The city of God

Saint Augustine (Bishop of Hippo.), John Healey
THE TEMPLE CLASSICS

THE CITY OF GOD

BY

ST. AUGUSTINE

TRANSLATED BY

JOHN HEALEY
St. Augustine. From the fresco by Botticelli, in the Church of the Ognissanti, Florence.
AUGUSTINUS, AURELIUS, SAINT BP. OF HIPPO.

THE CITY OF GOD
BY ST. AUGUSTINE
TRANSLATED BY JOHN HEALEY
IN 3 VOLUMES
VOL. ONE

MDCCCLIII. PUBLISHED BY J. M. DENT AND CO: ALDINE HOUSE: LONDON W.C.
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The frontispiece is reproduced from Alinari's photograph of the fresco by Botticelli, in the Church of the Ognissanti, Florence.
THE CITY OF GOD

THE FIRST BOOK

CHAPTER I

Of the adversaries of the name of Christ, spared by the barbarians in the sacking of Rome, only for Christ's sake.

That most glorious society and celestial city of God's faithful, which is partly seated in the course of these declining times, wherein "he that liveth by faith,"¹ is a pilgrim amongst the wicked; and partly in that solid estate of eternity, which as yet the other part doth patiently expect, until "righteousness be turned into judgment,"² being then by the proper excellence to obtain the last victory, and be crowned in perfection of peace; have I undertaken to defend in this work: which I intend unto you (my dearest Marcelline) as being your due by my promise, and exhibit it against all those that prefer their false gods before this city's founder: the work is great and difficult, but God the Master of all difficulties is our helper.³ For I know well what strong arguments are required to make the proud know the virtue of humility, by which (not being enhanced by human glory, but endowed with divine grace) it surmounts all earthly loftiness, which totters

¹ Hab. ii. ² Rom. viii.; Ps. xciii. ³ Ps. lxi.
Sack of Rome. For the King, the builder of this city, whereof we are now to discourse, hath opened His mind to His people, in the divine law, thus: "God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble." Now this which is indeed only God's, the swelling pride of an ambitious mind affecteth also, and loves to hear this as parcel of His praise—

"Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos."

"To spare the lowly, and strike down the proud."

Wherefore touching the temporal city (which longing after domination, though it hold all the other nations under it, yet in itself is overruled by the one lust after sovereignty) we may not omit to speak whatsoever the quality of our proposed subject shall require or permit, for out of this arise the foes against whom God's city is to be guarded. Yet some of these reclaiming their impious errors have become good citizens therein: but others burning with an extreme violence of hate against it, are so thankless to the Redeemer of it for so manifest benefits of His, that at this day they would not speak a word against it, but that in the holy places thereof, flying thither from the sword of the foe, they found that life and safety wherein now they glory. Are not these Romans become persecutors of Christ, whom the very barbarians saved for Christ's sake? Yes, the churches of the Apostles, and the Martyrs can testify this, which in that great sack were free both to their own and strangers. Even thither came the rage of the bloody enemy: even there the murderer's fury stopped: even thither were the distressed led by their pitiful foes (who had spared them, though finding

1 James iv. 1 Peter v. 5.
them out of those sanctuaries) lest they should light upon some that should not extend the like pity. And even they that elsewhere raged in slaughters, coming but to those places, that forbade what law of war elsewhere allowed, all their headlong fury curbed itself, and all their desire of conquest was conquered. And so escaped many then, that since have detracted all they can from Christianity: they can impute their city’s other calamities, wholly unto Christ, but that good which was bestowed on them only for Christ’s honour (namely, the sparing of their lives) that they impute not unto our Christ, but unto their own fate: whereas if they had any judgment, they would rather attribute these calamities and miseries of mortality, all unto the providence of God, which useth to reform the corruptions of men’s manners, by war and oppressions, and laudably to exercise the righteous in such afflictions, and having so tried them, either to transport them to a more excellent estate, or to keep them longer in the world for other ends and uses.

And whereas the bloody barbarians, against all custom of war, spared them both in other places, for the honour of Christ, and in those large houses that were dedicated unto him (made large, to contain many, for the larger extent of pity); this ought they to ascribe to these Christian times, to give God thanks for it, and to have true recourse by this means unto God’s name, thereby to avoid the pains of eternal damnation: which name many of them as then falsely took up, as a sure shelter against the storms of present ruin. For even those that you may now behold most petulantly insulting over Christ’s servants, most of them had never escaped the general massacre, had they not counterfeited themselves to be the servants of Christ. But now, through their ungrateful pride, and ungodly madness, they stand
No false against that name (in perverseness of heart, and to gods saved ancient cities. their eternal captivation in darkness) to which they fled with a dissembling tongue, for the obtaining of the enjoying but of this temporal light.

CHAPTER II

There never was war wherein the conquerors would spare them whom they conquered, for the gods they worshipped.

There have been thus many wars chronicled, partly before Rome was built, and partly since her founding: let them read, and find me any one city taken by a stranger foe, that would spare any that they found retired into the temples of their gods, or any barbarian captain, that ever commanded, that in the sack of the town none should be touched that were fled into such or such temples. Did not Æneas see Priamus slain before the altar, and with his blood—

"Sanguine fædantem quo ipse sacraverat ignes"?

"Sprinkling the flames himself had hallowed"?

Did not Diomed and Ulysses, "having slaughtered all the keepers of the high tower—

... cæsis summæ custodibus arcis,
Corripuère sacram effigiem manibusque cruentis,
Virgineas ausi divæ contingere vittas."

"Snatch up the sacred statue, and with hands.
Besmeared in blood, durst touch the Virgin's veil"?
Yet is not that true which followeth—

"Ex illo fluere ac retrò sublapsa referri
Spes Danaum"?

"From thence the Grecian’s hopes decline, and fail"?

For after all this, they conquered: after this they threw down Troy with sword and fire: after this they smote off Priam’s head before the altar that he fled unto. Neither perished Troy because it lost the Palladium: for what had the Palladium lost first, that itself should perish? perhaps the keepers? indeed it is true, they being slain, it was soon taken away: for the image kept not the men, but the men kept the image. But why then was it adored as the preserver of the country and citizens, when it could not preserve its own keepers?

CHAPTER III

Of the Romans’ fondness in thinking that those Gods could help them which could not help Troy in her distress.

Behold unto what patrons the Romans rejoiced to commit the protection of their city! Oh too, too piteous error! Nay, they are angry at us when we speak thus of their gods; but never with their teachers and inventors, but pay them money for learning them such fooleries: yea, and moreover have vouchsafed their authors both stipends from the
common treasury and ample honours besides; and
namely in Virgil, who was therefore taught unto
their children, because that they think this great and
most renowned poet, being fastened in their minds
whilst they are young, will never easily be forgotten:
according to that of Horace—

"Quo semel est imbūta recens servabit odorem—testa diu."

"The liquors that new vessels first contains,
Behind them leave a taste that long remains."

Even in the forenamed poet Virgil is Juno
presented as the Trojans' foe, inciting Æolus, the
King of Winds, against them in these words—

"Gens inimica mihi Tyrrenenum navigat æquor
Ilium in Italiam portans, vīctosque penates."

"The nation that I hate in peace sails by,
With Troy and Troy's fallen gods to Italy."

Yea, would any wise man have commended the
defence of Rome unto gods already proved unable to
defend themselves? But suppose Juno spoke this as
a woman in anger, not knowing what she said, what
says (the so-often surnamed godly) Æneas himself?
Does he not say plainly—

"Panthus Otriades, arcis, Phœbique sacerdos,
Sacra manu, Vīctosque deos parvumque nepotem
Ipse trahit, cursuque, amens ad limina tendit"?

"Panthus, a priest of Phœbus and the Tower,
Burdened with his fallen gods, and in his hand
His poor young nephew, flies unto the strand"?

Does he not hold these gods (which he dares call
fallen) rather commended unto him than he to them; it being said to him—

"Sacra suoque tibi commendat Troia penates"?
"To thee doth Troy commend her gods, her all"?

If Virgil, then, call them fallen gods, and conquered gods, needing man’s help for their escape after their overthrow and fall, how mad are men to think that there was any wit shown in committing Rome to their keeping, or that it could not be lost, if first it lost not them? To worship conquered and cast gods as guardians and defenders—what is it but to put by good deities, and adore wicked devils? Were there not more wisdom shown in believing (not that Rome had not come to this calamity unless it had first lost them, but) that they had long since come to nothing had not Rome been as the especially careful keeper of them? Who sees not (that will see anything) what an idle presumption it is to build any impossibility of being conquered upon defenders that have been conquered? and to think that Rome therefore perished because it had lost the gods’ guardians, when, possibly, the only cause why it perished was because it would set the rest upon such soon perishing guardians? Nor listed the poets to lie when they sung thus of these subverted gods; it was truth that enforced their vigorous spirits to confess it. But of this, more fitly in another place hereafter. At this time (as I resolved at first) I will have a little bout (as well as I can) with those ungrateful persons, whose blasphemous tongues throw those calamities upon Christ, which are only the guerdons of their own perverseness. But whereas Christ’s name alone was of power to procure them their undeserved safety, that they do scorn to
acknowledge; and being mad with sacrilegious petulancy, they practise their foul terms upon His name, which, like false wretches, they were before glad to take upon them to save their lives by; and those filthy tongues which, when they were in Christ's houses, fear kept silent, to remain there with more safety, where, even for His sake, they found mercy; those selfsame, getting forth again, shoot at His deity with all their envenomed shafts of malice, and curses of hostility.

CHAPTER IV

Of the sanctuary of Juno in Troy which freed not any (that fled into it) from the Greeks at the city's sack, whereas the Churches of the Apostles saved all comers from the barbarians at the sack of Rome. Cæsar's opinion touching the enemy's custom in the sack of cities.

Nor could Troy itself that was (as I said before) the mother of the Romans' progeny, in all her hallowed temples, save any one from the Grecian force and fury, though they worshipped the same gods: nay did they not in the very sanctuary of Juno—

"Ipso Junonis asylo
Custodes lecti Phœnix, et dirus Ulysses
Prædam asservabant. Huc undique Troia gaza
Incensis erepta adytis, mensæque deorum,
Craterésque auro solidi, captivaque vestis
Congerit," &c.?
"To Juno's sanctuary
Comes all the prey, and what they thither carry
Is kept by choice men; the Phænician
And dire Ulysses: thither the whole state
Of Troy's wealth swarms, the gods, their temple's plate,
There lies the gold in heaps, and robes of worth
Snatched from the flaming coffers," &c. ?

Behold, the place dedicated unto so great a
goddess was chosen out (not to serve for a place
whence they might lawfully pull prisoners, but) for
a prison wherein to shut up all they took. Now
compare this temple, not of any vulgar god, of the
common sort, but of Jupiter's sister, and queen of
all the other gods, unto the churches built as
memorials of the Apostles. To the first, all the
spoils that were plucked from the gods and flaming
temples were carried, not to be bestowed back to the
vanquished, but to be shared amongst the vanquishers.
To the second, both that which was the place's own
and whatever was found also elsewhere to belong to
such places, with all religious honour and reverence
was restored. There, was freedom lost, here saved:
there, was bondage shut in; here, it was shut out:
thither were men brought by their proud foes, for to
undergo slavery: hither were men brought by their
pitiful foes to be secured from slavery. Lastly the
temple of Juno was chosen by the inconstant Greeks
to practise their proud covetousness in, whereas the
Churches of Christ were by the naturally cruel
barbarians chosen to exercise their pious humility in.
Perhaps the Greeks in that their victory spared those
that fled into the temples of the common gods, and
did not dare to hurt or captivate such as escaped
thither: but in that, Virgil plays the poet indeed,
and feigns it. Indeed there he describes the general
custom of most enemies in the sacking of cities, and
conquests; which custom Cæsar himself (as Sallust, that noble, true historian records) forgets not to avouch, in his sentence given upon the conspirators in the Senate house: that (in these spoils) the virgins are ravished, the children torn from their parents' bosoms, the matrons made the objects of all the victors' lust, the temples and houses all spoiled, all things turned into burning, and slaughter: and lastly all places stopped full of weapons, carcases, blood, and lamentation. If Cæsar had not named temples, we might have thought it the custom of a foe to spare such places as are the habitations of their gods: but the senators feared the ruin of their temples, not by an unknown or stranger enemy, but by Catiline, and his followers, who were senators and citizens of Rome themselves. But these were villains though, and their country's parricides.

CHAPTER V

That the Romans themselves never spared the temples of those cities which they conquered.

But why should we spend time in discoursing of many nations, that have waged wars together, and yet never spared the conquered habitations of one another's gods: let us go to the Romans themselves: yes; I say, let us observe the Romans themselves, whose chief glory it was—

"Parcer subjectis et debellare superbos."

"To spare the lowly, and pull down the proud."
And being offered injury, rather to pardon than the right persecute: in all their spacious conquests of towns and cities, in all their progress and augmentation of their domination, show us unto what one temple they granted this privilege, that it should secure him that could fly into it from the enemy's sword? Did they ever do so, and yet their histories not record it? Is it like that they that hunted thus for monuments of praise, would endure the suppression of this so goodly a commendation? Indeed that great Roman, Marcus Marcellus, that took that goodly city of Syracuse, is said to have wept before the ruin, and shed his own tears before he shed their blood: having a care to preserve the chastity even of his foes from violation. For before he gave leave to the invasion, he made an absolute edict, that no violence should be offered unto any free person: yet was the city in hostile manner, subverted utterly, nor find we anywhere recorded, that this so chaste and gentle a general ever commanded to spare such as fled for refuge to this temple or that: which (had it been otherwise) would not have been omitted; since neither his compassion, nor his command for the captives' chastity, is left unrecorded. So is Fabius, the conqueror of Tarentum, commended for abstaining from making booty of their images. For his secretary, asking him what they should do with the images of the gods, whereof they had as then taken a great many: he seasoned his continency with a conceit, for asking what they were, and being answered that there were many of them great ones, and some of them armed: O (said he) let us leave the Tarentines their angry gods. Seeing therefore that the Roman historiographers neither concealed Marcellus his weeping, nor Fabius his jesting, neither the chaste pity of the one, nor the merry abstinence of the other, with what reason
Only Christ moderates should they omit that, if any of them had given such privilege to some men in honour of their gods, that they might save their lives by taking sanctuary in such or such a temple, where neither rape nor slaughter should have any power or place?

CHAPTER VI

That the cruel effects following the losses of war, did but follow the custom of war: and wherein they were moderated, it was through the power of the name of Jesus Christ.

Therefore all the spoil, murder, burning, violence, and affliction, that in this fresh calamity fell upon Rome, were nothing but the ordinary effects following the custom of war. But that which was so unaccustomed, that the savage nature of the barbarians should put on a new shape and appear so merciful, that it would make choice of great and spacious churches, to fill with such as it meant to show pity on, from which none should be hailed to slaughter or slavery, in which none should be hurt, to which many by their courteous foes should be conducted, and out of which none should be led into bondage; this is due to the name of Christ, this is due to the Christian profession; he that seeth not this is blind, he that seeth it and praiseth it not is thankless, he that hinders him that praiseth it, is mad. God forbid that any man of sense should attribute this unto the barbarians' brutishness. It was God that struck a terror into their truculent and bloody spirits, it was
He that bridled them, it was He that so wondrously the terrors of restrained them, that had so long before foretold this war. by His prophet—"I will visit their offences with the rod, and their sin with scourges: yet will I not utterly take My mercy from them."  

CHAPTER VII

Of the commodities and discommodities commonly communicated both to good and ill.

Yea but (will some say) Why doth God suffer His mercy to be extended unto the graceless and thankless? Oh! why should we judge, but because it is His work "that maketh the sun to shine daily both on good and bad, and the rain to fall both on the just and unjust"? For what though some by meditating upon this, take occasion to reform their enormities with repentance? and other some (as the apostle saith) despising the richness of God's goodness, and long suffering, in their hardness of heart and impenitency "do lay up unto themselves wrath against the day of wrath, and the revelation of God's just judgment, who will reward each man according to his works"? Nevertheless God's patience still inviteth the wicked unto repentance as this scourge doth instruct the good unto patience. The mercy of God embraceth the good with love, as His severity doth correct the bad with pains. For it seemed good to the almighty Providence to prepare such

1 Ps. lxxxix. 32, 33.  2 Rom. v. 45.  3 Rom. ii. 5.
God in this world allows goods, in the world to come, as the just only should enjoy and not the unjust: and such evils as the wicked only should feel, and not the godly. But as for these temporal goods of this world, He hath left them to the common use both of good and bad: that the goods of this world should not be too much desired, because even the wicked do also partake them: and that the evils of this world should not be too cowardly avoided, wherewith the good are sometimes affected. But there is great difference in the use both of that estate in this world, which is called prosperous, and that which is called adverse. For neither do these temporal goods extol a good man, nor do the evil deject him. But the evil man must needs be subject to the punishment of this earthly unhappiness, because he is first corrupted by this earthly happiness: yet in the distributing of these temporal blessings God showeth His provident operation. For if all sin were presently punished, there should be nothing to do at the last judgment: and again, if no sin were here openly punished, the divine providence would not be believed. And so in prosperity, if God should not give competency of worldly and apparent blessings to some that ask them, we would say He hath nothing to do with them: and should He give them to all that ask them, we should think He were not to be served but for them, and so His service should not make us godly, but rather greedy. This being thus, whatever affliction good men and bad do suffer together in this life, it doth not prove the persons undistinct, because so they both do jointly endure like pains; for as in one fire, gold shineth and chaff smoketh, and as under one flail the straw is bruised, and the ear cleansed; nor is the lees and the oil confused because they are both pressed in one press, so likewise one and the same
violence of affliction, proveth, purifieth, and melteth the good, and condemneth, wasteth, and casteth out the bad. And thus in one and the same distress do the wicked offend God by detestation and blasphemy, and the good do glorify Him by praise and prayer. So great is the difference wherein we ponder not what, but how a man suffers his affects. For one and the same motion maketh the mud smell filthily, and the unguent smell most fragrantly.

CHAPTER VIII

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

But tell me now in all this desolation what one thing did the Christians endure, which due and faithful consideration might not turn unto their edification? For first they might with fear observe to what a mass iniquity was increased, at which the just God being displeased had sent these afflictions upon the world, and that though they themselves were far from the society of the wicked, yet should they not hold themselves so purely separate from all faults, that they should think themselves too good to suffer a temporal correction for diverse faults that might be found in their conversations: for to admit this, that there is no man, however laudable in his conversation, that in some things yields not unto the concupiscence of the flesh; and that though he decline not unto the gulf of reprobate offence and habitation of all brutish filthiness, yet slips now and
Common then into some enormities, and those either seldom, or so much more ordinary as than they are less momentary: to omit all this, how hard a thing is it to find one, that makes a true use of their fellowship, for whose horrible pride, luxury, avarice, bestial iniquity and irreligiousness, the Lord (as his prophets have threatened) doth lay His heavy hand upon the whole world? How few do we find that live with them, as good men ought to live with them. For either we keep aloof, and forbear to give them due instructions, admonitions, or reprehensions, or else we hold their reformation too great a labour: either we are afraid to offend them, or else we eschew their hate for our own greater temporal preferment, and fear their opposition either in those things which our greediness longeth to enjoy, or in those which our weakness is afraid to forego: so that though the lives of the wicked be still disliked of the good, and that thereby the one do avoid that damnation which in the world to come is the assured inheritance of the other, yet because they wink at their damnable exorbitances, by reason they fear by them to lose their own vain temporalities, justly do they partake with them in the punishments temporal though they shall not do so in the eternal; justly do they in these divine corrections, taste the bitterness of these transitory afflictions with them, to whom, when they deserved those afflictions, they, through the love of this life, forbear to show themselves better; indeed he that forbears to reprehend ill courses in some that follow them, because he will take a more fit time, or because he doubts his reprehension may rather tend to their ruin than their reformation, or because he thinks that others that are weak, may by this correction be offended in their godly endeavours or diverted from the true faith: in this case forbearance arises not from
occasion of greediness, but from the counsel of good and bad. life quite contrary, wholly abhorring the courses of the wicked, yet will overpass to tax the others’ sins whereof they ought to be most severe reprehenders and correctors, because they fear to offend them, and so be hurt in their possession of those things whose use is lawful both unto good and bad, affecting temporalities in this kind far more greedily than is fit for such as are but pilgrims in this world, and such as expect the hope of a celestial inheritance? for it is not only those of the weaker sort that live in marriage, having (or seeking to have) children, and keeping houses and families: whom the apostle in the Church doth instruct how to live, the wives with their husbands and the husbands with their wives: children with their parents and the parents with their children: the servants with their masters and the masters with their servants: it is not these alone that get together these worldly goods with industry, and lose them with sorrow, and because of which they dare not offend such men as in their filthy and contaminate lives do extremely displease them: but it is also those of the higher sort, such as are no way chained in marriage, such as are content with poor fare and mean attire. Many of these through too much love of their good name and safety, through their fear of the deceits and violence of the wicked; through frailty and weakness, forbear to reprove the wicked when they have offended. And although they do not fear them so far, as to be drawn to actual imitation of these their vicious demeanours; yet this which they will not act with them, they will not reprehend in them (though herein they might reform some of them by this reprehension): by reason that (in case they did not reform them) their own fame and their safety
Good are partners with afflictions of the evil, they might come in danger of destruction. Now herein they do at no hand consider how they are bound to see that their fame and safety be necessarily employed in the instruction of others, but they do nothing but poise it in their own infirmity, which loves to be stroked with a smooth tongue, and delighteth in the day of man: fearing the censure of the vulgar, and the torture and destruction of body: that is, they forbear this duty, not through any effect of charity, but merely through the power of avarice and greedy affection. Wherefore I hold this a great cause, why the good livers do partake with the bad in their afflictions, when it is God’s pleasure to correct the corruption of manners with the punishment of temporal calamities. For they both endure one scourge, not because they are both guilty of one disordered life, but because they both do too much affect this transitory life; not in like measure, but yet both together: which the good man should condemn, that the other by them being corrected and amended, might attain the life eternal: who, if they would not join with them in this endeavour of attaining beatitude, they should be borne withal and loved as our enemies are to be loved in Christianity: we being uncertain whilst they live here, whether ever their heart shall be turned unto better or no, which to do, the good men have (not the like, but) far greater reason, because unto them the prophet saith: “He is taken away for his iniquity, but his blood will I require at the watchman’s hand,” for unto this end were watchmen, that is, rulers over the people, placed in the churches, that they should not spare to reprehend enormities. Nor yet is any other man altogether free from this guilt, whatsoever he be, ruler or not ruler, who in that daily commerce and conversation, wherein

1 Ezek. xxxiii.
human necessity confines him, observeth anything blameworthy, and to reprehend it, seeking to avoid the other’s displeasure, being drawn hereunto by these vanities which he does not use as he should, but affecteth much more than he should. Again, there is another reason why the righteous should endure these temporal inflictions, and was cause of holy Job’s sufferance, namely that hereby the soul may be proved and fully known whether it hath so much godly virtue as to love God freely, and for Himself alone. These reasons being well considered, tell me whether anything be casual unto the good, that tendeth not to their good: unless we shall hold that the apostle talked idly when he said: “We know all things work together for the best unto them that love God”?

CHAPTER IX

That the saints in their loss of things temporal lose not anything at all.

They lost all that they had: what? their faith? their zeal? goods of the inward man; which enricheth the soul before God? These are a Christian’s riches, whereof the apostle being possessed said: “Godliness is a great gain if man be content with what he hath: for we brought nothing into this world, nor can we carry anything out: therefore when we have food and raiment, let us content ourselves therewith, for they that will be rich fall into temptation and snares, and into many foolish and
The good hurtful desires, which drown men in perdition and destruction, for covetousness of money is the root of all evil, which while some lusting after, have erred from the faith, and cast themselves in many sorrows.”¹ Such therefore as lost their goods in that destruction, if they held them as the aforesaid apostle (poor without, but rich within) taught them: that is, if they used the world so as if they used it not at all, then might they truly say with him that was so sore assaulted and yet never overthrown: “Naked came I out of my mother’s womb, and naked shall I return thither again. The Lord hath given it, and the Lord hath taken it away, as it hath pleased the Lord so cometh it to pass: blessed be the name of the Lord.”² He held his Lord’s will (as a good servant) for great possessions, and by attending that, enriched his spirit: nor grieved he at all at the loss of that in his lifetime, which death perforce would make him leave shortly after. But those far weaker souls, though they prefer not these worldly things before Christ, yet stick unto them with a certain exorbitant affection, they must needs feel such pain in the losing of them, as their offence deserved in loving of them: and endure the sorrows in the same measure that they cast themselves into sorrows: as I said before out of the apostle. For it was meet for them to taste a little of the discipline of experience, seeing they had so long neglected instruction by words: for the apostle having said, “They that will be rich fall into temptations,” &c.³ Herein doth he reprehend the desire after riches only, not the use of them: teaching likewise elsewhere: “Charge them that are rich in this world that they be not high minded, and that they trust not in their uncertain wealth, but in the living God, who giveth us plentifully all things

¹ Tim. vi. 6-8. ² Job i. 21. ³ Tim. vi. 9.
to enjoy: that they do good and be rich in good works, ready to distribute and communicate: laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may obtain the true life."

They that did thus with their riches, by easing small burdens, reaped great gains; taking more joy in that part which by their free distribution unto others they had kept more safely, than they felt sorrow for that which by their care to preserve to themselves they lost so easily. For it was likely that that perish here on earth which they had no mind to remove into a more secure custody. For they that follow their Lord's counsel, when He saith unto them: "Lay not up treasures for yourselves upon the earth where the moth and rust corrupt, or where thieves dig through and steal, but lay up treasures for yourselves in heaven, where neither rust nor moth corrupt, nor thieves dig through and steal: for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also:" these, I say, in the time of tribulation were sure to find how well they were advised in following that Master of all truth, and that diligent and dreadless keeper of all good treasure: for seeing there were many that rejoiced because they had hidden their treasure in a place which the foe by chance overpassed and found not; how much more certain and secure might their comfort be, that by their God's instruction had retired thither with their substance, whither they were sure the foe could not come? And therefore one Paulinus, being Bishop of Nola, and having refused infinite riches for voluntary poverty (and yet was he rich in holiness), when the barbarians sacked Nola, and held him prisoner, thus prayed he in his heart (as he told us afterward): "Lord, let me not be troubled for gold nor silver, for where all my

No harm to the good. treasures are, Thou knowest:” even there had he laid up all his, where He had advised him to lay it who foretold these miseries to fall upon the world. And so others, in that they obeyed God’s instructions for the choice and preservation of the true treasure indeed, had even their worldly treasures preserved from the fury of the barbarians: but others paid for their disobedience, and because their precedent wisdom could not do it, their subsequent experience taught them how to dispose of such temporal trash. Some Christians by their enemies were put unto torture, to make them discover where their goods lay: but that good, whereby themselves were good, they could neither lose nor discover. But if they had rather have endured torture than discover their mammon of iniquity, then were they far from good. But those that suffered so much for gold, were to be instructed what should be endured for Christ: that they might rather learn to love Him that enricheth His martyrs with eternal felicity, than gold and silver for which it is miserable to endure any torment, whether it be concealed by lying, or discovered by telling the truth. For no man that ever confessed Christ could lose Him amongst all the torments: whereas no man could ever save his gold but by denying it. Wherefore even those very torments are more profitable, in that they teach a man to love an incorruptible good, than those goods in that they procure their owner’s torture through the blind love they bear unto them. But some that had no such goods, and yet were thought to have them, were tortured also. Why? perhaps they had a desire to them though they had them not, and were poor against their wills, not of their own election: and then though their possessions did not justly deserve those afflictions, yet their affections did. But if
their minds flew a loftier pitch, beholding both the possession and the affection of riches with an eye of scorn, I make a doubt whether any such were ever tormented in this kind, or being so innocent, incurred any such imputation. But if they did, truly, they in these their tortures, confessing their sanctified poverty, confessed Christ Himself. And therefore though the extorted confession of such holy poverty could not deserve to be believed of the enemy, yet should he not be put to this pain without a heavenly reward for his pains.

CHAPTER X

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

The extremity of famine, they say, destroyed many Christians in these invasions. Well, even of this also the faithful, by enduring it patiently, have made good use. For such as the famine made an end of, it delivered from the evils of this life, as well as any other bodily disease could do: such as it ended not, it taught them a sparing diet, and ableness to fast. Yea, but many Christians were destroyed by the foulest variety that might be, falling by so many sorts of death: why this is not to be disliked of, since it is common to all that ever have been born. This I know, that no man is dead that should not at length have died. For the life's ending, makes the long life and the short all one; neither is there one better and another worse, nor one longer, than another.
Everyone must die.

shorter, which is not in this end, made equal. And what skills it what kind of death do despatch our life, when he that dieth cannot be forced to die again? And seeing that every mortal man, in the daily casualties of this life is threatened continually, with innumerable sorts of death, as long as he is uncertain which of them he shall taste; tell me whether it were better to suffer but one in dying once for ever, or still to live in continual fear, than all those extremes of death? I know how unworthy a choice it were to choose rather to live under the awe of so many deaths, than by once dying to be freed from all their fear for ever. But it is one thing when the weak sensitive flesh doth fear it, and another when the purified reason of the soul overcomes it. A bad death never follows a good life: for there is nothing that maketh death bad but that estate which followeth death. Therefore let not their care that needs must die be employed upon the manner of their death, but upon the estate that they are eternally to inherit after death. Wherefore seeing that all Christians know that the death of the religious beggar amongst the dogs licking his sores, was better than the death of the wicked rich man in all his silks and purples, what power hath the horror of any kind of death to affright their souls that have led a virtuous life?

CHAPTER XI

Of burial of the dead: that it is not prejudicial to the state of a Christian soul to be forbidden it.

Oh, but in this great slaughter the dead could not be buried: tush, our holy faith regards not that, holding
fast the promise: it is not so frail as to think to lie that the ravenous beasts can deprive the body of unburied any part to be wanting in the resurrection, where not a hair of the head shall be missing. Nor would the scripture have said: "Fear not them that kill the body but are not able to kill the soul:" if that which the foe could do unto our dead bodies in this world should any way prejudice our perfection in the world to come: unless any man will be so absurd as to contend that they that can kill the body are not to be feared before death lest they should kill it, but after death, lest having killed it they should not permit it burial. Is it false then which Christ saith, "Those that kill the body, after they can do no more," and that they have power to do so much hurt unto the dead carcase? God forbid that should be false which is spoken by the truth itself: therefore it is said they do something in killing, because then they afflict the bodily sense for a while: but afterwards they can afflict it no more, because there is no sense in a dead body. So then suppose that many of the Christians' bodies never came in the earth: what of that, no man hath taken any of them both from earth and heaven, have they? No: and both these doth, His glorious presence replenish that knows how to restore every atom of His work in the created. The Psalmist indeed complaineth thus: "The dead bodies of Thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the air: and the flesh of Thy saints unto the beasts of the earth: their blood have they shed like waters round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them." But this is spoken to intimate their villainy that did it, rather than their misery that suffered it. For though that unto the eyes of man these acts seem bloody and tyrannous,

1 Matt. x. 28. 2 Ps. lxxix. 2.
is no evil. yet, "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints." And therefore all these ceremonies concerning the dead, the care of the burial, the fashions of the sepulchres, and the pomp of the funerals, are rather solaces to the living, than furtherances to the dead. For if a goodly and rich tomb be any help to the wicked man being dead, then is the poor and mean one a hindrance unto the godly man in like case. The family of that rich gorgeous glutton, prepared him a sumptuous funeral unto the eyes of men: but one far more sumptuous did the ministering angels prepare for the poor ulcered beggar, in the sight of God: they bore him not into any sepulchre of marble, but placed him in the bosom of Abraham. This do they scoff at, against whom we are to defend the city of God. And yet even their own philosophers have contemned the respect of burial: and oftentimes whole armies, fighting and falling for their earthly country, went stoutly to these slaughters, without ever taking thought where to be laid, in what marble tomb, or in what beast’s belly. And the poets were allowed to speak their pleasures of this theme, with applause of the vulgar, as one doth thus—

"Cælo tegitur qui non habet urnam."

"Who wants a grave, Heaven serveth for his tomb."

What little reason then have these miscreants, to insult over the Christians, that lie unburied, unto whom, a new restitution of their whole bodies is promised, to be restored them in a moment, not only out of the earth alone, but even out of all the most secret angels of all the other elements, wherein any body is or can possibly be included.

"Cor. xv. 52."
CHAPTER XII

The reasons why we should bury the bodies of the saints.

Notwithstanding the bodies of the dead are not to (Yet must be condemned and cast away, chiefly of the righteous we not and faithful, which the Holy Ghost used as organs and instruments unto all good works. For if the garment or ring of one’s father be so much the more esteemed of his posterity, by how much they held him dearer in their affection, then are not our bodies to be despised, being we wear them more near unto ourselves than any attire whatsoever. For this is no part of external ornament or assistance unto man, but of his express nature. And therefore the funerals of the righteous in the times of old were performed with a zealous care, their burials celebrated, and their monuments provided, and they themselves in their lifetime would lay charges upon their children concerning the burying or translating of their bodies. Tobias 1 in burying of the dead was acceptable unto God, as the angel testifieth. And the Lord Himself being to rise again on the third day, commended the good work of that religious woman, 2 who poured the precious ointment upon His head and body, and did it to bury Him. And the Gospel hath crowned them with eternal praise that took down His body from the cross, and gave it honest and honourable burial. But yet these authorities prove not any sense to be in the dead carcasses themselves, but signify that the providence of God extendeth even unto the very bodies of the dead (for He is pleased with such

1 Tobit ii. 2 Matt. xxvi. ; John xix. 42.
omit good deeds) and do build up the belief of the resurrection. Whereby the way we may learn this profitable lesson, how great the reward of alms-deeds done unto the living may be, since this duty and favour shown but unto the dead is not forgotten of God. There are other prophetic places of the holy Patriarchs concerning the entombing or the translation of their own bodies. But this is no place to handle them in, and of this we have already spoken sufficiently: but if the necessaries of man’s life, as meat and clothing, though they be wanting in great extremity, yet cannot subvert the good man’s patience, nor draw him from goodness: how much less power shall those things have which are omitted in the burying of the dead, to afflict the souls that are already at quiet in the secret receptacles of the righteous? And therefore, when as in that great overthrow of Rome, and of other cities, the bodies of the Christians wanted these rights: it was neither fault in the living, that could not perform them, nor hurt to the dead, that could not feel them.

CHAPTER XIII

Of the captivity of the saints, and that therein they never wanted spiritual comfort.

Ay, but many Christians (say they) were led into captivity: this indeed had been a lamentable case, if they had been led unto some place where they could not possibly have found their God. But for com-

Gen. xlvii., &c.
forts in captivity, the Scriptures have store: the three Nor is children were in bondage: so was Daniel, so were others of the Prophets: but they never wanted God, their comforter. No more did He here abandon His faithful; being under the command of barbarous men, who forsook not His Prophet being even in the belly of a beast. This now they with whom we are to deal, had rather scorn, than believe, yet of that fable in their own books they are fully persuaded, namely that that same excellent harper Arion of Methymna, being cast overboard, was taken up on a dolphin's back, and so borne safe to land. Is our history of Jonas more incredible than this? yes, because it is more admirable; and it is more admirable, because more powerful.

CHAPTER XIV

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

Yet for all this our enemies have one worthy example proposed by one of their most famous men, for the willing toleration of bondage in the cause of religion: Marcus Attilius Regulus, general of the Roman forces, was prisoner at Carthage: now the Carthaginians being more desirous to exchange their prisoners than to keep them, sent Regulus with their

1 Dan. i. 2 Jonah ii.
an evil; ambassadors to Rome to treat upon this exchange, having first sworn him, that in case he effected not what they desired he should return as captive into Carthage; so he went unto Rome, and having a day of audience granted him, he persuaded the direct contrary unto his embassage: because he held it was not profitable for the Romans to exchange their prisoners. Nor after this persuasive speech did the Romans compel him to return unto his enemies, but willingly did he go back again for saving of his oath. But his cruel foes put him to death with horrible and exquisite torments: for shutting him in a narrow barrel, stuck all full of sharp nails, and so forcing him to stand upright, being not able to lean to any side without extreme pains, they killed him even with over-watching him. This virtue in him is worthy of everlasting praise, being made greater by so great infelicity. Now his oath of return, was taken by those gods for the neglect of whose forbidden worship those infidels hold these plagues laid upon mankind. But if these gods (being worshipped only for the attainment of temporal prosperity) either desired, or permitted these pains to be laid upon one that kept his oath so truly, what greater plague could they in their most deserved wrath have inflicted upon a most perjured villain than they laid upon this religious worthy? but why do not I confirm mine argument with a double proof? If he worshipped his gods so sincerely, that for keeping the oath which he had taken by their deities, he would leave his natural country to return (not unto what place he liked, but) unto his greatest enemies, if he held that religiousness of his any way beneficial unto his temporal estate (which he ended in such horrible pains) he was far deceived. For his example hath taught all the world that those gods of his never further their
worshippers. in any prosperity of this life; since he attest this
that was so devout and dutiful a servant of theirs, for all
that they could do, was conquered and led away captive: now if the worship of these gods return men's happiness in the life to come, why then do they calumniate the profession of the Christians, saying, that that misery fell upon the city, because it gave over the worship of the old gods, when as were it never so vowed unto their worship, yet might it taste of as much temporal misfortune as ever did Regulus: unless any man will stand in such brainless blindness against the pure truth, as to say that a whole city duly worshipping these gods cannot be miserable, when one only man may, as though the gods' power were of more ability and promptness to preserve generals, than particulars; what? doth not every multitude consist of singularities? If they say that Regulus even in all that bondage and torment might nevertheless be happy in the virtue of his constant mind, then let us rather follow the quest of that virtue by which a whole city may be made truly happy, for a city's happiness and a particular man's do not arise from any several heads: the city being nothing but a multitude of men united in one formality of religion and estate, wherefore as yet I call not Regulus's virtue into any question. It is now sufficient that his very example is of power to enforce them to confess that the worship exhibited unto the gods, aims not anyway at bodily prosperity, nor at things externally accident unto man; because that Regulus chose rather to forego all these, than to offend his gods before whom he had passed his oath. But what shall we say to these men, that dare glory that they had had one city of that quality whereof they fear to have all the rest? If they have no such fear, let them then acknowledge, that what befel
Let them not slander Christian times for this. Regulus, the same may befall a whole city, though their devotion may parallel his in this worship of their gods; and therefore let them cease to slander the times of Christianity. But seeing that our question arose about the captive Christians, let such as hereby take especial occasion to deride and scorn that saving religion, mark but this, and be silent; that if it were no disgrace unto their gods, that one of their most zealous worshippers, by keeping his oath made unto them, should be nevertheless deprived of his country; and have no place left him to retire to, but must perforce be returned to his enemies, amongst whom he had already endured a hard and wretched captivity, and was now lastly to taste of a tedious death, in most execrable, strange, and cruel torments: then, far less cause is there to accuse the name of Christ for the captivity of His saints, for that they, expecting the heavenly habitation in true faith, knew full well, that they were but pilgrims in their native soils and habitations here upon earth, and subject to all the miseries of mortality.

CHAPTER XV

Whether the taxes that the holy virgins suffered against their wills in their captivities, could pollute the virtues of their mind.

O but they think they give the Christians a foul blow, when they aggravate the disgrace of their captivity, by urging the rapes which were wrought not only upon married and marriageable persons, but even upon some votaresses also: here are we not to speak of faith, or godliness, or of the virtue of chastity,
but our discourse must run a narrow course, betwixt shame and reason. Nor care we so much to give an answer unto strangers in this, as to minister comfort unto our fellow-Christians. Be this therefore granted as our first position, that that power by which man liveth well, resting enthroned, and established in the mind, commands every member of the body; and the body is sanctified by the sanctification of the will: which sanctimony of the will, if it remain firm and inviolate, what way soever the body be disposed of or abused (if the party enduring this abuse cannot avoid it without an express offence), this sufferance layeth no crime upon the soul. But because everybody is subject to suffer the effects both of the fury, and the lusts of him that subdueth it, that which it suffereth in this latter kind, though it be not a destroyer of one's chastity, yet is it a procurer of one's shame: because otherwise, it might be thought, that that was suffered with the consent of the mind, which it may be could not be suffered without some delight of the flesh: and therefore as for those, who to avoid this did voluntarily destroy themselves, what human heart can choose but pity them? yet as touching such as would not do so, fearing by avoiding others' villainy, to incur their own damnation, he that imputes this as a fault unto them, is not unguilty of the fault of folly.

CHAPTER XVI

That such as complain of the Christian times desire nothing but to live in filthy pleasures.

If that your Scipio Nasica were now alive, he that was once your high priest, who (when in the fearful
terror of the Carthaginian wars, the most perfect man of all the city was sought for, to undertake the entertainment of the Phrygian goddess) was chosen by the whole Senate, he whose face perhaps you durst not look on, he would shame you from this gross impudence of yours. For what cause is there for you to exclaim at the prosperity of the Christian faith in these times, but only because you would follow your luxury uncontrolled, and having removed the impediments of all troublesome oppositions, swim on in your dishonest and unhallowed dissolution? Your affections do not stand up for peace, nor for universal plenty and prosperity, to the end that you might use them when you have them, as honest men should do; that is, modestly, soberly, temperately, and religiously: no; but that hence you might keep up your unreasonable expense, in seeking out such infinite variety of pleasures, and so give birth unto those exorbitances in your prosperities, which would heap more mischiefs upon you than ever befel you by your enemies.

But Scipio, your high priest, he whom the whole Senate judged the best man amongst you, fearing that this calamity would fall upon you (that I speak of) would not have Carthage in those days the sole parallel of the Roman Empire, utterly subverted, but contradicted Cato, that spoke for the destruction of it, because he feared the foe of all weak spirits, security; and held that Carthage would be unto his fellow-citizens (as if they were young punies) both a convenient tutor, and a necessary terror. Nor did his judgment delude him: the event itself gave sufficient proof whether he spoke true or no: for afterwards when Carthage was razed down, and the greatest curber and terror of the Roman weal-public utterly extinguished and brought to nothing; pre-
sently such an innumerable swarm of inconveniences arose out of this prosperous estate, that the bonds of concord being all rent asunder and broken, first with barbarous and bloody seditions, and next by continual giving of worse and worse causes by civil wars, such slaughters were effected, so much blood was shed by civil wars, and so much inhumanity was practised in proscribings, riots, and rapines, that those Romans that in the good time of their lives feared no hurt but from their enemies, now in the corrupt time of their lives endured far worse of their own fellows: and that lust after sovereignty, which among all other sins of the world, was most appropriate unto the Romans, and most immoderate in them all, at length getting head and happy success in a few of the more powerful, it overpressed all the rest, wearing them out, and crushing their necks with the yoke of wild and slavish bondage.

CHAPTER XVII

By what degrees of corruption the Romans' ambition grew to such a height.

For when did ever this lust of sovereignty cease in proud minds, until it had by continuance of honours attained unto the dignity of regal domination? And if their ambition did not prevail, they then had no means to continue their honours: now ambition would not prevail but amongst a people wholly corrupted with covetousness and luxury. And the people are always infected with these two contagions, by the
means of affluent prosperity, which Nasica did wisely hold fit to be foreseen and prevented, by not con-
descending to the abolishing of so strong, so powerful,
and so rich a city of their enemies; thereby to keep
luxury in awful fear: that so it might not become
exorbitant, and by that means also covetousness might
be repressed. Which two vices once chained up,
virtue, the city’s supporter, might flourish, and a
liberty befitting this virtue might stand strong. And
hence it was, out of this most circumspect zeal unto
his country, that your said high priest, who was
chosen by the Senate of those times for the best man,
without any difference of voices (a thing worthy of
often repetition), when the Senate would have built a
theatre, dissuaded them from this vain resolution: and
in a most grave oration, persuaded them not to suffer
the luxury of the Greeks to creep into their old con-
ditions, nor to consent unto the entry of foreign
corruption, to the subversion and extirpation of their
native Roman perfection, working so much by his
own only authority, that the whole bench of the
judicious Senate being moved by his reasons, ex-
pressly prohibited the use of those movable seats which
the Romans began as then to use in the beholding of
plays. How earnest would he have been to have
cleansed the city of Rome of the plays themselves, if
he durst have opposed their authority whom he held
for gods, being ignorant that they were malicious
devils: or if he knew it, then it seems he held that
they were rather to be pleased than despised. For
as yet, that heavenly doctrine was not delivered unto
the world, which, purifying the heart by faith, changes
the effect, with a zealous piety to desire and aim at
the blessings of heaven, or those which are above
the heavens, and frees men absolutely from the slavery
of those proud and ungracious devils.
CHAPTER XVIII

Of the first inducing of stage-plays.

But know (you that know not this) and mark (you it was that make show as if you knew it not, and murmur your at Him that hath set you free from such lords) that your stage-plays, those spectacles of uncleanness, those licentious vanities, were not first brought up at Rome by the corruptions of the men, but by the direct commands of your gods. It were far more tolerable for you to give divine honours unto the forenamed Scipio, than unto such kind of deities, for they were not so good as their priest was. And now do but observe, whether your minds being drunk with this continual ingurgitation of error, will suffer you to taste a sip of any true consideration. Your gods, for the assuaging of the infection of the pestilence that seized on their bodies, commanded an institution of stage-plays presently to be effected in their honours: but your priest, for avoiding the pestilence of your minds, forbade that any stage should be built for any such action. If you have so much wit as to prefer the mind before the body, then choose which of the two said parties to make your god of: for the bodily pestilence did not yet cease, because that the delicate vanity of stage-plays entered into the ears of this people. (being then wholly given unto wars, and accustomed only to the Circeonian plays); but the wily devils foreseeing (by natural reason) that this plague of the bodies should cease, by this means took occasion to thrust one far worse, not into their bodies, but into their manners, in corrupting of which lieth all their joy; and such
Senseless! You crowd to theatres a plague, as blinded the minds of that wretched people with such impenetrable clouds of darkness, and bespotted them with such foul stains of deformity, that even now (though this may seem incredible to succeeding ages) when this great Rome was destroyed, such as were possessed with this pestilence, flying from that sack, could come even unto Carthage, and here contend who should run maddest after stage-playing.

CHAPTER XIX

Of some vices in the Romans, which their city's ruin did never reform.

O you senseless men, how are you bewitched, not with error but furor, that when all the nations of the East (as we hear) bewail your city's ruin, and all the most remote regions bemoan your misery with public sorrow, you yourselves run headlong into the theatres, seeking them, entering them, filling them, and playing far madder parts now than ever you did before? This your plague of mind, this your wrack of honesty, was that, which your Scipio so feared when he would not have any theatres built for you: when he saw how quickly your virtues would be abolished by prosperity, when he would not have you utterly quitted from all fear of foreign invasions. He was not of opinion that that common weal or city was in a happy estate, where the walls stood firm, and the good manners lay ruined. But the seductions of the damned spirits prevailed more
with you, than the providence of circumspect men. And hence comes it, that the mischiefs that yourselves commit, you are so loth should be imputed to yourselves, but the mischiefs that yourselves suffer, you are ever ready to cast upon the Christian profession, for you in your security do not seek the peace of the common weal, but freedom for your practices of luxury: you are depraved by prosperity, and you cannot be reformed by adversity. Your Scipio would have had you to fear your foes, and so to suppress your lusts: but you, though you feel your foes, and are crushed down by them, yet will not restrain your inordinate affects: you have lost the benefit of affliction, and though you be made most miserable, yet remain you most irrevocable. And yet it is God's mercy that you have your lives still: His very sparing of your lives, summons you unto repentance: He it was, that (though you be ungrateful) showed you that favour as to escape your enemies' swords by calling of yourselves His servants, or flying into the churches of His martyrs.

CHAPTER XX

Of the clemency of God in moderating this calamity of Rome.

It is said that Romulus and Remus built a sanctuary, whereunto whoso could escape, should be free from all assault or hurt: their endeavour in this being to increase the number of their citizens. An example making way for a wonderful honour unto Christ.
THE city of God has many secret friends.

The same thing, that the founders of the city did decree, the same do the destroyers of it: and what if the one did it to increase the multitude of their citizens, when the other did it to preserve the multitude of their foes? Let this then (and whatsoever besides fitly may be so used), be used as an answer of our Lord Jesus Christ's flock, and that pilgrim city of God, unto all their wicked enemies.

CHAPTER XXI

Of such of God's elect as are secretly as yet amongst the infidels, and of such as are false Christians.

And let this city of God's remember, that even amongst her enemies, there are some concealed, that shall one day be her citizens: nor let her think it a fruitless labour to bear their hate until she hear their confession, as she hath also (as long as she is in this pilgrimage of this world) some that are partakers of the same sacraments with her, that shall not be partakers of the saints' glories with her, who are partly known, and partly unknown. Yea such there are, that spare not amongst God's enemies to murmur against His glory, whose character they bear upon them: going now unto plays with them, and by and by, unto the church with us. But let us not despair of the reformation of some of these, we have little reason, seeing that we have many secret and pre-destinated friends, even amongst our most known adversaries; and such, as yet know not themselves to be ordained for our friendship. For the two cities
(of the predestinate and the reprobate) are in this world, confused together, and commixed, until the general judgment make a separation: of the original progress and due limits of both which cities, what I think fit to speak, by God's help and furtherance, I will now begin, to the glory of the city of God, which being compared with her contrary, will spread her glories to a more full aspect.

CHAPTER XXII

What subjects are to be handled in the following discourse.

But we have a little more to say unto those that lay the afflictions of the Roman estate upon the profession of Christianity, which forbiddeth men to sacrifice unto those idols. For we must cast up a sum of all the miseries (or of as many as shall suffice) which that city, or the provinces under her subjection, endured before those sacrifices were forbidden. All which they would have imputed unto our religion, had it been then preached and taught against these sacrifices, when these miseries befel. Secondly, we must show what customs and conditions the true God vouchsafed to teach them for the increasing of their empire, that God, in whose hand are all the kingdoms of the earth: and how their false gods never helped them a jot, but rather did them infinite hurt by deceit and inducement. And lastly, we will disprove those who though they be confuted with most manifest proofs, yet will needs affirm still that
The gods of Rome are not due to overthrow of their gods are to be worshipped, and that not for the benefits of this life, but for those which are belonging to the life to come. Which question (unless I be deceived) will be far more laborious, and worther of deeper consideration, in the which we must dispute against the philosophers, not against each one, but even the most excellent and glorious of them all, and such as in many points hold as we hold, and namely of the immortality of the soul, and of the world’s creation by the true God, and of His providence, whereby He swayeth the whole creation. But because even these also are to be confuted, in what they hold opposite unto us, we thought it our duty not to be slack in this work, but convincing all the contradictions of the wicked, as God shall give us power and strength to advance the verity of the city of God, the true zeal and worship of God, which is the only way to attain true and eternal felicity. This therefore shall be the method of our work: and now from this second axioma we will take each thing in due order.
Of the method which must of necessity be used in this disputation.

If the weak custom of human sense durst not be so (I cannot bold as to oppose itself against the reasons of apparent answer truth, but would yield this languid infirmity unto wholesome instruction, as unto a medicine which were fittest to apply, until by God's good assistance, and faith's operation, it were thoroughly cured; then those that can both judge well, and instruct sufficiently, should not need many words to confute any erroneous opinion, or to make it fully apparent unto such, as their desires would truly inform. But now, because there is so great and inveterate a disease rooted in the minds of the ignorant, that they will (out of their extreme blindness, whereby they see not what is most plain, or out of their obstinate perverseness, whereby they will not break what they see) defend their irrational and brutish opinions, after that the truth has been taught them, as plain as one man can teach another: hence it is that these ariseth a necessity that bindeth us to dilate more fully of what is already most plain, and to give the truth, not unto their eyes to see, but even into their heads, as it were to touch and feel. Yet, notwithstanding, this, by the way: What end shall we make of alteration if we hold that the answerers are continually to be answered? For, as
for those that either cannot comprehend what is said unto them, or else are so obstinate in their vain opinions, that though they do understand the truth, yet will not give it place in their minds, but reply against it, as it is written of them, "like spectators of iniquity," those are eternally frivolous: and if we should bind ourselves to give an answer to every contradiction that their impudence will thrust forth (how falsely they care not, for they do but make a show of opposition unto our assertions), you see what a trouble it would be, how endless, and how fruitless. And therefore (son Marcelline) I would neither have you, nor any other (to whom this our work may yield any benefit in Jesus Christ) to read this volume with any surmise that I am bound to answer whatsoever you or they shall hear objected against it: lest you become like unto the women of whom the apostle saith, that they were "always learning, and never able to come unto the knowledge of the truth.”

CHAPTER II

A repetition of the contents of the first book.

Therefore in the former book, wherein I began to speak of the city of God, to which purpose all the whole work (by God's assistance) shall have reference, I did first of all take in hand to give them their answer that are so shameless as to impute the calamities inflicted upon the world (and in particular upon Rome in her last desolation) wrought by the
Vandals) unto the religion of Christ, which forbids men to offer service or sacrifice unto devils; whereas they are rather bound to ascribe this as a glory to Christ that, for His name's sake alone, the barbarous nations (beyond all practice and custom of wars) allowed many and spacious places of religion for those (ungrateful men) to escape into; and gave such honour unto the servants of Christ, not only to the true ones, but even to the counterfeit, that what the law of arms made lawful to do unto all men, they held it utterly unlawful to offer unto them. And hence arose these questions: "How and wherefore these gracious mercies of God were extended unto such ungodly and ungrateful wretches as well as to His true servants?" and "Why the afflictions of this siege fell upon the godly (in part) as well as on the reprobate?" For the better dissolving of which doubts, I stayed somewhat long in a discourse of the daily gifts of God, and the miseries of man, falling out in the whole tract of this transitory life (both which, by reason that they often light confusedly together, alike, and undistinguished both upon good livers and impious, are very powerful in moving the hearts of many); and mine especial intent herein was to give some comfort unto the sanctified and chaste women, who had their chastities offended by some incontinent acts of the soldiers: and to show them that if those accidents had not wrecked their chaste resolutions, they ought not to be ashamed of life, having no guilt in them whereof to be ashamed, and then I took occasion to speak somewhat against those that in such villainous and impudent manner do exult over the poor Christians in their adversities, and chiefly over the deflowered women; these fellows themselves being most unmanly and depraved wretches, altogether degenerate from the true Romans, unto
whose honours (being many, and, much, recorded) these base creatures are so directly opposite, For it was these that made Rome, which was first founded, and after increased by the care and industry of her old worthies, to show more filthy and corrupted in her prosperity, than she was now in her ruin: for in this, there fell but stones, walls, and houses; but in the lives of such villains as these, all the monuments, all the ornaments (not of their walls, but) of their manners, were utterly demolished, as then did, a worse fire burn in their affections than this was now that did not burn their houses: with the close of this, I gave an end to the first book, and now (as I resolved) will proceed to cast up a reckoning of the sundry mischiefs that this city of Rome hath suffered since she was first founded, either in herself, or in some of her provinces under her command: all which those vile persons would have pinned upon the back of Christianity, if the doctrine of the gospel against their false and deceitful gods had in those times been revealed and preached.

**CHAPTER III**

Of the choice of an history which will show the miseries that the Romans endured, when they worshipped their idols, before the increasement of Christian Religion.

But remember this, that when I handled those points, I had to do with the ignorant, out of whose blockish heads this proverb was first born: "It will not rain because of the Christian." For there are some
others amongst them that are learned, and love that very history that makes these things plain to their understanding; but because they love to set the blind and erroneous vulgar at enmity and dissension with us Christians, they dissemble and conceal this understanding of theirs, labouring to persuade the people this, that the whole process of calamities, which at diverse times and in several places fell and were still to fall upon all the world, had the original, and have had, only and merely from the profession of Christ, grieving that it spreadeth so far, and shineth so gloriously against all other their gods and religions. But let these malicious men read but with us, with what excess of affliction the Roman estate was wrung and plagued, and that on every side, before that ever this name (which they so much do envy) did spread the glory to such note: and then if they can, let them defend their gods' goodnesse shown unto them, in these extremities, and if that as their servants they honour them for protection from these extremities, which if they do, but suffer now in any part, they are ready to lay all the blame upon our necks, for why did their gods permit their servants, to be plagued with these great afflictions (which I am now to recount) before, that the publishing of the name of Christ gave them cause of offence, by prohibiting their sacrifices.

CHAPTER IV

That the worshippers of Pagan gods never received honest instruction from them; but used all filthiness in their sacrifices.

First, why would not their gods have a care to see their servants well mannered: the true God doth
The gods never helped their worthy neglect those that neglect. His just worship: but as for those gods whom this wicked and ungrateful crew complain that they are forbidden to worship, why do they not help to better the lives of their worshippers by giving them some good laws? It was very requisite that as they carefully attended their gods' sacrifices, so their gods should have graciously amended their imperfections. Aye (but will some say), every man may be vicious at his own will and pleasure. True; who denies that? Yet notwithstanding, it was the part of these great gods' guardians, not to conceal the forms and rudiments of good and honest life from their suppliants; but to teach them plainly, and fully, and by their prophets, to correct and restrain the offenders: to restrain evil doers with public punishments, and to encourage good lives with full rewards: what temple of all this multitude of gods, was ever accessory to any such sound? We ourselves (once in our youth) went to view these spectacles, their sacrilegious mockeries; there we saw the enthusiasts, persons rapt with fury; there we heard the pipers, and took great delight in the filthy sports that they acted before their gods and goddesses: even before Berucynthia (surnamed the celestial virgin, and mother to all the gods), even before her litter, upon the feast day of her very purification, their beastly stage-players acted such ribaldry; as was a shame (not only for the mother of the gods, but) for the mother of any senator or any honest man, nay, even for the mothers of the players themselves to give ear to. Natural shame hath bound us with some respect unto our parents, which vice itself cannot abolish. But that beastliness of obscene speeches and actions, which the players acted in public, before the mother of all the gods, and in sight and hearing of a huge multitude of both sexes, they
would be ashamed to act at home in private before their mothers, were it but for repetition sake. And as for that company that were their spectators, though they might easily be drawn thither by curiosity, yet beholding chastity so foully injured, methinks they should have been driven from thence by the mere shame that immodesty can offend honesty withal. What can sacrileges be if those were sacrifices? or what can be pollution if this were a purification? and these were called juncales, as if they made a feast where all the unclean devils of hell might fill their bellies. For who knows not what kind of spirits these are that take pleasure in these obscurities? unless he know not that there be any such unclean spirits that thus illude men under the names of gods: or else, unless he be such an one as wisheth the pleasure; and fears the displeasure of those damned powers more than he doth the love and wrath of the true and everlasting God.

CHAPTER V

Of the obscenities used in these sacrifices offered unto the mother of the gods.

Nor will I stand to the judgment of those whom I know do rather delight in the vicious custom of enormities than decline from it: I will have Scipio Nasica himself to be judge, and he whom the whole senate proclaimed for their best man, one whose only hands were thought fit to receive and bring in this devil's picture: let him but tell us first whether that
Religion and modernity went hand-in-hand.

He desire that his mother’s deserts were such that the senate should appoint him divine honours (as we read that both the Greeks and other Roman nations, also have ordained for some particular men whose worth they held in high esteem, and whose persons they thought were made immortal, and admitted amongst the gods). Truly he would gladly wish his mother this felicity, if that such a thing could be. But if we ask him then further, whether he would have such filthy presentations as Cibeleus enacted as part of his mother’s honours; would he not avow (think you) that he had rather have his mother lie dead and senseless, than to live a goddess, to hear and allow such ribaldry? Yes: far be it from such a worthy senator of Rome, as would forbid the building of a theatre in a State maintained by valour, to wish his mother that worship to please her goddess-ship, which could not but offend all womanhood. Nor is it possible that he could be persuaded, that divinity could so far alter the laudable modesty of a woman, as to make her allow her servants to call upon her in such immodest terms, as being spoken in the hearing of any living woman, if she stop not her ears and get her gone, the whole kindred of her father, husband, children, and all would blush, and be ashamed at her shamefulness. And therefore such a mother of the gods as this (whom even the worst man would shame to have his mother alike unto) did never seek the best man of Rome (in her entrance into the people’s affections) to make him better by her councils and admonitions, but rather worse, by her deceits and illusions (like her of whom it is written, “A woman hunteth for the precious life of a man”) 1) so that his great spirit being elevated by this (as it were, divine) testimony of the senate, he holding himself solely, the

best, might be thus withdrawn from the truth of Living religion and godliness: without which, the worthiest wit is ever overthrown and extinguished in pride and vainglory, what intent then (save deceit) had she in selecting the best and most honest man, seeing she useth and desireth such things in her sacrifices as honest men abhor to use, were it but even in their sports and recreations?

CHAPTER VI

That the Pagans' gods did never establish the doctrine of living well.

Hence it proceedeth that those gods never had care of the lives and manners of such cities and nations as gave them divine honours; but contrariwise gave free permission to such horrible and abominable evils, to enter, not upon their lands, vines, houses, or treasures, nor upon the body (which serves the mind); but upon the mind itself, the ruler of all the flesh, and of all the rest: this they ever allowed without any prohibition at all. If they did prohibit it, lest it be proved that they did. I know their followers will talk of certain secret traditions and I know not what, some closely muttered instructions, tending to the bettering of man's life, but let them show wherever they had any public places ordained for to hear such lectures (wherein the players did not present their filthy gesture and speeches: nor where the Fugalia were kept with all licentiousness of lust, fitly called Fugafid, as the chorus sways of all chastity and
The gods never instructed in good living.

but where the people might come and hear their gods' doctrine concerning the restraint of covetousness, the suppression of ambition, and the bridling of luxury and riot: where wretches might learn that which Perseus thunders unto them, saying:

"Disciteque ô miseri, et causas cognoscite rerum,
Quid sumus, aut quidnam victuri gignimur: ordo
Quis datus, aut metae quâm mollis flexus, et unde:
Quis modus argenti, quid fas optare, quid asper
Utile nummus habet: patriæ carisque propinquis
Quantum elargiri debeat, quem te Deus esse
Iussit, et humana qua parte locatur es in re."

"Learn wretches, and conceive the course of things,
What man is, and why nature forth him brings:
His settled bounds, from whence how soon he strays:
What wealths mean, and that for which the good man prays;
How to use money: how to give to friends,
What we in earth, and God in us, intends," &c.

Let them show where these lessons of their instructing gods were ever read or rehearsed: whether ever their worshippers were used to hear of any such matters, as we used to do continually in our churches, erected for this purpose in all places wheresoever the religion of Christ is diffused.

CHAPTER VII

That the philosopher's instructions are weak and bootless, in that they bear no divine authority: because that the examples of the gods are greater confirmations of vices in men, than the wise men's disputations are on the contrary part.

Do you think they will mention their philosophy schools unto us? as for them, first of all they are
derived from Greece, and not from Rome: or, if you say they are now Roman because Greece is become a province of the Romans, I answer again that the instructions given there are not of the documents of your gods, but the inventions of man; whose quick wit’s especial endeavour was to find by disputation what secrets were hid in the treasury of nature: what was to be desired, and what to be avoided in our morality, and what was coherent by the laws of disputation, or not following the induction, or quite repugnant unto it. And some of these gave light to great inventions, as the grace of God assisted them, but yet they evermore erred, as the frailty of man possessed them; the divine providence justly opposing their vainglory to show the tract of piety to rise from humility unto height, by their comparison: which we shall hereafter take an occasion to search into further by the will of the true and everlasting God. But if it were true that these philosophers invented any means sufficient to direct one to the attaining of a happy course of life, is there not far greater reason to give them divine honours, than the other? How much more honest were it for to hear Plato’s books read in a temple of his, than the Galli gilded in the devils? To view the effeminate consecrated; the lunatic gashed with cuts, and each thing else either cruel or bestial, or bestially cruel, or cruelly bestial, so commonly celebrated in the solemnities of such gods? Were it not far more worthy to have some good laws of the gods rehearsed unto the youth for their instruction in integrity, than to pass the time in vain commendations of the labours of illused antiquity; but indeed all the worshippers of such gods, as soon as they are initiated unto those luxurious and venomous adorations, as Perseus saith, do look more after Jupiter’s deeds,
than either Plato's doctrine or Cato's opinions. And
hereupon it is that Terence brings in the lustful
youth gazing upon a table picture, wherein was drawn
how Jove sent down a shower of gold into the lap of
Diana; and this was a fit precedent for this youth
to follow in his lust, with a boast that he did but
imitate a god. "But what god," saith he; "even
he that shakes the temples with his thunder: since
he did thus, shall I (a mere wretch to him) make
bones of it? No; I did it with all mine heart."

CHAPTER VIII

Of the Romans' stage-plays wherein the publishing of
their gods' foulest impurities, did not any way
offend but rather delight them.

Aye, but (will some say) these things are not taught
in the institutions of the gods, but in the inventions of
the poets. I will not say that the gods' mysteries
are more obscene than the theatre's presentations;
but this I say (and will bring history sufficient to
convince all those that shall deny it) that those plays
which are formed according to these poetical fictions,
were not exhibited by the Romans unto their gods
in their solemnities through any ignorant devotion of
their own, but only by reason that the gods them-
selves did so strictly command, yea, and even in
some sort, extort from them the public presenting
and dedication of those plays unto their honours.
This I handled briefly in the first book. For, when
the city was first of all infected with the pestilence,
then were stages first ordained at Rome by the authorisation of the chief priest. And what is it, that in ordering of his courses, will not rather choose to follow the rudiments which are to be fetched out of plays, or whatsoever being instituted by his godiness, rather than the weaker ordinances of mortal men? If the poets did falsely record Jupiter for an adulterer, then these gods being so chaste, should be the more offended, and punish the world, for thrusting such a deal of villainy into their ceremonies, and not for omitting them. Of these stages plays the best and most tolerable are tragedy and comedy; being poetical fables made to be acted at these shows: wherein notwithstanding was much dishonest matter, in actions, but none at all of words: and these the old men do cause to be taught to their children, amongst their most honest, and liberal studies.

CHAPTER LIX

What the Romans' opinion was touching the restraint of the liberty of poetry, which the Greeks, by the council of their gods, would not have restrained at all.

What the Romans held concerning this point, Cicero recordeth in his books which he wrote "Of the Commonwealth," where Scipio is brought in saying thus: "if that the privilege of an old custom had not allowed them, comedies could never have given such proofs of their villeness upon theatres."

And some of the ancient Greeks pretended a conveni-
The first thing that comes to mind is their vicious opinion, and made it a law that the comedian might speak 'what he would, of any man by his name.' Wherefore, as Africanus saith well in the same book, 'Whom did not the poet touch, nay, whom did he not vex, whom spared he? perhaps, saith one, he quipped a sort of wicked, sedulous, vulgar fellows, as Cleon, Clytoboulos, and Hyperbolus;' but that we assent? 'quoth he again; 'though we were fitter for such faults to be taxed by the censor than by a poet, but it was no more decent that Pericles should be snuffed at, having so many years governed the city so well both in war and peace, than it were for our Plautus, or Nasium to deride Publius or Caeius Scipio, or for Cestius to mock Marcus Cato.' 'And again, a little after, 'Our twelve tables,' quoth he, 'having decreed the observation but of a very few things upon pain of death, yet thought it good to establish this for one of that few, that none should write or act any verse, derogatory from the good name of any man, or prejudicial unto manners. Excellently well! for our lives ought not to be the objects for poets to play upon, but for lawful magistracy, and thoroughly informed justice to judge upon, nor is it fit that men should hear themselves reproached, but in such places as they may answer and defend their own cause in.' Thus much out of Cicero in his fourth book 'Of the Commonwealth' (which I thought good to rehearse word for word, only I was forced to leave out somewhat and somewhat to transpose, for the easier understanding.) For it gives great light unto the proposition which I (if so be I can) must prove and make apparent. He proceedeth further in this discourse, and in the end concludes that, that the ancient Romans utterly disliked, that any man should be either praised or dispraised upon the stage.
But as I said before, the Greeks in this, though they used less modesty, yet they followed more convenience, seeing they saw their gods so well to approve of the represented disgraces, not only of men, but even of themselves, when they came upon the stage: whether the plays were fictions of poetry, or true histories of their deeds (and I wish their worshippers had held them only worth the laughing at; and not worth imitation!), for it were too much pride in a prince to seek to have his own fame preserved, when he sees his gods before him, set theirs at six and seven. For whereas it is said in their defence, that these tales of their gods were not true, but merely poetical inventions, and false fictions, why this doth make it more abominable, if you respect the purity of your religion: and if you observe the malice of the devil, what more cunning or more deceitful fetch can there be? For when an honest and worthy ruler of a country is slandered, is not the slander so much more wicked and unpardonable, as this party's life that is slandered is clearer and sounder from touch of any such matter? what punishment then can be sufficient for those that offer their gods such foul and impious injury?

CHAPTER X

That the devils through their settled desire to do men mischief, were willing to have any villainies reported of them whether true or false.

But those wicked spirits, whom these men take to be gods, were desirous to have such beastly stories spread abroad of them (though they themselves had
All this (as never acted any such thing); only to keep men's minds inveigled in such bestial opinions, as if it were in snares or nets, and by that means to draw them to predestinate damnation for company: whether it be true that such men as those that love to live in errors, do select for gods, did themselves commit any such things (for which the devils set themselves out to be adored, by a thousand several tricks of hurtful deceit): or that there were no such things done at all, but only those malicious and subtle devils do cause them to be feigned of the gods, to the end that there might be sufficient authority, derived as it were from heaven to earth, for men to commit all filthiness by. Therefore the Grecians, seeing that they had such gods as these to serve, thought it not fit to take away any liberty from the poets in using these stage-mocks and shames. And thus they did either for fear lest their gods should be provoked to anger against them, in case they went about to make themselves into more honest moulds than they were, and so seem to prefer themselves before them; or else for desire to be made like their gods, even in their greatest enormities. And from this imagined convenience came it, that they hold the very actors of such plays, to be worthy of honours in their cities. For in the same book "Of the Commonwealth," Äschines of Athens, an eloquent man, having been an actor of tragedies in his youth, is said to have borne office in the Commonwealth. And Aristodemus, another actor of tragedies, was sent by the Athenians upon an embassage to Philip, about especial and weighty affairs of war and peace. For they held it an unmeet thing (seeing they saw their gods approve of those actions, and arts of playing) to repose those worthy of any note of infamy that were but the actors of them.
chap. xi] the city of god

that the Grecians admitted their players to bear office in their Commonwealths, lest they should seem unjust in disting waiting such men as were the placiers of their gods.

this was the Grecians' practice: absurd enough, however, but yet most fitly applied unto the nature of the gods: they durst not exempt the lives of their citizens from the lashes of poetical pens, and players' tongues, because they saw their gods delighted at the traducing of themselves: and they thought, surely, that those men that acted such things upon the stage as pleased the gods, ought not to be disliked at any hand by them that were but servants to those gods. Nay not only that, but that they ought to be absolutely and highly honoured by their fellow-citizens: for what reason could they find, for the honouring of the priests that offered the sacrifices which the gods accepted well of, and yet allow the actors to be disgracefully thought of, who had learnt their profession, by the special appointment of the selfsame gods, that exact these celebrations of them, and are displeased if they be not solemnised? especially seeing that Laebio (who they say was most exact in these matters), distinguished the good spirits from the bad, by this diversity of their worships, that the bad ones are delighted with slaughters and tragical invocations, and the good with mirthful revels and sporting honours, such as plays (quoth he), banquets, and revelling on beds, are; of which hereafter (so God be pleased) we will discourse more at large. but so our present purpose:
whether it be so that all kinds of honours be given unto all the gods mixed and confused, as unto only good ones (for it is not fit to say there are any evil gods, although indeed they are all evil, being all unclean spirits): or that according as Labed saith, there must be a discretion used; and that these must have such and such particular rites of observances assigned, and those other, others; howsoever, the Greeks did most conveniently to hold both priests and players worthy of honourable dignities, the priests for offering of their sacrifices, and the players for acting of their interludes: lest otherwise, they should be guilty of offering injury either to all their gods, if they all love players, or (which is worse,) to those whom they account as the good ones, if they only affect them.

CHAPTER XII

That the Romans in abridging that liberty (which the poets would have used upon men), and in allowing them to use it upon their gods, did herein show, that they prized themselves above their gods.

But the Romans (as Scipio glorieth in that book of the Commonwealth) would by no means have the good names and manners of their citizens liable to the quips and censures of the poets, but inflicted a capital punishment upon all such as durst offend in that kind: which indeed (in respect of themselves), was honestly and well instituted, but in respect of their gods: most proudly and irreligiously, for though they knew that their gods were not only
patient; but even well pleased at the representing of Rome to refuse this
their reproaches and enormities, yet would they hold themselves more unworthy to suffer such injuries
than their gods, thrusting such things into their solemnities, as they avoided from themselves by all
vigour of laws. Yea, Scipio; dost thou commend
the restraint of this poetical liberty to taxing your
persons, when thou seest it hath been ever free to
sacrifices your gods? Dost thou value the court
alone so much more than the Capitol, than all Rome,
nay, than all heaven, that the poets must be curbed
by an express law, from showing at the citizens, and
yet without all control of senator, censor, prince, or
priest, have free leave to throw what slander they
please upon the gods? What? Was it so unseemly
that Plautus, or Nason, or Tullus, or Quinctius
Scipio, or for Cæcilius to cast upon M. Cato?
And was it seemly for your Terence to animate a
youth to uncleanness by the example of the deed of
high and mighty Jupiter?

CHAPTER XIII

Thus the Romans might have observed their gods' un-
reinforcement, by their desire of such obscene solemnities.

It might be Scipio, were he alive again, would
answer me thus: How can we possibly set any
penalty upon such things as our gods themselves do
make sacred, by their own express induction of those
plays into our customs, and by annexing them to the
celebration of their sacrifices and honours; wherein
such things are ever to be acted and celebrated?
But why, then, saith Augustine, do not you discern them by this impurity to be no true gods, nor worthy of any divine honours at all; for if it be altogether unmeet for you to honour such men as love to see and set forth plays that are filled with the reproach of the Romans, how then can you judge them to be gods, how then can you hold them for unclean spirits, that through desire to deceive others, require it as part of their greatest honours to be cast in the teeth with their own filthiness? Indeed, the Romans, though they were locked in those chains of hurtful superstition, and served such gods as they saw required such dishonest spectacles at their hands, yet had they such a care of their own honesty and dignity, that they would never vouchsafe the actors of such vile things any honour in their commonwealth, as the Greeks did: but according to Scipio's words in Cicero: "Seeing that they held the art of stage-playing as base and unmanly, therefore they did not only detain all the honours of the city from such kind of men, but appointed the censors in their views, to remove them from being part of any tribe, and would not vouchsafe them to be counted as members of the city." A worthy decree, and well becometh the Roman wisdom; yet this wisdom would I have to imitate and follow myself: rightly hath the council of the city in this well, desiring, and deserving commendations (showing itself to be in this truly Roman) appointed that whosoever will choose of a citizen of Rome to become a player, he should not only live secluded from all honours, but by the censor's censure should be made utterly incapable of living as a member of his proper tribe. But now tell me, but this, why the players should be branded with inability to bear honours, and yet the plays they act inserted into the celebration of the gods' honours?
The Romans, as long time, unacquainted with these theatrical tricks, supposed then that men's vain affections gave them their first induction and that they crept in by the errors of men's decayed members; doth it hence follow that the gods must take delight in them, or desire them? If so, why then is the player debased, by whom the gods pleased? and with what face can you scandalise the actors and instruments of such stage guilt, and yet adore the exectors and commanders of these actions? This now is the controversy between the Greeks and the Romans. The Greeks think that they have good reason to honour these players, seeing that they must honour them that require these plays; the Romans, on the other side, are so far from gracing them, that they will not allow them a place in a plebeian tribe; much less in the Court or Senate, but hold them disgraceful to all callings. Now in this disputation, this only argument gives the speech of all the controversy. The Greeks propose: If such gods be to be worshipped, then such actors are also to be held as honourable. The Romans answer: But such actors are no way to be held as honourable! Therefore such gods are no way to be worshipped.

CHAPTER XIV.

That Plato, who would not allow poets to dwell in a well-governed city, showed that his sole worth was better than those gods, that desire to be honoured with stage-plays.

Again, we ask another question: Why the poets that make these comedies (and being prohibited by a
law of the twelve tables to defame the citizens, yet
do dishonour the gods: with such foul imputations) are
not reputed as dishonest and disgraceful as the
players: what reason can be produced, why the
actors of such poetical figments, being so ignominious
to the gods, should be deputed infamious, and yet the
authors be vouchsafed honours? Is not Plato more
praiseworthy than you all, who dispensing of the true
perfection of a city would have poets banished from
that society, as enemies to the city's full perfection?
be had both a grief to see his gods so injured, and a
care to keep out those fictions whereby the citizens' minds might be abused: now make but a comparison
of his humanity: in expelling of poets from his city,
lest they should deface it with the gods' divinity
that directed such plays and revels in their honours;
by which the city might be deluded: he, though he
did not induce or persuade them to it, yet advised
and counselled the light and luxurions Greeks, in his
disputation, to restrain the writing of such things:
but these gods, by command and constraint, even
forced the modest and strict Romans to present them
with such things, may not only to present them, but
even to dedicate and consecrate them in all solemnity
unto their honours. Now to which of these may
the city with most honesty ascribe divine worship?
whether to Plato that would forbid these filthy
obscenities, or to these devils that exult in deluding
of those men whom Plato could not persuade to
truth? This man did Labed think meet to be
reckoned amongst the demi-gods, as he did Hercules
also, and Romulus: and he prefers the demi-gods
before the heroes, but notwithstanding makes deities
of them both: but howsoever, I hold this man whom
he calls a demi-god, worthy to be preferred not only
before the heroes, but even before all their other
gods themselves; and in this, the Roman laws do come somewhat near his disputations: for whereas he condemns all allowance of poets, they deprive them of their liberty to, rail at any man. He excludes poets from dwelling in his city; they deprive the actors of poetical fables, from the privileges of citizens; and it may be (if they durst do aught against gods that require such stage-games), they would thrust them forth for altogether. Therefore the Romans can neither receive nor expect any moral instructions, either for correcting of faults or increasing virtues, from those gods, whom their own laws already do subvert and convince. The gods require plays for increase of their honours: the Romans exclude players from partaking of theirs; the gods require their own faults to be celebrated by poets' inventions; the Romans restrain the poets' looseness from touching any of the Romans' imperfections. But Plato, that demi-god, he both resists this impure affection of the gods, and shows what ought to be perfected by the towardliness of the Romans; denying poets all place in a well-ordered commonwealth howsoever, whether they presented the figments of their own lusts and fancies, or related aught else as the guilt of the gods, and therefore of imitable examples: but we Christians make Plato neither whole god nor demi-god; nor do we vouchsafes to compare him with any of God's angels, or His prophet, not with any of Christ's Apostles or His martyrs, no not with any Christian man, and why we will not, by God's help, in the due place we will declare. But notwithstanding, seeing they will needs have him a demi-god, we think him worthy to be preferred (if not before Romulus or Hercules, though there was never historian nor poet affirmed, or feigned, that he ever killed his brother, or committed
any other mischievous act, yet at least) before
Priapus or any Cynocephalus, or lastly any Febris,
all which the Romans either had as gods from
strangers, or set them up as their own in peculiar.
How then could such gods as these by any counsel
they could give, prevent or cure such great corrup-
tion of minds and manner (whether imminent, or
already instilled) seeing they regarded nothing else
but to diffuse and augment this contagion of wicked-
ness, and to have it instilled into the people's notions
from the stage, as their own acts, or acts which they
approve, to the end, that man's lust might run the
course of wickedness freely, after the gods' examples?
Tully exclaimeth all in vain upon it
who being to speak of poets, when he came to them,
saith: "The clamour and approbation of the people,
when it is joined with these poetical authors, as the
testimony of some great and learned master, oh what
darkness doth an involve man in? what fears it
inflicts; what lusts it inflames?" not a whit at
least to answer who but the one who would
behold how and only how so much that he required:
moreover, you have no good, ill, or
who was against him, not only to answer, but to
say any thing at all.

CHAPTER XV.

That flattery and not reason created some of the Roman
gods, but not all.

But what other reason in the world (besides flattery)
have they to make choice of these so false and
seigned gods? Not vouchasing Plato any little
temple, whom notwithstanding they will have to be
a demi-god. (and one who took such pains in dis-
truding the corrupation of mankind through the de-
pravation of opinions), and yet preferring Romulus many of before diverse of the gods, whom their most secret and exact doctrine doth but make a semi-god, and not an entire deity; yet for him they appointed a Flaminey a kind of priesthood so far above the rest as their crescent did testify; that they had only three of those Flamines for three of their chiefest deities, the Dial or Jovial for Jupiters; the Martial, for Mars; and the Quirinal, for Romulus: for the love of his citizens having (as it were) hoisted him up into heaven, he was then called Quirinus, and kept that name ever after: and so by this you see Romulus here is preferred before Neptune and Pluto, Jupiter’s brother, nay even before Saturn, father of them all: so that to make him great, they give him the same priesthood that Jupiter was honoured by, and likewise they give one to Mars, his pretended father, it may be rather for his sake than any other devotion.

CHAPTER XVI

That if the Roman gods had had any care of justice, the city should have had their forms of good government from them, rather than to go and borrow it of other nations.

If the Romans could have received any good instructions of morality from their gods, they would never have been beholding to the Athenians for Solon’s laws, as they were, some years after Rome was built; which laws notwithstanding, they did not observe as they received them, but endeavoured to
of better them and make them more exact; and though
Lycurgus signified that he gave the Lacedemonians
their laws by the authorisation of Apollo, yet the
Romans very wisely would not give credence to him,
and therefore gave no admission to these laws. In-
morals.
Indeed Numa Pompilius, Romulus' successor, is said to
have given them some laws; but all too insufficient
for the government of a city. He taught them
many points of their religion, but it is not reported
that he had these institutions from the gods: those
corruptions therefore of mind, conversation, and
conditions, which were so great, that the most
learned men durst affirm that these were the cankers
by which all commonweals perished, though their
walls stood never so firm; those did these gods
never endeavour to withhold from them that
worshipped them, but as we have proved before, did
rather strive to enlarge and augment them, with all
their care and fullest diligence.

CHAPTER XVII

Of the rape of the Sabine women, and diverse other
wicked acts, done in Rome's most ancient and
honourable times.

Perhaps the gods would not give the Romans any
laws, because as Sallust saith: "Justice and honesty
prevailed as much with them by nature as by law."
Very good: out of this justice and honesty came it,
I think, that the Sabine virgins were ravished. What
more just or more honest part can be played than to
force away other men's daughters, with all violence (Rape of possible, rather than to receive them at the hand of their parents? But if it were unjustly done of the Sabines to deny the Romans their daughters, was it not far more unjustly done of them to force them away after that denial? There was more equity shown in making war upon those that would not give their daughters to beget alliance with their neighbours and countrymen, than with those that did but require back their own, which were injuriously forced from them. Therefore Mars should rather have helped his warlike son in revenging the injury of this rejected proffer of marriage, that so he might have won the virgin that he desired by force of arms. For there might have been some pretense of warlike law, for the conqueror justly to bear away those whom the conquered had unjustly denied him before. But he, against all law of peace, violently forced them from such as denied him them, and then began an unjust war with their parents, to whom he had given to just a cause of anger. Hence, indeed, he had good and happy success. And albeit the Carthaginian plays were continued to preserve the memory of this fraudulent act, yet neither the city nor the empire did approve such a precedent: and the Romans were more willing to err in making Romulus a deity after this deed of iniquity, than to allow by any law or practice, this fact of his in forcing of women thus, to stand as an example for others to follow. Out of this justice and honesty likewise proceeded this, that after Tarquin and his children were expelled Rome (because his son Sextus had ravished Lucretia) Junius Brutus being consul, compelled L. Tarquinius Collatine, husband to that Lucretia, his fellow-officer, a good man, and wholly guiltless, to give over his place, and abandon the city, which vile deed of his, was done by the approbation
How many of the crimes of ancient Rome!

Out of this justice and honesty came this also, that Marcus Camillus, that most illustrious worthy of his time, that with such ease subdued the warlike Veientes, the greatest foes of the Romans, and took their chief city from them; after that they had held the Romans in ten years' war, and foiled their armies so often, that Rome herself began to tremble, and suspected her own safety: that this man by the malice of his back-biting enemies, and the insupportable pride of the Tribunes, being accused of guilt, and perceiving the city (which he had preferred) so ungrateful, that he needs must be condemned, was glad to betake himself to willing banishment; and yet in his absence was fined at ten thousand asses, being soon after to be called home again to free his thankless country.

CHAPTER XVIII

What the history of Sallust reports of the Romans' conditions, both in their times of danger and those of security.

Therefore I will keep a mean, and stand rather unto the testimony of Sallust himself, who spoke this
in the Romans' praise (whereof we have now discourse), that justice and honesty prevailed as much with them by nature, as by law; extolling those times wherein the city (after the casting-out of her kings) grew up to such a height in so small a space. Notwithstanding all this, this same author confesses in the very beginning of the first book of his history, that when the sway of the State was taken from the kings, and given to the consuls, within a very little while after, the city grew to be greatly troubled with the oppressing power of the great ones, and the division of the people from the fathers. Upon that cause, and diverse other dangerous dimensions; for having recorded how honestly, and in what good concord the Romans lived together between the second war of Africa, and the last, and having shown that it was not the love of goodness, but the fear and distrust of the Carthaginians' might, and perfidiousness, that was cause of this good order, and therefore that upon this Nasica would have Carthage stand still undestroyed, as a fit means to delay the entrance of insolvency into Rome, and to keep in integrity by fear; he adds presently upon this, these words, "But discord, avarice, ambition, and all such mischiefs as prosperity is midwife unto, grew unto their full light after the destruction of Carthage," intimating herein, that they were now, and continued amongst the Romans before; which he proves in his following reasons! "For as for the violent offensiveness of the greater persons," saith he, "and the division betwixt the patricians and the plebeians these mischiefs arising those were mischiefs amongst us from the beginning: now was there any lesser respect of equity or moderation amongst us, than whilst the kings were in expelling and the city and State quit of Tarquin, and the great war of Etruria." Thus, you see, how
of their that even in that little space wherein: after the expulsion of their kings they embraced integrity, it was only fear that forced them to do so, because they stood in dread of the wars, which Tarquin; upon his expulsion being combined with the Etrurians, waged against them. Now observe what Sallust adds, "for after that," quoth he, "the senators began to make slaves of the people, to judge of heads and shoulders, as bloodily and imperiously as the kings did, to chaste men from their possessions; and only they, of the whole crew of factions, bare the imperial sway of all, with which outrages (and chiefly with their extreme taxes and extortions) the people being sore oppressed, maintaining both soldiers in continual arms, and paying tribute also besides, at length they swept out, took up arms, and drew a head upon Mount Aventine and Mount Sacet. And then they elected them tribunes, and set down other laws; but the second war of Africa gave end to these contentions on both sides." Thus you see in how little a while, so soon after the expelling of their kings, the Romans were become such as he has described them of, whose (notwithstanding) he had affirmed, that "justice and honesty prevailed as much with them by nature as by law." Now if those times were found to have been so depraved, wherein the Roman estate is reported to have been most uncorrupt and absolute, what shall we imagine may then be spoken or thought of the succeeding ages, which by a gradual alteration (to use the author's own words) of as honest and honourable city, became most dishonest and dishonourable, namely after the dissolution of Carthage, as he himself relates? How he discourses and describes these times, you may at full behold in his history, and what progress this corruption of manners made through the midst of the city's prosperity, even until the time of
the civil wars. But from that time forward, as he reports, the manners of the better sort did no more fall to decay by little and little, but ran headlong to ruin, like a swift torrent, such excess of luxury and avarice entering upon the manners of the youth, that it was fitting said of Rome, that she brought forth such as would neither keep goods themselves nor suffer others to keep theirs. Then Sallust proceeds, in a discourse of Sylla's villainies, and of other barbarous blemishes in the commonwealth, and to his relation in this do all other writers agree in substance, though they be all far behind him in phrase. But here you see (and so I hope do all men) that whosoever will observe but this, shall easily discover the large gulf of damnable viciousness into which this city was fallen, long before the coming of our heavenly King. For these things came to pass, not only before that ever Christ our Saviour taught in the flesh, but even before He was born of the Virgin, or took flesh at all: seeing therefore that they dare not impute unto their own gods those so many and so great mischiefs, either the tolerable ones which they suffered before, or the fouler ones which they incurred after the destruction of Carthage (however their gods are the engravers of such malign opinions in men's minds; as must needs bad forth such vices), why then do they blame Christ for the evil present, who forbids them to adore such false and devilish gods, by His sweet and saving doctrine, which do condemn all these harmful and ungodly affections of man by His divine authority, and from all those miseries, withdraws his flock and family by little and little out of all places of the declining world, to make of their company an eternal and celestial city, not by the applause of vanity, but by the election of verity.
CHAPTER XIX

Of the corruptions ruling in the Roman State, before that Christ abolished the worship of their idols.

All these corruptions Behold now this commonwealth of Rome, which I am not the first that affirm, but their own writers, out of whom I speak, do aver, to have declined from good by degrees, and of an honest and honourable state, to have fallen into the greatest dishonesty and dishonour possible. Behold, before ever Christ was come, how that Carthage being once out of the way, then the patrician's manners decayed no more by degrees, but ran headlong into corruption like a swift torrent, the youth of the city was still so defiled with luxury and avarice.

Now let them read us the good counsel that their gods gave them against this luxury and avarice: I wish they had only been silent in the instructions of modesty and chastity, and had not exacted such abominations of their worshippers, unto which by their false divinity they gave such pernicious authority. But let them read our laws, and they shall hear them, thundering out of divine oracles and God's clouds (as it were) against avarice and luxury, by the mouths of the prophets, by the Gospel, the Apostles, their acts and their epistles, so divinely, and so excellently, all the people flocking together to hear them; not as to a vain and jangling philosophical disputation, but as to an admonition from heaven. And yet these wretches will not blame their gods, for letting their weal-public be so fouly bespotted with enormous impieties, before the coming of Christ: but whatsoever misery or affliction their effeminate and unmanly
pride hath tasted of since this coming, that the Christian religion is sure to have in their teeth withal. The good rules and precepts whereof, concerning honesty and integrity of manners, if all the kings of the earth, and all people, princes and all the judges of the earth, young men and virgins, old men, children, all ages and sexes capable of reason, and even the very soldiers, and tax-takers themselves (to whom John Baptist speaks) would hear and regard well; their commonwealths would not only adorn this earth below with present honesty, but would ascend up to heaven, there to sit on the highest point of eternal glory. But because this man doth but hear, and that man doth not regard, and the third doth despise it, and far more do love the stroking hand of viciousness, than the rougher touch of virtue, Christ's children are commanded to endure with patience the calamities that fall upon them by the ministers of a wicked commonwealth: be they kings, princes, judges, soldiers and governors, rich or poor, bound or free, of what sex or sort soever; they must bear all with patience: being by their sufferance here, to attain a most glorious place in that royal and imperial city of angels above, and in that heavenly commonwealth, where the will of Almighty God is their only law, and His law their will.

CHAPTER XX

Of what kind of happiness, and of what conditions the accusers of Christianity desire to partake.

But such worshippers, and such lovers of those vicious gods, whom they rejoice to follow and
Imitate in all villainies and mischiefs, those do never respect the goodness, or the integrity of the commonwealth. No, say they, let it but stand, let it but be rich and victorious; or (which is best of all) let it but enjoy security and peace, and what care we? Yes marry, it doth belong to our care, that every one might have means to increase his wealth, to nourish the expense of his continual riot, and wherewithal the greater might still keep under the meaner. Let the poor obey the rich, for their bellies' sakes; and that they may live at ease under their protections; let the rich abuse the poor in their huge attendances, and ministering to their sumptuousness. Let the people applaud such as afford them delights, not such as proffer them good counsels. Let sought that is hard be enjoined, sought that is impertinent be prohibited. Let not the king's care be how good, but how subject his people be. Let not subdued provinces serve their kings as reformers of their manners, but as the lords of their estates, and the procurers of their pleasures: not honouring them sincerely, but fearing them servilely. Let the laws look to him that looks after another man's possessions, rather than him that looks not after his own life. Let no man be brought before the judges, but such as has offered violence unto others' estates, houses, or persons. But for a man's own, let it be free for him to use it as he list, and so of other men's, if they consent. Let there be good store of common harlots, either for all that please to use them, or for those that cannot keep private ones. Let stately and sumptuous houses be erected, banquets and feasts solemnised, let a man drink, eat, game and revel day and night, where he may or will: let dancing be ordinary in all places: let luxurious and bloody delights fill the theatre, with dishonourable words, and
showd, freely, and uncontrolled. And let him be held an enemy to the public good, that is an opposite unto this felicity. Let the people turn away their ears from all such as shall assay to dissuade or alter them, let them banish them, let them kill them. Let them be exercised for gods, that shall procure the people this happiness, and preserve what they have procured. Let them have what glory or worship they will, what plays they will or can exact of their worshippers: only let them work so that this felicity stand secure from enemy, pestilence, and all other inconveniences. Now tell me, what reasonable creature would liken such a State (not unto Rome, but even) to the house of Sardanapalus, which whilem king was so far given over to his pleasures, that he caused it to be written upon his grave, that he only as then possessed that, which his luxury in his lifetime had wasted: now if those fellows had but a king like this, that would not only them in these impurities, and never correct them, in any such courses, they would be readier to erect a temple to him, and give him a Flamine, than ever were the old Romans to do so unto Romulus.

CHAPTER XXI

Tully's opinion of the Roman Commonwealth.

But if he be scorned that said their commonwealth was most dishonester and dishonourable, and that these fellows regard not what contagion and corruption of manners do rage amongst them, so that their State
Cicero also formulizes this lamenting by saying: if it is not true that Sallust saith, that their commonwealth is but become vile and so wicked, but as Cicero saith, it is absolutely gone, it is lost, and nothing of it remains. For he brings in Scipio (him that destroyed Carthage) disputing of the weak-public, at such time as it was presaged that it would perish by that corruption which Sallust describes. For this disputation was at that time when one of the Gracchi was slain, from which point Sallust affirms all the great seditions to have had their original (for in those books there is mention made of his death). Now Scipio having said (in the end of the second book) that as in instruments that go with strings, or wind, or as in voices consorted, there is one certain proportion of dissonant notes, unto one harmony, the least alteration whereof is harsh in the ear of the skilful hearer: and that this concord does consist of a number of contrary sounds, and yet all combined into one perfect musical melody; so in a city that is governed by reason, of all the highest, mean and lowest estates, as of sounds, there is one true concord made out of discordant natures: and that which is harmony in music, is unity in a city: that this is the firmest, and surest bond of safety unto the common-wealth, and that a commonweal can never stand without equity: when he had dilated at large of the benefit that equity brings to any government, and of the inconvenience following the absence thereof: then Pilus, one of the company, begins to speak, and intreated him to handle this question more fully, and make a larger discourse of justice, because it was then become a common report that a commonwealth could not be governed without injustice and injury: thereupon Scipio agreed, that this theme was to be handled more exactly, and replied: that what was
as yet spoken of the commonwealth was nothing; the spirit of
and that they could not proceed any farther, until
it were proved not only that it is false, that a weak-
public cannot stand without injury, but also that it
is true that it cannot stand without exact justice. So
the disputation concerning this point, being deferred
until the next day following, in the third book, it is
handled with great controversy. For, Pilus, he
undertakes the defence of their opinion, that held
that a State cannot be governed without injustice;
but with this provision, that they should not think
him to be of that opinion himself. And he argued
very diligently for this injustice against justice, en-
deavouring by likely reasons and examples, to show
that the part he defended was useful in the weak-
public, and that the contrary was altogether needless.
Then, Lælius being entreated on all sides, stepped up,
and took the defence of justice in hand, and, with all
his knowledge, laboured to prove that, nothing
wrecked a city sooner than injustice, and that no
State could stand without perfect justice, which
when he had concluded, and the question seemed to
be thoroughly discussed, Scipio betook himself, again
to his intermitted discourse, and first he rehearse and
approves his definition of a commonwealth, wherein
he said it was "the estate of the commony," then
he determines this, that this "commonty" is not
meant of every rabblement of the multitude, but
that it is a "society gathered together in one consent
of law, and in one participation of profit." Then he
teaches the profit of definitions in all disputation:
and out of his definitions he gathers, that only there
is a commonwealth, that is, only there is a good
estate of the commony, where justice and honesty
have free execution whether it be by a king, by
nobles, or by the whole people. But when the king
That becomes unjust (whom he calls "tyrannus" as the Greeks do), or the nobles be unjust (whose combination he terms "faction"), or the people themselves be unjust (for which he cannot find a fit name, unless he should call the whole company as he called the king, a "tyran"). Then that this is not a vicious commonwealth (as was affirmed the day before), but, as the reasons depending upon those definitions proved most directly, it is just no commonwealth at all, for it is no estate of the people, when the "tyran" usurps on it by "faction," nor is the commonalty a commonalty, when it is not a society gathered together in one consent of law and one participation of commodities, as he had defined a commonalty before. Wherefore, seeing the Roman estate was such as Sallust does decipher it to be, it was now no dishonest or dishonourable commonwealth (as he affirmed), but it was directly no commonwealth at all: according unto the reasons proposed in that discourse of a commonwealth before so many great princes and heads thereof; and as Tully himself, not speaking by Scripse or any other, but in his own person, doth demonstrate in the beginning of his first book, where having first rehearsed that verse of Ennius, where he saith—

"Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque."
"Old manners and old men upholden Rome."

"Which verse," quoth Tully, "whether you respect the brevity, or the verity, me seemeth he spoke out as an oracle: for neither the men (unless the city had had such manners, nor the manners, unless the city, had had such men) could either have founded, or preserved a commonwealth of that magnitude of justice, and empire. And therefore before these our days, the predecessors' conditions, did still make the
successors excel, and the worthy men still kept up sisters. A
the ordinances of honourable antiquity: but now, our
age receiving the commonwealth as an excellent
picture, but almost worn out with age, has not only
no care to renew it with such colours as it presented
at first, but never regarded it so much as to preserve
but the bare draught and limen:ment of it: for what
remainder is there now of those old manners which
this poet says supported Rome? do we not see them
so clearly worn out of use, and now so far from being
followed, that they are quite forgotten? what need I
speak of these men? The manners perished for want
of men, the cause whereof in justice, we should not
only be bound to give an account of, but even to
answer it, as a capital offence: it is not any mis-
fortune, it is not any chance, but it is our own
vices:ness that has taken away the whole essence
of our commonwealth from us, and left us only
the bare name."

This was Cicero's own confession; long after Afri-
canus' death, whom he induces as a disputant in this
work of his "Of the Commonwealth," but yet some-
what before the coming of Christ. Which mischiefs
had they not been divulged until the increase of
Christian religion, which of all those wretches would
not have been ready to calumniate Christ for them?
But why did their gods look to this no better, nor help
to save the state of this weal-public, whose loss and
ruin Cicero bewails with such pitiful phrase, long
before Christ came in the flesh? Nay, let the com-
members thereof observe but in what case it was even
then, when it consisted of the ancient men and their
manners, whether then it nourished true justice or no;
and whether at that time it were honest indeed, or
but glossed over in show! which Cicero not con-
ceiving what he said, confesses, in his relation thereof.
But, by God's grace, we will consider that more fully elsewhere: for in the due place, I will do what I can to make a plain demonstration out of Cicero's own definitions of the commonwealth, and the people (spoken by Scipio and justified by many reasons, either of Scipio's own, or such as Tully gives him in this discourse) that the estate of Rome was never any true commonwealth, because it never was guided by true justice: indeed according to some other probable definitions, and after a sort, it was a kind of commonwealth: but far better governed by the antiquity of the Romans, than by their posterity. But there is not any true justice in any commonwealth whatsoever, but in that whereof Christ is the founder, and the ruler, if you please to call that a commonwealth which we cannot deny is the weal of the community. But if this name being elsewhere so common, seem too discrepant for our subject and phrase, truly then there is true justice, but in that city, whereof that holy scripture saith, "Glorious things are spoken of thee, thou city of God."

CHAPTER XXII

That the Roman gods never respected whether the city were corrupted, and so brought to destruction, or not.

But to our present purpose: this commonwealth which they say was so good and so laudable, before ever that Christ came, was by the judgment of their own most learned writers, acknowledged to be changed into a most dishonest and dishonourable
one: day it was become no commonwealth at all, but was fallen into absolute destruction by their own polluted conditions. Wherefore to have prevented this ruin, the gods that were the patrons thereof should (methinks) have taken the pains to have given the people that honoured them, some precepts for reformation of life and manners, seeing that they had bestowed so many temples, so many priests, such variety of ceremonious sacrifices, so many festival solemnities; so many and so great celebrations of plays and interludes upon them. But these devils minded nothing but their own affairs: they respected not how their worshippers lived: thy their care was to see them live like devils, only they bound them through fear to afford them these honours. If they did give them any good counsel, why then let it be produced to light and read, what laws, of what god's giving were they, that the Gracchi condemned, to follow their tumults and seditions in the city: show which precept of the gods, Marius or Cinna, or Carbo violated, in their giving action unto the civil wars: which they began upon such unjust causes, followed with such cruelties and injuries, and ended in more injurious cruelties: or what divine authorities Sulla himself broke, whose life, deeds, and conditions, to hear Sallust describe (and other true historians), whose hair would not stand upright? What is he now that will not confess that then the well-pleased fell absolutely? What is he now that will dare to produce that sentence of Virgil for this corruption of manners, in the defence of their gods?

"Discéssere omnes adytis ariesque reliqii,
Dí, quibus imperium hoc steterat."—Aen. 2.

"The gods by whom this empire stood, left all
The temples and the altars bare."
Before Christ the gods were able to protect or improve. But admit that this were true: then have they no reason to rail upon Christianity, or to say that the gods being offended at that, did forsake them: because it was then their predecessors' manners, that long ago chased all their great multitude of little gods from the city altars, like so many flies. But where was all this nest of deities, when the Gauls sacked the city, long before the ancient manners were contaminate? were they present and yet fast asleep? the whole city was all subdued at that time, only the Capitol remained; and that had been surprised too, if the geese had not shown themselves better than the gods, and waked when they were all asleep. And henceupon did Rome fall almost into the superstition of the Egyptians, that worship birds and beasts, for they henceforth kept a holy day, which they called the goose's feast. But this is but by the way. I come not yet to dispute of those accidental evils, which are rather corporal than mental and inflicted by foes, or misfortunes. I am now in discourse of the stains of the mind, and manners, and how they first decayed by degrees, and afterwards fell headlong into perdition; so that there ensued so great a destruction to the weak public that their city walls stood still unbarred; that their chiefest authors doubted not to proclaim it lost and gone. Good reason was it that the gods should abandon their temples and altars, and leave the town to just destruction, if it had condemned their advices of reformation. But what might one think (I pray ye) of those gods, that would abide with the people that worshipped them, and yet would they never teach them any means to leave their vices, and follow what was good?
CHAPTER XXIII

That the variety of temporal estates depends not upon the pleasures or displeasure of these devils, but upon the judgments of God Almighty.

Nay, what say you to this, that these their gods do seem to assist them in fulfilling their desires, and yet are not able to restrain them from brooding up such desires: for they that helped Marius, an unworthy, base-born fellow, to run through the inducement and managing of such barbarous, civil wars, to be made seven times consul, to die an old man in his seventh consulship, and to escape the hands of Sylla, that immediately after, bore down all before him, why did not these gods keep Marius from affecting any such bloody deeds, or excessive cruelty? If his gods did not further him in these acts at all, then have we good advantage given us by their confession, that this temporal felicity, which they so greatly thirst after, may befall a man, without the gods' furtherance: and that other men may be as Marius was, engirt with health, power, riches, honours, friends, and long life, and enjoy all these, mangre the gods' beards: and again, that other men may be as Regulus was, tortured in chains, slavery, misery, over-watchings, and torments, and perish in these extremities, do all the gods what they can to the contrary: which if our adversaries do acknowledge, then must they needs confess that they do nothing benefit their worshippers' commodity, and consequently that all the honour given them as out of superfluity: for if they did rather teach the people the direct contraries to virtue and piety, the rewards whereof are to be expected
For all human affairs after men's deaths, than anything that way furthering them: and if in these transitory and temporal benefits, they can neither hinder those they hate, nor further those they love: why then are they followed with such zeal and fervency? why do you mutter that they are departed, as from a course of turbulent and lamentable times, and hence take occasion to throw calumnious reproaches upon the religious Christians? If that your gods have any power to hurt or profit men in these worldly affairs, why did they stick to that accursed Marius, and shrink from that honest Regulus? does not this convince them of injustice and villainy? Do you think that there was any want of their worship on the wretch's party? think not: for you never read that Regulus was slacker in the worship of the gods than Marius was. Nor may you persuade yourselves, that a corrupted course of life is the rather to be followed, because the gods were held more friendly to Marius than to Regulus: for Metellus, the most honest man of all the Romans, had five Consuls to his sons, and lived happy in all temporal estate; and Catiline, that villainous wretch, was oppressed with misery and brought to naught in the war which his own guilt had hatched; good men that worship that God who alone can give felicity, do shine; and are mighty in the true and surest happiness; wherefore, when as the contaminating conditions of that weak public, did subvert it, the gods never put to their helping hands to stop this inundation of corruption into their manners, but rather made it more way, and gave the Commonwealth a larger pass unto destruction. Nor let them shadow themselves under goodness, or pretend that the cities' wickedness drove them away. No, no; they were all there, they are produced, they are convicted, they could neither help the city by their instructions, nor conceal themselves
by their silence. I omit to relate how Marius was commended unto the goddess Marica by the pitiful Minturnians in her wood, and how they made their prayers to her that she would prosper all his enterprises, and how he having shaken off his heavy desperation, returned with a bloody army even unto Rome itself: where what a barbarous, cruel, and more than most inhuman victory he obtained, let them that list to read it, look in those that have recorded it; this as I said I omit: nor do I impute his murderous felicity unto any Maricas, or I cannot tell whom, but unto the most secret judgment of the most mighty God to shut the mouths of our adversaries, and to free those from error that do observe this with a discreet judgment and not with a prejudice effect. For if the devils have any power or can do anything at all in these affairs, it is no more than what they are permitted to do by the secret providence of the Almighty: and in this case, they may be allowed to effect somewhat to the end that we should neither take too much pleasure in this earthly felicity, in that we see that wicked men like Marius may enjoy it, neither hold it as an evil, and therefore to be utterly refused, seeing that many good honest men, and servants of the true and living God, have possessed it in spite of all the devils in hell: and that we should not be so fond as to think that these unclean spirits are either to be feared for any hurt, nor honoured for any profit they can bring upon man's fortunes. For they are in power, but even as wicked men upon earth are, so that they cannot do what they please, but are mere ministers to His ordinance, whose judgments no man can either comprehend fully, or reprehend justly.
CHAPTER XXIV

Of the acts of Sylla, wherein the devils showed themselves his main helpers and furtherers.

Now as for Sylla himself, who brought all to such a pass, as that the times before (whereof he professed himself a reformer) in respect of those that be brought forth, were wished for again and again; when he first of all set forward against Marius towards Rome, Livy writes that the entrails in the sacrifices were so fortunate, that Posthumius the soothsayer would need have himself to be kept under guard, with an urgent and willing proffer to lose his head, if all Sylla’s intents sorted not (by the assistance of the gods) unto a most wished and happy effect. Behold now, the gods were not yet gone: they had not as yet forsaken their altars, when they did so plainly foreshow the event of Sylla’s purposes: and yet they never endeavoured to mend Sylla’s manners. They stuck not to promise him wished happiness; but never proffered to suppress his wicked affections. Again, when he had undertaken the Asian war against Mithridates, L. Titius was sent to him on a message, even from Jupiter himself, who sent him word that he should not fail to overcome Mithridates: no more he did indeed. And afterwards, when he endeavoured to re-enter the city, and to revenge himself and his injured friends, upon the lives of the citizens, he was certified that a certain soldier of the sixth legion, brought him another message from Jove, how that he had foretold him of his victory against Mithridates before, and how he promised him now the second time, that he
would give him power to recover the rule of the wel-\public from all his enemies, but not without much bloodshed. Then Sylla asking of what favour the soldier was: when they had shown him, he remembered that it was he that brought him the other message in the war of Mithridates, and that he was the same man that now brought him this. What can be said to this now, that the gods should have such care to acquaint Sylla with the good events of these his wishes: and yet none of them have power to reform his foul conditions, being then about to set abroad such mischief by these domestic arms, as should not pollute, but even utterly abolish the state of the wel-public? By this very act do they prove themselves (as I said heretofore) directly to be devils. And we do know, our scripture shows it us, and their own actions confirm it, that their whole care is to make themselves be reputed for gods, to be worshipped as divine powers, and to have such honours given them, as shall put the givers and the receivers both into one desperate case, at that great day of the Lord. Besides, when Sylla came to Tarentum, and had sacrificed there, he descried in the chief lap of the calf's liver, a figure just like a crown of gold: and then Posthumius, the soothsayer, answered him again, that it portended him a glorious victory, and commanded that he alone should eat of these entrails. And within a little while after, a servant of one Lucius Pontius came running in, crying out in prophetic manner, "I bring news from Bellona, the victory is thine, Sylla:" and then added, "that the Capitol should be fired." Which when he had said, presently going forth of the tents, he returned the next day in greater haste than before, and said that the Capitol was now burned: and burned it was indeed. This now might quickly be done by the
(What gods are these to prefer to Christ?)

devil, both for ease in the knowledge of it, and speed in the relation. But now to speak to the purpose, mark but well what kind of gods these men would have, that blaspheme Christ, for delivering the hearts of the believers from the tyranny of the devil. The fellow cried out in his prophetic rapture, "The victory is thine, O Sylla," and to assure them that he spake by a divine instinct, he told them of a sudden event that should fall out soon after, in a place from whence he in whom this spirit spake, was a great way distant. But he never cried, "Forbear thy villainies, O Sylla:" those were left free to be executed by him with such horror, and committed with such outrage, as is unspeakable, after that victory which the bright sign of the crown in the calf's liver did prognosticate unto him. Now if they were good and just gods, and not wicked fiends, that had given such signs, then truly these entrails should have expressed the great mischiefs that should fall upon Sylla himself, rather than anything else: for that victory did not benefit his dignity so much, but it hurt his affections twice as much: for by it was his spirit elevated in vain-glory, and he induced to abuse his prosperity without all moderation, so that these things made a greater massacre of his manners than he made of the citizens' bodies. But as for these horrid and lamentable events, the gods would never foretell him of them, either by entrails, prophecies, dreams, or soothsayings: for their fear was lest his enormities should be reformed, not lest his fortunes should be subverted. No, their endeavour was, that this glorious conqueror of his citizens, might be captivated and conquered by the rankest shapes of viciousness, and by these, be more strictly bound and enchained unto the subjection of the devils themselves.
CHAPTER XXV

How powerfully the devils incite men to villainies, by laying before them examples of divine authority (as it were) for them to follow in their villainous acts.

Who is he then (unless he be one of those that loves to imitate such gods) that by this which is already laid open, does not see, how great a grace of God it is to be separated from the society of those devils? and how strong they are in working mischief, by presenting their own examples, as a divine privilege and authority, whereby men are licensed to work wickedness. Nay, they were seen in a certain large plain of Campania, to fight a set battle amongst themselves, a little before that the citizens fought that bloody conflict in the same place. For at first there were strange and terrible noises heard, and afterwards it was affirmed by many, that for certain days together, one might see two armies in continual fight one against the other. And after that the fight was ceased, they found the ground all trampled with the steps of men, and horses, as if they had been made in that battle. If the deities were truly and really at war amongst themselves, why then indeed their example may give a sufficient privilege unto human conflicts (but by the way, let this be considered, that these deities in the mean space must either be very malicious, or very miserable): but if they did not fight, but only illused the eyes of men with such a show, what intended they in this, but only that the Romans should think that they might lawfully wage civil wars, as having the practices of the gods them-
Thus, long before Christ, by devils' influence, they reserved for their privileges? for presently upon this apparition, the civil dissensions began to be kindled, and some bloody massacres had been effected before. And already were the hearts of many grieved at that lamentable act of a certain soldier, who in taking of the spoils of his slain foe, and discovering him by his face to be his own brother, with a thunder of curses upon those domestic quarrels, he stabbed himself to the heart, and fell down dead by his brother's side. To envelop and overshadow the irksomeness of such events, and to aggravate the ardent thirst after more blood and destruction, did those devils (those false reputed gods) appear unto the Romans' eyes in such fighting figures, to animate the city not to be any whit in doubt to imitate such actions, as having the example of the gods for a lawful privilege for the villainies of men. And out of this subtilty did these malevolent powers give command for the induction of those stage-plays, whereof we have spoken at large already, and wherein such dishonest courses of the gods were portrayed forth unto the world's eye, upon their stages, and in the theatres; that all men (both those that believe that their gods did such acts, and those that do not believe it, but see how pleasing it is to them to behold such impurities) may hence be bold to take a free licence to imitate them, and practise to become like them in their lives. Lest that any man therefore should imagine, that the poets have rather done it as a reproach to the gods, than as a thing by them deserved, when they have written of their fightings and bramblings one with another, to clear this misconstruction, they themselves have confirmed these poesies to deceive others: and have presented their combats, and contentions, not only upon the stage by players, but even in the plain fields by themselves. This was I enforced to lay
down; because their own authors have made no
doubt to affirm and record, that the corrupt and
rotten manners of the citizens, had consumed the
state of the weal-public of Rome unto nothing, long
before that Christ Jesus came into the world: for
which subversion of their state they will not call their
gods into any question at all, but all the transitory
miseries of mortality (which notwithstanding cannot
make a good man perish whether he live or die) they
are ready to heap on the shoulders of our Saviour
Christ. Our Christ, that hath so often poured His
all-curing precepts upon the incurable ulcers of their
damned conditions, when their false gods never put
to an helping hand, never upheld this their religious
common-weal from ruining, but cumbering the virtues
that upheld it with their vile acts and examples,
rather did all that they could to thrust it on unto
destruction. No man (I think) will affirm that it
perished because that—

"Discessere omnes adytis arisque relictis,—Di."
"The gods were gone, and left their altars bare."

As though their love to virtue, and their offence
taken at the wicked vices of the city had made them
depart: no, no, there are too many presages from
entrails, soothsayings, and prophecies (whereby they
confirmed and animated their servants, and: extolled
themselves as rulers of the fates, and furtherers of the
wars) that prove and convince them to have been
present: for had they been absent, the Romans in
these wars would never have been so far transported
with their own affections, as they were with their
gods’ instigations.
CHAPTER XXVI

Of certain obscure instructions concerning good manners
which the devils are said to have given in secret,
whereas all wickedness was taught in their public
solemnities.

(Did the gods, in public evil,
WHEREFORE seeing that this is so, seeing that all
filthiness confounded with cruelties, all the gods’ foulest
acts and shames, whether true or imaginary, by their
own commandments, and upon pain of their dis-
pleasures, if it were otherwise, were set forth to open
view, and dedicated unto themselves, in the most
holy and set solemnities, and produced as imitable
spectacles to all men’s eyes: to what end is it then,
that seeing these devils, who acknowledge their own
uncleanness, by taking pleasure in such obscenities,
by being delighted with their own villainies and
wickednesses, as well performed as invented; and
by their exacting these celebrations of modest men in
such impudent manner, do confess themselves the
authors of all pernicious and abhorred courses; yet
would seem (forsooth) and are reported to have given
certain secret instructions against evil manners,
in their most private habitations, and unto some of their
most selected servants? If it be so, take here then
an excellent observation of the craft and malicious-
ness of these unclean spirits. The force of honesty
and chastity is so great and powerful upon man’s
nature, that all men, or almost all men, are moved
with the excellency of it, nor is there any man so
wholly abandoned to turpitude, but he hath some
feeling of honesty left him. Now for the devils’ de-
praved nature, we must note, that unless he sometime
change himself into an angel of light (as we read in our scriptures that he will do), he cannot fully effect his intention of deceit. Wherefore he spreads the blasting breath of all impurity abroad, and in the meantime whispers a little air of dissembled chastity within. He gives light unto the vilest things, and keeps the best in the dark; honesty lieth hid, and shame flies about the streets. Filthiness must not be acted but before a great multitude of spectators: but when goodness is to be taught, the auditory is little or none at all: as though purity were to be blushed at, and uncleanness to be boasted of. But where are these rules given but in the devil's temples? where, but in the very inns, or exchanges of deceit? And the reason is, because that such as are honest (being but few) should hereby be inveigled, and such as are dishonest (which are multitudes) remain unreformed. But as for us, we cannot yet tell when these good precepts of celestial chastity were given; but this we are sure of, that before the very temple gates, where the idol stood, we beheld an innumerable multitude of people drawn together, and there saw a large train of strumpets on one side, and a virgin goddess on the other; here humble adorations unto her; and there, foul and immodest things acted before her. We could see not one modest mimic, not one shamefaced actor amongst them all: but all were full of actions of abominable obscenity! They knew well what that virgin deity liked, and pronounced it for the nations to learn by looking on, and to carry home in their minds. Some there were of the chaster sort, that turned away their eyes from beholding the filthy gestures of the players, and yet though they blushed to look upon this artificial beastliness, they gave scope unto their affections to learn it. For they durst not
behold the impudent gestures of the actors boldly, for
being shamed by the men; and less durst they con-
demn the ceremonies of that deity whom they so
zealously adored. But this was that presented in the
temples, and in public, which none will commit in
their own private houses but in secret. It were too
great a wonder if there were any shame left in those
men of power to restrain them from acting that which
their very gods do teach them, even in their prin-
ciples of religion; and tell them that they shall incur
their displeasures if they do not present them such
shows. What spirit can that be, which doth inflame
bad minds with a worse instinct, which doth urge on
the committing of adultery, and sates itself upon the
sin committed, but such an one as is delighted with
such representations, filling the temples with dia-
bolical images, exacting the presenting of loathsome
iniquity in plays, muttering in secret, I know not
what good counsels, to deceive and delude the poor
reminders of honesty, and professing in public all
incitements to perfidy, to gather up whole harvests
of men given over unto ruin?

CHAPTER XXVII

What a great means of the subversion of the Roman
estate, the induction of those scurrilous plays was,
which they surmised to be propitiatory unto their
gods.

RUULLIUS, a grave man, and a good philosopher,
ing to be made Edile, cried out in the ears of the
whole city, that amongst the other duties of his magistracy, he must needs go pacify mother Flora with the celebration of some solemn plays: which plays, the more foully they were presented, the more devotion was held to be shown. And in another place (being then Consul), he said that when the city was in great extremity of ruin, they were fain to present plays continually for ten days together; and nothing was omitted which might help to pacify the gods, as though it were not fitter to anger them with temperance, than to please them with luxury; and to procure their hate by honesty, rather than to flatter them with such deformity. For the barbarous inhumanity of those men, for whose villainous acts the gods were to be appeased were it never so great, could not possibly do more hurt than that filthiness which was acted as tending to their appeasing, because that in this the gods will not be reconciled unto them, but by such means as must needs produce a destruction of the goodness of men’s minds, in lieu of their preventing the dangers imminent only over their bodies: nor will these deities defend the city’s walls, until they have first destroyed all goodness within the walls. This pacification of the gods, so obscene, so impure, so wicked, so impudent, so unclean, whose actors the Romans disenabled from all magistracy, and freedom of city, making them as infamous as they knew them dishonest: this pacification (I say), so beastly, and so directly opposite unto all truth of religion and modesty, these fabulous inventions of their gods’ filthiness, these ignominious acts of the gods themselves (either foully stained, or more foully effected) the whole city learned both by seeing and hearing: observing plainly, that their gods were well pleased with such presentations, and therefore they did both exhibit them unto their idols, and
ruined did imitate them themselves: but as for that (I know not indeed well what) honest instruction, and good counsel, which was taught in such secret, and unto so few, that I am sure was not followed, if it be true, that it were taught belike it was rather feared, that too many would know it, than suspected that any would follow it.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Of the salvation attained by the Christian religion.

Why then do these men complain, think you? because that by the name of Christ, they see so many discharged of these hellish bands that such unclean spirits held them in, and of the participation of the same punishment with them. Their ungrateful iniquity hath bound them so strongly in these devilish enormities, that they murmur and eat their galls, when they see the people flock unto the church, to these pure solemnities of Christ, where both sexes are so honestly distinguished by their several places; where they may learn how well to lead their temporal lives here, to become worthy of the eternal hereafter: where the holy doctrine of God's word is read from an eminent place, that all may hear it assure a reward to those that follow it, and a judgment to those that neglect it. Into which place if there chance to come any such as scoff at such precepts, they are presently either converted by a sudden power, or cured by a sacred fear: for there are no filthy sights set forth
there, nor any obstructions to be seen, or to be followed; but there, either the commandments of the true God are propounded, His miracles related, His gifts commended, or His graces implored.

CHAPTER XXIX

An exhortation to the Romans to renounce their Paganism.

Let these rather be the objects of thy desires, thou courageous nation of the Romans, thou progeny of the Reguli, Scævola, Scipios, and Fabricii, long after these, discern but the difference between these, and that luxurious, filthy, shameless malevolence of the devils. If nature have given thee any laudable eminence, it must be true piety that must purge and perfect it: impiety contaminates and consumes it. Now then, choose which of these to follow, that thy praises may arise, not from thyself that may be mis-led, but from the true God, who is without all error. Long ago, wast thou great in popular glory: but as then (as it pleased the providence of the high God), was the true religion wanting, for thee to choose and embrace. But now, awake, and rouse thyself, it is now day, thou art already awake in some of thy children, of whose full virtue, and constant sufferings for the truth we do justly glory: they even these who fighting at all hands against the powers of iniquity, and conquering them all by dying undaunted, have purchased this possession for us with the price.

He means they have been a great enlargement of the true Church of God, upon earth, by suffering so constantly.
and of their blood. To partake of which possession we do now invite and exhort thee, that thou wouldst become a citizen, with the rest, in that city wherein true remission of sins stands as a glorious sanctuary. Give no ear unto that degenerate brood of thine, which barks at the goodness of Christ and Christianity, accusing these times of badness, and yet desiring such as should be worse, by denying tranquillity to virtue, and giving security unto all iniquity: these times didst thou never approve, nor ever desirlest to secure thy temporal estate by them. Now then reach up at the heavenly ones, for which, take but a little pains, and thou shalt reap the possession of them, unto all eternity. There shalt thou find no vestal fire, nor stone of the Capitol, but one true God, who will neither limit thee blessedness in quality, nor time, but give thee an empire, both universal, perfect, and eternal. Be no longer led in blindness by these thy illuding and erroneous gods; reject them from thee, and taking up thy true liberty, shake off their damnable subjection. They are no gods, but wicked fiends; and all the empire they can give them is but possession of everlasting pain. Juno did never grieve so much that the Trojans (of whom thou descendest) should arise again to the state of Rome, as these damned devils (whom as yet thou holdest for gods) do envy and repine, that mortal men should ever enjoy the glories of eternity. And thou thyself hast censured them with no obscure note, in affording them such plays, whose actors thou hast branded with express infamy. Suffer us then to plead thy freedom against all those impure devils that imposed the dedication and celebration of their own shame and filthiness upon thy neck and honour. Thou couldst remove and disenable the players of those uncleannesses, from all honours: pray likewise unto
the true God, to quit thee from those vile spirits that accept the
delight in beholding their own spots, whether they
be true (which is most ignominious), or feigned
(which is most malicious). Thou didst well in
clearing the state of thy city from all such scurrilous
offsiums as stage-players: look a little further into it:
God's Majesty can never delight in that which
polluteth man's dignity. How then canst thou hold
these powers, that loved such unclean plays, as mem-
bers of the heavenly society, when thou holdest the
men that only acted them, as unworthy to be counted
in the worst rank of the members of thy city? The
heavenly city is far above thine, where truth is the
victory; holiness the dignity, happiness the peace,
and eternity the continuance. Far is it from giving
place to such gods, if thy city do cast out such men.
Wherefore if thou wilt come to this city, shun all
fellowship with the devil. Unworthy are they of
honest men's service, that must be pleased with dis-
honesty. Let Christian reformation sever thee from
having any commerce with those gods, even as the
censor's view separated such men from partaking of
thy dignities. But as concerning temporal felicity,
which is all that the wicked desire to enjoy; and
temporal affliction, which is all they seek to avoid,
hereafter we mean to show, that the devils neither
have nor can have any such power of either, as they
are held to have (though if they had, we are bound
rather to contemn them all, than to worship them,
for these benefits, which seeing that thereby we
should utterly debar ourselves of that, which they
repine that we should ever attain), hereafter (I say)
shall it be proved, that they have no such power of
those things, as these think they have, that affirm
that they are to be worshipped for such ends. And
here shall this book end.
THE THIRD BOOK

CHAPTER I

Of the adverse casualties which only the wicked do fear: and which the world hath always been subject unto, whilst it remained in Paganism.

I come now to bodily evils. What we have already spoken I think is sufficient, concerning the depraved state of men's minds and manners, which is principally to be avoided: that in these cases these false imaginary gods did never endeavour to lighten their servants of any of these inconveniences, but rather added unto their loads and furthered their deprivations. Now, I see it is time to take those evils in hand, which are the only things that these men are so loth to endure, above and beyond all others, as famine, sickness, war, invasion, thraldom, slaughter, and such other like, as we have recited in our first book: for these things alone are they, which evil men account for evils, that do not; nor are not of power to make men any way evil: nor are these wretches ashamed to give good things their due praise, and yet keep evil still themselves that are the praises of good: being far more offended at the badness of their lands, than of their lives; as if man were made to enjoy all things except himself: but notwithstanding all this, their gods (for all their dutiful observance) never did go about to restrain the effects of those evils, which their servants are so sore afraid of, nor ever withheld them from lighting upon
them, for the world was oppressed with diverse extreme and sore calamities at several times, long before the redemption; and yet (as touching those times) what other gods but those idols were there worshipped in any part of the world except only amongst the Jews and by some other peculiar persons whom it pleased the unsearchable wisdom of the great God to illuminate. But because I study to be brief, I will not stand upon the world's miseries in general: only what is Rome's peculiar, or the Roman Empire's, I mean to relate: that is, such inflictions as before the coming of Christ, fell either upon the city itself, or upon such provinces as belonged unto it, either by conquest or society, as members of the body of that commonweal, of those I mean to speak somewhat in particular.

CHAPTER II

Whether the gods, to whom the Romans and the Greeks exhibited like worship, had sufficient cause given them to let Troy be destroyed.

First therefore of Troy, or Ilium, whence the Romans claim the descent (for we may not omit not neglect what we touched at in the first book): why was Troy besieged, and destroyed by the Greeks that adored the same gods that it did; the privy of Laomedon; the father (say some) was wreaked in this sack, upon Priam the son. Well then it is true that Apollo and Neptune served as workmen under the same Laomedon, for otherwise the tale is not true
(Why did gods condemn Troy?)

that says that he promised them pay and broke his oath unto them afterwards. Now cannot I but marvel that such a great foreknower, as Apollo was, would work for Laomedon, and could not foretell that he would deceive him: nor is it decent to affirm that Neptune his uncle Jupiter's brother, and king of all the sea, should have no foresight at all in things to come. For Homer brings him in foretelling great matters of the progeny of Æneas, whose successors built Rome (yet is Homer reported to have lived before the building of Rome), nay more, he saveth Æneas from Achilles by a cloud, desiring to raise this perjured city of Troy though it were his own handiwork, as Virgil declareth of him. Thus then these two gods, Neptune and Apollo, were utterly ignorant of Laomedon's intention to delude them, and built the walls of Troy for thanks and for thankless persons. Look now, whether it be a worse matter to put confidence in such gods, or to consume them. But Homer himself (it seems) did hardly believe this tale, for he makes Neptune to fight against Troy, and Apollo for it; whereas the fable gives them both one cause of being offended, namely Laomedon's perjury. Let those therefore that believe such reports be ashamed to acknowledge such deities: and those that believe them not, let them never draw cavils from the Trojan's perjuries, nor marvel that the gods should hate perjuries at Troy, and love them at Rome. For otherwise, how could it come to pass, that besides the abundance of all other corruption in the city of Rome, there should be such a great company in Catiline's conspiracy that lived only by their tongues' practice in perjury and their hands in murder? what other thing did the senators by taking bribes so plentifully and by so many false judgments? what other thing did the people by selling of their voices, and
playing double in all things wherein they dealt, but (Why heap up the sin of perjury?) for even in this universal punishment, the old custom of giving and taking oaths was still observed, but that was not for the restraint of wickedness by awe of religion, but to add perjury also unto the rest of their monstrous exorbitances.

CHAPTER III

That the gods could not justly be offended at the adultery of Paris, using it so freely and frequently themselves.

Wherefore there is no reason to say that these gods who supported the empire of Troy were offended with the Trojans’ perjury, when the Greeks did prevail against all their protections. Nor is it, as some say, in their defence, that the anger at Paris’ adultery made them give over Troy’s defence, for it is their custom to practise sin themselves, and not to punish it in others. “The Trojans,” saith Sallust, “as I have heard, were the first founders and inhabitants of Rome: those were they that came away with Æneas, and wandered without any certain abode.” If Paris’ act were then to be punished by the gods’ judgments, it was either to fall upon the Trojans, or else upon the Romans, because Æneas’ mother was chief agent therein. But how should they hate it in Paris, when, as they hated it not in Venus, one of their company, who (to omit her other pranks) committed adultery with Anchises and by him was begotten Æneas. Or why should his fault anger Menelaus, and hers please Vulcan? I do not think the gods such abusers of
imitating their wives, or of themselves, as to vouchsafe mortal men to partake with them in their loves. Some perhaps will say. I scoff at these fables: and handle not so grave a cause with sufficient gravity: why then if you please let us not believe that Æneas is son to Venus, I am content, so that Romulus likewise be not held to be Mars' son. If the one be so, why is not the other so also? Is it lawful for the gods to meddle carnally with women, and yet unlawful for the men to meddle carnally with goddesses: a hard, or rather an incredible condition, that what was lawful for Mars by Venus' law should not be lawful for Venus by her own law. But they are both confirmed by the Roman authority, for Caesar of late, believed no less that Venus was his grandmother, than Romulus of old believed that Mars was his father.

CHAPTER IV

Of Varro's opinion, that it is meet in policy that some men should feign themselves to be begotten of the gods.

But do you believe this, will some say? not I truly. For Varro, one of their most learned men, doth (though faintly, yet almost plainly) confess that they all are false. But that it is profitable for the cities (saith he) to have their greatest men, their generals and governors, believe that they are begotten of gods, though it be never so false: that their minds being as illustrate, with part of their parents' deity, may be
the more daring to undertake, more fervent to act, adulterines? And so more fortunate to perform affairs of value.

Which opinion of Varro (by me here laid down), you see how it opens a broad way to the falsehood of this belief: and teacheth us to know, that many such fictions may be inserted into religion, whencesoever it shall seem useful unto the state of the city, to invent such fables of the gods. But whether Venus could bear Æneas by Anchises, or Mars beget Romulus of Sylvia, Numitor’s daughter, that we leave as we find it, undisussed. For there is almost such a question ariseth in our Scriptures. Whether the wicked angels did commit fornication with the daughters of men, and whether that thereupon came giants, that is, huge and powerful men, who increased and filled all the earth? 1

CHAPTER V

That it is altogether unlikely that the gods revenged parts’ fornication, since they permitted Rhea’s to pass unpunished.

Wherefore now let us argue both the causes in one. If it be certain that we read of Æneas’ and Romulus’ mothers, how can it be that the gods should disallow of the adulteries of mortal men, tolerating it so fully and freely in these particulars? If it be not certain, howsoever, yet cannot they distaste the dishonesties of men, that are truly acted, seeing they take pleasure in their own, though they be but

1 Gen. vi.
feigned: besides, if that of Mars with Rhea be of no credit, why then no more is this of Venus with Anchises. Then let not Rhea's cause be covered with any pretence of the like in the gods. She was a virgin priest of Vesta, and therefore with far more justice should the gods have scourged the Romans for her offence, than the Trojans for that of Paris: for the ancient Romans themselves did punish such vestals as they took in this offence, by burying them quick: never censuring others who were faulty in this kind with death (but ever with some smaller penalty), so great was their study to correct the offences of persons appertaining to religion, with all severity above others.

CHAPTER VI

Of Romulus' murder of his brother, which the gods never revenged.

Now I will say more. If those deities took such grievous and heinous displeasure at the enormities of men, that for Paris' misdemeanour they would needs utterly subvert the city of Troy by fire and sword: much more then ought the murder of Romulus' brother to incense their furies against the Romans, than the rape of Menelaus' wife against the Trojans. Parricide in the first original of a city, is far more odious than adultery in the wealth and height of it. Nor is it at all pertinent unto our purpose, whether this murder were commanded or committed by Romulus, which many impudently deny, many do
doubt, and many do dissemble. We will not entangle ourselves in the labyrinth of history, upon so laborious a quest. Once, sure it is, Romulus' brother was murdered, and that neither by open enemies, nor by strangers. If Romulus either willed it, or wrought it, so it is: Romulus was rather the chief of Rome than Paris of Troy. Why should the one then set all his gods against his country for but ravishing another man's wife, and the other obtain the protection of the same gods for murdering of his own brother? If Romulus be clear of this imputation, then is the whole city guilty of the same crime howsoever, in giving so total an assent into such a supposition, and instead of killing a brother, hath done worse in killing a father. For both the brethren were fathers and founders to it alike, though villainy bar the one from dominion. There is small reason to be shown (in my opinion) why the Trojans deserved so ill, that their gods should leave them to destruction, and the Romans so well, that they would stay with them to their augmentation; unless it be this, that being so overthrown and ruined in one place, they were glad to fly away to practise their illusions in another; nay, they were more cunning than so; they both stayed still at Troy to deceive (after their old custom) such as afterwards were to inhabit there; and likewise departed unto Rome, that having a greater scope to use their impostures there, they might have more glorious honours assigned them to feed their vain-glorious desires.
CHAPTER VII

Of the subversion of Ilium, by Fimbria, a Captain of Marius' faction.

In the first heat of the civil wars, what had poor Ilium done that Fimbria, the veriest villain of all Marius' set, should raze it down with more fury and cruelty than ever the Grecians had showed upon it before? For in their conquest, many escaped captivity by flight, and many avoided death by captivity. But Fimbria charged in an express edict, that not a life should be spared, and made one fire of the city, and all the creatures within it. Thus was Ilium requited, not by the Greeks whom her wrongs had provoked, but by the Romans whom her ruins had propagated: their gods in this case (alike adored of both sides) doing just nothing; or rather, being able to do just nothing: what were the gods gone from their shrines that protected this town since the repaying of it after the Grecian victory? If they were, show me why? But still, the better citizens I find the worse gods. They shut out Fimbria, to keep all for Sylla; he set the town and them on fire, and burned them both into dust and ashes. And yet in meantime Sylla's side was stronger, and even now was he working out his power by force of arms; his good beginnings as yet felt no crosses. How then could the Ilians have dealt more honestly or justly? or more worthy of the protection of Rome? than to save a city of Romans, for better ends, and to keep out a parricide of his country's common good? But how they sped, let the defenders of these gods observe. They forsook the
Ilians, being adulterers, and left their city to the fires of Ilium.) of the Greeks, that from her ashes chaster Rome might arise. But why did they leave her the second time, being Romans allied, not rebell ing against her noble daughter, but keeping her faith sincerely unto Rome's best parts and powers? Why did they let her be demolished so utterly, not by the valorous Grecians, but by a barbarous Roman? Or, if the gods favoured not Sylla's endeavours, for whom this city kept herself, why did they attend his fortunes with such happy success elsewhere? Does not this prove them rather flatterers of the fortunate than favourers of the wretched? And therefore they had not forsaken Ilium utterly when it was utterly destroyed; no, no, the devils will still keep a watchful eye for advantage to deceive. For when all the images were burned together with the town, only Minerva was found under all the ruins of her temple, as Livy writes, untouched; not that it should be said, "You patron gods that always Troy protect:" but that it should not be said, "The gods were gone and left their altars bare." In their defence they were permitted to save that image, not that they might thereby prove themselves powerful, but that we might thereby prove them to have been present.

CHAPTER VIII

Whether it was convenient to commit Rome to the custody of the Trojan gods.

Wherefore seeing Troy had left so plain a lesson for all posterity to observe; what discretion was there
shown in the commending of Rome to the protection of the Trojan gods? O but, will some say, they were settled at Rome when Fimbria spoiled Ilium: were they so? whence comes the image of Minerva then? But well: it may be they were at Rome when Fimbria razed Ilium, and at Ilium when the Gauls sacked Rome. And being quick of hearing, and swift in motion, as soon as ever the geese called them, they came all on a cluster, to defend what was left, the Capitol. But they were not called soon enough to look to the rest, or else it should not have been as it was.

CHAPTER IX

Whether it be credible, that the gods procured the peace that lasted all Numa’s reign.

It is thought also that these are they that helped Numa Pompilius, Romulus’ successor, to preserve that continual peace that lasted all the time of his reign, and to shut the gates of Janus’ temple; and that because he deserved it at their hands, in instituting so many sacrifices for the Romans to offer unto their honour. In earnest, the peace that this prince procured was thankworthy, could he have applied it accordingly, and (by avoiding so pernicious a curiosity) have taken more pains in inquiry after the true divinity. But being as it was, the gods never gave him that quiet leisure: but it may be they had not deluded him so fouly, had they not found him so idle. For the less that his business was, the more
time had they to entrap him: for Varro records all his courses, and endeavours to associate himself and his city with those imaginary gods: all which (if it please God) shall be rehearsed in their due place. But now, since we are to speak of the benefits which are pretended to come from those feigned deities: peace is a good benefit: but it is a benefit given by the true God only, as the rain, the sun, and all other helps of man’s transitory life are; which are common even to the ungracious and ungrateful persons as well as the most thankful. But if these Roman gods had any power to bestow such a benefit as peace is upon Numa, or upon Rome, why did they never do it after, when the Roman empire was in greater majesty and magnificence? were their sacrifices more powerful at their first institution, than at any time after? Nay, many of them then were not as yet instituted, but remained unspoken of until afterwards, and then they were instituted indeed, and kept for commodity sake. How cometh it then to pass that Numa’s forty-three, or as some say, thirty-nine years were passed in such full peace? and yet those sacrifices being neither instituted nor celebrated until afterwards; and the gods whom these solemnities invited, being but now become the guardians and patrons of the state, after so many hundred years from Rome’s foundation until the reign of Augustus, there is but one year reckoned, and that is held as wholly miraculous, which falling after the first African war, gave the Romans just leave to shut up the gates of war’s temple?
CHAPTER X

Whether the Romans might justly desire that their city's estate should arise to pre-eminence by such furious wars, when it might have rested firm, and quiet, in such a peace as Numa procured.

Will they reply (think you) that the imperial state of Rome had no other means of augmentation but by continuance of wars, nor any shorter course to diffuse the honour thereof than this? A fit course surely! Why should any empire make disquiet the scale unto greatness? In this little world of man's body, is it not better to have a mean stature with an unmoved health, than a huge bigness with intolerable sickness? to take no rest at the point where thou shouldst rest, the end? but still to confound the greater growth with the greater grief? what evil had there been, nay what good had there not been, if those times had lasted; that Sallust so applauds, saying: "Kings in the beginning (for this was first imperial name on earth) were diverse in their goodness: some exercised their corporal powers, some their spiritual, and men's lives in those times were without all exorbitance of habit or affect, each one keeping in his own compass." Why should the empire be advanced by those practices that Virgil so detests? saying—

"Deterior donec paulatim et decolor ætas
Et belli rabies, et amor successit habendi."

"Until perverse declining times succeed:
World-frighting wars, and ill-pretended need."

But indeed the Romans as yet had a just defence for their so continued contentions and wars: because,
their foes enquiring them with such universal invasions, it was the very necessity to save themselves, and not their endeavour to become powerful over others that put weapons into their hands. Well be it so. For (as Sallust writes) when they had well settled their estates by laws, customs, and possessions, and seemed sufficiently potent, then, as it is in most affairs of mortality, out of their eminence arose envy in others, which armed many of their neighbour kings against them, and withheld most of their reputed friends from assisting them; the rest standing afraid, and afar off. But the Romans themselves, sticking to war's tackle, cheered up one another to encounter the foe with courage, standing in their arms as the bulwarks of their freedom, their country, and their kindred. And having made their virtue break through all mists of opposed dangers, they aided those that affected them, returning more gain of friendship to their estate by being the agents of bounty than the objects, rather by doing good turns to others, than by receiving such of others. In these forms of augmenting herself, Rome kept a good decorum. But now, in Numa's reign, were there any injuriea of enemy or invasions, concurring to disturb this peace of his time, or were there not? If Rome were as then molested with wars, and yet did not oppose hostility with hostility, then those means that kept the foe from being overthrown in fight, and yet without strokes compelled them to composition; those very means alone should be still of power to shut Janus' gates, and keep this peace continually in Rome. Which if it were not in their power to do, then verily the Romans had not their peace as long as it pleased the gods to allow it them, but as long as the neighbour princes listed not to invade and trouble them; unless those gods had farmed that which lies not in theirs, but other's
These gods are powerless; and each one at their pleasure, as it were by the letter patent. There is much difference truly in these devils working upon men's proper infirmities, whether they work with terrors, or with incitations. But howsoever, were they of this power always, and were not controlled by a superior sovereignty, they would still be practising their authorities in wars and slaughters: which (as they fall out in truth) ordinarily, are rather the effects of mortal men's peculiar passions and affections, than direct practices of the damned spirits.

CHAPTER XI

Of the statue of Apollo at Cume, that shed tears (as men thought) for the Grecians' miseries, though he could not help them.

Notwithstanding that there are many of these wars and conquests that fall out quite against those gods' likings, the Roman history itself (to omit those fables that do not tell one truth for a thousand lies) shall give clear proof, for therein we read that the statue of Apollo Cumanic, in the time of the Romans' wars against the Achaian and King Aristonicus, did persist four days together in continual weeping: which prodigy amazing the soothsayers, they held it fit to cast the statue into the sea, but the ancients of Cumæ dissuaded it, and showed them that it had done so likewise in the wars both against Antiochus, and Perseus, testifying also, that both these wars succeeding fortunately unto Rome, the Senate sent their gifts and oblations unto the statue of Apollo. And then,
the soothsayers having learned wit, answered, that the weeping of Apollo was lucky to the Romans, because that Cumæ was a Greek colony, and that the statue's tears did but portend mishap unto the country from whence it came, namely unto Greece. And soon after, they heard how Aristonicus was taken prisoner, and this was the cause of Apollo's woes, shown in his tears. And as touching this point, not unfitly, though fabulously, are the devil's tricks plainly discovered in the fictions of the poets: Diana was sorry for Camilla in Virgil: and Hercules wept for the death of Pallas. And it may be that upon this ground Numa in his great peace given him, he neither knew nor sought to know by whom, bethinking himself in his idleness unto what gods he should commit the preservation of the Romans' fortunes (never dreaming that it is only the great and almighty God that has regard of these inferior things) and remembering himself, that the gods that Æneas brought from Troy, could neither preserve the estate of the Trojans, nor that of the Lavinians erected by Æneas, into any good continuance, he thought fit to seek out some others, to join with the former were gone with Romulus to Rome and that were afterwards to go, at the destruction of Alba either to keep them from running away, or to help them when they saw them too weak.

CHAPTER XII

How fruitless their multitude of gods was unto the Romans, who induced them, beyond the institution of Numa.

Nor could Rome be content with those sacrifices which Numa had in such plentiful measure prescribed,
The more gods Rome introduced, for it had not as yet the great temple of Jupiter. For it was Tarquin that built the Capitol a good while after. And Æsculapius came afterwards from Epidaurus unto Rome: because he being a most expert physician, might practise in so famous a city with the greater credit. The mother of the gods also (of whom, who can tell) came thither from Pessinus, it being a thing unmeet for the son to be the chief god of the Capitol, and the mother to lie obscured I know not where: but if she be the mother of all the gods, she did not follow all her children unto Rome, but left some to follow her thither. I wonder whether she were dam unto Cynocephalus, that came out of Egypt long after or no. Whether the goddess Febris be one of her children or no, let Æsculapius, her nephew, look to that. But wheresoever she was born, I hope the stranger gods dare not call a goddess base, that is a Roman citizen. Well, Rome being placed under the protection of so many gods (as who can reckon up?) both of Italians, and foreigners, both of heaven, earth, hell, seas, fountains, and rivers, and as Varro says, both certain and uncertain, and as it is in creatures, both male and female of all these several kinds: methinks that Rome, having all these to be her tutors, should never have tasted of such intolerable troubles as I mean to relate briefly out of their huger multitude. The great smoke she sent up was like a beacon, and called to many gods to her defence: unto all which, the priests erecting several monuments, and several mysteries, enflamed the fury of the true god in far greater measure, to whom only all these institutions and rites were belonging. Truly, Rome thrived a great deal better, when she had far fewer protectors: but growing greater, like as a ship calls in more sailors, so called she in more
god's: doubting (I think) that those few (under whom she had passed a peaceable revolution before, in comparison of that that followed) were not now of sufficiency to defend her greatness, it was so much augmented. For at first, under the kings themselves (excepting Numa, of whom we spake before), what a mischievous beginning of dissension was that, wherein Romulus killed his one and only brother?

CHAPTER XIII

By what right the Romans attained their first wives.

In like manner, neither Juno (for all that she was now as her husband was, good friends with the Romans) nor Venus could help her son's progeny to honest and honourable marriages, but suffered this want to grow so hurtful unto them, that they were driven to get them wives by force, and soon after were compelled to go into the field against their wives' own fathers, and the wretched women being yet scarcely reconciled to their husbands for this wrong offered them, were now endowed with their fathers' murders and kindred's blood; but in this conflict the Romans had the luck to be conquerors. But oh, what worlds of wounds, what numbers of funerals, what oceans of bloodshed, did those victories cost! For one only father-in-law Caesar, and for one only son-in-law Pompey (the wife of Pompey, and daughter to Caesar being dead), with what true feeling, and just cause of sorrow doth Lucan cry out—
Thus then the Romans conquered, that they might now return and embrace the daughters with arms imbrued in the blood of the fathers: nor durst the poor creatures weep for their slaughtered parents, for fear to offend their conquering husbands: but all the time of the battle stood with their vows in their mouths and knew not for which side to offer them. Such marriages Bellona (and not Venus) bestowed upon the Romans: or perhaps Alecto, that filthy hellish fury, now that Juno was agreed with them, had more power upon their bosoms now, than she had then, when Juno entreated her help against Æneas. Truly Andromacha’s captivity was far more tolerable than these Roman marriages; for though she lived servile, yet Pyrrhus after he had once embraced her, would never kill Trojan more. But the Romans slaughtered their own step-fathers in the field, whose daughters they had already secured as their wives. Andromacha’s estate secured her from further fears, though it freed her, not from precedent sorrows: but these poor souls being matched to these stern warriors, could not but fear at their husbands going to battle, and wept at their return, having no way to freedom either by their fears or tears. For they must either (in piety) bewail the death of their friends and kinsfolk, or (in cruelty) rejoice at the victories of their husbands. Besides (as war’s chance is variable), some lost their husbands by their fathers’ swords; and some lost both, by the hand of each other. For it was no small war that Rome at that time waged. It came to the besieging of the city itself, and the
Romans were forced to rely upon the strength of their walls and gates, which being gotten open by a wile, and the foe being entered within the walls, even in the very market-place was there a most woful and wicked battle, struck betwixt the fathers-in-law and the sons. And here were the ravishers conquered maugre their beards, and driven to fly into their own houses, to the great stain of all their precedent (though badly and bloodily gotten) conquests: for here Romulus himself, despairing of his soldiers' valour, prayed unto Jupiter to make them stand, and hereupon got Jupiter his surname of Stator. Nor would these butcheries have ever been brought unto any end, but that the silly ravished women came running forth with torn and dishevelled hair, and falling at their parents' feet, with passionate entreaties, instead of hostile arms, appeased their justly enraged valours. And then was Romulus, that could not endure to share with his brother, compelled to divide his kingdom with Tatius, the king of the Sabines: but how long would he away with them, that misliked the fellowship of his own twin-born brother? So Tatius being slain, he, to become the greater deity, took possession of the whole kingdom. Oh what rights of marriage were these, what firebrands of war! what leagues of brotherhood, affinity, union, or deity! And ah, what lives the citizens lastly led, under so huge a bed-roll of gods' guardians! You see what copious matter this place affords, but that our intention bids us remember what is to follow, and falls on discourse to other particulars.
CHAPTER XIV

How impious that war was, which the Romans began with the Albans, and of the nature of those victories which ambition seeks to obtain.

But when Numa was gone, what did the succeeding kings? O how tragical (as well on the Romans' side as on the Albans') was that war between Rome and Alba? Because (forsooth) the peace of Numa was grown loathsome, therefore must the Romans and the Albans begin alternate massacres, to so great an endamaging of both their estates: and Alba, the daughter of Ascanius, Æneas' son (a more appropriate mother unto Rome than Troy), must by Tullius Hostilius' provocation, be compelled to fight with Rome itself, her own daughter. And fighting with her, was afflicted, and did afflict, until the continual conflicts had utterly tired both the parties. And then they were fain to put the final ending of the whole war to six brethren, three Horatii on Rome's side, and three Curiatii on Alba's. So two of the Horatii fell by the three other: and the three other fell by the third only of the Horatii. Thus got Rome the upper hand; yet so hardly, as of six combatants, only one survived. Now who were they that lost on both sides? who were they that lamented but Æneas' progeny, Ascanius' posterity, Venus' offspring, and Jupiter's children? for this war was worse than civil, where the daughter city bore arms against the mother. Besides, this brethren's fight was closed with a horrid and an abominable mischief. For in the time of the league between both cities, a sister of the Horatii was espoused to one of the
Curia, who, seeing her brother return with the spoils of her dead spouse, and bursting into tears at this heavy sight, was run through the body by her own brother in his heat and fury. There was more true affection in this one poor woman (in my judgment) than in all the whole Roman nation besides. She did not deserve to be blamed for bewailing that he was slain to whom she owed her faith (or that her brother had slain him to whom he himself perhaps had promised her his sister). For pious Aeneas is commended in Virgil for bewailing him whom he had slain as an enemy. And Marcellus, viewing the fair city Syracuse, being then to be made a prey to ruin by the arms of his conduct, revolving the inconstancy of mortal affairs, pitied it, and bewailed it: I pray you then give thus much leave to a poor woman, in tender affection, faultlessly to bewail her spouse, slain by her brother, since that warlike men have been praised for depowering their enemy's estate in their own conquests. But when this one wretched soul lamented thus, that her love had lost his life by her brother's hand, contrariwise did all Rome rejoice, that she had given their mother so mighty a foil, and exulted in the plenty of the allied blood that she had drawn.

What face then have you to talk of your victories and your glories hereby gotten? Cast but aside the mask of mad opinion, and all these villainies will appear naked, to view, peruse, and censure: weigh but Alba's cause and Troy's together, and you shall find a full difference. Tullus began these wars, only to renew the discontinued valours and triumphs of his countrymen. From this ground arose these horrid wars, between kindred and kindred, which notwithstanding. Sallust does but overrun, sicco pede: for having briefly recollected the precedent times, when men lived, without aspiring or other affects, each man
All forms contenting himself with his own. "But after that Cyrus," quoth he, "in Asia, and the Lacedemonians and Athenians in Greece, began to subdue the countries and cities within their reaches, then desire of sovereignty grew a common cause of war, and opinion placed the greatest glory in the largest empire," &c. Thus far he. This desire of sovereignty is a deadly corrosive to human spirits. This made the Romans triumph over Alba, and gave the happy success of their mischiefs, the style of glories. Because, as our Scripture says: "The wicked maketh boast of his heart's desire, and the unjust dealer blesseth himself." 1 Take off then these deluding veils from things, and let them appear as they are indeed. Let none tell me, he, or he is great, because he has coped with and conquered such and such an one. Fencers can fight and conquer, and those bloody acts of theirs in their combat do never pass ungraced. But I hold it rather fit to expose a man's name to all taint of idleness, than to purchase renown from such bad employment. But if two fencers or sword-players should come upon the stage, one being the father, and another the son, who could endure such a spectacle? how then can glory attend the arms of the daughter city against the mother? do ye make a difference in that their field was larger than the fencer's stage, and yet they fought not in view of the theatre but the whole world, presenting a spectacle of eternal impiety both to the present times, and to all posterity? But your great guardian gods bore all this unmoved, sitting as spectators of this tragedy, whilst for the three Curiatii that were slain, the sister of the Huratii must be stabbed by the hand of her own brother, to make even the number with her two other brethren, that Rome's conquest might cost no less blood than Alba's

1 Ps. x. 3.
loss did: which, as the fruit of the victory was utterly unsubverted: even this place, which the gods (after Ilium, which the Greeks destroyed, and Lavinium, where Latinus placed fugitive Aeneas as king) had chosen to be their third place of habitation. But it may be they were gone hence also; and so it came to be razed: yes sure, all they that kept the state of it up, were departed from their shrines. Then they left Alba where Amulius had reigned, having thrust out his brother, and went to dwell at Rome, where Romulus had reigned, having killed his brother. Nay, but before this demolition (say they) the people of Alba were all transported unto Rome, to make one city of both. Well be it so, yet the city, that was the seat royal of Ascanius, and the third habitation of the Trojan gods, was utterly demolished. And much blood was spilt, before they came to make this miserable confusion of both these peoples together. Why should I particularise the often renovation of these wars under so many several kings, which when they seemed to be ended in victory, began so often again in slaughters, and after combination and league, broke out so fresh between kindred and kindred, both in the predecessors and their posterity? No vain emblem of their misery was that continual standing open of Janus' gate; so that for all the help of these god guardians, there was not one king of them that continued his reign in peace.

CHAPTER XV

Of the lives and deaths of the Roman Kings.

But how ended their kings still? for Romulus, let that flattering fable look to him, which hath seat

Luke xiii.
The gods him up into heaven. Let some of their own writers judge, that affirm him torn in pieces by the Senate for his pride, and that I know not whom, one Julius Proculeus, was suborned to say, that he appeared unto him, commanding him to bid Rome give him divine honour, and so was the fury of the people surprised. Besides, an eclipse of the sun falling out at the same time, wrought so upon the ignorance of the rude vulgar, that they ascribed all this unto Romulus' worth and glories. As though that if the sun had mourned, as they thought it did, they should not rather imagine that it was because Romulus was murdered, and therefore that the sun turned his light from such a villainy; as it did indeed when our Lord and Saviour was crucified by the bloody and reprobate Jews. That the eclipse which befell at our Saviour's death, was quite against the regular course of the stars, is hence most plain, because it was the Jew's Easter: which is continually kept at the full of the moon. But the regular eclipse of the sun never happens but in the changing of the moon. Now Cicero intimates plainly that this admission of Romulus into heaven, was rather imagined than performed; there where in Scipio's words (De repub.) speaking of his praise "He attained so much," saith he, "that being not to be found after the sun's eclipse, he was accounted as admitted into the number of the gods: which opinion, there is no man without admirable merit of virtue can purchase." Now whereas he says, that he was not to be found, he glances doubtless either at the secrecy of the murder, or intimates the violence of the tempest. For other writers add unto this eclipse a sudden storm, which either was the agent or the occasion of Romulus' murder. Now Tully in the same books, speaking of Hostilius (third king after Romulus)
who was stricken to death with thunder, says, that he was not reckoned amongst the gods, because that which was proved true (that is, that which they believed was so) in Romulus the Romans would not embrace, by making it too common, in giving it to the one as well as the other. And in his “Invectives” he says plainly: “It is our goodwill and fame, that hath made Romulus (this city’s founder) a god.” To show that it was not so indeed, but only spread into a report by their goodwill to him for his worth and virtues. But in his dialogue called “Hortensius,” disputing of regular eclipses, he says more plainly: “to produce such a darkness as was made by the eclipse of the sun at Romulus’ death.” Here he feared not to say directly his death, by reason he sustained the person of a disputant, rather than a panegyr. But now for the other kings of Rome, excepting Numa, and Ancus Martius, that died of infirmities, what horrible ends did they all come to? Hostilius, the subverter of Alba, as I said, was consumed, together with his whole house, by lightning. Tarquinus Priscus was murdered by his predecessor’s sons: and Servius Tullius, by the villainy of his son-in-law Tarquin the Proud, who succeeded him in his kingdom. Nor yet were any of the gods gone from their shrines, for all this so heinous a parricide, committed upon this so good a king, though it be affirmed that they served wretched Troy in worse manner, in leaving it to the licentious fury of the Greeks, only for Paris’ adultery. Nay, Tarquin having shed his father-in-law’s blood, seized on his estate himself. This parricide got his crown by his step-father’s murder, and afterwards glorying in monstrous wars and massacres, and even building the Capitol up, with hence-got spoils: this wicked man, the gods were so far from forsaking, that they
Tarquin sat and looked on him, nay and would have Jupiter their principal to sit, and away all things in that stately temple, namely in that black monument of parricide; for Tarquin was not innocent, when he built the Capitol, and for his after-guilt, incurred expulsion: no, soul and inhumane murder was his very ladder to that state whereby he had his means to build the Capitol. And whereas the Romans expelled him the State and city afterwards, the cause of that (namely Lucretia’s rape) grew from his son and not from him, who was both ignorant and absent when that was done; for then was he at the siege of Ardea, and a fighting for the Romans’ good: nor know we what he would have done had he known of this fact of his son, yet without all trial or judgment, the people expelled him from his empire: and having charged his army to abandon him, took them in at the gates, and shut him out. But he himself after he had plagued the Romans (by their borderer’s means) with extreme war, and yet at length being not able to recover his estate, by reason his friends failed him: retired himself (as it is reported) unto Tusculum, a town fourteen miles from Rome, and there enjoying a quiet and private estate, lived peaceably with his wife, and died far more happily than his father-in-law did, who fell so bloodily by his means, and his own daughter’s consent, as it is credibly affirmed, and yet this Tarquin was never surnamed cruel nor wicked by the Romans, but the Proud; it may be because their own pride would not let them bear with his: as for the crime of killing that good king his step-father, they showed how light they made of that, in making him murder the king, wherein I make a question whether the gods were not guilty in a deeper manner than he, by rewarding so highly a guilt so horrid, and not leaving
their shrines: all at that instant when it was done, unless some will say for them, that they stood still at Rome, to take a deeper revenge upon the Romans, rather than to assist them, seducing them with vain victories, and tossing them in unceasing turbulences. Thus lived the Romans in those so happy times, under their kings, even until the expelling of Tarquin the Proud, which was about two hundred and forty three years together, paying so much blood, and so many lives for every victory they got, and yet hardly enlarging their empire the distance of twenty miles' compass without the walls: how far then have they to conquer, and what store of strokes to share, until they come to conquer a city of the Getulians?

CHAPTER XVI

Of the first Roman Consuls; how the one expelled the other out of his country, and he himself, after many bloody murders, fell by a wound, given him by his wounded foe.

Upro these times, add the other, wherein (as Sallust says) things were modestly and justly carried, until the fear of Tarquin and the Etrurian war were both ended. For whilst the Etrurians assisted Tarquin's endeavours of reinstalment, Rome quaked under so burthenous a war. And therefore (saws Sallust) were things carried modestly and justly, fear being the cause hereof by restraint, not justice by persuasion. In which short space, O how cruel a course had the year of the two first consuls! The
Nor was time being yet unexpired, Brutus deposed Collatine, and banished him the city; and soon after, perished he himself, having interchanged a many wounds with his foe, having first slain his own sons, and his wife's brothers, because he found them actors in a plot to recall Tarquin. Which deed, Virgil having laudably recited, presently does in gentle manner deplore it: for having said,—

"Natosque pater mala bella moveres.
Ad pœnæm pulcra pro libertate vocabit."

"His  òns, convict of turbulent transgression
He kills, to quit his country from oppression."

Presently in lamenting manner he adds—

"Infelix, utcunque serent ea facta minores."
"Hapless, how ere succeeding times shall ring."

Howsoever his posterity shall ring of the praise of such an act, yet hapless is he, that gives death's summons to his own sons. But to give some solace to his sorrows, he adds after all—

"Vicit amor patris laudumque immensa cupidus."
"Conqu'ed by country's love, and laud's high thirst."

Now in Brutus' killing of his own sons, and in being killed by Tarquin's son, whom he had hurt, and Tarquin himself surviving him, is not Collatine's wrong well revenged, who being so good a citizen was banished (only because his name was but Tarquin) as well as Tarquin the tyrant. It was the name (you say) that was the cause of this: well, he should have been made to change his name then, and not to abandon his country. Again this word would have been but little missed in his name, if he had been called L. Collatine only. This therefore
was no sufficient cause, why he, being one of the more first consuls, should be forced to abjure both his honours and his city. But is this injustice, being so detestable, and so useless to the State, fit to be the foundation of Brutus' glory? Did he these things, being conquered by our country's loves, and laud's high thirst? Tarquin being expelled, L. Tarquin Collatine, Lucretia's husband, was joint consul with Junius Brutus: how justly did the people respect the conditions of the man and not the name? But how unjustly did Brutus (having power to deprive him only of the cause of the offence, his name) in depriv-ing him both of his country and place of honour? Thus these evils, thus these thwart effects fell out even then when things were said to be carried so modestly and so justly. And Lucretius, that had Brutus' place, died ere this year ended. So that P. Valerius that succeeded Collatine, and M. Horatius that had Lucretius' place, ended that hellish and murderous year, which saw itself pass by five consuls. This was the year wherein Rome devised her platform of newt government, their fears now beginning to successe, not because they had no wars, but because those they had were but light ones. But the time being expired wherein things were modestly and justly carried, then followed those which Sallust does thus briefly delineate. Then began the patriots to oppress the people with servile conditions, to judge of life and death as imperiously as the kings had done before, to thrust men from their possessions, to put by all others, and to sway all themselves; with which outrages, and chiefly with their extorted taxes, the people being too much vexed (being bound both to maintain an army and also to pay contributions besides), they rushed up to arms, and entrenched themselves upon Mount Sacer and Aventine; and there they made
In all these Tribunes, and diverse laws; but these discords and tumultuous contentions ended not till the second African war.

CHAPTER XVII

Of the vexations of the Roman state, after the first beginning of the Consul's rule: and of the little good that their gods all this while did them.

But why should I spend so much time in writing of these things, or make others spend it in reading them? How miserable the state of Rome stood all that long time until the second Punic war, how sorely shaken by foreign wars, and intestine discord, Sallust has already made a succinct demonstration. So that their victories never brought any true felicity to the good, but only vain solaces to the wretched, and inductions and enticements to the turbulent, to continue disturbance's progress. Let no wise Roman then be angry with us for saying this; but we need not entreat, we are already assured, they will not. For we use but the words of their own writers, and that with far less gall than themselves meant it, and in less gloss than they spoke it. Yet those do they learn, and those they make their children learn. Then why stomach they me for saying, as Sallust says: "Many troubles, seditions, and lastly, civil wars burst out, whilst a few of the greatest, under the honest style of fathers, used the licence of tyrants, nor did the citizens attain the titles of good and bad, according to their deserts in the State (all being foul alike), but he that had
most wealth and power to injure, because he defended the present government (as fittest for his turn), he was the only good man. If these writers now held it as pertinent to an honest man's liberty to be so free-tongued against their own city's corruptions, which otherwise they have been often enforced to command, in that they had no knowledge of any better state, wherein they might become denizens eternal; what then shall we do, whose trust in God by how much it is firmer, so much ought our tongues to be the freer in repelling the scandal they cast upon our Saviour Christ, with intent to seduce unsettled and unsound minds from that city, where happiness is man's possession unto all eternity? Neither do we load their gods with any more horrid guilt, than their own writers do, whom they read and reverence; what we say, we say it from them, being unable to recite all, or all that they have of this kind. Where were these gods (which men hold so venerable for the attaining of worldly vanities) when the Romans, whose services they angled for so cunningly, were afflicted so extremely? Where were they when Consul Valerius was slain in defence of the Capitol; when it was scaled by slaves and exiles? It was rather in his power to protect the temple of Jupiter, than in the powers of all that kernel of gods, and their great king, to yield him any help at all. Where were they when the city being so overborne with seditions, was fain to send to Athens to borrow laws, and in that little expectation of quietness, was unpeopled by such a sore famine and pestilence? Where were they besides, when the people in this great famine, elected their first prefect of the provision, and when that in the increase of this dearth, Sp. Æmilius, for distributing of corn over-bountifully amongst the starved people, was brought in suspicion of affecting
Of what use the said monarchy, and at the instance of the said prefect, by the means of L. Quintius, dictator, an aged, weak man, he was slain by the hand of Q. Servilius, the general of the horsemen, not without a most dreadful and dangerous tumult in the whole city. Where were they when, at the beginning of a wasteful pestilence, the people, being wholly tired with frustrate invocations, thought it fit to appease them with new bed-spreadings, a thing never done before? Then were there beds brought into the temples and spread in honour of the gods, and hence this sacrifice (nay sacrilege) took the name. Where were they when for ten full years together the Romans never fought against the Veians but they had the worse, until Farius Camillus was fain to help them, whom they kindly banished afterwards for his good service? Where were they when the Gauls took Rome, sacked it, spoiled it, burned it, and made a very shambles of it? Where were they when the great plague destroyed almost all the city, and Camillus amongst the rest, who had saved his thankless country from the Veians, and after from the Gauls? In this pestilence they first brought up their stage-plays a greater plague than the other, to their conditions though not to their carcasses. Where were they, when another sad contagion arose (as it is said) from the poisoning tricks of the matrons, yea of the most and noblest, whose conditions herein proved worse than all these pestilent airs? Or when the two consuls with their army being shut in the Caudine Straits by the Samnites, were glad to make a base composition with them? And delivering six hundred gentlemen for hostages, went away with all the rest, without arms, without baggage, without anything but their very upper garments? Or when the army perished almost wholly, part by the plague, and part by thunders? Or
when in another great morality the city was forced of
to fetch Æsculapius (as a physician for her) from heaven?
Epidaurus, because Jupiter, the king of the Capitol,
had ever been so employed in his youth in rapes and
adulteries that these exercises gave him no time
to learn physic. Or when the Brutians, Lucans,
Sammites, Etrurians, and Senonian Gauls, conspiring
altogether, first slew their ambassadors, and then a
whole army with the praetor, ten tribunes, and thirteen
thousand soldiers? Or then, when the long and fatal
sedition in the city, wherein the people at last encamped themselves on Janiculus, having booty-hauled
all the whole city? Which mischief grew to such
a lamentable pass, that they were glad, for the last
refuge in all desperate cases) to create a dictator:
Hortensius, who having reunited the people, and recalled them, died in his office, as no dictator had
done before, which was a great shame to the gods,
now that Æsculapius was come to make one. And
then grew wars so fast upon them, that their
Proletarii, their broodmen, those that they always
forbore for getting of children, being so needy, they
could not follow the wars themselves, were now, for
want of soldiers, compelled to serve themselves.
For now did Pyrrhus, that famous and warlike
Epirot (being called in by the Tarentines) become
Rome's heavy foe: and asking the Oracle of his
success, truly Apollo answered him very neatly, in
such ambiguous manner, that which way soever it
happened, his deity might stand unblemished: "Aio
te Æacida Romanos vincere passa," said he: so that
whether Pyrrhus or the Romans had the upper
hand, the Oracle need not care, for Apollo speaks
true; however. After this followed a sore and
bloody fight, wherein notwithstanding Pyrrhus was
conqueror, so that now he might justly esteem

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Phoebus a true foreteller, as he understood him; but that in the next conflict the Romans had the better; and in this great hostility arose as great a plague amongst the women: for, here they could be delivered, being big with child, still they died. Now here Esculapius had an excuse; he professed himself the prince of physic, and not of midwifery. Cattle died also so sore, that one would have thought the world’s utter devastation was entered. And then there was a winter, how strangely unseasonable! The snow lying in the market-place forty days together in a monstrous depth; all Tiber being frozen quite over. If this had happened in our times, Lord, how it would have been scanned upon. And then for that great pestilence, how many thousand took it: hence (which maugre all Esculapius’ drugs) lasting till the next year, they were fain to betake themselves to the books of the Sibyls; in which kind of Oraclos (as Tully says well in his book, “De Divinalis”) the expounders of them are oftener trusted than otherwise; guess they never so unlikely; and then it was said that the pestilence raged so because that many of the temples were put unto private men’s uses: hereby freeing Esculapius either from great ignorance or negligence. But why were these temples turned unto private habitations without prohibition, but only because they saw they had lost too much labour in praying to such a great crew of gods so long; and so becoming wiser by degrees, had left haunting of those places by little and little, and at length abandoned them wholly for the private uses of such as would inhabit them. For those houses, that as then, for avoiding of this pestilence, were so diligently repaired if they were not afterwards utterly neglected, and so encroached upon by private men as before; Varro should be to blame to say (speaking of
temple;) that many of them were unknown. But in the meantime this fetch was a pretty excuse for the gods; but no cure at all for the pestilence.

CHAPTER XVIII

The miseries of the Romans in the African wars, and the small stead their gods stood them therein.

But now in the wars of Africa, victory still hovering doubtfully betwixt both sides, and two mighty and powerful nations using all their might and power to reciprocal ruin, how many petty kingdoms perished herein? How many fair cities were demolished, or afflicted, or utterly lost? How far did this disastrous contention spread, to the ruin of so many realms and great estates? How often were the conquerors on either side conquered? What store of men (armed and naked) was there that perished? How many ships were sunk at sea by fight and tempest? Should we particularise, we should become a direct historian. Then Rome being in these deep plunges, ran headlong under those vain and ridiculous remedies: for then were the secular plays renewed by the admonition of the Sybil's books: which institution had been ordained an hundred years before, but was now worn out of all memory, in those so happy times. The high priests also renewed the sacred plays to the hell-gods which the better times had in like manner abolished before: nor was it any wonder to see them now revenged, for the hell-gods desired now to become revellers, being
enriched by this continual uncencicing world: of men who (like wretches) in following those bloody and unrelenting wars, did nothing but act the devil’s revels, and prepare banquets for the infernal spirits. Nor was there a more laudable accident in all this whole war, than that Regulus should be taken prisoner: a worthy man, and before that mishap a scourge to the Carthaginians: who had ended the African war long before, but that he would have bound the Carthaginians to stricter conditions than they could bear. The most sudden captivity, and the most faithful oath of this man, and his most cruel death, if the gods do not blush at, surely they are brazen-faced, and have no blood in them. Nay, for all this, Rome’s walls stood not safe, but tasted of some mischief, and all those within them, for the river Tiber overflowing, drowned almost all the level parts of the city; turning some places as it were into torrents, and some others into fens or lakes: this plague ushered in a worse of fire, which beginning in the market-place, burned all the higher buildings thereabouts, sparing not the harbour and temple of Vesta, where it was so duly kept in, by those not so honourable as damnable votaries. Now it did not only continue here burning, but raging: with the fury wherein the virgins being amazed, Metellus, the high priest, ran into the fire, and was half burned in fetching out of those fatal relics which had been the ruin of three cities, where they had been resident. The fire never spared him, for all he was the priest. Or else the true deity was not there, but was fled before though the fire were there still: but here you see how a mortal man could do Vesta more good than she could do him: for if these gods could not guard themselves from the fire, how could they guard their city which they were thought to guard from
burnings and inundations? Truly not: a whit, as the thing showed itself: herein we would not object these calamities against the Romans, if they would affirm that all these their sacred observances only aim at eternity, and not at the goods of this transitory world; and that therefore when those corporal things perished, there was yet no loss by that, unto the ends for which they were ordained, because that they might soon be made fit for the same uses again. But now such is their miserable blindness, that they think that those idols that might have perished in this fury of extremity had power to preserve the temporal happiness of the city; but now seeing that they remained unconsumed, and yet were able to show how such ruins of their safety, and such great mischiefs that had fallen on the city, this makes them ashamed to change that opinion, which they see they cannot possibly defend.

CHAPTER XIX

Of the sad accidents that befell in the second African war, wherein the powers on both sides were wholly consumed.

But all too tedious were it to relate the slaughters of both nations in the second African war, they had so many sights both far and near, that by their own confessions who were rather Rome's commenders than true chroniclers, the conquerors were ever more like to the conquered than otherwise. For when Hannibal arose out of Spain, and broke over the
Evils of Pyrenean hills, all France, and the very Alps, gathering huge powers, and doing horrible mischiefs in all this long track, rushing like an inundation into the face of Italy, oh what bloody fields were there pitched, what battles struck! how often did the Romans abandon the field, how many cities fell to the foe, how many were taken, how many were razed? what victories did that Hannibal win, and what glories did he build himself upon the ruined Romans. In vain should I speak of Cannae's horrible overthrow; where Hannibal's own excessive thirst of blood was so fully glutted upon his foes, that he himself bade hold: and from thence he sent three bushels of rings unto Carthage, to show how huge a company had fallen at that fight, that they were easier to be measured than numbered: and hence might they conjecture, what a massacre there was of the meaner sort, that had no rings to wear, and that the poorer they were, the more of them perished. Finally, such a defect of soldiers followed this overthrow, that the Romans were fain to get malefactors to go to war for quittance of their guilt; to set all their slaves free, and out of this graceless crew, not to supply their defective regiments, but even to make up a whole army. Nay, these slaves (O let us not wrong them, they are freemen now) wanted even weapons to fight for Rome withal: that they were fain to fetch them out of the temples, as if they should say to their gods, Come, pray let these weapons go, you have kept them long enough to no end: we will see whether our bond-slaves can do more good for us with them, than you gods could yet do: and then the treasury failing, the private estate of each man became public, so that each one giving what he was able, their rings, nay, their very bosses (the wretched marks of their dignities) being
all bestowed, the Senate themselves (much more the other companies and tribes) left not themselves any money in the world; who could have endured the rages of those men, if they had been driven to this poverty in these our times? seeing we can very hardly endure them as the world goes now, although they have store now to bestow upon stage-players, which as then, they were full fain of, for their uttermost means of safety, to spend upon the soldiers.

CHAPTER XX

Of the ruin of the Saguntines, who perished for their confederacy with Rome; the Roman gods never helping them.

But in all the disasters of the second African war, there was none more lamentable than the dissolution of the Saguntines; these inhabiting in a city in Spain, being sworn friends to the Romans, were destroyed for keeping their faith to them. For Hannibal, breaking the league with Rome, gave but the first occasion of war, engaging the city of Saguntum with a cruel and strait siege: whereof the Romans having intelligence, sent an embassy to wish Hannibal, to raise his siege: but the Legates, being despised by him, went to Carthage, whence (having done nothing) they returned without any redress for the breach of the league; and in the meantime, this city (whilst so stately) was now brought to that misery, that about eight or nine months after the beginning of the siege, the Africans...
To read how it perished were a horror; much more to write it: yet I will run over it briefly, seeing it is very pertinent to the argument we prosecute. First it was eaten down with famine; for some say it was driven to feed upon the carcases which it harboured. And then being in this labyrinth of languors, yet rather than it would take in Hannibal as a conqueror, the citizens made a huge fire in the market-place, and therein entombed all their parents, wives, children, and friends (after they had slain them first), and lastly themselves. Here now these glutinous, treacherous, wasteful, cozening, dancing gods should have done somewhat: here they should have done! somewhat! to help these distressed faithful friends of the Romans, and to save them from perishing, for their loyalty's sake. They were called as witnesses between both when the league was made between Rome and these poor men; who keeping that faith which they had willingly passed, solemnly sworn, and solemnly observed, under their protections, were besieged, afflicted, and subverted by one that had broken all faith, all religion. If the gods with thunder and lightning could frighten Hannibal from Rome's walls, and make him keep aloof from them, they should first have practised this here: for I dare aver, that with far more honesty might they have helped the Romans' friends, being in extremes, for keeping their faith to them, and having then no means nor power, than they did the Romans themselves, that fought for themselves, and had very good forces and purses able to repel Hannibal's powers. If they had been careful guardians of Rome's glory, they would never have left it stained with the sufferance of this sad calamity of the Saguntines. But now how sottish
is their belief that think these gods kept Rome from perishing by the hand of victorious Hannibal and the Carthaginians, that could not save Saguntum from perishing for keeping her faith sworn so solemnly to the Romans? If Saguntum, had been Christian and had suffered such an extremity for the Gospel (though it ought not as then to have wracked itself by fire nor sword), yet had it endured such for the Gospel, it would have borne it stoutly, by reason of that hope which it would have held in Christ to have been after all crowned by Him with an eternal guerdon. But as for these false gods, that desire to be and are worshipped only for the assurance of this transitory term of our mortality, what can their attorneys, their orators, say for them in this ruin of the Saguntines, more than they said in that of Regulus? only he was one man, this a whole city, but perseverance in faith was cause of both calamities. For this faith would be return to his foes, and for this would not they turn to their foes. Doth loyalty then grieve the gods? Or may ungrateful cities (as well as men) be destroyed, and yet stand in their gods' liking still? Let them choose whether they like; if the gods be angry at men's keeping of their faith, let them seek faithless wretches to serve them. But if they that serve them and have their favours, be nevertheless afflicted and spoiled; then to what end are they adored? Therefore let them hold their tongues that think they lost their city because they lost their gods: for though they had them all, they might nevertheless not only complain of misery, but feel it at full, as Regulus and the Saguntines did.
CHAPTER XXI

Of Rome's ingratitude to Scipio, that freed it from imminent danger, and of the conditions of the citizens in those times that Sallust commends to have been so virtuous.

Furthermore, in the space between the first and second Carthaginian war, when, as Sallust says, the Romans lived in all concord and content (the remembrance of my theme makes me omit much); in those times of concord and content, Scipio, that protector and raiser of his country, the rare, admirable intercessor of that so extreme, so dangerous, and so fatal a war as that of Carthage was, the conqueror of Hannibal, the tamer of Carthage, whose very youth is graced with all praises of religiousness, and divine conversation: this man, so great and so gracious, was forced to give place to the accusations of his enemies, to leave his country, which but for him had been left to destruction, and after his high heroic triumphs, to bequeath the remainder of his days to the poor town of Linternum; banishing all affect of his country so far from him, that it is said that he gave express charge, at his death, that his body should not in any case be buried in that so ungrateful soil of Rome. Afterwards, in the triumph of Cn. Manlius (Vice-Consul) over the Gallo-Greeks, the luxury of Asia entered, the worst foe Rome ever felt. Gilded beds, and precious coverings got then their first ingress. Then began they to have wenches to sing at their banquets, and many other licentious disorders. But I am to speak of the calamities that they suffered so unwill-
ingly, not of the offences that they committed so to Scipio lavishly. And therefore what I spake of Scipio, that left his country for his enemies (having first preserved it from utter ruin) and died a willing exile, that was to our purpose, to shew that the Roman gods, from whose temples he drove Hannibal, did never requite him with any the least touch of temporal felicity, for which only they are adored. But because Sallust says that Rome was so well mannered in those days, I thought good to touch at this: Asian luxury, that you might understand that Sallust spake, in comparison of the after-times, wherein discord was at the highest flood, and good manners at their lowest ebb. For then, (that is, between the second and last African war,) the Voconian law was promulgate, that none should make a woman his heir, not were she his only daughter; than which decree, I can see nothing more barbarous and unjust. But indeed the mischiefs that the city suffered were not so many nor so violent in the space betwixt the two Punic wars, as they were at other times: for though they felt the smart of war abroad, yet they enjoyed the sweet of victory; and, at home, they agreed better than they did in the times of security.

But, in the last African war, by the only valour of that Scipio, that therefore was surnamed African, that city, that compared and contended with Rome, was utterly razed to dust and ruined; and then brake in such an inundation of depraved conditions, drawn into the state by security and prosperity, that Carthage might justly be said to have been a more dangerous enemy to Rome in her dissoluteness, than she was in her opposition. And this continued until Augustus' time, who (methinks) did not abridge the Romans of their liberty, as of a thing which they loved, and
Many disasters ensued, such as prized, but as though they had utterly despised it and left it for the taking: then reduced he all things unto an imperial command, renewing and repairing the commonweal, that was become all moth-eaten and rusty with age, vice and negligence. I omit the diverse and diversely arising contentions and battles of all this whole time: that league of Numance, stained with so foul an ignominy, where the chickens flew out of their cages, as presaging some great ill-luck (they say) unto Mancinus, then Consul: so that it seemed that little city that had plagued the Roman army that besieged it so many years, did now begin to be a terror to the Romans' whole estate, and boded misfortune unto whose her powers that came against it.

CHAPTER XXII

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

But as I said, these shall pass: marry, not that of Mithridates, King of Asia, who gave direct command, that whatever Roman was to be found trafficking or travelling anywhere in all Asia, upon one certain day, he should be immediately slain; and it was effected. How dolorous a sight was this, to see men slain in such numbers, wheresoever they were taken, in field, way, town, house, street, court, temple, bed or table, or wheresoever, so suddenly and so wickedly? what sorrows would possess the standers-by, and perhaps the very doers of the deeds
themselves, to hear the sad groans of the dying men? What extremity were the hosts of lodgings brought now, when they must not only behold those murders committed in their houses, but even help to perform them themselves? To turn so suddenly from gentle humanity unto barbarous cruelty? To do the act of an enemy in peace, and that on his friend, interchanging indeed wounds with the murdered, the murdered being stricken in the body, and the murderer in the mind? and did all these that were slain, neglect auguries? had they no gods public or private to ask counsel of, before they betook them unto this travel from whence they were never to return? If this be true, then have they of our times no cause to complain of us, for the neglect of those things, the Romans of old condemned them as vanities. But if they did not, but used to ask counsel of them, then tell me (I pray) to what end was it when other men's powers fell so heavy upon these wretches without all prohibition, or means to avoid them?

CHAPTER XXIII

Of the more private and interior mischiefs, that Rome endured, which were presaged by that prodigious madness of all the creatures that served the use of man.

But now let us do what we can to recite those evils which the more domestic they were to Rome, the more miserable they made it; I mean the civil or
We come to the age of civil discord, being now no more seditions but plain wars, and those in the very bowels of the city, wherein so much blood was spilt: where the Senators' powers were now no more bent to alterations and wranglings, but directly to arms and weapons. O what rivers of Romans' blood flowed from the social, servile, and civil wars? how sore a waste fell upon the breast of all Italy from hence? For before that Latium (being associate and confederate with the rest) arose against Rome, all the creatures that were useful unto man, dogs, horses, asses, oxen, and all others besides, that served human associations, growing suddenly stark mad, and losing all their meekness, ran wild out of the towns into the deserts, fields, and forests, flying the company not only of all others, but even of their own masters, and endangering any man that offered to come near them. What a prodigious sign was here? but if this, being so great a mischief of itself, were but the presage of another, what a mischief must that be then, that was ushered in by such a mischievous presage. If this had befallen in our times, we should be sure to have had these faithless miscreants a great deal madder than the other dogs were.

CHAPTER XXIV

Of the civil discord that arose from the seditions of the Gracchi.

The sedition of the Gracchi about the law Agrarian, gave the first vent unto all the civil wars; for the
lands that the nobility wrongfully possessed, they and strife would needs have shared amongst the people, but it was a dangerous thing for them to undertake the righting of a wrong of such continuance, and in the end, it proved indeed their destruction: what a slaughter was there, when Tiberius Gracchus was slain? and when his brother followed him within a while after? the noble and the base were butchered together in tumults and uproars of the people, not in formal justice nor by order of law but all in hugger-mugger. After the latter Gracchus' slaughter, followed that of L. Opimius, consul, who taking arms in the city against this Gracchus, and killing him and all his fellows, had made a huge slaughter of citizens, by this means having caused three thousand to be executed, that he had condemned by law. By which one may guess, what a massacre there was of all in that tumultuous conflict, since that three thousand were marked out by law, as orderly condemned, and justly slain. He that killed Gracchus, had the weight of his head in gold, for that was his bargain before. And in this fray was M. Fulvius slain, and all his children.

CHAPTER XXV

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

A fine decree surely was it of the Senate, to give charge for the building of Concord's temple, just in
... What irony in Concord's temple!...

... the place where those outrages were acted: that the monument of Gracchus' punishment might be still in the eye of the pleaders, and stand fresh in their memory!... But what was this but a direct scoffing of their gods? They built a goddess a temple, who had she been amongst them, would never have suffered such gross breaches of her laws as these were, unless Concord being guilty of this crime, by leaving the hearts of the citizens, deserved therefore to be imprisoned in this temple. Otherwise, to keep formality with their deeds, they should have built Discord a temple in that place. Is there any reason that Concord should be a goddess and not Discord? or that (according to Labeo's division) she should not be a good goddess and Discord an evil one? He spake upon grounds, because he saw that Fever had a temple built, here as well as Health. By the same reason should Discord have had one as well as Concord. Wherefore the Romans were not wise to live in the displeasure of so shrewd a goddess: they have forgotten that she was the destruction of Troy, by setting the three goddesses together by the ears for the golden apple; because she was not bidden to their feast: whereupon the goddesses fell a scolding: Venus she got the apple, Paris, Helen, and Troy utter destruction. Wherefore if it were through her anger because she had no temple there with the rest, that she set the Romans at such variance, how much more angry would she be to see her chiefest enemy have a temple built in that place, where she had shown such absolute power? Now their greatest scholars do stomach us for deriding these vanities, and yet worshipping those promiscuous gods, they cannot for their lives clear themselves of this question of Concord and Discord, whether they let them alone unworshipped, and prefer Fris and Bellona.
before them (to whom their most ancient temples were dedicated), or that they do worship them both discords as well as the rest. However, they are in the briers, seeing that Concord got her gone, and left Discord to play havoc amongst them by herself.

CHAPTER XXVI

Of the diverse wars that followed after the building of Concord's temple.

Now they all thought that this new temple of Concord, and testimony of Gracchus, would be an excellent restraint unto all seditious spirits. But how far they shot wide, let the subsequent times give aim. For from that time forth, the pleaders never went about to avoid the examples of the Gracchi, but laboured to exceed them in their pretences. L. Saturninus, tribune, C. Caesar Servilius, praetor, and not long after that, M. Drusus, all these began more bloody seditions, whence there arose not only civil slanders, but at last they broke openly out into the Confederates' war, which brought all Italy unto most miserable and desperate extremitie. Then followed the Slaves' war, and other civil wars, wherein it is strange to record what fields were pitched, what bloodshed and what murder stuck upon the face of all Italy, as far as the Romans had any power or seignory. And how small a company, less than seventy fencers, began this Slaves' war, which mounted to that terror and danger. What multitude of generals did this rascal crew overthrow? what numbers of Roman
The civil cities and provinces they destroyed, is more than work enough for a professed historian to detail. The first war held out not only in Italy, but these slaves over-ran all Macedonia, Sicily, and the seacoasts. And what outrageous robberies at first, and what terrible wars afterwards were managed by the Pirates, what pen is sufficient to recapitulate them?

CHAPTER XXVII

Of the civil wars between Sylla and Marius.

When Marius being now imbued with his countrymen's blood, and having slain many of his adversaries, was at length foiled and forced to fly the city, that now got time to take a little breath; presently (to use Tully's words) upon the sudden, Cinna and Marius began to be conquerors again. And then out went the heart blood of the most worthy men, and the lights of all the city. But soon after came Sylla, and revenged this barbarous massacre; but with what damage to the state and city, it is not my purpose to utter; for that this revenge was worse, than if all the offences that were punished, had been left unpunished. Let Lucan testify: in these words—

"Excessit medicina modum, nimiumque secuta est Qua morbi duxère manus: periere nocentes Sed cum jam soli possent superesse nocentes Tune data libertas odiis resolutaque legum Frenis ira suita."
The medicine wrought too sore, making the cure
Too cruel for the patient to endure:
The guilty fell: but none yet such remaining,
Hate riseth at full height, and wrath disdaining
Laws' reins brake out.

For in that war of Sylla and Marius (besides those
that fell in the field), the whole city, streets, market-
places, theatres, and temples were filled with dead
bodies: that it was a question whether the conquerors
slaughtered so many to attain the conquest, or because
they had already attained it. In Marius' first victory,
at his return from exile, besides infinite other
slaughters, Octavius' head (the consul's) was polled
up in the pleading-place: Caesar and Filmbra were
slain in their houses; the two Crassi, father and son,
killed in one another's sight; Bebres and Numitorius
trailed about upon hooks till death: Catullus poisoned
himself to escape his enemies; and Menula, the jovial
Flamine, cut his own reins and so bled himself out of
their danger. Marius having given order for the killing
of all them whom he did not re-salute, or proffer his
hand unto.

CHAPTER XXVIII

How Sylla revenged Marius' murders.

Now as for Sylla's victory, the revenger of all this
cruelty, it was not got without much store of citizens'
blood, and yet the wars only having ended, and not
the grudges: this victory broke out into a far more
cruel waste, in the midst of all this peace. For after
Cruelty of Sylla. The butcheries that the elder Marius had made (being yet but fresh and bleeding), there followed worse by the hands of the younger Marius and Carpo, both of the old faction of Marius. These two perceiving Sylla to come upon them, being desperate both of safety and victory, filled all with slaughters, both of themselves and others: for besides the massacre they made elsewhere in the city, they besieged the Senate in the very Court, and from thence as from a prison, dragged them out by the heads to execution. Marius Scævola, the priest, was slain just as he had hold of the altar of Vesta, the most reverend relic of all the city, almost quenching that fire with his blood, which the virgins’ care kept always burning. Then entered victorious Sylla into the city, and in the common street: war’s cruelty now done, and peace’s beginning, put seven thousand unarmed men to the sword, not in fight, but by an express command. And after that, he put even whom he list to death, throughout the whole city, insomuch that the slaughters grew so innumerable that one was glad to put Sylla in mind that he must either let some live, or else he should have none to be lord over. And then indeed this ravenous murderer began to be restrained by degrees; and a table was set up (with great applause) which proscribed but 2000 of the patriots and gentlemen, appointing them all to be presently killed. The number made all men sad, but the manner cheered them again: nor were they so sad, that so many should perish, as they rejoiced, that the rest should escape. Nevertheless, this cruel carelessness of theirs groaned at the exquisite torments, that some of the condemned persons suffered in their deaths. For one of them was torn in pieces by men’s hands without touch of iron, where the executioners showed far more cruelty in rending this
CHAPTER XXIX.

A comparison of the Goths' corruptions, with the calamities that the Romans endured either by the Gauls, or by the authors of their civil wars.

What barbarousness of other foreign nations, what cruelty of strangers, is comparable to this conquest of one of their citizens? What foe did Rome ever feel, more fatal, inhuman and outrageous? Whether in the irruptions first of the Gauls, and since of the Goths, or the inhumations that Silla, Marcius, and other great Romans made with the blood of their own citizens, more horrible, or more detestable? The
Galla indeed killed the Senate, and spoiled all but the Capitol, that was defended against them. But they notwithstanding sold the besieged their freedom for gold, whereas they might have extorted it from them by famine, though not by force. But as for the Goths, they spared so many of the Senate, that it was a marvel that they killed any. But Sylla, when as Marius was yet alive, sat on the very Capitol (which the Gauls entered not), to behold the slaughters from thence, those which he commanded to be performed. And Marius, being but fled, to return with more power and fury, he, keeping still in the Capitol, deprived numbers of their lives and states, colouring all this villainy by the degrees of the Senate. And when he was gone, what did the Marian faction respect or spare, when they would not forbear to kill old Scævola, a citizen, a senator, the chief priest, embracing that very altar, whereon they say the fate of Rome itself was adored? And for that last table of Sylla’s (to omit the innumerable deaths besides), it cut the throats of more senators, than the Goths’ whole army could find in their hearts but to offer, ransack, or spoil.

CHAPTER XXX

Of the great and pernicious multitude of the Romans when a little before the coming of Christ.

With what face then, with what heart, with what impudence, folly, or madness, do they impure these last calamities unto our Saviour, and yet will not...
Their civil faith of
causeing
disasters?

The means which did not afflict, but utterly subvert:
their State arose long before Christ, by the combina-
tion of these wicked causes arising from the war of
Sylla and Marius, unto that of Sertorius and Catiline,
the one of whom Sylla proscribed, and the other he
nourished: and then downwards to the wars of
Lepidus and Catullus, whereof the one would con-
firm Sylla’s ordinances, and the other would disannul
them: then to the war of Pompey and Cæsar:
whereof Pompey was a follower of Sylla, and either
equalled, or at least exceeded him in state and power;
and Cæsar was one that could not bear the greatness
of Pompey because he lacked it himself: which not-
withstanding, after he had overthrown him and made
him away, he went far beyond. From hence they
come down to the other Cæsar, called Augustus, in
whose reign our Saviour Christ was born. This
Augustus had much civil wars, wherein were lost
many excellent men, and Tully, that excellent com-
monwealth’s man was one amongst the rest. For
C. Cæsar, the conqueror of Pompey, though he used
his victory with mercy, restoring the states and dig-
ities to all his adversaries: notwithstanding all this,
by a conspiracy of the noblest Senators he was
stabbed to death in the court, for the defence of their
liberty, who held him to affect a monarchy. After
this Anthony (a man neither like him in means, nor
manners, but given over to all sensuality) seemed to
affect his power: whom Tully did stoutly withstand
in defence of the said liberty. And then stepped up
that younger Cæsar, the other Cæsar’s adopted son,
afterwards styled (as I said) Augustus: him did
Tully favour and confin against Anthony, hoping
How frequent in pagan times that he would be the man, who having demolished Anthony's pretences and powers, would re-assert the liberty of his country. But far mistaken was he and mole-eyed in this matter, for this young man whose power he had augmented, first of all suffered Anthony to cut off Cicero's head, as if it had been a bargain between them, and then brought that liberty which the other wrought so for, into his own sole command, and under his own particular subjection.

CHAPTER XXXI.

That those men that are not suffered as now to worship idols, do show themselves fools, in imputing their present miseries unto Christ, seeing that they endured the like when they did worship the devils.

But let them blame their own gods for such mischiefs, that will not thank our Saviour Christ for any of His benefits. For whenever they beset them before their gods' altar steeped with Sabian perfumes, and fresh flowers, their priests were gallant, their temple shone, plays, sacrifices and furies were all on foot amongst men. Yea, even when there was such an effusion of civil blood, that the altar of the very gods were besprinkled with it, Tullus chose no temple for refuge, because he saw it availed not. Scævola. But those that are now so ready with their saucy insulations against Christianity, of late either fled themselves into such places as were dedicated to Christ, or else were brought thither by the barbarians.

This I know, and every impartial judge may know
as well as I, that if mankind had received Christianity before the African wars, to omit the other, that I have rehearsed, and that is too long to rehearse, and writ that such a desolation should have happened, as fell upon Europe and Africa in the said wars; there is none of those insidels that oppose us now, but would have laid only the cause of it all upon the back of Christendom. But much more intolerable would their railings be, if that either the irruption of the Gauls, or the inundation of Eiber, and that great spoil by fire had immediately followed, upon the first preaching and receiving of Christian religion; but worst of all, if the civil wars, that exceeded all, had followed thereupon. And those evils which fell out so incredibly, so far beyond all belief, that the world reputed them as prodigies, as the speaking of the ox, the exclamation of children in their mothers' wombs, the flying of serpents, and the alteration of female creatures, both hens, and women into masculine forms, and such as these I willingly omit, those things are recorded in their histories, not in their fables, but be they true or false, they do not bring so much affliction unto man as admiration. But when it rained earth, and chalk, and stones (not concrescences, that might be called hail, but direct stones), this verily might endanger the earth's inhabitants. In the said authors we read, that the fires of Etna broke out so far, that the sea boiled therewith, the rocks were burned, and the pitch dropped off the ships. This was no light hurt, but a large wounnder. Again, Sicily was so overwhelmed another time with the ashes thereof, that the houses of Catina were all turned over into the dust; whereupon the
Yet you Romans pitying their calamity, released them of that year's tribute. It is recorded also, that the number of the locusts in Africa was most wonderful, and prodigious, it being as then a province of the Romans; and that having consumed all the fruits and leaves of the trees, they fell all into the sea like a most huge and immeasurable cloud. And being dead, and cast upon the shore again, arose such a pestilence of their stink that thereof died eighty thousand men; only in Massinissa's kingdom, and many more in other countries thereof, and of the thirty thousand Roman soldiers that remained at Utica, there were but only ten that survived. So that this folly of theirs, which we must both endure and answer, what wrong would it not offer to the profession of the gospel, had it been preached before the birth of these prodigious accidents? yet it will not call the meanest of their gods to account, for any of these misfortunes whatsoever, and yet these fools will worship them still in hope to be protected by them from these inconveniences, when they see nevertheless, how those that worshipped the same gods before have been oppressed, and overborne with the same burdens of calamity, nay with loads of miseries, far more ponderous and intolerable than ever these latter times produced.
THE FOURTH BOOK

CHAPTER I

Of the contents of the First Book.

At my first entrance upon this "Discourse of the City of God," I held it convenient, first of all, to stop their mouths, who in their extreme desire of only temporal bliss and greediness after worldly vanities, do make their exclaim upon Christianity (the true and only mean of salvation) whencesoever it pleases God in His mercy to correct and admonish them (rather than in His justice, to punish them or afflict them) with any temporal inconvenience. And because the unlearned and vulgar sort of those persons are incited against us the more by the endeavours and examples of those whom they hold learned, thinking (upon their assertions) that such calamities as have befallen them of late never befell in times past: and being confirmed in this error, by such as know it for an error, and yet dissemble their knowledge; we thought it fit to show, how far this their opinion swerved from the truth, out of such books as their own authors have left unto posterity, for the better understanding of the estates of precedent ages: and to make it plain and apparent, that those imaginary gods, which they either did worship as then in public, or as now in secret, are nothing but most foul, unclean spirits, and most deceiptful and malignant devils; so that their only delight was to

These gods are malignant and impotent.
demons, who delight in evil have most bestial and abominable practices, either published as their true exploits, or feigned of them by poetical inventions; these they commanded to be publicly presented in plays and at solemn feasts: to the end, that man's infirmity presuming upon these patterns, as upon divine authorities, might never be withdrawn from acting the like wickedness. This we confirmed, not by mere conjectures, but partly by what of late times our self hath beheld in the celebration exhibited unto such gods: and partly by their own writings, that left those reports recorded, not as in disgrace, but as in the honour of the gods: so that Varro (a man of the greatest learning and authority amongst them of any writing of divinity and humanity, and giving each object his proper attribute according to the worth and due respect thereof) sticketh not to affirm, that those stage-plays are not matters of human invention, but merely divine things, whereas if the city were quit of all but honest men, stage-players should have no room in mere humanity. Nor did Varro affirm this of himself, but set it down as he had seen the use of these plays in Rome, being there born and brought up.
our order obliges us to relate. We promised, therefore, to say somewhat against those that impute the Romanae calamities unto Christianity, and to make a peculiar relation of the evils that we should find their city, or the provinces thereof, to have endured ere their sacrifices were prohibited: all which questions, unless they would have blamed us for, had they befallen them in the times of our religious lustre and authority, this we performed sufficiently (I think) in the two last books, in the former of them, reciting, the evils which were either the only ones, or the sorest, and most extreme; I mean those corruptions of manners: in this last, of those which these fools have so main to suffer, as afflictions of body and goods, which the best men, oftentimes, partake of, as well as the worst. But for the things that make them evil, and deprave their souls, those they detain with more than patience, with extremity of desire. Then I touched a little at the city, and so came down speedily to Augustus. But if I would have dilated (not upon these reciprocal hurts, that one man doth to another, as was desolations, etc., but) upon the things that befall them by the very elements, and from nature, which Apuleius briefly speaks of in one place of his book "De Mundo," saying: that all earthly things have their changes, revolutions, and dissolutions; for (he saith) that by an exceeding earthquake, the ground opened at a certain time, and swallowed up whole cities, and all that were in them; showers and inundations overwhelmed whole countries; continents were cut into the main by strange tides, and made islands; and the sea elsewhere cast up large grounds and, left them bare, storms and tempests overturned whole cities; lightning consumed many of the Eastern countries, and deluges as many of the West. Fire sprang from the cauldrons of Etna, as from a
... and ran down the hills: if I should have collected all of this kind that I could, which happened long before that the name of Christ beat down those ruins of salvation, what end should I ever make? I promised also to make demonstration of the Romans' conditions, and why the true God did vouchsafe them that increase of their empire, even He, in whose hand are all kingdoms, when their own puppetries never did them a pennyworth of good, but cozened them in all that ever they could. Now then am I to discourse of their cozenage, but chiefly of the empire's increase. For, as for their devil's deceits, the Second Book opened them reasonable fully. And in all the three books past, as occasion served, we noted how much aid and comfort the great God did vouchsafe both the good and bad, in these afflictions of war, only by the name of Christ, which the barbarians so highly reverenced, beyond all use and custom of hostility. Even He did this, that "maketh the sun to shine both upon good and bad; raineth both upon the just and the unjust." 

CHAPTER III

Whether happy and wise men should account it as part of their felicity to possess an empire that is enlarged by no means but war.

Now then let us examine the nature of this spaciousness, and continuance of empire, which these men give their gods such great thanks for, to whom also...
they say they exhibited those plays (that were to
shame both in actors and the action) without any
offence of honesty. But first I would make a little
inquiry, seeing you cannot shew such estates to be
anyway happy, as are in continual wars, being still in
terror, trouble, and guilt of shedding human blood;
though it be their foes; what reason then, or what
wisdom shall any man shew in glorying in the large-
ness of empire, all their joy being but as a glass,
bright and brittle, and evermore in fear and danger
of breaking? To dive the deeper into this matter,
let us not give the soul of our souls to every air of
human breath, nor suffer our understanding's eye to
be smoked up with the fumes of vain words, con-
cerning kingdoms, provinces, nations, or so. No, let
us take two men (for every particular man is a part
of the greatest city and kingdom of the world, as a
letter is a part of a word), and of these two men, let
us imagine the one to be poor, or but of a mean
estate, the other potent and wealthy; but withal, let
my wealthy man take with him fears, sorrows,
covetousness, suspicion, disquiet, contentions, let these
be the hooks for him to take in the augmentation of
his estate, and with all the increase of those cares,
together with his estate; and let my poor man take
with him, sufficiency with little, love of kindred,
neighbours, friends, joyous peace, peaceful religion,
soundness of body, sincereness of heart, abstinence of
diet, chastity of carriage, and security of conscience.
Where should a man find anyone so sottish, as would
make a doubt which of these to prefer in his choice?
Well then, even as we have done with these two men,
so let us do with two families, two nations, or two
kingdoms.
This is the sign of happiness. Wherefore it is convenient that such as fear and follow the law of the true God should have the sway of such empires; not so much for themselves, as for those over whom they are emperors. For themselves, their piety, and their honesty (God’s admired gifts) will suffice them, both to the enjoying of true felicity in this life, and the attaining of that eternal and true felicity in the next. So that here upon earth, the rule and regality that is given to the good man, does not return him so much good, as it does to those that are under this his rule and regality. But contrariwise, the government of the wicked, harms themselves far more than their subjects, for it gives themselves the greater liberty to exercise their lusts; but for their subjects, they have none but their own iniquities to answer for; for what injury soever the unrighteous master does, to the righteous servant, it is no scourge for his guilt, but a trial of his virtue. And therefore he that is good is free, though he be a slave, and he that is evil, a slave though he be a king. Nor is he slave to one man, but to many. And what is worst of all, unto as many masters as he affects vices, according to the Scripture, speaking thus hereof: “Of whatsoever a man is overcome, to that he is in bondage.”

CHAPTER IV

Kingdoms without justice, how like they are unto
thievish purchases. But fair
thievish purchases, because what are
thieves?
purchases but little kingdoms? for in thefts, the hands of the underlings are directed by the commander, the confederacy of them is sworn together, and the pillage is shared by the law amongst them. And if those ragamuffins grow but up to be able enough to keep forts, build habitations, possess cities, and conquer adjoining nations, then their government is no more called thievish, but graced with the eminent name of a kingdom, given and gotten, not because they have left their practices, but because that now they may use them without danger of law: for elegant and excellent was that pirate's answer to the great Macedonian Alexander, who had taken him: the king asking him how he durst molest the seas so, he replied with a free spirit, "How darest thou molest the whole world? But because I do it with a little ship only, I am called a thief: thou doing it with a great navy, art called an emperor."

CHAPTER V

Of those fugitive sword-players, whose power grew parallel with a regal dignity.

I will therefore omit to review the crew that Romulus called together, by proclaiming freedom from fear of punishment to all such as would inhabit Rome; hereby both augmenting his city, and getting a sort of fellows about him that were fit for any villainous or desperate act whatsoever. But this I say, that the very empire of Rome, albeit was now grown so great and so powerful by subduing so many
founded by fugitive rascals.

...nations, and so became sole terror of all the rest, was nevertheless extremely daunted, and driven into a terrible fear of an invasion very hardly to be avoided, by a small crew of rascally sword-players, that had fled from the fence school into Campania, and were now grown to such a mighty army, that under the conduct of three captains they had made a most lamentable and cruel waste and spoil of the most part of the country. Let them tell me now, what god it was that raised up these men from a few poor contemptible thieves, to a government so terrible to the state and strength of Rome itself: will it be answered that they had no help at all from the gods, because they continued but a while? As though that every man's life must of necessity be of long continuance: why then the gods help no king to his kingdom, because that most kings die very soon; nor is that to be accounted as a benefit which every man loseth in so little a time, and which vanishes (like a vapour) so soon after it is given: for what is it unto them that worshipped these gods under Romulus, and are now dead, though the Roman empire be never so much increased since, seeing they are now pleading their own particular causes in hell; of what kind, and in what fashion they are there, belongs not to this place to dispute. And this may be understood likewise of all that have ended their lives in a few years, and bear the burdens of their deeds with them, however their empire be afterwards augmented, and continued through the lives and deaths of many successors. But if this be not so, but that those benefits (though of so short space) be to be ascribed to the gods' goodness, then assuredly the sword-players had much to thank them; for, who by their help did cast off their bonds of slavery, and fled and escaped, and got an army of that strength and good
discipline together, that Rome itself began to be terribly afraid of them, and lost diverse fields against them. They got the upper hand of diverse generals, they used what pleasures they would; they did even what they lusted; and until their last overthrow, which was given them with extreme difficulty, they lived in all pomp and regality. But now unto matter of more consequence.

CHAPTER VI

Of the contentiousness of Ninus, who made the first war upon his neighbours; through the greedy desire he had to increase his kingdom.

Justin, that wrote the Greek (or rather universal) history after Trogus Pompey, not only in Latin (for so did he), but in a more succinct manner, begins his book thus. "The sway and rule of nations at the first was in the hands of kings, who got their heights of majesty, not by popular ambition, but by their own moderate carriage, approved by good men. The people had no law but the king's will. Their care and custom was the keeping, not the augmenting of their dominion's limits. Every king's kingdom was bounded within his own country. Ninus of Assyria was the first that followed the lust of sovereignty in breaking the old hereditary law of nations. He first warred on the adjoining countries; subduing the people (as yet unacquainted with arts military) as far as Lybia." And a little after: "Ninus confirmed his conquest by continuing posses-
and sion of it. And having subdued the neighbouring nations, from them he levied stronger powers, and set farther footing into the world, until by making one victory the continual means of another, he had made an entire conquest of all the East." How truly soever he or Trogus wrote this (for I have found them both elsewhere erroneous by true proofs); yet it is certain by the record of other writers, that Ninus enlarged the Assyrian's monarchy exceedingly: and that it continued longer than the Romans' hath done as yet. For as the chroniclers do deliver up account, it was one thousand two hundred and forty years after Ninus' reign, to the translation of this monarchy to the Medians. Now to war against one's neighbours, and to proceed to the hurt of such as hurts not you, for greedy desire of rule and sovereignty, what is this but flat thievery in a greater excess and quantity than ordinary?

CHAPTER VII

Whether the pagan gods have any power, either to further or hinder the progress, increase, or defects of earthly kingdoms.

In this kingdom continued so long, and so spacious, without the assistance of any of those gods, why are they reputed as the enlargers and preservers of Rome's monarchy? There is the like reason for both. But if Assyria were bound to thank the gods, I demand which gods? for the nations that Ninus conquered had none. And if the Assyrians had any peculiar
ones, that were better state-wrights; what, were they dead then when the monarchy was translated to the Medes? Or were they unpaid, or had the Medians promised them better wages, that they would needs thither, and from them again into Persia at the invitation of Cyrus, as promising them somewhat that better liked them? The Persians ever since a little after the short (though spacious) monarchy of Alexander the Great, confirmed their estate in that large country of the east, and are a kingdom at this day. If this be so, then either the gods have no faith, in that they keep this flitting from the friend to the foe (which Camillus would not do, though Rome were most unthankful to him for his most available conquest of the Veii, but burying the wrong, freed it the second time from the Gauls). Or else they are not so valiant as gods should be: but may be conquered and chased away by human strength and cunning. Or when they do fight, it is the gods on the one side that beat the gods on the other, and not the men. Oh then, belike they are foes amongst themselves as well as human creatures. Good: the city should never give them any more worship than it held to be due to any other people or nation whatsoever that helpeth them. But howsoever this flight, or this removal, or this killing of these gods fell out, the name of Christ was not yet known in those times and places, when and wherein these changes of states did thus follow the effects of war. For if that, after those twelve hundred years, and the overplus, when the Assyrian monarchy was removed, Christian religion had come in, and preached of another, an eternal monarchy, and condemned all their gods for false and feigned, and their sacrifices, for sacrilegious fooleries: What would the vain men of that nation have replied, but that the kingdom was overthrown
because they had left their old religion, and received this of ours? In which foolish answer, let these our later antagonists behold themselves as in a glass: and blush (if they be not past grace); to follow so fond a precedent. Though indeed the Roman empire be rather afflicted than altered or translated, as it was often before Christ's coming: and as it recovered from those affections before, so may it from these, there is no cause of despair. Who knows the will of God herein?

CHAPTER VIII

What precious gods those were by whose power the Romans held their empire to be enlarged and preserved, seeing that they durst not trust them with the defence of mean and particular matters.

Let us now make inquiry, if you will, which god (or gods) of all this swarm that Rome worshipped, was it that did enlarge and protect this their empire? In a world of such worth and dignity, they durst not secretly commit any dealing to the goddess Clearchina, nor to the goddess Volupia, the lady of pleasure; nor to Libentina, the goddess of lust; nor to Vaticanus; the god of children crying, nor to Cunina, the goddess of their cradles. But how can this one little book possibly have room to contain the names of all their gods and goddesses; when as their great volumes will not do it, seeing they have a several god to see to every particular act they take in hand? Durst they trust one god with their lands, think you?
Which of the swarm helped Rome to power?

Neo Rubina must look to the country, Jugatimus to the hills, Collatina to the whole hills besides, and Valentinus to the valleys. Nor could Segetia alone be sufficient to protect the corn; but while it was in the ground, Seia must look to it: when it was up, and ready to mow, Segetia: when it was mown and laid up, then Tutilina took charge of it, who did not like that Segetia alone should have charge of it all the while before it came dried unto her hand: nor was it sufficient for those wretches, that their poor seduced souls, that scorned to embrace one true God, should become prostitute unto this meaner multitude of devils, they must have more: so they made Proserpina goddess of the corn's first leaves, and buds: the knots Nodotus looked unto: Volutina to the blades, and when the ear began to look out, it was Patelepa's charge: when the ear began to be even bearded, (because Hostilera was taken old for to make even) Hostilina's work came in; when the flowers bloomed, Flora was called forth: when they grew white, Lastertia; being ripe Matuca, being cut down Runcina. O let them pass, that which they shame not at, I loath: at. These few I have reckoned, to show that they durst at no hand affirm, that these gods were, the originators, adorners, augmenters, or preservers of the empire of Rome, having each one, such peculiar charges assigned them, as they had no leisure in the world to deal in any other matter. How should Segetia guard the empire, that must not meddle but with the corn? or Cunina look to the wars, that must deal with nought but children's cradles? or Nodotus give his aid in the battle, that cannot help so much as the blade of the corn, but is bound to look to the knot only? Every house hath a porter to the door: and though he be but a single man, yet he is sufficient for that
Was it office: but they must have their three gods, Forculus for the door, Cardo for the hinge, and Limentius for the threshold. Belike Forculus could not possibly keep both door, hinges, and threshold.

CHAPTER IX

Whether it was Jove, whom the Romans held the chief god, that was this protector and enlarger of their empire.

Wherefore setting aside this nest of inferior gods (for a while), let us look into the offices of the greater; and which of them brought Rome to such a pre-eminence over the other nations. This same surely was Jove's work. For, him they made the king over all their gods besides, as his sceptre, and his seat on the highest part of all the Capitol do sufficiently testify. And of him, they have a very convenient saying (though it be from a poet), "All is full of Jove." And Varro is of opinion, that those that worship but one God, and that without any statue, do mean this Jove, though they call him by another name. Which being so, why is he so evil used at Rome, and by others also in other places, as to have a statue made him? This evil use so disliked Varro, that although he were overborne with the custom of so great a city, yet he doubted not both to affirm, and record, that in making those statues, they both banished all fear, and brought in much error?
CHAPTER X

What opinion they followed, that set diverse gods to
rule in diverse parts of the world.

But why had he Juno added to him, both as his (Difficulties of
sister and wife? because we place Jupiter in the sky
(say they) and Juno in the air, and these two are
contiguous, one immediately next above the other.
Very well, then all is not full of Jove as you said
but now, if Juno do fill a part. Does the one fill
the other? (being man and wife), and are they dis-
tinct in their several elements, and yet conjoined in
them both? why then hath Jove the sky assigned
him and Juno the air? Again, if only these two
sufficed for all, what should Neptune do with the
sea, and Pluto with the earth? Nay, and for fear
of want of broods, Neptune must have a Salacia, and
Pluto a Proserpina for wives to breed upon. For as
Juno possesses the heavens, in most part the air (say
they): so does Salacia the inner parts of the sea,
and Proserpina the bowels of the earth. Alas, good
men, they would fain stitch up their lies handsomely,
and cannot find which way. For if this were true,
the world should have but three elements (and not
four as their ancient writers have recorded), if every
couple of gods should have their element. But they
themselves have there affirmed, that the sky is one
thing and the air another. But the water, within
and without is all but water (there may be some
diversity to the distinct but never any alteration of the
essential form): and earth is earth, how ever it be
severally qualified. Now the world being complete
in these four, where is Minerva's share? she has a
identifying of gods and share in the Capitol though she be not daughter to Jove and Juno both. If she dwell in the highest part of the sky, and that therefore the poets feigned her to be the birth of Jove's own brain, why is not she then made the absolute empress of heaven, seeing that she sits above Jove? Because it is not meet to make the child lord over the parent? why then was not that equity kept between Saturn and Jupiter? because Saturn was conquered? why then belike they fought! no, the gods forbid, say they; that is but a poetical fiction, a fable: well, then you see they will trust no fables, they do think better of their gods than so; but how changed it then that Saturn (seeing he might not sit above his son Jove) had not a seat equal with him? Because Saturn (say they) is nothing but the "length of time;" well then, they that worship Saturn, worship Time and Jove, the king of all the gods is said to be born of Time, and what wrong do we to Jove and Juno in saying they are born of Time, seeing that by the Pagans' own confessions they signify heaven and earth, both which were created in time, for this the greatest scholars and wisest of them all commend to our memory, nor did Virgil speak out of fiction, but out of Philosophy, when he said—

"Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbrisus Aëther... Conjugis in prenium latæ descendit."

"Almighty Aëther in a fattening shower, Dropped in the lap of his glad spouse."

That was, the earth. In which they make a difference also, for herein Terra, and Tellus and Tellumon are all several things, they say. And all these they have as gods, distinct in name, office, and ceremonial rites. Terra is also called the mother of the gods
besides, that the poets may now feign with far more parts of toleration, seeing that their very books of religion affirm, that Juno is not only wife, and sister but mother also unto Jove. The same earth they style both Ceres and Vesta, yet Vesta they say most commonly is "the fire," and guards that which the city cannot want? And therefore the virgins kept it, because fire and virginity do never bring forth anything. All which vanity, it was fit he only should abolish that was born of a virgin. But who can endure to hear them ascribe so much honour and chastity to the fire, and yet not shame to call Vesta, Venus, that her virgins might have the less care of the honour of virginity, for if Venus were Vesta how should the virgins do her good service in abstaining from venery? or are there two Venuses, the one a virgin, the other a wanton? or three rather, one of the virgins, Vesta, one of the wives, and one of the whores, to such an one as this last is, the Phœnicians consecrated the prostitution of their daughters, before that they married them: now which of these is Vulcan's wife? not the virgin, she never had husband, not the whore, oh no, not Juno's son, and Minerva's forger, be wronged. Well then, it was Venus the wife: yet we would have her to stand as a pattern to be imitated for her tricks that she played with Mars, oh now (say they) you run to the fables again; why what reason is there that you should grieve to hear those things at our tongues, and yet applaud them on your own stages? why does it vex you that we should say (a thing utterly incredible, but that it is so fully proved) that those soul and open crimes of their gods instituted and celebrated in their public honours, and by their own commands.
CHAPTER XI

Of the multitude of gods which the Pagan doctors avouch to be but one and the same Jupiter.

Therefore let them flourish with their physics as long as they like. Let Jupiter be one while the soul of this terrene world, filling the whole fabric of the four elements, more or less, as they please; and another while but a quarter-ruler with his brethren and sisters: let him be the sky now, embracing Juno, which is the air under him, and let him by and by be sky and air both, filling the lap of the earth, his wife and mother, with fertile showers and seeds; this is no absurdity in their divinity; and (to omit the long and tedious catalogue of his removes and strange transmutations) let him forthwith be but one, and that only god, of whom the famous poet was thought to say—

—"Deumque, namque, ire per omnes,
Terraque, tractusque, maris coelumque, profundum."

"For God His spirit imparts,
To the earth's, the sea's, and heaven's profoundest parts."

Let him be Jupiter in the sky, Juno in the air, Neptune in the sea, Salacia in the sea's depth, Pluto in the earth, Proserpina in the earth's lowest part, Vesta in the household's fire, Vulcan in the smith's shop, Sol, Luna and the stars in the spheres; Apollo in divination, Mercury in traffic, in Janus the porter, in the bounds Terminus, in time Saturn, in war Mars and Bellona, in the vineyards Bacchus, in the corn Ceres, in the woods Diana, in men's wits Minerva,
let him rule the seed of man as Liber, and of women, lesser as Libera, as he is the father of the day, let him be (god). Diespiter, as ruler of the monthly disease of women, let him be the goddess Meno; and Lucina that helps in their child-birth. And helping the fruits which increase, let him take the name of Ops. Let him be Vaticanus, that opens the child's mouth first to cry, and Levana, that takes up from the mother; and Cunina, that guards the cradle. Let none but him sing the destinies of the new-born child, and be called Carmentes, let him sway chance, and be styled Fortune, or women's duga, and be called Rumina (because the ancients called a dug Ruma), let him be Potina and suckle the hog-babes; or Educa and feed them: or Paventia, for frightening them, or Veneila for sudden hope; Volupia for pleasure, Agenoria for action; Stimulis for provocation, Strēnua for confirming man's courage, Numeria for teaching children to tell twenty, and Camena for singing. Nay let us make him Consus, for his counsel, Sentia for his sententious inspirations, Juventas for the guiding of our egress from youth to fuller age. For our chin's sake (which, if he love us, he clothes in hair) let him be Fortuna Barbata: may free, because he is a male-god, let him either be Barbatus, as Nodotus is, or because he has a beard, let him not be Fortuna, but Fortunus. Well, on, let him be Jugatis, to look to the hills, and at the losing of a virgin's nuptial girdle let him be invoked by the name of Virginensis: let him be Mutunna, which amongst the Greeks was Priapus, but that (it may be) he will be ashamed of. Let Jupiter alone be all these that I have reckoned, and that I have not reckoned (for I have thought fit to omit a great many), or as those hold, which make him the soul of the world (many of whom are learned men), let all these be but as parts and virtues
If it be so, as I do not yet inquire how it is, what should they lose if they took a shorter course, and adore but one God? what one thing belonging unto His power were despised, if Himself entirely were duly worshipped? If they fear that some of his parts would be angry for being neglected, why then it is not as they say, that all this is but as the life of one soul, containing all those gods as the parts, powers, virtues, and faculties thereof; but every part hath a life, really and distinctly separate from the other: this must needs be true, if one of them may be offended, and another be pleased, and both with one act. And to say that whole Jove would be offended, if all his parts were not severally worshipped, this were foolish: for there were not one of them left out, if the person were adored in whom they are all jointly included. For to permit the rest (being innumerable), whereas they say that the stars are all and every one real parts of Jove, and live, have reasonable souls, and therefore are absolute gods; they say they know not what, and see not how many of them they leave without altars and without worship, both which notwithstanding they have exhibited themselves and commanded others to exhibit unto a certain small number of them: wherefore if they doubt the anger of the rest, why are not they afraid to live in the displeasure of the most part of heaven, having given content but also so few? Now if they worshipped all the stars inclusively in Jupiter's particular person, they might satisfy them all by this means in the adoration of him alone: for so, none of them would think much, seeing they all were worshipped in him; nor should any have cause to think they were condemned: whereas otherwise the greater part may conceive just anger for being thus omitted by those that give all the honour unto a
very few; and their anger may well be the greater in
that they shine above as unregarded, and behold filthy
Priapus stand naked below, in great respect and
credit.

If so, worship Him above.)

CHAPTER XII

Of their opinion that held God to be the soul, and the
world to be the body.

What of this? Ought not this to move the sharpest
wit, nay, all in general? For indeed there is no
great sharpness of wit required to the laying aside of
all wrangling, and to attend but whether God be the
world's soul or no, and whether the world's body or
no, both making one creature; whether He be nature's
storehouse containing all things in Himself; whether
that out of His soul, that animates all this whole mass,
the lives and beings of all living creatures be taken or
no, each one according to their natures? and whether
that there be nothing on earth which is not part of
God? If this were true, mark but the irreligious
consequence thereof: a man, if it were so, should not
tread, but till he treads part of God under his feet;
and in every creature that he killed, he should kill a
part of the Deity. I will not relate what others may
think upon. I cannot speak it without exceeding
shame.
CHAPTER XIII

Of such as hold that the reasonable creatures only are parts of the divine essence.

If they say indeed, that all things in the whole world that do not participate with God, but all reasonable creatures do truly, I cannot see how that can stand. Then all the world is not God; for otherwise how can they keep brute beasts from being part of him? But what needs all this? Let us go but unto this reasonable creature, man; can there be a more damnable absurdity, than to believe that part of God's essence is beaten, when an unoffending child is beaten? To make the subsistence of almighty God, be so lascivious, unjust, wicked, and damnable, as diverse men are: what man can endure to hear it, but he that is absolutely mad; lastly, how can God be justly angry with those that do not worship Him, when as they are parts of His own self, that are guilty? So then, they are forced to say, that every particular god hath his life and subsistence by himself, and that they are not pieces of one another, but each one that is particularly known, must have his peculiar worship: that is known I say, because they cannot all be known. Over all whom, Jupiter being king, thence it comes (as I imagine) that they believe him to be the sole creator and protector of Rome's monarchy. For if it were not he that did it, whom should they think able to perform so great a work? each one having his peculiar task already so distinctly assigned, that one must by no means meddle with that which was under the charge of another. So
then the conclusion is, it must needs be only the king of gods, that erected and preserved this kingdom of men.

CHAPTER XIV

That the augmentations of kingdoms are unfitly ascribed to Jove. Victory (whom they call a goddess) being sufficient of herself to give a full despatch to all such businesses.

Now here is a question; why may not sovereignty itself be a god? What should hinder it more than hinders Victory? Or what need men trouble Jove, if Victory be but favourable enough, and will stay with such as she means to make conquerors? If she be but propitious, let Jove mind his own business, the nation's shall come under. Yea, but it may be they are good men and loth to wrong their neighbours that wrong not them, or to provoke them to war, without a juster cause than mere desire to enlarge their kingdom. Nay, be they of that mind, I commend them with all mine heart.

CHAPTER XV

Whether an honest man ought to entertain any desire to enlarge his empire.

Wherefore let them observe, whether it beseit a good and upright man to rejoice in the enlarging of his
And is this in itself so undoubted dominions. For it was the badness of those against whom just wars were whilom undertaken, that hath advanced earthly sovereignties to that port they now hold: which would have been little still, if no enemy had given cause nor provocation to war by offering his neighbour wrong. If men had always been thus conditioned, the kingdoms of the earth would have continued little in quantity, and peaceful in neighbourly agreement. And then a many kingdoms would have been in the world, as a many families are now in a city. So that the waging war, and the augmentation of dominions by conquest may seem to the bad as a great felicity, but the good must needs hold it a mere necessity. But because it would be worse if the bad should get all the sovereignty, and so overrule the good, therefore in that respect, the honest men may esteem their own sovereignty a felicity. But doubtless, he is far more happy that has a good neighbour by him in quiet, than he that must be forced to subdue an evil neighbour by contention. It is an evil wish, to wish for one that thou hatest, or fearest, or for one to trouble thee that thou mightest have one to conquer. Wherefore if the Romans attained to so great an empire by honest, upright, and just wars, why should they not reverence their enemy's iniquity, and take it for their goddess' good? For we see that iniquity hath given good assistance to the increase of this empire by setting on others upon unjust provocation to just war, that so the Romans might have just cause to subdue them, and so consequently to enlarge their own dominions. And why should not iniquity be a goddess (at least among foreign nations) as well as Fear and Paleness and Fever was at Rome? So that by these two deities, Iniquity and Victory, the first beginning the wars, and the latter ending them with the conquest,
Rome's empire was enlarged infinitely, whilst Jove kept holiday in the Capitol. For what hath Jupiter to do here where those (which they may say are but merely his benefits) are worshipped, invoked, and accounted for direct deities and parts of his essence? Indeed he should have had a fair good hand in this business, if that he were called Sovereignty as well as she is called Victory. But if that Sovereignty be but a mere gift of Jove's, then why may not Victory be so too? Both would be held to be so if the Romans did not worship a dead stone in the Capitol, but the true King of kings and Lord of all domination both in earth and heaven.

CHAPTER XVI

The reason why the Romans, in their appointments of several gods for every thing and every action, would needs place the Temple of Rest or Quiet without the gates.

But I wonder much that the Romans, appointing particular gods over everything, and almost every motion, Agenoria, that stirred men to action; Stimula, that forced them forward; Murcia, that never went out of her pace, and, as Pomponius says, made men slothful, and disabled them from action; Strenua, that made men resolute: unto all which gods and goddesses they offered public sacrifices, and kept solemn feasts; being to dispose of Quiet, the goddess of Rest, her they only vouchsafed a temple without Port Collina, but allowed her no public
honours at all in the city. Whether was this a sign of their unquiet and turbulent spirits, or those who had such a rabble of devil-gods. No worship and reverence, should ever come to enjoy that Rest, whereunto the true Physician invites us, saying: “Learn of Me that I am meek, and lowly in heart, and you shall find rest unto your souls.”

CHAPTER XVII

Whether if Jove, being the chief god of all, Victory be to be accounted as one of the number.

Will they say (think you) that Jupiter sends this goddess Victory, whether she pleases, and she obeying him, sets up her rest on that side that he commands? It is true indeed: but not of that Jove which their fondness dreams is king of the gods; but of Him that is the true King of all times and all things, that can send (not victory, which is no substance, but) His angels, and make them conquer whom He pleases; whose counsels may be unknown, but never unjust. For if Victory be a goddess, why is not Triumph a god and husband unto her, or her brother, or son, or somewhat? For they believe such absurdities of the gods, as if the Poets should but feign, or we but cast them in the teeth with, they would presently answer, it were a ridiculous figment, not to be attributed to the true gods: and yet they laugh not at themselves, who did more than read those dotages in the Poets, when they adored them.

Matt. xi. 29.
in their temples. Wherefore they should worship and adore only Jupiter indeed, and let all this multitude pass. For if Victory be a goddess and subject unto that king, she dares not resist him, but must be ready to fulfil his pleasure whithersoever he send her.

CHAPTER XVIII

Why Fortune and Felicity were made goddesses.

Nay Felicity is a goddess also now: she has got her an altar, a temple, sacrifices, and everything fit: why should not she have all the worship to herself? Wheresoever she is, there should all good be. But why is Fortune preferred to the honour of a deity? Is Felicity one thing and Fortune another? Yes, Fortune may be both good and bad, but if Felicity once grow bad, she loses her name. Truly I think we should have all the gods, of both sexes (if they have sexes), to be still good ones: and so thought Plato and divers other excellent philosophers and statesmen. How then can the goddess Fortune be now good and now evil? Is she no goddess when she is not good, but is turned immediately into a devil? Why then how many goddesses are there? Even as many as there be fortunate men, that is good fortunes. For many bad fortunes and many good, that is, at one time falling together; Fortune should be both good and evil at once, if she be all these: good to these and bad to the other. But she that is the goddess is always good: well, suppose, is she Felicity herself: why changes she her name then?
Indeed there is Fortune and Felicity besides. Yes, that may be tolerated. For many things have two or three names. But why then hath she divers temples, altars, and ceremonies? Because (say they) that is Felicity that does follow a man's deserts: that good fortune which lights casually upon good and evil, without any respect of deserts: and is therefore called Fortune. How can she then be good, coming with no discretion as well to evil men as good? And why is she adored, being so blind that she commonly over-runs those that honour her, and stays with those that scorn her? If her servants obtain grace at her hands, and get her to stay with them, then she follows merits; and is Fortune no more. Where is her definition then? How then doth all go by chance? If she be Fortune, in vain is all her worship: but if she discern, and help her servants, then she is Fortune no more. But does not Jupiter send her also whither his pleasure is? Well if he do, then let him have all the worship to himself: for she cannot gainsay him, if he bid her depart to such or such a man. Or it may be that the evil do honour her, to get themselves some merit whereby they may purchase Felicity, and so enjoy her company instead of Fortune's.

CHAPTER XIX

Of a goddess called Fortuna Muliebris.

Nay, they are in such dotage upon this same Fortune, that they do steadfastly affirm that the image which the matrons dedicated and named "Fortuna Muliebris,
the woman's fortune," did speak particular words; and that not once but often, saying that they had dedicated her in a very good order and respect: which if it were true, we ought not to wonder at. For the devils can use this cozenage with ease; which was the more discoverable, in that it was she that spoke, who follows chance, and not desert. Fortune spoke, but Felicity was silent: unto what other end was this, but only to make men neglect living well, seeing that without any desert this Lady Fortune might make them fortunate? But yet if Fortune did speak, the man's fortune (methinks) should have spoken, and not the woman's, because otherwise, the women that consecrated the statue might be thought to feign that the image spoke, because they love so well to be heard speak themselves.

CHAPTER XX

Of the deification of Virtue and Faith by the Pagans, and of their omission of the worship that was due to divers other gods, if it be true that these were gods.

They made a goddess also of Virtue: which if she were such, should take place of a great many of the rest. But being no goddess, but a gift of God, let it be obtained of Him that alone has power of the gift of it, and farewell all the buried roll of these counterfeit gods. But why is Faith made a goddess, and graced with a temple and an altar? Whosoever
How knows faith well, makes his own bosom her temple. But how know they what faith is, when her chief office is to believe in the true God? And why may not Virtue suffice? is not Faith there where Virtue is? They divide Virtue but into four parts, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance; and because every one of these has several sub-divisions, therefore falls Faith to be a part of Justice, and is of chief power with us, that know that the “just shall live by faith.” But I wonder of these men that do so thirst after store of gods, that having made Faith a goddess, they will so neglect a great many goddesses more of her nature, to whom they should afford temples and altars as well as to her? Why is not Temperance made a goddess, having given such lustre to divers Roman princes? Nor Fortitude that held Scævola’s hand in the fire; and went with Curtius into the spacious gulf for the love of his country: and stood by the two Decii, the father and the son, when they vowed their lives to their nation? If, by the way, this were true valour in them, as it is a question (but not disputable here), why are not Prudence and Wisdom made deities as well as the rest? Because they are all worshipped under the general name of Virtue. So might all the supposed parts of one God be entirely worshipped in His sole and particular worship. But in Virtue, there is Faith, and Chastity, as parts indeed, and yet those must have peculiar altars and sacrifices. But it is vanity and not verity that turns such qualities into deities.

* Hab. 2
That such as knew not the true and only God had better have been contented with Virtue and Felicity.

For these are the gifts of God, not gods themselves. They cover and embrace too much. But where Virtue and Felicity is, what needeth any more? What will satisfy him whom these two cannot satisfy? Virtue confineth all good acts, and Felicity all good desires. If it were for these that Jupiter was worshipped (and what is the extent and continuance of dominion, but an appurtenance of felicity) why perceived they not that these were but his gifts, and not deities themselves? But if they were deities, what needs any beside them? For let them cast over all the sum of their gods' and goddesses' functions, as their inventions have distributed them, and find if they can, that he that has virtue and felicity, needs any of their helps, or has any use of them? What need he trouble Mercury or Minerva for learning virtue, including it all in herself? For virtue is but an art of living well and wisely, as all the old writers do define it. And therefore some say that the word art comes of ἀπεραί in Greek, which is virtue. But if none but witty men could be virtuous, what use then is there of Father Catus, a god that maketh men acute, when as Felicity can do all this? For to be born witty, is a felicity. Wherefore, though the child being yet unborn could not merit this felicity; yet she bestows wit upon the child as a benefit unto the parents that honoured her. But what need the women in travail call on Lucina, Felicity being able with her presence both to make their labour easy, and their offspring
What need of the swarm of lesser gods? What needs Ops be troubled with the children when they are new born, Vaticanus when they cry? Cunina when they sleep, Rumina when they suck, Statilius when they learn to stand, Adeona and Abeona when they go, Mens for a good mind for them, Volumnus and Volumna for a good will for them? The nuptial gods for their marriage, the field gods for their harvest, and chiefly Fructesia; Mars and Bellona for their fights, Victoria for their victories, Honor for their honours, Pacemia for their riches, Aesculanus and his son Argentus for coin enough both of brass and silver (the first is the father, because brass money was in use before silver): I wonder that Argentum begot not Aurinus; for gold followed soon after. If they had had Aurinus, sure as death he should have had place of father and grandfather, as well as Jove had above Saturn: what need men run unto so many for this good or that (to such a crew as neither I can reckon nor themselves discern, having a god for every little act and accident of men); when as Felicity would have bestowed all, in far less time and with far less toil; nor need any other be troubled, either for bestowing of good, or diverting of bad. Why should Fessonia be called unto the weary, Pellomio to chase away the foe, Apollo or Aesculapius to the sick, or both, and few enough in a disease of danger? Nor needed Spinensis to meddle with the thorns, nor any entreaty to keep away Rubigo: only Felicity’s present aid would keep all mischiefs away, and repulse them at their first approach. But now to shut up this discourse of these two, Virtue and Felicity; if Felicity be the reward of Virtue, then is it no goddess, but a gift of God, but if it be a goddess, it must needs be the producer of Virtue, seeing that to attain to virtue, is the greatest felicity.
CHAPTER XXII

Of the knowledge of these Pagan gods, which Varro boasts he taught the Romans.

What great good turn then does Varro boast that (Varro he has done unto his citizens, in the particularising with all of the gods, and their worship's that the Romans must observe? For what boots it (says he) to know a physician by name and by face, and yet to be ignorant what a physician is? So likewise it boots not (says he) to know Æsculapius unless you know that he cures diseases; otherwise you know not what to pray to him for. And this he confirms in another simile saying: A man cannot live well, nay he cannot live at all, if he know not the smith, the painter, the carpenter, &c., distinctly; where to have this necessary, where that, where to be taught this or that. So it is plain, that to know what power every god hath, and upon what object, is wonderfully useful. For thence may we gather whom to sue unto for every need we have, and not follow the mimics, in begging water of Bacchus, and wine of the Nymphs. Who would not give this man thanks now, if his doctrine were true, and did show the worship of the true God, of whom alone we are to ask all things.

CHAPTER XXIII

Of the absolute sufficiency of Felicity alone, whom the Romans (who worshipped so many gods) did for a great while neglect, and gave no divine honours unto.

But if their books be true, and that Felicity be a goddess, how comes it to pass that she has not all
Felicity of the worship unto herself, being of herself sufficient for all needs? Who wishes anything but happiness? And why was it so late, before Lucullus, the first of all the Romans, thought it fit to erect her a temple? Why did not Romulus, that wished the city so well, provide a place for her, seeing that her presence might have saved him all his labour in praying to the other gods? he had never been king, nor ever come to have been a god, had not she stuck to him. Why then did he clog the Romans with such a noise of gods, Janus, Jove, Mars, Picus, Faunus, Tiberinus, Hercules; and all the rest. And what did Tatius, bringing in Saturn, Ops, Sol, Luna, Vulcan, Lux, and to close up all, sweet Cloacina, leaving Felicity in the dust? And what was Numa's mind to gather such an host of he gods, and she gods, and leave her out? Could he not find her for the multitude? Verily Hostilius would never have brought Fear and Pallor to be templisied, if he had had any knowledge of this Felicity. For had she come there, Fear and Pallor must need have been a packing. Again, in all the increase of the empire, she was not thought of, no man served her; what was the reason of this? Was the empire more great than happy? Perhaps so: for how can true Felicity be there where true Piety is not? And Piety is the true worship of the true God, not the adoration of those multitude of false gods, or devils, whether you will. But afterwards, when Felicity was entertained, and had got a place with the rest, the great infelicity of the civil wars followed presently upon it. Was not Felicity angry (think you) that she was let pass so long, and then taken in at last, not to her honour but to her disgrace, being ranked with Priapus, and Cloacina, and Fear, and Pallor, and Fever, and a sort that were no gods to be worshipped, but defects in the
worshippers? Lastly, seeing she must be fain to share honours with so unworthy a rabble, at least why had she not a better part of honours than the others? Who could endure that the goddess Felicity should stand by and neither be reckoned amongst the gods Consentis, that were of Jove's council, nor the Select gods neither? Nor had not a temple that should have excelled all the rest in height of posture? and magnificence of fabric? why should she not have a better than Jupiter? For she herself gave him his kingdom, if ever he were a happy king, that happiness is of better worth than sovereignty, is most plain. For many men doubtless may be found, that would not be kings, but none that would not be happy. So that if the gods were asked their minds, by augury, or otherwise, whether they would give place to Felicity or no, I will undertake, that if all the room besides were filled with other gods' altars, that Felicity could not have a fit place built, Jupiter himself would give place, and let Felicity have his own seat upon the top of the Tarpeian hill. Nor is there one of them that would not do as much, unless (which is impossible) some of them would be so mad as to lose her favour and grow miserable. Jupiter would never use her, as he was used by Mars, Terminus, and Juventas, who by no means could be persuaded to give their king place. For (as they write) Tarquin being desirous to build the Capitol, and seeing the place he thought fittest, already taken up by other strange gods, durst not control them, but thought that good manners would teach them to give place unto their king: and being that there was a great fort there, where he meant to build, he asked them by augury whether they were willing to resign the place to their king or no? All were content, except Mars, Terminus, and Juventas: and so the
Yet did she enter late into Rome. Capitol was built, and they for their sauciness had such small monuments left, that the Romans' greatest divines did scarcely know where they stood. But Jove would never deal so uncivilly with Felicity, as Mars, Terminus, and Juventas dealt with him. And then those that would not yield to him, assuredly would yield to her, that made him their king. Or if they would not; why then it were because they had rather abide in obscurity in Felicity's house, than to sit in eminence without her company, so that had she but the highest place, the citizens would soon learn where to pray for good gifts, and in time, by the very persuasion of nature: put away that swarm of gods, and pray only to Felicity, offer only to her, and frequent her temple only, if they desired to be happy, as all would do; and so all men would come and beg herself of herself, for who would beg anything but Felicity, of any god? so that Felicity having power to be abiding with whom she list (as she may if she be a goddess), what man were so foolish as to go and entreat her company of another god, when he may obtain it of her self? So that the dignity of place also should of right be hers from all the other gods. For they write that the ancient Romans did worship one Summanus, one that ruled the thunder of the night, above Jupiter that ruled the day thunder. But after that Jupiter had gotten him such a sumptuous house, the company came in so fast unto him, that one could scarce find one within a while, that had heard, nay more, that had read so much as the name of Summanus. But now if Felicity be no goddess, being (in truth) but a gift of God; then is it fit to find out that God that can bestow it, and to throw aside this dangerous roll of counterfeit deities, which a skull of fools do run thus headlong after, taking God's gifts for God Himself, and by their obstinacy
giving Him continual cause of offence, whose gifts they are; for so shall He never want infelicity that honours Felicity as a goddess, and neglects Him that is the giver of all felicity: even as he shall never want hunger that licks the picture of a crust, and never asks bread of him that hath it to give him.

CHAPTER XXIV

What reasons the Pagans bring, for their worshipping of gods' gifts for gods themselves.

Let us examine their reasons. Do you think (say they) our ancestors were such fools that they knew not those to be gods' gifts, and not gods? No truly; but because they knew that they could not have them but from some god, they called their gods which they thought had the gift of them, by the names of the things themselves; sometimes deriving words from thence (as Bellona of bellum, war, not Bellum itself, and Cunina of cunea, needless, not Cuna. Segetia of seges, corn, not Seges' itself; Pomona of pomum, an apple, not Pomum; and Bubona of bos, an ox, not Bos); and sometimes never altering the word at all, but calling them just as the thing is called: as Pecunia the goddess, that gives money (not holding money itself for a goddess), and Virtus, that gives virtue, Honor for honour, Victoria for victory, Concordia for concord, and so Felicity being called a goddess, is not meant of the thing given, but of the power that giveth it. Well, out of this reason will we find an easy way to persuade all such as have not hardened their hearts to be of our opinion.
CHAPTER XXV

Of the worship of one god only, whose name although they knew not, yet they took him for the giver of felicity.

Our God the only true giver of felicity. For if man's weakness observed thus much, that felicity could not come but from some god, and that this was perceived by those that worshipped so many gods, who therefore would call him that they thought could give it, by the name of the thing itself, knowing no other name he had; this proves sufficiently that Jupiter could not give felicity, whom they worshipped already, but only he whom they worshipped under the name of Felicity. So then, is it confirmed that they thought Felicity could not be given but by a god that they knew not well; seek but him out then and give him his due worship and it sufficeth. Cashier this return of innumerable and as unnecessary gods, nay devils: let not that god suffice the worship, whose gift is not sufficient: hold not (I say) that god for a sufficient giver of felicity whose felicity is wholly insufficient. But in whom is it sufficient? in the true and only God, the giver of all felicity: serve Him. It is not he that they call Jove. For if it were he, they would never stand seeking this gift of another, who goes under the name of Felicity: besides they would not do Jove's honour that wrong, as for to count him as Jove is counted; an adulterer with other men's wives, and an unchaste lover, and ravisher of fair boys.
CHAPTER XXVI

Of the stage-plays which the gods exacted of their servants.

"But these were fictions of Homer," quoth Tully, Not the "transferring human affects unto the gods. I had evil Jove rather they had transferred divine affects unto us." This grave man indeed was much displeased with the unseasonable fictions of those times. Aye, but why then did the wisest and most learned men of all the Romans present stage-plays, writing them, and acting them to the honour of their gods, and as parts and pains of their religion? Here Tully exclaims not against poetic fictions but against the old ordinances. And would not the ordinaries exclaim too, and say, why what do we? our gods entreated us, nay forced us upon pain of destruction to exhibit them such things as honours: punishing the neglect thereof with severity, and showing themselves pleased in the amendment of that neglect. That which I will now relate, is reckoned as one of their most virtuous and memorable deeds. Titus Latinus, a rustic house-keeper, was warned in a dream to bid the Roman Senate restore the stage-plays, because upon their first day of presentation an offender carried out and whipped to death before all the people had sore displeased the gods that do not love such sad spectacles, but are all for mirth and jollity: well, he neglected to tell the Senate this, but was warned again the next night. Neglecting it again, suddenly his son died. And the third night he was warned again upon pain of a greater mischief. He not daring as yet to reveal it, fell into a sore and horrible disease.
And then having imparted it to his friends, they counselled him to open it to the Senate, so he was carried to them in his coach, and having told his dream, grew well in an instant, and went home on his feet. The Senate being amazed with his miracle renewed the plays with treble charges, who sees not now (that sees at all) how villainously these devils abuse those men that are their slaves, in forcing these things from them, as honours, which an upright judgment would easily discern to be obscenities. From this slavery can nothing deliver man but the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord: in those plays, the gods’ crimes, that the poets feign, are presented: yet by the gods’ express charge were they by the Senate renewed. And there did the stage-players act, produce, and present Jove, for the veriest whore-master in the world; had this been false, he should have been offended at it; but taking delight (as he did) to have villainies invented upon him, who would serve him that would not serve the devil? Is this the founder, enlarger, and establisher of the Roman Empire? and is he not more base and abject than any Roman that beheld him thus presented? can he give happiness that loved this unhappy worship, and would be more unhappily angry if it were not afforded him?

CHAPTER XXVII

Of the three kinds of gods whereof Scaevola disputed.

It is least in memory that Scaevola, their learned high-priest, disputed of three kinds of gods that were
taught by authors; one by the poets, one by the philosophers, one by the princes of the city. The first sort, he says, were but fooleries, much of their doctrine being fictitious: the second, disagreeing from a politic state, having much superfluity, and divers inconveniences, for the superfluity: it is no great matter, for it is a saying amongst men, "superfluity hurteth not;" but what are the inconveniences; to deny openly that Hercules, Æsculapius, Castor, and Pollux are gods; for the philosophers teach that they were men, and died as other men do. To what end is this, but that the cities should be filled with statues of such as are no true gods, the true god having neither sex, age, nor body. But this, Scaevola would not have the people to know, because he did not think it was false himself. So that he holds it fit cities should be deluded in religion, which indeed Varro sticks not plainly to affirm. (De reb. div.) A godly religion, whereto when weak minds going for refuge, and seeking to be freed by the truth, must be told, that it is fit that they be illuded. Nor does the same book conceal the cause why Scaevola rejects the poets' gods. It is because they do so deform them with their stories, that they are not fit to keep good men company, one being described to steal, and another to commit adultery: as also to do and say so filthily and fondly, as that the three goddesses, striving for eminence of beauty, the other two being cast by Venus, destroyed Troy; that Jove was turned to a bull, or a swan, to have the company of some wench or other; that a goddess married a man, and that Saturn ate up his sons. No wonder! No vice, but there you have it set down, quite against the natures of the deities. O Scaevola, abolish those plays if it be in thy power! tell the people what absurd honours they offer the gods,
gazing on their guilt, and remembering their pranks, as a licence for their own practice! If they say, you priests brought them us, entreat the gods that commanded them, to suffer their abolishment: if they be bad, and therefore at no hand credible, with reverence to the gods' majesties, then the greater is the injury that is offered unto them, of whom they are so freely invented. But they are devils (Scævola) teaching guiltiness, and joying in filthiness, they will not hear thee. They think it no injury to have such black crimes imputed unto them, but rather hold themselves wronged if they be not imputed, and exhibited. Now if thou callest on Jove against them, were there no other cause for it, but the most frequent presenting of his enormities (though you call him the god and king of the world), would he not think himself highly wronged by you, in ranking him in worship with such filthy companions, and making him governor of them?

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Whether the Romans' diligence in this worship of those gods, did their empire any good at all.

By no means then could these gods preserve the Roman Empire, being so criminous in their own filthy desiring of such honours as these are, which rather serve to condemn them, than appease them. For if they could have done that, the Greeks should have had their helps before, who afforded them far better store of such sacrifices as these, with far more
stage-plays and shows. For they, seeing the poets tax their gods so freely, never thought shame to let them tax themselves, but allowed them free leave to traduce whom they pleased, and held the stage-players worthy of the best honours of their state. But even as Rome might have had golden coins, yet never worshipped Aurinus for it, so might they have had silver and brass ones without Argentinus or his father Aesculenus, and so of all other necessaries. But so could they not possess their kingdom, against the will of the true God, but in despite of all the other, let them do what they list, that one unknown God being well and duly worshipped, would have kept their kingdom on earth in better estate than ever, and afterward have bestowed a kingdom on each of them in heaven (had they a kingdom before or had they none) that should endure for ever.

CHAPTER XXIX

Of the falseness of that augury that presaged courage and stability to the state of Rome.

For what a goodly presage was that which I spake of but now, of the obstinacy of Mars, Terminus, and Juventas, that it should signify that Mars' nation, the Romans, should yield the place to no man: that no man should remove the limits of their empire, because of Terminus, and that their youth should yield to none, because of Juventas. Now mark but how these gods misused their King, daring to give these auguries as in his defiance, and as glorying in the
Their keeping of their places; though if these antiquities were true, they need fear nothing. For they confessed not that they must give place to Christ that would not give place to Jove; and they might give Christ place without prejudice to the empire’s limits, both out of the temples, and the hearts that they held. But this we write was long before Christ came, or that augury was recorded: notwithstanding after that presage in Tarquin’s time, the Romans lost many a battle, and proved Juventas a liar in his prophecy, and Mars’ nation was cut in pieces within the very walls, by the conquering Gauls; and the limits of the empire were brought to a narrow compass in Hannibal’s time when most of the cities of Italy fell from Rome to him. Thus was this fine augury fulfilled, and the obstinacy of the presages remained to prove them rebellious devils. For it is one thing not to give place, and another to give place and regain it afterwards. Though afterwards the bounds of the empire were altered in the East by Hadrianus’ means, who lost Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, unto the Persians, to show god Terminus that would not give place to Jove himself, but guarded the Roman limits against all men, to let him see, that Hadrian, a king of men, could do more than Jove, the king of gods. The said Provinces being recovered afterward, now almost in our times, god Terminus has given ground again, Julian (that was given so to the Oracles) desperately commanding all the ships to be burned that brought the army victuals, so that the soldiers fainting, and he himself being slain by his foes’ hands, there was no means for one man to escape, but by yielding to the foe so much of the empire as now to this day they possess: making a bargain not altogether so bad as Hadrian’s was, but taking a middle course between two extremes.
that Terminus’ standing out with Jove was but an unlucky sign and foolish augury, seeing that Hadrian’s will, Julian’s rashness, and Jovian’s necessity all made him give room to them. The Romans that were of discretion, observed this well, but they could not overture the inveterate idolatry wherein the devils had bound the city so fast: and they themselves, though holding these things vain, thought notwithstanding Nature should have that divine worship allowed her, which indeed is the true God’s only peculiar, under whom she is at command. “These served the creature, rather than the creator,” as the Apostle says; “who is blessed for evermore.”

This God’s help was needed, to send some godly men to suffer death for the true religion, and thereby to take away these erroneous illusions from the world.

CHAPTER XXX

The confessions of such as do worship those Pagan gods, from their own mouths.

Cicero being augur, derided the auguries, and blames men for letting their actions rely upon the voice of a crow or a daw. O but this academic faith, that all things are uncertain; he is not worthy to be trusted in any of these mysteries. Q. Lucil. Balbus in Tully’s second book, “De nat. deor.” disputes hereof, and having proved these superstitions to be physical in nature, yet condemns the institution of

Romans i.
Cicero derides such fables. Images and their fables, in these words. "Perceive you not then that from the useful observations of these things in nature, the tract was found to bring in those imaginary and forged gods? hence came all the false opinions, errors and old wives' tales: for now are we acquainted with the shapes, ages, apparel, kinds, marriages, kindreds, and all are squared out by human fancies: nay they have turbulence of effects also. We have heard of their desires, sorrows and passions. Nor wanted they wars, if all tales be true: they fought in parties, not only in Homer, but all on a side also against the Titans and Giants: and hence arises a sottish belief of their vanity, and extreme inconstancy." Behold now what they themselves say that worship these forgeries: he affirms that these things belonged to superstition, but he teaches of religion as the Stoics do. "For," quoth he, "not only the philosophers, but all our ancestors made a difference between religion and superstition. For such as prayed whole days together, and offered for their children's lives, those were called superstitious." Who perceives not now that he, standing in awe of this city's custom, did notwithstanding commend the religion of his ancestors, and would fain have severed it from superstition, but that he cannot tell how? for if the ancients called those superstitious, that prayed and sacrificed whole days together, were not they worthy of that name also, whom he reprehends for inventing so many distinct ages, images, and sexes, &c., for the whole number of the gods? if the instituters of those be culpable, it implies guilt also unto these ancients that invented and adored such idle fooleries: and unto him also (for all his eloquent evasions), that must be tied by necessity to this absurd worship; and dare not speak in a public oration what he delivers
here in a private disputation. Thanks therefore be given to our Lord Jesus Christ, from all us Christians, not to heaven and earth (as he would have it) but unto Him that made heaven and earth, who has overturned and abolished those superstitions (which Balbus durst scarcecly mutter at) by His heavenly humility, His apostles' preaching and His martyrs' faith, that died for the truth and lived in the truth, having by these means rooted all errors not only out of the hearts of the religious, but even out of the temples of the superstitious.

CHAPTER XXXI

Of Varro's rejecting the popular opinion, and of his belief of one God, though he knew not the true God.

And what say you to Varro (whom we are sorry should make plays as an honour to true gods in religion, though not in judgment, seeing he exhorts men to the adoration of the gods so religiously), does not he confess, that he is not of the opinion of those that left the Romans their religion, and that if he were to leave the city any institutions, he would rather give them their gods after the prescript of nature? But seeing that the former has been of so long a continuance, he says that it was but his duty to prosecute his discourse hereof from the eldest antiquities, to the end that the people should not be induced rather to honour than to contempt them; wherein this judicious writer shows that the things whereof he writes would be contemptible to the
people as well as to himself, if they were not kept in silence. I should have thought one might but have conjectured this, but that himself says in many places that there is much truth, which the people ought not to know: nay and if it were all falsehood, yet it were fit the people should nevertheless think that it were truth: and therefore the Grecians shut up their Teletæ, and their most secret mysteries in walls. Here he has made a discovery of all the politic government of the world. But the devils take great delight in this playing double: making themselves the masters both over the deceivers and the deceived, from whose dominion nothing frees us but the grace of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. This acute and learned man says further, that he thinks only those to discern God, who teach that He is a soul, moving, and swaying the whole world: and hereby, though He yet have no firm hold of the truth (for God is no soul, but the soul's Maker), yet if the city's custom had permitted him, assuredly he would have taught them the worship of one only God, and the Governor of the world: so that we should but have this only controversy with him, whether God were a soul, or the soul's Maker. He says also that the old Romans were a hundred three-score and ten years without idols: and had they been so still (quoth he) religion had been kept the purer; to prove which, he produces (amongst others) the Jews, and concludes, that whosoever they were that first invented images, they freed the city from all awe, and added unto error: being well advised that the senselessness of the idols would make the gods themselves seem contemptible. But whereas he saith they added unto error, that proves, that there was some error there, before that images came in. And therefore his saying, that these only
discerned God which called Him a soul governing the world; and his opinion that the gods' honours would have been purer without images, these positions declare how near the truth he draws. For could he have done any good against such an overgrown error, he would have showed them how that one only God should have been adored; even He that governs the world, and that He is not to be pictured: and the youth of the city being set in so near a path to the truth, might easily have been persuaded afterwards, that God was an unchangeable nature, creating the soul also. These things being thus, whatever fooleries those men have discovered of their gods in their books, they have been laid open by the immediate hand of God (compelling them to confess them), rather than by their own desire to dissuade them: wherefore that we allege from them, is to control those that will not see from what a damned slavery to the devil, that same singular sacrifice of so holy blood, and the vouchsafing of the spirit has delivered us.

CHAPTER XXXII

What reason the kings of the world had, for the permitting of those false religions in such places as they conquered.

He says also, that in the gods' genealogies, the people followed the poets more than the philosophers, and thence the old Romans their ancestors, had their belief of so many sexes, marriages, and lineages of
In sum; the gods. The reason of this (I suppose) was, because the politic and wise men did especially endeavour to nouse their people in this illusive manner, and to make them not only worshippers, but even imitators of the devils that delighted to delude them. For even as the devils cannot possess any, but such as they have deceived, so unjust and devil-like princes persuaded their people to their own vain inventions, under the name of religion, thereby to bind their affections the firmer to their service, and so to keep them under their sovereignties. And what ignorant and weak man can avoid both the charms of princes and devils?

CHAPTER XXXIII

That God has appointed a time for the continuance of every state on earth.

Wherefore God, that only and true author of felicity, He giveth kingdoms to good and to bad; not rashly, nor casually, but as the time is appointed, which is well known to Him, though hidden for us, unto which appointment notwithstanding He does not serve, but as a Lord sways it, never giving true felicity but to the good. For this, both subjects and kings may either have or want, and yet be as they are, servants and governors. The fulness indeed of it shall be in that life where no man shall serve. And therefore here on earth, He gives kingdoms to the bad as well as to the good, lest His servants, that are but yet proselytes should affect them as
great matters. And this is the mystery of His Old Testament, wherein the New was included: that there, all the gifts and promises were of this world, and of the world to come also, to those that understood them, though the eternal good that was meant by those temporal ones, were not as yet manifested: nor in what gifts of God the true felicity was resident.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Of the Jews' kingdom, which one God alone kept unmoved as long as they kept the truth of religion.

To show therefore that all those temporal goods which those men gape after, that can dream of no better, are in God's hands alone, and in none of their idols, therefore multiplied He His people in Egypt, from a very few, and then delivered them from thence by miraculous wonders. Their women never called upon Lucina when their children multiplied upon them incredibly; and when He preserved them from the Egyptians that persecuted them, and would have killed all their children. They sucked without Ruminas' help; slept without Cumina, eat and drank without Educa and Potica, and were brought up without any of these puppy gods' helps: married without the nuptial gods, begot children without Priapus, crossed through the divided sea without calling upon Neptune, and left all their foes drowned behind them.\(^1\) They dedicated

\(^1\) Gen, xlvi.
The Jews no goddess Mannia, when heaven had rained manna for them: nor worshipped the Nymphs when the rock was cleft and the waters flowed out: they used no Mars nor Bellona in their wars, and conquered, not without Victory, but without making victory a goddess. They had corn, oxen, honey, apples, without Segetia, Bobona, Mella, or Pomona. And to conclude, all things that the Romans begged of so many false gods, they received of one true God in far happier measure: and had they not persisted in their impious curiosity in running after strange gods, as if they had been enchanted, and lastly in killing of Christ, in the same kingdom had they lived happily still, if not in a larger. And that they are now dispersed over the whole earth, is God's especial providence, that what altars, groves, woods, and temples of the false gods He reproves, and what sacrifices He forbids, might all be discerned by their books as their fall itself was foretold them, by their prophets: and this lest the Pagans reading them with ours, might think we had feigned them. But now to our next book, to make an end of this tedious one.
THE FIFTH BOOK

CHAPTER I

Whether necessity have any dominion over the will of man.

We need nor fear that Necessity which the Stoics were so afraid of, that in their distinctions of causes, they put some under necessity and some not under it, and in those that did not subject unto it, they set our wills also, that they might be free though they were urged by necessity. But if that be necessity in us, which is not in our power, but will be done, do what we can against it, as the necessity of death; then is it plain, that our wills are subject to no such necessity, use we them howsoever, well or badly: for we do many things which we could not do, against our wills. And first of all to will itself: if we will a thing, there is our will; if we will not, it is not. For we cannot will against our wills. Now if necessity be defined to be, that whereby such a thing must needs fall out thus, or thus, I see no reason we should fear, that it could hinder the freedom of our wills in anything. For we neither subject God's being, nor His presciences, unto necessity, when we say God must needs live eternally, and God must needs foreknow all things; no more than His honour is diminished, in saying He cannot err, He cannot die; He cannot do this, why? because His power were less, if He could do it, than now it is in that He cannot. Justly is He
Man is free though God foreknow called almighty, yet may He not die, nor err: He is called almighty because He can do all that is in His will, not because He can suffer what is not His will; which if He could He were not almighty. So that He cannot do some things, because He can do all things. So when we say that if we will anything of necessity, we must will it with a freedom of will, it is true: yet put we not our will under any such necessity as deprives it of the freedom. So that our wills are ours, willing what we will, and if we will it not, neither do they will it: and if any man suffer anything by the will of another against his own will, his will has the own power still, and his sufferance comes rather from the power of God than from his own will: for if he willed that it should be otherwise, and yet could not have it so, his will must needs be hindered by a greater power: yet his will should be free still, and not in any other's power, but his that willed it, though he could not have his will performed: wherefore whatsoever a man suffers against his will he ought not to attribute it unto the wills of angels, men, or any other created spirits, but even to His who gave their wills this power. So then, our wills are not useless, because that God foresees what will be in them: He that foresaw it whatsoever it be, foreknew somewhat: and if He did foreknow somewhat, then by His foreknowledge there is something in our wills: wherefore we are neither compelled to leave our freedom of will by retaining God’s foreknowledge, nor by holding our will’s freedom to deny God’s foreknowledge; God forbid we should: we believe and affirm them both constantly and truly, the latter as a part of our good faith, the former as a rule for our good life: and badly does he live that believes not aright of God. So God forbid that we should deny His foreknowledge to be free, by whose help we
either are or shall be free. Therefore law, correction, praise, disgrace, exhortation, and prohibition are not in vain: because He foreknew that there should be such: they have that power which He foreknew they should have: and prayers are powerful to attain those things, which He foreknows that He will give to such as pray for them. Good deeds has He predestinated to reward, and evil to punishment. Nor does man sin because God foreknew that he would sin: nay, therefore it is doubtless that he sins, when he does sin, because that God, whose knowledge cannot be mistaken, foresaw that neither fate nor fortune, nor anything else, but the man himself would sin, who if he had not been willing, he had not sinned: but whether he should be unwilling to sin, or no, that also did God foreknow.

CHAPTER II

Of God’s universal providence, ruling all, and comprising all.

Wherefore the great and mighty God with His Word and His Holy Spirit (which three are one), God only omnipotent, Maker and Creator of every soul, and of every body, in participation of whom, all such are happy that follow His truth and reject vanities: He that made man a reasonable creature of soul and body, and He that did neither let him pass unpunished for his sin, nor yet excluded him from mercy: He that gave both unto good and bad essence with the stones, power of production with the trees,
He who governs all, guides the kingdoms of men. He who senses with the beasts of the field, and understanding with the angels; He, from whom is all being, beauty, form and order, number, weight and measure; He, from whom all nature, mean and excellent, all seeds of form, all forms of seed, all motion, both of forms and seeds derive and have being: He that gave flesh the original, beauty, strength, propagation, form and shape, health and symmetry; He that gave the unreasonable soul, sense, memory and appetite, the reasonable besides these, phantasy, understanding, and will: He (I say) having left neither heaven, nor earth, nor angel, nor man, no nor the most base and contemptible creature, neither the bird’s feather, nor the herb’s flower, nor the tree’s leaf, without the true harmony of their parts, and peaceful concord of composition; it is no way credible, that He would leave the kingdoms of men, and their bondages and freedoms loose and uncompromised in the laws of His eternal providence.

CHAPTER III

How the ancient Romans obtained this increase of their kingdom, at the true God’s hand, being that they never worshipped Him.

Now let us look what desert of the Romans moved the true God to augment their dominion, He in whose power all the kingdoms of the earth are. For the better performance of which we wrote our last book before, to prove that their gods whom they worshipped in such ridiculous manner, had no such
power; and thus far have we proceeded in this book, to take away the question of destiny and fate, lest some man being persuaded that it was not the deed of the gods, should rather ascribe it unto fate than to God's will, so mighty and so omnipotent. The ancient Romans therefore (as their histories report) though like to all other nations (excepting the Hebrews) they worshipped idols and false gods, offering their sacrifices to the devils, not to the true Deity; yet their desire of praise made them bountiful of their purses, they loved glory and wealth honestly gotten: honour they dearly affected and honestly, offering willingly both their lives, and their states for them. The zealous desire of this one thing suppressed all other inordinate affects: and hence they desired to keep their country in freedom, and then in sovereignty, because they saw how baseness went with servitude, and glory with dominion. Whereupon they rejected the imperiousness of their kings, and set down a yearly government between two heads, called Consuls à Consulendo, of providing; not Kings, nor Lords of reign and rule: (though Rex do seem rather to come à Regendo, of governing, and regnum, the Kingdom, of Rex, than otherwise): but they held the state of a king to consist more in this imperious domination, than either in his discipline of governance, or his benevolent providence: so having expelled Tarquin, and instituted Consuls, then (as Sallust says well in their praise) the city getting their freedom thus memorably, grew up in glory, as much as it did in power: the desire of which glory wrought all these world-admired acts which they performed: Sallust praises also M. Cato and C. Cæsar, both worthy men of his time, saying the Commonwealth had not had a famous man of a long time before, but that then it had a couple of illustrious
The love of glory, though of diverse conditions, he praises Caesar, for his desire of empire, arms, and war, whereby to exemplify his valour: trusting in the fortune of a great spirit, that he roused up the poor barbarians to war, tossing Bellona's bloody ensign about, that the Romans might thereby give proof of their vigours. This wrought he for desire of praise and glory. Even so in the precedent ages, their love, first of liberty, and afterward of sovereignty and glory, whetted them to all hard attempts. Their famous poet gives testimony of both: saying:

"Nec non Tarquinium ejectum Porsenna jubebat
Accipere, ingentique urbem obsidione premebat:
Æneae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant," &c.

"Porsenna girts them with a world of men,
Commands that Tarquin be restored, but then
To arms the Romans for their freedom run."

For then was it honour to die bravely, or to live freely; but having got their freedom, then succeeded such a greediness of glory in them, that freedom alone seemed nothing, without domination, hammering upon that, which the same poet makes Jove to speak in prophetic-wise.

——“Quin aspera Juno
Quae mare multitudo terrasque metu exclamique fatigat,
Consilia in melius referet, mecumque sovebit
Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatum.
Sit placitum. Venient iustius labentibus etas,
Cum domus Assaraci Phthiam, clarasque Mycenas
Servitio premet ac viccis dominabitur argis.”

——“And Juno though she yet
Fill heaven and earth with her disquiet fit,
Shall turn her mind in length and join with me,
To guard the Roman's gowned progeny.
It stands, succeeding times shall see the day,
That old Assaracus's stock shall sway
Phthia, Mycenæ, and all Argos round," &c.

Which Virgil makes Jupiter speak, as prophetically, being fallen out true before he wrote these verses: but this by the way to show that the Romans' affection of liberty and domination, was a parcel of their most principal glory and lustre. Hence it is, that the same poet, in distributing the arts amongst the nations, gives the Romans the art of domination and sovereignty over others, saying—

"Excudant alli, spirantia mollius ara,
Crede equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus.
Orabunt causas melius, calique meatus
Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos Romane, memento;
(Hae tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos."

"Others can better carve in brass perhaps,
'Tis true: or cut the stone to human shape:
Others can better practise law's loud jars,
Or teach the motions of the fulgid stars.
But (Romans) be your arts; to rule, in wars,
To make all knees to sacred peace be bowed,
To spare the lowly and pull down the proud."

These arts they were the more perfect in, through their abstinence from pleasures, from covetousness after riches (the corrupters both of body and mind), from extorting from the poor citizen, bestowing on beastly players. So that in the dominion of those corruptions which befel afterwards, when Virgil and Sallust did both write, the Romans used not the aforesaid arts, but deceits and tricks to raise their glories. And therefore Sallust says, "At first men's hearts gave place to ambition, rather than covetousness,
because that was more near to virtue; for the industrious and the slothful have both one desire of honour, glory, and sovereignty. But the first,” says he, “goes the true way to work, the latter by craft and false means, because he has not the true course. The true, are these, to come to honour by virtue, not by ambition: which honour, empire, and glory, good and bad wish both alike. But the good goes the true way, that is, by virtue leading him directly to his possession of honour, glory, sovereignty.” That this was the Romans’ course, their temples showed, virtue’s and honour’s being so close together: (though herein they took God’s gifts for gods themselves): wherein you might easily see, that their end was, to show that there was no access to honour but by virtue, whereunto all they that were good referred it, for the evil had it not though they laboured for honour by indirect means, namely, by deceit and illusion. The praise of Cato excels, of whom he says that “The more he shunned glory the more it pursued him.” For this glory that they seek, is the “good opinion of men concerning such or such.” And therefore that is the best virtue, that stands not upon others’ judgments, but upon one’s own conscience, as the Apostle says: “Our glory is this, the testimony of our conscience;” and again: “Let every man prove his own work, and so shall he have glory in himself only, and not in another.” So that glory and honour which they desire so, and aim so after, by good means, must not go before virtue, but follow it: for there is no true virtue but levels at man’s chiefest good. And therefore the honours that Cato require he should not have required, but the city should have returned him them, as his due desert. But whereas there were but two famous Romans in

1 Cor. i. 2 Gal. vi.
that time, Cæsar and Cato, Cato's virtue seems far nearer the truth of virtue, than Cæsar's. And let us take Cato's opinion of the state of the city, as it was then and as it had been before. "Think not," says he, "that our ancestry brought the city into this height by arms. If it were so, we should make it far more admirable than ever. But they had other means which we want: industry at home, equity abroad, freedom in consultation, and purlity of minds in all men, free from lust and error. For these have we gotten riot, and avarice, public beggary and private wealth: riches we praise, and sloth we follow: good and bad are now undistinguished ambition devouring all the guerdon due to virtue. Nor wonder at it, when each one patches up a private estate, when you serve your lusts at home, and your profit or affect here. This is that that lays the State open to all incursion of others." He that reads these words of Cato in Sallust, may think that the old Romans were all such as those, whom we have shown to be so praiseworthy before: it is not so; for otherwise his words which we related in our Second Book should be false, where he says: that the city grew troubled with the oppressing power of the great ones, and that the people grew to a division from their fathers upon this cause: that there were divers other dangerous dis- sensions, and that they agreed in honesty and concord no longer than they stood in fear of Tarquin, and of the great war of Etruria: which being ended, the Senators began to make slaves of the people, to judge of their lives as imperiously as the kings had done, to chase men from their possessions, and only their faction bare the sway of all; unto which discords (the one desiring to rule, and the other refusing to obey) the second African war gave end, because a fear began then to return upon them, and called their
Here it was God decided to erect a World-Power. turbulent spirits from those alterations to look to the main, and establish a concord: but all the great affairs were managed by a few that were as honest as the times afforded, and so by tolerating those evils, the State grew well up, through the providence of a few good governors: for as this writer says, that having heard and read of many memorable military deeds of the Romans by sea and land, he had a great desire to know what it was that supported those great businesses, wherein the Romans very often with a handful of men (to count of) have held out war with most powerful, rich, and victorious kings: and having looked well into it, he finds that the egregious virtue of a very few citizens has been cause of this happy success of all the rest: surmounting wealth by poverty, and multitude by scarcity. "But after that corruption had eaten through the city," says he, "then the greatness of the commonwealth supported the viciousness of her magistrates." So the virtue of a few, aiming at glory, honour, and sovereignty, by a true line: that same virtue, is that which Cato so prefers: this was the industry at home, that he so commended, which made their public treasury rich, though the private were but mean. And the corruption of manners he brings in as the just contrary, producing public beggary through private wealth. Wherefore, whereas the monarchies of the East had been a long time glorious, God resolved to erect one now in the West also, which although it were after them in time, yet should be before them in greatness and dignity. And this he left in the hands of such men as swayed it, especially to punish the vicious states of other nations: and those men were such, as for honour and domination's sake would have an absolute care of their country, whence they received this honour: and would not stick to lay down their
own lives for their fellows, suppressing covetousness and all other vices, only with the desire of ambition and glory lead to bliss.)

CHAPTER IV

Of ambition, which being a vice, is notwithstanding herein held a virtue that it doth restrain vices of worse natures.

But he is better sighted, that can see this desire of glory to be a vice: Horace saw it, and therefore said—

"Laudis amore tumes, sunt certa piacula quae te
Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello."

"You swell with thirst of praise; but I can tell
A medicine: read this book thrice over well."

And in his "Odes" he sang this, to the same purpose of suppressing ambitious thoughts—

"Latius regnes avidum domando
Spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis
Gadibus jungas et uterque Pænus,
——Serviat uni."

"He that can conquer his affects rebelling,
Hath larger monarchy, than he that sways
The Libyans, Gades, and both Africas,
——And more excelling."

But, notwithstanding, those that do not bridle their exorbitant affects by faith, by the power of the Holy
Spirit, and the love of that intellectual beauty, though they cannot be happy, yet they may be less unhappy, in avoiding this thirst of human glory howsoever: Tully could not dissemble this, in his book "Of the Commonwealth," where speaking of the introduction of a prince, for a city, he says "he must be nourished with glory;" and so thereupon infers what worthy deeds this glory had drawn from his ancestors. So that they were so far from resisting this vice, that they did wholly give themselves to augment and excite each one, thinking it useful to the State: though in his books of philosophy, Tully never dissembles this contagion, but confesses it as clear as day. For speaking of studies, aiming at the true good and condemning the vain blasts of human praises, he infers this axiom, "Honour nourishes arts, and glory keeps all men on work in studies, and what men approve not, lies unregarded."

CHAPTER V.

That we are to avoid this desire of human honour: the glory of the righteous being wholly in God.

Wherefore without doubt, we had better resist this desire than yield to it. For much the nearer are we to God, as we are purer from this impurity: which although in this life, it be not fully rooted out of the heart, because it is a temptation that troubles even the best proficients in religion, yet let the love of righteousness suppress the thirst of ambitiousness. And thus: if some things lie unregarded, because
men approve them not, and yet be good and honest, then let the love of human praise blush, and give place to the love of truth. For this is a great enemy to our faith, if that the affect of glory have more room in our hearts than the fear or love of our God; and therefore He says: "How can you believe, that expect honour one from another and seek not the honour that cometh of God?" \(^1\) And likewise it is said of some that believed in Him and yet durst not profess it: "They loved the praise of men more than the praise of God." \(^2\) Which the holy apostles did not: for they preached the name of Christ, where it was not only not approved of (as Thuly says, and what men approve not, lies unregarded), but where it was even detested, holding the rule that their Master (the mind's physician) had taught them: "Whosoever shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven,\(^3\) and before the angels of God:" \(^4\) so that all their reproaches, by their cruel persecutions, their extreme pains, could not drive them from preaching this salvation, let the madness of man oppose what it could. And whereas this divine life, conversation, and doctrine of theirs, having suppressed all hardness of heart, and erected the peace of righteousness, was crowned with an unbounded glory in Christ's Church: this did not they rest, as in the expected guerdon of their virtues, but referred it all unto Christ's glory, by whose grace they were what they were. And the same did they transfuse into such, as they converted unto the love of Him, whereby they might become such as they were before them: for to keep them from touch of human ambition their Master taught them this, "Take heed that

\(^1\) John vi. 44.  
\(^2\) John xii. 43.  
\(^3\) Matt. x. 33.  
\(^4\) Luke xii. 9.
(Martyrs are better than heroes of earthly state.)

you do not your good deeds before men, to be seen of them, or else ye shall have no reward of your Father which is in heaven." ¹ But lest they should misconceive this, and fear to do well before men: and so become less profitable by striving to keep their virtuous acts in secret, than otherwise, He says again, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven." ² Do not well with an invent that men should see you do so, and so turn to behold you, who are not what you are by them: but do so that they may glorify your Father in heaven, unto whom if they turn they may be such as you are. Thus did the martyrs, that excelled the Scævolas, Curtii, and Decii: not by punishing themselves, but by learning the inflictions of others) in true virtue, piety, and innumerable multitude. But the others, living in an earthly city, wherein the end of all their endeavours was by themselves propounded to themselves, the fame (namely) and domination of this world, and not the eternity of heaven, not in the everlasting life, but in their own ends, and the mouths of their posterity, what should they love, but glory, whereby they desired to survive after death, in the memories and mouths of such as commended them.

CHAPTER VI

Of the temporal rewards that God bestowed upon the Romans' virtues and good conditions.

Such therefore as we have spoken of, if God did neither mean to bless them with eternity in His

¹ Matt. vi. 1.
² Matt. v. 16.
heavenly city, amongst His angels (to which society that true piety brings men, which affords that true divine worship (which the Greeks call λατρεία) to none but only the true God), nor to vouchsafe them an earthly glory or excellence of imperial dignity; then should their virtues, the good acts whereby they endeavoured to ascend to this glory, pass unrewarded. But the Lord says even of such as do good for human glory: "Verily I say unto you they have their reward:" these therefore that neglected their private estates for the commonwealth and public treasury, opposing covetousness, having a full care of their country's freedom, and living according to their laws, without touch of lust or guilt, these seemed to go the right way to get themselves honour, and did so; honoured they are almost all the world over; all nations very near received their laws, honoured were they then in all men's mouths, and now in most men's writings through the world; thus have they no reason to complain of God's justice; they have their reward.

CHAPTER VII

Of the reward of the eternal citizens of heaven, to whom the examples of the Romans' virtues were of good use.

But as for their reward that endure reproaches here on earth for the city of God (which the lovers of the world do hate and deride), that is of another nature. That city is eternal: no man is born in it, because no man dies in it. Felicity is there fully,
yet no goddess, but a God's gift: of this habitation have we a promise by faith, as long as we are here in pilgrimage on earth, and long for that rest above. The sun arises not there both upon good and bad, but the Son of righteousness shines only over the good. There shall be no need to respect the common treasury more than the private, truth is all the treasure that lies there. And therefore the Roman Empire had that glorious increase, not only to be a fit guerdon to the virtues of such worthies as we fore-named, but also that the citizens of heaven in their pilgrimages upon earth, might observe those examples with a sober diligence, and thence gather how great care, love, and respect ought to be carried to the heavenly country for life eternal, if those men had such a dear affect to their earthly country for glory so temporal.

CHAPTER VIII

The fruits of the Romans' wars, both to themselves and to those with whom they warred.

For what skills it in respect of this short and transitory life, under whose dominion a mortal man doth live, so he be not compelled to acts of impiety or injustice. But did the Romans ever hurt any of the nations whom they conquered and gave laws unto, but in the very fury and war of the conquest? If they could have given those laws by agreement, it had been better (but then had been no place for triumph), for the Romans lived under the same laws themselves that they gave to others. This had been
sufficient for the State, but that Mars, Bellona, and Victory should then have been displeased, and displaced also, if they had had no wars, nor no victories. Would not then the States of Rome, and other nations, have been all one? especially, that being done, which was most gravely and worthily performed afterwards, every man that belonged to the Roman empire, being made free of the city, as though they were now all citizens of Rome, whereas before there were but a very few, so that such as had no lands, should live of the common? this would have been granted unto good governors by other nations, sooner by entreaty than force. For what does conquering, or being conquered, hurt, or profit men's lives, manners, or dignities either? I see no good it does, but only adds unto their intolerable vain-glory, who aim at such matters, and war for them, and lastly receive them as their labour's reward. Does not their land pay tribute to the State as well as others? Yes. May they learn anything that others may not? No. And are there not many senators that never saw Rome? True. Take away vain-glory and what are men but men? And if the perverseness of the age would permit the very best means for to bear away the greatest honours, then should not this human honour be so prizeworthy howsoever, being but a breath and a light flame? But yet let us use these things, to do ourselves good towards God. Let us consider what obstacles these men have scorned, what pains they have taken, what affects they have suppressed, and only for this human glory which afterward they received as the reward of their virtues; and let this serve to suppress our pride also, that seeing the city wherein we have promised habitation and kingdom, is as far different from this in excellence, as heaven from earth, life eternal from
mirth temporal, fém: glory from fuming vain-glory, angels' company from men's, and His light that made the sun and moon, from the light of the sun and moon: then have the citizens of this heavenly region done just nothing, in doing anything for attaining this celestial dwelling, seeing that the other have taken such pains in that habituation of earth, which they had already attained; especially, the remission of sins, calling us as citizens, to that eternal dwelling; and having a kind of resemblance with Romulus' sanctuary, by which he gathered a multitude of people into his city through hope of impunity.

CHAPTER IX

How far the Christians should be from boasting of their deeds for their eternal country, the Romans having done so much for their temporal city, and for human glory.

Why is it then so much to despise all this world's vanities for eternity when as Brutus could kill his sons (being not enforced to it) for fear his country should lose the bare liberty? Truly it is a more difficult matter to kill one's children, than to let go those things which we do but gather for our children, or to give them to the poor, when faith or righteousness bids us. Earthly riches can neither bless us nor our children with happiness; we must either lose them in this life or leave them to be enjoyed after our death, by one, we cannot tell whom, perhaps by those we would not should have them. No, it is
God, the mind's true wealth, that makes us happy.
The poet rear'd Brutus a monument of unhappiness
for killing his sons, though otherwise he praises
him—

"---Natosque pater serra bellis moventes,
   Ad penam patriæ pro libertate vocabit
   Infelix, utcumque serent ea fata minores."

"His sons; convict of turbulent transgression,
He kills, to free his country from oppression,
Hapless, how ere succeeding times shall ring."

But in the next verse he gives him comfort:

"Vicit amor patriæ; laudunque, immensa, cupidio."

"Conquer'd: by his country's love, and thirst of praise"—the two things that set all the Romans upon
admirable action. So then if the father could kill
his own sons, for mortal freedom, and thirst of praise
(both transitory affects), what a great matter is it, if
we do not kill our sons, but count the poor of Christ
our sons, and for that eternal liberty, which frees us
from sin, death, and hell; not for human cupidity,
but for Christian charity, to free men, not from
Tarquin, but from the devils and their king? And
if Torquatus, another Roman, slew his own son, not
for fighting against his country, but for going only
against his command, being general (he being a
valorous youth and provoked by his enemy, yea and
yet getting the victory), because there was more
heart in his contempt of authority, than good in his
conquests: why should they boast, who for the laws
of that never-ending country, do forsake only those
things which are never so dear as children; namely,
earthly goods and possessions? If Furius Camillius,
after his banishment by his ungrateful country, which
he had saved from being oppressed by the valorous

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Veius, yet would not deign to come to Rome in the second time, because he had no better place to show his glory in: why is he extolled as having done great matters, who having perhaps suffered some great disgrace and injury in the Church, by his carnal enemies, has not departed to the Church's enemies, the heretics, or invented some heresy against it himself, but rather has guarded it, as far as in him lay, from all the pernicious invasions of heresy, because there is no other place to live in unto eternal life, though there be others enough to attain human glory in? If Scævola, when he saw he had failed to kill Porsenna (a sore foe to Rome), and killed another for him; to make a peace with him, put his hand into the fire that burned on the altar, saying that Rome had a multitude such as he that had conspired his destruction, and by this speech so terrified him that he made a present peace with them and got him packing: why shall any man talk of his merits in respect of the kingdom of heaven, if he lose (not his hand but) his whole body in the fire for it (not by his own choice but) by the power of the persecutor? If Curtius (to satisfy the oracle that commanded Rome to cast the best jewel it had into a great gulf, and the Romans being resolved that valour and vigour of arms were their best jewels) took his horse and armour, and willingly leaped into that gaping gulf? why shall a man say he has done much for heaven that shall (not cast himself to death but) endure death at the hands of some enemy of his faith, seeing that God, his Lord, and the King of his country, has given him this rule as a certain oracle: "Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul." If the two Decii consecrated themselves to their country's good and sacrificed their blood (as with
prayers) unto the angry gods for the deliverance of the Roman army, let not the holy martyrs be proud of doing anything for the partaking of their eternal possessions, where felicity has neither end nor period, if they do contend in charitable faith and faithful charity, even unto the shedding of their blood both for their brethren, for whom and also for their enemies by whom it is shed. If Marcus Pulvillus, in his dedication of the temple to Jove, Juno, and Minerva, false news being brought (by those that envied his honour) of his son's death, that so he might leave all the dedication to his fellow, and go perturbed away, did nevertheless so commend the news, that he bade them cast him forth unburned, his desire of glory utterly conquering his grief of being childless: why should that man say he has done much for the preaching of the gospel (which frees and gathers God's citizens out of so many errors) to whom being careful of his father's funeral, the Lord said, "Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead"? If M. Regulus, not to deal falsely with his most cruel enemies, returned back to them from Rome itself, because (as he answered the Romans who would have stayed him) he could not live in the dignity of an honest citizen in Rome, since he had been a slave in Africa; and that the Carthaginians put him to a horrible death for speaking against them in Rome's Senate, what corruptions are not to be scorned, for the faith of the country, unto whose eternal happiness faith itself conducts us? Or what reward had God for all His benefits, if, for the faith which every one owes to Him, He should suffer as much torment as Regulus suffered for the faith which he owed to his bloodiest foes? Or how dare any Christian boast of voluntary poverty (the means to make his travel unto his country, where God, the
true riches (dwelling, more light, and easy) when he shall hear or read of L. Valerius, who, dying consul, was so poor, that his burial was paid for out of the common purse; or of Q. Cincinnatus, who, having but four acres of land, and tilling it himself with his own hands, was fetched from the plough to be dictator, an office more honourable than the consul’s, and having conquered his foes, and gotten great honour, returned to his old state of poverty? Or why should any man think it a great matter not to be seduced from the fellowship of celestial powers, by this world’s vanities, when as he reads how Fabricius could not be drawn from the Romans by all Pyrrhus the king of Epirus’ promises, though extended even to the fourth part of his kingdom, but would live there still in his accustomed poverty? for whereas they had a rich and powerful weal-public, and yet were so poor themselves, that one that had been twice consul was put out of that Senate of poor men by the censors’ decree, because he was found to be worth ten pound in silver, if those men that enriched the treasury by their triumphs were so poor themselves, then much more ought the Christians, whose riches are (for a better intent) all in common, as the apostles’ Acts record, to be distributed to every man according to his need: “neither any of them said that anything he possessed was his own, but all was in common.” If more, I say, ought they to know that this is no just thing to boast upon, seeing that they do but that for gaining the society of the angels, which the other did (or next did) for their preserving of the glory of the Romans. These and other such like, in their books, how should they have been so known, and so famous, had not Rome’s empire had this great and magnificent exaltation and dilatation? Where-
fore that empire, so spacious, and so continual and
renowned by the virtues of those illustrious men was
given, both to stand as a reward for their merits, and
to produce examples for our uses. That if we observe
not the laws of those virtues for attaining the celestial
kingdom, which they did for preserving one but
terrestrial, we might be ashamed: but if we do, then
that we be not exalted, for as the apostle says, "The
afflictions of this present time are not worthy of the
glory which shall be showed unto us." But their
lives seemed worthy of that present temporal glory.
And therefore the Jews, that executed Christ (the
New Testament revealing what the Old concealed,
that God was not to be worshipped for the earthly
benefits which He bestows upon bad as well as good;
but for life eternal, and the perpetual blessing of that
supernal city), were justly given to be the slaves and
instruments of their glory: that those that sought
everly glory by any virtue soever, might overcome
and subdue those that refused and murdered the giver
of true glory and eternal felicity.

CHAPTER XI.
The difference between the desire of glory, and the desire
of rule.

There is a difference between desire of glory and
desire of rule: for though the first do incline to the
second, yet such as affect the true human glory, have
a desire to be pleasing unto good judgments, for there

2 Rom. viii. 18.
For virtue is necessary even in manners, whereof many can judge well although many again have not this good, nor go that honest way to glory, honour; and sovereignty that Sallust speaks of: "He goeth the true way." But whosoever desires to rule without that desire of glory which keeps men in awe of good judgments, he cares not by what villainy he compasses his ascent, and so his going about it will show. And therefore the hunter of glory either follows the true track or covers his courses so well, that he is held to be still in the true track, and thought to be good when he is not so; whereas to the virtuous, contempt of glory is a great virtue: because God beholds it, and not the judgment of man, for whatsoever he does, before men, to show this contempt, he has no reason to think they suspect him amiss, that think he does it for his mere glory. But he that condemns their opinionative praise, condemns also with it, their unadvised suspect; yet not their salvation; (if he be good), because he that has his goodness from God, is of that justice, that he loves his very enemies, and so loves them that he wishes his slanderers and backbiters reformed, and to become his companions, not here but in his eternal country; for his commanders, as he respects not their praises, so he neglects not their loves, desiring neither to falsify their praises, nor delude their loves: and therefore urges them to the praise of Him, from whom every one hath all his praiseworthy endowments. But the man that, despising glory, doth on domination, is worse than a beast, both in manners, barbarism, and lust's extremity. Such men Rome has had; for though it had lost the care of credit, yet it retained still the effect of sovereignty: nay Rome (says history) had many such. But Nero Caesar was he that got first of all to the top-turret of all this enormity: whose luxury was such that one would not
have feared any manly act of his; and yet was this cruelty such, as one ignorant of him would not have thought any effeminate spark resident in him, yet even such as this man was, have no dominion but from the great God's providence, holding man's vices sometimes worthy of such plagues. The scripture of him is plain: 'By me kings reign, and princes; tyrants by me govern the earth.' But lest tyrants here should be taken for wild and wicked kings, and not (as it is meant) for all the wild worthies, THEIR terrestrial state, he adds, and adds, "Pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse Tyrannti." "Some peace I hope, by touching your king's hands."

But elsewhere it is more plainly spoken of God, that He makes an "hypocrite to reign, because the people are snared in perverseness." Wherefore though I have done what I can to show the cause why the true and just God gave the Romans such assistance in erecting their empire's and city's earthly glory upon such a frame of monarchy, yet there may be a more secret cause than yet we see; namely, the divers deserts of the world, open to God; though not to us; it being plain to all godly men, that no man can have true virtue without true piety, that is, the true adoration of the one and true God: nor is that virtue true neither, when it serves but for human ostentation. But those that are not of the eternal city called in the scriptures the city of God, they are more useful to their earthly city in possessing of that world-respecting virtue, than if they wanted that also. But if those that are truly godly, and upright of life, come to have the government of estates, there can no greater happiness befall the world than through

*Prov. viii. 15.*

*Jobi xxiiiiv*
the mercy of God to be governed by such men. And they do attribute all their virtues (be they never so admired) unto the grace of God only, who gave them, to their desires, their faith, and prayers: besides, they know how far they are from true perfection of justice: I mean such as is in the angelical powers, for whose fellowship they make themselves fit. But let that virtue that serves human glory without piety be never so much extolled, it is not comparable so much as with the imperfect beginnings of the saints' virtues, whose assured hope stands fixed in the grace and mercy of the true God.

CHAPTER XI.

That virtue is as much disgraced in serving human glory as in obeying the pleasures of the body.

The philosophers, that make virtue the scope of all human good, do use in disgrace of such as approved virtue and yet applied it all to bodily delight (holding this to be desired for itself, and virtue to be sought only for respect to this pleasure), to delineate a picture (as it were with their tongues) wherein Pleasure sits on a throne, like a delicate queen, and all the Virtues about her, ready at a beck to do her command. There she commands Prudence to seek out a way whereby Pleasure may reign in safety; Justice must go do good turns, to attain friends, for the use of corporal delights, and injury none; Fortitude's task is, that if any hurt (not mortal) invade the body, she must hold Pleasure so fast in the mind, that the
remembrance of delights past, may dull the touch of the pain present. Temperance must so temper the nourishment, that immoderation come not to trouble the health, and so offend lady Pleasure, whom the Epicures do say is chiefly resident in the body's soundness. Thus the Virtues being in their own dignities absolute commanders, must put all their glories under the feet of Pleasure; and submit themselves to an imperious and dishonest woman. Than this picture, there cannot be a sight more vile, deformed, and abominable to a good man, say the philosophers; and it is true. Nor think I that the picture would be so fair as it should be, if human glory were painted in the throne of Pleasure: for though it be not a nice piece, as the other is, yet it is turgid, and full of empty air, so that ill should it beseem the substantial Virtues to be subject to such a shadow, that Prudence should foresee nothing, Justice distribute nothing, Fortitude endure nothing, Temperance moderate nothing, but that which aimeth at the pleasing of men and serving of windy glory. Nor are they quit from this blot, who condemning the judgments of others (as scorners of glory) yet in their own conceit hold their wisdom at a high price, for their virtue (have they any) serves human glory in another manner, for he that pleases himself is but a man, but he that builds and believes truly and piously upon God, whom he loves, applies his thoughts more upon that which he displeases himself in, that upon those things, which if they be in him, do rather please the truth, than him; nor does he ascribe the power he has to please unto any other, but unto His mercy, whom he fears to displease; giving thanks for the cure of this, and praying for the cure of that.
CHAPTER XII

That the true God in whose hand and providence all the state of the world consists, did order and dispose of the monarchy of the Romans.

So then throughout was it all God's work. Thus being thus, the true God that gives the heavenly kingdom only to the godly, but the earthly ones both to good and bad, as Himself likes, whose pleasure is all justice; He is to have all power of giving or taking away sovereignty, ascribed unto Himself alone, and no other, for though we have shown some things that He pleased to manifest unto us, yet far is it beyond our powers to penetrate into men's merits, or scan the deserts of kingdoms aright. This one God, therefore, that neither stays from judging, nor favouring of mankind, when His pleasure was, and whilst it was His pleasure, let Rome have sovereignty: so did He with Assyria and Persia who (as their books say) worshipped only two gods, a good and a bad: to omit the Hebrews, of whom (I think) sufficient is already spoken, both of their worship of one God, and of their kingdom. But He that gave Persia corn without Segetius's help, and so many gifts of the earth, without any of those many gods (that had each one a share in them), or rather were three or four to a share), He also gave them their kingdom, without their help, by whose adoration they thought they kept their kingdom. And so for the men: He that gave Marius rule, gave Caesar rule: He that gave Augustus it, gave Nero it: He that gave Vespasian rule, or Titus, his son, both sweet-natured men, gave it also to Domitian, that cruel blood-sucker. And to be brief, He that gave it to Constantine the
Christian, gave it also to Julian the Apostate, whose worthy towardness was wholly blinded by sacrilegious curiosity, and all through the desire of rule: whose heart wandered after the vanity of false oracles, as he found, when upon their promise of victory he burned all his ships that victualled his army: and then being slain in one of his many rash adventures, he left his poor army in the jaws of their enemies, without all means of escape, but that god Terminus (of whom we spake before) was fain to yield, and to remove the bounds of the empire. Thus did he give place to necessity that would not give place to Jupiter: All these did the true, sacred, and only God dispose and direct as He pleased, and if the causes be unknown why He did thus, or thus, is He therefore unjust?

CHAPTER XIII

That the originals and conclusions of wars are all at God's disposal.

So likewise does He with the times and ends of war, be it his pleasure justly to correct, or mercifully to pity mankind, ending them sooner or later, as He wills. Pompey's pirate war, and Scipio's third African war, were ended with incredible celerity. The slaves' was also, though it cost Rome two consuls and many captains, making all Italy feel the smart of it, yet in the third year after it was begun, it was finished. The Picenes, Martians, Pelignians (Italians all) sought to pluck their necks from their long and strict servitude unto Rome, though it now
had subdued huge dominions, and razed Carthage.
In this war the Romans were sorely foiled, two
consuls killed, and many a tall soldier and worthy
senator left dead: yet this war had continuance; but
unto the fifth year: marry the second African war
lasted a great while, eighteen years: to the great
weakening of the commonwealth, and almost the utter
ruin thereof, seventy thousand soldiers falling in two
battles. The first African war held three and twenty
years: Mithridate’s war forty years. And lest any-
one should think that in the ancient laudable times
the Romans had any better rules to despatch war
sooner than the rest, the Samnites’ war lasted almost
fifty years, wherein the Romans were conquered,
even unto slavery. But because they loved not glory
for justice, but justice for glory, they broke the peace
and league which they had made. These I write,
because some being ignorant in antiquities, and other
some being dissemblers of what they know, might
otherwise upon discovery of a long war since the
time of Christianity, fly in the face of our religion,
and say if it were not so potent, and if the old
adorations were restored, that war would have been
ended by the Romans’ virtues, and the assistance of
Mars and Bellona, as soon as the rest were. Let
them that read of their wars, recollect but what
uncertain fortune the ancient Romans had in the wars
with the whole world, being tossed like a tempestuous
sea, with thousand storms of invasions and arms:
and then let them needs confess, what so fair they
would conceal, and cease in this opposition against
God’s power, to possess others with errors, and be
the butchers of their own souls.
CHAPTER XIV

Of the battle wherein Rhadagaisus, an idolatrous king of the Goths, was slain, with all his army.

How wonderful mercy of God's, in an act done within our memories, they will not so much as mention with thanksgiving, but endeavour as much as in them lies, to smother it in eternal oblivion; which should we do, we should be as graceless and ungrateful as they. Rhadagaisus, king of the Goths, having brought a huge army even before the walls of Rome, and holding his sword even over their necks (as it were), upon one day was overthrown so suddenly, that not so much as one Roman being slain; slain? no, nor yet wounded, his whole army, consisting of about ten thousand men, was utterly defeated, he himself and his sons taken and justly beheaded. If this wicked barbarian had entered Rome with those forces, whom would he have spared? what places would he have honoured, what God would he have feared? whose blood, whose chastity should have escaped him? But oh how these wretches boasted of his precedent conquests, that he had been so victorious, that he had gotten such and such fields, only because he was a daily sacrificer to those gods which Christianity had chased from Rome! For at his approach thither, where by the head of God's majesty he was crushed to nothing, his fame was so spacious that it was told us here at Carthage, that the pagans believed, reported, and boasted that he could not be conquered by any of those that would not suffer the Romans to adore those gods, whose good favours he had obtained by the daily sacrifices he
from offered. Thus they never gave thanks for the merciful goodness of God, who having resolved to chastise the world's corruption with a greater barbarian irruption, yet did moderate His justice with such mercy, that at first He gave their leader into the hands of his enemies, because the devils whom he served should gain no souls by the persuasion of the glory of his conquests. And then when such barbarians had taken Rome, as against all custom of hostility defended, such as fled into the holy places, only in reverence of Christianity, professing themselves for greater enemies for the name of Christ, unto the devils and sacrilegious sacrifices (in which the other reposed his trust), than unto the opposed soldiers themselves, thus God did give the Romans this merciful correction, and yet by destroying the devil's adorer, showed them that there was neither any help in those sacrifices for the state of this present life (as they may see that will be attentive and not obstinate), nor that the true religion is to be refused for earthly necessities, but rather held fast, in hope and expectation of the heavenly glories.

CHAPTER XV

The state and truth of a Christian emperor's felicity. For we Christians do not say, that Christian emperors are happy, because they have a long reign, or die leaving their sons in quiet possession of their empires, or have been ever victorious, or powerful against all their opposers. These are but gifts and
sodaces of this laborious, joyless life; idolators, and such as belong not to God (as these emperors do), may enjoy them: because God, in His mercy will not have these that know Him, to believe that such things are the best goods He gives. But happy they are (say we) if they reign justly, free from being puffed up with the glossing exaltations of their attendance, or the cringes of their subjects, if they know themselves to be but men; and remember that: if they make their power their trumpeter, to divulge the true adoration of God's majesty, if they love, fear, and honour Him: if they long the most for that empire where they need not fear to have partners: if they be slack to avenge, quick to forgive: if they use correction for the public good, and not for private hate: if their pardons promise not liberty of offending, but indeed only hope of reformation: if they counterpoise their enforced acts of severity, with the like weight of bounty and clemency, if their lusts be the lesser because they have the larger.Licence: if they desire to rule their own affections, rather than other's estates: and if they do all things, not for glory, but for charity, and with all, and before all, give God the due sacrifice of prayer, for their imperfections; such Christian emperors we call happy, here in hope, and hereafter, when the time we look for comes indeed.

CHAPTER XVI

Of the prosperous estate that God bestowed upon Constantine, a Christian emperor.

For the good God, lest those that worship Him for the life of eternity, should think that no man can
To Constantine, to this earthly glory, but such as adore the devils (whose power in those things bears a great sway), bestowed such store of those earthly benefits as no other man durst wish for upon Constantine the emperor, one that worshipped no devils, but only the said true God. To him did He grant the building of a new city, partaker of the Roman empire, as the daughter of Rome herself, but excluding all diabolical temples, or idols. Long did he reign therein, and alone swayed the whole Roman world: he was in war most victorious: in suppressing tyrants most fortunate. He died an aged man, and left his sons all emperors; but lest any emperor after him, should turn Christian for hope of attaining Constantine's felicity (the scope of Christianity being not that, but life eternal), He cut off Jovinian far sooner than He did Julian, and suffered Gratian to be slain by his enemies' sword: yet with far more respect, than Pompey was killed, that worshipped the Roman gods. For Cato, whom he left as his successor in the war he waged, could never revenge his death; but Gratianus (though the souls of the godly regard not such solaces) was fully revenged by Theodosius, with whom he shared the empire, though he had a younger brother:...being more respective of a faithful friend than of a too awful power.

CHAPTER XVII

Of the faith and devotion of Theodosius Emperor.

So he did not only keep the faith which he owed him in his lifetime, but like a Christian indeed,
received his little brother Valentinian into his protection and defence, when Maximus his murderer had chased him from his State: and held the care of a father over him, which he needed not have done, but might easily have taken all to himself, had his ambition overpoised his religion. But he preserved his State imperial for him, and gave him all the comfort honest courtesy could bestow. And when as the good fortune of Maximus begot him a terrible name, Theodosius did not creep into a corner of his palace, with wizards and conjurers, but sent to John, that lived in a wilderness of Egypt, whom he had heard was graced from God by the spirit of prophecy: to him sent he and received a true promise of victory. So soon after having killed the tyrant Maximus he restored the child Valentinian to this empire from whence he was driven, showing him all the reverend love that could be: and when this child was slain (as he was soon after, either by treachery, or by some other casualty), and that Eugenius another tyrant, was unlawfully kept up in his place, receiving another answer from the prophet, his faith being firm, he fetched him down from his usurped place, rather by prayer than power, for the soldiers that were in the battle on the usurper’s side told it unto us, that there came such a violent wind from Theodosius’ side, that it smote their darts forth of their hands, and if any were thrown, it took them presently in an instant, and forced them upon the faces of those that threw them. And therefore Claudian (though no Christian) sings this well of his praise—

"O nimium dilecte deo cui militat aether,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti."

"O God’s belov’d whom powers aerial,
And winds come arm’d to help, when thou dost call!"

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He was a truly pious prince. And being victor (according to his faith and presage) he threw down certain images of Jupiter which had been consecrated (I know not with what ceremonies) against him, and mirthfully and kindly gave his footmen their thunderbolts; who (as they well might) jested upon them: because they were glad, and said they would abide their flashes well enough: for the sons of his foe, some of them fell in the fight (not by his command): others being not yet Christians, but flying into the Church, by this means he made Christians, and loved them with a Christian charity: nor diminishing their honours a whit, but adding more to them. He suffered no private grudges to be held against anyone after the victory. He used not these civil wars, like as Cinna, Marius, and Sylla did, that would not have them ended, when they were ended; but he rather sorrowed that they were begun, than ended then, to any man's hurt. And in all these troubles, from his reign's beginning, he forgot not to assist and succour the labouring Church, by all the wholesome laws which he could promulgate against the faithless: Valens an Arian heretic having done much hurt therein, whereof he rejoiced more to be a member than an earthly emperor. He commanded the demolition of all idols of the Gentiles, knowing that not so much as earthly blessings are in the devil's power, but all and each particular in God's. And what was there ever more memorable than that religious humility of his, when being even forced by his attendants to revenge the injury offered him by the Thessalonicans (unto whom notwithstanding at the Bishop's entreaties he had promised pardon) he was excommunicated and showed such repentance, that the people intreating for him, rather did lament to see the imperial majesty so dejected, than they feared
his wrath when they had offended. These good works, and a tedious roll of such like, did he bear away with him out of this transitory smoke of all kind of human glory: their reward is eternal felicity, given by the true God, only to the good. For the rest, be they honours, or helps of this life, as the world itself, light, air, water, earth, soul, sense, and spirit of life, this He gives promiscuously to good and bad; and so He doth also with the greatness and continuance of the temporal empires of all men, which He bestows on either sort, as He pleases.

CHAPTER XVIII

Augustine’s invective against such as wrote against the books already published.

But now I see I must take those in hand, that seeing, they are convicted by just plain arguments, in this that these false gods have no power in the distribution of temporal goods (which fools desire only), now go to affirm that they are worshipped, not for the helps of this life present, but of that which is to come. For in these five books past, we have said enough to such as (like little babies) cry out that they would fain worship them for those earthly helps, but cannot be suffered. The first three books I had no sooner finished, and let them pass abroad into some men’s hands, but I heard of some that prepared to make (I know not what) an answer to them, or a reply upon them. Afterward I heard, that they had written them, and did but
Vain are watch a time when to publish it securely. But I advise them not to wish a thing so inexpedient: it is an easy thing for any man to seem to have made an answer, that is not altogether silent; but what is more talkative than vanity, which cannot have the power of truth, by reason it has more tongue than truth? But let these fellows mark each thing well: and if their impartial judgments tell them, that their tongue-ripe satirism may more easily disturb the truth of this world, than subvert it, let them keep in their trumperies, and learn rather to be reformed by the wise, than applauded by the foolish. For if they expect a time (not for the freedom of truth but) for the licensing of reproach, God forbid that that should be true of them, which Tully spoke of a certain man, “that was called happy, in having free leave to offend. O wretched he that hath free liberty to offend!” And therefore whatever he be, that thinks himself happy in his freedom of reproaching others, I give him to understand that far happier should he be in the lack of that licence, seeing that as now, he may in form of consultation contradict or oppose what he will, setting aside the affecting of vain applause: and hear what he will, and what is fit in honest, grave, free, and friendly disputation.
NOTES

BOOK I.—The apparent confusion, the incoherent argument, of this book, is due to the variety of the disputants, the complexity of the thoughts in Augustine’s mind. Generally, this work is to be regarded as the last great Christian apologetic against the pagans, a fitting consummation to the line of Latin champions, from Minucius in the second to Arnobius and Lactantius in the fourth century. But the immediate stimulus is the shock of the fall of Rome, Augt. 410 (Gibbon, Chap. xxxi.), when Alaric captured and sacked the Eternal City. The whole writing bears the appearance of an occasional work expanded into a comprehensive manifesto. One might fancy some pious ultramontane engaged in a similar duty after September 1870. The first book, with its apparently impertinent episodes, constant shifting of ground, its special pleading and rapid sallies, betrays a restless excitement, which is happily wanting in the remainder. To attempt to force it into a definite analysis or intricate subdivision is futile; such method and order was not present in the mind of the writer. First, we may notice how the sack of Rome brought to light the implicit pessimism which lay concealed behind the outward splendour and contentment of the Roman Empire. Everyone seemed conscious of the threatened dissolution of this beneficent world-order. Nearly all the fathers had seen in it the destined providential scaffolding within which the Christian temple of true believers was to be erected; the one restraint on the appearance of Antichrist; and we are glad to say the indecent exultation of Tertullian is a unique instance of spite. Jerome and Augustine, emphatic though they are as to the severance of the kingdom of God and the world, seem horrorstruck at the disgrace of Rome. With this there revived, in all parts of the Empire, and not among the ignorant alone, the old cry that “Christianity is the cause of all our ills, and we are punished justly for deserting our ancestral religion, under which our state has
risen to be mistress of the world." This was the continual taunt thrown at the Christian, from the comparative obscurity of the sect in the second century right down to the Church's predominance under Theodosius and his sons. Orosius in his history does but echo the apology of Tertullian. First, it was not true, as the disasters of old time showed; next, Christianity made no bargains with worldly prosperity, and guaranteed none to its votaries; the Church was a "peregrinus" (pilgrim and sojourner) upon earth; Christ's kingdom was "not of this world." So the writer passes rapidly to the various objections. "Why God does not take care of His elect? Why He suffered holy men and women to suffer shame and loss?" Meanwhile (without any settled plan), he answers various problems of casuistry on burial, on virginity, and on suicide to avoid dishonour; and proves fairly enough that the moderation of the invaders was due to their Christian (though imperfect) belief (III. 29).

I. 8. "For there is no man," etc. This is very much the conception of Butler in the Analogy. The vindication of the right in the course of nature is by no means complete; hence the need to Butler (as to Kant and Fichte) of a future life: but we have sufficient evidence of a righteous (though somewhat intermittent) governance of the world. Compare these two: "The author of nature is not indifferent to virtue and vice." "The known course of human things denies to virtue its full scope," and I presume we may add, "to vice its just penalty." See: Clem. Rom. II. Cor. § 20, where he defends the non-immediacy of requital: "If God gave at once the recompense of the just (συντόμως ἀπεδίδω) it would be a mere business transaction (ἐμπορίαν ἱσκοῦμεν κοιθετείμαι). To Augustine, vulgar paganism was such a prudent contract to secure earthly blessings; and he highly applauds Regulus because he seemed to hold fast to the right and recognise obligation, quite apart from such reward.

I. 17. Augustine here shows a certain provincial independence, with which writers of the Empire have not made us familiar. He is inclined (like Sallust) to trace the corruption of Rome to the extinction of her useful rival, Carthage. He is almost patriotic to the memory of the great Phoenician settlement, and resents the blind advance of Imperialism; though elsewhere he clearly sees in it a divine dispensation. (See Book III. §§ 10, 14, and cf.

I. 22. Here is the sum of the work: tares and wheat growing up together until the harvest; the two states, utterly distinct and unsympathetic, nay, hostile. It is curious that the far more genial Church of the East has dissociated itself from secular concerns, while the Western, harshly and defiantly ascetic in theory, has yet entered fully into social questions and national interests. It often happens that the rancour of an *à priori* hostility is overcome by the needs of everyday life; and a Dualism, which becomes an accepted commonplace, is almost, by that very fact, overcome. The Medieaval Church, whose theology is Angustinian, whose interest is "other-worldly," is yet in practice the supreme engine of civilisation: culture and development. All the movements towards intellectual or spiritual liberty arose from her, and found counterpart and encouragement within her midst; the disruption was due in the main to accidental causes.

II. 3. "It will not rain because of the Christian." The leisureed and irresponsible people, who regarded Caesar as the mere provider of their corn and games, are accountable not only for the sporadic outbursts against the Christians, but probably for the more deliberate persecutions of settled policy under Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian. The Emperor was but the supreme magistrate of a socialistic state; the army never became an anti-civilian caste of warriors; the sovereign people, at least in the great centres, must be held responsible for the violence of a government that was always sensitive of public opinion. It was no consolation to the existing Caesar to know that there was no proposed alternative for Cæsarism; that all that the wildest reformer contemplated was the removal of him personally. To the present day the Latin races prefer a despotic executive, tempered by occasional rioting, to the slower and surer methods of constitutional government.

II. 8. "The Scenic Plays" were as offensive to Christian apologists as the Restoration Drama to the earnest and devout. "Our English stage," says William Law, "being elsewhere proved, as I think, to be absolutely unlawful" (Temp. Class. Ed., p. 111).

II. 25. "noxious demons." The whole body of apologists shows a wonderful unanimity in estimating the origin
of idolatry. (a) Paganism is largely due to worship of deceased heroes, kings, benefactors; this was the explanation of Euhemerus, and was largely popular in educated circles at Rome in the time of Ennius. (b) Idols or fetishes were foolishly invested with divine dignity and attributes. (c) But the efficacy and positive side of pagan worship (which in (a) and (b) seems a pure illusion) was provided to the eye of early Christians by the adroitness of demons, who possessed great influence, knew the future, had (if not saving) at least harmful powers, and could delude their victims by pretended gifts and answers to prayer. This was the anti-Christian kingdom of Satan against which the Church was matched. Both parties believed in a super-sensuous world of angels and spirits, and in the miracles these produced in the visible sphere. They only differed in their estimate of the character of these beings.

IV. 8-14. Here follows a long and, perhaps, tiresome parenthesis on the petty provinces and limited parochialism of the gods. In Chap. XV. he again takes up the main theme of Rome’s progress and how it is to be regarded by Christians.

IV. 20. It need not be said that this tendency to unification and syncretism, nay, to distinct monotheism, was familiar to pagan philosophy at this time. The Platonic School, without derogating from the monarchianism of a unique God, accounted the lesser deities as real hypostases; the Stoic, as is well known, identified them with various physical forces, and subordinated all to cosmic force, the Ἀρχή (which was with difficulty moralised or portrayed in pure subjective fancy under an ethical form). Augustine, like so many of the early writers, in an exuberance of zeal, is flogging a dead horse. Just as pagan writers, in “their conspiracy of silence,” leave quite a wrong impression of the spread and importance of the Church; so our authors attack the long-discredited particularism of a superstition in which no one believed. Who, for example, can be certain that Hermias is Christian or heathen, judging merely from the text of his Derision (διασαλώσεις) of the Philosophers? The destructive part of Augustine’s work might be attributed to some commentator on Ennius, or to Lucian in some vapid translation of that excellent Hellenist.

IV. 29. Tacitus, whose ideal (at a safe distance) is the unceasing advance of frontier, styles that ablest of rulers, Tiberius, “princeps incursurus proferendi; imperii,” and
lauded the vain enterprises of Germanicus. Hadrian, another genuine statesman, abandoned the conquests of Trajan (117 A.D.); but no policy but that of selfish incompetence prompted Jovianus (363 A.D.) to surrender territory to Parthia. The narrative of Julian's brave and vigorous expedition is told by a graphic eye-witness, Ammianus (who, it may be noted, belongs to that school of temperate deism, which may boast also of Thucydides and Procopius, and is contemptuous of all religious quarrels or enthusiasm). (For an estimate of Julian's character, cf. V. 21.)

V. 6. Rome has its reward in earthly success, and unquestioned empire; the saints have quite other ambitions and recompence. "The kingdom which we seek is everlasting, 'a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.'" It will be noted by any impartial critic that this alienation from the world, this anticipation of a speedy recall, by no means prevented them from "setting in order" the house they so soon expected to leave. Most of the valuable conceptions that have made life more dignified and artistic, more gentle and equitable, have been due to those whose eyes are yet fixed upon a future home.

V. 8. Augustine refers, perhaps too appreciatively, to the great edict of the fifth Antonine, Caracalla (211-217 A.D.). The aim of this gigantic measure of enfranchisement was partly humanitarian, but mainly fiscal.

V. 8. "Are there not many Senators that never saw Rome?" In the censitary and plutocratic disposition of Society by the later Roman bureaucrats, senators were a class or order extending over the Empire, not the members of a Roman assembly, or entrusted with any political power. It is the tendency of all autocracies to discourage the share of noble families in the administration, preferring meaner instruments, who can be cashiered without protest or scandal. The wealthiest class was dignified by nominal privileges and depressed by genuine exaction. Gallienus (253-268 A.D.), forbade them to learn the use of arms. Those who would know more of this cultured class of "senators" who had never seen Rome, should study M. de Coulanges' volumes on the early institutions of France.

V. 13. The last paragraphs provide us with an excellent summary of Augustine's main thesis. They recapitulate with admirable brevity the first five books.
V. 14. Radagaisus, as king of the "Goths," is wrongly named. He headed a mixed multitude of Vandals, Suevi, Alarics, and Burgundians, but the more recent terror of the Goths, under Alaric, led to the prominence of this name, though Gothic adventurers formed but a small part of his force. His invasion of Italy belongs to the year 406; and after a successful siege of Florence, he was himself surrounded by Stilicho, and reduced by famine to capitulate.

V. 14. The bold tone of criticism will remind the reader of Theodosius' humiliation by St. Ambrose, and may take rank with the scarcely less audacious venture of Synesius, who addressed Arcadius at Byzantium about 398 A.D., and lamented the Oriental seclusion of the emperors among flatterers which, under the sons of Theodosius, had taken the place of the vigorous personal administration of the earlier line.