and the things that lye hid in ſecret places. **What likeneſſe is there between this maner of ſpeaking and the other, and conſequently, between the deliuerances or deliuerers themſelues? But in the 52. & 53. he taketh away all doubt.** Iſa. 42.53 Behold (ſaith he) my ſeruant ſhall behaue himſelfe happily, and be exalted and aduanced very high. As how? He ſhall be deſpiſed of men (ſaith the Prophet) & thruſt out of their company. A man ful of ſorrow and heauineſſe ſhall he be, and euery body ſhal hide his face from him. He ſhall be wounded for our miſdeeds; and ſmitten for our ſinnes. The

The chaſtiſement of our peace ſhall lye vpon him, and by his ſtripes ſhall we be healed. **And hee ſaith afterward,** Although there was not any vnrighteouſneſſe in him, yet was it the Lords will to breake him with ſorrow. And becauſe he ſhal giue his life for ſinne, the will of the Lord ſhal proſper in his hand, and he ſhal ſee the labour of his ſoule, & enioy it. For by his knowledge he ſhal make many righteous, and he ſhall take their iniquities vpon him. **Now this text is interpreted expreſly of the Meſſias by the** Chaldee **Paraphraſt. And in the** Thalmud, Rabbi Iacob **being aſked the name of the Meſſias, ſaith, he ſhall be called** Leprous: **and there he bringeth in this text to proue it. By which reckoning, his life ſhould be but languiſhing and paine, ſauing that he triumphed ouer the diuel and death, and that we vnderſtand it ſpiritually. To be ſhort, in the 55. he is called,** The Law-giuer of the Gentils: **and in the 59.** The Redeemer. **And in the 61.** The Phyſicion of the helpleſſe, and the proclaymer of the acceptable yeere of the Lord: **And in the 62.** The Sauiour, and the league or attonement which he bringeth to the people; **not that hee Lordeth it, but that hee is holy; nor that he giueth Lawes to other Nations of the earth, but that hee hath the word of God in his owne mouth, and in the mouthes of his ſeed; ſauing that in the kingdome of his Chriſt, God will giue a better place to ſtrangers then to them.**

In the Thalmudiſte Sanhedrim ca. Helec. Iſa. 55.59. 61. 62.

As for all the other Prophets, like as they ſhote not at any other marke, ſo haue they not any other voice. Neuertheleſſe, we will content our ſelues with a few of their ſayings, which ſhall giue credit to all the reſt; and ſo much the more, becauſe their writting was cõmonly both at ſundry times, & in ſundry places. We haue ſéen how the Meſſias was promiſed to the iſſue of Dauid, & to Dauid himſelfe. Thus Ier. 23. 33. **therfore doth** Ieremy **ſpeak therof conformably to that which we haue ſaid heretofore.** I will rayſe vp a branch vnto Dauid (ſaith the Lord) and he ſhall reigne as King, and proſper, and execute Iuſtice & iudgement vpon earth. **And if ye aſk the Prophet what maner of proſperity this ſhall be:** It is (ſaith he) that in his daies Iuda ſhall be ſafe, and Iſrael ſhal dwel without feare, & the name whereby he ſhall be called, ſhall be the Euerlaſting our Righteouſnes; **that is to ſay, the Iuſtifier of vs.** For (ſaith he) The Lord hath ſaid it, Dauid ſhal neuer want a ſucceſſor ſitting vpon his throne, neither ſhall there euer want a Prieſt of the Prieſts the Leuites to offer ſacrifice before me: neither is it any more poſſible for you to breake this couenant, than to breake the couenant that I haue made with day and night.

Now the Iews cannot deny, but that euen by the record of their own

Paraphraſt, this text is ment of Chriſt, and yet notwithſtanding that there hath not wanted a Succeſſor both to Dauid & to Leui; and that both the Kingdom & the Prieſthood are come to an end; and therfore he ſpeaketh that here of another Kingdom & of another Prieſthood. Like-
Eze. 34 47. wiſe, ſaith Ezechiel, I wil ſet a Shepheard ouer my flocke, which ſhall feed them, namely, my ſeruant *Dauid*. I will be their God, and he ſhall bee their Prince among them. I will enter into a Couenant of peace with them, and make noyſome Beaſts to ceaſe from the earth. I will raiſe them ſhortly a plant of renown, and they ſhall no more be the ieſting ſtock of the Gentiles. And if we aſke, how? They ſhal no more
Thalmud in the treatiſe, intitled, Sanhedrin, in the Chapter Helec be defiled (ſaith he) with their Idols, nor with their abominations, nor with their miſdeeds: but I will ſaue them from all their ſins, and make them cleane, and they ſhall be my people, and I will be their God. And that this text alſo is ment of the Meſſias, the Iewes cannot deny. For in their very Thalmud they ſay, that the Meſſias is called Dauid, becauſe he was to be born of Dauids race, and they alleaged this preſent text and others for the ſame purpoſe.

Dan. 2 7, 9. Daniel in his ſecond and ſeuenth Chapters, expounding Nebuchadnezzars dream, treateth of the foure great Monarchies, which ſhould riſe vp in the world euery one in his time: the which are betokened there, vnder theſe foure metals, Gold, Siluer, Braſſe, and Iron. But when the Dreame repreſenteth vs the ſtone hewne without hand, which ſtriketh the Images vpon feete and breaketh them apeeces, it is as much as if it had told vs, that the Kingdome of the Meſſias ſhall ſeeme to bee of ſmall ſtuffe, without ſtay, and without force of man: and yet that it ſhall endure for euer, becauſe it is ſet vp by God. And therefore, whereas he addeth in another place, That all People, Nations and Tongues ſhall ſerue that Kingdome, it is to bee vnderſtood of another kinde of ſeruice than the ordinarie. But in his fift Chapter he ſheweth wherin the ſame peculiarly conſiſteth. It is (ſaith he) in bringing diſobedience to an end, and in ſealing vp ſinne, to cleanſe away iniquity, and to bring righteouſneſſe into the world; to cloſe vp prophecying and viſions, and to anoint the Holy of Holyes. Yea, and it is ſo little meant that Ieruſalem ſhould be the ſeat of that Kingdom, that it was to be deſtroyed anon after by the Romanes.

Oſe. 1. 2 The number of the Children of Iſrael (ſaith Oſe) ſhall bee as the ſand. And where it hath beene ſayd, You bee not my people; there it ſhall be ſayd, Ye be the people of the liuing God: which is as much to ſay, as that many people ſhould become Iſraelites. And this ſhall bee done (ſaith the Lord) not by bowe, nor by ſword, nor by battell: but be

becauſe I will ſhewe mercy, and ſaue them by their Lord God, and marry them to me of my compaſſion. Iewry (ſaith Ioel) ſhal be inhabited euerlaſtingly, and Ieruſalem from Generation to Generation. Yet had they great ouerthrowes afterward, yea euen in the Prophets owne time. But yet hee addeth, I will wipe away the bloud from thoſe whom I haue not yet cleanſed, that is to wit, the Gentiles, and the Lord ſhall dwell in Sion. Then ſpeaketh hee of another Iewry, and of another Sion, that is to wit, of the ſpirituall one, which is the Church.

To the ſame end tendeth Amos, when hee ſaith, I will ſet vp the Amos 9. Tabernacle of Dauid againe, and ſtop vp the breaches thereof, and amend the decaies, that he may poſſeſſe the remnant of Edom, and of all other Nations.

And Micheas ſayth, that many Nations ſhall come to the Lords Micheas. Hill, and talke there one with another, ſaying as followeth: namely, That the Name of the Lord ſhall be called vpon ouer them, and that the Lawe ſhall come out of Sion, and the Word of the Lord out of Ieruſalem, which ſhal teach them his waies. And to the intent we ſhould not thinke, that whereas Micheas ſaith, that the name of the Meſſias ſhall ſhortly bee magnified to the vttermoſt parts of the earth; Iſrael ſhall triumph after the manner of the world: The Aſſyrians (ſaith he) ſhall not ceaſe to come into our Land, and to walke vp and downe in our Palaces. That is to ſay, The good and vertuous folke ſhall not ceaſe to be perſecuted for all that; but yet howſoeuer they fare, Idolatry ſhall bee ouerthrowne, as hee ſaith afterward, And the Anointed ſhall reigne through the power of the Lord, and hee ſhall bee our peace. And Sophonie foretelleth to the ſame effect, That God will Sophon. 2. ſtarue all the gods of the earth, ſo as euery man ſhall worſhip in his owne place, throughout all the Iles of the Gentiles: that is to ſay, That Ieruſalem ſhall not bee the only place to worſhip in, but rather that God will haue euery place to be a Ieruſalem.

In Zachary the Lord hauing ſayd, I will make my ſeruant Branch Zach. 3. 6. to come, addeth immediatly, and I will wipe away the wickedneſſe of 9. 13. this Land in one day. And hauing ſaid, He ſhall raigne vpon his ſeate: Hee addeth forthwith, that the High Prieſt alſo ſhall ſit there with him, that is to ſay, That Chriſt ſhal be both King and Prieſt. He ſaith in deed, Be glad thou daughter Sion and triumph, for thy King commeth: But ſee here with what furniture, A righteous Sauiour and a lowly, ſitting vpon an Aſſe, euen vpon an Aſſes colt, which is the Chariot of Ephraim and the Horſe of Ieruſalem, and the bowe of war. He

ſhall ſpeak mildly to al Nations, & yet ſhall he be obeied from the one ſide of the earth to the other. If ther be no greater triumph than this, what néedeth ſo great toy? But he expoundeth himſelf in theſe wozds following: Thou ſhalt be ſaued by the bloud of thy couenant, & I haue let out thy priſoners frō the waterleſſe pit. Now, ỹ this text is meant of Chziſt, it appeareth by Rabbi Samuel, and Rabbi Ioſeph in the Talmud. And Rabi Salomoh ben Iarchi (as great an enemy as he is to vs) expoundeth it not otherwiſe Again, In that day (ſaith he) a welſpring ſhall be opened to the houſe of Dauid, and to the inhabiters of Ieruſalem, to waſh away their ſin & their filth, & I will root out the names of the remembrance of Idoles from the earth, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. All this is nothing els but the iuſtification of men frō their ſins, and the abolifhing of Sathans reigne. To bee ſhozt, Malachie telleth vs of Chziſt, that he ſhal bzing vs an attonement betwéen God & vs, and alſo of the Ambaſſadoz whō God meant to ſend afoze him to pzepare his waies, He ſaith, that he ſhall turne the hearts of the Children to their Fathers, and the hearts of the Fathers to their children. By the pzeparation of the Ambaſſadoz, we iudge of the Office of his Maſter: namely, that his comming is pzoperly to reign in our ſoules, ſéeing his Ambaſſadoz pzepareth them foz him, exhozting vs to turn away from our ſins. Now of this long but yet néedful diſcourſe, we gather 2. things. The one againſt the Gentiles, which is, that the meane of cleanſing mankind hath bin pzomiſed and pzeached euen from the fal of Adam, and that the ſame pzomiſe is frō time to time bzought to our remembzance by our ſcriptures: to wit, that it is done by Chziſt, who was to be bozne of the womans ſéede, by Abraham, Iuda, Dauid, and others. The other is againſt the Iewes of our time, who lok ſtill foz a Chziſt to come: which is, that the deliuerance pzomiſed by him, is not meant of the Tyranny of ſome earthly Pzince ouer vs: but of the Tyranny which the diuell exerciſeth in our ſoules by the vnrighteouſnes of ſin, the reward wherof is euerlaſting death. The Gentils of old time yéelded vnto theſe texts, whē they had once imbzaced ỹ ſpirituall kingdom of Chziſt: and it may be ỹ if we had to do with the Iews of elder time, the matter ſhould ſone be diſpatched. Foz all the fozealleaged Texts haue bin vnderſtood of the Meſſias & of his reigne, both by the ancient Rabbies and by the Chaldee Paraphzaſts. Mozeouer, it is very maniſeſt, that the Cabaliſts, who wzot long time afoze the Talmudiſts, & who (as they ſay) do pearce into the very Marrow of the Scriptures, whereas the Talmudiſts doe but grate vpon the barke of them: loked that the cleanſing alway of ſinne, and the healing of the contagious benome

In the treatiſe, Sanhedrim, ca. Helec,

The Iewes of olde time looked for a ſpirituall King. Midrach Haſirim.

nome which the Serpent did ſhed into Adam, and by him into the whole off-ſpzing of man, ſhould be wzought by the Meſſias: Yet foz all this, notwithſtanding all their fozecaſts, we want not ſome euen of the newer ſozt of wziters, which haue vnderſtood it after the manner afozeſaid. The expoſition of Salomons Ballet vpon theſe wozds: A Grape of Copher, makes this alluſion, *Eſchcoll Haccopher*, That vnto the Church, Chziſt is a man of full attonement, who ſhall be bozne of the Children of Abraham, and ſhall make ſatiſfaction foz ſins in ſuch ſozt, as he may ſay to the meaſure of iudgement, It is enough, that is to ſay, he may ſtay Gods wzath and punihment, and God (ſaith hee) will lay him to gage, and deliuer him foz thoſe that are his. And vpon the fourth Chapter, where it is wzitten thus: A thouſand ſhields hang there, that is to ſay, in the Tower of Dauid, the ſaid expoſition hath theſe wozds: Often haue I (ſaith the Lozd) taken my people into protection, for the deſert of one that was to come after a thouſand generations. And I haue made them to ſucceede one after another, that I might at the laſt bring them this Shield, which is the onely deſire of my children, and which alone ſhal defend them better than a thouſand Shields. Alſo the Rabbines ſay, That the Creatures which are grown out of kinde by Adams fall, ſhall be ſet in their perfect ſtate againe by the Son of Perets, & accozding to their accuſtomed fondneſſe, foz pzoſe thereof, they bzing in a Text of Ruth, and another of Geneſis, where this wozd *Toledoth* is wzitten very fully, that is to wit, with two *vaus*. And as touching the ſaid Sonne of Perets, euery man knowes among them that it is the Meſſias, whom they loked foz to come of Iuda by his ſonne * Perets. Concerning the calling of the Gentiles, the Talmud maketh this compariſon, That the Hozſe ſhall be ſet in the ſtall of the halting Ore. Which wozds Rabbi Iacob, and Rabbi Selomoth expound thus, namely, that foz aſmuch as the Iewes ſhall haue foz-ſaken the Law, G D D will put the Gentiles in their place, and yet not dzive them alway afterward, though the Iewes turne againe vnto him: which is a thing very farre off from the Monarchie which they imagine as oft as there is any ſpeaking of the calling of the Gentiles. To bee ſhozt, the notableſt of their Rabbines are aſhamed of the Feaſtings, and extraozdinarie Paſtimes, which the Iewes pzomiſe themſelues at the comming of the Meſſias, and conclude with Rabbi Moyſes ben Maimon, (of whom they repozt, that ſince Moyſes himſelfe vntil this Moyſes, there was none ſo like vnto Moyſes) that the felicities & pleaſures of that time, ought to be vnderſtood accozding to this ſaying of Eſay, that the earth ſhal be as it were, ouer-

Ballet cap. 1. verſ. 14. & cap. 4. verſ. 4.

Rabbi Barachias in his Bereſchith.

Rabbi Miſdrach. Exod. 21.

* We call him Pharces.

Talmud, in the treatiſe Sanhedrim cap. Helec.

Eſay. 51.

ouerflowed with the knowledge of the Lord, and that euery man ſhall bee occupied in the ſeeking and knowing of God. But Rabbi Hechadoſch ſaith yet more plainly, That the Meſſias ſhall by his death ſaue Adams race, and deliuer mens ſoules from hell, and therefore ſhall be called Sauiour.

Reaſons againſt the Iewes of our daies. It is the 13 Article of the beliefe of the Iewes, Rabbi Moyſes ben Maimon.

Let vs yet further by reaſon ouercome the wilfull ſort, if it be poſſible. They hold it for an article of their faith, both by Scripture, and by Tradition, that there ſhall be a Meſſias. Hee that denies that (ſay they) denies the Law and the Prophets, and is condemned to Hell fire. And therefore (ſay they) hee that denieth the comming of Meſſias, cannot be ſaued. If hee which is to reigne in Iſrael, and to giue them proſperitie, bee a temporall King: what ſkilles it mee greatly whether I know him, and beleeue in him, or no? Or what ioy can it bee to mee, ſith I cannot ſee him? May rather, what a griefe is it to me that I ſhall not ſee him? and what a paine is it to pine away in waiting for him? Againe, what goodneſſe is it in God to haue foretold vs it, if by beleeuing it we fare neuer the better, and yet muſt dye euerlaſtingly for not beleeuing it? In the Articles of their faith, they beleeue one God. There is great reward in beleeuing well. They beleeue a bleſſed life. As it is the Soule that beleeueth, ſo doth the reward redound vnto her. And euen ſo is it with all other things which are no Articles of faith, further forth than a man hath benefite by beleeuing them. But as for this Article of the Meſſias, what booteth it Abraham, Moſes, ſo many Kings, ſo many Prophets, and ſuch a number of people, if there were no further ſecret in it? Why was it foretold ſo carefully by the Prophets? Why was it ſo oft repeated, no leſſe in the proſperity than in the aduerſitie of that people, and no leſſe vnder the good Kings than vnder the Tyrants? May, which more is, why was it more, yea farre more carefully repeated to thoſe which were not at that time when he ſhould come, than to thoſe which were to be born in his time, if ẏ Meſſias be not certainly more than ſimply a good King, and the proſperitie another manner of proſperity than any is on earth, & the ioy another maner of ioy than is conceiued by the ſences? And yet for all that, vnto a Iew it is an Article of faith, and of the neceſſity of ſaluation. Wee ſay therefore, that the Meſſias is not a King of temporall delights, but the King of Saluation and welfare.

Againe, they beleeue that the Scriptures are of God, and that they teach them the way to ſaluation. Now the ordinary voyce of them is againſt the Pompe, the brauery, and the vanity of the world: ſaying, that

that God will turne them into ſorrow, mourning, and doung. Herewithall the ſame Scriptures turne vs away from all other delights, to talke of that, and from all honour and reputation, to the attainement of that kingdome. Who ſeeth not therefore, that this ioy which the Scriptures doe ſo much commend, is of another kinde, than the ioy which they diſcommend, and that the kingdome which they make vs to couet, is to be poſſeſſed in heauen, and not on earth? Be glad, O Daughter Sion, (ſay the Prophets) reioyce thou, Ieruſalem, ſing, yee Nations and Peoples. And wherefore? For certaine thouſand yeares hence, there ſhall riſe vp a great King in Iſrael. What greater abſurditie can there bee than this? Hee ſhall make a good peace, ſay they: What paſſe I for that, if I my ſelfe bee in Warre? Hee ſhall open the Priſons. What is that to mee, if I in the meane while doe rot there? Hee ſhall triumph ouer all the Nations in the world. What am I the better for that, if in the meane ſeaſon other Nations trample me vnder their feete, and lead me in triumph ouer all the world, with my hands bound behinde me? The father (ſay they) reioyceth for his ſons welfare, yet is that but a light and ſlightfull ioy: and who is he that will be moued for the afterſpring of his children that are long hence to come? And who would not count him a fole for reioycing thereat, and much more for beleeuing it? Surely, then doth this ioy extend further, ſo as euen the foretellers therof do feele it themſelues, and are cheered therewith, and the hearers thereof doe taſte of it, and finde themſelues comforted: and both of them in their ſoules enioy the Franchiſes and Frædomes of that Kingdome afore hand, ere the ſaid King, whom they looked for, be borne into this world. Let vs put the caſe further, that they which ſhall attend vpon the Meſſias, ſhall be rewarded abundantly with all the pleaſures of this life: what ſhall become of him in the end? He ſhall die (ſay they) and his generation with him: and thereupon they keepe a ſore contention how many yeares he ſhall liue. How farre off is this geere from that which the Prophets ſpeake of, concerning a ioy that ſhall neuer haue end? what if they paſſe a hundred yeeres in all ioy? what is it but a long feaſt, which as ſoone as a man ſleepeth, is quite and cleane forgotten? And if yee die altogether, what remaineth of it any more? And if yee liue out of the world, what remaineth therof but griefe? And what reaſon haue the fathers to reioyce ſo much at ẏ flaſh of Lightning, which palleth away in a moment? Soothly, much leſſe than for a Marriage-feaſt, at leaſtwiſe which is accompanied with the birth of ſome Children. In very deed, theſe things are toyes to laugh at, but yet among

the

the Iewes they be earneſt matters, and they reſt vpon them at this day, like ſillie ſoules as they be, as though there were none other life for man than this, or as though they ſhould euer be babes ſtill in this life. But ſome, to ſhun this abſurdity, haue falne into another, namely, that all they which haue hoped for the Meſſias, ſhall come to life againe as they were afore, yea, and euen the wicked ſort too, that they may burſt for ſpite and ſorrow. They that be in the glory of God, ſhall come backe againe to ſee the glory of that man. They that are free from this priſon of ſinne, ſhall be ſhut vp againe in it to ſee this licentiouſneſſe. They that liue euerlaſting in all felicitie aboue, ſhall come downe to eate of fat beaſts. What is this but a tittle-tattle of children, which in their conferences can goe no higher than Tartes and Junkets, nor conceiue any higher pleaſures than thoſe? And what elſe in effect is all this, than to retoyce from Bed to Bord, and from Bord to Bed againe to ſléepe? But if all this muſt bee done in Paleſtine, and that all theſe muſt come thither: How will Paleſtine or Iewrie ſuffice to receiue them, or what Leuiathan will ſuffice to feed them? And if the Gentiles alſo ſhall bee admitted thither, as they ſay, what manner of Temple ſhall there bee? And if all men ſhall bring their ſacrifices thither, what ſhall Ieruſalem be, but a continuall ſlaughter-houſe of Beaſtes, and all Iewrie an vniuerſall ſtreame of bloud? Who ſeeth not then, that (as the Prophets declare vnto vs) the Gentiles ſhall not in very déede bee gathered in Ieruſalem, but Ieruſalem ſhall bee ſpred out among the Gentiles? And that they ſhall not come running from a farre to the Temple, but that they themſelues ſhall bee the Temple, I meane, their hearts, where GOD ſhall be ſerued and worſhipped: And ſeeing that God ſo greatly refuſeth our ſheddings of bloud, our fat Muttons, and our perfumes: who can thinke that thoſe ſhall be the feaſt which he will prepare to théere vs withall?

The Iewes of our dayes ſay, that this Leuiathan is a Whale powdred for the feaſt of the Meſſias.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That the Mediator, or Meſsias, is promiſed in the Scriptures to bee both God and Man, that is to wit, the euerlaſting ſonne of God taking Mans fleſh vnto him.

NOw then, let it ſtand for a poynt concluded: That the Chriſt our Meſſias, promiſed in the holy Scriptures, is a Redeemer from ſpirituall bondage. But foraſmuch as I haue proued, that he ought not to fetch vs out of priſon without ranſome; nor could pay the ranſome, being infinite, vnleſſe he were God and Man; Man, to ſuffer; and God, to ouercome: it followeth, that I muſt ſhew, that Gods word hath promiſed vs, that he ſhall be ſuch a one: and that ſhall ſerue as well againſt the Gentiles, as againſt the Iewes. Now, if wee haue none other proofe thereof than this, that Chriſts office is to vndo ſinne and death, and to appeaſe Gods wrath againſt mankinde, as I haue ſaid, ſeeing that theſe things are ſuch as no creature can do, nor ought to preſume to do: as oft as we read that his office is ſuch, we muſt néeds conclude that the Meſſias muſt néeds then be God. For (as the Gimnoſophiſt of India ſaid vnto Alexander) hee is God in very déed, which doth that which no creature can do. But the Scripture intending to ſuccour our infirmity, the elder the world wareth, ſpeaketh euer the more manifeſtly thereof vnto vs, and ſurely after ſuch a ſort, that the ſkilfulleſt among the Iewes of late time, become moſt vnſkilfull when they goe about to darken it. Firſt of all, at the making of the promiſe in Geneſis, it is ſaid, that this ſeed, that is to ſay, this Chriſt, ſhall cruſh the Serpents head: and this Serpent (as I haue ſaid afore) is the Diuell, and his venome is ſinne: and by meanes of ſinne we be all become thralles to the Diuell, againſt whoſe power wee know, that no force of man can do any thing. It followeth then, that this Chriſt muſt haue another nature than mans, yea, or than Angels: For the Angels and the Diuels differ not in power, that is to wit, diuine. Afterward, where the promiſe is repeated to Abraham, of what man can it be verified, In thy ſeed ſhall all Nations be bleſſed? Or who can bleſſe ſo effectually, but onely God, who commandeth his bleſſing (ſaith hee diuers times) and then doth it ſhed it ſelfe out vpon vs and our workes?

That by the Scriptures, Chriſt the Mediator is both God and Man.

Gen. 3.

Deut. 27. verſe 8.

But

But as the Prophets doe preach the Meſſias vnto vs, ſo alſo do they deſcribe vs his natures and qualities, ſo as wee neede not any other Commentary vpon that promiſe, than the Prophets themſelues. Vnto Dauid therefore it was renewed, and in his iſſue was it to be accompliſhed.

See here how hee ſpeaketh of it in the 45. Pſalme. My heart (ſaith he) intendeth to vtter good matter, and my worke ſhall be to
Pſal. 45. ſpeak of the King (that is to wit, of the Meſſias) & ſo doth the Chaldee Paraphraſt himſelf interpret it: Thou art more perfect than the children of men. This might be meant of a man: but let vs read further: O God (ſaith hee) thy Throne is from euerlaſting to euerlaſting, the Scepter of thy Kingdome is the Scepter of Righteouſneſſe: Thou loueſt
Pſal. 110 righteouſneſſe, and hateſt wickedneſſe: and therefore GOD thy GOD hath anoynted thee with the oyle of gladneſſe aboue thy fellowes. Theſe ſo expreſſe words cannot be ſpoken, (ſpecially among the Hebrewes, who were not ſo lauiſh of Gods name as other people are) but of one that is very God and very Man both together. In the hundred and tenth Pſalm, The Lord ſaith vnto my Lord (ſaith Dauid) Sit thou at my right hand, vntill I haue made thine enemies thy footeſtoole. And a little after, Thou art a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedeck. To ſit at Gods right hand, and to be a Prieſt for euer, cannot be attributed to man. Nay (which more is) Dauid, who knew well, that there is but one Lord, calleth him his Lord. And wee read, that with this ſelfeſame text Chriſt ſtopped the mouthes of the Phariſies. Now, that the fathers of old time vnderſtood theſe things to be ſpoken of the Meſſias, it appeareth by the tranſlation of Ionathas, cited in the booke of Collections, for he tranſlateth it, The Lord ſaid vnto
The booke *ſepher kibbut ſim.* his word: and it is alleaged, to proue that the Meſſias ſhould ſit on the right hand of God. Inſomuch that the Iewes Commentary vpon the 2. Pſalme, ſaith expreſſly, that the myſteries of the Meſſias are rehearſed in the 110. Pſalme. And Eſay in his 9. Chapter, ſaith thus: A Babe
Miſdrach Thehilim vpon the 2. Pſalme, verſe 7 Eſay 9 is borne vnto vs, and a Sonne is giuen vnto vs, and his kingdome ſhall be vpon his ſhoulder. Se ſee here the birth of a Man But he ſaith further: His name ſhall be called, the Wonderfull, the Counſellour, the mighty God, the euerlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace. Needes then muſt this ſelfeſame man be alſo God. And whereas he is ſaid to be the Prince of Peace; Ionathas tranſlateth it, the Chriſt (or the anoynted) of
Lament. 2. verſe 16 Peace. And Rabbi Ioſes the Galilæan ſaith vpon the Lamentations, that the Meſſias ſhal be called, the father of euerlaſtingneſſe, the Prince of Peace, and ſo forth: and for confirmation thereof, he alleageth this text,

text, and ſo doth alſo the Commentarie vpon Geneſis. And the holy Rabbi (as they terme him) ſaith expreſſly, that the Meſſias, in that hee ſhould be both God and Man, ſhould be called Emanuel; in that he was God, the Wonderful & the Counſellor; In that he was mighty, Gheuer, that is to ſay, Strong: In that he was Euerlaſting, the father of Euerlaſtingnes; In reſpect that peace ſhould be increaſed vnder him, the Prince of Peace: In that he ſhould deliuer mens ſoules from hell, the deliuerer out of bondage: and in that he ſhould ſaue men, Ieſus, that is to ſay, the Sauiour. For whereas Rabbi Selomoh, to conuey theſe titles to Ezechias, interpreteth them after this maner: And God the wõderful, the Counſellor, & the euerlaſting Father, hath called Ezechias the Prince of Peace, &c. Beſides that, the Hebrew Grammar, & the phraſe of that tongue, are repugnant to that conſtruction: It is well enough ſeene, that ſuch things cannot be verified of king Ezechias, & that it is but a deuice of this late borne Iew, againſt the opinion of all antiquity to eſcape from this text, which is ſo expreſſe. Eſay in his 7. Chapter Eſay 7
ſaith thus: Behold, a Virgin ſhall be with child, and bring forth a Son: Here ye ſée that Chriſt ſhall be a man: And thou ſhalt call his name Emanuel, that is to ſay, God with vs. Then ſhall he bee both God and Chriſt is called Iehoua, that is to ſay, the euerlaſting God, Eſay 18. & 28. & 1. verſe thith ketana. Man, that is to wit, God dwelling among men as a man. But vnto this, and ſuch like texts, they anſwere vs, that *El*, that is to ſay, God, is imparted to Princes and Iudges: And therefore let vs heare further. In that day (ſaith Eſay) the Lord of Hoſts *Iehouah ſebbaoth* ſhall be in ſtead of a crowne of glory, and of a Diademe of honour to the reſidue of his people. The Chaldee Paraphraſt interpreteth this concerning the Meſſias.

And againe; In that day ſhall the people that were harried away and rent in peeces, bee brought for a preſent to the Lord of Hoſts. The Commentarie vpon Geneſis vnderſtandeth this alſo to be ſpoken of the ſame perſon. This is another: I will wait for the Lord, who hath hidden his face from the houſe of Iacob, and I will attend vpon him. The Diſciples of Rabbi Hija apply this in the Talmud of the Meſſias.

And yet in all theſe places, whereſoeuer is the word Lord, the Hebrew hath the word Iehouah, that is to ſay, the Beër, or he that is, which is the vnſpeakeable or vnutterable name of the Creator, and in opinio̅ of the Hebrewes, is not to be imparted to any Creature. Whereupon it inſueth, that the Meſſias, to whom it is imparted, ſhould be the very euerlaſting God; and that the ancient writers, who attributed thoſe ſayings to him, loked that he ſhould be ſuch a one. In the three

Bereſchith Rabbi vpon Gen. 55 Rabbi Hecadoſch.

and

and twentie, and in the three and thirtie of Ieremie, we read thus: Behold, the dayes ſhall come, that vnto Dauid I will raiſe vp a righteous branch, and he ſhall reigne as King. Theſe words belong to Chriſts Manhood. But by and by after he ſaith, And in his dayes Iuda ſhall bee ſaued; and behold, the name whereby he ſhall be called, ſhall be Iehouah, the Euerlaſting, our Righteouſneſſe. Here againe is the foreſaid vncommunicable name of God, which the Iewes do ſo greatly reuerence. Yet notwithſtanding, the 70. Interpreters, who were all Iewes, vnderſtood it ſo, and Ionathas interpreteth it of Chriſt in both reſpects. As touching the latter Rabbines, who will néds correct the text, and in ſtead of *iykreo*, do ſet down *iykra*, to the intent that the ſence might be, He that calleth him, ſhal be the Euerlaſting: I repoſe me to all their owne Grammarians, whether it be not both a corrupting, & a racking of the text. And truly, in the 33. chapter, the Prophet ſaith the ſame thing in diuers words: whereunto this forgerie cannot bee applied. That is the cauſe why Rabbi Abba vpon the Lamentations of Ieremy, demandeth what ſhal be the name of the Meſſias, and afterward anſwereth, *Iehouah ſchemo*, the Euerlaſting is his Name. And to that purpoſe alleageth he the ſelfeſame texts of Ieremy. And the Commentarie vpon the Pſalmes ſaith, Seeing that none of the Subiects of a King of fleſh and bloud, that is to ſay, of a temporall King, is called by his name (that is to ſay, King:) How happeneth it that God impartech his owne name to the Meſſias? and what name is that? Sothly, Iehouah is his name, according to this ſaying, The man of warre, Iehouah (that is to ſay, the Euerlaſting) is his name. And Rabbi Moſes Hadarſan, expounding this ſaying of Sophonie, to call vpon the name of the Euerlaſting, ſaith thus: Here Iehouah is nothing elſe but the King, the Meſſias, (or the annointed King.) And the ſame thing is repeated in the ſelfeſame words in the Thalmud. And whereas ſome, to diſappoynt vs of the conſequence of theſe texts, doe ſay, that in Ezechiel, Ieruſalem is called by that name, where it is ſaid thus, *Iehouah ſchammah*, (that is to ſay) the Euerlaſting is there; that is to ſay, the Euerlaſting hath choſen his dwelling place in Ieruſalem: They by changing the Hebrew vowels, do make him to ſay, *Iehouah ſchemo* (that is to ſay) the Euerlaſting is his Name. But beſides the conſent of all Copies repugning to this vnſhamefaſtneſſe, Ionathan can aſſoile the caſe, who tranſlateth it expreſſly, God hath placed his Godhead there. Now, beſides the ſaid texts, which ſhew, that the Iewes of old time waited for a Meſſias that ſhould be both God and Man: we haue alſo great tokens thereof in theſe few writings of theirs, which remaine diſperſed

Lamen. 1. Verſ. 16.

Midraſch Tehilim vpon the 2. Pſal. 1.

R. Moyſes Hadarſan vpon Gen. cap. 49. Thalmud in the treatiſe Sanhedrim. cap. Helec.

Midraſch, Tehilim, vpon the 45. Pſal.

diſperſed here and there, notwithſtanding that the Iewes hide them from vs, or elſe corrupt them as much as they can. The Commentary vpon the Pſalme ſaith: Becauſe the Gentiles ceaſſe not to aske of vs, Where is our God? the time ſhall come, that God will ſit among the Righteous, ſo as they ſhall be able to poynt him out with their finger. And whereas it is often ſaid, I will walke among you, it is all one (ſay they) as if a King ſhould go walk in his garden with his Gardiner, & his gardener ſhould alwaies ſhrink behind him: and the King ſhould ſay, ſhrinke not backe, for loe, I am like thee: euen ſo will God walke among vs in his garden of pleaſure in time to come. And therfore another ſaith, that the Euerlaſting ſhall one day be as a brother of Iacob, that is to ſay, in the time of the Meſſias, according to this ſaying of the Ballet, I would faine that thou waſt to me as a brother. And the Commentary vpon the Ballet ſaith in another place, That God himſelfe, who is the huſband of the Church, ſhould come in his owne perſon to marry her. Vpon the 25. of Leuiticus, where mention is made of one brother that redéemeth out another in the yéere of Iubilee, many make an Allegory, that ỳ brother is Chriſt. And the Commentary affirming the ſame, ſaith, that Iſrael ſhall be redeemed of God, who ſhall come in his owne being, and that Iſrael ſhall no more bee brought in bondage. And vpon Geneſis, Rabbi Moſes Hadarſan alleaging this ſaying of the Pſalm, I will ſhew him the ſaluation of God, ſaith thus: This is one of the texts of Scripture of greateſt weight, that the Saluation of Iſrael, is the ſaluation of God. For God will be the price and payment of Iſraels ranſome, like as if man hauing but a little Corne of the ſecond crop, ſhould redeeme the ſame. Hereof came the tradition, that God left ſome portion vnperfect on the North ſide, to the intent, that if any reported himſelfe to be God, he ſhould fill vp that want, and that thereby his Godhead ſhould be knowne. And all men know, that ordinarily by the North, they meant the euill which ſhould bee remedied by the Meſſias. But the Cabaliſts were farre more ſpirituall in this behalfe than the Thalmudiſts. And firſt of all, Rabbi Simeon ben Iohai in his Commentaries vpon Geneſis, in the language of Ieruſalem, ſaith, that the Feare or Mercy of the Lord ſhould take a body in the Wombe of a Woman, and that the Ancient of dayes ſhould be crowned King for euer. And that it was decréed, that a holy body, and a woman ſhould be incorporated together, and (for proofe whereof he alleageth an ancient book from whence he toke it) the ſame ſhould be accompliſhed in the third age, that is to ſay, in the third period of the Church; and that then the higher world ſhould by the ſaid holy body be vnited to the inferior world:

In the booke entituled *Sepher* vpon the 26 of Leuiticus. The booke Hechilia vpon the 14. of Exo. the vallet 8. verſ. 1. Leuit. 25 25. The booke Tanhu. mah: Midraſch vpon Leuiticus. Rabbi Moſes. Hadarſan vpon Gen 49. Pſalm. 49. Midraſchſir Haſirim cap. 1 Rabbi Eleazar vnto Zohar.

The Cabaliſts. R. Simeon. B. Iohai vpō Gen. 1. 17 Sect. 27. 3 In the booke of Shamefaſtneſſe. The ſame vpon Gen cap. 10

woꝛld: ſo as God ſhould bee ſanctified beneath as well as aboue, and the Holy Ghoſt ſhould come as out of a cheath, that is to ſay, ſhould be ſhewed foꝛth openly: and that all this is but one, namely, the Euerlaſting himſelfe. And to bee ſhoꝛt, that the Woman of whom the holy Woꝛd ſhould take his body, and out of whom the ſaid faithfull was to come, ſhould be holy and bleſſed aboue all other women. Now it appeareth, that hereby he meant the Incarnation of the Meſſias. Foꝛ in the Talmud, the Schoole of Rabbi Hamina being demanded the name of the Meſſias, anſwered, Hamina, that is to ſay, Mercy is his name. And in the Pꝛophets, they betoken the Meſſias by the name of Mercy. Another Cabaliſt ſaith, that ſinne ſhall bee bꝛought to end by the Meſſias, who ſhall be the power of God, euen by the Spirit of wiſedome where with he ſhall be filled. And another ſaith, that the myſtery of Meſſias the King, is, that his operation conſiſteth wholly in *he*, *vau*, and *iod*, *he*, (which is the myſterie of the ſeuenth day) that is to ſay, in calmneſſe of minde, without foꝛce: and that his name whole together, ſhall be compoſed of theſe letters, to wit, *Iehouah*, the Euerlaſting. But the holy Rabbi vpon the ninth chapter of Eſay, where Chriſt is called The Euerlaſting Father, plaieth the Philoſopher yet further vpon the letters of that name. Like as the letter *he* (ſaith he) is made of *daleth* and *vau*, (as appeareth by the ſhapes of thoſe letters) ſo ſhall the Meſſias be of the nature of Man, & of the nature of God. And like as the double *he* conſiſteth of a double *daleth* and two *vaus*: ſo be there two Sonſhips in the Meſſias, that is to ſay, two ſoꝛts of being Son; the one in reſpect that hee is the Sonne of GOD, the other in reſpect that hee is the Sonne of a Pꝛopheteſſe, as it is ſaid in Eſay 8. And as thoſe ſhapes are diſtinct in one ſelfeſame letter, and yet are both one letter: ſo ſhall the natures of Chriſt, or the Meſsias be diſtinct, and yet ſhall make but one Chriſt. I ſtand not vpon the foundation which hee taketh of the letters, which I make none account of; but the onely thing which I meane to gather, both by this text, and by the foꝛmer textes, and by all other that may be gotten together, is, that the expectation of the Iewes in old time, was of a Meſſias that ſhould be both God and Man: and that they haue not beene able to raze it out of their Bookes to this day, foꝛ all the diligence that they could vſe in that behalfe.

In the treatiſe Sanhedrin. cap. Helec. Ieremy 16 The booke of Faith & Reconciliation. In the booke Hecadima Vau, He, Iod, He. In his booke intituled, The Gate of light. cap. 1. Rabbi Hacadoſch.

That the ſecond perſon took fleſh.

And foꝛaſmuch as I haue ſaid, that in God there bee thꝛee perſons in one ſubſtance, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt: it followeth that wee muſt ſee which of theſe thꝛee the Church of Iſrael waited that the Meſſias ſhould be. And as we haue found it meet, that hee by

by whom God created vs (to wit, the Sonne, oꝛ the Woꝛd) ſhould be the meane to create vs new againe; ſo alſo ſhall we find by the Scripture, that the ſame ſecond perſon is he that was pꝛomiſed. In Geneſis the Meſſias is called Silo, and pꝛomiſed to be of the ſtock of Iuda. Now the woꝛd Silo (ſaith Kimhi) ſignifieth, The Sonne of him, and is deriued of a woꝛd which ſignifieth a womans Afterbirth, as they terme it, which thing is not to be paſſed ouer lightly. And therefoꝛe Dauid repeateth and expoundeth the ſame pꝛomiſe in theſe woꝛds, I will be his Father (ſaith the Lord) and hee ſhall bee my Sonne. And in the 89. Pſalme he addeth, I will make him my firſt begotten, and ſoueraigne of all the Kings of the earth: which Rabbi Nathan applieth to the Meſſias: and thus doth Dauid himſelfe expound it in the 2. Pſalme: The Lord hath ſaid vnto mee, Thou art my Sonne, this day haue I begotten thee. And againe, Kiſſe the Sonne, O yee Kings and Rulers of the earth, and happy bee they which put their truſt in him. Surely, it appeareth, that in all that Text hee ſpeaketh of the Sonne of GOD, and not of the Sonne of a Man. Foꝛ otherwiſe, hee that hath ſaid vnto vs, Curſed bee hee that truſteth in man, and a foole is hee that leaneth vpon the Princes of the earth, would not ſay vnto vs, Bleſſed are they that put their truſt in him. But yet further, Rabbi Selomoh, the Sonne of Iarchi, and Aben Eſra (as much enemies as they be vnto vs) alſo do witneſſe, that the ſaid Pſalme was vnderſtood in old time to concerne the Meſſias, neither doe they themſelues expound it otherwiſe. Inſomuch that Aben Eſra ſaith expꝛeſſly, that *Bar* ſignifieth a Sonne in that place as well as in the 31. chapter of the Pꝛouerbes. And the expoſition of the Iewes vpon that Pſalme is, that their God reſembleth a King that would deſtroy a Towne in his anger, if he were not pacified by his Sonne. In the 72. Pſalme, where the reigning of the Meſſias is manifeſtly deſcribed, His name (ſaith hee) ſhall continue for euer, his name ſhall bee Euerlaſting, as long as the Sunne endureth. And the Hebrew woꝛd *Innon* which hee vſeth, commeth of the woꝛd *Nin*: which ſignifieth a Sonne, as if a man would ſay, Sonned, oꝛ Sonified. In the Commentary vpon the foureſcoꝛe and thirteenth Pſalme, theſe woꝛdes, Thy Throne is from euerlaſting to euerlaſting, are expounded to concerne the Meſſias. And the Paraphꝛaſt (which is is repoꝛted to be Rabbi Ioſeph the blind) agreeth thereunto.

Kimhi in his booke of Roote-words.

Pſalm. 89.

Pſalme 2.

Malac. 3. 8. Oſe. 6. 2.

Pſa. 17. vlt

In Echa Rabathi, cap. 1. ver. 6.

And in the Talmud, the Schoole of Rabbi Ianai being aſked touching the name of the Meſſias, anſwereth, Innon is his name, for it is ſaid in the Pſalme, Before the Sun was in the ſky, Innon is his name.

Dan. 2. ver. 22. Gen. 1. Pſal 36. ver. 9.

Eſay, Ieremie and Zacharie in the texts afore alledged, do call him Impe, and in all thoſe places the Chaldee paraphraſt tranſlated it the Lords Anointed: & Ioſua the ſon of Leuie ſaith, that Imp is his name. But leſt we ſhould thinke that this Impe were but an Impe of David, he is called there, the Lords Impe, the Impe of the Euerlaſting, and the Euerlaſting himſelfe. Now there is not a neerer nor a properer metaphor then to tearme a ſonne an Impe, or an Impe a ſonne. This ſon we call moreouer the word, wherein the Iewes diſcent not from vs. In the 45. of Eſay it is ſayd, Iſrael ſhal be ſaued by Iehouah (that is to ſay, by the Euerlaſting) with endleſſe ſaluation: which ſaying Ionathan traſlateth, By the word of the Lord. In Oſe, I will ſaue the houſe of Iſrael (ſaith the Lord) by the Lord their God: which ſaying the ſaid Ionathan tranſlated, by the word of the Lord their God, and ſo forth ordinarily in all other like texts. And it is not to be doubted, but that by the ſayd word they meant the Meſſias. For in the Hundred and tenth Pſalme, (which as they themſelues affirme, containeth the myſtries of the Meſſias) vpon theſe words: The Lord ſayd vnto my Lord &c. Ionathan ſaith, The Lord ſaid vnto his word, Sit thou on my right hand, And Rabbi Iſaack Arama vpon Geneſis, expounding this text of the hundred & ſeuen and forteith Pſalme, The Lord ſent forth his word: and they were ſettled, or as others tranſlate it, were healed, ſaith expreſly that this word is the Meſſias: Yea and Rabbi Simeon the ſon of Iohai, the chiefe of the Cabaliſts, writing vpon Geneſis, and by the way expounding there theſe words of Iob, yet notwithſtanding I ſhall ſee my God in my fleſh; ſaith, that the mercie which proceedeth from the higheſt wiſedome of God, ſhall be crowned by the word, and take the fleſh of a woman. But let vs heare Philo the Iewe vpon this point; Hardly can I ſay (ſaith he) what time is appointed for the returne of the baniſhed Iewes. For men hold opinion that it ſhalbe at the death of a high Prieſt, which as ſome thinke is at hand, and as other ſome thinke is far hence. But my opinion is, that this high Prieſt ſhall be the word or ſpeech of God, cleare from ſin, as well willing as vnwilling, who to his father hath God the Father of all, and to his mother hath the wiſedome whereby all things in the world were created. And therefore his head ſhall be anoynted with Oyle, His Maieſtie ſhall ſhead forth beames of light round about him, and hee ſhall be cloathed with light as with a garment. For the ancient word of him, that is, incloathed with the world, &c. Alſo in Malachie where it is ſaid, I will ſend mine Ambaſſador before my face, Rabbie Moſes the ſon of Maimon expoundeth it, Before Chriſt the Anoynted.

Pſal. 18. Eſay. 45.

In the booke intitled the Gate of light cap. 2

Philo the Iewe in his booke of the baniſhed

Malachy. 3. ver. 8. Oſe 6. ver. 2.

And

And in Oſee where it is written, We ſhall liue before his face: Rabbi Moyſes Hadarſan ſaith, it is Chriſt the King. And in the 17. Pſalme, where it is ſaid, I ſhall behold thy countenance in righteouſneſſe, and be ſatisfied at the riſing vp of thy likeneſſe: Rabbi Nehemias ſaith, I ſhall be ſatisfied with the ſight of thy Meſſias, who is thine image. And to the ſame purpoſe might a great many moe bee alleaged. The thing which they ſay, is all one in effect with that which wee ſay, namely, that the Son, or Word of God, is the Image of God, and the brightneſſe of his countenance: To be ſhort, we ſay, that the Sonne is light of light: and they ſay the ſame of the Meſſias. For vpon the Lamentations of Ieremy, Rabbi Biba being aſked the name of the Meſſias, anſwereth in the end, that it is Nchira, that is to ſay, Light, according to this ſaying in the ſecond of Daniel, Light is with him. And vpon the place of Geneſis, where it is written, Let there be light, Rabbi Moyſes Hadarſan ſaith, that it is the Meſſias, according to Rabbi Abba, and Rabbi Iohanan vpon the 36. Pſalme, where it is ſaid, Wee ſhall ſee light in thy light. Oftentimes (ſay they) hath the light of Iſrael beene quenched and kindled againe, when they were one while ſubdued, and another while deliuered. But in the end he ſaith, It is not to be required that fleſh and bloud (that is to ſay, a mortall man) ſhall enlighten vs, but God himſelfe in his owne ſubſtance will do it. According whereunto it is ſaid in the 18. Pſalme, God hath been our light. And likewiſe in Eſay, Iſrael ſhall be ſaued by the euerlaſting. To be ſhort, like as we ſay, that the Son as in reſpect of the Father, is as a riuer in reſpect of the ſpring, or as Reaſon is in reſpect of the Minde: ſo ſay the Cabaliſts, that the light of the ſoule of the Meſſias, is in reſpect of the liuing God, as Reaſon is in reſpect of the Mind, & that the liuing God as in Reſpect of the Meſſias, is as a fountaine or welſpring of liuing water, in reſpect of the ſtreame, or riuer of life that flowеth out of it.

Pſalme 17. vlt

In Echa Rabathi cap. 1 v. 6.

Dan. 2. 22 Gen. 1 Pſal. 36. 9.

Pſalme 18 Eſay 4.

In the booke intituled. The Gate of light. cap. 2.

Now then, we haue in our Scriptures a Mediator that is both God and Man. But reaſon hath led vs to two circumſtances moe: The one is, that this man muſt be of our race, and the other is, that hee muſt bee borne after another manner than we be; the one for our behoofe, the other for his owne dignity: and therefore let vs enquire yet further of the Rabbins concerning theſe points. As touching the firſt point, it is euident enough of it ſelf, & needeth no long proofe. For Chriſt is promiſed to come of the ſeed of Adam, Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob, Iuda, & Dauid; and the Iewes haue held it ſo certain, that euen during the time of their captiuity at Babylon, they choſe their Reſch Caluta, that is to ſay, the chiefe Captaine of their baniſhed folke, out of the houſe of Dauid, as

And of a virgin.

from whence they loked for a deliuerer. And as touching the ſecond
Eſay 11.14 point, Behold (ſaith Eſay) a virgin ſhall conceiue and beare a Son, and call his name Emanuel; which is as much to ſay, as that the Meſſias ſhall be the ſon of a virgin, and that he ſhal be begotten without fleſhly copulation. The late writers of the Iewes ſay, it is not written, A virgin, or maiden; but a wench, or yong woman. I will not vrge them, that the Hebrew word Alma is taken ordinarily for a yong Maiden, or Virgin, as in the 24. of Geneſis, where Rebecca is ſo called; and in the 2. of Exodus, where it is ſpoken of the Siſter of Moſes. And euen in this place the 70. Interpreters tranſlate it in Greeke, Idou he Parthenos, that is to ſay, Behold, a Virgin, &c. But I would haue them to tell me what the token is that is giuen here to the houſe of Dauid, and whether a token ought not to be ſome ſpeciall and notable thing, and whether it be not a matter of earneſt, ſith it is God that giueth it, who ſaith expreſſly, Aske mee a token, whether it bee from beneath, or from aboue? I beſeech them to tell me, what ſtrange ſigne or token is there, in that a yong woman beareth a Child? What thing is more ordinary in the world, & conſequently more fond to be giuen or taken for a miracle? Nay, the ancient Rabbines haue wel waded euen into the depth of this matter. And therefore Rabbi Moſes Hadarſan writing vpon the
Rabbi Moſes Hadarſan vpon the 85. Pſalme. 85. Pſalme, vpon theſe words, Truth ſhall bud out of the earth, ſaith thus: Rabbi Ioden (ſaith he) noteth here, how it is not ſaid here, Shall be borne, but ſhall bud, becauſe the begetting and birth of the Meſſias ſhall not be after the maner of other worldly creatures, but he ſhall be bred without company or copulation. And it is certaine, that no man
Vpon the 25. of Gen. nameth his father, but he is concealed and kept ſecret, vntill he himſelfe come and reueale him. And vpon Geneſis, You haue ſaid (ſaith the
Zach. 4. 7 Pſal. 110 Lord) We be fatherleſſe: and ſo ſhall the Redeemer bee whom I will giue vnto you: according to that which is ſaid in the 4 of Zachary, Loe, this is the man whoſe name is Branch; and of whom it is ſaid in the 110 Pſalm, Thou art a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedeck. Alſo he reporteth, that Rabbi Berechia gathereth the like. But Rabbi Simeon ben Iohai ſaith yet more expreſſly vpon Geneſis, That the Spirit
Genes. 2 hauing been ſhut vp in a (womans) wombe, ſhould come forth with great force to be the higheſt Prince, which is Meſſias the King. And the holy Rabbia proceedeth ſo farre, as to ſeek out by the proportion of their Cabal, what ſhould bee the name of the Iſraelitiſh Virgin that
Haradoſch ſhould beare the Meſſias. There remaine many other things to bee treated of concerning the time, the place, the life and the death of the Meſſias, which are reſerued for another place, peraduenture more conuenient

conuenient for them. Let it ſuffice vs for this time, That in the Religion of the Iſraelites there was promiſed from time to time, euen from the beginning, the Mediator betweene Gods Iuſtice, and Mans sinfulneſſe, the Sauiour of mens ſoules, and the Author of the ſelfeſame cleanſing which the very Heathen themſelues deemed to be ſo needful; namely, Ieſus Chriſt, God & Man, the euerlaſting Son of God, borne of woman in his due time, without ſin, free from Gods wrath as in reſpect of himſelfe, and able to appeaſe it towards others, cleane in his humane nature, and ſufficient through his diuine nature to cleanſe ours. And this is the third marke which I haue ſhewed to be ſo needfull in Religion, and ſo peculiar therunto, that whereſoeuer the ſame is found, there is Religion, that is to ſay, a way to ſaluation; and whereſoeuer the ſame wanteth, there is no Religion at all.

So then, in the Religion of Iſrael we haue all the three markes of the true Religion, namely, the true God, the Law of God, & the Mediator of Saluation. And I beſeech all men to lok well about them, and to ſee whether they can finde them elſewhere in any other of the Religions that haue bin of old time. Nay, amongſt them, in ſtead of the true God, we ſhal find Diuels, Wen & Stocks. In ſtead of Gods word to enlighten vs to Soule-health, we ſhall find doubtfull Oracles, and anſweres of Idols, vaine, fond, without ground, without end, which ſpeak not a whit of Gods glory, nor of mans welfare. In ſtead of a ſufficient Mediator, wee ſhall finde a ſort of wachings that paſſe no further than the ſkin; we ſhall finde manſlaughters, and ſacrificing of wretched Caitiues, condemned for their miſdeeds. But how ſhould there be any religion, where is no God? Or how ſhould it be a healthfull one, where God ſpeaketh not? Or how ſhould religion bee certaine, where ſelfe is not the meane of atonement? Truly, therefore let vs ſay, that onely in Iſrael was the true Religion; and that Iſrael was as a Schole or Vniuerſity founded by God, wherein he himſelfe vouchſaked to teach, that men might learne their owne ſaluation.

The concluſion of the three Markes of the true Religion in Iſrael.

But behold, here is yet one obiection againſt God. How happeneth it (ſay they) that this Schole was among this people onely? why was it not in all Nations? Why was it not (at leaſt wiſe) in ſome other as well as in that? O Man, it becommeth man to hold his peace when God ſpeaketh, and to yeeld to whatſoeuer he would haue done. Thou art righteous ſo farre forth as thou doeſt righteous deedes: but as for God, it is farre otherwiſe with him: for with him, things are not righteous further forth than he doth them. Neuertheleſſe, I pray thee, what canſt thou ſay? I in Adam, God the Creator made all mankind;

Obiections.

and in Adam all mankinde was forlorne. But the wiſedome of the Creator came betwéen, and in it hee reueales his worde, & vttered the promiſe of the mediator to all men. Here now thou ſeeſt no diſtinction of Nations or people. Of Adams children, ſome embraced the ſeruice of God, and the promiſe: and ſome forſooke it, and regarded it not. Some (ſay I) tooke part with the Diuell; and otherſome ſtacke to the gracious goodneſſe of God. What haſt thou to alleage here againſt the righteouſnes of the Creator? After this followeth a generall corruption of mankinde; and God erhorteth them by Noe, to repentance, threatning them with his wrath if they did otherwiſe. Stil they refuſe Gods mercy, and for ſo doing, are all drowned by his Juſtice, ſauing onely Noe & his houſhold, who were ſaued in the Arke. Now, were not all men hitherto onely one people ſtill? And were not Gods worde, and the reuealing of himſelfe directed ſtill to all men? Againe, yee ſee that in the Arke all mankind was gathered againe into one houſhold. At that time there was no difference of circumciſed and vncircumciſed, of Iew or Gentile. Anon they turned away vnto Idols, & forſooke the couenant that God had made with them. Who hath not cauſe here to honour the patientnes of God, in bearing with them, & to wonder, not that he ſuffered men to take their owne waies; but rather that hee vouchſafed to reſerue any men aliue in the worlde? Yet notwithſtanding, euen at that time he choſe Abraham out of the midſt of Idolatry, manifeſted himſelfe new againe vnto him, vttered his ſecrets vnto him, deliuered him his promiſes in pawne, and entred into couenant with him, and his ſeed. All which things were not done alonely for him and his ſéed, but to bleſſe all the nations and kindreds of the earth in the partie that was to be borne of his ſéed, and to renew his Couenant with them. Who then ſeeth not here, both that the couenant was offered to all Nations, howbeit that all of them had refuſed it: and that when God of his infinite mercy renewed it with Abraham, he renewed it in effect with all men? Thou deſireſt that God ſhould be iuſt; and yet thou deſireſt to continue ſtill as thou art. Were hee iuſt after that maner which thou wouldſt haue him iuſt, thou hadſt béen vndone in Adam; thou hadſt béene ſwept away with the floud; thou hadſt bén deſtroyed in the ouer flowing of vngodlines and Idolatry after the floud; thou hadſt (ſay I,) béene either not at all, or continued forlorne for euer. Thus deſireſt thou things both contrary in themſelues, and contrary to thine owne meaning. And therefore appeale not to Gods iuſtice, but cry vnto him for mercy with both thy handes. And yet in thy deſiring of his mercie, or grace, there is yet another errour, in

in that thou wilt néeds appoint him the manner and meaſure thereof; and thou wilt haue him to doe it at thy pleaſure: whereas notwithſtanding, if he ſhould do it according to thy deuice, thou wouldſt find fault with him for it; and if thou hadſt liked well of it, another man would haue miſliked it. But what aduice couldeſt thou haue giuen him for the creating of thee, who as then was not? Or what counſell wouldſt thou giue him for the recreating of thee, who art but the worſe for that which thou haſt already? Thou wouldſt God ſhould haue reuealed himſelf alike to all men. He did that at the beginning. Wel, ſuch reuelations tend to a Mediator, and the ſame Mediator muſt be God and Man: and to be Man, it behoueth him to be borne of ſome one Stocke or other. And thou ſeeſt, that priuiledge muſt néeds befall to ſome one certaine Stocke: for he that is to ſaue all men, cannot be borne of all men. If thou be a Romane, the gloriouſneſſe of thy City will ſéem to deſerue it: but yet will Babylon and Niniue ſtand in contention with thée for it, and Athens will think to bee no leſſe regarded for her learning ſake. How much ſpéedier way were it for vs to cut off this ſtrife by yéelding vnto God, who ſayth, the caſe here ſtandeth not vpon merit but vpon mercy? And to the intent al men may perceiue it to be ſo; I will haue the welfare of all Kingdomes to come of a hillocke that is hidden in the midſt of the worlde, in the digging downe whereof they haue taken ſo much paines and pleaſure. And leſt this ſame hillock it ſelfe ſhould grow proud, I will make it to ſpring, not out of the top, but out of the foot therof; nor out of the head City, but out of a little Village that is vnregarded. Yea and moreouer (as wee ſhall ſée hereafter) where it ſpringeth vp, there ſhall it be refuſed, and ſtrangers ſhall ſet it on fire; inſomuch that where the foundations of the Kingdome therof are laid, one ſtone ſhal not be left ſtanding vpon another. Let al the wiſe men of the worlde way theſe circumſtances, yea euen according to their own wiſdom; and ſéeing that ſaluation is a reward of free fauor, and not a recompence of deſert; a thing that concerneth Gods glory, which is the finall end of all things, and not mans vanity: let them tell mee where the Mediator of mans ſaluation could bee borne, or where the myſteries of his comming ought rather to be beſtowed, than in Iſrael? Yet notwithſtanding, if we conſider ſtill all circumſtances, the worlde ſhall ſtill be found vnexcuſable. For the firſt kingdomes were in Syria, Aſſyria, Perſia, Arabia, and Ægypt: vpon the borders of all which kingdomes, Ieruſalem ſtood as a Watch-tower, for them to looke at, or as a Lanterne to giue light to all thoſe Nations round about it. And as the Empires began to remoue further off, into

into the leſſer Aſia, Greece, and Italy, wee ſee how Gods prouidence did diſperſe the Iewes & their Synagogues into them throughout the whole world as Preachers of the true God, Scholes of his ſeruice, and Heralds of the Mediator that was to come, to bring ſaluation to all mankind. Now forasmuch as the end of Religion is mans ſaluation, and the end of our Scriptures is Chriſt the Mediator the bringer thereof: we muſt henceforth ſee how he hath bin promiſed from time to time ſince the firſt beginning, and whether he haue bin exhibited to the world in the time afore limited vnto him. And that is the thing which we haue to treate of in the Chapters next following.

Chap. XXIX.

That the time wherein the Mediator was promiſed to come, is ouerpaſt, and that he muſt needs be come, as wel according to the Scriptures, as according to the traditions of the Iewes.

The marks and tokens of Chriſts comming. Gen. 49.

WE know already by our Scriptures, that there is our Mediator, we know his office, his nature, and the end of his comming: and wee know theſe things not onely by our Scriptures, but alſo by the commentaries of the ancient Iewes. Now followeth, that we ſee whether he be come into the world or no, which is the point wherein lyeth the chiefe difference and diſagreement betweene the Iewes and the Chriſtians. The Iewes looke for him ſtill, and think long for his comming. The Chriſtians beleeue he is come already, & put their truſt in him: and both of them ground themſelues vpon the ſame preſidents, yea and oftentimes vpon the ſame clauſes.

In the Tal. vnder the title Sanhedrin, the Cha. Helec. The booke called Zoar. Kimhi vpon Gen. and in his booke of Roots. The kingdome is ceaſſed Bereſchith Rabba.

Let the Scriptures therefore be iudges of this caſe, and let vs ſee what time they behighted for his comming, & what tokens they giue vs of his comming. Firſt of all, The Scepter (ſaith Iacob) ſhal not be taken from Iuda, nor the Lawgiuer from between his feete, vntil Silo come. This text is expounded of the Meſſias, by the Zoar of the Cabaliſts, and by the Talmudiſts in diuers places, by the Chaldee Paraphraſes, and by Rabbi Dauid Kimhi himſelfe. And the ſence is cleere, namely, that the ſouereignty & chief authority of gouernment ſhould continue in the tribe of Iuda, vntill the comming of Chriſt, as Onkelos and the commentary vpon Geneſis expound it: wherupon Rabbi Hama the ſon of Hauina ſaith in the Talmud, The Son of Dauid ſhall not

not come, ſo long as any ſouereigne authority, be it neuer ſo ſmall remaineth in Iſrael: and to the confirmation thereof hee alleageth the text out of the 18. Chap. of Eſay. Alſo Rabbi Mili alleaging Rabbi Ezer the ſon of Rabbi Simeon, ſaith, that Chriſt ſhall not come, vntill there be a cleane riddance of all Iudges and all Magiſtrates in Iſrael. Which thing he wil needs gather likewiſe vpon the firſt chap of Eſa. Therefore when they once ſaw that the ſouereignty and all maner of iuriſdiction ceaſed in Ieruſalem: they ſhould haue taken it for a ſure token, that the Meſſias was at their doores. Now therefore let vs ſee if this alteration be come to paſſe, and the very peculiar time when it came to paſſe. Saul (ſay ſome of their new Rabbines) was choſen king in Silo of the tribe of Beniamin, and it may be that theſe things were ſpoken of him. Nay: for it is ſayd, The Scepter ſhall not depart from Iuda. And ſeeing that the Scepter had not as then beene in Iuda, nor was to come into that Tribe, vntill Dauid was afterward anoynted King: the Scripture ſhould rather haue ſayd: The Scepter ſhall not be in Iuda, vntill it haue beene taken from Silo. Whereby it appeareth that the ſaid text cannot be meant of Saul. Others ſay, that Ieroboam the ſonne of Nabath remoued the ſtate of Ephraim from the ſubiection of Iuda by the rebellion of the ten Tribes, and was crowned in Silo. Yea ſay we; but the Scepter remained ſtill in Iuda, and the chief Senate in Ieruſalem; & the ſtate of Ephraim was brought to ruine long time afore Iuda was caried away vnto Babylon, yea and Ieroboam was crowned in Sichem and not in Silo. Againe, what manner of interpretation is this, vntill Silo come, that is to ſay, vntill Ieroboam come, who is crowned in Silo? Some therefore by the word Silo, will needs vnderſtand Nabuchodonoſor. For (ſay they) he took Ieruſalem, caried Iuda away to Babylon and deſtroied the Temple, and by that means they think to ſhift off the ſaid Prophecie. But euen in the time of the captiuity, the Iewes had a Reſchgaluta, that is to ſay, a chiefe or head Gouernour of their captiuity, whom they choſe of the Tribe of Iuda, and peculiarly of the houſe of Dauid, as their own Hiſtories do teſtifie, wherein they ſet down the ſucceſſion of their Princes very carefully from Zorobabel forth.

The Talmud in the Chapter Chelik. Eſay 18. ver. 5. & 7. Eſay 1. verſ. 25. & 26. 1. King. 12. Sedar Olam. Zara. Origen in his 4. booke of Princes. The Talmud in the treatiſe Sanhedrim Cap. Dine. Mammonoth. Rabbi Moſes the Egyptian in the preface of the Maſemonims.

And therefore the Talmud ſaith, that by the Scepter, wee muſt vnderſtand the heads of the captiuity, and by the Law-giuer, the Sonnes of Hillel, that is to ſay, the diſciples of Hillel, of whom the two chiefeſt were Ionathas the Sonne of Vziel, the Author of the Chaldee paraphraſis vpon the Prophets, and Simeon the righteous, of whom mention is made in Saint Luke. To bee ſhort, the Machabees themſelues

This Hillel was a great Doctor among them, out of whoſe ſchoole ſtrewed many great learned men in the Lawe. Rabbi Dauid Kimhi vpon Hagæus.

ſelues, who held both the ſouereignty & the Prieſthood in Iſrael, were (as they themſelues report) of Iuda by the mothers ſide, & of Leui by the fathers ſide (for thoſe two tribes were wont to goe together by alliance) or rather (as otherſome report) of Iuda by the father ſide, and of Leui by the mothers ſide. And as for the Sanhedrins, that is to ſay, the 70. Iudges (who in the opinion of Rabbi Moſes Hadarſan, were not to ceaſe afore the cõming of the Meſſias) they continued ſtill euen vnder the captiuity of Babylon, and vnder the dominion of the Machabees. Hitherto therfore the Meſſias could not bee come: and beſides that, it were an vtter reſting of the Text, to tranſfer it any other way than to the comming of the Meſſias, againſt the whole conſent of all Iſrael. But (ſaith Ioſephus the Iew) after the wars betwéen Ariſtobulus & Hircanus the laſt of the Machabees, the Romanes being Lords of Iewry, did ſet vp one Herod the ſonne of Antipater an Edomite, that is to wit, a mére ſtranger (to be King there. Which Herod, for the eaſier ſtabliſhing of his ſtate, married the daughter of Hircanus then priſoner in Parthia. Afterward when he ſaw that Hircanus) who onely remained of the ſtocke of the Machabees, was returned home, fearing leſt the Iewes, who bare an affection to him, ſhould ſet him vp againe in the kingdome; he killed both him & his daughter whom he had taken to wife, and alſo the children whom hee had begotten of her. And not contented with that outrage, he rooted out as many of the houſe of Iuda, as liued in any countenance or credit, defaced their ſtiles & titles and burned their pedigrées. Alſo he made High Prieſts whō it pleaſed him, but not according to the lawe, nor according to their Tribes. Finally (as ſaith Phylo the Iewe) he ſlew all the Sanhedrin, that is to wit, the 72. Senators of the houſe of Iuda, which were aſſiſtants to the King, and did put Proſelites & ſtrangers in their place; inſomuch that hauing by his cruelty aboliſhed both the Prieſthood and the Senate, and vtterly confounded the whole ſtate, he brought to paſſe, that at length about the 30. yéere of his reigne, he was accepted of all men for King, and ruled all things as he liſted himſelfe. This is the time (ſay I) wherin the ſouereignty and iuriſdiction of Iuda did ceaſe; and that not like an Eclipſe for a few houres, dayes or yéers, but for a continuall time; inſomuch that from that time forth (which is now aboue 1500. yeeres agone) there hath not riſen vp any one man in all the world, being a Iew born, that hath any where had any authority, great or ſmall among the Iewes. May further, Veſpaſian, Titus, Domitian, Adrian, and diuers other Emperors of Rome, haue indeuoured to root out the whole houſe of Iuda; and they of the Tribe of Iuda haue ſought

Rabbi Moſes Hadarſan vpon Gen. chap. 49.

Ioſephus in his firſt booke of the warres of the Iews cap. 5. & 25 lib. 15. cap. 9. & 10. Sedar Olam.

Philo in his booke of Times.

ſought to conceale themſelues, & manifeſtly to corrupt their own pedigrées, to ridde themſelues from the rigorous inquiſition that was made for them. Inſomuch that at this day, there is not a Iew (I report me to themſelues whether I ſay not true) which can vaunt that he hath his Pedigree certain, yea or which can ſhew any likely coniecture that he is of the Tribe of Iuda, that is to ſay, of the bloud Royall of the which Chriſt was promiſed. That which I haue ſaid, appeareth ſufficiently by the preſent ſtate of the Iewes, which haue ſo long time continued, and yet ſtill be without King, without Gouernour, without Prieſt, without Iudge, without Genealogy, and without certain ſucceſſion. But foraſmuch as they refuſe the witneſſe of the whole world, let vs heare their own. In Deuterono. Chap. 17. where mention is made of the King, it is ſaid thus: Thou ſhalt ſet him ouer thee to be thy King. whom the Lord thy God ſhall giue thee from among thy brethren, and thou ſhalt not ſet a ſtranger ouer thee. And the cuſtome was to deliuer the Law to the King to read therin, as is expreſly commanded there. Now (ſaith the Commentary vpon that place) when Herod Agrippa, who was a Iew in Religion, came to the reading of that verſe, hee fell a weeping. Neuertheleſſe, all the people bade him be of good courage, and told him that hee was their brother, notwithſtanding that he came of the ſtocke of a bond-woman. And in another place it is reported, that at the time of this change, there was heard a voice from heauen, ſaying, Now ſhal the ſeruant proſper without doubt, which ſteppeth vp in Iſrael againſt his Maſter. Whereby Herod the great tooke courage to pretend title to the Kingdome: And that as touching the Sanhedrim (that is to wit, the Senate of Iſrael) Herod the great ſlew them euery one, ſaue only one whoſe name was Bota, who could not create any mo Senators, becauſe it could not bee done without the laying on of the hands of mo than one: And that a while afore, the Romans had driuen them out of the Palace of Ieruſalem, and that thereupon they tooke themſelues to ſackcloth and aſhes, and cried out with paſſing great ſorrow, Woe vnto vs, for the Scepter is taken from Iuda, and the Lawgiuer from betweene his feet; and yet for all that, the Sonne of Dauid is not yet come. Thus ye ſee, that the time of Chriſts comming fell out in the reigne of Herod, in whom the Kingdome was conuaied to ſtrangers, and the Iewiſh Senate was vtterly rooted out, which thing had neuer happed at any time afore.

Deut. 17

Miſdrach vpō Deut.

In Pantabiba ca. Haſata-phim.

In the Talmud of Ieruſalem in the chap. Sanhedrim.

Rabbi Aſſe & Rabbi Rahamon.

In the foreſaid place of the Talmud Seder Olam.

Here followeth another marke of his comming. We know there had been in Ieruſalem two Temples: the firſt builded by Salomon, and deſtroied by Nabuchodonoſor; the ſecond builded by Zorobabel vnder the

The ouerthrow of the ſecond Temple.

the protectiõ of Cyrus and Darius Kings of Perſia, and deſtroied afterward by the Emperor Titus. Now of the ſecond Temple thus ſpeaketh the Prophet Haggæus, who was one of the builders thereof; Who is left amõg you that ſaw this houſe in her firſt beauty? But what think you by it now? Is it not in your eyes a thing of nothing? This doth vs to vnderſtand, that the ſecond Temple was nothing comparable to ỹ firſt in Maieſtie and ſtatelines. And indeed we read in Eſdras, that the good old fathers which had ſeene the firſt, could not forbeare weeping when they beheld the ſecond. Alſo the Rabbines do report, that there wanted chiefly 5. things in the ſecond which were in the firſt: namely, Fire from heauen that conſumed the burnt offerings, the glorie of God among the Cherubins, the manifeſt breathing of the holy Ghoſt vpon the Prophets, the preſence of the Arke, & the Vrim & Thummim. And they affirme, that to the ſame end it is ſaid in Salomons Ballet, We haue a little Siſter, &c. which they ſay is meant of the Church vnder the ſecond Temple, which in outward ſhew ſhould not match the Church that was vnder the firſt Temple. To be ſhort, the Chronicle of the Hebrewes beginning the hiſtorie of the Church of Iſrael vnder ỹ ſecond Temple, ſaith theſe words: Hitherto the Prophets haue ſpoken by the holy Ghoſt: but henceforth bowe thine eare, and harken to the voice of wiſe men: which is as much to ſay, as that in all the time of this ſecond Temple, we ſee not one Prophet riſe vp. Yet notwithſtanding, the ſame Prophet ſaith thus alſo: The glory of the latter houſe ſhalbe greater than the glory of the firſt. And therfore he exhorteth Zorobabel & Ioſua the ſon of Ioſedec and al the people to be of good chéere. It was meet then that vnder this ſecond Temple, there ſhould be ſom peculiar & extraordinary gift giuen of God, which ſhould excel both the Ark, and the Vrim & Thũmim, and the Prophecying, and whatſoeuer other glorious thing the former Temple had. Some ſay, that of the new things the ſtuffe was much richer than of the former.

Haggæus. c. 2. v. 4.

Rabbi Samuel in the treatiſe Sanhedrim. In the Talmud of Ieruſalem. R. Aha in his booke of Dates. Midraſch on the Canticle. Cap. 8. ver. 8. Sedar Olam.

Rab. Selomoh vpon the firſt of Haggæus: in the word ve-ecabbedehû where hee wanteth.

Admit that the firſt was of ſiluer, and this latter of Gold. What is there herein that can match the gift of Prophecying? Another ſayes, that the faſhion and workmanſhip therof was more curious. What is that to the preſence of God, who ſhewed himſelf ſo openly in the firſt? Some (becauſe the text is flat againſt them) haue accounted that the ſecond Temple continued longer then the firſt by ten yéares, the ſecond hauing ſtood 420. yéares, whereas the firſt ſtood but 410. yeeres. What can be more vaine or more cold, or leſſe beſéeming, either for God to teach, or for a man ỹ hath any wit, to heare? I ſay, for God, before whõ a thouſand yéares are but as one day; or for man, whom one day of aduerſity in his life time doth more gréeue, than 1000. yéares continuance of his buildings can pleaſure him after his death? Moreouer, who knoweth not that this ſecond Temple was oftentimes defiled, and ſpoiled by Antiochus, by Pompey, by Craſſus & others? But the Prophet ſpeaketh thzill enough to them that liſt to heare. As yet (ſaith hee) there remaineth a little time, ſaith the Lord, and then will I remoue both Heauen & earth; I wil remoue all Nations; and they ſhall come; the deſire of all Nations ſhall come, and then wil I fil this houſe with glory. What is this deſire of al Nations? We know it is Chriſt, of whom it is ſaid in another place, that he is the hope of the Gentiles, and that they ſhal be bleſſed and happy in him. And the Chaldee Paraphraſt hath tranſlated here, the Anointed. Also in the Talmud, Rabbi Akeiba vnderſtandeth that text of Chriſts comming, howbeit that hée miſtoke his perſon. And the Prophet Malachy who prophecied at the ſame time, expoundeth it in theſe words: The Lord whom ye ſeeke, and the Ambaſſadour of the league which you deſire, ſhall come incontinently into his Temple. The very meaning hereof is, that vnder this ſecond Temple, the Church of Iſrael ſhal haue this bleſſednes to ſee Chriſt the Lord, whom they loked for ſo long time. Now at the ſame time that ỹ Kingdome of Iſrael failed, that is to wit, in the reign of Herod, about 40. yeeres afore the deſtruction of the Temple, the little beautie that was in it did vtterly ceaſe. For the ſpirit of the great Synagogue (ſay the Iewes) which after a ſort ſupplied the want of the Prophets, came to an end in Simeon ſurnamed the Righteous, (of whom mention is made in the firſt chap. of S. Luke.) And then alſo ceaſed all the ſpeciall bleſſings of the ſecond Temple reckoned vp in the Talmud. Yea, and God ſhewed viſibly that he abhorred them, in that (ſay they) the ordinary appearing of an Angell at the entering in of the ſanctuary, was turned into an vgly and blacke Bugge. And whereas aforetimes 30. men could ſcarce open the doore of the Temple, now it opened of it ſelfe, whereat Rabbi Iohanan Ben Zaccai, one of Hillels diſciples was very ſore amazed. And in the end, the Temple was ſo deſtroyed, that one ſtone was not left ſtanding vpon another. And notwithſtanding that the Iewes had leaue to build it againe, ſpecially vnder the Emperor Iulian the deadly enemy of Chriſtians, who of his own purſe gaue greatly to the building thereof: yet could they neuer bring it to paſſe; but (as the Heathen writers of ỹ time do witnes) fires iſſued out of the earth, and thick lightnings from the Skie, and burnt both the workmen, and beat downe the workes which they had begun with ſo extreme pride and ſo exceſſiue coſt.

Malachie. 3. In the Talmud, in the treatiſe Sanhedrim. chap. Helec,

The Talmud in the treatiſe Terkei auoth: and in the treatiſe Iomach. Tereph Becaipt.

Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 23.

Sothly,

Gen. 49.

Eſay 66.7. Soothly, we may well ſay therefore, and hardly can the Iewes gainſay it, that the ſecond Temple is deſtroied long agoe without hope of recouery, and that Chriſt was promiſed to come afore the deſtruction therof. Therefore it muſt needs be that Chriſt is already come into the world. And that the hope of Iſrael was ſo, it appeareth yet further. For vpon the laſt Chapter of Eſay, where it is ſayd, Afore her panges came vpon her, ſhe brought forth a man child: Rabbi Moſes Hadarſan ſaith, The Redeemer of Iſrael ſhal be borne afore the birth of him that ſhall bring Iſrael in bondage. And Ionathan the great diſciple of Hillel ſaith vpon the ſame text, Iſrael ſhal bee ſaued afore her extremity come, and the Anointed ſhall be ſhewed openly afore the throwes of her Childbirth come. Alſo Rabbi Moſes of Tyrol, and Bioces, both according to this Text and by their owne reckoning vpon Daniel, doe looke for this thing towards the end of the ſecond Temple. Likewiſe the booke which they call Bereſchith Rabba maketh this Parable, As a certaine Iew was at plough, an Arabian paſſing by, heard one of his Oxen lowe: and hereupon willed him to vnyoke his Oxen, becauſe the deſtruction of the Temple was at hand: and that by and by the other Oxe lowed likewiſe: whereupon he bade him vnyoke out of hand, for the Meſſias was already come. And Rabbi Abon hauing repeated the ſame in another place, ſaith thus: What need we to learne it of the Arabians, ſeeing the text it ſelfe declareth it? Surely, I paſſe not for their Parables, which haue no very good grace with them, and oftentimes bewray that they want wit in very deed: but my intent is to gather of them, that it was a common opinion among them, that Chriſt or the Meſſias ſhould come into the world a little afore the deſtruction of the Temple.

Rabbi Moſes Hadarſan.

Bereſchuth Rabbi.

In the treatiſe Barachoth. In the Talmud of Ieruſalem. In Echa Rheabathi vpon the lamentations of Ieremy.

Let vs heare what ỳ Angel Gabriel ſaith to Daniel, for he goes neereſt of all to the matter. 70. weekes (ſaith he) are determined vpon thy people, and vpon thy holy City, to make an end of the diſobedience, and to anoint the Holy of Holyes. Know thou therfore and vnderſtand, that from the going forth of the commandement for the building againe of Ieruſalem, vnto Chriſt the Prince, there are ſeuen weeks, and 72. weeks, and then ſhall the ſtreets and the broken wals be repaired againe in ſhort time. And after 72. weeks, Chriſt ſhall be ſlaine and nothing ſhal remaine vnto him. And the people of a Prince that is to come, ſhall deſtroy the City and the Sanctuary; and the end thereof ſhall be as with an ouerflowing, and it ſhal be digged vp with deſolations to the end of the warre. And he ſhal ſtabliſh his couenant with many in one, and in the middes of the weeke ſhal he cauſe the ſacrifice

Daniels weekes. Dan. 9.

crifice and Oblation to ceaſe, and for the ſpreading out of abomination, he ſhall lay it waſte, &c. This onely one Prophecie is enough to conuince the Iewes, and therefore it behoueth vs to examine it from point to point. Firſt, that this text is meant of the Meſſias, it is ſo euident and abſolute, that it is a ſtarke ſhame to deny it. And ſo it is applied by Rabbi Saadies vpon Daniel, by Rabbi Nahman of Geround, and by Rabbi Hadarſan, who be the notableſt among them. For as for Rabbi Selomoh, who vnderſtãdeth of it Cyrus: or Aden Ezra, who applied it to Nehemaias, or Rabbi Leui the ſon of Gerſon, who vnderſtãdeth it of Ioſua the Highprieſt: there is not that word in this text, which doth not diſproue them: beſides that, the anointing which is ſpoken of here, muſt needes be a ſpiritual anointing, conſidering that there was not any more anointing at all vnder the ſecond Temple. There are (ſaith he) ſeuenty weekes. Let vs ſee what maner of weekes they be. The Scripture telleth vs of weekes of daies, and of weeks of yeeres: and examples of them both are in Leuiticus & in diuers other places. The weeks of daies ſerue for ordinary matters: and the weeks of yeers for matter of great weight and a long continuance. But Daniel may be his own expounder. For in the next Chapter he ſpeaketh expreſſly of mourning three weeks of daies, whereas here in a matter of eſtate, which paſſeth with ſlower ſteps, and requireth larger meaſure, he ſpeaketh of weeks ſimply without addition. And in very deed Ieruſalem could not be builded againe in ſeuen weekes of dayes, but it was to be builded againe in many weeks of yeers. After that maner are they taken by Rabbi Saadias, Rabbi Moſes, and Rabbi Selomoh alſo, vnto whom all the beſt of them conſent: and there is not any one of them (to my knowledge) which taketh theſe weeks to be weeks of daies. But as for the yonger Rabbines, whenſoeuer they be preſſed, they ſay, theſe weeks containe either ten yeeres apeece, or fifty yeers, yea, or a whole hundred yeeres apiece, a thing without reaſon in this text, and without example in all the whole Scriptures.

In the treatiſe Sanhedrim in the Talmud of Ieruſalem.

Leu. 25. & 26

Dan. 10.

It followeth, From the going forth of the Commandement for the building againe of Ieruſalem to the anointed Prince, are ſeuen weeks and threeſcore and two weeks. That is to ſay (as the Prophet himſelf expoundeth it) for the building vp of the City of Ieruſalem and the Temple, ſeuen weeks, which make 49. yeeres. And from the building againe of Ieruſalem vnto Chriſt, threeſcore and two weekes, which make 434. yeeres, all which together amount vnto 483. yeeres. And in good ſooth, if we begin (as the Prophet teacheth vs) to account the weekes from the day, wherein the word was ſpoken that Ieruſalem

Ier 29.1. Dld.1.

ſhould be builded againe, that is to wit, from the ſeuentieth yéere of the Captiuity, or from the firſt yere of King Cyrus when Ieremy wrot to the priſoners of Babylon, aſſuring them of their deliuerance, at which time Cyrus gaue commandement for the building againe of the Temple, vnto the time of Herod King of the Iewes, or of Tiberius the Emperor of Rome: we ſhall find that in that very time were fulfilled the 483. yeeres, yea and the very ſeuenty weéks wherein Chriſt was to ſtablith the Couenant of God with men. And it ſeemeth that Daniel, or rather the Angel meant in theſe ſeuenty weeks, to alludeto the ſeuenty yeeres, ſpoken of by the Prophet Ieremy, as if hee ſhould haue ſaid; At ſuch time as ye were led away captiue to Babylon, Ieremy aſſured you that you ſhould be deliuered from the temporal captiuity within ſeuenty yeeres, and yee ſee it is ſo come to paſſe. And now I tell you, that within ſeuenty weekes of yeeres, yee ſhall be deliuered frō the ſpiritual captiuity, by Gods couenant made vnto you, whereof the Anointed ſhall be the Mediator. I am not ignorant how ſome writers begin the account of theſe weekes at the firſt yeere of King Cyrus: and ſome at the ſecond yere of Artaxerxes, and otherſome at the 20. yere of the ſame Artaxerxes, becauſe at that time there went out another proclamation in fauour of Nehemias, by reaſon that the building of the Temple had bin ſtayed. But which way ſoeuer they goe to worke, the end of theſe weeks falleth ſtill vpon the time of Herod and Tiberius, and meeteth iumpe with the prophecies that went afore. And it cannot bee denied, but that they were accomplished according to the circumſtances ſet downe here by the Prophet. For the Prince of the people that was to come, deſtroyed the City, that is to wit, the Emperor of Rome did ouerthrow Ieruſalem, and beat downe the Temple, and abolith their Sacrifices through the whole Land of Iewry, and ſo were brought vpon them the extreme deſolation that is ſpoken of here by the Prophet. And therefore ſome of the Rabbines being vnable to ſhift off this ſect, haue preſumed that Daniel had ſaid well in all the reſt, but that he ouerſhot himſelfe in this account.

The very traditions of the Iewes themſelues do bring vs to this time: At leaſtwiſe there is not any whoſe date is not out long ago. In the Talmud is this ſaying of the ſchoole of Elias ſo greatly renowned among them: The world ſhall indure Six thouſand yeeres, Two thouſand yeeres emptie, that is to ſay, without Law, Two thouſand yeeres vnder the Law, And two thouſand yeeres vnder Chriſt. And Rabbi Iacob ſaith hereupō, that the firſt two thouſand yeares ended in the time of Abraham, the ſecond about the deſtruction of the Temple (which thing

thing he proueth by an account of the times) at the end of which latter two thouſand, he ſaith that Chriſt ſhould come & deliuer Iſael frō captiuity. Thus far he agreeth with vs. But he addeth, for our ſins ſake his comming is deferred. This gloſſe marreth the whole text: For in other places it is ſaid flatly, that the time of the cōming of the Meſſias is paſt now 740. yéeres agoe, which thing they lament in both their Talmuds. And vpon this verſe of Eſay, I will make haſt to do it in his time, which is ſpoken expreſly of Chriſt and of his kingdom; Rabbi Ioſua the ſonne of Leui oppoſeth theſe words, I wil make haſt, againſt theſe other words, In his time, I will make haſt ſaith the Lord, at leaſtwiſe if they be worthy (addeth Rabbi Ioſua) In his time, ſaith the text: that is to ſay, euen when they would not, (addeth Rabbi Ioſua:) which meaning of his he might haue expreſſed much more fitly, in ſaying that Gods grace gainſtandeth our ſinnes in ſuch ſort, and that all our iniquities cannot ſtop or ſtay the courſe thereof.

The Talmud in the treatiſe Auodazara.

The Talmud, or the treatiſe Sanhedrim. Chap. Helec

We haue another Tradition vpon Eſay Chap. 9. where he ſetteth downe this excellent Prophecie concerning Chriſt, A Child is borne vnto vs, &c. In that place are written theſe words, *Iemarbeh hammiſrah* concerning the increaſing of his kingdome, with the Hebrew letter ם *Mem* cloſed in the mids of the word, notwithſtanding that the ſaid letter which is as our *M.* is not wont to be written ſo, but in the end of a word. Here therefore according to their cuſtome, they fall to deſcanting vpon the letters, and becauſe the ם *Men* is here cloſed vp, whereas it ought commonly to be written open thus, מ: they ſay there muſt needs be ſome great myſterie hidden and ſhut vp there: and that as Rabbi Tanhuma was ſeeking the reaſon thereof, a voice from heauē anſwered him, *razi li razili*, that is to ſay, I haue a ſecret: which by the conſent of them all, concerned the Meſſias. But ſome of them paſſe further, and ſay that this cyphred letter importeth 600. that is to wit 600. yeeres, which are to be reckoned from this Prophecie vnto the Meſſias. And in very deed, from the fourth yeere of the reigne of Achas, at which time the Prophecie was vttered, we ſhall finde by account that they fall not out long after the time of Herod. Another is read in the Talmud in theſe words: Rabbi Elias ſaith to Rabbi Iehudas brother of Rabbi Sala the Eſſence, The world cannot haue any more than foure ſcore and fiue Iubilees, that is to ſay, Foure thouſand two hundred and fifty yeeres, and in the laſt Iubilee ſhall the ſonne of Dauid come without doubt, but whether in the beginning thereof, or in the end thereof, I cannot tel. Rabbi Aſſe is of his opinion in the ſame caſe.

Talmud in the booke Sabbath, & in the treatiſe Sanhedrim. For ſo M. is called of the Hebrewes.

In the treatiſe Sanhedrim. Ch. Helec. Rambam in his Epiſtle to the Iewes in Affricke.

R. Moſes of Geround vpon the fine bookes of Moſes. In the Cha. Halec of the treatiſe Sanhedrin.

To be ſhort, R. Moſes Ben Maimon ſayth in his Epiſtle to the Iewes of Affricke, that there is an ancient Tradition, that Chriſt ſhould be borne in the yeere of the world 4474. The which according to their owne account ſhould bee paſt, now more then 900. yeeres agoe. And Rabbi Moſes of Geround, and Leui the ſon of Gerſon ſpeak of another which behighted it in the yeer of the world 5118. which by their own account is expired more than 200. yeeres ſince. Finally, after much alteration and vaine expectation to no purpoſe, the concluſion of the greateſt Rabbins commeth to this point, That it is needleſſe to calculate any more for the comming of Chriſt: That all the times limited by the Prophets are already paſt, and that there remaineth not any thing els then repentance and good workes.

Ouer and beſides the time, they doe alſo deliuer vs certaine tokens of Chriſts comming in their traditions. When the Meſſias commeth (ſaith he) there ſhall bee fewe wiſe men in Iſrael, and many Seducers, Inchaunters and Wizardes. The wiſdome of the Scribes ſhall ſtinke, and the Schooles of Diuinity ſhall be become Brothelhouſes. Good men in Iſrael ſhall bee abhorred, and the countenances of the men of that age ſhalbe full of vnſhamefaſtneſſe. Is not this a liuely deſcription of the maners of the Iewes, yea euen of the Phariſes themſelues, in the time of Herod, and of the deſtruction of the Temple? Let vs harken what Ioſephus their owne Hiſtory-Writer ſpeaketh of them. Iewry was at that time (ſaith he) a Denne and Harbour of Theeues, of Murderers, of Inchanters, and of Seducers of the people. And doubtleſſe God was offended at their extreame vngodlineſſe, inſomuch that hee abhorred both Ieruſalem and the Temple, and brought in the Romans thither to purge them as it were with fire. Yea and I beleeue (ſaith he) that if the Romans had ſtayed neuer ſo little to come to deſtroy them, either the earth would haue ſwallowed them vp, or ſome great water-floud muſt haue drowned them, or els they had been burned vp as Sodome was. For that Generation was much wore then euer Sodom was. Thus then, aſwel the writings as alſo the notableſt Traditions of the ancienteſt Iewes, do point vs to the time of Herod. And truly, Tacitus, Suetonius and Ioſephus himſelf (witneſſes void of ſuſpition) repoꝛt that in that age it was bꝛuted euery where, that out of Iewry ſhould come a King that ſhould reigne ouer all the whole woꝛld: and that this ſaying was grauen in a very open and renowned place of the Caſtle at Ieruſalem, which thing cauſeth the Iewe, to be ſo ready to rebell, and ſo loth to ſerue the Romans. And it appeareth by the whole Hiſtoꝛie of that age, that all the people, yea and Herod himſelfe

R. Iohanan. R. Iuda, and R. Nehoray in the chap. Halec.

Ioſephus in his antiquities. lib. 20 cap. 6. & 8. and in his warres. lib. 6. cap. 15. & lib. 7. cap 9

Tacitus and Sueronius in the life of Veſpaſia. Ioſephus lib. 7. cap 12 Hegeſippus lib. 3.

ſelf had their eyes and eares euer open, waiting and watching for the Meſſias, the one to imbrace him and the other to deſtroy him. For as in all the former times, we read not that any man took vpon him to be the Meſſias, and much leſſe that any was receiued as he: ſo in this age there ſcarcely paſſed any one yeere, but ſome one or other ſtepped vp to be he: verely becauſe that (to their ſeeming) they had the diſpoſſeſſion of the people, and the very time it ſelf anſwerable to their intent. Herod therefore who perceiued himſelfe to haue been but newly proclaimed King by the Romans fearing to be diſpoſſeſſed of his crown, did what he could to deſtroy the bloud royal of Iuda, defacing their genealogies, and not ſparing euen his own ſons: yea, and there ſtepped vp certain Courtier Rabbines, which would néeds make the world beleeue ỹ Herod was the promiſed Meſſias, whereof ſome will haue the Herodians to proceede which are ſpoken of in the Goſpell. And this ſect was greatly furthered by the opinion of the fleſhly ſort, which by the Meſſias loked for a reſtitution of their ſtate; that is to wit, of vineyards, of gorgeous buildings, of precious ſtones, and of all things rather than of themſelues. Alſo, about the ſame time ſtepped vp one Iudas a Gawolnitie, who called the people to liberty, & maintained with ſome aſſiſtance of the Phariſes, that they ought not to pay tribute to the Emperor. So alſo did another Iudas the ſonne of one Exechias a Captain of Cutthroats, and a certain Shepheard named Athrouges, whoſe pretence was no leſſe then to be King, and to deliuer their followers from the yoke of bondage. Likewiſe vnder the gouernment of Fœlix, and in the reigne of Agrippa, a certaine Ægyptian taking vpon him to bea Prophet, led certain people vp to Mount Oliuet, and made them beleeue that from thence they ſhould ſee the wals of Ieruſalem fall down, & then they ſhould go in there. Againe, vnder the Preſident Cuſpius Eadus one Theudas vndertook the like enterprize. All which are ſignes that they took aduantage of the time, and abuſed the hope of the people to the maintenance of their owne ambition. But (which more is) we read in the Talmud, that in the time of Agrippa one Barcozba (which name ſignifieth the Sonne of Lying) ſtept vp among the people, & pretending to be Chriſt, was taken ſo to be by the Rabbines themſelues, and reigned 30. yeeres and a halfe: yea and that as Rambam repoꝛteth in his ſentences of Kings, they required not any ſigne of him: inſomuch that the great Rabbine Akiba the wiſeſt of all the Talmudiſts, became his Harnes-bearer, & applyed him to the ſecond Chapter of ỹ Prophet Haggæus expoũded heretofore, until at length after long and pernicious abuſing of them, when he could not deliuer them

False Chriſts in that age.

Ioſephus in his antiquities, lib. 18. cap. 8. l. b. 20 cap. 2. & 6.

Talmud in the treatiſe Sanhedrin. Cha. Halec.

R. Moſes ben Maiman in his Sentences.

them from the yoke of the Romanes, in the end they knockt him on the head. Yet notwithſtanding afterward againe, about 40. yeares after the deſtruction of ỹ Temple, another of the ſame name gathered into the City of Bitter all the Iewes that were therabouts: and of him they report wõders, as that he ſhould haue 100000. men about him, which vpon truſt of their inuincible ſtrength, did cut off one of their fingers: that going to battell hee was wont to ſay, Helpe vs not thou Lord of the world ſeeing thou haſt forſaken vs, &c. And that the Rabbines which had bin deceiued by ỹ former (ſo greatly were they perſwaded of the time) receiued this man neuertheleſſe, & made him alſo to be receiued of others, applying vnto him this text of the booke of Numbers, A ſtar ſhal come out of Iacob, becauſe the Hebrew word *Cocab* ſignifieth a Star: and ſaying ỹ in ſtead of *Cocab*, it ought to be written *Cozab* or *Cozba* which was his name. And this is written by their own Hiſtories, and confirmed afterward by ours, & alſo by the very Heathen writers which wrote the life of the Emperor Adrian. Yet for all this they were ſtil the more waſted & caried away into Spain, & Ieruſalem was peopled with other Nations, & the whole land of Iewry made vtterly heathen. And as many as went about afterward to abuſe ỹ Iews vnder that pretence (as one did, not long ſince in Italy) were by and by deſtroied & vtterly wiped clean out of remembrance. Let vs add yet further, that ſince that time (which is now aboue 160. yeers ago) they neuer had any Prophets, any comfort from God, any extraordinary gifts, no nor any knowledge of their Tribes: which is a moſt euident token, that the Propheſies which aimed chiefly at Chriſt, are fulfilled, and that in him the Church is cõforted & indued with the gifts which it hoped for: and to be ſhort, that he for whoſe ſake the pedegrées were to be kept certaine, is not now to be borne. And therefore we ſée how ſome of them doe ſay with Rabbi Hillel, That the daies of Ezechias haue ſwallowed vp the Meſſias: that is to ſay, that he is not to be looked for any more; and that folk haue made themſelues vnworthy of him: and that ſom others through extremity of deſpaire, do pronounce them accurſed, which determine any certain time of the cõming of the Meſſias. Thus then we ſée now that the holy Scripture & the ancient interpretation thereof, doe méet together in the time of Herod, to ſhew vs the Meſſias there: and thervpon it is, that we ſee the people in the Goſpel ſo ready to run after Iohn Baptiſt & Chriſt: and to moue theſe ordinary queſtions, Art thou he that ſhould come? When wilt thou reſtore the Kingdome of Iſrael? Shal we wait for another yet ſtil? and ſuch other. But let vs ſee what ſtarting holes ſtubbornneſſe hath in-

Bereſchieth Rabba R. Iohanan.

Talmud in the treatiſe Sol. Iſrael.

uented againſt the things aforeſaid. The Meſſias (ſay the new Rabbines) was borne at the very ſame time, and in the very ſame day that the ſecond Temple was deſtroied, that this prophecy of Eſay might be fulfilled, Before her throwes or panges came, ſhee was deliuered of a Man-child: but he is kept ſecret for a time. For ſo do we read, Gen. Chap. 30. And in the Talmud, Rabbi Ioſua, the ſonne of Leui ſaith, that it is a reuelation that was made vnto Elias. I would faine then haue them to ſhew me what one Text in all the Scripture giueth any inckling thereof. They adde that hee ſhall bee hidden foure hundred yeeres in the great Sea, eight hundred yeeres among the Sonnes of Cero, and foureſcore yeeres at the gate of Rome. And Rabbi Ioſua the ſon of Leui ſaith in the Talmud, that he himſelf ſaw him there lapping vp his ſores among the Lazermen. What are theſe things (euen by none other witnes than themſelues) but tales contriued vpon pleaſure, of purpoſe to mocke folk? Some ſay, he ſhal be ſet vp in great honor next vnto the Pope, and that in the end he ſhal ſay to the Pope, as Moſes did to Pharao, Let my people go, that they may ſerue me, and ſo forth. If he be borne ſo long agoe, and keep himſelfe ſecret (as they ſay in their Talmud) but till he be called to deliuer them: what cauſe is there why he ſhould keep himſelf away ſtill, ſeeing they haue called him ſo much and ſo loud, and ſo many hundred yeeres, ſeeing alſo that the time is expired, yea and almoſt double expired, and finally, ſeeing that euen according to their owne expoſition it is ſaid, I will haſten them in their time? They anſwere yet ſtill, there remaineth but a good repentance. Two-two miſerable ſurely were we, if God ſhould not preuent our repentance with his grace. For the very repentance of the beſt men, is but a ſorrineſſe that they cannot be ſorry enough. But let vs heare a pretetie Dialogue of two Rabbines diſputing in their Talmud of this matter. It is written, ſaith Rabbi Eliezer, Turne again, ye ſtubborne children, and I wil heale you of your ſtubbornneſſe: yea but it is alſo written, ſaith R. Ioſua: yee haue been ſolde for nothing, and ye ſhal be redeemed with money: that is to ſay, ye haue been ſold for Idolatries, which are nothing, and yee ſhall be redeemed without your repentance and good works. Yea but it is, ſaith R. Eliezer, Turne ye to me, and I will turne to you. But let vs alſo read, ſaith R. Ioſua, I haue taken ye in marriage as a wife, and I wil take you one of a City, & two of a houſehold, & giue you entrance into Sion. R. Eliezer replieth thus: It is ſayd, Ye ſhall be ſaued in calmneſſe and in reſt. Nay, ſaith R. Ioſua, it is writtẽ in Eſay, thus ſaith the Lord, the Redeemer of Iſrael to the deſpiſed Soule, & to the people that is abhorred; that is to ſay, that

The vaine anſweres of the Iewes. Eſay 66.8.

Bereſcheth Rabba vpon Gen. cap. 30. The Talmud treatiſe Sanhedrin. Ch. Helec.

The Children of *Core* were three brethren, which were Prophets at the ſame time that the Iſraelites were in the wildernes.

In the treatiſe Sanhedrin. ca Helec.

Ieremi. 4. Eſay. 52

Malachy 3.

Eſay 49.

that your wickednes ſhall not ſtop the courſe of Gods decree. In the end, Eliezer ſaith, what meaneth Ieremy then to ſay, If thou turn thee again, O Iſrael: ſeeing it is a conditional maner of ſpeaking? Nay ſaith Rabbi Ioſua, what meant Daniel then by this Text, I heard the man that was clothed in linnen and ſtood vpon the water of the Riuer, and he lifted his right hand and his left hand vp to heauen, and ſware by him that liueth for euer, and it ſhall be for a time and times and halfe a time? And the Talmud ſaith, that at this text R. Eliezer was blancht and held his peace, which was as much to ſay, as that he cõdeſcended to that which R. Ioſua had ſayd, namely, that the offences of Iſrael ſhould not ſtay the comming of Chriſt, but God that would preuent Iſrael with his grace. Againe, if the want of a generall Conuerſion do withhold the comming of the Meſſias, then conſidering that the puniſhment which lyeth vpon that Nation is vniuerſal, and their baniſhment of ſo long continuance and ſo far from home, & that their Temple, City & Countrie is deſtroyed, and they may not ſo much as once ſee them a far off, what is the crime that is ſo exceeding great, ſo vniuerſall, and ſo continuall among them? I meane, what is the fault peculiar to that Nation, and not common to them with all other Nations of the world? The firſt Temple (ſay they) was deſtroied for Idolatry, for ſuperfluity, and for ſheading of guiltleſſe bloud, & ſpecially the bloud of Zechary and Eſay. Yet notwithſtanding they wanted not Prophets in the time of their captiuitie: nay, they neuer had mo than then: ſo mercifully did God meaſure his comforts to them, according to their afflictions. What is to be ſaid then, ſeeing that now in ſo many hundred yeeres they haue not been comforted at all, no not euen at this day when they be both leſſe giuen to Idolatrie, and (to all ſeeming) more conſtant in their law: and in effect leſſe giuen to ryot, and leſſe bloudy than euer they were? May further, ſeeing that vnder the ſecond Temple they ſhewed ſo great zeale againſt the Romanes, that they admitted not any Idolatrie among them, but choſe rather to dye a thouſand deaths, than onely to receiue either the Emperors Image, or the Roman ſtandard painted with an Eagle: inſomuch that they left the breach of the wal of the City vnguarded, rather than they would breake their Sabboth day: what might be the cauſe that God ſhould withhold the open manifeſtation of the Meſſias, who they affirme to haue been borne at that time, or multiply their miſeries ſo extremely? Some ſay it was for their worſhipping of the Golden Calfe in the wildernes, that is to ſay for a fault that was committed two or three thouſand yeers ago, when as (notwithſtanding) the people were then

Dan. 12.

then preſently puniſhed for it out of hand, and many recoueries & ouerthrowes had enſued ſince in the meane while. Others ſay, it is for the ſelling of Ioſeph by his brethren: and thereupon ſome of them bring vp againe the fleeting of Soules, fathered vpon Pythagoras. Why doe they not rather acknowledge herein their owne cold abſurdities? nay (ſayes one of their bookes) it is for a fault which they know not: and therefore it is not foretold them when they ſhall be deliuered, as it was to the Captiues of Babylon. If they know not the fault, then can they not acknowledge it: and if they cannot acknowledge it, in vaine are all their Penances & Repentance. And yet in very deed, they haue from time to time (and that not long agoe) done publick & open penances, much more exactly to outward appearance, than euer they did: of purpoſe to haſten their Meſſias, who notwithſtanding (by the report of their Talmud) is ſo neere & ready at hand, that (by their ſaying) he will not ſtay one day, if they turn vnto God, according to this ſaying of the Pſalme: To day if yee heare my voyce. But we ſay, that forasmuch as their puniſhment is ſo vniuerſall, ſo long, and ſo extreme, their fault muſt needs alſo be ſo two. And that ſeeing the former Idolatries & vnrighteouſnes were pacified in the deſtruction of the firſt Temple, as they themſelues ſay; It muſt needs be ſome greater matter, that continueth their puniſhment ſtill after ſo many deſolations. And thereupon I conclude, both that Chriſt is come at his foreappointed time, and alſo that they haue refuſed him; ſo as God hath ſent them ſaluation in the ſelfeſame manner that he promiſed it them by his Prophets, and they haue trampled it vnder their feet.

The booke Mechilta.

Talmud in the treatiſe Sanhedrin. Ch. Helec. Pſalm. 95.

Chap. XXX.

That Ieſus, the Sonne of Mary, came at the time promiſed by the ſcriptures, and that the ſame is Chriſt.

NOw then, ſith in the time of the firſt Herod, both the Prophecies of the holy Scriptures, & the ancient traditions of the Iewes do meet, let vs examine who could haue been the Meſſias. For at that time (as I haue declared afore) many pretended themſelues to be hee, of whom both the liues, the doctrines, and (almoſt) the names alſo are now worne out of mind, notwithſtanding that they were vpheld by great multitudes of people, & authorized by the chiefe Doctors among them. Neuertheleſſe in

Philo in his book of Times,

in the ſame time, and euen in the ſelfeſame yéere that Herod was accepted of the Iewes for their King, Ieſus the Son of Mary was borne, whoſe whole life was nothing elſe but a teaching of Saluation to that people; and who alſo in the end was crucified by the Synagogue; and yet for all that, his doctrine and name continue ſtill through the whole world. He it is whom we call Chriſt, and whom we affirme to be the Anointed. And therefore let vs ſée firſt how all the prophecies are come to effect in him, & how he hath fully performed the office of ỳ Meſſias.

Eſay 9. Ieremi. 34. Here let vs call to mind the circumſtances which we haue noted heretofore. The Prophets haue told vs, that he ſhould be born of a virgin.

The Prophecies fulfilled in Ieſus. The Goſpel affirmeth Mary his mother to haue been ſuch a one; and yet the Iewes which haue come afterward, haue written that ſhe was taken in adultery. Well, ſéeing that in all their doings they ſhew ſo great rage againſt her Son: forasmuch as they had to deale but againſt a ſilly woman that had no ſtay to ſtand vnto, and their Law is ſo expreſſe & peremptory againſt adulteries; why did they not indite her of it, which would haue quailed the reputation of her Son, and of her ſelfe both together? Or why ſay they not rather, that he was the ſon of Ioſeph: but that Ioſeph knew and ſaid the contrary? And ſéeing that Ioſeph diſclaimed him for his ſonne, had they not the more aduantage to haue made him party & plaintife againſt her adultery? But ſhe liued ſafely amongſt them, both after her ſons death, & without ſifting into her life. And what greater proofe of her chaſtitie deſire we, than to ſée ſo many Phariſes, and ſo many Iudges inraged againſt one ſilly woman, and yet not daring to charge her with any crime? But the diſcourſe of one Theodoſius, a Iew, to a Chriſtian Merchantman, named Philip, in the time of the Emperour Iuſtinian, is worthy to be noted in this behalfe: In the Temple of Ieruſalem (quoth the Iew) there were two and twenty ordinary Prieſts: and as ſoone as any of them died, the reſidue choſe another in his place. Now it happened that Ieſus for his ſingular Godlineſſe and Doctrine, was choſen by them. And to the intent they might know the name of his father and mother, and inregiſter it according to their cuſtome, they ſent for them, and Mary came thither alone, becauſe Ioſeph was then dead. She being aſked the name of the Father of Ieſus, anſwered vpon her oath, that ſhee had conceiued him by the Holy Ghoſt, and reported to them the words of the Angell. Moreouer, ſhee told them the names of the women that came to her labour vnlooked for. Vpon due inquiſition whereof, when all things were found to fall out true, they regiſtred his name in the Regiſter of the Prieſts, in theſe words: IESVS THE SONNE

Borne of a virgin.

Suidas vpon the word Ieſus.

SONNE OF THE LIVING GOD, AND OF THE VIRGIN MARIE. And this Regiſter (quoth Theodoſius) was ſaued at the ſacking of Ieruſalem, and afterward kept in the Citie Tiberias, where it is preſerued in ſecret; and I haue ſeene it as one of the chiefe among the Iewes, and as one from whom, in reſpect of my degree, nothing was reſtrained: And I beleeue thereby, that it is not ignorance that holdeth me in the Iewiſh Religion, but the honor which I haue among my Country-men, the like whereof I could not haue elſewhere. Now there is great likelyhood that this ſhould bee true, conſidering that Ieſus (as we ſée) did preach in the Temple, and went ſometimes vp into the Pulpit, which thing the pride of the Phariſes would hardly elſe haue endured. And the holy Rabbine alſo ſaith expreſſly, that the Mother of the Meſſias ſhould be a virgin, and that her name ſhould be Mary; and he gathereth it after the Art of the Cabaliſts, out of theſe words in the 9. of Eſay, *Lemarbeh hammiſrah*. And Rabbi Hacanas, the ſon of Nehumia, ſaith, that this Mary was of Bethleem, the daughter of Iehoiakin Eli, of the line of Zorobabel, of the tribe of Iuda, which was the tribe whereof the Meſſias ſhould come. And of a truth, we read not in the Goſpel, that Ieſus was vpbraided by his comming of the tribe of Iuda, or of the houſe of Dauid; but rather, that he was the ſon of a Carpenter; for the long continued aduerſities of the houſe of Dauid, had brought ſome of his poſterity to low degrée. And Rabbi Vla ſaith, that Ieſus of Nazareth by name, being of the Blood-royall, (that is to ſay, the ſon of Dauid) was crucified the day afore the Paſſeouer. And ſéeing the Meſſias was ſo preciſely promiſed to be of that race; let vs not doubt, but that the Scribes would willingly haue verified the contrary, if they could: for then had the Goale beene wonne on their ſide. To be ſhort, to come back againe to the virginitie of Mary, ſhe was not a woman of ſuch kindred, aliance, & wealth, as might bee bold to hope that her ſingle word would be beléeued without Chriſt: neither were the people to whom he ſpake, beſotted with the opinion of the Heathen, who forged tales of their gods, to make themſelues to be the eaſilier beléeued: but the thing was ſo true, that the very truth thereof imboldened her. And in very déed, that is the very cauſe why Simon Magus (to the intent hee might not ſéeme any whit inferior to Ieſus) denied not the ſame point, but rather granting it to be true, was deſirous to make his Diſciples beléeue, that he himſelfe alſo was the ſonne of a Virgin. The Prophet Micheas ſaith: And thou Bethleem Ephrata, which art little to bee counted among the Families of Iuda, out of thee ſhall come to mee the partie that ſhall reigne ouer Iſrael, and

R. Hecadoſh, in the third queſtion. Eſay 9.

The Talmud, the treatiſe Sanhedrin Chapt. Nigmar Hadin.

Clemens in his Recognitions.

Micha. 5. 2.

and his forth-commings are from the beginning, and from the dayes of eternity. Here againe wee haue two births of Chriſt; the one in time, the other euerlaſtingly afore all time. And thereupon riſe theſe farre differing ſpeeches of the people in the Goſpel, ſaying one while;

In Bethlehem, Iohn 7.42. When Chriſt commeth, we ſhall not know whence he commeth: and another while; Is it not written that Chriſt ſhall come of the ſeed of Dauid, and of the towne of Bethleem where he dwelt? Now, that it was ſo vnderſtood by the Fathers of old, the Chaldee Paraphraſe giueth credit, where it is tranſlated thus: Out of thee ſhal Chriſt come,

Ionathan ben Vziel. which ſhall hold the Soueraignty ouer Iſrael. And Ionathan the author of the ſaid Paraphraſe, a principall Diſciple of Hillels, was yet aliue at the ſame time ꝑ Ieſus was borne: and the holy Rabbine, and Rabbi Selomoh conſent thereunto. And that Ieſus was born in Bethleem, euen after ſuch a faſhion as was not looked for, I ſee not that any of

Origen againſt Celſus. them denieth it. Moreouer, there was to be ſeene the Stable wherein Chriſt was borne, hewne out of a Rocke; which place Origen reporteth to haue been ſingularly obſerued of the Infidels in his time.

The Goſpel telleth vs, that Ieſus certaine dates after his birth, was carried to Ieruſalem to be offered to the Lord, according to the Law, ¶

Simeon that there a man named Simeon, a man that was righteous and feared God, being certified by the holy Ghoſt, that he would not die vntill he had firſt ſeene Chriſt the Lords anointed; toke him in his armes, and

Luke 2. praiſed God, ſaying; This day mine eyes haue ſeene thy ſaluation, &c. Here I charge the Iewes before God, to bethinke themſelues well of the things which they both write ¶ read of this Simeon, namely, how that the Diſciples of Hillel ſhould neuer faile till Chriſt were come: That this Simeon, ſurnamed the Righteous, and Ionathan the ſonne of Vziel, were two of the chiefe of thoſe Diſciples: That in this Simeon the ſpirit of the great Synagogue did vtterly faile ¶ ceaſe: That God himſelfe did then ſhew by all ſignes, that he abhorred that Synagogue ¶ the Sanctuary, and that all ſhould go away, and that all things were full of darkneſſe there. Whereof comes this change which they themſelues do marke ſo aduiſedly, but of their contempt of Chriſt? And whereas they ſay further, that the Temple opened of it ſelfe, and that

Talmud creatiſe Pirkei Auoth and in the creatiſe Iomach, chap. Tereph Bereſhi, Zach. 11. Ieſus. Rabbi Ionathan ben Zaccai, fellow diſciple with Simeon, being aſtoniſhed thereat, bethought him of this ſaying of the Prophet Zacharie, Open thy doores, thou Libanus, and let the fire conſume thy Cedars: what is it but the ſame that Simeon foretold vnto Mary, ſaying: Behold this child is ſent to be the ouerthrow, and the raiſing vp of many, and to be a ſigne that ſhall be ſpoken againſt? This Childe is named Ieſus,

Ieſus, that is to ſay, Sauiour: and the Goſpel adding the cauſe thereof, ſaith; For he ſhall ſaue his people from their ſinnes. Who ruled ¶ directed his birth, to be of a Virgin in Bethleem, and vnthought of, to make it meete iuſt with the Prophecies going afore, and to make his name how to agree both with the Circumſtances going afore, and with al the whole courſe of his life? For of ſo many men that had born the name of Ieſus afore, as well in the time of the firſt Temple as of the ſecond; in which of them ſhall we find all theſe things to concurre as they do here? Neither is this naming of him ſo, in vain. For like as neither Abraham nor Moſes did bring the Iſraelites into the land of Canaan, but Ieſus ꝑ ſonne of Nun: ſo neither the lawe of Nature, nor the lawe of Moſes could bring vs into our true Canaan, that is to wit, our ſpirituall inheritance, but only grace by the true Ieſus. And therfore the Saint Rabbi ſaith: that becauſe Chriſt ſhal ſaue folke, therefore he ſhall be called Ieſus; and becauſe he ſhalbe both God and Man, therefore he ſhall be called Emanuel (that is to ſay, God with vs.) And in another place, The Gentiles, (ſaith he) ſhall call him Ieſus. And he drawes this name out of the 49 chapter of Geneſis by a certain rule of the Cabale which they terme Notariak, by taking the firſt letters of the words *Iabho ſchilo velo*, which make the word *Ieſchu*: and likewiſe of theſe words in the 72. Pſalme, *iinnun ſchemo veiithbarecu*: and alſo of theſe in the 96. Pſalme, *iagnaloz ſadai vecol*: all which are terts that are meant expreſſly of the Meſſias. Although I make no account of theſe their doings, yet haue I alleaged them againſt themſelues, becauſe it is their cuſtome to ſhew the cunning of the Art of their Cabale. And after the ſame maner haue the Machabees alſo their name, that is to wit, of the firſt leters of the words of this their deuice, *Michamoca baelim Iehouah*: that is to ſay, Which of the Gods is like to thee, O Iehouah? That the name of Ieſus ſhould be reuealed vnto them, it is no ſtrange matter, conſidering that in the third and fourth bookes of Eſdras, Ieſus Chriſt the Sonne of God is named expreſſly, and diuers times, and the time of his comming preciſely ſet downe according to Daniels weekes. For although the Iewes account thoſe bookes for Apocryphaes, and the Primitiue Church hath not granted the like authoritie to them, as to the other Canonicall bookes, yet it is a cleare caſe, that they were written afore the comming of Ieſus Chriſt, of whom nenertheleſſe they ſpeake by name.

R. Hacadoſh. Eſay. 9

Gen. 49.

Pſal. 27

Pſal. 96.

Now the Scripture promiſed alſo a Forerunner, that ſhould come afore the manifeſting of the Meſſias to the world. For Malachy ſaith: Behold, I ſend my Embaſſador to make way before him; and by and by after,

A Forerunner. Malac 3.1.

R. Moyſes Ben Maimon in his Sentences. Mark. 9.11 The Chronicle of the Princes of Iſrael vnder the ſecond Temple.

after, ſhall the Lord whom you ſeeke, enter into his Temple. And in the next chapter following, he is called Elias, by reaſon of the likeneſſe of their offices; and this text (as I haue ſhewed afore) is vnderſtood by them concerning the Meſſias. And ſothly, wee haue certaine footſteps thereof in theſe words of the Goſpel; The Scribes ſay, that Elias muſt firſt come. And in another place, Art thou Chriſt, or Elias, or one of the Prophets? A little afore that Chriſt diſcloſed himſelfe, Iohn the Baptiſt ſtood vp in Iſrael, and was followed by ſuch a multitude of people, that all the great ones grudged at him: and hee is the ſame man whom by way of prerogatiue the Chronicle of the Iewes calleth Rabbi Iohanan the great Prieſt. Concerning this Iohn the Baptiſt, foraſmuch as they ſuſpect our Goſpel, let them beléeue their owne Storie-writer. There was (ſaith he) a very good man that exhorted the Iewes to vertue, and ſpecially to godlines & vpright dealing, inuiting them to a cleanneſſe both of body & minde by baptiſme. But when Herod perceiued that great multitudes of people followed him, which (to his ſeeming) were at his commandement; to auoyd inſurrections, he put him in priſon, where anon after, he cut off his head. And therfore it was the common opinion, that when Herods armie was afterward ouercome, and vtterly put to the ſword, it was through Gods iuſt iudgement for putting of Iohn Baptiſt vniuſtly to death. By this witnes of Ioſephus, we ſée what his office was, namely, to preach repentance, & to baptize, or (as Malachy ſaith) to turne the hearts of the Fathers to their Children, and the hearts of the Children to their Fathers. But the thing which we haue chiefly to note here, is, that hauing the people at commandement, yet when Ieſus came, he gaue Ieſus place, and humbled himſelf to him, & yéelded him the glory: the which thing man, being led by affection of man, would neuer haue done. Inſomuch that after ý Ieſus had once ſhewed himſelf, the diſciples of this great maſter ſhewed not themſelues as his diſciples any more: and ý was, becauſe his training & teaching them, was not for himſelf, but for Ieſus. And as touching the peculiar act of baptizing, it ſeemeth that the Leuits waited for ſome ſpecial thing vpon it, in ý they aſked of Iohn, How hapneth it that thou baptiſeſt, if thou be neither Chriſt, nor Elias, nor the Prophet?

Ioſephus lib. 8. ca. 7.

But let vs come now to ſpeake of the life of Ieſus, not according to our Goſpel, but according to ſuch Hiſtories as the Iewes themſelues cannot deny: and what elſe is it, than the very body of the ſhadowes of the old Teſtament, and the very pith and ſubſtance of the words that were ſpoken afore concerning the Meſſias? Let vs call to remembrance to what end hee came, namely, to ſaue Mankinde: and the

The kingdome of Ieſus is ſpirituall.

the nature of his kingdome, how it is holy and ſpirituall. Whereof are all his Preachings, but of the forgiueneſſe of ſins, and of the kingdome of heauen? His Diſciples were alwayes importunate vpon him in aſking him, Lord, when wilt thou ſet vp the Kingdome of Iſrael againe? In ſtead of contenting their fancies, hee anſwereth them concerning the kingdome of Heauen. They imagined ſome Empire of Cyrus, or Alexander: that their Nation might haue béen honoured of all other Nations of the Earth. One of them would néeds haue ſit on his right hand, and another on his left. What anſwereth he to this? May (ſaith he) whoſoeuer will be greateſt, let him be the leaſt; and if I, being your maſter, bee as a ſeruant among you, what ought you to bee? Yee ſhall bee brought before Magiſtrates: that is farre from reigning. Yee ſhall be perſecuted, impriſoned, tormented, and crucified: that is farre off from triumphing. I will giue you to vnderſtand how great things yee bee to ſuffer for my names ſake: that is very farre from parting of Countries. Yet notwithſtanding, happy ſhall you bee when you ſuffer theſe things, and he that holdeth out to the end, ſhal be ſaued. Who can imagine any temporall thing in this Kingdome, whereof the firſt and laſt Leſſon is, That a man to ſaue his life muſt loſe it; and to become happy, muſt wed himſelfe to wretchedneſſe? The people follow him for the miracles which hee worketh: and the Iewes deny not but he did very great ones. But let vs ſee whereto they tended. He fed a great multitude of people in the Wilderneſſe with a few Loaues. This miracle was matter enough for him to haue held them with long talke; but hee preacheth vnto them of the heauenly bread, which féedeth vnto euerlaſting life. Alſo he healeth all ſicke and diſeaſed folke that come vnto him: howbeit, to ſhew that that was but an appendant, or rather an income to that for the which hee came; Thy ſinnes (ſaith hee) bee forgiuen thee. To be ſhort, from Abrahams Well, he directeth the woman of Samaria to the fountaine life. Being ſhewed the goodly buildings of of Ieruſalem, and of the Temple, he fore-telleth the ouerthrow of them both. Being required a ſitting place at his right hand, or at his left; hee anſwereth of a Cuppe that ſuch a Petitioner is to drinke. When men go about to make him King, he ſteales away from them. And whereas his Apoſtles looke for ſome great triumph; his accompliſhing of it is after the manner that the Prophet Zacharie ſpeakes of, namely, by riding on a ſhe Aſſe, euen vpon the Colt of an Aſſe. And yet neuertheleſſe Herod the King trembleth at him in his throne, the whole counſell of the Realme are in a perplexity, and all the people are aſtonished.

And

And in his doings he maketh it to appeare ſufficiently, that he hath the hearts of all men in his hand; and that if he himſelfe liued, he ſhould be obeied both of the greateſt perſons, and in the greateſt matters. Surely then we may well ſay, that the marke which this Ieſus, and the marke which the Meſſias leuelleth at, are both one; namely, to drawe men from the earth, and to make them to plant their whole hope by his meanes in Heauen.

God and Man.

It followeth, that to this office which hee did euidently take vpon him, he brought the qualities requiſite to the executing thereof, that is to wit, that he was both God, and Man: I ſay, God, as the Sonne of God; and Man, as borne of a woman, without ſinne, and ſuch in all poynts, as he was forepromiſed to be. Of this hope we haue ſome foteſteps in the Goſpell. For ſome ſay, We haue heard ſay that Chriſt endureth for euer. And Nathanael himſelfe ſaith, Sir, Art thou the Sonne of God, and the King of Iſrael? that is to ſay, Art thou the Son of God whom we look for to be the King of Iſrael? To the ſame purpoſe may we ſet his two natures here one againſt another. Hee himſelfe was hungry: and yet he fed many thouſands with a few Loaues. Hee ſuffered thirſt: and yet he gaue other men liuing Waters that ouerflowed. He was weary: and yet he ſaid, Come vnto me all ye that are weary. He paid tribute, but he commanded the Fiſh to pay the tribute money for him. He was dumbe as a Lambe, but yet was the very Worde it ſelfe. He yelded vp his ſpirit and died; but he told them he had power to take it to him againe. To be ſhort, he was condemned; but he iuſtifieth: He was ſlaine, but he laueth: He prayed, but his praying was for vs, and heareth our prayers. For theſe counter-matchings, and the like, do we read of in our Euangeliſts, in whom we haue the doings of both natures diſtinguiſhed, and yet notwithſtanding ioyned together in one perſon. But if they will vtterly deny our Goſpels: then ſhall we in that poynt be more vpright than they: for we will not deny all their writings. Now they agrée with vs that he was man: and for all their calking vp of their foame againſt him in their bookes, yet are they not able to charge him with any vice euen in his priuate life: and therefore the chiefe thing that we haue to ſtand vpon, is the proofe of his God-head.

John 12.34

Ieſus (ſaith our Goſpell) wrought miracles. He healed the ſicke, reſtored limbes to the lame, gaue ſight to the blind, and raiſed the dead vnto life: and that not in one or two places, but in many: nor in a corner, but in the open ſight of the world: and there are many thouſands of men which will rather die vpon the rack then deny him, yea, or not preach

The Miracles of Ieſus.

preach him. I aſke them vpon their conſciences, if they will deny that he wrought any miracles. If they deny it: then what a miracle is this, that ſo many people doe follow a poore abiect without miracles, & are contented to die for his ſake, euen when hee himſelfe is dead? And if theſe miracles of his (as namely, the reſtoring both of ſight and life, & ſuch others) were not very great, and farre ſurmounting all nature of Man; yet who would loſe his life, but for a better? and how could hee giue the better, which could not giue the other? And if it be a miracle to worke vpon a man by touching him, and much more without touching him, and moſt of all without ſéeing him: what a miracle is it to worke in the hearts of whole Nations farre off, without ſéeing them; and to touch them without comming at them; and to turne them to him without touching them? And if the bones of Elias be cõmended for prophecying in his Toombe: what ſhall this Ieſus bee for ouercomming ſo many people, and for conquering ſo many nations after his death, yea and (which is a greater matter) euen by the death of his ſeruants, who preached nothing but his death? But the Rabbines ſaw well enough, that the miracles of Ieſus could not bee denied. And truly, R. Iohanan ſaith in the Talmud, that a Nephew of R. Ioſua the ſon of Leui, had taken poyſon, and that being adiured by the name of Ieſus, hee was healed out of hand: and this is a verifying of that which Ieſus himſelfe ſaith, That if they drinke any deadly thing, it ſhall not hurt them: and Rabbi Ioſes ſaith, that when a Serpent had bitten Eleazer the ſon of Duma, Iames the Diſciple of Ieſus would haue healed him, and Rabbi Samuel would not ſuffer him. And Ioſephus their own Story-writer ſpeaking of the miracles of Ieſus, findeth them ſo wonderfull, that he cannot tell whether he ought to call him Man or God. And they ought not to thinke it ſtrange that he ſhould worke miracles, conſidering that they beléeue the miracles of Moſes, of Elias, of Eliſeus, and diuers others. But ſome of them did attribute his miracles to Magicke, and ſome to the power of the name of God, which they charged him to haue vſurped; in the examining of both which poynts, I beſéech them to ioyne with me without affection.

The Talmud of Ieruſalem in the treatiſe Auodazara. Marke 16 Miſdrach Coheleth. Ioſeph. in his Antiquities. lib. 18. cap. 4.

As touching Magick, they ſay that their three ſcore and ten Senators, whom they call Sanhedrim, were very skilful in it: and ſo ſaith R. Selomoh alſo, the better to conuince the Inchanters. And we read in Ioſephus, that Magick was neuer more frequented in Iewrie, then it was among the Doctors at this time. Now if their meaning was to conuict Ieſus as an euill doer; why did they not put him to ſhame? why did they not vſe the rigor of the law againſt him? How happeneth it that

In the Talmud, treatiſe Sanhedrim, chap Dinei Mammonoth col. 120. ca. 6.

Man in

in their accuſing of him, they charge him not with any Magick at all: Or if they meant to ouercome him by the Art; why did not ſome one of them worke the like things, or greater? Why did not their miracles ſwallow vp his? Nay contrariwiſe, wherof commeth it, that Ioſephus calleth Ieſus a worker of miracles, and the other ſort Magicians & deceitfull Cozeners? And that his miracles worke ſtill euen after his death, whereas theirs vaniſhed away afore they were dead? But like as in ỹ time of Moſes, God ſuffered great Magicians to be in Ægypt, that he might make his owne power the more euident in Moſes: ſo at this time there was great ſtore of them in Iewry, to the intent it might appeare what difference is betwixt that which man can do by the Diuels abuſing of him, and that which the finger of God himſelfe can doe in man. And in good ſoth I dare well ſay, there is not any Art in the world that doth more clærly verifie the miracles of Ieſus, than Magick doth. For by Plinies report, there were neuer moe Magicians than in the time of Nero, (which was the time that Chriſts Diſciples did ſpread his doctrine abroad) neither was the vanitie of ỹ Art euer more apparantly knowne (as he witneſſeth) than at that time. And euen among the Iewes of our time, that Science is more common at this day, than among all other people. For they make bookes thereof, ſpecially in the Eaſt parts of the world. But what are they elſe than caſts of Legerdemaine, or Juggling trickes, and toyes for Babes to play withall? And as for the Magicians which the Princes of Chriſtendome maintaine in their Courts, to the ſhame of vs all, and to their owne confuſion; what are the things which they do (but to ſpeak fitly) meere illuſions that vaniſh away out of hand, as which conſiſt in ſome nimble trickes in playing at Cards and Dice, or in ſlipper deuices of ſlight & vaine things? Of which kinde of folks and dealings, I ſay not who would willingly die for them, but who would not be aſhamed to liue with them? As for Ieſus, we ſee it is farre otherwiſe with him. He wrought very great miracles in the world: and although he was crucified, yet (ſaith Ioſephus) his Diſciples forſoke him not: and therefore euen after he was gone from them, they wrought miracles ſtill: and what maner of miracles? Surely euen ſuch as within the ſpace of twenty yéers or thereabouts, filled all the world full of Chriſtians: and that miracle cõtinueth ſtil vnto this day. The Empires which had not heard any ſpeaking of Chriſt, were cõuerted to the kingdom of Chriſt, & beléeued him for his doings afore they heard of his name. The Emperours vnder whom he had bẽ crucified, and his Diſciples diuerſly perſecuted, are glad to do him honor, and to build Temples vnto him.

Let

Let the Iewes tel me what Magician they euer heard of, that wrought ſuch miracles after his death? If they ſay that Chriſts Apoſtles and Diſciples alſo were Magicians: then ſéeing that no man which is wel aduiſed, doth any thing but to ſome end: let them tell me what gaine the Apoſtles could get by exerciſing this magick, which procured them nothing but hatred, ſorrow, impriſonment, torments, and cruel death? And ſéeing that Magicians do hide themſelues, and conceale their Art, when they be purſued for it: what kind of Magick is this, which will nœds be knowne and exerciſed, euen in deſpite of Princes, and of the world, yea and of death: that is to ſay, euen in deſpite of the man himſelfe (if I may ſo ſay) that doth practiſe it? If it be further replied, that ſome extreme vaine glory led them: how happeneth it that euery of them did not cauſe himſelfe to be worſhipped alone? And that they did not their workes in their own names, but referred all to Ieſus, yéelding vnto him the power, the honour, and the glory of all? If they ſay (as of force they nœds muſt) that the power of the crucified Man wrought ſtill in them, and by them: Let them ſay alſo, that the ſame man liued ſtill euen after his crucifying, yea and a farre other life than all other men (conſidering that after this life he maketh men to bee more than men) that is to wit, a life not onely frée from death, but alſo euerlaſting and diuine indéed: and ſo is farre off from the puniſhment appointed by them to Magicians, that is to wit, from being in Jayle, and vnder torture, or (as they themſelues terme it) in endleſſe death. But as ſoone as they perceiue themſelues ſtopped on that ſide, by and by they ſéeke to ſcape out another way.

Ieſus (ſay they) wrought his miracles by vertue of the vnutterable name of God, which he fully vnderſtood. And thereupon they make an account, which ſheweth (as many other in their Talmud do) that in Gods matters they wanted not onely the ſpirit of God, but alſo euen humane wit and reaſon: and God knoweth I would be aſhamed to rehearſe it, but for their own welfare. Their ſaying then is, that in Salomons Temple there was a certaine ſtone of very rare vertue, wherein Salomon by his ſingular wiſedome had ingrauen the very true name of God, which was lawful for euery man to read, but not to con by heart, nor to write out: And that at the Temple dore were two Lions tied at two chaines, which rored ſo terribly, that the feare thereof made him to forget the name that had committed it to memory, and him to burſt aſunder in the midſt that had put it in writing. But Ieſus the Son of Mary (ſay they) regarding neither the curſe annexed vnto the prohibition, nor the roring of the Lyons, wrote it out in a bill, and

went his way with it with great gladneſſe: and leſt hee might be taken with the thing about him, he had a little opened the ſkin of his leg, & put it in there, & afterward wrought his miracles by the vertue of that name. Now yee muſt thinke that if I was aſhamed to repeat this gere, I am much more aſhamed to ſtand confuting of it. Neuertheleſſe, ſeeing that the ſumptuouſneſſe of Salomons Temple is deſcribed ſo diligently vnto vs, and yet no mention is made either of that rare ſtone, or of thoſe Lyons that were ſo zealous of Gods name: whence, I pray them, haue they this ſo faire tale? And how commeth it to paſſe that Ioſephus was ignorant thereof, who had ſo diligently peruſed their matters of remembrance? or how come they to the firſt knowledge thereof ſo many hundred yeres after? Againe, where became thoſe Lyons at ſuch times as the Ægyptians & Babylonians ſpoiled Ieruſalem, and defiled the Temple? How found they them againe in the ſecond Temple? Or if they were immortall, where became they afterward? Nay further, how happeneth it that Salomon that great King, who conſecrated & ingraued the ſaid Stone, wrought not the like miracles himſelfe, ſpecially ſith we read not that he wrought any miracle at all? And what godlines had it bẽn for him to haue concealed and kept ſecret that name, which would haue cured ſo many diſeaſes of body, and infirmities of minde? whereby folke may haue bẽne turned away from Idolatry, and the whole world might haue bẽn wonne vnto the law of God. But if I muſt nedes anſwere fooles further according to their folly, then if Ieſus be the ſeruant of the liuing God, and vſe his name to his glory, why do they not beléeue him? Or if hee ſerued not God, how could the name of God ſerue him as an inſtrument againſt the glory of God? And what a blaſphemy is it to vphold, that the power of God is ſo tied to his name, that his enemies may (whether he will or no) ſerue their owne turnes, both with his name and with his power, to the ouerthrow of his kingdome, and to the ſtabliſhing of theirs? Nay rather let vs ſay, according to their own teaching, that Ieſus did great miracles, both in the name of God, and in the power of God, and that God gaue power vnto his name, and not the name vnto God. Ieſus therefore was certainly the ſeruant of God, and indued with ſuch power from God.

In the treaſe Sanhedrin. chap. Helec.

Now whereas ſome deny that Chriſt ſhould worke miracles, when as notwithſtanding, the Scripture ſaith the contrary, and the Iewes in the Goſpell doe continually exact ſignes and miracles at his hand, and their Talmud reporteth that Chriſt ſhould diſcerne good from euill by the onely ſent, or ſauour, by the want of which propertie they ſay that

that Barcozba was bewraied not to be the Meſſias, and whereas they affirme that the wild beaſts ſhould lay away their woodnes, and that Ieruſalem ſhould be hoiſſed vp three leagues into the ayre, & ſuch other like, I confeſſe indede, that the chiefe end of Chriſts comming, was not to worke miracles, accordingly alſo as wee ſee his doing of them was but as vpon occaſion, and by accident; and I eſtéem more of thoſe which doe heare his word and keepe it, than of thoſe which remoue mountaines. Neuertheleſſe Rabbi Hadarſan ſaith, hee had learned of Rabbi Natronai, that Chriſt ſhould come with very great ſignes and miracles, and that the Phariſes ſhould attribute them to Art Magick, and to the names of vncleane Spirits: according whereunto we reade in the Goſpell, that they ſaid thus, He caſteth out Diuels by the name of Beelzebub. And the Commentarie vpon the booke of the Preacher ſaith, that all the miracles which went afore, are nothing to the miracles of the Meſſias. Alſo, the Talmud in a certaine place ſaith, That the miracles which ſhall bee wrought in the time of the Meſſias in the kingdomes of the Gentiles, compared with the Miracles that were wrought in Ægypt, ſhall bee as the ſubſtance to the accident.

R. Hadarſan vpon the Pſalme 74. Midraſch Coheleth cap 1 Talmud treatiſe Baracoth Chapt. Memathar korim.

Vnto Miracles is ioyned Prophecying, as a thing to be numbred among the chiefe miracles. That Chriſt ſhould bee a Prophet, they will not deny: for they take the text of Deuteronomie, where a Prophet is promiſed them, to be meant of Chriſt: and therupon riſeth this common demand in the Goſpell, Art thou the Prophet? And whereas they ſay in their Talmud, that the Meſſias ſhall iudge of things by their onely ſmell, it cannot bee ſoundly vnderſtood of any thing elſe, then of an excellent gift of Prophecying. To let paſſe a thouſand particular prophecies, and a thouſand texts whereby we perceiue that Ieſus read things in the hypocritiſh hearts of the Phariſes, & ſaw things in the hearts of his Diſciples, which they themſelues neither ſaw nor perceiued: who will not wonder at theſe which we ſee ſo peremptorily come to paſſe? namely, Yee ſhall be brought before the Princes & the Magiſtrates of the earth; Men ſhal think they do ſeruice vnto God, whẽ they murder you for my names ſake: That the glad tidings of his kingdom ſhould be preached through the whole world, notwithſtanding all impedimẽts: That Ieruſalẽ ſhould be deſtroied: That all things ſhould be waſted & vnhallowed there: That of the ſame Temple which they reuerenced ſo much, one ſtone ſhould not bee left ſtanding vpon another: And that the time wherein theſe things ſhould bee done, was thẽ ſo neere hand, that euen thoſe which led him to death, had cauſe to

The Prophecyings of Ieſus. Deut. 8, 18

bewaile themſelues and their Children? For what I pray you could thoſe poore Fiſhermen thinke, when he ſpake to them of being led before Kings and (which more is) when he told them that they ſhould driue Nations like Flockes of ſheepe afore them at the hearing of the Goſpell? What likelihood was there hereof in his owne perſon or in theirs, conſidring the lowlines of his life, and the reproachfulnes of his death? And as touching the deſtruction of Hieruſalem which befell about forty yeeres after: ſith we read expreſly in their owne Hiſtories, that the Emperour Titus offered them peace: ſought the preſeruation of their Temple, granted them the free vſe of their Religion, and during his ſiege diſſeeke as it were by intreatance to them being beſieged, that he might ſaue and preſerue them; and yet notwithſtanding (as Ioſephus reporteth) they would néeds periſh whether he would or no, and wilfully caſt themſelues into the ſame extremities whereof Ieſus had fore warned them: who can ſay that he was ignorant of the vnchangeable determination of God, notwithſtanding that to the ſight of Man, the matter was as likely to haue fallen out otherwiſe as euer any was, eſpecially conſidering that the enemies themſelues, on whom the whole caſe ſeemed to depend, laboured by all meanes to turne the deſtruction away from the beſieged.

The doctrine of Ieſus. Deut. 13.

Now, albeit that as well Prophesying as Miracles, haue either of them their peculiar and vncommunicable markes of Gods Spirit and finger, whereby to diſcerne the one from the other: Yet certeſſe, doctrine is the touchſtone of them both. For, if there riſe vp a Prophet (ſaith the Law) and giue thee a ſigne, or miracle, and thereupon he come and counſell thee to turne aſide to ſtrange gods, thou ſhalt not hearken vnto him. Therefore let vs ſee what doctrine Ieſus matched with his ſignes & miracles. Let vs read the Goſpel from the one end to the other, and we ſhall ſée nothing there but to loue God with all our heart, and our neighbour as our ſelfe. Alſo, he came not to abolith the Law, but to fulfill it: nor to deſtroy the Temple, but to purge it. The Phariſes had extended the Law but to the outward man, hee condemneth their hypocriſie, & bringeth it backe againe to the inward man. They ſaid, Hate your enemies: but he ſaid, If yée loue none but your friends, what are yée better then ỹ Publicans? They ſaid, Thou ſhalt not commit adultery, thou ſhalt not kill: but he ſaid, If thou look vpon a woman to luſt after her, thou haſt broken the Law: and if thou ſay to thy brother, Racha, thou haſt already killed him. To be ſhort, a neighbour by their interpretation, was but in Iericho, or néere there abouts: but he told them that a neighbour was in Samaria, in Idumea, and

and in all ỹ corners of the world. Alſo, if a caſe concern God, he taught men to forſake goods, preferments, father, mother, wife, children, and all that euer is, for loue of his ſeruice. As for ſaluation & welfare, hee taught men to hoord vp treaſure in heauen, & to ſhake off the world in this life, that they may bee clothed with glory in another. What is there in all this, I ſay not, which turneth a man away; but, which ſetteth him not in the right way, and which tendeth not in effect to the glory of ỹ true God, to the doing of our duty towards our neighbours, and to euery mans owne ſaluation & welfare? By the way, this doctrine is not a declaiming, nor an exerciſe of Philoſophers, who (as Seneca affirmeth) promiſes many goodly medicines in their bils, & contained poyſon and venom in their boxes: but it is expreſſed in his life, and read in his Diſciples; whom neither Iew nor Gentile haue euer blamed, but for their ſimplicitie & innocencie: Inſomuch that Philo the Iew made a booke expreſly thereof for a wonder. For whereas Celſus the Epicure obiecteth, that Ieſus choſe Publicans, and men of wicked conuerſation, to be his Diſciples: euen therin peculiarly hath he ſhewed the effectualneſſe of his doctrine in the curing of mens ſoules, as a Phyſitian doth in healing thoſe that are ſoreſt ſick, & furtheſt paſt hope of recouery in a Citie. To be ſhort, at his word the Nations that worſhipped Diuels, Men, Planets, Stocks & Stones, turned to the onely true God. The Diuels that had abuſed them, hid themſelues away, and their Oracles loſt their voyces, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. But as for the law of God, and the holy Scriptures, (I meane euen thoſe (ye Iewes) which you your ſelues beléeue & reuerence:) they come to bee read, embraced, & expounded through all the world, and in all Languages. If this doctrine then be of the diuell; by what mark ſhal we know the doctrine of God? And if to giue authority to the Bible ouer all the world, bee the deſtruction thereof; what ſhall wee call the eſtabliſhing thereof? And if Ieſus haue by his doctrine eſtabliſhed the ſeruice of the true God, authorized the law of Moſes, and rooted vp the ſeruice of the diuell by the bottome; how can it be ſaid that the diuell hath either inſpired him, or aſſiſted him in his miracles & prophesyings, both for the kingdome of God, and againſt the Diuels owne tyranny?

Philo concerning the Contemplatiue life.

An obiection.

Yea (ſay you) but he profeſſed himſelf to be the ſon of God. So much the rather (ſay I) ought you to embrace him, ſéeing that by the record of your Anceſtors, the Meſſias ought ſo to be. And in reporting himſelfe to be ſo, if you read your owne Doctors well, ye ſhall find that he turnes you not away to diuers gods, nor yet to ſtrange Gods. For according to your own Scriptures and Traditions, theſe three, namely,

Looke the 6. chapter heretofore

the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, are but one God. I would know but this one thing of you: whether you take him for a true Prophet or for a falſe prophet: for the ſeruant of God, or for ỹ ſeruant of the Diuell. You haue ſaid heretofore, that he vſed the power of the name of God in his miracles, wherby ye haue granted me very much: and I alſo haue proued vnto you, that ſuch particular and ſpeciall Propheſies as theſe, cannot proceede, but from God himſelfe. But what a ſeruant is hee to the Diuel, which ouerthroweth his Maſter: How is he not an ouerthrower of him, which ſaueth vs? How is hee a falſe accuſer of vs, which iuſtifieth vs? How is hee a deadly enemie, which ſetteth vs againe in life? For what elſe hath the doctrine of Ieſus done throughout the whole world, but deſtroyed the Altars of the Diuels, beaten down their Temples, broken their Images in peeces, abolished their gamings, their feaſts, their Sacrifices: and moreouer, withdrawne the reſt of men from murder, whoredome, theft, and all other abhominations wherein they were plunged, and from the vaine ſeruices whereabouts they occupied themſelues, and wherewith they deceiued their owne conſciences? If yee ſay hee was the ſeruant of God: The very Turkes confeſſe as much. Therefore proceed yet further, and grant, that ſith he is the Prophet & ſeruant of God, he is to be beleeued. For God the Creator being altogether good and wiſe, would not lend him his ſpirit to deceiue vs. And if we ought to beleeue him, we ought alſo to heare him: and if we heare him, he telleth vs that hee is Chriſt the Anoynted, that he is the truth, that he is the way, that he came from God his Father, and that the Father and hee are but one. And indeed, one while to ſhew that he was ſent of his Father, he prayeth vnto him: and another while to ſhew that hee is equall with him, he commandeth abſolutely, and of himſelfe. Surely therefore we may well ſay, that this Prophet Ieſus being aſſiſted by Gods Spirit, both in his Prophecyings, and in his Miracles, and in his Doctrine: and being borne of a virgin in Bethleem, and at the time appointed afore-hand by the Prophets; is Chriſt the Lords Anoynted, God and Man, euen ſuch as hee was declared and behighted vs in the holy Scriptures, as I haue ſhewed already.

The ſtūbling-block of the Iewes.

But lo, here the ſtumbling-block of the Phariſes & the Iewes. What likelihood is there (ſay they) that our Chriſt, by whom we looke that Iſrael ſhould be ſo renowned, ſhould bee ſo baſe and abiect a perſon? May moreouer, if he be both God & Man (as you Chriſtians ſay he is) what can be imagined more againſt all reaſon, than that he ſhould bee buffeted, whipped, crucified, accounted among theeues, & in the end reprochfully

prochfully killed as your Ieſus was? Sothly, to folk that haue imagined and reckoned vpon a Monarchy of the whole world, and behighted themſelues places among the chiefe in the ſame: it muſt needs be a great corſie and griefe to be defeated of that hope. But had they well chewed and digeſted this text of Zacharie: Behold, thy King commeth vnto thee, righteous, Sauiour-like, and lowly, riding vpon an Aſſe, euen the Colt of an Aſſe: which Text their Rabbines expound of the Meſſias, and we read it to haue bin fulfilled in Ieſus at his comming into Ieruſalem: they would not think it ſo ſtrange, that in the ſame perſon alſo ſhould be perfomed this ſaying of the ſame Prophet in another place; I will powre out the ſpirit of grace and mercy vpon the houſe of Dauid, and vpon the Inhabiters of Ieruſalem: and they ſhall look vpon me whom they haue pearced: which text likewiſe the Rabbines expound of the Meſſias, as wel as the other. Now I haue shewed heretofore, that the Meſſias ſhould reconcile vs vnto God, by the ſatisfaction & amends which he ſhould make vnto him for vs: and alſo how agreeable the ſaid amends was both to Gods iuſtice & mercy, which cannot be contrary one to another, and alſo to the order of dealing that is among men. For inaſmuch as man would needs through his pride become equal with God, and by his diſobedience be as God: it was meet that his ſeuerity ſhould be abaſed euen beneath man, and yeeld perfect obedience, euen to the moſt reprochfull death that could be. Againe, to turne man again, and to reſtrain him from ſin, nothing could be more effectuall, than to make him know the horribleneſſe of his ſin, by the greatneſſe of the penalty & ſatisfaction thereof: neither could any thing be more forcible to allure him to the loue of God, and of his neighbour, than to ſee God redeeme him from wretched thraldome by the death of his own Son God & Man, and the ſame his own Son crucified and dying for the ranſome, not of his brethren, but of his enemies, whom he vouchſafed to admit to be his brethren. But forasmuch as the Iewes beleeue the Scriptures, they will not refuſe them in this point, and therfore let vs examine them here together.

Zac 9. & 12

As touching Chriſts lowlineſſe in abaſing himſelfe, I haue treated thereof heretofore, and all the whole Scripture teacheth it vs ſufficiently. At one word, in the place where it is ſaid, The Scepter ſhall not be taken frō Iuda, it is added by & by, Tying his Aſſe-colt to the Vine-and the Foale of his Shee-aſſe to the hedge. Upon which text Rabbi Hadarſon ſaith thus: When Chriſt commeth to Ieruſalem, he ſhal gird his Aſſe with a girt, and enter into the City very poorely and lowlily, euen after the ſame manner that is ſpoken of him in the ninth of Zach.

Gen. 49. R Moſes Hadarſan vpon the 49. of Gen.

But

But to auoide often repetitions, let vs beare in mind what hath bin ſaid afore, that it may lead vs the more gently to the paſſion of Chriſt, which is our only welfare and their vtter ſtumbling block. We haue in the Law a great number of Sacraments and Sacrifices, as well ſolemne at ſet feaſts as continuall and ordinary, and among them the Eaſter-lambe, the Sacrifice of the redde Heyfar, the ſending of the Scape-Goat into the Wilderneſſe, and ſuch other like: of all which it is ſaid, that their blod waſheth and cleanſeth away the ſin of the Congregation, and that the ſprinkling therof turneth away the Angell of deſtruction from their houſes. Now forasmuch as this was done with ſo great ſolemnity, expreſſly commanded to be obſerued, and conuaied ouer from age to age, and from father to ſonne: I aſke them vpon their conſciences, whether they be ſignes & figures of a Sacrifice to come which ſhould cleanſe away ſin, or whether thoſe Sacrifices themſelues had that vertue. If they ſay the Sacrifices had that force in themſelues: what vertue is there in the bloud of a Lambe or of a Heyfar, againſt ſin? And wherfore ſaith God ſo oft̃e to vs, I wil none of your Sacrifices, I will haue none of the bloud of your Bulles and Goats, all ſuch things are but ſmoke and loathlineſſe in my ſight? And at ſuch time as they were priſoners at Babylon, or ſcattred abroad in the World, where they might not by their lawe offer any Sacrifice: was there then no forgiueneſſe of their ſins? Yes ſurely: and therfore they were ſignes & figures of Chriſt as then to come, who was to dye for our ſinnes: which ſignes do now ceaſe and haue ceaſed now theſe many hundred yeeres through the whole world, euer ſince the comming of him that was betokened by them, namely, of the Lambe, of whom it is ſaid in Eſay: He was led to the ſlaughter as a Lamb, and he held his peace without opening his mouth, as a ſheepe before the Shearer: which text the Rabbines alſo do interpret to be meant of the Meſſias. And as concerning the red Heyfar, the Cabaliſts do make a queſtion of it, and aſke why in the booke of Numbers, the death of Marie is ioined immediatly to the Law of the red Cow; and out of it they will needes draw the death of Chriſt to come. And in very deed Jeſus the true Eaſter-Lambe was crucified on the very day of the Paſſeouer, as witneſſeth Rabbi Vla in the Talmud. As Eſay had ſaid of the Lamb Chriſt, He is ſlain for the ſin of the people: ſo Iohn Baptiſt ſaith of Jeſus: Behold the Lambe of God, which taketh away the ſins of the world. Againe, as they were forbidden to breake any bone of the Eaſter-Lambe, ſo were Chriſts legges left vnbroken, when the legges of the theeues that were crucified with him were broken.

The paſſion of Ieſus foretold in the Scriptures.

Eſay. 53.

Numb. 19

In the treatiſe Sanhedrim Chap. Nignaat Hadm.

To

To be ſhort, as the red Cow accompanied with all the people, was conuaied out of the Hoaſt, and burned without the Camp: ſo alſo was Jeſus led out of the citie accompanied by the people, and crucified without the City. But let vs reade the Hiſtorie of the life and death of Jeſus whole together out of Eſay. There was neither fauour (ſaith he) nor beauty in him, neither ſaw we any fairneſſe in him that was to be deſired. Hee was deſpiſed and thruſt out from among men, a man ful of infirmities & indured to ſorrow, by reaſon wherof we accounted him ſo vile, that wee hid our faces from him. Yet in very deed he bare our infirmities, and was loden with our ſorrowes, but we thought him to be wounded and ſtricken of God, wheras he was wounded for our miſdeeds, and ſmitten for our ſinnes. The puniſhment of our peace was layd vpon him, and by his ſtripes are we healed. All of vs went aſtray like ſheepe, and turned aſide euery man after his owne way: and the Lord hath caſt vpon him the iniquities of vs all. Being miſintreated & ſmitten, he opened not his mouth. As a Lamb was he led to be ſlain, & yet held his peace as a ſheep before the ſhearer. He was hifted vp from priſon and iudgement, and yet who is he that can reckon vp his generation? He was plucked vp from the liuing vpon earth, and couered with wounds for the ſin of my people. His graue was giuen him with the wicked, and with the rich in his death. Although he neuer committed vnrighteouſneſſe, nor any guile was found in his mouth, yet was it the Lords will to breake him with ſorrow, that when he had giuen his life in ſacrifice for ſin, he might ſee a long laſting ſeed. Which deuice of the Lord ſhall proſper in his hand, and with the labour and trauell of his ſoule ſhal he get great riches. My righteous ſeruãt (ſaith the Lord) ſhall with the knowledge of him make many men righteous, and take their ſins vpon himſelf. I wil giue him a portion amõg the great ones, and he ſhal diuide the ſpoile with the mighty ones, becauſe he yeelded his ſoule vnto death, and was accounted among the tranſgreſſors, and took vpon him the ſins of many, and praied for the offenders. Who ſeeth not in this text, both the apprehenſion, and the ſorrowes, and the wounds, and the death of Jeſus? yea & his meknes, lowlineſſe, and innocency? His apprehẽſion turning to our deliuerance, his ſorrows to our ioy, his wounds to our health, his death to our life, his righteouſnes to our inrighteouſnes, & his puniſhment to our obtainment of grace? And when we read, He was abhorred of men, & we made none account of him, do we not ſee men ſpitting in his face? Alſo, when we read theſe words, We tooke him to be wounded of God, doe wee not heare the Iews ſaying to him, If thou be Chriſt the choſen of God, ſaue

Eſay. 53.

thy

thy ſelfe? Againe, when he is outragiouſly dealt withall, and yet he openeth not his mouth, do we not note his innocēt holding of his peace? Finally, whereas he was numbred among the tranſgreſſors, and yet prayed for them, notwithſtanding that he bare the ſins of other men: what is it els but the crucifying of Ieſus betweene the two theeues, and the very ſpeech of the repentant thiefe which ſayd: As for vs, we receiue worthily according to our deeds; but as for this man, what euill hath he done? Yea, and the very Prayer which Ieſus made vpon the Croſſe, ſaying: Lord forgiue them, for they know not what they do? Now, that the ſaid text was vnderſtood of Chriſt by the old Rabbines, the Iewes cannot deny. For Ionathan the Chaldee Paraphraſt the ſonne of Vziel, who lined about that time, expounded it of Chriſt by name. And whereas it is ſaid, In very deed he bare our infirmities, Ionathan tranſlateth it, He ſhall be heard at Gods hand for our faults, and for the loue of him our ſinnes ſhall bee forgiuen. And vpon theſe words, We hid our faces away from him: He ſaith thus, As though the countenance of the Godhead had been withdrawne from him, becauſe he ſeemed ſo to our ſight, and wee conſidered not what hee was indeed. Whereupon Rabbi Vla ſaith thus in the Talmud: Let him come, but let not mee ſee him: and his ſo ſaying was for the extreme paines which he knew that Chriſt ſhould endure. And therefore they feyne that he ſits binding vp of his ſores at Rome gate. Alſo, in a certaine place where they inquire of the name of Chriſt, they ſay he ſhall be called White, as one couered with ſores of Leproſie: and they adde, according to this ſaying of Eſay: In very deed he bare our infirmities, and tooke our ſinnes vpon him. And we took him as a Leper, and as one wounded and caſt downe of God. Neuertheleſſe, that the Iewes (notwithſtanding the euidentneſſe of this Propheſie) ſhould not for all that beleeue, the Prophet himſelf doth Propheſy in the ſame Chap. For afore he enter into the matter of Chriſts paſſion and death, hee maketh this preface, ſaying: Who hath beleeued at the hearing of vs? or to whom hath the Lords arme been diſcouered? And on the contrary part, he ſaith to the Gentiles: Many men ſhall wonder for the loue of him, and Kings ſhall ſhut their mouthes before him. They that haue not beene told of him, ſhall ſee him, and they that haue not heard of him, ſhall thinke aduiſedly on him. Vpon this ſo cleere a text, let vs heare the inuentions of perſons that haue inbattelled themſelues againſt their owne ſaluation. To turne this Text from Ieſus, Rabbi Selomoh, and Dauid Kimhi (afore whom the ſaid wilfulneſſe of opinion was not among the Iewes) haue turned away from all the writers of

In Moſes Hadarſan, Gen. 24.

Treatiſe Sanhedrim. Chal. Helec. Miſtrach. Ruth. Rabbi Ioſes in the booke Siphen. R. Iacob & R. Hamma. Cha. Halec.

The fond ſhifts of the Iewes.

of former time, whom (notwithſtanding) they confeſſed to haue vnderſtood it of Chriſt, and they paſſe not what they ſay, ſo they may ſtand vpon denial. This text (ſay they) is not meant of Chriſt, but of the Iewiſh people, afflicted by the Chaldees and the Romanes. And this ſerueth well to ſhew what ods is betweēn the iudgement of Reaſon and of affection. For I preſume ſo much vpon their vnderſtanding, that if they had beene borne in the time of Ionathan the ſonne of Vziel; or at leaſt wiſe at any time afore the comming of Ieſus, they would haue bin vtterly of another mind. Then if the Prophet ſpeak of the afflicted children of Iſrael, when he ſaith: He was deſpiſed of men, and wee hid our faces from him: Of whom, I beſeech them, is that ſaid which followeth without change of perſon, namely, In very deed hee bare our infirmities, and we took him to haue bin wounded of God? That is, he was deſpiſed, is meant (ſay they) of the people of Iſrael. Then that hee bare our infirmities muſt needs (ſay I) be meant of the people of Iſrael too. And what can be more fond, than to ſay that the people of Iſrael bare the infirmities of the people of Iſrael? ſpecially, ſith it is ſaid immediatly: and by his ſtripes are we healed, which ſaying putteth an apparant difference betweēne the Phyſicion & the Patient, betweēne the Sufferer and him that is eaſed by his ſuffering. Againe, what people, or what Nation was euer benefited by the ſufferings of the Iſraelites? To what purpoſe ſerueth this out-cry of the Prophet, Who hath beleeued our word, if hee haue no further meaning than y the children of Iſrael bare their own pains? Al of vs (ſaith the Prophet forthwith) haue gone aſtray like ſheepe. Who be theſe ſheepe that haue gone aſtray, but the Iſraelites, and among them the Prophet himſelfe? And vpon him (ſaith he) hath the Lord caſt the ſinnes of vs all. If hee caſt them vpon Iſrael, what cauſe of wonder is there in not beleeuing it? For who doubteth but that euery man is worthy to beare the blame of his owne fault? But will any man gainſay the Prophet himſelfe, who expoundeth himſelfe ſo plainly afterward? Hee was plucked vp out of the Land of the liuing (ſaith he) and couered with wounds for the ſinnes of my people. For who ſeeth not here a manifeſt countermatching betweēn the people that are healed, & the party that ſuffreth for the healing of them? betweēne Iſrael whoſe ſores are brought to a ſcar, & the party that beareth away his ſores? The Prophet addeth, There was no vnrighteouſneſſe in him, neither was any guile found in his mouth. Surely, there is pride in men, yea and euen in theſe men, and yet I can harply beleeue, but that they would bee aſhamed to challenge the verifying of this Text vpon themſelues. And as for the

people of Iſrael that were afflicted by ỹ Chaldees; the Rabbines affirm their firſt Temple was deſtroied for their Idolatrie, Superfluitie, & sheading of guiltleſſe bloud. And concerning the 2. Temple which was deſtroied by the Romans, they ſay the cauſe therof was the peoples couetouſnes, their hating of their neighbors without cauſe, and their ſelling of the righteous perſon. And wheras they reply, That the people of Iſrael ſuffered ſo much affliction at one ſeaſon, as ſufficed to diſcharge their ſucceſſors ỹ liued afterward in another ſeaſon: ſurely, beſides that it is contrary, both to the Juſtice & to the mercy of God, that gloſe cannot be verefied of any line of ỹ ſaid text: but it appeareth by experience, that the afflictiõs which the people of Iſrael indured at the hands of the Chaldees, did not diſcharge them of Antiochus, nor the afflictiõs laid vpon them by Antiochus, defend the Jewiſh Church againſt the Romans, nor the extreme outrages of the Romans ſo ſatiſfie for the ſins of that people, but that they be more ſcattered, & more brought in bondage, as well of moe ſorts of maſters, as of mo ſorts of ſlauery at this day, thã euer they were afore. And this you ſee, how out of one falſe & abſurd præpoſition, there flow conſequences yet more abſurd. But let vs heare further, how this text is expoũded by other of the Prophets. Seuenty weekes (ſaith Daniel) are ſet down for the ending of diſobedience, & for the ſealing vp of ſin, & for the cleanſing away of iniquity & the bringing in of righteouſnes for euer. As how? For vnto the anointed Prince (ſaith he) ſhal be 7. weeks and 62. weekes, after which time, the Anointed ſhal be ſlaine, and nothing ſhall be left vnto him, & the Prince of a people to come ſhall deſtroy the Citie, &c. Here you ſee how Chriſt muſt die, and namely, for ſin, according to this ſaying of Eſay, He hath giuen his life for ſin. And (as I haue ſhewed already) Ieſus was put to death euen the very ſame time. As touching the circumſtances of his death, They pierced my feet and my hands (ſaith Dauid) and parted my garments among them, and caſt lots for my coate. We read not that Dauid was ſerued ſo, but rather Ieſus, who was crucified (howbeit that that kind of puniſhment was not vſed among the Iewes, but among the Romans) & lots were caſt for his coat: and the Euangeliſts alleaged this text to ỹ ſame purpoſe, as who would ſay, it was ſo vnderſtood in their time. And whereas in ſtead of *Caru*, that is to ſay, They pierced, the Iewes will needes read *Caari*, that is to ſay, As a Lyon: their Maſſorets (who haue made a Regiſter of all the Letters of the Scriptures) do witnes that in all good Copies it is written *Caru*, they pearced. Also the 70. Interpreters, being Iews, haue tranſlated it ὤρυξαν χεῖράς μου, &c. They haue pearced my hands, &c. And the old Chaldee Tranſlater hath ioined both theſe readings in one, thus; They haue pearced & thruſt through my feete & my hands as a Lyon. They that vnderſtand the Indian & Ethiopian tranſlations, do witneſſe the like: accordingly alſo, as the Iewes themſelues do know by their own readings, and are warned by their Mazaroths, that that ſence is vnperfect. For as for the Chaldee Paraphraſe of R. Ioſeph the blind, becauſe he was about 340. yéres after Ieſus, we admit him not for a Judge: and beſides that, he was doubly blinded with a mad mode, which he bewraieth euery where againſt vs. Also the Prophet Zachary ſaith, I will poure out the ſpirit of grace and mercy vpon the houſe of Dauid, and vpon the Inhabiters of Ieruſalem, & they ſhall look vnto me whom they pearced. He that poureth out this ſpirit is God: He that is pearced is man: & both the one and the other together is Chriſt God and man. And they themſelues expound this text in the ſame ſence cõcerning the Meſſias, that our Euangeliſts alleage it of Ieſus ỹ was ſtricken into the ſide with a ſpeare, which ſurely had bin a fondnes in them (conſidering how few texts they alleage) if they had not been commonly vnderſtood to conceme the Meſſias. And it is all one with this, which ſome of the Rabbines do ſay in the Talmud, namely, That Chriſt ſhould be diſtreſſed as a woman that laboreth of child, according as Ieremy ſaith, that he had great anguiſhes to ſuffer, but that he would indure them willingly to deliuer men from ſin. And Rabbi Hadarſan ſaith, that Sathan ſhould be an aduerſary to him and his Diſciples: and therefore hee aplyeth vnto him a part of the third Chapter of the Lamentations of Ieremy. Also in the book of Ruth, where it is written, Eate thy bread, & temper it with vineger: This bread (ſaith the Commentary) is the bread of the Anointed King or Meſſias, who ſhal be broken for mens ſins, & indure great torments, as it is written in Eſay. And the Saint Rabbi ſaith, That Chriſt ſhould deliuer mens ſoules frõ hel by his death. Howbeit yet further, whereas it is ſaid in Eſay, We be healed by his death: the ancient Cabaliſts vnderſtand it of Chriſt, and ſay, that the Angels (who were the teachers of our forefathers, as Raziel of Adam, Metraton of Moſes, & ſo forth) had taught them that the cleanſing away of ſin ſhould bee done vpon wood. And Rabbi Simeon Ben Iohai, the firſt among thẽ, writeth thus, Wo worth the Murtherers of Iſrael, for they ſhal kill Chriſt. God will ſend his Son clothed in mans fleſh to waſh them, and they will kill him. Alſo Rabbi Iuda ſaith, That after a long breathing time, God will deliuer his name of twelue letters to Ieremy in writing after this maner, *Iehouah elohim emeth*, that is to ſay

Dan. 9. 24. & 12.

Pſal. 22.

Zach. 12.

Bereſchith Rabba vpon Gẽ. cap. 24.

The booke Succa cap. Halehil.

Ioh. 19. 37.

The Treatiſe Sanhedrim. Cap. Halec.

Ierem. 30.

Rabbi Hadarſan vpon Gen. 1.

Echarabeth, Cap. 3. Midraſch. Ruth. cap. 2. v. 14.

Eſay 53.

Cabaliſts.

R. Simeon ben Iohai

Mirandulan in his Concluſions.

R. Iuda in his booke of Hope.

The

The euerlaſting God is truth, and that he wil wipe out the firſt letter of the laſt word ſo, as there ſhall remaine *Iehouah elohim meth*, that is to ſay, The euerlaſting God is dead. And peraduenture it is therupon, that Rabbi Ioſna the ſon of Leui ſaid, That Iſrael was not heard in the world, for want of knowing this name: that is to ſay, for want of praying vnto God, by the Mediator Chriſt who dyed for vs. To bee ſhort, Philo the Iew, a very renowned Author, handling this queſtion, namely, when the baniſhed Iſraelites and Iewes ſhould returne home, ſaith it ſhould be at the death of a High Prieſt. Howbeit finding himſelfe graueled at this, that ſome liue longer than otherſome, Surely I beleeue (ſaith he) that this high Prieſt ſhal not be a man, but the word (the which he praiſeth in infinit places) exempt from all ſin both willing and vnwilling, who to his Father hath God, & to his Mother, the wiſdom that is without beginning and without end. Whereby it appeareth that hee had heard of Chriſt a High Prieſt, whom it behoued to be God the Son of God, that he might ſanctifie, and likewiſe man that he might dye.

Midraſch Tehilim. Philo the Iew in his booke of the baniſhed. Looke before in the 6. chap.

Obiection.

As touching the ſtarting-hole which the new Rabbines ſeek, in that (contrary to the whole courſe, both of their owne ancient writers and of the Scripture) in ſtead of one Chriſt God and Man, they make two Chriſts, the one, the Son of Dauid, the other, the Son of Ioſeph, ſaying: that this latter (to whom they apply all the foreſaid Texts) ſhalbe ſlaine in battell, and afterward raiſed againe by the prayers of other: Surely let vs tel them, as R. Moſes doth, that none other than only the Son of Dauid: ſhal come with authority of Chriſt: howbeit that there are two commings of Chriſt, the one in lowlineſſe as Zachary ſaith, Poore, Lowly, and Sauiour-like; and the other in Maieſtie out of the Cloudes of the ayre as is deſcribed in Daniel: the one to redeeme, the other to iudge, as they themſelues ſay vpon theſe words of Eccleſiaſtes, What is it that hath bin? The ſame that ſhall be: wherupon they inferre, The laſt Redeemer is reueiled, and hee that is hidden, ſhall come yet once againe. To be ſhort, here yee ſee, how in the end the ſtumbling block is turned into glory. For as Chriſt dyed innocently, ſo ſhall he alſo riſe againe and reigne for euer. Yea he ſhal riſe againe: for it is written in the Pſalme; Thou wilt not ſuffer thy Holy one to ſee corruption, which ſaying cannot be meant of Dauid, for he is dead and rotten in his graue: yea & he ſhalbe raiſed againe within the third day; for it is written, He will quicken vs after two daies, and in the 3. day will he raiſe vs vp again. Also he ſhall goe vp into heauen, to ſit at the right hand of God: for it is written, The Lord hath ſayd to my Lord,

R. Moſes vpon the Iudges.

Zach. 9. 4. Dan. 7. Midraſch Coheleth. cap. 1. 9. Talmud Treatiſe Sanhedrim. Ch. Helec. Pſal. 6.

Oſe 6.

Pſal. 110

Lord, Sit thou on my right hand. And all theſe texts are ſo expounded by Rabbi Moſes Hadarſan, by R. Hacadoſch, by R. Ionathan the ſon of Vziel & others: and they be all accomplished in Ieſus; For their owne writer Ioſephus ſaith: In the time of Tiberius there was one Ieſus, a wiſe man (at leaſtwiſe if he was to be called a man) who was a worker of great miracles, and a teacher of ſuch as loue the truth, and had a great traine, as wel of Iewes as of Gentiles. Neuertheleſſe, being accuſed vnto Pilate by the chiefe of the Iewes, he was crucified. But yet for all that, thoſe which had loued him from the beginning, ceaſed not to continue ſtill: For he ſhewed himſelfe aliue vnto them three dayes after his death, as the Prophets had foretold of him both this and diuers other things: And euen vnto this day doe thoſe continue ſtil, which after his name are called Chriſtians. Certes, then let vs conclude as this Iewe doth in the ſelfeſame place, and in his owne words, This Ieſus was in very deed the Chriſt. For as for the goodly tale, That Chriſts Diſciples ſtole him out of his Graue, and that for feare they did caſt him downe in a Garden where he was found afterward: the fondneſſe and the fabulouſneſſe thereof appeareth in this, that whereas becauſe he had ſaid in his life time, Deſtroy this Temple, and in three daies I wil raiſe it vp againe. And alſo, There ſhall none other ſigne be giuen vnto you, but the ſigne of the Prophet Ionas, and ſo forth: thereupon the Iewes cauſed Pilate to ſet a ſure guard about the ſepulchre; yet notwithſtanding, Pilate, writing afterward to the Emperor Claudius, aduertiſed him of the reſurrection of Ieſus, ſo as the greater & ſurer the guard was that Pilate did ſet, the moe, and the ſtronger were the witneſſes to proue the Iewes liers in that behalfe. Alſo the high Prieſts being ſo inraged againſt Ieſus as they were, would not haue ſticked to haue hanged vp the ſaid found carkaſe openly in the market place, whereby they might haue aboliſhed all the reputation of Ieſus out of hand. Again, on ỹ other ſide, the Apoſtles were men ſo afraid of death, ſo weak harted, ſo feeble in faith, & ſo vtterly without credit; that there is not any likelihood that they durſt take the matter in hand. Nay, which more is, what benefit could they haue had by his dead carkaſe? what ſhould it haue boted them to haue forgone their Children, their Wiues, yea and themſelues to for ſuch a one? Should they not rather haue had cauſe to haue bin offended at his coozenage, and therupon bin the readier to haue condemned the remembrance of him themſelues, & to haue turned all men away from him? Contrariwiſe, they preach nothing but his reſurrection; for that are they contented to dye: for that do they teach other men to dye: alonly by that do they hope to liue

The booke Mechilitha. R. Moſes Hadarſan vpon Gen. cap. 22. & 49 R. Iſaac vpon Gen. The booke of Collections. Ioſephus in his Antiquity. lib. 18. cap. 4.

and die moſt bleſſedly; and of all the whole number of them, there was not ſo much as one that could be brought to ſay otherwiſe: nay rather, which could bee made to conceale it, and not to ſpeake of it, though they were let alone, yea or for any promiſe or threatning that the greateſt perſonages in the world could make vnto them. Surely therfore, if euer any deed were true, we muſt néeds ſay that this is it.

Dan. 9 Mat. 24. 15 The deſtruction of Ieruſalem.

Finally, Daniel ſaith, After that the Anointed is ſlaine, the Prince of a people to come (that is to ſay, the Emperour of Rome) ſhall deſtroy the City and the Sanctuary, and his end ſhall be in deſtruction, and vnto the end of the warre be deſolations ordained. But he ſhal eſtabliſh his couenant with many in one weeke, and in halfe a week ſhal he cauſe the Sacrificing and Offering to ceaſe. And to the ſame effect Ieſus himſelfe ſaith, Weepe for your ſelues and for your Children, and let them which are in Iewry flee into the Mountaines. Abomination ſhall abide in the holy place, and of the Temple, one ſtone ſhall not be left vpon another. And yet neuertheleſſe, this Goſpel (ſaith he) ſhall be preached ouer all the world, for a witneſſe to all Nations. Who can ſay that this was not accompliſhed within a while after the death of Ieſus? And who ſeeth not ſtil the remnants of this deſolation vpon Ieruſalem, and vpon all that people? Yea & moreouer, that this their vtter ruine & ouerthrow is not to be fathered vpon any other thing, than vpon their putting of Ieſus to death? Ieſus was apprehended in Mount Oliuet: and from Mount Oliuet was Ieruſalem beſieged. He was crucified on the day of the Paſſeouer; and on that day was the City entred into. He was whipped in the Romane Emperors Pauilion, by Pilate; and in the Emperors Pauilion were the Iewes whipped by the Romanes for their pleaſure. Hee was deliuered by them into the hands of the Gentiles; and they themſelues were ſcattered abroad into the whole world, to be a by-word to all Nations. Of theſe things and many other like do the Rabbines complaine in their hiſtories, and the more they ſpeak of them, the more doe they confeſſe Gods iudgement vpon themſelues. For what elſe are all theſe things, but the execution of this their owne ſentence giuen vpon themſelues, His bloud bee vpon vs & vpon our children? Inſomuch that (as Ioſephus reporteth) when Titus ſaw the ſaid extremities, hee lifted vp his eyes to heauen and ſayd, Lord, thou knoweſt that my hands are cleere from all this bloud that is ſhed. And afterward when vpon the taking of the Citie, he had conſidered the force and ſtrength of the place and the people; he ſaid, In very deede God hath fought on our ſide in the taking of this City, for otherwiſe what power could euer haue wonne it? Alſo the Temple

Temple was burnt downe, though he did what he could to haue ſaued it, becauſe (ſaith Ioſeph) the vneſchuable day of the deſtruction thereof was come. Likewiſe, the City was razed, caſt vpon heaps, & made leuel with the ground, as if neuer man had dwelt there; and 1000000 men were put to the ſword within it; which thing we read not to haue bin done to any other City taken by the Romans. To be ſhort, the ſignes that went afore, and the voice that gaue warning from heauen, and the opening of the Temple of it own accord, ſeemed to be forefeelings of Gods wrath that was to light vpon them. Againe, the Fountaine of Silo which was dried vp afore, ſwelled vp to giue water to the Romane Hoſte. Inſomuch that their owne Hiſtoriwriter, beholding ſo many records of Gods wrath, was in maner conſtrained to come ſomwhat nigh the cauſe therof, which he affirmeth to be, that ỹ high-prieſt Ananus had vniuſtly and haſtily cauſed Iames the brother of IESVS to be ſtoned to death, and certaine others with him, to the great griefe of God men, and of ſuch as loued the Lawe. To the which purpoſe alſo may this ſaying of the notableſt of their Rabbines be applied, That the ſecond Temple was deſtroied for their ſelling of the righteous, and for hating him without cauſe; according to this ſaying of Ieſus concerning them, They haue hated me without cauſe.

Ioſephus in the Warres of the Iewes. lib. 7. cap. 9. 12. 14. 16.

Ioh. 16.

And whereas ſome Iewes at this day do ſay, that they be puniſhed becauſe ſome of them receiued this Ieſus for ỹ Chriſt: there is no likelihood of truth in it. For conſidering that Gods maner is to ſaue a whole City for ſome 10. good mens ſakes, if they be found in it: hee would rather haue ſaued his owne people for ſo many mens ſakes, being the chief, and repreſenting the ſtate of the Realme of Iewry, which did put their hands to the accuſing of Ieſus; and for ſo great a multitudes ſake which cried out, Away with him, away with him, crucifie him. And if God confirmed the Prieſt-hood vnto Phinees, for his zealouſnes in puniſhing a ſimple Iſraelite: what thinke you your ſelues to haue deſerued, for crucifying (as you beare your ſelues on hand) an enemy of God, one that named himſelf, Chriſt the Lords Anointed, yea & which ſaid, he was very God himſelfe? Yet notwithſtanding, in the mids of all theſe calamities, the City and Temple of this Ieſus were builded vp, firſt in Iewry it ſelfe, and afterward in the whole world; and according to Daniels Prophecie, the Couenant of Saluation was eſtabliſhed among all nations by the preaching of his Apoſtle; and the Sacrifices of the Iewes were then put downe, and neuer any where reuiued againe ſince that time. And within a while after, the very Idolatries of the Gentils, which had poſſeſſed ỹ whole world, were likewiſe daſh-

R. Hadarſan vpon Dan. Midraeh Thehilim.

ed alſo, as wee ſhall ſee hereafter. Whereof Rabbi Hadarſan writing vpon Daniel ſeemeth to haue giuen ſome inkling, in that he ſaith, Half a weeke, that is to ſay, 3. yeeres and a halfe, ſhall make an end of Sacrificing. And ſo doth R. Iohanan, in that he ſaith, Three yeeres & a halfe hath the preſence of the Lord cried our vpon Mount Oliuet, ſaying: Seeke God while he may be found, and cal vpon him while he is neere hand. And vpon the Pſalmes it is ſaid, That by the ſpace of 3. yeeres and a halfe, God would teach his Church in his owne perſon. Now it is manifeſtly known, that Ieſus preached between three & foure yeers about Ieruſalem, and that his preaching was purſued and continued afterward by his Apoſtles.

So then, we haue in the Prophets a Chriſt the Son of God, which was to be borne of a Virgin, in the end of the 70. weeks mentioned in Daniel, at Bethleem in Iewry; whom being foregone by an Elias, it behoued to preach the Kingdome of God, to dye a reprochfull death for mans ſaluation, and to riſe againe with glory; ſhortly whereupon ſhould follow the deſtruction of Ieruſalem and of the Temple. And at the very ſelfe ſame time, we haue in our Goſpels and in the ſtories of the Iewes themſelues, one Ieſus the Sonne of God, borne of the Virgin Mary, at Bethleem in Iewry, who being foregone by Iohn the Baptiſt, preached the Kingdom of heauen both in word and déed, was crucified at Ieruſalem, beleeued on by the Gentiles, and reuenged by the ouerthrow and deſtruction of the Temple. And all theſe circumſtances and marks are ſo peculiar vnto him, that they can by no meanes agree to any other. Wherefore let vs conclude, that this Ieſus is the very ſame Chriſt that was promiſed from time to time in the Scriptures, and exhibited in his due time according to our Goſpell. For that is the thing which we had to proue in theſe laſt two Chapters.

Chap. XXXI.

An Anſwere to the Obiections which the Iewes alleage againſt Ieſus, why they ſhould not receiue him for the Chriſt or Meſſias.

NOw let vs examine the obiections of the Iewes, and ſée what they can ſay againſt the teſtimonie of all the Prophets, which agreeth fitly to Ieſus, & can agree to none but him. Firſt, if Ieſus (ſay they) were the Chriſt, who ſhould haue knowne and receiued him, rather than the great

great Synagogue which was at that time? This obiection is very old; for in the Goſpell the Phariſes ſay, Doe any of the Phariſes or chiefe Rulers beleeue in him, ſaue onely this raſcall people which know not the Law, who be accurſed? Here I might alleage Simeon, ſurnamed the righteous, a Diſciple of Hillels, who had ſerued 40. yeeres in the Sanctuary, how he acknowledged Ieſus for the Sauior of Iſrael, and the light of the Gentiles; in the which Simeon, the Iewes themſelues confeſſe that Spirit of God to haue ſailed, which was wont to inſpire the great Synagogue, and inſpired him ſtil during all his life. Alſo I could alleage Iohn the Baptiſt, whō they called the great Rabbi Iohanan, who acknowledging Ieſus to be the Son of God, ſent his Diſciples vnto him: And likewiſe Gamaliel, whom in the Acts of the Apoſtles we read to haue ſaid, If this Doctrine be of God, it will continue; if not, it will periſh; and in Clement, that he was a Diſciple of the Apoſtles; and in their own boks, that he was the Diſciple of the ſaid Simeon: And finally, S. Paul himſelfe, a Diſciple of the ſaid Gamaliel, ſothly a very great man, and of great fauour and authority among them, whom they cannot in any wiſe miſtruſt. To be ſhort, Ioſephus reporteth that this Ieſus was followed among the Iewes, of all ſuch as loued the truth, and that as many as loued the Law, did greatly blame Annas the high prieſt, for cauſing ẏ diſciples of Ieſus to be put to death Alſo R. Nehumia the ſonne of Hacana hauing recounted the miracles of Ieſus (within a little of whoſe time he was) ſaith expreſſly, I am one of thoſe which haue beleeued in him, and haue beene baptized, and haue walked in the right way. Likewiſe, the S. Rabbi ſéemeth to haue held Ieſus for the Chriſt: and if he did not, then is it yet more wonderfull than if he had known him, conſidering that he ſéemeth to deſcribe this Ieſus, by the ſelfeſame circumſtances that the very Chriſt is deſcribed by him. But without any ſtanding on that point, I ſay further to them. That wheras the Synagogue receiued not Ieſus for ẏ Meſſias, their ſo doing is a token that he was the very Meſſias indéed: and that their receiuing of Barcozba for the Meſſias, was a ſure proofe that Barcozba was not the Meſſias. For it is expreſſly ſaid by the Prophets, that when the Meſſias came vnto them, they ſhould be ſo blind as not to know him, and ſo vnthankfull as to deſpiſe him. The ſtone, (ſaith Dauid) wch the builders refuſed, is becom the chief corner ſtone, and that is a maruellous thing in our eyes. And this ſaying doth Ieſus interpret cōcerning the kingdom of heauen, which ſhould be taken frō the Iewes for their refuſing therof. Alſo this text is applied to the Meſſias, by R. Ionathan, yea and by R. Salomah alſo (as great an enemy to

Objection, that he muſt haue bin knowne Ioh. 7.48

Luke 2.

Acts 5.38

Talmud. Treatiſe Perkeiaueth.

R. Nehumia.

There were two Rabbies of the name of Hocadoſch both called Saints: the one liuing vnder Antiochus, & the other vnder the Emperor Antony.

Pſal. 11.22 Eſay 28.16 Mat. 12.42.

Chriſt as he is) who writing vpon Micheas, ſaith, ẏ Chriſt (by expreſſe name) ſhould be borne in Bethleem: and which way ſoeuer they turne themſelues, they can gather none other ſence of that place. Hereupon commeth it that the young babes cry out in the Goſpel, Hoſanna web cõmeth in the name of the Lord: which is the verſe that followeth next
Eſay 6.55 after the forealleaged place. And Eſay ſaith, Go tel this people, Heare and vnderſtand not, Looke & ſee not. Harden the heart of this people, ſtop their eares, & cloſe their eies, leſt they ſee with their eies, & heare with their eares, and vnderſtand with their hearts, & turne again, and I heale them. How long? Euen (ſaith the Lord) til all their Cities be deſolate without inhabitants, and the houſes without any man in them, and the land be a wildernes. Yet ſhal a Tythe remaine & turne againe, and bee made bare as a Turpentine Tree, and an Oke, whoſe ſap neuertheleſſe ſhall continue in them. And if yee deſire the interpretation hereof, behold, it is ready at hand in the ſame Prophet. For going about to deſcribe with what humilty & ſimplicity Chriſt ſhould come to ſuffer for vs (whom theſe great Rabbines loked for to haue come in triumph, to content their pride and ambition) Who hath beleeued our preaching (ſaith he) or to whom is the Lords arme diſcouered? That is to ſay, of ſo great a number of Iewes which loke for the Meſſias, how few ſhall there be that will beléeue him, when they ſee him come after ſuch faſhion as I am to deſcribe him vnto them? But ſurely (ſaith he) Thoſe to whom he had neuer bin declared ſhall ſee him, and thoſe that neuer heard of him ſhal conſider him. This text (as I haue declared often heretofore) is expounded by the Iewes themſelues concerning the Meſſias: Alſo Zachary ſaith, I will powre out the ſpirit of grace and mercie vpon the houſe of Dauid, and vpon the inhabiters of Ieruſalem, and they ſhall looke vnto mee whom they haue pearced. This Ieruſalem (ſay I) and this houſe of Dauid whereupon God will powre out his grace and mercy, are the very ſame which ſhall pearce his Anointed and crucifie him, after the ſame maner that they martyred Eſay, Ieremy and Zachary, and tormented all the reſt of the Prophets: according wherunto our Lord Jeſus ſaid vnto them, It is not meet that any Prophet ſhould dye elſewhere than at Ieruſalem. Now they muſt néeds grant, ẏ if they were to kil him, they were not to know him: for who durſt be ſo preſumptuous as to lay his hand wittingly vpon the Lords Anointed? And that place doe they expound alſo to
Deut. 28. concerne the Meſſias. To be ſhort, Moſes ſaith: The ſtranger that is among thee ſhall be thy head, and thou ſhalt be his taile: hee ſhall be aduanced aboue thee, and thou ſhalt be his vnderling. And Eſay ſaith, Becauſe

Becauſe of the ſin of Iuda, I will ſeek out thoſe which haue not ſought Eſay 65. 1.
for me, and I will be found of them which haue not enquired for mee. I will giue a better place in my Temple to the Gelded men and Strangers, than to the Sonnes and Daughters of Iſrael. And it is an ordinary matter among the Prophets, to vſe ſuch ſpeeches as this, Thoſe which are my people, ſhall no more bee my people: and they which were not my people, ſhal be my people, and ſuch other. And ſeldome do they ſpeak any word of the calling of the Gentiles, but they match it immediatly with the caſting off of ẏ Iewes for their refuſing of Chriſt, like as yee cannot well make mention of the grafting of a tree with a ſtrange Impe or ſien, but yée muſt alſo ſpeake of the cutting off of the boughs to make place for it. To the ſame effect doe R. Samai, and R. Ta'm. Treatiſe Sanhedrim. Cap. Halec.
Selomoh ſay, It is ſaid in Ieremy, I will take one out of a City, and two out of a Tribe, and make them to enter into Sion, becauſe (adde they) that as of ſixe hundred thouſand Iſraelites, only two (that is to wit, Ioſua and Caleb) entred into Canaan: ſo ſhall it bee alſo on the daies of the Meſſias. And the ſonnes of Rabbi Hijah affirme: That the Meſſias ſhal be a ſtone to ſtumble at vnto the two houſes of Iſrael, & a ſnare Talmud. Treatiſe Sanhedrim. cap. Dinei, Mammoneth. R. Iohanan & R. Iacob cap. Helec.
to the Inhabiters of Ieruſalem: and they deliuer it for a great ſecret. Alſo R. Iohanan and R. Iacob ſay, that the Gentiles ſhal be put in place of the Iewes that haue refuſed the Lord, as the Horſe is put in place of an Oxe that halteth. And wheras I haue ſaid that Gods Spirit ſhould be withdrawne from the Synagogue for their iniquities ſake. Rabbi Iudas ſaith, that when the Son of Dauid commeth, there ſhall be few wiſe men in Iſrael, and the wiſedome of the Scribes ſhal ſtinke, and the Schooles of Diuinity ſhall become Brothel-houſes: which accordeth with this ſaying of our Lord Jeſus, Of a houſe of Prayer, yee haue made my houſe a denne of theeues. And R. Nehoray ſaith, that mens countenances ſhall at that time be paſt ſhame. And R. Nehemias writeth, that wickednes ſhall be multiplied without meaſure, and there Talmud. Sanhedrim Helec. R. Moſes Hadarſan vpon the 74. Pſalm. Ierem. 10. 11. & 30. 6
ſhall be nothing but vntowardneſſe & hereſie: inſomuch that (as ſaith R. Natronai) They ſhall ſay that the miracles which the Meſſias ſhall worke, are done by Magicke and by vncleane ſpirits. To be ſhort, Ieremy ſaith, The Shepheards are become beaſts, and haue not ſought the Lord. And in another place, They haue made my ſheep to go aſtray and turned them away to the Mountaines. And the Rabbines to confirm the matter ſay thus: If our predeceſſors were the children of men, we be the children of Aſſes: and ſurely (ſaith R. Menahem) the ſhe Aſſe of R. Phineas is wiſer than we. But to come back again to the Prophecie of Eſay. The Oxe (ſaith he) knoweth his owner, and the Aſſe know-

eth his Maſters Crib, but my people know not mee, they haue no vnderſtanding. And in very deed whoſoeuer doubteth yet ſtill, what ſpirit gouerned the teachers of the Iewes, from this time forth: let him reade but only their Talmud, which is ſuch a booke, that God (ſay they) ſtudieth in it euery firſt foure houres of the day: And when Ieruſalem was deſtroied, hee left himſelfe three cubits ſpace whereon to ſit and reade in the Talmud, which yet notwithſtanding was not then made. Beſides this, they make God (in that booke) to bewaile the miſeries of Iſrael, to bee angry at the combe of a Cocke, to lye, and to commit ſin and ſo forth: ſo that if a man might haue looked into the conſciences of thoſe Rabbines, I beleeue hee ſhould haue ſéene that they made not ſo good account of God as of themſelues. As for the Scriptures, they expound not one text of them among a hundred to the purpoſe, no nor ſcarſly without blaſphemie, ſauing where they follow or alleage the Rabbines of olde time. The reſidue are either toyes, or old wiues tales, or horrible blaſphemies, or things either too fond for Children, or too wicked for men, and ſuch as euen the Diuell himſelfe would be aſhamed of. To be ſhort, I cannot tell how they that wrot that booke could be Iewes; or how the reading of it now ſhould not make them all become Chriſtians.

Yet they reply ſtill and ſay: What likelihood is there that this Ieſus was the Meſſias, comming ſo attired as he did? Or were not we (at leaſtwiſe) worthy to be excuſed for not knowing him, comming diſguiſed after that maner? Nay, I demand of you, after what other ſort he could or ſhould come, conſidering that he came to humble himſelfe, and to be crucified for vs? You looked to haue had him Prince-like, and he was forepromiſed vnto: a Warrior, and it was told you he ſhould be beaten and wounded: with a great traine, and hee is deſcribed alone vpon an Aſſe: with a company of wiues, and there was no moe ſpoken of but only one: with triumphing and feaſting, and ye were informed afore hand that his bread ſhould bee ſéeped in vineger, and his Cup be ful of gall and bitternelle. You imagine vnder him, either the Peace of Salomon, or the Conqueſts of great Alexander: peace to manure Iewry at your eaſe, and War to reape the riches of the Gentiles. But he came to appeaſe Gods wrath, and to vanquiſh the Diuell, and thenceforth to make Iewes & Gentiles equal. Of theſe two commings which is moſt meet, both for Gods glory, and for his owne? Admit he had the Empire of Cyrus & Alexander; admit he had all the power and riches of all the Kingdomes that euer were in the world; what were all this but a witneſſe of his want, & an abatement of his glory?

Eſſay 1. An obiection concerning the baſeneſs of Ieſus.

As

As for example; Moſes led fiue hundred thouſand fighting men out of Ægypt, and with the ſtroke of his rodde he paſſed the red Sea, and drowned the Ægyptians therein. Now, in whether had Gods glory more appeared, and the calling of Moſes béen better warranted, by his winning a battell againſt the Ægyptians with ſo great a number of men, or by ouerthrowing them with one ſtroke of a rod? In reducing the King to reaſon by force of armes, or in making him to ſéeke mercy by an hoſt of fleas and lice? Let vs come now to Chriſt. Hee was to ſubdue the world vnder his obedience. Whether was it more to his glory, and more correſpondent to his Godhead, to haue done it by inueſting himſelfe in an Empire, or by ridding himſelfe of all worldly meanes, by force of armes, or by his onely Word? By conquering men with ſhew of pompe, or by winning them with ſuffering reproch at their hand? By triumphing ouer them, or by being crucified by them? By being aliue, or euen by being dead? By killing his enemies, or by yéelding vnto them? By ouerthrowing his foes, or by ſending his ſeruants to ſuffer whatſoeuer they would do vnto them? For who ſeeth not, that in the victories of Princes, their men bee partakers with them of their glory? And that in battels betweene Men, the Horſe and the Speare haue their part? And that oftentimes the hardneſſe and the very ſhadow of the Creſts of their helmets (as ye would ſay) do ſtep in for a ſhare? Surely therefore, wee may well ſay, that Ieſus could not haue ſhewed his Godhead better, than in comming like an abiect and miſerable man, nor his ſtrength better, than in comming in feebleneſſe: nor his might, than in infirmity, nor his glory, than in deſpiſedneſſe: nor his eternity, than in dying, nor his riſing againe, than in being buried, nor his whole preſence, than in going his way hence, nor finally his quickning life, than in conquering the world by the death of his Diſciples. For had hee come otherwiſe, man had had the glory thereof; the ſtronglier he had come, the leſſe had béen his victory: and the more pompe hee had pretended outwardly, the leſſe had he alwaies vttered his Godhead, and the more excuſable had both the Iewes and Gentiles been in not receiuing him. To be ſhort, will ye ſée that hee was the ſame Sonne of God, which was preſent with God at the creating of the world? God created the world without matter or ſtuffe wherof, and without helpe, by his only word; and Ieſus being deſtitute of all help and meane, hath conquered the world with his only word, euen by his owne death, which ſéemeth to haue bin a cléere diſpatch of him: What greater Maieſtie or greatneſſe can we imagine than this?

Yea,

An obiection that the ſignes promiſed by the prophets, are not come to paſſe.

Yea but (ſay they) where be the ſignes promiſed by the Prophets? and ſpecially the euerlaſting peace which Chriſt was to bring vnto the world, which ſhould turne Swords into Mattockes, and Speares into Coulters? To this we may anſwere, That Ieſus was borne vnder the Emperour Auguſtus, at which time the Hiſtories tell vs, that the Temple of Ianus of Rome was ſhut vp, and all the world was at peace throughout: as who would ſay, that by that meane God meant to open a free way to the preaching of his Goſpell. But let them firſt of all marke here their owne contrarietie of ſpeech, in that they require of vs here a generall peace, and in other places ſpeake of battels againſt Gog and Magog, and of the bathing of themſelues in the bloud of the Gentiles, inſomuch as they ſay, that their ſecond Meſſias, the ſonne of Ioſeph, ſhall be ſlaine in battell. Nay, as he is a ſpirituall King, ſo hee his warres and peace ſpirituall alſo. Eſay calleth him a man of warre: but of his warres he ſaith, They ſhal turne their ſwords into Coulters. On the contrary part, he calleth him the Prince of peace: but of ſuch peace whereof it is ſaid, The chaſtiſement of our peace was laid vpon him, and by his ſtripes are we healed: that is to wit, he was wounded for our miſdœds, and torne for our iniquities. To bee ſhort, Micheas ſaith, He himſelfe ſhall be the peace. Neuertheleſſe, to the intent yee ſhould not thinke he meaneth of your manuring of your grounds, and of your dreſſing of your Vineyards; Yet ſhall not the Aſſyrian (ſaith he) ceaſſe to come into our Land, and to march in our Palaces. And therefore doth Ieremie well ſay, Hee ſhall breake the yoke from thy necke, and burſt aſunder thy bonds: howbeit (as he expoundeth himſelfe in another place,) in ſuch ſort as thou ſhall not ſerue ſtrange gods any more; that is to ſay, he will both winne vs victory, and be our victory himſelfe againſt the Diuell, and alſo both purchaſe vs peace, and be our peace vnto God, according to this which he ſaith elſwhere: The Euerlaſting will bee our righteouſneſſe. And in truth, in the booke of Sabbath where theſe texts are examined, Rabbi Eliezer ſaith plainly, That warres ſhall not ceaſſe at the firſt comming of the Meſſias, but onely at his ſecond comming, that is to wit, when he commeth in glory to iudge the world.

Eſay 2.

Eſay 9. & 53.

Mich. 5.5

Ier. 30. & 45.

Talmud in the treatiſe Sabbath.

Of the ſame ſtampe are the obiections that follow. It is written (ſay they) that mount Oliuet ſhall bee ſplit aſunder in the midſt, and the one halfe fall towards the Eaſt, and the other halfe toward the Weſt: which thing we ſee not yet come to paſſe. Well, they cannot deny but that this Text ſpeaketh plainly of the deſtruction of Ieruſalem: and if they will needes follow the Letter, they ſhall ſee in their owne

Zach. 14.4

owne Hiſtories, that when the Romans beſieged the Citie, they made their trenches on that ſide. Againe, it is ſaid, That the Lords hill ſhall be aduanced aboue all hilles; and thereupon they dreame that Ieruſalem ſhall bee hoiſed vp three leagues into the aire. But theſe people which other-whiles delight ſo much in Allegories, ought to vnderſtand theſe, euen by the Text it ſelfe. For (ſaith the Prophet) folke ſhall ſay, Let vs go vp to Syon, and God will there teach vs his wayes: The Law ſhall ſhall come out of Syon, and the word of the Lord from Ieruſalem. And I pray you, when came they better out, than when the Apoſtles of Ieſus did ſpread them abroade from Ieruſalem through the whole world? And therefore Rabbi Selomoh ſaith vpon theſe Texts, that the Lord ſhould at that time be magnified in Ieruſalem, by a greater ſigne than hee was in Sinai, Carmel, and Tabor. And Rabbi Abraham, the ſonne of Ezra, ſaith, that this Aduanced hill is the Meſſias, who ſhall bee highly aduanced among the Gentiles. Alſo it is ſaid in Eſay; The Wolfe ſhall feed with the Lambe: and in Malachie, The Angell of the Lord ſhall make the wayes plaine: which things (ſay they) wee ſee not yet performed, nor many other ſuch like. But yet doth Rabbi Moyſes Ben Maimon, their great teacher of Righteouſneſſe ſay: Let it neuer come in thy head, that in the time of Chriſt the courſe of the world ſhall any whit bee changed: but when thou readeſt in Eſay, that the Wolfe ſhall dwell with the Lambe, call to minde how Ieremie ſaith, A Wolfe of the Wilderneſſe hath waſted them, and a Leopard watcheth at their Cities to ſnatch vp them that come out. For the meaning thereof is, that both Iewes and Gentiles ſhall be conuerted to the true doctrine, and not hurt one another, but feed both together at one Cribbe, according to this ſaying of Eſay in the very ſame place, The Wolfe ſhall eate hay with the Oxe. And after that manner (ſaith he) muſt we expound all ſuch manner of ſpeeches, which belong to the time of Chriſt: for they be parabolicall and figuratiue. Of the ſame ſort alſo is the expoſition of Rabbi Dauid Kimhi, howbeit that ordinarily he followed the letter, and the tranſlation of Ionathan himſelfe.

R. Iohanan in the treatiſe Bauа Bathra

Midraſch. Pſalm. 86

Zach. 4

Eſay. 2

Mich. 4

R. Selamoh, & R. Abraham ben Efra vpon Eſay 2, and Micheas 4.

Eſay 11

Malach. 3.

Rabbi Moſes Ben Maimon vpon Deut. in the laws cõcerning Kings and Warres.

Ieremie 5.

And as touching the Angell or Embaſſador that ſhould leuell the wayes mentioned in the Text of Malachie: The meaning thereof (ſaith Ramban) is, that a great Prince ſhall bee ſent afore the Meſſias come, to prepare the hearts of the Iſraelites to battell. But Malachie expoundeth himſelfe more fitly in theſe words: Hee ſhall turne the hearts of the Fathers to their Children: that is to ſay, hee ſhall exhort Iſrael to repentance.

The

An Obiection that Idolatrie ſhould ceaſſe. Eſay 2. Mich. 13. Zeph. 2.

The obiections that enſue hereafter, haue a little more weight in them. It is written, I will deſtroy all the Idols of the earth. Alſo, I will hungerſtarue all the gods of the Gentiles. And againe, They ſhall all ſerue me with one ſhoulder. Would God that the abuſes which are crept into the Chriſtian Church againſt Chriſts ordinance, were not ſo great a ſtumbling-blocke to the Iewes. Neuertheleſſe, let them conſider the great number of gods worſhipped by the Aſſyrians, Perſians, Greekes, and Romans, at what time euery Countrie, euery Citie, euery Houſhold, and euery perſon had his peculiar god, and his Idols by himſelfe: and they ſhall finde, that within a little while after the Apoſtles had preached the doctrine of Ieſus to the world, they were all gone, and not ſo much as any remembrance of them had now remained, but that in publiſhing the glory of God, we had alſo declared their ouerthrow. Let them read the Hiſtories of the Heathen, and aſke of them, what is become of their Oracles, I meane, the Diuels which held them in with their lies and dreames, and would not bee pacified but with the ſacrificing of men; yea, and euen of their owne children: and of all thoſe wickednesſes, which had taken rote all the world throughout, can they now ſhew any print at all? Euen in the time of Tiberius began men to aſke theſe queſtions, namely, what was the cauſe that Oracles ſpake not any more; that Diuels wrought not as they had done aforetimes: and that their Prieſts wanted liuing? And the Heathen themſelues were driuen to anſwere, that ſince the time that Ieſus had died, and his Diſciples had preached abroad, Art Magick and the Diuels had loſt their power. So ſodaine, ſo vniuerſall, and ſo wonderfull to our very enemies, was the change in that time, and of ſo great force was the onely name of Ieſus in the mouthes of thoſe poore men, againſt Kings and Emperours, againſt their Kingdomes and Empires, and againſt the vpholders and worſhippers both of the Diuels and of their Idols.

An Obiection againſt the vniuerſation of Religion made by Chriſt.

For briefeneſſe ſake, I omit this obiection following, and ſuch other, as that all Nations haue not followed Ieſus. For the Prophets haue told vs, that but a remnant ſhall bee ſaued: and Ieſus himſelfe ſayth, that Many be called, and few choſen. And it ſufficeth, that the voyce of the Goſpell hath been heard ouer all the world, and that the gate of the Church is ſet open to all Nations. Againe, to come to an iſſue, they know that the word *Col* (that is to ſay, All) betokeneth not that all men without exception ſhall follow him, but that all Nations without difference, ſhall be his people. Againe, the ſeed of Chriſt (ſay they) ſhall be euerlaſting: but we ſee not the ſeed of Ieſus to be ſo.

They

They ſay very well, in that by the word Seed, they meane Chriſts Diſciples, and in their owne language they terme them Sonnes or Children: and thankes be to the Lord, there are Diſciples of his ſtill euery where through the whole world.

But the principall obiection remaineth yet behind, and that is this: If Ieſus be the Sonne of God, (ſay they) why changeth he the Law of God his Father deliuered by Moſes, being (as hath been ſaid already) both holy and inuiolable, which whoſo doth, how can he be receiued for the Meſſias? Surely in this point, where they charge Ieſus with the changing and aboliſhing of the law; we bee flat contrary to them, affirming that he did not change or abolish it, but more plainly expounded it and fulfilled it. Nay, ſay they, Circumciſion was expreſſly commanded by God vnto Abraham, and afterward to Moſes: and why then hath Ieſus abolished it? Indeed that is the thing which doth alwayes deceiue them; namely, that they take the ſigne for the thing ſignified, and the ſhadow for the ſubſtance and truth of the promiſes. But wee ſay that Circumciſion was a ſigne or ſeale of the couenant, and not the couenant it ſelfe, and the beſt of the Iewes deny it not themſelues. And yet Moſes ſaith: When the Lord ſhall haue caſt thee out of the vttermoſt parts of the earth, yet will hee bring thee home againe into the land which thy fathers poſſeſſed, and hee will circumciſe thy heart, and the heart of thy children, that thou mayſt loue the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy ſoule, and that thou mayſt liue. And in another place hee ſaith; Circumciſe the foreskinne of your hearts, and harden not your neckes any more. And when the Prophets rebuke vs, they call vs not ſimply vncircumciſed, but vncircumciſed of Heart, or of Lippes. They which ought to aduertiſe you that the ſigne is fleſhly, but the thing ſignified (that is to wit, the couenant) is ſpirituall: and that it would behoue you to enter into the Marrow of the Law, and not to bite about the barke of it. To be ſhort, the Cabale it ſelfe giueth vs to vnderſtand, that Chriſt ſhall cure the venome of the Serpent, make a new couenant, and take away the neceſſitie of circumciſion. As touching Sacrifices, I haue declared already heretofore, that they were ſignes. It is ſayd, that they ſhall cleanſe away the ſinnes of the congregation. How may that bee, if wee goe no further than to the bloud of the Lambe, or to the ſprinkling of the aſhes of a Cow? And therefore Daiud ſaith: Thou deſireſt no Sacrifice for ſinne, and therefore will I not giue thee any. And God himſelfe ſaith: I blame thee not that thou haſt giuen me no burnt Offerings. And in Eſay: Who required theſe things of you? As for theſe

Deut 30. & 10 Ierem. 4

The Cabale by the report of Picus Earle of Mirandula

Pſal. 49. & 50.

Eſay 1. & 58. & 66.

theſe ſacrifices, theſe new Moones, theſe Sabboths, and theſe ſolemne feaſts, they loath mee, they burden me, and I cannot well away with
Mich.6. them. Moreouer Micheas ſaith; If thou gaueſt thouſands of thy ſheep, & riuers of oyle, yea & thine eldeſt ſon, euen the ſon of thine own body begotten, for thy ſin: all this is nothing before the Lord. Nay (ſaith Eſay) the offering of an Oxe is as the murthering of a man, and the offering vp of a ſheepe is as the beheading or killing of a Dogge, and the burning of Incenſe is as the bleſsing of an Idoll. **All which ſayings doe vs to vnderſtand, that the Sacrifices were not the very things themſelues, but onely ſignes of things, that is to wit, partly of the lufts and affections which wee feele in our hearts, and partly of the Saluation which we looke for by the Meſſias; and that if we paſſe no further than the bare ſacrifices, they be vtterly vnprofitable.** But Dauid ſaith: The ſacrifice of the Lord is a broken and lowly heart. And Eſay ſaith; Waſh your ſelues, ſcoure away the naughtineſſe of your hearts, doe right to the fatherleſſe & the widow. Alſo Micheas ſaith, Deale vprightly, and ſhew mercy. **Theſe be the ſacrifices which God requireth at euery of our hands, and which were betokened in the particular Sacrifices, by the Bowels, Kidneis, Liuer, & ſuch other parts, which were wont to be burned vpon the Altar. And as touching the generall ſacrifices, and ſuch as were more ſolemne, they betokened that vniuerſall Sacrifice for the ſin of mankind, which God had ordained euerlaſtingly, that is to wit, the death of the Meſſias. For that thoſe Sacrifices ſhould haue an end, namely, the ſigne by the preſence of the thing ſignified, the figure by the preſence of the ſubſtance, and the ſhadow by the preſence**
Dan.12.11 **of the body, we perceiue by theſe words of** Daniel; From the time that the continuall Sacrifice is taken away, there ſhall bee a thouſand two hundred foure-ſcore and ten dayes. **And that it ſhould bee done by the**
Dan 9. **death of Chriſt, it appeareth by this which he had ſaid afore:** After threeſcore and two weekes Chriſt ſhall bee killed, and in halfe a week hee ſhall cauſe the Sacrifice and Offering to ceaſſe; and for the ſpreading abroad abominations, there ſhall bee deſolation vnto the end. **And whereas Malachy hauing reproued Sacrifices very ſharply,**
Malach. 1. ſaith; From the Sunne riſing to the Sunne going downe, my name ſhall be great among the Gentiles, and Incenſe and pure Oblations ſhall be offered euery where in my name. **It cannot bee vnderſtood of the Sacrifices ordained by the Iewiſh Law, but rather of the abolishing of them, and of all other ſignes, by the Meſſias. For if the Gentiles muſt ſacrifice vnto him according to the Law, then muſt they come to Ieruſalem to the Temple there. And if it be ſo, what Court will bee large**

large enough to hold the Sacrifices? What ſhal all Ieruſalem be, but a very Slaughter-houſe and Butcherie? Nay moreouer, the Prophet ſaith, that they ſhall offer euery where; which thing bewrayeth an euident change: and a pure or cleane Oblation, which putteth a difference betweene their Offerings, and the bloudy Sacrifices of the Law. And after that the Prophet hath ſaid, My name ſhall be great among the Gentiles: **He addeth immediatly;** But yee haue vnhallowed it. **Which is as much to ſay, as that the Gentiles ſhal be theſe Prieſts euery man in his own place, & they ſhall not need to come to you Iews for the matter. To bee ſhort, as touching the Sacrifices,** ſome of the Rabbines ſay, They ſhall ceaſſe, ſauing the Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankeſgiuing. **And as touching the Sabboth:** Hee that bringeth the Commandement from God (ſay they) may alſo breake it: **Whereunto our Lord Ieſus agreeing, ſaith;** The ſonne of man is Lord of the Sabboth. **And as touching the difference betweene Beaſts, cleane and vncleane,** All beaſtes (ſay they) which are counted vncleane in this age, ſhall bee counted cleane by the vertue of GOD in the age to come, that is to wit, vnder the Meſsias, as they were to the Children of Noe. **And thereof they adde this reaſon, That Gods enioyning thereof for a time, was but to try who they were that would obey his word. The ſame doth** Rabbi Hadarſan **affirme,** ſaying: There is not a more expreſſe Law than that, which concerneth the monethly diſeaſe of women: and yet ſhall that ceaſſe in the reigne of him; (that is to ſay, of the Meſſias.) **And it is not for them to alleage here, that concerning the Circumciſion, the Sabboth, the Feaſt of Eaſter, and ſuch others, it is ſaid that they ſhall bee** *Legnolam*: **that is** to ſay, by their interpretation, for euer. **For we haue learned of them,** that the word *Legnolam*, **ſignifieth not** for euer, **but a long time: and a time of long continuance without intermiſſion, or breaking off, rather than a continuance of time without end. And in that ſenſe doe wee reade it ſaid of** Samuel: Hee ſhall abide in the preſence of the Lord (*Legnolam*) for euer: **Vpon which place the Commentary ſaith,** It is an age of the Leuites, or a Leuiticall age, that is to ſay, the continuance of fiftie yeares. **Likewiſe of the Seruant, whoſe eare his Maſter bored through, it is ſaid;** Hee ſhall bee thy Seruant (*legnolam*) for euer: **vpon which place the Commentarie ſaith,** Vntill the yeere of Iubile. **And therefore their great Grammarian** Rabbi Kimhi ſaith, that *Legnolam* **ſignifieth a long time, according to the ſayings of the Prophets,** The old bound or buttell that hath continued of long time; **where he vſeth the word** *legnolam*.

Midraſch Numb. 12. Markeſ.

R Hadarſan vpon Gen. 42. and 49.

Leuit. 8. & 15. Deut. 15.

Miſdraſch.

R. Dauid Kimhi in his booke of Roots. Prou. 22.

The

The words whereby the Hebrewes vſe commonly to betoken a time without end, are theſe. *gnad net ſath*, and *ſelah*, and *legnolam vagned*.

But that God meant by the ſending of his ſon Chriſt to make a new Couenant with his people, as farre differing from the firſt Couenant, as the thing figured differeth from the figure: let vs heare Ieremie in his one and thirtieth Chapter, Behold, the day ſhall come (ſaith the Lord) that I will make a new Couenant with the Houſe of Iſrael, and the houſe of Dauid: not according to the Couenant that I made with their fathers, when I tooke them by the hand, and led them out of the land of Ægypt, which Couenant they haue diſanulled, though I was married vnto them: but the Couenant that I will make with them after thoſe dayes (ſaith the Lord) is this; I will plant my law within them, and write it in their hearts, and I will be their God, and they ſhal be my people. Euery man ſhall not teach his neighbour any more, nor euery man his brother, ſaying, Know the Lord; for they ſhall know me from the greateſt to the leaſt. And I will forgiue their vnrighteouſnes, and their ſinne will I remember no more. And that this was meant of the comming of the Meſſias, it appeareth plaine. For hee had ſaid afore, The Lord will create a new thing vpon the earth; a Woman ſhall compaſſe a man about. Alſo, that by the houſe of Iſrael hee meant all ſuch as ſhould be graffed into that houſe by the comming of Chriſt, it appeareth in this, that hauing ſpoken of the peopling of Iſrael, hee ſaid afore, I will ſow the houſe of Iſrael and the houſe of Iuda with the ſeed of Man; and after that manner doe the Rabbines themſelues alleage it. And therefore doth Ionathan ſay vpon Eſay, Yee ſhall draw waters of gladnes out of the welſprings of ſaluation, that is to ſay, you ſhal receiue new doctrine of gladneſſe by the choſen ones of the Righteous, that is to wit, of Chriſt; of whom the Prophet had ſaid in the chapter going laſt afore, God is my ſafety, I will be bold, and be not afraid. And the Commentary vpon the booke of the Preacher ſaith, The law that men learne in this age, is nothing in reſpect of the law of the Meſſias, nor the miracles that are paſt, in cõpariſon of his miracles. And in the booke of Bleſſings it is ſaid, The things that were done in Ægypt are but *tappilath*, that is to ſay, an Accident or By-worke, but the things that ſhall be done in the time of the Meſſias, ſhall bee *gnikknar*, that is to ſay, the ſubſtance thereof. Yea, and Rabbi Iohanan in the Talmud ſaith, Wherein ſoeuer a Prophet biddeth thee tranſgreſſe the Law, obey him, ſauing in Idolatre. For all the reſt are things that may be changed by a Prophet, according to occaſion and time.

Iere. 31.31, 32.37.

Mechilta vpon Exo. 15. Eſay 12

Midraſch Coheleth. Chap. 11.

Yet they reply and ſay, Is God then changeable, to giue a Law that ſhall

ſhall be changed after that fashion? No, ſay wee. For what changeableneſſe is it to promiſe and performe, to ſay and to do, to repreſent and to bring to paſſe, to begin and to finiſh? May contrariwiſe, what greater conſtancy can there bee, than to bring to paſſe in their times, and according to their circumſtances, the things which he had promiſed to his people? He had ſaid, Circumciſe to me all your male children. This was a ſigne. And he had ſaid alſo, He ſhall circumciſe your hearts, and the hearts of your poſterity, and that is the very true ſignification of a ſigne. Now Ieſus himſelf was circumciſed, & that was becauſe he was borne vnder the Law. But yet hath he circumciſed our hearts by regenerating vs, which is as much to ſay, as hee performed the Law. And why ſhould it be thought ſtrange, that circumciſion is not retained now that the Gentiles are called? Verily, becauſe there is not now any peculiar people, nor conſequently, any peculiar mark to be coueted of any one people or Linage, as a ſeueral marke of couenant betweene God & them. Alſo, God hath ſaid, Take a Cow for a Sin offring. Again, Take euery of you a Lambe. But he hath ſaid like wiſe, The Sacrifice that I require, is a broken and ſorrowful heart. The ſacrifice that I prepare for you, is my Chriſt: who ſhall be led as a Lambe to be ſlaine for you, and vpon him ſhall your ſinnes be laid. Therefore the mother of Ieſus carried her Sacrifice to the Temple, for her Purification; but ſhe carried her Son with her alſo according to this Scripture, Euery manchilde that firſt openeth the womb, ſhall be holy vnto the Lord; becauſe hee was borne vnder the Law. But hee was crucified for our ſinnes, wherein he accompliſhed the onely Sacrifice that had been betokened by ſo many Sacrifices in the Law, and therefore hee made an end of all ſacrificing and offering of oblations, as one that came to fulfill the Ceremonies of the Law, and to ſet vs free, and diſcharge vs of them.

In the treatiſe Baracoth. Talmud of Ieruſalem. chapter Meema har Korim. Talmud, treatiſe Sanhedrim. A reply of the Ievves

On the contrary part, how dealt he with the Lawes which were no ſignes, but matters of ſubſtance indeed? It is written: Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God. And Ieſus hath ſaid, Thou ſhalt loue God with all thy heart: and he hath giuen vs an example thereof in himſelfe. Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any grauen Image, ſaith the Law: and Chriſt hath ouerthrowne all the Idols of the Heathen. The Lawe ſaith, Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord in vaine: yea (ſaith Ieſus) and thou ſhalt not ſweare by any manner of thing, no not euen by thine owne head. The Law ſayes, Thou ſhalt keepe holy the Sabboth day: Howbeit not to reſtraine thee from going aboue two miles that day, as the Phariſes taught, but to apply thy ſelfe all that day

throughout, to the minding of the Law of thy God, and to the ſeruing of thy neighbour in his need. And of the Commandements of the ſecond Table he ſaith, Thou ſhalt honour thy Father and thy Mother; howbeit from thy heart, and not for fashions ſake; and thou ſhalt do the like to all thy ſuperiours. Thou ſhalt not kill: yea, and if thou hate, not thy neighbour onely, but alſo euen thine enemie; thou art a manſlaper already. Thou ſhalt not ſteale: and if a man will haue thy Coat from thee, thou ſhalt let him haue thy Cloke to. Thou ſhalt not beare falſe witneſſe: not onely in word, either falſe or hurtfull, but alſo idle. Thou ſhalt not commit adultery: No, for if thou doe but looke vpon a woman with a luſt vnto her, thou haſt committed adultery alreadie. Moreouer, ſo little leaue haſt thou to couet any mans goods, that to ſuccour him, thou muſt diſpoſſeſſe thy ſelfe, and ſell all that euer thou haſt. Finally, thy God is onely one God, and no moe: but thy neighbour is euery man whom thou meeteſt, of what Countrie, ſtate, condition or calling ſoeuer hee or thou be. To be ſhort, worſhippeſt thou God? Do it with the knees of thy heart. Doeſt thou faſt? When thou doeſt it, anoynt thy face. Doſt thou giue almes? Let not thy left hand know it; giue of thy neede, and not of thine aboundance. I demand now, whether the exhibiting of the ſubſtance and body of the Law, in ſtead of the counterfeit or Portraiture thereof, and the requiring of the mind in ſtead of the fleſh; be an abolishing or defacing of the Law? whether the eſtabliſhing thereof be the diſanulling thereof? The clearing and inlightning thereof, be the quenching therof? or the fulfilling thereof in himſelfe, and the ſpreading thereof ouer all Nations of the Earth, be the breaking thereof? Nay moreouer, the Law (ſay the Caballiſts) was giuen to man for the ſinne of the Serpent: that is to ſay, (according to our doctrine) not for vs to accompliſh, for we cannot attaine thereto, but to ſhew vnto vs how farre the infection of that venome hath carried vs away from the duty which God and Nature it ſelfe required of vs. Which end of the law is greatly inlightned vnto vs by the comming of our Lord Ieſus, in that hee teacheth vs, that the law is not ſatiſfied with an outward & Phariſaicall obedience, that is to wit, (to ſpeake fitly) by hypocriſie, but by the vncorrupt obedience of the heart, yea euen much more by an vnfained acknowledgement of our diſobedience, than by the greateſt profeſſion of obedience that a man can ſhew.

If they vrge yet further, why then was not this leſſon of yours giuen vs at the beginning? I anſwer, that euen from the beginning forth on, Moſes and the Prophets gaue it you, in willing you to circumciſe your

your hearts, to offer vp the ſacrifice of praiſe & obedience, to abſtaine from vnhallowing the Saboth day with vnrighteouſnes, & ſuch other things. And in ſpeaking to you of the land of Canaan, they haue told you lowd enough by al their doings, that it behoued you to haue a further reach of mind, namely, to the things which (as Eſay ſaith) neither eye hath ſeene, nor eare heard, nor heart of man conceiued. The ſeruice then which God required of you, is ſpirituall, and the reward which we ought to looke for, is ſpirituall alſo. But you, like children as yee be, thought not but (as the moſt part of you do ſtill at this day) vpon the body and the world, whereas God ſpake to you concerning your ſoules, and the welfare of them, which lieth in him. Euen ſo the Schoolemaſter promiſing his yong Scholler a Marchpane, or ſome other banketing ſtuffe to make him learne, not that vertue ſhall not like the child much better, and be a greater reward to him, when hee hath attained vnto it; but becauſe that if he ſhould talke to him of vertue, or of honor, at that time, he cannot ſkill of any of them both, and he would bee the negligenter to his leſſon, and the more vnable to conceiue a greater thing. And truly ye would haue ſaid vnto Moſes, Let not God ſpeake vnto vs, but to thee, and yet was he faine to couer his face, becauſe he could not abide it. To the ſame purpoſe doth Eſay ſay, that ye were faine to haue line after line, and precept after precept, and liſping Prophets to dally with you like new weaned children, that they might make you to vnderſtand. Alſo, S. Paul ſaith in the ſame ſenſe, That ye were trained vp like babes, vnder the diſcipline and tutorſhip of the Law. To be ſhort, all mankinde (after the manner of one onely man) hath his birth, his child-hood, and his youth, and his ſpirituall nourriſhment proportionable to euery age, as well as euery of vs hath by himſelfe. Nature ought to bee a Law vnto vs. And verily God meant to make vs to feele how ſore it is corrupted in vs; and becauſe that in thoſe firſt ages we did tranſgreſſe it, and breake it ſo many and ſo ſundry waies, like yong Schollers, which (to ſpeak rightly) cannot write one right letter without a ſample: therefore God gaue vs the Law written, and there remaineth at leaſt wiſe ſo much conſcience in vs al, as that none of vs could ſay, but it was moſt iuſt. Nevertheleſſe, it was Gods will that we ſhould make triall therof for a time, whereby we perceiued in the end, that we could not attaine thereto, like as the childe that endeuoureth to follow the Copie of a good Scriuener, and cannot attaine to the faſhioning of one letter aright, further forth than his Maiſter guideth his hand. At length came Gods grace, brought by Ieſus Chriſt, when our accuſation (I meane the accuſation of all

Deut. 5. & 10.

Eſay 56. & 58.

Mankinde, and ſpecially of the Church) was made and concluded both by Nature, and by the Law, the Interpreters of Nature, and that ſo apparantly, as none of vs can deny but that hee deſerueth very great puniſhment, nor any of vs ſay, that hee deſerueth any reward at the hand of the euerlaſting God, whoſe reward being proportionable (if I may ſo terme it) to the giuer, cannot be but euerlaſting. So then, Nature hath made man ready to receiue the Law: the Law hath made him ready to embrace grace: and God, (as ſeemed conuenient to his wiſe prouidence) hath in this laſt age of the world, cauſed his grace to be brought and preached vnto vs by his Goſpell, euen vnto vs which were as folke ſtanding on the Scaffold ready to bee executed, to the intent that ſuch as periſh, ſhould acknowledge his Iuſtice, and ſuch as are ſaued, ſhould acknowledge his only grace in Ieſus God and Man, the onely Sauiour and Redéemer of Mankinde. Amen.

Chap. XXXII.

That Ieſus Chriſt was and is God, the Sonne of God, againſt the Heathen.

1 Ioh. 3. NOw then, we haue Ieſus Chriſt, ſuch a one as hee was promiſed vnto vs in the Scriptures, namely, God and Man, the Mediator of mans ſaluation (as ſaith S. Paul) manifeſted in the fleſh, crucified by the Iewes, preached to the Gentiles, beléeued on in the world, and taken vp into glory. And foraſmuch as I haue already proued the truneſſe & diuineneſſe of the Scriptures, and that according to them the Mediator was to be ſuch a one as Ieſus was: Here I might make an end of this worke, for the concluſion followeth of it ſelfe. The Scriptures are of God: in them we haue found Ieſus to be the Meſſias, the Mediator, and the Redéemer of Mankinde: therefore it followeth, that we ought to receiue him for ſuch a one, and to embrace his doctrine with all our heart. Howbeit to take all cauſe of doubt frō the Heathen, let vs ſhew them yet further, that Ieſus is God the Sonne of God, without the teſtimony of the Scriptures. For it may be, that although they will not beléeue Ieſus to bee the very God, by meanes of our Scriptures; yet they will beléeue our Scriptures to be of God in very déed, when they ſhal ſee that Ieſus is God, whoſe comming hath béen declared ſo plainly and ſo long aforehand in our Scriptures.

But

But to begin withall, let vs call to minde this ſaying of Porphyrius, That Gods prouidence hath not left mankind without an vniuerſall cleanſing, and that the ſame cannot be done, but by one of the beginnings, that is to wit, by one of the three Perſons or In-beings of Gods Eſſence. And likewiſe, theſe poynts which I haue proued already, namely, That man is created to liue for euer: that by his corruption he is falne from Gods fauour into his diſpleaſure, & conſequently excluded from that bleſſednes: That to bring him in fauour again, a Mediator muſt ſtep in, who muſt be man, that hee may ſuſtaine the death which mankinde hath deſerued: and God, that hee may triumph ouer death, and deck vs with his deſert. And ſuch a one do we ſay the ſame Ieſus is, which was crucified by the Iewes, and beléeued on among the Gentiles of old time: And God vouchſafe by his grace in our time, to inlighten all thoſe to whom he hath not as yet giuen grace to beléeue.

Prophecies among the Gentiles.

Surely, as the Mediator came for the Gentiles as well as for the Iewes, that is to ſay, for all men: ſo it ſhould ſeeme ỳ the Gentiles had ſome inckling thereof reuealed to them from God, that they might prepare themſelues to receiue him. In the Scripture wee reade of a Prophet named Balaam, who prophecied plainly enough of Chriſt. And ſome ancient Writers ſay, that his Prophecie, and the Prophecie of one other named Seth, were kept in the Caſt parts of the world. And Iob, who was an Edomite, ſaith: I am ſure that my Redeemer liueth, and ſhall ſtand vp at the laſt vpon the earth. Alſo, the Sybils, and ſpecially Sybil of Erithra, who is ſo famous aboue the reſt, (at leaſtwiſe if the bookes which we haue vnder their names, be theirs) do tel vs, that he ſhould be the Sonne of God, bee borne of a Virgine, bee named Ieſus, worke miracles, be crucified by the Iewes, be raiſed againe to glorie, come in the end to iudge both the quicke and the dead, and ſo forth, and that (which is a greater matter in ſuch termes) and with ſuch particularities, as it ſéemeth to be the very Goſpel turned into verſe, as though God had meant to vtter his myſteries more manifeſtly by them to the Gentiles, than he had done to the Iewes, becauſe the Gentiles had not bin inured to the heauenly doctrine any long time aforehand, & namely, to the hope of the Redéemer. And as for thoſe which thinke thoſe bookes to haue béen counterfeited in thoſe Sybils names, ſurely they may more eaſily ſay it than proue it; but I paſſe not greatly for that. For (as Suetonius Tranquillus reporteth) the Emperour Auguſtus made them to be locked vp in two Coffers of gold at the foot of the Image of Apollo on mount Palatine in Rome, where it was hard for men to haue falſified them. And in the time of Origen, of Clement

Origen in his 15. Homily vpon Geneſis.

Chryſoſtome in his 2. Homily vpon the 8. of Math.

Iob 19. 25.

The Oracles of the Sybils.

Lactantius lib. 4. cap. 6

Suetonius in the life of Auguſtus, ca. 31.

Clement of Alexandria, and of Iuſtin the Martyr, which was not long after the preaching of the Apoſtles, thoſe bookes were abroade in the world, as appeareth by the diſcourſes of Celſus the Epicure, who ſaith indeed that they were counterfet, but he proueth it not. Alſo the Emperour Conſtantine in a certaine Oration of his, witneſſeth that hee had ſeene & read them, and referred the Gentiles of his time to them. Well, it cannot be denied but that there was at leaſt wiſe ſome ſuch like thing. For Cicero in his bookes of Diuinatiõ, writeth theſe words: Let vs obſerue the bookes of Sybil. We muſt name ſome one a king, if we will liue in ſafety. And yet all men know how hatefull a thing the name of King was both to all the Romans, & to Cicero himſelfe. Alſo he maketh mention of Sybils Acroſticke, that is to ſay, of certaine verſes of hers, whoſe firſt letters made the name of that King, of which ſort we haue ſome in the eighth book of the Sybils, whereupon hee concludeth, that they had a ſound & well ſettled minde. Moreouer, the Emperour Conſtantine affirmeth, that Cicero had tranſlated the booke of Sybil of Erythra, & that Antonie would haue had it aboliſhed. In theſe books it was ſaid, that as ſoone as the Romanes had ſet the King of Ægypt againe in his ſtate, by & by ſhould be borne the King of the whole world. And therefore Cicero writing to Lentulus, who ſued to haue ỹ charge, doth mention that Oracle vnto him: and the Romans made doubt whether they might receiue the King of Ægypt or no, by reaſon of that matter, whereof the Sybils do make ſome ſpéech in their ſecond booke. Neuertheleſſe, when the Romans had well canuaſed the caſe, Gabinus conueyed home Ptolomy King of Ægypt, into his Kingdome, and at the ſame time was Ieſus Chriſt borne. Virgil, who by the fauour of Auguſtus, had acceſſe to thoſe bookes, made an Eglog (which is but a tranſlation of certain of the verſes of thoſe Sybils) concerning the happy ſtate which Sybil behighted by Ieſus Chriſt the Son of God: ſaying that Virgil not looking deeply into the matter, applied it wholly to one Salonius, in fauour of Auguſtus whom hee meant to flatter: After which maner the Romanes wreſted this famous foreſaying of Syria, to the Emperour Veſpaſian, That out of Iewrie ſhould come the Soueraigne of the whole world. But we read that one Secundian, a notable man in the time of the Emperour Decian, and one Verian a Painter, and one Marcelline an Orator, became Chriſtians vpon the onely reading and conferring of theſe Oracles. And therefore the firſt writers among the Chriſtians, as Iuſtine, Origen, Clement, and ſuch others, do ſummon the Heathen to the bookes of the Sybils, becauſe they would not with their good wils haue beleeued ours, and alſo to a former

Cicero in his firſt Epiſtle to Lentulus. lib. 1. epiſt. In the 2. booke of their Oracles.

Virgil. Eglog. 4.

Clement. lib. 5. Iuſtin in his Apolo. Origen againſt Celſus. Clement, in Admo.

former prophecie of one Hiſtaſpes, which ſpake plainly of the cõming of the Sonne of God into the world, and of the conſpiring of all kingdomes againſt him and his. And therefore all thoſe bookes were forbidden by the Heathen Emperours, vpon paine of death. But God, of his wonderfull prouidence had prouided for the ſaluation of the Gentiles, by ſcattering the Iewiſh nations with their bookes and propheſies, into all the foure quarters of the world: howbeit that wee reade not of any other Linage or Nation to haue bẽ ſo ſcattered without loſing their titles, their books, their name, and the very knowledge of their originall, which prerogatiues the Iewes had, to the intent they ſhould be preachers of the comming of the Mediator, and witneſſes of the antiquity, truth, and vncorruptneſſe of the Propheſies, againſt the effect whereof neuertheleſſe they ſet themſelues with all their power. For what better witneſſes, I pray you, could the Gentiles haue, than the Iewes themſelues? namely, in that they beeing the putters of Ieſus and of his Diſciples to death, were ready notwithſtanding to die for the truth and ſoundneſſe of the bookes, wherein hee was foreſhewed, foretold, and forepromiſed vnto them at all times? Furthermore, that this King was promiſed by the Prophets, and the Sybils, ſhould deliuer the Law of good life to the whole world, Cicero ſeemeth to haue had ſome vnderſtanding (howſoeuer he came by it) or elſe I cannot tell whereto I ſhould apply this goodly ſentence of his in his third booke of his Common-weale. Soothly, the very Law indeed (ſaith hee) is right reaſon ſhed into all men, conſtant, euerlaſting, which calleth all men to their duty by commanding, and frayeth them from fraud by forbidding, which yet notwithſtanding neither biddeth nor forbiddeth in vaine to the good, nor by bidding or forbidding moueth the bad. From this law may nothing be taken; to it may nothing be put, neither may it be wholly abrogated. Neither Senate nor people can diſcharge vs of this law, neither needeth there any interpreter or expounder thereof to make it plaine. There ſhall not be one Law at Rome, and another at Athens: one to day, and another to morrow: but in all Nations, and at all times there ſhal be one and the ſelfe ſame law, both euerlaſting and vnchangeable, one common maſter & commander of all, euen God, God, I ſay, who is the deuiſer, the diſcuſſer, and the giuer of this Law: which whoſoeuer will not obey, ſhall flee from himſelfe as if he diſdained to be a man, howbeit euen in this alone, that he will not obey, he ſhall be grieuouſly puniſhed, though he were ſure to ſcape all other puniſhments.

Cicero in his 3. book of his cõmonweale In Lactantius. lib. 6. cap. 8.

Who ſeeth not here, that this Heathen man eſpied, that all lawes of

man are but vanity, & that he loked that God himſelfe ſhould come openly into the ſight of the world, to giue a good law to mankind. Now, Ieſus hath manifeſtly giuen this Law, cauſing it to bee publiſhed by his Apoſtles, and their voyce ſounded to the vttermoſt bounds of the earth. And for proofe hereof, what is more conuenient and meet for man in the iudgement of conſcience, than to loue God with all his heart, and all his Soule, and his neighbour as himſelfe: which yet notwithſtanding doth more ſurmount our ability to performe, and more bewray our corruption, and more condemne whatſoeuer is in vs of our owne, than doth the Law it ſelfe vniuerſally in all mankind. On the contrary part, what finde we in all the writings of the Heathen, but a Hireling vertue, and a teaching to cloke vice, that is to ſay, Hypocriſie? But as this Law is verily of God, ſo let vs ſee whether the bringer thereof be God. And I beſeech all worldly wiſe men not to harken vnto me by halues, nor to loke vpon things at a glance, (for I come not to dally with them) but to yéeld me both their eares, & to lok wiſhly, and to bend all their wits aduiſedly: for the nérer they loke vnto the matter, and the more deliberatly they conſider of it, the ſoner will they yéeld to our doctrine, as to the vndoubted truth, yea & as to very nature it ſelf. Ieſus therfore is borne in the little Country of Iewry ſubdued by the Romans, of poore parents, in a foxy Village, deſtitute of friends, and of all worldly helpes, and yet was he to be Emperour of the whole world, to giue the Lawe to the whole world. Let vs ſee the proceeding of this Emperor and of his Empyre. Amend (ſaith he) and beleeue the Goſpell: for the Kingdome of Heauen is at hand. If we conſider the Maieſty of the Romane Empyre, the eloquence and learning of the great Clarks, and the pride of the Sophiſts and Orators of that time, what greater fondneſſe could there be to al ſéeming, than to talke after that manner? Who would not haue thought folly both in Chriſt and in his Apoſtles for their preaching ſo? But what addeth he? Whoſoeuer will come into this Kingdome, let him forſake goods, father, mother, wife, children, yea and himſefe too: And let him take vp his Croſſe and follow me. Let him thinke himſelfe happy that he may ſuffer a thouſand miſeries for me, and that in the end hee may dye for my Names ſake.

The proceeding of the kingdome of Ieſus beyond Nature and againſt Nature.

What manner of priuiledges are theſe, I beſeech you, to draw people into that kingdome? What a hope is it for them to ſerue him? What are theſe promiſes of his, but threatnings? and his perſwaſions, but diſſwaſions? What ſay we to a friend whom we would turn from ſome other man but thus: ſe how that mans company, for ye ſhal haue

haue nothing with him but trauell and trouble? and what worſe could the veriеſt enemies of his doctrine ſay, than he himſelfe ſaid? Alſo, what a ſaying of his was this to S. Paul, a man of reputation among the Phariſes, and greatly emploied afore in following the world? I will ſhewe thee how great things thou haſt to indure for my names ſake? And yet notwithſtanding, what a ſodain change enſued, from apprehending & impriſoning, to be apprehended and impriſoned: frō being a Iudge, to be whipped & ſcourged: frō ſtoning of others to death, to offer himſelf from city to city to be ſtoned for the name of Ieſus?

Let vs heare on the contrary part the voice of a worldly Conqueror. Whoſoeuer will follow me (ſaith Cyrus to the Lacedemonians) if he be a foorman, I will make him a Horſeman: if he be a Horſeman, I will giue him a Chariot: if he haue a Manor, I will giue him a Town: if he haue a Towne, I will giue him a City: if hee haue a City, I will giue him a Country: and as for Golde, hee ſhall haue it by weight, and not by tale. What ods is there between the ſpeeches of theſe two Monarches, and much more between their Conqueſts? And therfore what compariſon can there be betwixt the Conquerors themſelues? This Cyrus as great an Emperor as he was, could not haue the Lacedemonians to ſerue him for al his great offers. But Ieſus being poore, abiect, and vnregarded, did by his rigorous threates, euen after his owne ſuffering of reprochfull death, and his menacing of the like to his followers, drawe all people and Nations vnto him, and not only Souldiers, but alſo Emperors, nor only Cities, but alſo whole Empyres. Cyrus dyed in conquering: and Ieſus cōquered by dying. The death of Cyrus decaied his owne kingdom, as a body without a ſoule: but the death of Ieſus enlarged his kingdom euen ouer the Empires. And how could that haue bin, but that the death of Ieſus was the life of all Empires and al Kingdomes? Who ſeeth not then, in the mightineſſe of the one, a humane weakneſſe: and in the weakneſſe of the other, a diuine mightineſſe? We wonder at the conqueſts of Alexander. And why? Becauſe that being but a mean king of Macedonie, he paſſed into Aſia, and conquered it with forty thouſand men & no moe. Had he carried a hundred thouſand with him, hee would haue had the leſſe eſtimation of his deeds: But how much greater account would we haue made of him, if he had done it with halfe his number? And had he done it with the tenth man, O how we would haue wondred! And if wee then made a God of him for conquering ſo: what diuine honour would we thinke ſufficient for him now? At leaſtwiſe who would not haue thought him, if not a God, yet (at the leaſt) aſſiſted with

Plutarke in the ſayings of the Kings of old time.

with the power and might of God? But had theſe ſouldiers ouercome their enemies by being beaten at their hands: had they conquered by cauſing themſelues to be killed: had they brought kingdomes in obedience, by ſubmitting themſelues to their Gibbets: had it not bẽn a crime to haue left them vnworſhipped for gods? For if betwéne the able man and the vnable man, the ſkilfull and the vnſkilfull, the difference, be that the vnſkilful can doe nothing, vnleſſe he haue very well and abundantly wherewith: but the ſkilfull can worke much vpon little, and by his cunning ouercome the awkneſſe of his ſtuffe: What is the difference betwéen the ſkilfulleſt man & God, but that the man can of a little make ſomewhat, wheras God can of nothing and without helpe of any thing make great things, yea and euen one contrary of another, and by another? Which is as much to ſay, as that he is of infinite power, able to fill vp the infinite diſtance that is betwéen contraries, and ſpecially betwéen nothing and ſomething. Now, let vs ſee what Jeſus hath done: and let vs bring with vs the ſame eyes and the ſame reaſon, which we did to the iudging and diſcerning of the hiſtory of Alexander. Firſt, our Lord Jeſus was borne deſtitute of all worldly helps. From ten to ten thouſand, & from ten thouſand to ten millions men do attaine: but who can attain from nothing, to ſo huge a thing? He was accompanied by a few ignorant Fiſhermen of groſſe wit. And yet is it no ſmall matter that he could cauſe them to giue ouer their Trade to follow him. But what inſtruments were they to make Preachers to the whole world, being rather cleane contrary to ſuch a purpoſe? and to incourage them, he ſayes vnto them: Bleſſed are ye when ye endure all manner of aduerſities for my names ſake. This had bin enough to haue driuen them away, & yet they follow him. At length he ſendeth them of ambaſſage to all Nations. And what was their meſſage? He that taketh not vp his Croſſe and followeth me, he is not worthy of me. What is hee that would at this day take ſuch a charge vpon him, no though hee were well rewarded for his labour? They ſhall whip you in their Synagogues, ſaith he. Who would vndertake to deale in ſuch a caſe? Specially vpon ſuch a perſwaſion as this, He that will ſaue his life, ſhal loſe it? In the end, he dieth. And how? Crucified betwéen two théeues. Thoſe few followers of his are at their wits end. He leaueth neither childrẽ nor kinſfolk behind him to vphold his ſilly kingdome. The Kingdome of Heauen that he had talked of, ſeemeth to be buried in the earth. What worldly kingdome had not periſhed in this plight? How long did the throne of Alexander reigne, notwithſtanding that it was vpheld with the hope of ſome Chil-

Children, with the policy of great Captaines, with the force of victorious Armies, and with the very terrour of his name? In the meane while, thoſe ſilly Sheepe of Chriſt came together, and went and preached to Ieruſalem, and afterward to all the world. And what preached they? That Jeſus had bin crucified, and that it behoued them to beléeue in him. If he was a man: what was more vaine? If he was a God; what was more abſurd? Yet notwithſtanding, if they may haue audience, they teach men to ſuffer for him: if they be ſhut out, they will rather dye than forbeare to ſpeake of him: and if they be accuſed for it, they preach their crime before their Judges. Malefactors are tormented, to make them tell their fault, and theſe are tormented, to make them conceale it. Thoſe hold their peace, to ſaue themſelues from death; and theſe dye for ſpeaking. Their perſecutors crie out, What a miſerie is this that we cannot ouercome an old man, or a woman? what a ſhame is it for vs, to be more weary of tormenting them, than they be of the torments? Yet notwithſtanding, in leſſe than forty yéares the world is full of this doctrine, & the Countries are conquered to Jeſus Chriſt by thoſe few Diſciples preaching his bloudſhed, and ſhedding their own, from Ieruſalem to Spaine; yea, and from Ieruſalem to the Indies. And lok by what meanes this kingdome is founded, by the ſame alſo is it ſtabliſhed, and from time to time increaſed and maintained. What man (if he know how far man extend) can attribute theſe things vnto man? He is God (ſaith a wiſe man) which doth that which no creature can do: And who euer did ſuch things either afore Jeſus, or after him? Alſo Ariſtotle ſaith, that of nothing can nothing be made: that indeed is a rule in nature. But what elſe are theſe doings of Chriſt, but a making not only of ſome thing, but alſo of the greateſt things, of nothing? And who can violate or ouercome the Lawe of Nature, but only he that created Nature? Now God ſpake the word, and it was done: this ſurpaſſeth Nature. But when Jeſus ſaith, He that doth not take vp his Croſſe and follow me, is not worthy of mee: to our fleſhly vnderſtanding it is as much as if he ſhould ſay, Flee from mee: and yet men follow him and ſeeke him. This word (ſay I) which were enough to driue vs away, draweth vs to him: by diſſwading, he perſwadeth vs: in turning vs away, he turneth vs to him: in throwing vs down, he ſetteth vs vp: and in killing vs, he maketh vs euerlaſting. Who can draw one contrary out of another, as, the effects of water out of fire, & effects of fire out of water; but he that made both fire and water? And who can drawe perſwaſion out of diſſwading; and conuerting out of diuerting; but hee

that

that made both the heart of the man that harkeneth, and the ſpeech of the party that ſpeaketh? And what is the conquering of the liuing by the dying of himſelfe and his; but as ye would ſay, a worlking of an effect by taking away the cauſe? What is this ſubduing of the world by diſarming, tying, and deliuering of himſelf; but a taking of a way contrary to his buſineſſe, and a chooſing of inſtruments moſt contrary to his worlking? And he that doth a thing by inſtruments contrary thereunto, nay rather by ſuch inſtruments as are directly hurtfull to it, and can no way further it; doth he not ſhew that he could do it by his only word, without other helpe? But let vs ſee yet more. It is againſt Nature to make ſomthing of nothing: Here the Philoſophers muſt ſtop. It is againſt Nature to make a thing by ſpeaking the contrary: Here the Orators are put to ſilence. What wilt thou ſay then, if beſides all this, there be an extreme reſiſtance in the thing it ſelfe: if thou be a Phyſicion, in the complexion: if thou be a Captaine, in the Conqueſt: if thou be an Orator, in the wils of men? Alexander did great things with few men. I grant. But if men had made head againſt him, as they might haue done, in what caſe had he bin? Let vs ſee contrariwiſe what reſiſtance men made both generally and particularly to ſhut Jeſus out of the doores. If ye ſpeake of force; he could ſcarcely preach without perill of death. His Apoſtles could not open their lips, but they were by and by whipped, ſtoned, racked, crucified or burned. The cruelleſt Emperors, as Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and ſuch others, wrought vpon them the chiefe deedes of their cruelties. If any of thoſe Emperors chanced to be more mild, ſee what iuſtice thē vſed; Forſooth, If they be not ſeditious (ſay they) let them not be ſought. But come they once in queſtion, wherſoeſoeuer it be, let them not eſape. I would faine learne what ſect of Philoſophers in all Greece, would not haue ceaſed at the leaſt commaundment of a Magiſtrate. And of what truth doe we finde any monuments of Conqueſts ouer all the world; but of the truth of Jeſus Chriſt? If yee haue an eye to policy; thoſe that followed him were excluded from all promotions and offices: and what a hell is that to a man of an ambitious nature? Their children were prohibited to goe to Schoole: and what was that but a cutting vp of the tree by the roote, if it had not growne by grace from heauen? Alſo certaine counterfait dialogues, forged concerning Pilate and Chriſt, full of wicked lyes and blaſphemies, were inioined to be read in Schooles, & to be conned of children by heart, to ſtaine the name of Jeſus, and to make it odious and lothſome to all men for euer, and that euen from their cradles. And what more

more pernicious policy could the diuel himſelfe haue deuiſed?

The Iewes worſe then all others (to whom notwithſtanding hee was promiſed) were falſe Traytors to him: and whereas they ſhould haue preached him, they did moſt eagerly accuſe him: inſomuch that hee himſelfe ſcarſly came into any towne, but that they made hiew and crie vpon him to murder vpon him. Nay (which more is) in euery ſeuerall perſon there was an inward incounter, and an extreme reſiſtance againſt this Word. Yea (ſaid men within themſelues) ſhall I beleeue in Jeſus? An abiect man? A crucified God? Shall I beleeue his Diſciples, the offcourings of the world, and the outcaſts of the Iewes? Shall I beleeue in him and to dye within two or three dayes, to leaue behind me a wretched wife, a reprochfull remembrance of my ſelfe, and the report of a foole to my poſterity? If the Emperors made ſo cruel warre againſt this doctrine, both by ſword and by their lawes; wee may well coniecture what warre euery man maintained againſt it in himſelf. And if we haue knowen what perſecution is, let vs here bethinke vs of the battails betwēn the fleſh and the Spirit; and of the liuely and ſharpe arguments which a man in that caſe maketh againſt himſelfe. Notwithſtanding all this, in the end, whole Nations yeelded themſelues to the word of thoſe men, and euen Emprys worſhipped Jeſus Chriſt crucified.

If weakeneſſe wrought this; why did not force get the vpper hand? If folly; why did not wiſedome triumph ouer them? If manhood: why did not multitude preuaile? No ſurely, it was Jeſus the Sonne of God, who repaired the world by his Spirit, as God had created it at the firſt by his word. Cicero could not wonder enough at Romulus, for that (ſaith he) in a time which was not rude, he had compaſſed ſo much as to bee called a god. And certes, I maruell at Cicero, that he ſhewed himſelfe ſo groſſe in that behalfe. For if he were called a god, who euer beleeued him to bee ſo? And what was Rome at that time, and a long time after, but a rout of ignorant and ſilly Shepheards? But thereby we may deeme, what iudgement he would haue giuen vpon Jeſus.

Romulus was called a god; but the Senate beleeued it not. The Senate did put the people in feare, and by that meanes did make them to ſay it. But al the whole Empire of Rome could not fear one Diſciple from profeſſing of Jeſus. What reſemblance then is there between them two? The ſame may bee ſaid of Alexander as great an Emperor as he was, when he made men to worſhip him as God.

For

For euen then did his army fall to mutinies, he loſt his eſtimation, he diſtained his victories, and his owne houſehold ſeruants were contented to bee beaten rather then they would kneele downe to worſhip him. And as for Caligula, Domitian, Heliogabalus, and others, they were laughed to ſcorne as long as they liued; and they were not ſo ſoon dead, but their godheads were dragged in the mire like dogs, and men vouchſafed them not ſo much as a Tombe to be buried in.

But what ſay yee to IESVS, who beeing deſpiſed all his life time, was worſhipped as God after his death? Whoſe God-head his Diſciples preach euen vpon the racke, and whom the very Emperours Tiberius, and Antoninus, and Alexander honoured in their hearts, and worſhipped as God in their priuy Chambers? And in what time? Surely, in the learneſt time that euer was, and in the full flouriſhing ſtate of knowledge in all Arts, Skill, and Sciences: when Rhetoricke, Logicke, and all Philoſophy were at their pride, and at ſuch time as Magicke and all maner of curious ſciences had their full ſcope, and were at their higheſt pitch. If hee bee worſhipped for his wiſedome; what a number of graue Senators were there at that time? If for Learning and doctrine; what a number of learned men? If for Riches and Parentage; how would thoſe great men haue yeelded to ſuch an off-caſt? If for his guiltleſſe death, why not others alſo, of ſo many which preached him, and followed him? And why was not Gabinius worſhipped ſo too, being a Citizen of Rome, a man of honour, and vniuſtly crucified, in whoſe behalfe Cicero vttered all the goodly eloquence that hee had? Nay ſurely, they ſawe ſuch a change in the world, ſo ſodaine, ſo great, and ſo vniuerſall, that they could not impute it to any other thing, than to the power and operation of him that ruleth the world whoſe mighty power they perceiued in Ieſus.

Records of the wonderfull proceeding of Chriſts kingdome.

What this ſo ſodaine turning of Nations to worſhip a man: of Emperours to reuerence reproach, and of wiſe men to haue folly (as ſayth Saint Paul) in admiration, is very true: I will take none other witneſſes than themſelues. Wee reade in Suetonius and Tacitus, that the name of Chriſt was knowne in Rome, and throughout all Italy: For they perſecuted the Chriſtians afreſh, contrarie to the cuſtome of the Romanes: inſomuch, that Nero made them to be put to the ſlaughter, as if they had bin the authors of the burning of Rome, which hee himſelfe had cauſed to bee ſet on fire.

Suetonius in Nero. Tacitus lib. 5.

And

And wee reade, that in the ſame time the Senate made certaine decrees, whereby many thouſands of Chriſtians, infected with the Iewiſh Superſtition (for ſo did they terme them, becauſe they had their originall from the Iewes) were baniſhed into diuers Iles. Which thing the Senate would not haue done, (conſidering their ordinary manner of proceeding in caſes of Religion) if the haſty increaſe of that Spirituall Kingdome had not put them in feare. And within a while after, wee ſee how all the Emperors were amazed at this flocking of people together vnto them, for counſell how to extinguiſh that doctrine: and how fires were kindled againſt them on all ſides: and yet how Nations neuertheleſſe were ſhaken at the voice of the Apoſtles, and the very Courts of Princes with their Legions of Souldiers, were made to incline vnto Chriſt. Sufficient witneſſes whereof bee the Lawes of that age: wherein it was enacted, that the Sword-girdle of a Souldier ſhould not be worne of any Chriſtian: that they ſhould not beare any office, or haue any charge in the Court, and ſuch other.

And Vlpian the Lawyer did himſelfe write foure bookes againſt the Chriſtians. And truly wee reade that a great many gaue ouer their charges, rather then they would forſake the Chriſtian faith. Moreouer, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, there was a Legion that was called the Legion of Malta, which was altogether of Chriſtians: of which Legion he witneſſeth in a certaine Epiſtle of his, that being vpon a time brought to vtter diſtreſſe by the Marcomanes, this Legion obtained by prayer, both thunder from Heauen againſt the enemy, and Raine wherewith to refreſh the whole Army: whereupon the Legion was afterward called the Thunderer.

Xiphilinus in the life of M. Aurelius. The Epiſtle of M. Aurelius in the Apologie of Iuſtine.

And therefore ſaith Tertullian in his Apology: If as many of vs as bee Chriſtians ſhould get vs away into ſome corner of the World: yee would wonder to ſee how few people yee ſhould haue remayning to you, and yee ſhould bee faine to ſeeke other Cities to commaund: or rather you to flee away out of hand and to hide your ſelues: for yee ſhould haue moe enemies than Citizens left yee. We haue filled now whole Cities, Ilands and Caſtles: Counſels, Palaces and Courts: Tribes, Legions, and Armies. What warre were wee not able enough to vndertake, if we liſted? And what is it that we might not bring to paſſe, dying ſo manfully and ſo willingly as we doe? Nay, the Lawe of our warre teacheth vs to dye, and not to kill.

Tertul. in his Apologie.

Now

Now what Kingdome euer had ſo great increaſe, in ſo ſhort time? But (which is a greater matter) what a thing is it to vanquiſh by yeelding, to bee furthered by retiring, and to conquere by dying? Egeſippus in his Anacephaleoſis. Euſeb. Wee reade of the Emperour Tiberius, that vpon a letter written vnto him from Pilate, reporting the miracles of Ieſus, his guiltleſſe death, and his riſing againe from the dead; he preferred a bill to the Senate with his aſſent vnto it, to haue had them proclaime Ieſus to be God; and that the Senate refuſed it, becauſe they themſelues were not the authors thereof: but that Tiberius aboue ſtill in his opinion. And thereupon Tertullian ſaith, Goe looke vpon your Regiſters and the Acts of your Senate. Alſo Veſpaſian the ſcourge of the Iewes, ſpared the Chriſtians: and Traiane moderated the perſecution vpon the report of their innocencie made vnto him by Plinie. Tertullian in his Apologie. Plinie in his Epiſtles. Marcus Aurelius hauing felt the helpe of their prayers did the like. Likewiſe did Antonine, but to another end: namely, becauſe that (as he himſelf writeth in an Epiſtle of his) Perſecution did ſtabliſh the Church of the Chriſtians. Iulius Capitolinus in Adrian & Alexander. Antonine the Emperour in an Epiſtle of his to the Cities of of Aſia.

To be ſhort, Alexander the ſonne of Mammea, did in his Chappell worſhip Ieſvs ſurnamed Christ, of whom alſo he tooke his *Poeſie, and therefore the Antiochians called him the Archprieſt of Syria. And it is reported that for Chriſts ſake, the Emperour Adrian builded many Temples without images. Finally, the good Emperours of Rome, Veſpaſian, Adrian, Traiane, Antonine the meeke, and ſuch others, had Chriſt in eſtimation and allowed of the Chriſtians. But how farre? Surely, as to acknowledge in their hearts that they were good and honeſt men, and that Ieſus had more in him than was of man. But yet for all this, If they bee accuſed (ſay theſe good Emperours) let them bee puniſhed; if not let them not be ſought. Dion in the life of the Emperour Alexander. The deuice was this, Doe not to another that which thou wouldeſt not haue done to thy ſelfe.

This is a good proofe and allowance of their innocency: but ſurely it is but a ſlender reliefe for them. Contrariwiſe, the wicked Emperours Nero, Domitian, Valerian, Commodus, Maximine, Decius, and ſuch others, condemned them, and by their condemning of them did iuſtifie them. For what did they euer allow, but euill? But what manner of condemning is this? Kill all, burne all, yea whole Cities, haue no reſpect of Sex, of age, or of quality. Scarcely had the Chriſtians any breathing time, but a new counterbuffe came vpon them againe; they were no ſooner from the torture, but they muſt to it againe. And yet God did ſo rule al things by his prouidence, to the intent the whole glory in this miſtery ſhould redound

redound to himſelfe, that the mild dealing of the good Emperours did indeed iuſtifie the truth, but yet durſt they not aduance or further it: whereas on the contrary part, the malice of the other ſort condemned it, and perſecuted it to the vttermoſt, but yet could they not deſtroy it. To bee ſhort, in few yeeres there paſſed ten horrible perſecutions vpon that poore Church; and yet in the end the Emperours themſelues ſubmitted themſelues to the Croſſe of Chriſt, and their Empires ſought their welfare there. Therefore we may alwaies come backe to this point, That hee, yea only he which firſt created the world of nothing, when there was not yet any thing to withſtand him, is able to recouer the world from Sathan, and to ſubdue it to himſelfe, without the helpe of any thing, euen by inſtruments repugnant to him, and in deſpite of the whole world bending it ſelfe againſt him.

But what will yee ſay if hee ſubdue not only men, but alſo their gods? not only the world, but alſo the ſouereignes of the world: I meane the diuels, which at that time held the world vnder their tyranny? Let vs read the Hiſtories of the Greekes and Romanes that were afore the comming of Chriſt: and what ſhal we finde in them, but the miracles and Oracles of Diuels? What els haue Varro, Cicero, Titus Liuius, and ſuch others among the Romans; or Herodotus, Diodorus, Pauſanias, and the reſidue among the Greekes? On the contrary part we ſée, that euen euer ſince Christ was borne, and preached, the World hath changed his hiew. Ieſvs was borne vnder the Emperour Auguſtus, and ſée here what Apollo anſwereth vnto him. The ouerthrowing of the falſe gods and of their Oracles. Suidas in the life of Auguſtus. Nicephorus lib. 1. cap. 7.

An Hebrew Child, which daunteth with his power
The bleſſed gods, doth ſtraightly me command
To get me hence to Hell this preſent houre;
Therefore of me no Counſell now demaund.

And Cicero ſaith, that in his time Oracles (whoſe anſwers hee had ſo diligently regiſtred in his bookes, did euery where ceaſe: And Iuuenal reporteth the ſame of the Oracle of Delphos by name, howbeit that he beareth vs on hand, that Kings did put them to ſilence, who commonly were moſt inquiſitiue to haue them ſpeak. Likewiſe Strabo ſaith, the Prieſts of Delphos were brought to beggery by it. But Lucane giues this general report of all ỹ gods of the Romans: Iuuenal Satyra. 2.

The Gods, by whom this Empire ſtood, abandon euerychone,
Their Temples, Shrines, and Sacrifice, and leaue vs now alone.

Alſo Celſus the Epicure ſaith, that the Oracles of Claros, Delphos, and Dodon were ſtricken dumb. And Iulian the Renegate writing againſt the Chriſtians, confeſſeth and witneſſeth the ſame of the Oracles of Ægypt. Yea and Porphyrius himſelfe (for I alleage none here but the deadly enemies of Chriſt and Chriſtians) rehearſeth theſe verſes of Apollo.

Alas ye Treuets, mourne with me: Apollo, now is gone,
Gone quite and cleane: the heauenly light compels me to be gone:
Ioue was, Ioue is, and Ioue ſhall be: O Ioue, now weleaway:
The light of all mine Oracles doth faile me now for aye.

And vnto the Prieſt that aſked him the laſt Oracle, hee anſwered thus:

Vnhappy Prieſt, inquire no more of me,
The vttermoſt and laſt concerning the
Diuine Begetter, or the onely deere
Beloued Sonne of that moſt mighty King;
Nor of his ſpirit which vpholdeth all
Both Mountaines, Earth, Brookes, Seas, Hell; Ayre and Fire.
Now wo is me: for ſore againſt my will,
That ſpirit driues me from this houſe of mine:
So that this Chappell where I prophecie,
Shall out of hand be left quite deſolate.

Alſo being inforced by charmes and conturations, he ſaid againe, as it were for a ſolemne farewell:

Euſeb. in this booke of Preparation to the Goſpell.

The Pythoneſſe ſhall neuer now her voice henceforth recouer,
Long tract of time hath withered her:
The ſoueraigne power aboue her
Hath lockt her vnder ſilence faſt, ſo as ſhe can no more
Now vtter any Prophecy, which greeueth her full ſore.
But you according to your wont, ſuch ſacrifices ſtill
To Phœbus offer, as are meete for men to God to kill.

To

To be ſhort, Plutark hath made a book of purpoſe, intituled, Why Oracles haue ceaſed. But in the end he commeth to this point, That the Spirits which had the managing of thoſe Oracles, are mortall, and that by their deaths their Oracles ceaſed, whereas notwithſtanding he commonly vpholdeth that all ſpirits are immortall; but indeed he ſhould haue ſaid that they were ſhut vp as in a Jaile. Hereupon he rehearſeth at length a notable ſtorie of one Epitherſes, who ſailing neere the Vrchin Iles, heard (and all thoſe that were in the Ship with him) a certaine voice comming from one of thoſe Iles, which bade them declare ý the great Pan was dead: And he telleth, that after this voice, followed an vnſpeakable ſighing, and lamentations without number. Which ſtorie (ſaith he) was reported to Tiberius then Emperor; who being deſirous to know the truth of the matter, enquired very earneſtly the opinions of al the Philoſophers what that great Pan ſhould be. Now let vs marke that this was done in the raigne of Tiberius, vnder whom Chriſt was crucified, and that this Pan was one of the chiefe Idols of the Heathen, as appeareth by this his Oracle in the books of Porphyrius. Plutarke

The golden horned Pan, which ſerues
the grizly Bacchus, ſtalkes
Among the Mountaines clad with woods,
and keeps his wonted walkes.

Indeede Apollo anſwered vnto Diocleſian, that The Righteous made him dumbe; und the Prieſt told Diocleſian, that by the Righteous he meant the Chriſtians. Wherupon Diocleſian fell to perſecuting them. Alſo the ſame Apollo told Iulian (who would needs waken him vp againe by Conturations) that hee could ſay nothing till he had firſt remoued the bones of Babylas, a Martyr of Chriſts away, which were an impediment to him; which is as much to ſay, as hee could not open his mouth, but to pronounce the ſentence of condemnation againſt himſelfe.

And therfore, It is no maruel (ſaith Porphyrius) though our Cities be ſmitten with the plague, ſeeing that Eſculapius and the reſt of the Gods are put ſo farre from them. For ſince the time that Ieſus hath bin worſhipped, wee haue taken no benefit by any of all our gods. Then let this great Philoſopher tell me, whether Ieſus be a Pan, and they gods or no? What maner of gods are thoſe, which ſhrink Porphyrius againſt the Chriſtians.

away at the preſence of a Man? and what a man is he, that maketh gods to hide their heads? May further, what a man is hee, whoſe Diſciple commandeth their Maſters, and whoſe ſeruant commandeth their gods? Will ye ſee how it is the name of Jeſus whereat they tremble, and which they ſhun? Loe heere the tryall whereto the Chriſtians ſubmit themſelues before the Gentiles. Let a man (ſaith) Tertullian) that is poſſeſſed indeed with a Diuell, be brought before your iudgement ſeat; and at the commandement of the meaneſt Chriſtian, the ſpirit ſhall ſpeake, and confeſſe himſelfe to be an vncleane ſpirit. Let one of thoſe folke be brought whom you think to bee inſpired of a God; bee it the ſame God that promiſeth you raine, or be it Eſculapius that plaieth the Phyſicion among you: If he dare lye before a Chriſtian, or if hee confeſſe not himſelfe to bee a Diuell: take the Chriſtian to be preſumptuous, and let him dye for it out of hand. Now, none will ſpeake his owne ſhame, but rather that which may ſound to his honour. Surely they will not tell yee that Ieſus is a deceiuer, or of the common ſtampe of men, or that hee was ſtolne out of his graue, as hath beene reported vnto you: but that he is the power, the wiſdome, and the word of God: that hee ſitteth in Heauen, and that hee ſhall come to iudge vs: and on the contrary part, that themſelues bee Diuels, damned for their naughtineſſe, and waiting for his dreadfull doome; and that is becauſe that being afraid of Chriſt in God, and of God in Chriſt, they yeeld to God and Chriſt, and to the ſeruants of God and Chriſt.

Tertulian his Apologie.

If Tertullians ſaying bee true, what els is this, but that Ieſus commaundeth them as ſlaues, yea euen by his ſeruants? Or if it bee falſe, how eaſie then had it beene for the Heathen to haue giuen him the foyle, by putting the matter in proofe? And why did they not put the Chriſtians to ſhame, in the open face of the world? May (ſaith Lactantius) when they offered Sacrifice to their gods, the preſence of a Chriſtian would haue daſhed their myſteries: and thereupon came this ſpeech which wee read in Lucian: If there be any Chriſtian here, let him get him hence. And when they aſked any queſtion of their gods, their ſpeech failed them: and it was as eaſie for a Chriſtian to driue Apollo out of his Priеſt or Pythoniſſe, as to driue a Diuell out of one that was poſſeſſed. And Iulian himſelfe (as Zoſimus dareth not deny) found by proofe in his Magicall workes, how weake his gods were, and how ſtrong Chriſt is.

Lucian in his Alexander.

More-

Moreouer, ſome curious Princes haue by their Magicians cauſed Iupiter, Neptune, Vulcane, Mercurie, Apollo, and Saturne himſelfe, (that is to ſay, the Diuels that decked themſelues with their names) to appeare: which thing they could neuer cauſe Chriſt to doe, with all the coniurations that they had: and that is, becauſe all thoſe gods of theirs were Diuels, ouer whom god men haue power by commanding them in the name of God, and euill men by pleaſing them. But as for Jeſus Chriſt the very Sonne of GOD, he ſtoopeth not to any creature, but is ſerued by Angels and good Men, as by his Seruants; and by Diuels and wicked men, as by his Slaues.

Alſo, at the ſame time that Jeſus came, there was ſcarcely any countrie in the world, where theſe Diuels had not men offered ordinarily vnto them in Sacrifice, as we vnderſtand by Porphyrius himſelfe, and as I haue declared heretofore. But in the reigne of Tiberius, they were forbidden in Africke, and the Prieſts that ſacrificed them, were hanged vp in their hallowed Groues. And vnder the Emperour Adrian, all Sacrifices and Idols were aboliſhed almoſt euery where. And therefore ſaith S. Auſtin to the people at Medaure; See how your Temples are partly decayed for want of reparation, and partly ſhut vp, and partly altered to another vſe. To worſhip your Idols, you haue put the Chriſtians to death; and the Chriſtians by their dying, haue caſt your Idols downe to the ground. And in another place he crieth out; Where be your Gods? where be your Prophets? where be your Oracles, your Bowelgazings, and your Sacrifices? And yet we read not of any that reproued him of vntruth; notwithſtanding that many (and among them one Zoſimus) bewaileth the decay of them; and yet doth not any of them ſtep forth for him, to ſhew any remainder of them. And whereas Iulian ſaith, As our Oracles are ceaſſed, ſo alſo be your Prophets: Let him firſt ſhew, vpon what cauſe his Oracles are ceaſſed, which many haue ſought, and none yet found. As for ours, they had an eye to Chriſt, and aimed at him, as their marke: and now that he is come, the office of the Meſſenger ceaſſeth in the preſence of the Maſter, and the repreſenting of Saluation by Sacrifices ceaſſeth, becauſe the Saluation it ſelfe is come.

S. Auſtin in an Epiſtle to the people of Medaure.

Jeſus therefore hath ouercome both the world, and the Prince of the world, by a force (in outward ſhew) cleane contrary to all victory, and by a way contrary to the end that he intended; that is to wit,

Miracles which could not proceed but from God.

by his word, which to the ſight of the world is folly and feebleneſſe. Let vs ſee now how in his workes he paſſeth al the ability of all creatures, according to this ſaying of his; The workes which I doe, doe beare witneſſe of mee.

And ſoothly, it is a miracle that ſo many people haue beleeued at the preaching of the Apoſtles: but a farre more wonder, that ſo few folke in theſe our dayes doe regard it, though Ieſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles had neuer wrought any other miracle than that, as I haue often ſaid afore. But that they wrought very great miracles beſides, I ſee fewe of the Heathen that dare deny it; and againſt the Iewes I haue ſufficiently proued it alreadie. Wee haue a letter of Pilates, wherein hee witneſſeth that Ieſus gaue ſight to the blind, cleanſed Lepers, healed them that were diſeaſed with the Palſey, deliuered men from diuels, ouerruled the waters, raiſed the dead, and roſe again himſelf after he had bin dead 3. dayes. Alſo our Diuines of old time ſay vnto the Heathen, Read your owne Commentaries, and ſearch your Regiſters, and you ſhall finde there the miracles of Ieſus. And the Emperor Iulian ſpeaking of him in ſcorne, ſaith this: What hath this Ieſus done worthy of memory, or of any account in all his life; ſauing that he cured a few blind and lame men, and deliuered ſome from diuels that poſſeſſed them, in the villages of Bethſaida and Bethania?

To be ſhort, as well the Turks as the Iewes confeſſe and commend his miracles; and the Emperors would neuer haue eſteemed of him, if it had not bin for his miracles. Apollo himſelfe in his Oracles, called him, σοφὸν περιπλησιανέγοντα, that is to ſay, The wiſe in wonderfull workes. But let vs take Iulian at his word, and his confeſſion will be enough. Put the caſe that hee had done no more but cured the blind, and that he had cured no moe than one. Who is ſo blind, that in this healing of the blind, ſeeth not the ſingular power of God? Is not the eye-ſight one of the excellenteſt ſubſtances in the world? And what is the reſtoring of ſight, but the reſtoring of a ſubſtance? And what is the reſtoring thereof, but a new creating thereof, euen of nothing? And who can make a ſubſtance (how ſmal ſoeuer it be) of nothing, but an infinit power? The which who can haue, but the only one God? or who can be the inſtrument or diſpoſer thereof, but only he that pleaſeth God? To be briefe, is hee not without the bounds of nature, which can create a ſubſtance? and whence hath he then that power, but from the maker of nature, at leaſt-

leaſtwiſe if hee be not the maker himſelfe? But our Lord Ieſus wrought infinite miracles, as the Iewes that ſaw them haue witneſſed and do witneſſe ſtill; and not only he, but alſo his Apoſtles; and not onely his Apoſtles, but alſo their Diſciples. And in deed they haue contriued certaine bookes vnder the name of Ieſus, as dedicated by him to Peter & Paul, containing an Art of working miracles: by likelihood, becauſe they had ſéene them painted together: howbeit that Paul (as is well knowne) kept not cõpany with Chriſt while he liued in the fleſh, but perſecuted his Diſciples a good while after. And S. Paul ſaith expreſſly, that he himſelfe came in ſignes and miracles: wherin if he lyed, it was an eaſy matter to diſproue him. Againe, Chriſt wrought ſome ſuch miracles, as Iulian being vnable to denie, falleth to railing & reuiling him, calling him the greateſt Magician that euer was in the world. And of S. Peter they report, that by his Magicke he made the Chriſtian Religion durable for the ſpace of 365 yeeres, and that hee did it without the priuity and conſent of Ieſus. Whence riſe theſe great ſlaunders, but of the greatneſſe of the workes of Chriſt and his Diſciples? And if they had not done both great and manifeſt miracles; had not the ſhorteſt way been to haue denied them?

Auſtin concerning the true Religion.

But let vs conſider of what ſpirit theſe contrarieties proceede. Ieſus (ſay they) did dedicate a booke to Peter and Paul: and Paul was a perſecuter at that time, and long time after. Likewiſe, Peter (ſay they) eſtabliſhed religion without the priuitie & conſent of Ieſus; and how then had he learned it of him? To be ſhort, if there be any ſuch bookes, why do they not ſhew them? If they bee good, why ſhould they hide them? If they be euill, why eſteéme they him wiſe? Or if they be effectual, why do they not put them in practice? As touching this poynt, I haue anſwered the Iewes alreadie. But let vs come to the matter againe. Magick neuer flouriſhed more in Princes Courts, than in the time of the Apoſtles. Why did not ſome body ſtep forth to banquiſh them, or to conuict them? Denis and Origen were great Philoſophers: and Origen was the Diſciple of Ammonius, and fellow-diſciple to Plotin, that is ſo greatly allowed, and ſo highly commended among them. Were theſe men ſuch as would ſuffer themſelues to be led with illuſions, or attribute that to Gods ſpeciall working, which depended vpon nature? Specially Origen, who had béene trained vp in Platoes Philoſophy, and at that time profeſſed Magicke, as well the naturall, by the conſent of

diſpoſitions in things, as the diuelish which they call Theurgy, by entering into fellowship and compact with ſpirits. Iulian alſo (who to confound the miracles of Ieſus, did what he could to reuiue Magicke by the helpe of Iamblichus & Maximus) did he euer cure a blind man, or make a lame man goe? Nay, what got hee by it, but gaſtly feare, ſuch as ſerued not to heale mens diſeaſes, but to driue himſelfe out of his wits? As for thoſe which attribute the miracles wrought by the Chriſtians, to a ſtrong and forcible imagination ſo vehemently fixed and faſt ſet in the beliefe, that IESVS is God, that it doth things wonderfull to our mortall nature: therin they follow the opinion of Auicen, who attributeth vnto phantaſie or imagination, the operations that ſeem to exceed nature. If it be ſo, I would faine haue theſe good Philoſophers tell me, if of ſo many phantaſticall Arabians as haue bent their whole force to imagination al their liues long, they can name me one that hath wrought any miracle? And of them all, who ſhould rather haue done it, than the author of this imagination? Alſo ſay they, whether of theſe hath the greater force? an ability that is bred in vs, or a quality ẏ doth but come into vs? Fire as it is in it ſelfe, or as it is in a thing that it hath heated? Now, theſe Philoſophers worke (as they think) by imagination applied to naturall things, which imagination is an ability bred in man by nature: But the Chriſtians (ſay they) worke by an imagination or perſwaſion that they haue cõcerning Chriſt, which imagination is not naturall, but commeth from without. Why then did not theſe Philoſophers worke miracles in naturall things, yea and more euident than the miracles of the Chriſtians?

In his firſt booke of things.

As touching propheſying, which holdeth a very high place amõg miracles; and is much leſſe ſubiect to the wrangling of Sophiſters: Phlegon the Emperor, Adrians Freedman, confeſſeth in the 13. & 14 bookes of his Chronicles (confounding neuertheleſſe S. Peter with Chriſt) that things to come were knowne to Ieſus; and he witneſſeth, though with an ill wil, that al the things which he had foretold, were come to paſſe accordingly in euery point. And this kind of miracles of his cannot bee denied, ſpecially at this day. For in our Goſpels we read his foretellings, and in the hiſtories of the Heathen we read the fulfilling of them. What will riſe then of all this? Verily, that Ieſus hath conuerted the World by the bare preaching of his Apoſtles, and by his own only word; and that is, of nothing to make great things. This word conſidered in it ſelfe, could not but turne

turne men away from him: and that is a drawing of an effect out of his contrarie. The diuels hid themſelues away at the voice of his Seruants: and that is a power ſurmounting the power of man and Angell. He not only made the creatures obedient to his becke, but alſo created new ſubſtances of many ſorts, and at many times: and this could not bee but by a power that was diuine indeede.

But now omitting that ſuch things depend vpon God alone; if the Lord Ieſus had wrought by the prince of the diuels (as he was ſlanderouſly reported to haue done) would he haue preached innocency & holineſſe of life, reuerence towards God, charity towards our neighbour, yea and that both in word and deed? For who could euer find fault in his converſation? And ſeeing that the gods of the heathen were diuels (as I haue proued afore): would he haue ouerthrowne their Idols beaten down their altars, abolished their ſacrifices, ſhut vp their Temples, and ſtopped the mouthes of the diuels themſelues? Or if they were gods, as the heathen reported them to be: were they not goodly gods, that would flee away from the diuell and rank Traitors to the ſouereigne God, that would forſake their places, and caſt away their armour and weapon ſo cowardly? Or if (as the ſuttleſt & cankereſt ſort of them do ſay) the diuell thought himſelfe more worſhipped in Ieſus, and more ſerued by his alone, againſt the glory of God, than by al the ſeruices that had gone afore: (wherein notwithſtanding I appeale to their conſciences whether they ſpeak as they think) would God (think you) haue giuen his ſpirit, & committed his power to the diuel, or to the diuels inſtrument, to procure obedience and ſeruice to the diuell? Specially ſeeing that our Lord Ieſus did ſuch things as ſurmounted the nature, power, and reach of all creatures, and which could not bee done but by or from the Creator himſelfe? Nay, ſeeing that God is altogether good, what a blaſphemy were it? And ſeeing he is altogether wiſe, what an abſurdity were it? And ſeeing he is our Father, what a cõtrariety were it? And ſeeing he doth al things to his own glory, how ſhould he further his enemy, ſpecially an enemy that laboreth by all meanes he can to bereaue him of his glory? Surely therfore, ẏ working of Ieſus was from God & for Gods glory; inſomuch that neither he nor any of his Diſciples, did euer ſpeak vnto vs of any other thing: and therfore God himſelfe reuenged his death both on Herod that had perſecuted him, & on the Iewes which had betraied him (accordingly as he had foretold them) & alſo vpon Pilate which had condemned

demned him: and likewiſe vpon the Neroes, Domitians, Valerians, Maximies, Diocleſians, and ſuch others as had perſecuted his Diſciples: the end of all whom crieth and proclaimeth with open and loud voice: Take warning at vs to deale iuſtly and to feare God.

Nay further, this Ieſus working manifeſtly by the power of God, telleth vs plainly that he was the Sonne of God, that the Father was in him, and hee in the Father, and that both of them were one. Alſo, he did oftentimes of his own authority command nature as Lord therof, and cauſe men to worſhip him as God, euen among the Iewes, who abhorred nothing more than a ſtrange god. On the other ſide, ŷ prophets of old time which prophecied of him, wrought miracles alſo, howbeit by calling vpon the name of God: and likewiſe the Apoſtles that preached him, howbeit in his name: and all they refuſed the honour that was offered them, and rent their garments when men honoured them, acknowledging themſelues alwaies to be but his ſeruants and inſtruments of his glory. And had he not been the Sonne of God, ſurely in ſo ſaying hee had not been Gods ſeruant, but his enemy, and a rank Rebell and Traytor, and whatſoeuer worſe is, if any can be worſe; and conſequently vnder the extreme wrath of the Creator, as a perſon puffed vp with paſſing pride, which is the cauſe both of mans falling from his ſtate, and of the diuels condemnation at Gods hand.

Therefore let vs ſay, that IESVS is the Sonne of God as he himſelfe hath tolde vs, and that wee ought to heare him, to yeelde vnto him, to follow him; and to worſhip him as God, I meane God and man, the only Mediatour of mankinde, who died for our ſinnes, and roſe againe to make vs righteous; to whom be glory for euer and euer. Amen.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A Solution of the Obiections of the Heathen againſt Ieſus the Sonne of God.

SVrely, by thoſe few things which the Heathen of old time either meant, or durſt ſpeake of Ieſus, yea euen at ſuch time as it was an offence not onely to ſpeake well, but alſo euen not to ſpeake euill of him; we ſee that he crazed the braines of all the Philoſophers, neither wiſt they indeede which way to turne them. In his life they could find no blame; of his doctrine they knew not what to ſay; and as for his power, they could not deny it for ſhame. All the ſhift they had, was but to ſay, he was a great man, full of godlineſſe and vertue, and wonderfull to all men: but that his Diſciples did him wrong to call him God, ſeeing that neither he, nor his Apoſtles had euer affirmed him ſo to be. But let thoſe that doubt hereof, reade S. Iohn, and they ſhall finde in diuers places, that no man hath told vs more plainly, that Ieſus was GOD, than Ieſus himſelfe; God (I ſay) the euerlaſting Sonne of God, ſent downe from Heauen, equall with the Father, and all one with the Father. Their ſo ſaying was to auoyd the force of this argument of ours, when we ſay, hee could not doe ſuch things but from God: therefore hee was not an enemie to God. But he had euidently bẽn ſo, if hee had conueyed Gods glorie to himſelfe, and called himſelfe God, not being ſo indeed. Therefore it followeth, that ſeeing he himſelfe ſaid he was God, he is ſo indeed; and that our worſhipping of him, is a worſhipping of the very true God. Hereupon it is, that the Philoſopher Longinian, in an Epiſtle of his to Saint Auſtin, ſaith, that hee could not well tell what to deeme of Ieſus. And as for Plotine, he impugneth not ſo much the Chriſtians, as the Gnoſtickes and Manichees. And Porphyrius, who fell away from Chriſt, becauſe he had bẽn reproued

The witneſſe of the Infidels.

S. Auſtin in his Epiſtles.

Porphyr. in bookes of the praiſes of Phyloſophy.

proued by the Church, ſaith thus; It is a great matter that the gods themſelues ſhould witneſſe with Ieſus, that he was a man of ſingular godlines, & that for the ſame he is rewarded with bleſſed immortality: But in this the Chriſtians ouer-ſhoot themſelues, that they call him God. And Apollo being aſked of one, how hee might withdraw his wife from Chriſtianity, anſwered; Thou mayeſt ſooner flye in the aire, or write in the water, than draw her away from that. So ſtrong was Chriſt in conuerting men to him, to haue nothing but aduerſitie in this life: and ſo farre too weake were the Diuels to turne them away from him, though they promiſed them all manner of good. And here we may not forget a ſubtill tricke of the Diuell, worthy to be noted in many of his Oracles, alleaged by Porphyrius. For commonly in the winding vp of them, hee euer commended the Iewes, as worſhippers of the onely GOD, and for that they continued deadly enemies to Ieſus Chriſt, againſt whoſe Godhead they made what reſiſtance they could, howbeit altogether in vaine.

Alcoran, Azoar. 1. 4 xxiii.

As touching the Turkes, Mahomet ſaith; That Gods Spirit was a helpe and a witneſſe to Ieſus the Sonne of Marie: That the Soule of God was giuen vnto him: That he is the Meſſenger, the Spirit, and the Word of God: That his Doctrine is perfect: That it inlighteneth the old Teſtament: and that he came to confirme the ſame. But that he ſhould be God, and ſpecially the Sonne of God, that he denieth: and yet it is not poſſible that he ſhould be either the Spirit or the Word of God, but he muſt alſo be God, conſidering that in God there cannot bee any thing imagined to be, which is not God himſelfe: and that in the ſame doctrine which Mahomet himſelfe doth ſo greatly allow, our Lord Ieſus affirmeth himſelfe to be God, and the Sonne of God. But let vs heare further of the Obiections which the Infidels make, why they ſhould not receiue Chriſt for God.

Iulians obiections.

What ſo great thing (ſaith Iulian) hath your Ieſus done, that hee may be compared with Socrates, Lycurgus, or Alexander? May ſurely, may wee ſay, and vpon better ground: what haue they all three done, and put them together, that is comparable to the doings of an Apoſtle of Ieſus? Socrates (ſaith Iulian) was an Innocent: but yet an Idolater. A teacher and patterne of morall vertue: but yet (as his owne Porphyrie reporteth) lecherous, and a louer of women: and ſo cholericke in his anger, that hee ſpared not to ſay any thing, were

were it neuer ſo wrong. Yet died he for the truth of the onely God: but he had ſerued falſe gods all his life long, and euen at his death hee made vowes ſtill vnto them. And let not Iulian boaſt here, that his doctrine continued after his death. For the Athenians acquitted him, and honoured him anon after: whereas open warres were maintained againſt the Apoſtles and their Doctrine, by the ſpace of three hundred yeares together. And yet in as great reputation as Socrates was after his death, his Diſciple Plato durſt ſcarce bee ſo bold as to ſpeake againſt the gods. Such therefore were their examples of good behauiour, as theſe bee. One Cimon was an honeſt man, but yet giuen to inceſt. Ariſtides was an vncorrupt man, but a robber of the common treaſure, and ambitious. The Catoes were reformers of diſorders in youthes, but yet adulterers and murtherers themſelues. But as for Ieſus, and his Apoſtles, what enemy of theirs was euer ſo paſt ſhame, as to carpe at their converſation? And if the fore-rehearſed men were ſo farre off from common honeſty, euen by record of them that had them in chiefe eſtimation: how much further off were they from being gods; yea, or from reſembling them?

Lycurgus.

In Lycurgus (to Iulians ſeeming) there was ſome ſingularity. The people were ſo rude and headſtrong, that they put out one of his eyes as he was proclaiming his Lawes: and yet notwithſtanding, thoſe Lawes bare ſway in Lacedemon many hundred yeares after. But Iulian muſt remember alſo, that the Pharſians being next neighbours to Lycurgus, and his confederates and companions in Armes, would not admit them; and that the Lacedemonians themſelues corrected them while he was yet aliue: vpon report whereof he died out of hand for pride, griefe, and diſdaine. But what compariſon is there betweene Sparta and the whole world? betweene dying for diſdaine to ſee his Lawes corrected, and dying willingly to correct the Lawes of all the world?

Alexander.

What will hee tell vs now of Alexander? Hee had a great hoſte and power of men: ſo much the more weaker was hee of himſelfe. Ieſus was deſpiſed, and full of infirmitie: ſo much the greater is his mightineſſe and honour. Alexander vanquiſhed the Perſians in battell: how much more commendable had it beene, if hee had done it with a blaſt of his mouth? If hee had liued, he would haue conquered the whole world: how much more honorable had it beene, if hee had triumphed ouer the world by dying? Alexander increaſed

his

Porphyrius alleaging Ariſtoxenus.

his kingdome by oppreſſing, and Ieſus by yeelding. Alexander by killing, and Ieſus by dying. But Alexanders Empire decaied by his death; whereas the kingdome of Ieſus was both founded and ſtabliſhed by the death of himſelfe and his. The difference therefore betwirt them, is as great, as it is betwixt him that dieth, and him that quickneth: or betweene him that of all maketh what pleaſeth him, or I know not what; and him which of nothing maketh all things. To be ſhort, if yee loke for vertue, a man that excelled in vertue, was in old time a wonder. The Philoſophers themſelues (ſaith Cornelius Nepos) condemned themſelues in their owne teachings. But after the time that Ieſus was one preached, what a number of men, women, and euen children, in Towne and Countrie, yea, and in Wildernelles, taught vertue to the world by their example? If yee require righteouſneſſe: what were the firſt Chriſtians, but teachers of equitie, of vncorruptneſſe, and of vprightneſſe? Yea, what enemy of theirs doe we finde, that once openeth his mouth to accuſe them? If yee ſeeke the deſpiſing of death; indeed they make a great adoe of one Zeno, an Eleat, for ſpitting out his tongue at a Tyrant, leſt he might confeſſe what the Tyrant demanded: and likewiſe, of one Leena, a woman of Athens, that endured all manner of torments, without vttering one word. If this bee ſo great a matter; what a thing is it, that in one age, yee ſhall haue whole millions of all ſexes, of all ages, of all ſtates, degrées, and conditions, goe willingly and ioyfully to death? inſomuch that the Hiſtoriographer Arrianus makes a generall rule of it, That all Chriſtians made in effect no account of death: not to conceale any fault of theirs, as thoſe others did, who had rather to haue ſuffered torments than to haue died: but for profeſſing the thing openly before all people, which they had learned of God, as folke that would haue thought themſelues vnworthy to liue, if they had held their peace. To be ſhort, what Diſciples, what Subiects, what Souldiers had Socrates, Lycurgus, or Alexander in all their life, that came any thing nigh this? Theſe (I ſay) which were taught, ruled, and trained vp by Ieſus, euen after hee was departed hence, and by his Apoſtles which were rude, ignorant, and weake, as long as hee was conuerſant with them; yea, and euen at the very time of his death?

Beſides this notable alteration, I ſaid alſo, that at that time the ſeruing of Idols ceaſſed in all places at once. Are they (thinke you) ſo

ſo void of wit, as to ſay, that the ceaſſing thereof in ſo many places, in ſo notable manner, and in ſo great gaine-ſtriuings, happened by chance? And muſt it not be, that thoſe Gods were made in great haſte, which had periſhed by ſo ſodaine chance? No, ſay they, it came to paſſe by a Conſtellation (that is to ſay, I wot not what a méeting together) of the ſtarres in the ſkie. Let vs examine this Aſtrologie a little. They ſuppoſe (and it is a common opinion) that according to the diuerſitie of Images in the ſkie, there are alſo diuers Religions, and diuers Gods in diuers Nations: and therefore they diuide the world into ſeuen Clymates, and vnto euery Clymate they allot a ſeueral Planet to haue the rule of it. But how will they anſwere to Bardeſanes the Syrian, who (as they themſelues cannot deny) was the wiſeſt of all the Chaldees? Yee part the world (ſaith he) into ſeuen Clymates, euery Clymate to be gouerned by a Planet, and what a number of Nations are vnder euery Clymate? In euery Nation, what a number of Prouinces? In euery Prouince, what a ſort of Townes? All which do differ both in Lawes, in Gods, and in Religions: and that not onely according to the number of the twelue Signes, or of the ſixe and thirtie Aſpects onely, but in infinite ſorts. In India vnder one ſelfeſame Clymate, ſome eate mans fleſh, and ſome eate no fleſh at all: ſome worſhip Idols, and other-ſome admit none at all. Againe, the Maguſians (carry them whither ſoeuer ye will) are giuen to Inceſt, after the cuſtome of their Mother-countrie Perſia, from whence they deſcend. And the Iewes, being diſperſed ouer all the world, alter not their Religion, nor their manner of life whereſoeuer yee beſtow them. To be ſhort, a Nation departing out of one Clymate, carrieth new gods, and new Lawes into another Clymate, and yet the Clymate neither troubleth nor hindereth the doing thereof. What vertue haue the Clymates, or the Signes, ouer Lawes and Religions: the differences whereof are made by Foreſts, Riuers, and Mountaines, which are the bounds of Iuriſdictions, rather than by them? and which they are brought into againe euen in deſpite of them, by men, by cuſtome, and by conqueſt? And in good ſooth, whereof commeth it, that in the Countries where Venus, Mercury, and Saturne were worſhipped in old time: the gods are now aboliſhed quite and cleane, and yet the Signes are ſtill in the ſame places where they were afore? And whereof commeth it, that the Iewiſh Law being baniſhed and vtterly rooted out of their owne countrie, continueth vnder all clymates ſtill? How happeneth

The obiections of the Aſtrologers.

Bardeſanes the Syrian. Euſeb. præpar. li. 6. cap 18.

happeneth it, that the religion of Mahomet is now where the Chriſtian Religion was in time paſt, and the Chriſtian is now, where ſometime were the bloudy Altars of Saturne and Mars, and in ſome places many and contrary religions together?

For the ſaluing of this abſurditie, they runne into another. Not the Clymates in very deed (ſay they) do make the differences in Religion, but the great Coniunctions of the Planets: and yet euen about this poynt they be at great odds among themſelues. For ſome ſay, that the great Coniunctions of Iupiter and Saturne, and none other, do diſpoſe of Religion. Others ſay, that properly Iupiter beto-keneth Religion; and that after as hee is accompanied, ſo bringeth he forth the diuerſities of them: as for example, accompanied with Saturne, the Iewiſh: with Mars, the Chaldee: with the Sunne, the Ægyptian: with Venus, the Mahometane: with Mercury, the Chriſtian: and with Luna, the Antichriſtian: and that there cannot bee aboue fiue of them. If I ſhould aſke both of them a reaſon, or an experience of their ſaying, I doubt which of them would be moſt grauelled. But becauſe I will ſhew my ſelfe more indifferent, I require firſt, that they agree among themſelues, to tell me which is a great Coniunction, which is a meane one, and which is a ſmall one: for as yet they varie vpon that poynt. And likewiſe, whether the ninth houſe or the ſeuenth houſe is the houſe of Religion. Herewithall I would haue them to ſet me downe the beginnings of the great coniunctions, that they might iumpe with the originall ſpringings vp of Religions, and with the changes of them: which thing they haue not hitherto done.

Albumaz. Roger Bacon.

Thirdly, if Religion depend vpon the coniunction of the Planets: let them tell me whether vpon the ceaſing of thoſe coniunctions, the Religion ſhall not ceaſe alſo: or at leaſtwiſe anon after, as light faileth by the going away of the Sunne: and whereupon it commeth then that that the Chriſtian, the Iewiſh, and the Heathen Religions haue continued ſo many hundred yeeres, ſeeing that there was neuer any Aſtrologer that once dreamed, that a coniunction ſhould laſt ſo long?

Fourthly, what great coniunction bred the doctrine of Ieſus Chriſt, ſeeing there was neuer any change in Religion, ſo great, ſo vniuerſall, ſo ſpeedy, nor ſo durable: and yet euen by their owne confeſſion, there was not at that time, nor neere about that time, any coniunction, either great or ſmall, that could be perceiued.

To

To bee ſhort, if onely Iupiter and Saturne bee the authors of ſuch change, which of them maketh the difference in Religions? If Iupiter make the diuerſities of them, according as hee is accompanied, how happeneth it that there be ſo many and ſo ſundry ſorts of Religions, ſeeing it was ſaid afore, that there can bee no moe than fiue? Againe, what great Coniunction was there at the change of religion made by Mahomet? or at the change that was made afterward by the Arabians, or Saracens, in Africk? And when of two Countries; yea, and euen of two Cities that haue but a riuer betwixt them, the one ſticketh ſtoutly and wilfully to the old Religion, and the other embraceth the new: what Coniunction may bee the cauſe of ſuch Diſ-iunction?

But to come to particulars, I aſke of them concerning the change of religion that was brought in in the time of Ieſus, whether they giue their iudgement thereof by the firſt vp-riſing and originall of Idolatry, which was to faile at that time, as a Clew of yarne that is wound out to the end: or by the originall of the Chriſtian Religion, which was to ſucceed and to ſmoulder the other, by the force and operation of ſome great Coniunction then freſh and luſtie to thruſt it forth?

Againe, as touching the originall beginning, or firſt vp-riſing, be it of that Religion which came vp, or of that which went downe: whence doe they take it? from the firſt publiſhing thereof, as they iudge of a Citie by the laying of the firſt ſtone, or from the birth of the founder or inſtituter thereof by Law? But that is as if a man ſhould iudge of the proſperitie of a Citie, or houſe, by the natiuitie or birth of the Maſter-maſon, or of the owner or founder that cauſeth it to be builded? But if Idolatry was to decay at that time, by reaſon that the force of the coniunction that cauſed it, was then outwore, did all ſorts of Idolatry, being ſo many in number, ſpring all of one ſelfeſame coniunction, and therefore muſt needes all faile at once? Who can tell when the force of a coniunction ſhall vaniſh away, but he that knoweth the firſt inſtant of the beginning thereof? And where haue they euer marked or found out, either the very inſtant, or any time neere the inſtant wherein Idolatry was firſt born, which being ſo diuerſly ſhaped, and of ſo ſundry ſorts, muſt needs (by their owne opinion) depend vpon many great coniunctions? Or where haue they caſt the natiuitie of the firſt founder thereof, who certainly muſt needs be moe than one? Or if they iudge it by the firſt

vp-riſing of the Chriſtian religion: if it depend vpon a great coniunction, let them ſhew vs one that time: or if it proceed from the nativitie of the ſetter vp thereof by Law, let them tell vs where they haue read it. For they will not deny, but that the birth time of Ieſus, about the caſting whereof ſo many Aſtrologers haue bewraied their own folly, is vncertaine, and without ground. To be ſhort, either the ſpringing vp of religion is as vpon ſome great coniunction; and at that time there was none ſuch to be marked: or elſe at the ſpringing vp thereof, by the preaching of Ieſus, ſome great Coniunction matching therewithal, did giue force vnto it; but none ſuch was ſeene about that time neither: or finally, both the vp-riſing and the force thereof depended vpon the birthtime of Ieſus: and that is more vncertaine and leſſe knowne vnto vs than both the other. But that the birth of one man ſhould ouer-rule ſo many natures, and ſo many Nations, what Aſtrologie will permit: ſeeing that ſome one or other of euery Nation might be borne in the ſelfeſame inſtant as well as hee? And that ſuch a nativitie ſhould ouer-rule, not onely the Nations, but alſo the gods, or rather diuels of the Nations, what Theologie, or what Aſtrologie will grant: ſeeing that by the iudgement of the beſt Aſtrologers, the ſtarres inforce not the minde of man, & much leſſe the ſeparated minds (as they terme them) that is to ſay, Spirits; and that euen by their own diuinitie, men ought to honour and obey the gods? Finally, what order is this, that the Starres ſhould haue dominion ouer a man, and by the ſame man triumph ouer all the gods? But the vanity of theſe contemplations, or rather gazings, is plainely bewraied by the effect thereof. For by their ſuppoſed Coniunctions they gaue their iudgement, that the Chriſtian Religion ſhould not continue aboue three hundred and threeſcore yeares, or thereabouts: and then did it manifeſt it ſelfe more and more, to the ouer-throw of all maner of vngodlineſſe and ſuperſtition. Albumazar extended it afterward to the thouſand foure hundred and ſirtieth yeare; and yet, God be thanked, it lifteth it ſelfe vp againe, and ſhineth forth ſtill more and more. On the other ſide, Abraham, a Iew, prophecied, that in the yeere of our Lord a thouſand foure hundred threeſcore and foure, the Iewiſh Religion ſhould get the vpper hand, the which was neuer more oppreſſed than at that time. This ſerueth to ſhew, that their iudiciall Aſtrologie is ſo vaine and fond, that although yee granted them all their ſuppoſitions (whereof in very deed they can make no proofe) yet they would

would confute themſelues by the courſe of the times, and alſo by their owne conſents. Neuertheleſſe, I would not haue any man think, that my ſpeaking hereof is, becauſe I haue not matter wherewith to aduantage my ſelfe in their Aſtrologie: For I could alleage here, how they ſay, that Ieſus in his nativitie had for his Aſcendent the ſigne of Virgo in her firſt face, as they terme it, in which place of the Heauen, Albumazar the Arabian ſaith, that the Indians & Ægyptians haue marked a virgin bearing two eares of Corne in her hand, and a child ſucking on her breaſt, whom a certaine Nation (ſaith he) call Ieſus, and that the ſtarre which the Greekes and Latines in their languages call, an Eare of Corne, is called by the Arabians, The ſigne of the food that ſuſtaineth, as if yee would ſay, The ſubſtanciall bread, or food: And that vpon the Starre which the wiſe men ſaw in the Eaſt, in the time of the Emperour Auguſtus, the Aſtrologers deliuered matter enough. But in theſe earneſt matters I am loth to alleage any thing which is not ſubſtanciall, or which I take not to be ſo.

After Aſtrologie, Magicke bideth vs battell. I ſaid, that Ieſus in his miracles ſurmounted the abilitie of all Creatures. Hereupon they ſet againſt vs, Simon the Sorcerer, Apollonius of Thyanie, Apuleius of Medaure, and ſuch others: And ſoothly, all theſe do yeeld vs ſo much the greater record of the miracles of Ieſus, in that for to diminiſh the eſtimation of them, they haue had recourſe to falſe miracles, and giuen credit to ſuch as were workers of them. Simon therefore reported himſelfe to bee a God, to haue giuen the Law to Moſes vpon Mount Sinai, to haue appeared afterward in the perſon of Chriſt, and finally, to haue ſhedde out the gifts of tongues vpon the Apoſtles in the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt: wherein he confeſſeth afore-hand the mightineſſe of Chriſts name, in that he would haue men beleeue that hee was Chriſt, and beautifie himſelfe with his workes. To this end doth hee apply the grounds of Magicke, whereby he maketh the people to wonder at him.

The obiections of the Magicians.

Simon Magus.

Now Ieſus had beene crucified: but vnto this man the Romanes did ſet vp a ſtanding Image vpon the Bridge of Tybris, with this Title, To Simon the holy God. The Diſciples of Ieſus ſuffered, and taught men to ſuffer, and were extremely perſecuted of all Iudges. Contrariwiſe, he and his followers were much made of among the greateſt perſonages. But he did yet more: for he taught his diſciples, that Idolatry is an indifferent thing, and that men ſhould

Ioſephus in his 20. booke of the Iewiſh antiquities, chap. 4.

not need to ſuffer for his doctrine, and what could bee more delightfull, and more enticing than this geere? Yet notwithſtanding, in the ende, both hee and his Lady Selene were quite ſhaken off at all mens handes, and all the cunning hee had could not make him to take footing againe in the world, neither hath the remembrance of him had any continuance here, but to the glory of the Lord Jeſus, and to his owne ſhame. And what elſe doth this giue vs to vnderſtand, but that it is in vaine for Princes to cherish a wicked weed, when Heauen is bent againſt it; and that they labour in vaine to pluck vp the good hearbe which God intendeth to proſper? They make great bragges of one Appollonius of Thyanie: How few euen among our learned men haue heard of him? This man did call vp the Ghoſt of Achilles, that is to ſay, a diuell. What a number of Sorcerers can do as much as that? He aſketh him whether he had not a Tombe? Whether Polixena were killed for his ſake or no? Whether the things which the Poets report of him be true? What good hap ſhould come vnto the world: and what good fortune was to befall to the Necromancer himſelfe? He toke a Luckſigne at the ſight of a Lyoneſſe: and what a Superſtition was that? Hee wore rings made by the conſtellations of Planets: and what a vanity was that? when a plague was begun, he gaue warning of it: and when it grew ſtrong, he ſlunke away. Hee fetched a young wench to life againe, but yet his counterfeit Euangeliſt Philoſtratus durſt not auow that ſhe was ſtarke dead. What is there in all theſe, that is either good or great? But now come we to the point.

Apollonius of Thyanie. Philoſtratus in the life of Apollonius.

Jeſus died for the ſaluation of the world: and Apollonius, to driue a certaine diſeaſe out of a citie, cauſed a ſtranger to bee ſtoned to death as he paſſed by in the open Market ſtead. The Diſciples of Jeſus were ſlaine in all cities, and Apollonius had Images ſet vp vnto him, and was worſhipped in many Temples for a God. The ſaid Diſciples did in the ende ouerthrow both the Temples, the Idols and his Images too: Contrariwiſe, Apollonius liued till hee ſaw himſelfe bereft of all honour, and his Images conſumed into ſmoke: neither did the fame of him ouerliue him three daies, inſomuch that euen the booke which he had written, of his conſultations with the Diuels in the den of Trophonius, rotted and periſhed together with the Ceremonies of the ſame Caue. What are the miracles of this Apollonius, but proofes of the Godhead of Jeſus? For ſeeing that hauing attained to the vttermoſt that man and nature could

Dion in Aurelian.

could come vnto, hee vaniſhed away ſo ſoone, euen of himſelfe: and Jeſus, euen in deſpite of Pan, and of the World, and of Nature, went through, and got the vpper hand of him, and of all others: how could this haue come to paſſe, if the working of Jeſus had not been by a higher power than the power of the World, of Pan, and of Nature?

Apulcius of Medaure hath ſhewed ſufficiently in his booke, that he knew all the trickes of Magicke: but what was hee the better for them? He was of an honorable houſe, but did he euer attaine to the leaſt degree of dignity? Some will ſay, perchance, that he made no reckoning of it. What ſhall we ſay then to his pleading againſt the men of Choa, (from whence neuertheleſſe he had married his wife) for that they would not receiue an Image of him? But the Empe-rour Veſpaſian (ſayſt thou) cured a blinde man at Alexandria: and thoſe (ſaith Tacitus) do beare witneſſe of it, which had no gaine by ſaying it. And why then beléeue yee not the miracles of Jeſus, witneſſed by ſo many men which are content to forgo all that euer they haue, yea and their liues alſo, for ſaying it? And had Veſpaſian done ſo: who knoweth not the vainegloriouſneſſe of the Romanes? O how wel would it haue matched with this Oracle applied vnto him by his flatterers: namely, That the Monarke of the whole world ſhould come out of Iewrie: & alſo with this other, That to be ſaued, it behoued them to haue a King? And as ſmall a miracle as it was, what a countenance would it haue carried, being vpheld by ſo many Legions, ſwthed by ſo many learned flatterers, maintained by the ſtate of the Empire, and confirmed by ſo many hangers on? For as for Antinous, the Emperour Adrians Minion, whom the Emperour endowed with Temples and Sacrifices: to what purpoſe ſerued he, but to ſhew, that it was not in the power of the great Emperour of the world, to make folke beléeue a man to be a God, what paine or coſt ſoeuer he put himſelfe vnto? Yea (ſay they) but to beléeue the miracles of Jeſus, we would ſee miracles ſtill. The time hath been that they were ſeen, the time hath been that they were beléeued, & time hath altered the courſe of them. What a number of things do wee beléeue which wee ſée not? And what reaſon, or what benefit ſhould lead vs to the beléeuing of any other rather than of them? But we ſhould be the more aſſured of them. As much might the former ages haue ſaid, and as much may the ages ſay that are to come: and ſo ſhould it behoue miracles to be wrought for all men, & at all times.

Veſpaſian. Tacitus. lib. 20.

Antinous.

Obiection

And were it once ſo, then ſhould miracles be no miracles, forſomuch as in truth they haue not that name, but of the rare and ſeldome ſight of them. The Sunne giueth light daily to the world: he maketh the day, the yéere, and the ſeaſons of the yéere. Trées hauing borne flowers, and fruit, become bare, and afterward ſhot out their buds, and flouriſh againe. The Vine turneth the moiſture of the Earth into Wine: the graine of Corne turneth it into eares of Corne: and the Pippen, or kernell of an Apple, into an Appletree. And infinite men receiue ſhape and birth euery houre. All theſe are very great miracles, and God, and none other, is the doer of them, nature teacheth it thee, & thou canſt not denie it. But foraſmuch as thou ſéeſt them euery day, thou regardeſt them not, and yet the leaſt of them would make thee to wonder, if it were rare. To ſurcour thine infirmity the Sunne forgoeth his light, a drie ſticke flouriſheth, water is turned into wine, and the dead are raiſed to life: and all this is to ſhew vnto thee, that the ſame power which wrought in creating things at the beginning, worketh now ſtill whenſoeuer it liſteth: and that if the effects liue, the cauſe of them is not dead. And if thou ſhouldeſt ſee euery day ſome miracle in the Sunne, in Plants, and in Man, ſurely in leſſe than a hundred yéeres, miracles would be changed into nature with thee, and the helpes of thine infirmitie would turne thee to vnbeliefe, and to make the world beléeue againe, God ſhould bee faine to create a new world for the world. An example whereof may be the people of Iſrael, who hauing their meate, their drinke, their training vp, and their gouernment altogether of miracle, did in leſſe than fortie yeeres turne them all into nature, and like folk accuſtomed continually to Phyſick, which turne their medicines into nourithment of their bodies, they abuſed the ſhapes of their faith, by turning them into occaſions of diſtruſt and vnbeliefe. Now, God created Nature, and hath giuen it a Law, which Law he will haue it to follow. Neuertheleſſe, ſometimes for our infirmities ſake, he interrupteth it, to the intent to make vs to know, that he is Lord of Nature. But if hee ſhould doe it at our appointment, then ſhould we be the Lords both of Nature & of Him; and if he ſhould do it in all caſes, we would make a rule of it, and we would make bookes and calculations of it, no leſſe than of the Eclipſes of the Sunne, or of the Moone, or rather than of the motions of the eighth Spheare, and we would impute all thoſe interruptions and changes to the nature of Nature it ſelfe. Therefore it is both more

more conuenient for his glory, and more behouefull to our ſaluation, that Nature ſhould ſtill follow her nature, and that miracles ſhould continue miracles ſtill, that is to ſay, that they ſhould bee rare, as neceſſary helpes to the infirmities of our nature, I meane, not of one man, or of one age, but of all mankind, or at leaſtwiſe of all the Church together, which is but as one Common-weale, and one man.

Yet remaineth Mahomet, and he ſéemeth to be a iolly fellow: for he made a great part of the world to beléeue in him. He was an Arabian, and toke wages of the Emperour Heraclius to ſerue him in his warres anon after the declining of the Empire: and in a mutinie among the Arabian Souldiers, hee was choſen by them to bee their Commander, as we ſée diuers times in the bands of the Spaniards. Whether he were a good man or no, let the people of Mecha (who worſhip him at this day) iudge, who condemned him to death for his robberies and murthers. And hee himſelfe in his Alcoran, confeſſeth himſelfe to bee a ſinner, an Idolater, an aduilterer, giuen to lecherie, and ſubiect to women: and that in ſuch words, as I am aſhamed to repeate. But hee hath enlarged his Empire by his Succeſſors, and laid his Law vpon many Nations. What maruell is that? For why? Auenge your ſelues (ſaith hee) with all your hearts; take as many wiues as yée bee able to keepe, ſpare not euen Nature it ſelfe. What is hee (though hee were the rankeſt Varlet in the world) that might not leuie men of that price, conſidering the corruption that is in mankinde? Hee reigned as a Lord, ſay they; but yet by worldly meanes, yea, and vtterly vnléeming a man. If yee enquire of his doctrine (ſay they) it is holy, conformable to the old and new Teſtament, and receiued from God. But as good as yee make it, yet may yee not examine it, nor diſpute of it, vpon paine of death. And what man of iudgement would not haue ſome ſuſpition of the perſon (though hee were very honeſt) which ſhould ſay; Behold, yee are paid, and in good money, but yee may not looke vpon it by day-light? If yee looke for his miracles; Indeed God ſent Moſes and Chriſt with miracles, but Mahomet comes with his naked ſword, to make men beleeue; and as for other miracle, he worketh none. And therfore al his Alcoran is nothing elſe, but, Kill the Infidels, reuenge your ſelues, he that kils moſt, ſhall haue greateſt ſhare in Paradiſe, and he that fighteth lazily, ſhall bee damned in hell.

Mahomet.

Alcoran. Azoar. 2. 3 6, &c.

How farre is this geare off from ſuffering, and both from conquering and continuing by ſufferance? What wickedneſſe might not bee eſtabliſhed by that way of his? Notwithſtanding, to allure the Iewes, hee exalteth Moſes, and retaineth Circumciſion: and to the intent hee might not eſtrange the Chriſtians, hee ſaith that Chriſt is the Spirit, Word, and Power of God, and that Mahomet is Chriſts ſeruant, ſent to ſerue him, and propheſied of by him afore.

Againe, to pleaſe the Heretikes called Neſtorians, hee affirmeth that yet for all this, Chriſt is not very God, nor the Sonne of God, but that hee hath indeede the Soule of God. Thus doe ignorance and violence in him mingle themſelues one with another, the one to choake the truth, and the other to inforce the falſhood. What practiſes, what wiles, what counterſayings, what inforcements, what armes, what cruelties vſeth hee not, to perſwade men? And yet what hath he wonne by all this, but to bee a Prophet without propheſying, a Lawmaker without miracles, and (euen among his owne Biſhops) a man without God or Religion? What man of diſcretion would read his Alcoron twice, except it were for ſome great gaine, or by manifeſt compulſion, conſidering the abſurdities, fopes, contrarieties, dreames, and franticke deuices, that are in it, beſides the wicked things, whereof I will not ſpeake? Far off therefore is he from being able to giue a Martyr, that will dye either for the preaching thereof, or for not recanting it. To be ſhort, Mahomets miracle is, to waſte and ſpoyle the world by warre; Chriſts is to bring the world in order by his ſuffering for it. Mahomet was aſſiſted by a company of Cutthroates, like himſelfe: Chriſt was followed by infinite folk dying and ſuffering aduerſitie for his ſake.

The workes of Mahomet were ſuch as euery man can doe, and doth daily: The workes of Chriſt are ſuch as neuer any man did, nor durſt vndertake to doe but hee himſelfe. Surely therefore wee may well conclude without wearying the reader any longer about theſe vanities: That Mahomet was a man, and wrought but as man and by man, and therfore is to bee examined as a man: and that Iesvs Christ wrought by God and was (as he hath told vs) the Sonne of God, and therefore let vs heare him and beleeue him as God.

At this word, behold, they ſtep vp againe and ſay; a man to bee God?

God? What an abſurdity is that? How is it poſſible? Nay rather, ſeeing it is conuenient and agreeable both to Gods glory and to mans ſaluation, as I haue proued afore: why ſhould it be vnpoſſible? God created man by his wiſdom, which wiſdome is his Sonne. Now, what is more meete than that he ſhould repaire man by him againe? Alſo it was a man that ſinned, and in that man and by that man did all his Poſterity ſin likewiſe. Now what is more rightfull than to repaire him by man? Man rebelled againſt his Father: who could appeaſe this offence but God himſelfe? and who could better pacifie the Father, than his owne wel-beloued Sonne? Man (I ſay) rebelled through extreme pride, vpon deſire to be equal with God. Now what thing is there which ought to humble man ſo much, as to ſee his Creator ſubmit himſelfe beneath man for the fault of man? or which ought ſo much to make him to conſider his ſin and to bee ſorry for it, as to conſider the infinite greatneſſe of his ranſome, the exceeding greatneſſe of his ſinne, and of his puniſhment due for the ſame? And if thou vrge me ſtil, with How is it poſſible? I anſwere, It is poſſible; becauſe God liſteth it, and euen in mens vnderſtanding it containeth no contrarietie to ſay it. Alſo it is poſſible, for wee ſee it is ſo; and ſo many Proofes cannot bee wyped away by a bare queſtion. It ſeemeth poſſible enough to thee, O Iulian, when thou liſteſt; for thou ſayeſt that Eſculapius the ſonne of Iupiter tooke humane fleſh to come downe vnto the earth: and thine owne Philoſopher Amelius doth vnder-hand approoue, that Gods eternall word tooke fleſh and clothed himſelfe with the nature of man, alleaging the very words of S. Iohn for the matter. An obiection againſt Chriſts Incarnation.

To be ſhort, thou haſt a ſpirit vnited to thy body; thou canſt not deny it, and yet thou ſeeſt it not. And if thou wert leſſe than man, thou wouldeſt alſo deny it to be in man: and yet for all that, what fellowſhip is there betweene a body and a ſpirit? And what may ſeem more againſt reaſon, than that a ſpirit which occupieth no place, ſhould not only be lodged, but alſo impriſoned in a place? But hee which made both the one and the other of nothing, can do what hee thinketh good with both of them. And ſeeing that to glorifie man, he vouchſafed to take him vp into heauen, & to ioine him vnto him (Plotin ſayes ſo therefore thou wilt wittingly heare it and allow of it:) why ſhould he be leſſe able to come downe if he liſt, and to vnite and ioine himſelfe to man vpon earth, if he liſt to humble himſelfe?

But

But why did God ſend his deare Sonne into the worlde rather in that time than in any other? Why ſent hee him not ſooner or later? Theſe are queſtions for Maſters to vſe to their ſeruants, and not for ſilly creatures to vſe vnto God, who by his onely power made vs to bee borne, and by his only grace hath begotten vs anew againe. But (as I haue ſaid afore to the Iewes) man liued for a time without the Lawe, to make him to learne, that hee was not ſufficient to bee a Lawe to himſelfe: and a certaine time vnder the Lawe, to make him finde by proofe that he was not able to performe it, and afterward grace was offered vnto him, as vpon a ſcaffold, where he ſawe nothing but death: and ſo the knowing of nature corrupted, made man the more able to receiue the Lawe; and the Lawe made him the more ready to imbrace Gods grace.

Why Ieſus came at the ſame time that he did.

Moreouer, it is a wonderfull confirmation to vs, when we conſider, that from the beginning of the World vnto his comming, we haue alwaies had Prophets from time to time, agreeing in one minde and one voice, as Heralds and Trumpetors euery one of them, to publiſh and proclaim the Maieſty of this King, which was to come into the world. For had hee came anon after the creation of the World, this confirmation of ours had beene greatly abated, becauſe they that were the firſt had bin ſurpriſed by his comming vnlooked for, and thoſe that haue come after, ſhould haue bin in danger to forget it, or to make the leſſe account of it, as though his comming had not belonged to them: whereas now all of vs are partakers, both of ioy and of Gods admonitions, both afore the Law, for he was promiſed to them; and vnder the Lawe, for they likewiſe heard the Trumpets, and alſo in the time that he came, for he himſelfe ſpake to them; and finally in our time, for his returne draweth nie. Neuertheleſſe, it was his will to come in the time when learning did moſt flouriſh, and when the greateſt Empire was in the chiefeſt pride, to the end that all worldly wiſedome ſhould acknowledge it ſelfe to be fooliſhneſſe, and all ſtrength and power acknowledge it ſelfe to be weakneſſe before him.

Now therfore, let vs all conclude, as wel Iewes as Gentiles, that Ieſus Chriſt is the eternall Sonne of God, the Redeemer and Mediator of Mankinde. And let no queſtion or obiection withhold vs from it. Iewes; for hee is ſuch a one as he was promiſed to them, borne in Bethleem of a Virgin of the Tribe of Iuda, at ſuch time as the kingdome was gone from the houſe of Iuda, humbled beneath all,

all, exalted aboue all, put to reprochfull death for our ſinnes; and raiſed again with glory to make vs righteous. Gentiles; for he did workes which could not proceed but from God; he created things of nothing, drew one contrary out of another, ſurmounted the nature of man, and ouercame the nature of Angels: his dooing of which things (beeing not poſſible to be done but by God) declared him to be very God. And both together; for all of vs deſire eternall life, all of vs know the corruption of our nature, all of vs perceiue what Gods Iuſtice requireth, all of vs finde that wee haue neede of his mercy, and all of vs ſee, that betweene his Iuſtice and his Mercie, none can (by reaſon) ſtep in to be the Mediator, but God, and to be the Sacrificer, but Man, euen Ieſus Chriſt, borne of the Virgin, and the Sonne of God.

And ſeeing it hath pleaſed the Father to giue vs his Sonne, let vs imbrace him, and ſeeing hee hath ſent him to bring glad tidings to our Soules, let vs heare him. Finally, let vs harken to the rule and doctrine which hee hath left vs, that wee may indeuour to liue vnto him in all goodneſſe, conſidering that hee hath vouchſafed of his vnſpeakable Loue, to ſuffer here beneath, and to dye for vs.

CHAP.

Chap. XXXIIII.

That the Goſpell in very truth contayneth the Doctrine of Ieſus the Sonne of God.

NOw, as for our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe (for I thinke I may now ſo call him without offence to the Iewes, or ſcorne of the Gentiles) he hath not left vs any of his owne life or doctrine written by himſelfe. For ſothly, had he written it himſelfe, men would haue conceiued ſome ſuſpition therof. Again, had he ſet down thoſe high things in a high ſtile, the common ſort would not haue vnderſtod them: and had hee vttered them in a ſimple ſtile, they would haue concluded (for ſo far as they had vnderſtood) that it had been but the word of a Man, and not the word of God himſelfe: as we ſee it is a very common fondneſſe in the world, to eſteem more of the bookes that are darke, by reaſon of their ouerhigh ſtile, than of thoſe which ſtoope as lowe as they can to the capacitie of the Readers, to inſtruct them. But his life and his doctrine be recorded by his Apoſtles and Diſciples aſſiſted by his Spirit, from whom we haue the Goſpels, the Acts, and the Epiſtles, all which together we call the New Couenant, or the New Teſtament.

And whether this Teſtament ought to be of authority among vs or no; I report me to the iudgement of all the world. For the writers thereof liued in the ſame time that the things were done, and ſaw the doing of them. And although that at the time of their writing, they were farre aſunder; yet agree they both in the Hiſtory and in the Doctrine; and loke what they wrot, the ſame did they preach and publiſh openly euery where, euen while thoſe were aliue which could witneſſe thereof, yea euen while their enemies liued which, would haue bin very glad to haue taken them with an vn-

The ſincerity of the writers of the New Teſtament.

vntruth: and in the end they ſigned it with their bloud, and ſealed it with their death in all places of the earth: which thing wee reade not to haue beene done for any other writing or Teſtament whatſoeuer, though it came from neuer ſo great a State or Monarke, how authenticall ſo euer men laboured to make it. If we loke vpon the Authors, their writing is not to flatter ſome Prince, as ſome doe. For had Ieſus bèn but a Man, what could haue bèn gained by flattering him when he was crucified? Againe, they were none ſuch as made their gaine of writing. And ſuch would Cornelius Tacitus haue men beleeue. May rather, they gaue ouer the world, and gaue their owne liues for the things which they wrote. If ye haue an eye to the ſtile, it is natiue, ſimple, plaine; preaching Chriſts Godhead, without concealing his infirmitie, and confeſſing his infirmitie, without granting away his Godhead. The weakneſſe, the curioſnelle, and the ambitiouſneſſe of the Apoſtles, that is to wit of the writers themſelues, are regiſtred diligently there. Of bragging, of boaſting, of vanitie, or of the praiſe of Ieſus himſelfe, there is not one word. Peter ſlept aſide, and denied his maſter three times: and Marke his Diſciple (who wrote the Goſpell vnder him) hath ſet it downe in writing. Iohn and Iames the ſonnes of Zebedee deſired to ſit, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left hand of Ieſus in his kingdome; and who bèged them to tell ſuch tales out of Schoole, which might ſeeme to abate their owne credite and authoritie? Alſo Ieſus himſelfe was wearie, and thirſtie, and wept: theſe are infirmities of man: yet doe they preach him to bee God, and dye vpon it. Might not they haue concealed theſe things without preiudice of the trueth? Yes to our ſeeming, and euen with aduancement thereof; at leaſtwiſe if they had not written in the behalfe of the trueth it ſelfe, and that they had not bèen ſure that his mightines vttered it ſelfe in infirmitie. To be ſhort, they ſet down the particularities of time, place, and perſon, day, citie, & houſe. The more particularly that they declare things, the more eaſie was it to haue diſcouered their vntrueths, and to haue conuinced them. For they ſpeake not in Iewry of things done in the Indies, but at the gates of Hieruſalem, in Bethany, in Bethſaida, and in Hieruſalem it ſelfe, in ſuch a ſtreet, at ſuch a gate, by ſuch a pole, and ſo forth. The witneſſes were then aliue, the blinde ſaw, and the dead walked vp and down among them. Had the Apoſtles lyed, how eaſie had it beene to haue diſproued them? What weapons gaue they to their enemies to

haue

haue ouercome themſelues withall? and yet for all this, how happens it that of ſo many Phariſes enraged againſt them, which toke exception ſo preciſely to the healing of a man vpon the Sabboth day, and to this ſaying of Chriſts, miſunderſtood, Deſtroy this Temple, and in three daies I wil raiſe it vp againe; and of ſo many men which were ready both to doe euill and to ſay euill; none of them all ſtood vp to gainſay them? Where was the zeale of Gods houſe become at that time, than in which there were neuer moe zealous perſons to be ſeene? At leaſt wiſe, how happeth it that in that huge heape of 9. or 10. volumes of ỹ Talmud, they bring not forth their exceptions and gainſayings, ne ſet vs downe ſome Counter-goſpel? Seeing then that hatred picketh out proofes & teſtimonies where none are; and yet notwithſtanding, the extreme hatred of the Phariſes findeth none, no not euen in the time and place where the things were done and when their owne authority was ſtrongeſt and at the higheſt pitch: what may we conclude thereon, but the infallible truth of the Hiſtory of the Goſpell?

Neuertheleſſe, let vs yet ſatiſfie vnbeléeuers, by prooving the things vnto them, which they eſteéme to be moſt incredible in the Hiſtory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. When Jeſus was borne in Bethleem, a Star (ſaith the Goſpell) was marked by the wiſe men in the Eaſt, the which they followed, and it guided them to the place wher Jeſus was. Some perhaps will flatly deny this Star to haue bin. Let any man iudge, how little credit to himſelfe and authority to Chriſt, the Euangeliſt could haue purchaſed by beginning with a lie, which all men could haue diſproued, ſpecially ſeéing he taketh the Scribes and the Phariſes themſelues to witneſſe thereof. But we read that the very ſame time (Auguſtus hauing then the chiefe charge of the Games, kept in the honor of Genitrix Venus, as they called her) at Rome there was ſeen a blaſing Star or Comet (that is the name which they giue to all extraordinary Stars) wherof the Prieſts of that Colledge gaue their iudgement, that for the ſingular marks which it had, it betokened not war, plague, or famine, as other ordinarie Comets doe; but the ſaluation of mankind to bee at hand. And vnto this Comet (becauſe of the rareneſſe therof) there was an Image ſet vp in the city. And that only Comet (ſaith Plin.) is worſhipped ouer all the world. Wherunto hath reſpect this verſe of Virgil in his 4. Eclogue, made to flatter Auguſtus, by applying vnto him the appearing of that Star; Behold, how noble Cæſars

The Starre charled the wiſe men.

Plin. lib. 2. cap. 3.

Starre

Starre ſteps forth with ſtately paſe. After which maner he wreſteth vnto Auguſtus, all the happineſſe which Sybil promiſed by the birth of the Redéemer. Alſo Cheremon a Stoike Philoſopher, iudged the ſame Starre to betoken welfare and happineſſe; and therupon perceiuing his gods to be weakned, he trauciled to Iewry with certaine Aſtrologers, to ſéek the true God. And Chalcidius the Platoniſt ſaith expreſſly, that the Chaldees had obſerued that it betokened the honorable comming of God down vnto vs, to bring grace to mortal men. Here the Aſtrologers had matter whereupon to exerciſe their Contemplations. For this Star appeared in Decemb. when the Sunne was in Sagittarius, in which ſigne (ſay they) both Iupiter, the Sunne, and Venus were met al together; al which they (by their principles) betaken a moſt righteous, moſt mighty, and a moſt merciſull King, but yet poor, by reaſon of the Sun which was come in betwixt them. How ſhould he be mighty, if poore? Fruitful alſo, becauſe of Iupiter in the Angle of the aſcendent; but yet barren & childeleſſe, by reaſon of the Moone which was in the firſt face of Virgo. Of theſe their contrarieties we might, according to their art, gather ſome profit. But I will let theſe curioſities alone to ſuch as delight in them. But in very deed, this Starre appearing in December without rayes, and being healthfull was not an ordinary Comet, but a very Starre indeed. The like wherof we haue ſéene our ſelues in the ſame ſeaſon of the yeere, in the yeere of our Lord 1572. the ſignification wherof God will reueale vnto vs when he ſees time. Now, had the former Star béen one of the ordinary Stars that are fixed in the firmament; what a miracle was it that it ſhould leaue his place & charge, not to reigne ouer Jeſus, but to ſerue him? And if it were newly then created; by whom could it be created, but by the Creator; and for whom but for himſelfe? And whereas Iulian the Renegate, not being able to deny the truth of the Hiſtory, and the comming of the wiſe men by the guiding therof, would beare men on hand, that it was the ſtar named Aſaph, which the Ægyptians haue marked to be ſeene but once at euery 400. yeeres: beſides that we read not of any like to haue béen ſeene in all the former ages; it hath not bin ſeen any more in theſe full 1500. yeeres which are paſſed ſince that time. Now by this inquiry of the wiſe men, Herod was moued to kill all the children about Bethleem, which were two yeeres old and vnder, meaning among them to haue killed the childe whom the Star betokened: in doing wherof, becauſe a Sonne of his owne was killed

Origen againſt Celſus.

Marſilius Ficinus in his treatiſe of the Starre that led the wiſe men.

with

Macrobius in his Saturnals.

with the reſt: we reade in Macrobius, that the Emperor Auguſtus hearing thereof, gaue him this taunt, I had leuer bee Herods Swine than his Sonne.

Borne of a Virgin. Clement in his Recognitions. Petrus Comeſtor.

Againe, that Chriſt ſhould be borne of a Virgin, they think it very ſtrange. I haue diſcuſſed this point already againſt the Iewes. God had foretold it; and what could then let him to bring it to paſſe? For who can doubt of his power, when he is ſure of his will? But this was ſo true, that Simon Magus, to the intent he might not ſeem inferior to Chriſt in any thing, preached to his owne Diſciples, that he himſelfe was the ſon of a Virgin, which thing Ieſus Chriſt neuer preached of himſelfe. And we read that the ſame day that Chriſt was borne, the Temple of Peace fel downe at Rome; at the laying of the foundation whereof, Apollo told the Romanes it ſhould ſtand til a Virgin did beare a child, wherupon they thought it ſhould haue continued for euer. And as touching Simeon, who hauing Ieſus in his armes, acknowledged him to bee the Sauiour of the world, I haue declared what the Iewes ſay of him. And as for Iohn the Baptiſt, our Lords foregoer, the hiſtorie of his godly life and doctrine, and of his death alſo, is ſet downe after the ſame maner in Ioſeph^, that it is in our Euangeliſts. If we conſider Chriſts workes, all the whole courſe of his life was nothing but miracles, the which I haue proued true long agoe. And this only point, namely, that they be deſcribed & ſet forth with ſo many circumſtances, wherunto neuer any man hath yet preſumed to take exceptions, doth ſufficiently giue credit to the matter; and therfore let vs paſſe vnto his death.

Ioſephus lib. 18. cap. 7

The Eclips. Mat. 27. 45. Mark 15. 33. Phlegon Trallian in the 13. book of his chronicles. Origen againſt Celſus. Suidas. Tertullian in his Apology.

From the ſixt houre (ſay our Euangeliſts) vnto the ninth houre, there was darknes ouer all the Land: that is to ſay, a high none and euen in the chiefe of the day. If they doubt hereof, Phlegon Trallian whom the Emperor Adrian ſet free, and who was the diligenteſt of all Chronicklers, noteth that in the fourth yeere of the two hundred and tenth Olympiade, there was the greateſt Eclipſe of the Sunne that euer was ſeene, and therewithall a very ſtrange Earthquake. And that was the very 18. yeere of Tiberius, in the which yeere Chriſt ſuffered his paſſion. And Euſebius ſaith, he had read the like in the Comentaries of the Gentils. Alſo Lucian a Prieſt of Antioch cryed out to ſuch as tormented him: Search your own Chronicles, & you ſhall find that in the time of Pilate the light failed in the chief of the day, & the Sun was put to flight as long as Chriſt was a ſuffring. And Tertullian in his Apology ſummons them to the ſame bookes.

Now,

Now, that it was no naturall Eclipſe, it appeareth plaine: for the Sunne was then ſo farre off from coniunction with the Moone, that it was euen full againſt it, according to the Law of the Paſſeouer, which was to be kept the 13. day of ỹ Moon. And if they take exceptions to the Epiſtles of Denis of Areopagus, wherein he deſcribeth the ſpectacle of this wonder at length: Eſculus the Aſtrologian, a man of ſmall Religion ſaith, that at that time the Sunne was in the firſt degree of Aries, and the Moone was newly entred into Libra. Others ſay, that the Moone was in Virgo, and the Sunne in Piſces, which commeth all to one in effect: and therfore that there could be no naturall Eclipſe by reaſon of this oppoſition. To bee ſhort, ſome ſay it was vniuerſall ouer all the world; and then was it a ſpeciall work of God, for the order of nature can do no ſuch thing in the world. Otherſome ſay it was peculiar to the only land of Iewry; and then is Gods ſpecial working yet more manifeſt: for it is (as ye would ſay) a pointing at the cauſe of the Eclipſe with his finger; namely, the ſuffering of the Sauiour of the world. And as little alſo could that Eclipſe be by the order of Nature, as the other. For who but only God could dimme the light & light of the Sun in ſuch ſort without a coniunction thereof with the Moone, that it ſhould giue light to all places ſauing only Iewry, as who would ſay, hee ſholed out Iewrie from all the reſt of the world? And as touching the earthquake that accompanied it, the foreſaid Phlegon ſpeaketh thereof, ioining it to the Eclipſe as our Euangeliſts doe. But theſe caſes are ſo rare and vnſéene, not in ſome one age, but in the whole courſe of the world, that ſéeing they be reported to haue bin in one ſelfſame yeere, and both together; they cannot bee vnderſtood of any other than thoſe which our Euangeliſts and Authors ſpeak of. To bee ſhort, the Veile or Courtaine of the Temple did rend aſunder. For the beleeuing or diſcrediting of this point, there needed no more but to goe to the place, and ſée whether it were ſo or no. And Ioſephus ſpeaking of the foretokens of the deſtruction of the Iewes reporteth the like thing.

The riſing againe of Ieſus from the dead.

Behold, Ieſus is now dead: but the third day he riſeth again as he himſelfe had told afore hand. If hee had ſaid as Mahomet ſayd, about 800. yeeres hence I will come ſee you againe; he had taken a good terme for tryall of his lye. But when he ſaid, I will come againe within theſe 3. dayes; his deceit (if he had meant any) would ſone haue bin diſcouered. Here they cry out, and cannot admit the

ſtorie bee true. And yet notwithſtanding when they reade that one Erus an Armenian, that one Ariſtæus, or that one Theſpeſius roſe againe to life; they thinke no euill of Plato, Herodotus, or Plutarke for reporting it. How vnindifferent are theſe people, which will needs both beleeue and be beleeued of all men without witneſſe, and vnrequeſted: and yet no witneſſe can ſuffice to make them beleeue their owne ſaluation? Women ſaw Chriſt, men touched him, the vnbeleeuers felt him with their fingers; he did eate and drinke, and was conuerſant among them diuers times, and many dayes: and yet all this they ſtoutly deny. But Pilate witneſſed it; and the Apoſtles being earſt aſtonished at it, did afterward preach it, publiſh it, and ſigne it with their bloud. He whom the Chambermaid had made amazed, and who had denied him three times in one houre when hee was aliue; did preach and publiſh him euen in Ieruſalem before the Magiſtrates, and before the Prieſts; and no threats could make him hold his peace. If Chriſt rotted in his graue: what hope of benefit was to be had of his dead carkaſſe? Nay, if hee liued not in Peter, who vrged Peter to preach him? And if hee ſpake not in him, who would haue beleeued him? Who (ſay I) would haue beleeued it, at leaſtwiſe ſo farre forth as to preach and publiſh it, and to ſigne and ſeale it with his bloud, vpon his report, and alſo after that hee was gone? Verily, the very ſlanderers themſelues giue light vnto this truth. For thereupon it is, that the Iewes haue fained that his body was ſtolne away: for they found it not there: But Pilate proueth them liers expreſſly. And thereupon alſo did ſome of the Gentiles ſurmiſe, that they had crucified a Ghoſt or Spoyne in ſtead of him: which thing the Iewes maintaine to be very falſe, who take offence at his death, as which they know to bee a matter of truth, in reſpect whereof they call him ſtill, The Crucified. But hee liued then, and liueth ſtill for euer and euer. And therefore as he had promiſed his Diſciples afore his death: Saint Luke ſaith, that hee ſent them the Holy Ghoſt in fierie Tongues within a few dayes after his riſing againe: whereby they receiued the gift of Tongues, or Languages; yea, and that in ſuch wiſe, that the ſame gift came downe vpon many others by the laying of their hands vpon them.

The comming downe of the Holy Ghoſt.

This is one of the things which they will not beleeue, as who would ſay, it were not as eaſie for GOD to giue one man the vnderſtanding of many Tongues, as it was to diuide one language into ſo many, when hee was diſpleaſed. But if it be a bragge, as they ſurmiſe:

ſurmiſe: to what end was it? and what might haue beene more eaſily diſproued? The Magiſtrate had them in his hand: why did he not examine them before the people? Ieruſalem was as the muſtering place of all the Eaſt: and where then might they haue bin better diſproued and made to recant it? Nay, the effect that followed vpon it confirmed it. For the Apoſtles, being but Fiſhers and Publicans, and at the beginning ignorant perſons, men which ordinarily knew no more than their owne mother tongue, and that but groſly; did afterward write bookes, and trauell ouer the whole world, preaching in all places. Conſider what liking either the Iewes or the Gentiles would haue had of ſuch folke, to haue made them their ſpokeſmen to the people. And yet the Diſciples did it ſo effectually, that in leſſe than 40. yeeres, the whole world that was inhabited, was repleniſhed with the name and doctrine of IESVS. How could that haue bin done, if they had not had an extraordinary ſkill of the languages? Soothly, the hiſtorie thereof was ſo true and ſo commonly knowne, that Simon Magus, to countenance himſelfe withall, reported himſelfe to bee the ſame that came downe vpon the Apoſtles in firie tongues, vnder pretence that by the helpe of the Diuell, he counterfaited after a ſort the gift of tongues.

Neither need we care for ſome ſearchers and ſifters of words, who obſerue the Hebrew phraſes which they finde in our Euangeliſts; who alſo in Horace or in Virgil count Greeke phraſes for an elegancy. For to the end they may knowe that it is done to expreſſe Chriſts matters the more pithily, & to repreſent them the more neerly: let them read S. Paul, and there they ſhall finde ſo faire a Greeke tongue, ſo full of pithy words ſo ful of excellent and choſen phraſes, and ſo peculiar to the Greeke tongue it ſelfe, that the beſt learned doe confeſſe he had the very ground of it, and alleage him for an example of eloquence. Let vs come to the hiſtorie of him.

This S. Paul, a Diſciple of Gamaliels, was ſent with Commiſſion to perſecute the chriſtians. In his way (ſaith Luke) a light ſhon about him, and being ſmitten to the ground, hee heard this voice, Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? To be ſhort, of a Iewe he became a chriſtian, & of a Perſecuter, a Martyr. And if thou beleeueſt not S. Luke; S. Paul himſelfe toucheth his owne hiſtorie in diuers places. What hath vnbeleefe to bring againſt this, ſaue only peraduenture a bare denyall, according to common cuſtome? If Peter ſawe it: he is but a Fiſher-man, ſay they. If Paul heard it; he is an

Act. 9 22.

1. Co. 15. 8.

2. Cor. 12. 2.

The Conuerſion of S. Paul.

Orator. So then belike, if God offer thee his grace in an earthen veſſell, thou miſlikeſt of it: and if he offer it thee in a veſſell of ſome value, thou ſuſpecteſt it: either the one is beguiled, or the other beguileth thee, ſaiſt thou. What wilt thou haue God to doe to make thee to beleeue him? Examine this caſe well. Paul is in the way to grow great, hee is good reputation with the Magiſtrate and the Prieſts, and ſodainly hee changeth his Copie out of one extremitie into another, to be ſcorned, ſcourged, cudgeled, ſtoned, and put to death. Put the caſe that neither S. Luke nor S. Paul did tell thee the cauſe thereof: what maiſt thou imagine, but that it was a very great and forcible cauſe, that was able to change a mans heart ſo ſodainely and ſo ſtrangely? Is it not daily ſeene (wilt thou ſay) that men are ſoon changed and vpon light cauſes? Yes, fooles are. But hee debateth the matter, he vrgeth his arguments, and he driueth his concluſions to an end.

The beſt learned of his enemies finde fault with his miſapplying (as they tearme it) of his ſkill, and yet commend his writings. Yea, and hee knoweth, that vnto thee his preaching will ſeeme folly, and yet that (as much folly as it is) it is the very wiſedome of God; and that by following it, he ſhal haue nothing but aduerſitie, and yet for all that, he doth not giue it ouer. How ſhall hee be wiſe, that counteth himſelfe a foole? or rather which of the wiſer ſort is not rauiſhed at his ſayings and doings? But if he be wiſe, learned, & well aduiſed as thou ſeeſt he is; what followeth, but that his change proceedeth of ſome cauſe? And ſeeing the change was great; the cauſe muſt needs be great alſo: and ſeeing it was extreme and againſt nature; ſurely it muſt needs proceede of a ſupernaturall and ſoueraigne cauſe. Verely the reaſon that leadeth thee to this generall concluſion, ought to leade thee to the ſpecial alſo: that is to wit, that it was a very great & ſupernaturall cauſe that moued him: namely, the ſame which S. Luke rehearſeth, and which he himſelfe confirmeth in many places, for the which hee eſteemeth himſelfe right happy to endure the miſery, which he cauſed and procured vnto others, and in the end after a thouſand hurts and a thouſand deaths, he willingly ſpent his life.

The death of Herods Agrippa, Acts 12. Joſephus in his antiquit. lib. 19. cap. 7.

Alſo the death of Herod, ſtricken by the Angel for not giuing glorie vnto God, is reported vnto vs much more amply by Joſephus, than by S. Luke. Herod (ſaith he) made ſhewes in Cæſarea, and the ſecond day of the ſolemnity, hee came into the Theatre being full, clad

That the religion of Iſrael had the keeping and cuſtody of his word, his Reuelations, and his promiſes, giuing vs his Law for a rule to liue by, whereby it conuicteth vs of our naughtineſſe, and inuiteth vs to call to God for grace. That the Old Teſtament is the Law of Moſes and the Prophets, which I haue proued to haue proceeded from God, and to haue been inſpired by him; that in the end hauing condemned vs, he offereth vs his grace: and hauing giuen iudgement vpon vs, he ſendeth vs pardon, and ſteadeth vs of a Suretie that is able to pay our debts: that this Suretie is the Meſſias promiſed to the Iewes for the ſaluation of the whole world, the Mediator of mankinde, God and Man, exhibited to the world in his due time, to be the Sauiour of the Iewes, and the light of the Gentiles, euen Ieſus Chriſt the Sonne of God, in whom we beleeue according to this parcell of the Creed; And in Ieſus Chriſt his onely Sonne our Lord, conceiued by the holy Ghoſt, borne of the Virgin Mary, crucified, dead and riſen againe, and ſo forth. All which points we haue proued againſt both Iewes and Gentiles: againſt the Iewes by the Scriptures, and againſt the Gentiles by reaſon, which they themſelues ſay they take for their guide: and by their owne Records. Our Creede addeth, I beleeue in the Holy Ghoſt. And I alſo haue ſhewed how there be three Inbeings in one Eſſence or Being, acknowledged by the Iewes, and auowed by the Gentiles, namely, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoſt, which are termed by them, the One, the Word, and the Loue, in the name of whom wee bee Baptized. And finally we beleeue, that God by the merit of his Son in the power of his Holy Spirit, maintaineth his Church ſpred ouer the whole world, knitteth vs in one Communion of fellowſhip together, pardoneth our ſinnes, and will one day raiſe vs vp againe, to make vs inioy euerlaſting life. To that end hath the Father created vs, the Sonne redeemed vs, the Holy Ghoſt inſpired vs. And therefore let vs looke vp with ſighes, and with ſighs trauell vp towards the Kingdome, whoſe King is the Trinitie, whoſe Lawe is Charitie, and whoſe meaſure is Eternitie. And vnto him, who hath granted me both to begin and to end this worke (whom I beſeech with all my heart to bleſſe it to his glory, and to the ſaluation and welfare of thoſe that are his) be honour, glory and praiſe for euer & euer. Amen.

Ch. 5. & 6.

Chap 3.4.

FINIS.

THE SVMMES OF THE CHAPTERS.

THat there is a God, and that all men agree in the God-head. Chap. 1. fol. 1.

That there is but only one God. c. 2. f. 14.

That the wisedome of the world acknowledgeth one only God. c. 3. f. 26.

What it is that man is able to comprehend concerning God. c. 4. f. 44.

That in the one Essence of God there are three Persons, which wee call the Trinity. c. 5. f. 54.

That the Philosophy of old time agreed to the doctrine of the Trinity. c. 6. f. 67.

That the world had a beginning. c. 7. f. 92.

When the world had his beginning. c. 8. f. 101.

That the wisedome of the world acknowledgeth the creation of the world. c. 9. f. 122.

That God created the world of nothing, that is to say, without any matter, substance, or stuffe, whereof to make it. c. 10. f. 144.

That God by his prouidence gouerneth the world, and all things therein. c. 11. f. 158.

That all the euill which is, or which seemeth to be in the world, is subiect to Gods prouidence. c. 12. f. 174.

That mans wisdom hath acknowledged Gods prouidence, and how the same wadeth between destiny and fortune. c. 13. f. 197.

That mans Soule is immortall. c. 14. f. 209

That the immortality of the soule hath beene taught by the ancient Phi-

Philosophers, and beleeued by all Nations. c.15.f.240
That mans nature is corrupted, and he himselfe fallen from his first originall, and by what meanes. c.16.f.269
That the men of former time are of accord with vs concerning mans corruption, and the cause thereof. c.17.f.288
That God is the Soueraigne welfare of man, and therefore that the chiefe end of man ought to bee to returne vnto God. c.18. f.312.
That the wisest of all ages are of accord, that God is the chiefe But, and soueraigne welfare of man. c.19.f.327
That true Religion is the way to attaine to the But and soueraigne welfare, and what are the markes thereof. c.20.f.337
That the true God was worshipped in Israel, which is the first mark of true Religion. c.21.f.353
That the gods which were worshipped by the Heathen, were men consecrated or canonized to posterity. c.22.f.365
That the Spirits which made men to worship them vnder the names of those men, were wicked Spirits, that is to say, Fiends, or Diuels. c.23.f.376.
That in Israel Gods word was the Rule of his seruice; which is the second marke of true Religion. c.24.f.391
That throughout the whole processe of the Bible, or old Testament, there are things which cannot proceede but from God. c.25.f.413
That the things which seeme most wonderfull in our Scriptures, are confirmed by the Heathen themselues. Also, the Solutions of their obiections. c.26.f.431
That the meane which God hath ordained for mans saluation, hath been reuealed from time to time to the people of Israel, which is the third marke of the true Religion. c.27.f.458
That the Mediator or Messias was promised in the Scriptures to bee both God and Man, that is to wit, the eternall Sonne of God, taking mans flesh vnto him. c.28.f.481
That the time wherein the Mediator was promised to come, is ouerpast: and therefore that hee must needs be come already, as well according to the Scriptures, as according to the Traditions of the Iewes. c.29.f.494
That Iesus the Son of Mary came at the time promised by the Scriptures, and that he is the Mediator and Messias. c.30.f.509

clad in robe of cloth of Siluer, which by the striking of the Sunne beames vpon it, made it the more stately. Then began certain Clawbackes to call him God, and to pray him to bee gracious vnto them. But forasmuch as he did not refuse that flattery, he saw an Owle sitting vpon his head, and by and by he was taken with so strange torments, that within few daies after hee died, acknowledging Gods iudgement vpon him, and preaching thereof to his flatterers. This historie is set out more at large by Iosephus, which in effect is al one with that which is written by S. Luke, who saith that the people cryed out, It is the voice of God, and not of a man: and that there-vpon an Angel of God strooke him, and he was eaten with wormes, and so died. These be the things which they finde scarce credible in the Historie of our Euangelists: which yet notwithstanding are confirmed by the Histories of the Iewes and Gentiles, who report the things with words ful of admiration, which our Euangelists set downe simply after their owne manner. And seeing that in these things, which exceede nature, they be found true; what likelihood is there that they should not also deliuer vs Christs doctrine truely; specially being (as I haue shewed afore) miraculously assisted with the power of his Spirit according to his promises, and moreouer hauing witnessed the sinceritie of their writings, by suffering so many torments, and in the end death? seeing then that the new Testament containeth the trueth of the Doctrine of Iesus, and proceeded from the spirit of Iesus, whom I haue shewed to be the Son of God; what remaineth for vs, but to embrace the Scriptures as the word of life and Soule-health, and as the will of the Father declared vnto vs by his Sonne, and to liue thereafter, and to die for the same, considering that by the same we shall be raised one day to glory, and reigne with him for euer?

But forasmuch as we make mention of rising againe from the dead: that is yet one scruple more that remaineth. What likelihood is there of that (say they,) seeing that our bodies rot, Wormes deuoure vs, yea our bodies doe turne into wormes, and a number of other changes doe passe ouer them? This is a continuall stumbling alwaies at one stone, namely, to stand gazing at Gods power who can doe all things, when ye should rather rest vpon his will: Hee will doe it: for he hath knit the bodie and soule together, to be partakers of good and of euill together, and he hath giuen one Law to them both together, so as they must suffer together, and ioy together,

An obiection against the rising again of the dead.

ther; yea, and suffer one for another, and one by another in this life; and what iustice were it then to separate them in another life? Hee will do it: for he made the whole man; who, if hee were but Soule alone, were no man at all. Hee will doe it: for to the intent to saue man, his Sonne hath taken the flesh of man vnto him. Now to saue the Soule, it had beene enough for him to haue taken but a Soule: but he that made the whole man, will also saue the whole man. To be short: he will do it, for hee hath said it: and hee will do it, for hee hath done it already. He hath said it by his Sonne, and hee hath also done it in his Sonne, and his Sonne adorneth vs with his victorie, and he will surely adorne vs with his glory. Loke vpon the graine that is cast into the ground, if it rot not, it springeth not vp; if it spring not vp, it yeldeth no fruit. Againe, of one graine come many eares of Corne; of a kernel, a goodly tree; of a thing of nothing, (as yee would say) a perfect liuing creature. Which of all these things resembleth the thing that commeth thereof, either in substance, or in shape, or in quantitie, or in qualitie? To be short, what strangenesse is there in this? Of a handfull of Earth God made thee, and all the Earth of nothing, and of a handfull will he make thee new againe? This body of thine which in time past was not, is of his making: this body which one day shall ceasse to be, he will one day make new againe. Verily this doctrine was common to all true Iewes, and among all the Teachers of the Law, who had gathered it out of the old Testament, (as we read in Iosephus, and in the Acts of the Apostles) for they agree fully with S. Paul in that behalfe. And in the Talmud there are infinite places thereof? Also the Alcoran, (which is borrowed of their Rabbins) is full of this Doctrine. And as concerning the Heathen of old time, Zoroastres said, that one day there shall be a generall rising againe of all the dead. Theopompus, a Disciple of Aristotles, doth the like; and no man in old time (saith Æneas of Gaza) did once gainsay them. The Stoickes held opinion, that after a certain time there should be an vniuersall burning of ỹ world, which wee call Doomesday,) and that immediatly after, all things should be set in their perfect state againe as they were at the first: and it was the opinion of Chrysippus in his booke of Prouidence, translated by Lucane the Stoick: which new state Varro calleth, Palingenesian, that is to say, a Regeneration, Rebegetting, or Newbirth. Plato saith expressly, that mens soules shall returne into their bodies. The Astrologers following Albumazar, vphold, that when the

Talmud. cap. Helec, treatise Sanhedrin. Æneas Gaza concerning Immortality. Seneca in his 75. Epistle, and in his bookes of Questions lib. 3. cap. 26. 27. 28. &c. Ouid in his Metamorphosis lib. 1. Lucane the Nephew of Seneca lib. 1. Lucretius lib. 5. Lactantius out of Chrysippus lib. 7. ca. 22.

the Starres come home again euery one into his first place, all things shall be set againe in their first original state, both men, beasts, trees, and all other creatures; which opinion euen Arithmeticke alone sheweth to be absurd in Astrologie, and the best learned men reiect it. Neuertheless it bewraieth our beastlinesse, which doe attribute such power to the starres, to defeat the maker of them thereof.

As touching the iudgement which the Sonne of God shall giue after the said resurrection, although the same were not foretold by the Prophets of old time, and by so many verses of the Sybils, and finally by the mouth of Iesus and his Apostles: surely Gods giuing of his Lawe, not to the outward man but to the inward, nor to our deeds onely, but also to our thoughts, sheweth sufficiently without other proofe, that there is another Iudge than the Magistrates of this world to iudge vs, and another Iudgement than their Iudgement to be looked for, as whose Iudgement here proceedeth but to ỹ outward deed, & by proofs of witnesses, and therfore cannot in any wise pearce to the hart, to discerne what is within. Neither would our own consciences summon vs so often as they do, if we were not to appeare before other than men. For sith it is the Soule that chiefely receiueth the commandement, and chiefly breaketh it: it is the Soule that must come to examination and tryall which cannot be done in this world, wherein there is but a shadow of Iustice, and whose Lawes and Iudges extend no further than the outer side. And therefore we see that the auncient Rabbines speake very often of this Generall Iudgement, and (which more is) doe attribute it to the Messias, saying: Feare not God for your Iudge: for your Iudge is your owne fellow Citizen, your owne kinsman, and your owne brother. All the ancient Gentiles haue spoken so of this iudgement which they say will bee giuen in another life in the field of Truth, whereupon shall follow either endlesse life or endlesse death, as I haue shewed afore. Yea, and it seemeth that by the leading of their ancient Oracles (which were a kind of Cabale) they passed yet further. For they called their great and soueraigne God by the name of Iupiter, and gaue the iudging of mens Soules to his Son Minos, the King and Lawgiuer, and not vnto Apollo, Mercury or any other: as who should say, they meant that the Iudge of the World should be the Sonne of God, and yet therewithal a righteous man, that is to say, the Mediator, God and Man.

I hope I haue now shewed the trunesse & substantialnesse of the

Austin of the City of God li. 22. ca. 27. Haly vpon the first Apotelesme of Ptolomy. Nicolaus Oresmus concerning Proportions. The Acrostickes of Sybil. Lactantius lib. 7.

Misdrach. Psal. 118. Esay 45. Psal. 149. &c.

Chriſtian Religion, and the vanity and wickednes of all other religions. Of the which Chriſtian Religion, the Primitiue Church, for a badge and comfort to the Chriſtians, hath made a Summe, which we call the Creed of the Apoſtles. Wee beleeue in God the Father Almighty maker of heauen & earth, &c. To beléeue in him is to truſt in him, to truſt in him, is to hope for al good things at his hands: but vaine were our hope, if it reached no further than to this preſent world. Now I haue declared heretofore that there is but only one God, that ſame God created the world for man, & man for his own glorie, and both of them of nothing: that he guideth them by his prouidence, the one according to nature, which is a ſteadie and ſure ſetled Lawe preſcribed by him to the world; and in the other according to wit and will which he hath giuen him: ſo that which way ſoeuer man take, he frameth him alwaies to his holy wil, to ſuch end as he hath appointed: that man is immortall and created to lead an endleſſe life: that in that life is the ſouereigne welfare or good, which alonely can content mans will, and ſatiſfie his wit; and therfore that hee muſt tend and indeuour thither with all his heart, and bend all the powers of his wit to that end. And to be ſhort, that the meane for man to attaine thercunto, is to ſerue the true God with all his heart, with all his Soule, and with all his ſtrength, that is to ſay, to bowe all his thoughts, words, and deeds to the glorie of God. But I ſaid alſo, that man is falne from his original, through the pride and diſobedience of the firſt man, whereupon hath followed frowardneſſe in his will, and ignorance in his wit: Ignorance making him vnable to diſcerne his owne welfare, and frowardneſſe turning him away from it, yea euen when it is ſhewed him, and making him vnworthy to attaine to it, and finally cauſing him to abaſe his abilities and powers to all euill, and ſo conſequently plunging him in the gulfe of al miſery, both according to his own deſert, and according to the Juſtice of God; Whereupon it inſueth that man is forlorne in himſelfe, vnleſſe God recouer him by his mercy; blinde, except God inlighten him againe; vtterly lame to the doing of any good, and to the attainement of any good, vntil Gods grace do releeue him. And therefore I ſaid, that he hath left vs a Religion for a guide, a religion that turneth vs from al Creatures, as which are but vanity; and conuerteth vs to him the only Creator of Heauen and Earth: and that the ſame is the Religion of the Iſraelites, and that in all other places, there was nothing but the ſeruice of diuels and Idolatry.

That

Chap.1.2.3. 7.8.9.10. 12.13.

Chap.14.15

Chap.18 19

Chap.20.

Chap.16. 17.20.

Chap.20.

The Summes of the Chapters.

A ſolution of the Obiections which the Iewes alleage againſt Ieſus, that hee might not bee receiued for the true Chriſt or Meſſias. c. 31. f. 536

That Ieſus Chriſt was and is God, the Sonne of God, contrarie to the opinion of the Gentiles. c. 32. f. 552

A ſolution of the obiections of the Gentiles againſt the Sonne of God. c. 33. f. 575.

That the Goſpell doth in very deede containe the hiſtorie and doctrine of Ieſus Chriſt the Sonne of God. c. 34. f. 592

FINIS.

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