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1993
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THE
TEMPLE
CLASSICS

THE CITY OF GOD
BY
ST. AUGUSTINE
TRANSLATED BY
JOHN HEALEY
St. Augustine.
From a painting by Fra Filippo Lippi.
in the Gallery of the Uffizi at Florence.
Augustine,

THE CITY
OF GOD

BY ST. AUGUSTINE

TRANSLATED
BY JOHN HEALEY

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THE CITY OF GOD

THE TWELFTH BOOK

CHAPTER I

That the disobedience of the first man had drawn all
mankind into the perpetuity of the second death,
but that God's grace hath freed many from it.

We said in our precedent books that it was God's
pleasure to propagate all men from one, both for the
keeping of human nature in one social similitude, and
also to make their unity of original be the means of
their concord in heart. Nor would any of this kind
have died had not the first two (the one whereof was
made from the other, and the other from nothing)
incurred this punishment by their disobedience: in
committing so great a sin, that their whole nature
being hereby depraved, was so transfused through
all their offspring in the same degree of corruption,
and necessity of death; whose kingdom hereupon
became so great in man, that all would have been
cast headlong in the second death, that has no end,
by this due punishment, had not the undue grace of
God acquitted some from it: whereby it comes to
pass, that whereas mankind is divided into so many
nations, distinct in language, discipline, habit, and
Yet by fashion: yet are there but two sorts of men that do properly make the two cities we speak of: the one is, of men that live according to the flesh, and the other of those that live according to the spirit, either in his kind: and when they have attained their desire, either do live in their peculiar peace.

CHAPTER II

Of the carnal life, apparent in the soul's viciousness as well as the body's.

We must first then see what it is to live according to the flesh, and what, according to the spirit. The rash and inconsiderate considerer hereof, not attending well to the Scriptures, may think that the Epicureans were those that lived according to the flesh, because they made bodily pleasure that sumnum bonum, and all such as any way held corporal delight to be man's chiefest good: as the vulgar also, which not out of philosophy, but out of their own proneness to lust, can delight in no pleasures, but such as are bodily and sensible: but that the Stoics that placed this sumnum bonum in the mind, live according to the spirit (for what is man's mind but his spirit?). But the Scriptures prove them both to follow the courses of the flesh, calling the flesh not only an earthly animate body, as it doth, saying, "All flesh is not the same flesh; for there is one flesh of men, and another flesh of beasts, and another of fishes, and another of birds:" but it uses the word in far other significations, amongst which one is, that it calls whole man, that is, his entire nature, flesh, using the
part for the whole: as, "By the works of the law shall no flesh living be justified." What means he by no flesh, but no man? He explains himself immediately: "A man is justified by faith without the works of the law." And in another place: "No man is justified by the law. The Word was made flesh." What is that but man? Some misconceiving this place, held that Christ had no human soul. For as the part is taken for the whole in these words of Mary Magdalene, "They have taken away my Lord and I know not where they have laid Him:" meaning only the flesh of Christ, which she thought they had taken out of the sepulchre: so is the part taken for the whole, when we say flesh, for man, as in the quotations before. Seeing therefore that the Scripture uses flesh in so many significations (too tedious here to recollect) to find what it is to live according to the flesh (the course being evil when the flesh is not evil), let us look a little diligently into that place of the Apostle Paul to the Galatians, where he says, "The works of the flesh are manifest, which are adultery, fornication, uncleanness, wantonness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, debate, emulation, wrath, contentions, seditions, heresies, envy, drunkenness, gluttony, and suchlike, whereof I tell you now, as I told you before, that they which do those things shall not inherit the kingdom of God."

The due consideration of this place of the apostle, will presently give us sufficient demonstration (as far as here needs) what it is to live according to the flesh, for in the works of the flesh which he says are manifest, rehearsing and condemning them, we find not only such as appertain to bodily and luxurious delight, as fornications, uncleanness, luxury, and drunkenness, but such also as discover the viciousness
Yet is of the mind, truly from fleshly pleasures. For who does not think that idolatry, witchcraft, enmity, contention, emulation, wrath, envy, sedition, and heresy, are rather mental vices than corporal? A man may for very reverence to some idolatrous or heretical error, abstain from the lusts of the body, and yet though he do so, by the apostle's words, "He lives according to the flesh:” and in avoiding the works thereof, commits most damnable works thereof. Who has not enmity in his heart? or, who says to his enemy, or him that he thinks his enemy, you have an evil flesh against me? Nobody; they say: you have an evil mind against me. Lastly, as all men that heard those carnal vices recited, would affirm they were meant of the flesh, so none that hears those mental crimes, but refers them to the mind? Why then doth this true and faithful teacher of the Gentiles, call them "The works of the flesh,” except he takes flesh for man, as the part for the whole?

CHAPTER III

That sin came from the soul, and not the flesh: and that the corruption which sin has procured, is not sin, but the punishment of sin.

If any man say that the flesh is cause of the viciousness of the soul, he is ignorant of man’s nature, for the corruptible body does not burden the soul; therefore the apostle speaking of this corruptible body whereof he had said before, although our outward man be corrupted: we know (saith he),
"That if our earthly house of habitation be cause of destroyed, we have a building given of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, for this we sigh, desiring to be clothed with that habitation which we have in heaven. For we that are in this habitation, sigh, and are burdened, because we would not be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life." We are therefore burdened with this corruptible body, and yet knowing that it is not the body's nature, but corruption, that causes this burden, we would not be despoiled of it, but be clothed upon it, with the immortality thereof. It shall then be a body still, but burdensome to us no more, because it is become incorruptible: so then, as yet the corruptible body is heavy unto the soul and the earthly mansion keeps down the expanding mind. But yet such as think that the evils of the mind arise from the body, do err. For though that Virgil seems to express a plain platonism in these verses—

"Igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo
Seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant,
Terrenique hebetant artus, moribundaque membra."

"Those seeds have fiery vigour, heavenly spring,
So far as bodies hinder not with fulness,
Or earthly dying members clog with dulness."

Seeming to derive the four known passions of the mind, desire, fear, joy, and sorrow, as the originals of all guilt, wholly from the body, by these verses following:

"Hinc metuunt cupiuntque dolent gaudentque nec suras
Suscipiunt, clausae tenebris et carcere caeco."

"Here hence they fear, desire, displeased, content,
Nor look to heaven, in dark blind prison pent."
Yet our faith teaches us otherwise. For this corruption that is so burdensome to the soul, is the punishment of the first sin, not the cause: the corruptible flesh made not the soul to sin, but the sinning soul made the flesh corruptible: from which corruption although there arise some incitements unto sin, and some vicious desires, yet are not all the sins of an evil life to be laid upon the flesh, otherwise, we shall make the devil, that has no flesh, sinless: for though we cannot call him a fornicator, a drunkard, or by any one of those carnally vicious names (though he be a secret provoker of man unto all those) yet is he truly styled most proud and envious, which vices have possessed him so far, as therefore is he destined unto eternal torment in the prisons of this obscure air. Now those vices that domineer in him the apostle calls the works of the flesh, though certain it is that he has no flesh. For he says that enmity, contention, emulation, wrath, and envy are the works of the flesh: to all which, pride gives being, yet rules pride in the fleshless devil. For who hates the saints more than he? Who is more envious, contentious, emulating, and wrathful against them than he? Doing all this without the flesh, how are these the works of the flesh, but because they are the works of man, whom as I said before, the apostle means by flesh? for man became like the devil not in being in the flesh (for so was not the devil) but in living according to his own lust, that is, according to the fleshly man: for so chose the devil to do, when he left the truth, to become a liar, not through God, but through himself, who is both a liar, and the father of lying. For he lied first, and from him sinning and lying had their beginning.
CHAPTER IV

What it is to live according to man, and to live according to God.

Therefore a man living according to man, and not living according to God, is like the devil: because an angel indeed should not live according to an angel, but according to God: to remain in the truth, and speak truth from Him, and not lies from himself. For the apostle speaks thus of man: "If the truth of God hath abounded through my lying:" calling lying his, and the truth of God. Therefore he that lives according to the truth, lives according unto God, not according to himself. For God said, "I am the truth." But he that lives not so, but according to himself, lives according to lying: not that man (whom God that never created a lie, did create) is the author of lying, but because man was created upright, to live according to his Creator and not himself, that is, to do His will rather than his own. But not to live, as he was made to live, this is a lie. For he would be blessed, and yet will not live in a course possible to attain it: what can there be more lying than such a will? And therefore it is not unscriptural said every sin is a lie. For we never sin except with a desire to do ourselves good, or not to do ourselves hurt.

Therefore is it a lie when that which we think shall do us good turns unto our hurt: or that which we think to better ourselves by, makes us worse, whence is this, but because man can only have his good from God, whom he forsakes in sinning: and none from himself in living according to whom, he sins? Whereas therefore we said that the contrariety
Hence of the two cities arose hereupon, because some lived according to the flesh, and others according to the Spirit, we may likewise say it is because some live according unto man, and other some unto God. For Paul says plainly to the Corinthians, "Seeing there is emulation and contention amongst you, are ye not carnal, and walk according to man." To walk therefore according to man, is carnal, man being understood in his inferior part, flesh. For those whom he calls carnal here, he calls natural before, saying: "What man knoweth the things of a man but the spirit of a man, which is in him? even so, no man knoweth the things of God but the Spirit of God. Now we have not received the Spirit of the Word, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that God hath given us, which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but being taught by the Spirit, comparing spiritual things with spiritual things. But the natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him." Unto those natural men he spake this a little afterwards: "I would not speak unto you brethren as unto spiritual men, but as unto carnal." And here is that figure in speech that uses the part for the whole to be understood: for the whole man may either be meant by the soul or by the flesh: both which are his parts: and so a natural man and a carnal man, are not several, but all one, namely one that lives according to man: according as those places afore-cited do intend. "By the works of the law shall no flesh be justified:" and that where it is said that "Seventy-five souls went down with Jacob into Egypt," in the former by flesh, is meant, man, and in the latter, by seventy-five souls, are meant seventy-five persons. And in this, not in the words which man's wisdom teaches, he
might have said, which carnal wisdom teaches: as Flesh in also, according to the flesh, for according unto man, if he had pleased. And it was more apparent in the subsequence: for when one says, "I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos, are ye not men?" That which he had called natural and carnal before, he now more expressly calls man: meaning, you live according to man, and not according to God, whom if you followed in your lives, you should be made gods of men.

CHAPTER V

That the Platonists teach the natures of soul and body better than the Manichees, yet they err in ascribing sin unto the nature of the flesh.

We should not therefore wrong our Creator in imputing our vices to our flesh: the flesh is good, but to leave the Creator and live according to this created good, is the mischief: whether a man chooses to live according to the body or the soul or both, which make full man, who therefore may be called by either of them. For he that makes the soul's nature, the greatest good, and the body's the greatest evil, does both carnally desire the soul, and carnally avoid the flesh: conceiving of both as human vanity, not as divine verity teaches: though indeed the Platonists are not so mad as the Manichees, that hate the carnal body, as the natural cause of all mischief, and yet make God the Creator of all the elements, parts, and qualities that this visible world is composed of. Yet the Platonists hold that these, our mortal members, produce the affects of fear, desire, joy, and sorrow in
as Manes our bodies: from which four perturbations (as Tully calls them) or passions (as other translators give them) the whole inundation of man’s enormities have their source and spring. If this be so, why does Æneas in Virgil, hearing by his father that the souls were to return back into the bodies, wonder at this opinion, and cry out—

"O pater, anae aliquas ad cœlum hinc ire putandum est
Sublimes animas, iterumque ad tarda reverti
Corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?"

"What father, do you think the souls are taken
To heaven, and thence, to this dull flesh return,
What dire effect should urge them to their pain?"

Is this same dire effect as yet remaining in the soul, being now quit from the carnal burden in such a commended purity! does he not say they are purged from all bodily infection, when they desire to return into the body again, if it were so then (as it is most vain to hold so) that there were an eternal revolution of the pollution, and the purgation, then can it not be truly said that all vicious desires are the effects of the flesh: for as this noble speaker says, "that dire effect which doth compel the soul being purged from all earthly contagion to desire the body again," is not of the body. And therefore on their confession the soul’s evil affections do not merely arise from the flesh: as desire, fear, joy, and sorrow: but it may have those passions of itself.
CHAPTER VI

Of the quality of man's will, unto which all affections, good and bad, are subject.

But the quality of man's will is of some moment; for if it be bad, so are all those motions; if good, they are both blameless, and praiseworthy: for there is a will in them all: nay, they are all direct wills: what is desire, and joy, but a will consenting to that which we affect: and what is fear, and sorrow, but a will contrary unto what we like? But when we consent to the desire of anything, that is desire: and when we consent in enjoying anything, this is delight. So, when we dislike a thing, and would not have it come to pass, this will is fear: when we dislike it being come to pass, this is grief or sorrow. And this according to the variety of the things desired and avoided, as the will consents, or dislikes, so are our diversity of passions. Whereof a man that makes God and not man the steersman of his life, ought to love good: and consequently to hate evil: and because none is evil by nature, but all by vice: he that lives after God's love, owes his full hate unto the evil: not to hate the man for his vice, nor to love the vice for the man, but hate the vice and love the man: for the vice being cured, he shall find no object of his hate, but all for his love.
CHAPTER VII

That amor and diletio, are of indifferent use in the Scriptures both for good and evil.

For he that is resolved to love God and his neighbour according unto God and not man: for this love, is called a man of a good will, and this is called more commonly, charity, in the Scriptures, though sometimes it be called love therein also. For the apostle will have his magistrate to be a lover of good. And our Lord asking Peter thus: "Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou Me more than these," he answered, "Lord, thou knowest that I love Thee:" He asked him so again, and he answered so again, then He asked him the third time, by φιλῶ, "amo," whereas he had used ἀγαπῶ, "diligo," in the other two, only to show, that diligere and amare were both one, "to love," as Peter had used the one, in all the three questions. This I thought worth recital, but some say diletio, "charity," is one thing, and amor, "love," another: and that the first is used in the good, and the latter in the bad. But sure it is that the profane authors never used them so. But let the philosophers look to their distinctions. For their books use amor, "love," in good senses, and in reference to God, most frequently. But we were to show that our Scriptures, which we place far above their authorities, do not use amor and diletio with any such distinct difference: for we have shown that they use amor in a good sense. If any one think it is used both in good respect and bad, and diletio only in the good, let him look in that of the Psalm: "He that loveth [diligit] iniquity hateth his own soul:" here is diligo, upon a bad subject. And here the Apostle John: "If any man love [dilexerit] the world, the love
[dilectio] of the Father is not in him." Behold here dilectio in one place, in both the respects. But if anyone seek to know whether amor be used in evil (we have shown it in good), let him read this: "Men shall be lovers of themselves," &c. Lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God. For, an upright will is good love, and a perverse will is bad love. Love then desiring to enjoy that it loves is desire: and enjoying it, is joy: flying what it hates, it is fear; feeling it, it is sorrow.

These are evils if the love be evil: and good if it be good. What we say let us prove by Scripture. The apostle "Desires to be dissolved, and to be with Christ:") and, "My heart breaketh for the continual desire I have unto Thy judgments." Or if this be better: "My soul hath coveted to desire Thy judgments," and, "Desire of wisdom leadeth to the kingdom:" yet custom has made it a law, that where concupiscientia, or cupiditas, is used without addition of the object, it is ever taken in a bad sense. But joy, or gladness, the Psalm uses well: "Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, ye righteous," and, "Thou hast given gladness to mine heart," and, "In Thy presence is the fulness of joy." Fear is also used by the apostle in a good sense: "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling:" and, "Be not high-minded, but fear:" and, "But I fear lest as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety, so that your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ." But as for that sorrow (which Tully had rather call egritude, and Virgil, dolour; where he says, dolentque gaudentque, yet I had rather call it tristitia, "sadness," because egritude and dolour are more often used for bodily desires: the question whether it be used in a good sense or no, is fit to be more curiously examined.
CHAPTER VIII

Of the three passions that the Stoics allow a wise man, excluding sadness, as foe to a virtuous mind.

Those which the Greeks call ἱερομαθίας, and Tully, "constantiae," the Stoics make to be three, according to the three perturbations in a wise man's mind, taking will for desire, joy for exultation, and wariness for fear: but instead of that egritude or dolor which we, to avoid amphibology, call sadness, they deny that a wise mind can entertain anything, for the will (say they) affects good: which a wise man affects: joy, concerns the good he has attained, and wariness avoids that he is to avoid: but seeing sadness arises from an evil cause, already fallen out (and no evil happens to a wise man), therefore wisdom admits nothing in place thereof. Therefore (say they) none but wise men can will, rejoice, and be vigilant, and none but fools can covet, exult, fear, and be sad. The first are the three constancies (says Tully), and the latter the four perturbations. The Greeks, as I said, call the three ἱερομαθίας, and these four πάθη.

In seeing the corresponency of this, with the phrase of holy writ, I found this of the prophet: "There is no joy (saith the Lord) unto the wicked," as if the wicked might rather exult, than have joy, in their mischiefs, for joy is properly peculiar to the good and godly, that also in the Gospel: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye to them:" this seems to intimate that a man cannot will any evil thing but covet it: by reason of which custom of interpretation, some translators added good, "What good soever," &c., for they thought it fit for man to desire that men should do them no dishonesty, and
therefore put in this, lest some should think that in their luxurious banquets (to be silent in more obscene matters) they should fulfil this precept, in doing to others as others do unto them. But "good" is not in the original Greek, but only, as we read before: "Whatsoever ye would," &c., for in saying "ye would," he means "good." He said not, "whatsoever ye covet," yet must we not always tie our phrases to this strictness, but take leave at needful occasions, and when we read those that we may not resist, we must conceive them so, that the true sense have no other passage, as, for example sake, in the said places of the prophet and the apostle, who knows not that the wicked exult in pleasure? and yet there is no joy (says the Lord) to the wicked. Why? because joy is properly and strictly used in this place. So may some say that precept, "Whatsoever ye would," &c., is not well delivered: they may pollute one another with uncleanness, or so. Notwithstanding, the command is well given: and is a most true and healthful one. Why? because will, which properly cannot be used in evil, is put in the most proper signification in this place. But as for ordinary usage of speech, we would not say, "Have no will to tell any lie:" but that there is a bad will also, distinct from that which the angels praised, saying: "Peace on earth to men of goodwill." Good were here superfluous, if that there were no will but good, and how coldly had the apostle praised charity, in saying "That it rejoiceth not in iniquity, but that envy rejoiceth therein:" for the pagan authors do use these differences. "I desire," says Tully, "Father's conscript, I desire to be merciful." Here he uses *cupio* in a good sense, and who is so perverse to say he should have used *volo* rather? And Terence's lascivious youth: "I would have none but Philu-
The mena," says he. That this will was lust, his ancient Christian servant's answer declares, saying to his master: "How much better were it for you, to cast this love out of your heart, rather than seek to inflame it more therein!" That they used joy in an evil sense, Virgil's verse of the four perturbations records—

"Hinc metuunt cupiuntque dolent gaudentque."
"Here hence they fear, desire, displeased, content."

And the same author in another place says—

"Mala mentis gaudia."
"The mind's bad joys."

So then both good and evil do will, desire, are vigilant and rejoice; and to rehearse them in other terms, the good and bad, do wish, fear, and are joyful: surely those do it well, and these badly according as their wills are. And that sadness, for which the Stoics can afford a wise man just nothing, is apparent in good men, especially of ourprofession. For the apostle praises the Corinthians for that they sorrowed after a godly manner. Aye, but (some may say) the apostle congratulates their sorrow in repentance, and that is proper to none but sinners: for his words run thus—

"For I perceive that the same epistle hath made you sorry though it were but for a season. Now I rejoice not that ye were made sorry, but that ye sorrowed to repentance: for ye were made sorry after a godly manner, so that in nothing you were hurt by us. For godly sorrow causeth repentance unto salvation, not to be repented of: but the worldly sorrow causeth death: for behold this godly sorrow, what carefulness it hath wrought in you." Verily
the Stoics may answer for themselves, that this sorrow seemed useful unto their repentance, but it cannot be in a wise man because he cannot do an act sinful or worthy of repentance, nor can admit anything that should produce sadness in him. For they say that Alcibiades (if I have not forgotten the man's name) thinking himself happy, and Socrates disputing against it and proving him miserable, because he was not wise, fell a-weeping. So here was his want of wisdom cause of this good sorrow, whereby he grieved that he was not as he should be; but a wise man (say the Stoics) can never have this sorrow.

CHAPTER IX

Of the perturbations of mind which the righteous moderate, and rule aright.

But concerning these questions of perturbations, the philosophers are already answered in the eighth book in which we shew that their contention is rather verbal than real. But according to our religion and the scriptures, the citizens of God, as long as they are pilgrims, and in the way of God, do fear, desire, rejoice and sorrow. But their love being right, straightens all those affections. They fear eternal pain, and desire eternal joy: they sorrow for the present, because as yet they sigh in themselves, waiting for their adoption, even the redemption of their bodies: they rejoice in hope, because that shall be fulfilled which is written: "Death is swallowed up in victory." They fear to offend, and desire to persevere: they sorrow for sin, and rejoice in doing
but with a fitting object.

good: they fear to sin, because, "for that iniquity shall be increased, the love of many shall wax cold:" they desire to persevere, because, "He that endureth to the end shall be saved:" they sorrow for sin because, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us:" they rejoice in good works, for "God loveth a cheerful giver."

And as they are strong or weak, so do they desire, or fear to be tempted: rejoicing or sorrowing in temptations: they fear to be tempted, for "If any man fall into a fault by any occasion, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted:" they desire to be tempted, for, "Prove me, O Lord, and try me, examine my reins and mine heart," said David: they sorrow in temptations, for they hear how Peter wept: they rejoice in them, for, "Brethren, count it exceeding joy when ye fall into divers temptations," says James.

And they do not feel affections for themselves only, but for others also, whom they desire should be freed, and fear lest they perish, sorrowing at their fall and rejoicing at their deliverance: for if we that are come from paganism to Christianity may give an especial instance in that worthy and dauntless man that boasted of his infirmities, that teacher of faith and truth to the nations, that toiler above all his fellow apostles, that edifier of God's people by sermons, being present, and by more epistles than they all, being absent, that blessed man Paul (I mean Christ's champion) taught by Him, anointed from Him, crucified with Him, glorified in Him, in the theatre of this world where he was made a spectacle, to God, angels, and men, fighting a lawful and great fight, and "following hard towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling:" how
gladly do we with the eyes of faith behold him, St. Paul not ashamed of emotion.

"weep with them: that weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice," fightings without, and fears within, longing to depart and to be with Christ," desiring to see the Romans, and to receive fruit from them as well as the others, being jealous over the Corinthians, and fearing lest their minds should be corrupted, "from the chastity which is in Christ," having great sadness, and continual sorrow of heart for Israel, that being ignorant of God's righteousness, would establish their own, and not be subject unto God: and bitterly grieving that divers had not repented them of their fornication and uncleanness. If these affections, arising from the love of good, be vicious, then let true vices be called virtues: but seeing their use is levelled by the rule of reason, who dare call them frail or imperfect passions of the mind? Our Lord Himself, living in the form of a servant (yet without sin), exercised them when He thought it requisite: for we may not think that having man's essential body and soul, He had but seeming affections.

And therefore His sorrow for Jerusalem's hardness of heart, His joy for the believers, His tears for Lazarus, His desire to eat the passover with His disciples, and His deadly heaviness of soul upon the approach of His passion, these are no feigned narrations.

But these affections of man He felt when it pleased Him, as He was made man when it pleased Him. Wherefore we confess that those affections, in their best kind, are but pertinent to this present life, not unto that which we hope for hereafter: and that we are often over-pressed by them: a laudable desire or charity may move us: yet shall we weep whether we will or no. For we have them by our human
infirmity, but so had not Christ, for He had His very infirmity itself from His own power. But as long as we live in this infirmity, we shall live worse if we want those emotions. For the Apostle dispraises and detests such as want natural affection. And so does the Psalmist, saying, "I looked for some to pity me, and there was none." For to want the sense of sorrow in this mortal life (as a great scholar held) never befalls a man without great stupidity of body and barbarism of mind. Therefore the Greek ἀπάθεια, or impassibility, being meant of the mind, and not the body, if it be understood as a want of those perturbations only which disturb the mind and resist reason, it is to be defended and desired. For the godly wise and holy men (not ordinary wranglers) say all directly, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." But if a man had this same ἀπάθεια (meant as before), he had no sin indeed in him. But it is well if we can live here without crime: but he that thinks he lives without sin does not avoid sin, but rather excludes all pardon. But now if ἀπάθεια be an utter abandoning of all mental affections whatsoever, who will not say such a stupidity is not worse than sin? We may fitly say indeed that true happiness shall be utterly void of fear and sorrow: but who can say it shall be void of love and joy, but he that professes to oppose the truth? but if this ἀπάθεια be a freedom from fear and sorrow, we must not aim at it in this life, if we mean to live after the law of God. But in the other promised life of eternity all fear shall be excluded from us. For that fear whereof the Apostle John says, "There is no fear in love, but perfect love casteth out fear, and he that feareth is not perfect in love," is not that kind of fear whereof the Apostle Paul feared
the fall of the Corinthians, for love has this fear in it, and nothing has it but love: but the other fear is not in love, whereof the same Apostle Paul says, "For ye have not received the spirit of bondage to fear again." But that chaste fear, remaining world without end, if it be in the world to come (and how else can it remain world without end?), shall be no fear terrifying us from evil, but a fear keeping us in an inseparable good. For where the good attained is unchangeably loved, there is the fear to lose it inseparably chained. For by this chaste fear is meant the will that we must necessarily have to avoid sin; not with an ungrounded carefulness lest we should sin, but being founded in the peace of love, to beware of sin. But if that firm and eternal security be acquit of all fear, and conceive only the fulness of joy, then the saying that the fear of the Lord is clean, and endureth for ever, is meant as that other place is, "The patience of the afflicted shall not perish for ever."

Their patience shall not be eternal, such needs only where miseries are to be eternally endured. But that which their patience shall attain, shall be eternal. So it may be that this pure fear is said to remain for ever, because the scope whereat it aims is everlasting: which being so, and a good course only leading to beatitude, then has a bad life bad affections, and a good life good ones. And everlasting blessedness shall have both joy and love, not only right, but firm and unmov ing: but shall be utterly quit of fear and sorrow. Hence is it apparent what courses God's citizens ought to run in this earthly pilgrimage, making the spirit, not the flesh, God, and not humanity the lantern to their paths: and here also we see their state in their eternal future. But the city of the impious that sail after
In the compass of carnality, and in their most divine matters, reject the truth of God, and rely upon the instructions of men, is shaken with these affections, as with earthquakes, and infected with them as with pestilent contagions. And if any of the citizens seem to curb themselves from these courses, they grow so impiously proud and vainglorious, that the less their trouble is by these passions, the greater their disease. And if any of them be so wonderfully vain and barbarous as to embrace downright callousness, becoming insensible of all affection, they do rather abjure true manhood than attain true peace. Roughness does not prove a thing right; nor can dulness produce solid soundness.

CHAPTER X

Whether man had those perturbations in Paradise before his fall.

But it is a fair question whether our first parent, or parents (for they were two in marriage) had those natural affections ere they sinned, which we shall be acquitted of when we are perfectly purified. If they had them, how had they that memorable bliss of Paradise? who can be directly happy that either fears or sorrows? and how could they either fear or grieve in that copious affluence of bliss, where they were out of the danger of death and sickness, having all things that a good will desired, and wanting all things that might give their happiness just cause of offence? Their love to God was unmoved, their union sincere, and thereupon exceeding delightful, having power to enjoy at full what they loved. They
were in a peaceable avoidance of sin, which tranquility kept out all external annoyance. Did they desire (do you think?) to taste the forbidden fruit, and yet feared to die? God forbid we should think this to be where there was no sin, for it were a sin to desire to break God's command, and to forbear it rather for fear of punishment than love of righteousness. God forbid I say that ere that sin was, that should be verified of the forbidden fruit which Christ saith of a woman: "Whosoever looketh after a woman to lust after her hath already committed adultery with her in his heart." How happy were our first parents, being troubled with no perturbations of mind nor no sickness of body! even so happy should all mankind have been if they had not transfused that misery which their sin incurred, into their posterity: nor any of their seed had committed an act worthy of condemnation. And this bliss remaining, until, by the words increase and multiply, the number of the predestinate were fulfilled, then should a better have been given us, namely, that which the angels have, wherein there is an eternal security from sin and death: and so should the saints have lived then without tasting of labour, sorrow, and death, as they shall now in the resurrection, after they have endured them all.

CHAPTER XI

The fall of the first man, in whom nature was made good, but can only be repaired by the Maker.

But God, foreknowing all things, could not but know that man would fall: therefore we must ground
Man, created good, our city upon His presence and ordinance, not upon that which we know not, and God has not revealed. For man's sin could not disturb God's decree, nor force Him to change His resolve: God foreknew and anticipated both, that is, how bad man (whom He had made) should become, and what good He meant to derive from him, for all his badness. For though God be said to change His resolution (as the Scriptures figuratively say that He repented, &c.) yet this is in respect of man's hope, or nature's order, not according to His own prescience. So then God made man upright, and consequently well-willed: otherwise he could not have been upright. So that this good-will was God's work, man being therewith created. But the evil will, which was in man before his evil work, was rather a failing from the work of God to its own works, than any work at all. And therefore were the works evil, because they were according to themselves, and not according to God, this evil will being as a tree bearing such bad fruit, or man himself, in respect of his evil will. Now this evil will, though it do not follow, but oppose nature, being a fault: yet is it of the same nature that vice is, which cannot but be in some nature: but it must be in that nature which God made of nothing, not in that which He has begotten of Himself, as He begot the Word by Whom all things were made: for although God made man of dust, yet He made dust out of nothing and He made the soul out of nothing, which He joined with the body, making full man. But evils are so far under that which is good, that though they be permitted to exist to show what good use God's provident justice can make of them, yet may that which is good exist without them, as that true and glorious God. Himself, and all the visible
resplendent heavens do, above this darkened and misty
air of ours: but evils cannot consist but in that which
is good, for all the natures wherein they abide being
considered as mere natures, are good. And evil is
drawn from nature, not by abscession of any nature
contrary to this or any part of this, but by purifying of
that only, which was thus depraved. Then therefore
is the will truly free, when it serves neither vice nor
sin. Such God gave us, such we lost, and can only
recover by Him that gave it: as the truth says: "If
the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed,"
it is as if He should say: "If the Son save you, you
shall be truly saved," for He is the Liberator, that
is the Saviour. Wherefore in Paradise both local
and spiritual, man made God his rule to live by, for
it was not a paradise local, for the body's good, and
not spiritual for the spirit's: nor was it a spiritual for
the spirit's good, and no local one for the body's:
no, it was both for both. But after that that proud,
and therefore envious angel, falling through that pride
from God unto himself, and choosing in a tyrannical
vainglory rather to rule then be ruled, fell from the
spiritual paradise (of whose fall, and his fellows,
that thereupon of good angels became his, I disputed
in my eighth book as God gave grace and means), he
desiring to creep into man's mind by his ill-persuading
subtlety, and envying man's constancy in his own
fall, chose the serpent, one of the creatures that as
then lived harmlessly with the man and woman in the
earthly Paradise, a creature slippery, and pliable,
wreathed in knots, and fit for his work, this he chose
to speak through: abusing it, as subject unto the
greater excellency of his angelical nature, and making
it the instrument of his spiritual wickedness, through
it he began to speak deceitfully unto the woman:
beginning at the meaner part of mankind, to invade
the whole by degrees: thinking the man was not so credulous, nor so soon deluded as he would be, seeing another so served before him, for as Aaron consented not by persuasion, but yielded by compulsion unto the Hebrews' idolatry, to make them an idol, nor Solomon (as it is thought) yielded worship to idols of his own errôneous belief, but was brought unto that sacrilege by his wives' persuasions: so is it to be thought, that the first man did not yield to his wife in this transgression of God's precept, as if he thought she spoke the truth; but only being compelled to it by this social love to her, being but one with one, and both of one nature and kind, for it is not in vain that the apostle says: "Adam was not deceived: but the woman was deceived:”; but it shews that the woman did think that the serpent's words were true, but Adam only would not break company with his partner, were it in sin, and so sinned wittingly: wherefore the apostle says not, "He sinned not;” but, "He was not seduced,” for he shews that he sinned, saying: "By one man sin entered into the world:” and a little after more plainly: "after the manner of the transgression of Adam.” And those he means are seduced, that think the first to be no sin, which he knew to be a sin, otherwise why should he say, "Adam was not seduced”? But he that is not acquainted with the divine severity might therein be deceived to conceive that his sin was but venial. And therefore while the woman was seduced, he was not, but this it was that deceived him, that he was to be judged, for his false excuse: "The woman that Thou gavest me to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat,” what need we any more then? though they were not both seduced, they were both taken in sin and made the devil's captives.
CHAPTER XII

Of the quality of man’s first offence.

But if the difference of motion to sin, that others in his have from the first man, do trouble any one, and that wise’s other sins do not alter man’s nature, as that first guilt) transgression did: making him liable to that death, torture of the affections, and corruption which we all feel now, and he felt not at all, nor would have felt, if he had not sinned: if this (I say) move any one, he must not think therefore, that it was a light fault that he committed in eating of that fruit which was not hurtful at all, but only as it was forbidden. For God would not have planted any hurtful thing in that delicious Paradise. But upon this precept was grounded obedience, the mother and guardian of all the other virtues of the soul: to which it is good to be subject, and pernicious to leave (leaving with it the Creator’s will) and to follow one’s own. This command then of forbearing one fruit when there were so many besides it, being so easy to observe; and so short to remember, especially since no lust (a later penalty of transgression) then opposed the will, was the more wickedly broken, by how much it was the easier to keep.

CHAPTER XIII

That in Adam’s offence his evil will was before his evil work.

But evil began within them secretly at first, to draw them into open disobedience afterwards. For there
would have been no evil work, but there was an evil will before it: and what could begin this evil will but pride, that is the beginning of all sin? And what is pride but a perverse desire of height, in forsaking Him to whom the soul ought solely to cleave, as the beginning thereof, to make the self seem the one beginning. This is when it likes itself too well, or when it so loves itself, that it will abandon that unchangeable Good which ought to be more delightful to it than itself. This defect now is voluntary: for if the will remained firm in the love of that higher and stronger Good which gave it light to see it, and zeal to love it; it would not have turned from that, to take delight in itself, and thereupon have become so blind of sight, and so cold of zeal that either Eve should have believed the serpent's words as true, or Adam should have dared to prefer his wife's will before God's command, and to think that he offended but veniall, if he bare the partner of his life company in her offence. The evil therefore, that is, this transgression, was not done but by such as were evil before, such ate the forbidden fruit: there could be no evil fruit, but from an evil tree, the tree was made evil against nature, for it had not become evil but by the unnatural viciousness of the will: and no nature can be depraved by vice, but such as is created of nothing. And therefore in that it is nature it has it from God: but it falls from God in that it was made of nothing. Yet man was not made nothing upon his fall, but he was lessened in excellence by inclining to himself, being most excelling, in his adherence to God: whom he leaving, to adhere to, and delight in himself, he grew (not to be nothing, but) towards nothing. Therefore the scripture called proud men, otherwise, pleasers of themselves. It is good to have the heart aloft,
but not unto one's self: that is pride; but unto Self-love God, that is obedience, inherent only in the humble.

In humility therefore there is this to be admired, that it elevates the heart: and in pride this, that it dejects it. This seems strangely contrary, that elevation should be below, and dejection aloft. But godly humility subjects one to his superior: and God is above all; therefore humility exalts one, in making him God's subject. But pride the vice, refusing this subjection, falls from him that is above all, and so becomes more base by far (than those that stand) fulfilling this place of the Psalm: "Thou hast cast them down in their own exaltation." He says not when they were exalted, they were dejected afterwards: but, in their very exaltation were they cast down, their elevation was their ruin. And therefore in that humility is so approved in, and commended to the City of God that is yet pilgrim upon earth and so highly extolled by Christ the King thereof; and pride, the just contrary, shewn by Holy Scripture, to be so predominant in His adversaries the devil and his angels: in this very thing the great difference of the two cities, the godly and the ungodly, with both their angels accordingly, lies most apparent: God's love swaying in the one, and self-love in the other. So that the devil had not seduced mankind to such a palpable transgression of God's express charge, but that evil will and self-love had got place in them before, for He delighted in that which was said, "Ye shall be as gods:" which they might sooner have been by obedience and coherence with their Creator than by proud opinion that they were their own beginners, for the created gods are not gods of themselves but by participation of the God that made them, but man desiring more, became less, and
Man choosing to be sufficient in himself, fell from that all-sufficient God.

This then is the mischief, man liking himself as if he were his own light turned away from the true light, which if he had pleased himself withal, he might have been like: this mischief (I say) was first in his soul, and thence was drawn on to the following mischievous act, for the scripture is true that says, “Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty mind before the fall: the fall which was in secret, foreruns the fall which was in public, the first being taken for no fall at all, for who takes exaltation to be ruin, though the defect proved in the place of height?

But who sees not that ruin lies in the express breach of God’s precepts? For therefore did God forbid it, that being done, all excuse and avoidance of justice might be excluded. And therefore I dare say it is good that the proud should fall into some broad and disgraceful sin thereby to take a dislike of themselves, who fell by too much liking themselves: for Peter’s sorrowful dislike of himself, when he wept, was more healthful to his soul than his unsound pleasure that he took in himself when he presumed. Therefore says the Psalmist: “Fill their faces with shame, that they may seek Thy name O Lord:” that is, that they may delight in Thee and seek Thy name, who before, delighted in themselves, and sought their own.
CHAPTER XIV

Of the pride of the transgression, which was worse than the transgression itself.

But pride that makes man seek to colour his guilt, Vain their is far more damnable than the guilt itself is, as it was excuses in the first of mankind. She could say, "The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat." He could say: "The woman Thou gavest me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat:" here is no sound of asking mercy, no breath of desiring help: for though they do not deny their guilt, as Cain did, yet their pride seeks to lay their own evil upon another, the man's upon the woman, and hers upon the serpent. But this indeed does rather accuse them of worse than acquit them of this, so plain and palpable a transgression of God's command. For the woman's persuading of the man, and the serpent's seducing of the woman to this, no way acquits them of the guilt: as if there were anything to be believed, or obeyed, before God, or rather than the Most High.

CHAPTER XV

Of the just reward that our first parents received for their sin.

Therefore because God (that had made man according to His image, placed him in Paradise above all creatures, had given him plenty of all things, and laid no hard nor long laws upon him, but only that
Bondage was the penalty of one brief command of obedience, to shew that Himself was Lord of that creature whom free service best besitted) was thus condemned: thereupon followed that righteous sentence, being such, that man, who might have kept the command, and been spiritual in body, became now carnal in mind: and because, he had before delighted in his own pride, now he tasted of God's justice: becoming not as he desired, fully in his own power, but falling even from himself, became his slave that taught him sin, changing his sweet liberty into wretched bondage, being willingly dead in spirit, and unwilling to die in the flesh, forsaking eternal life, and condemned to eternal death, had not God's good grace delivered him. He that holds this sentence too severe, cannot truly apportion the guilt incurring it, and the easiness of avoiding it: for as Abraham's obedience is highly extolled, because the killing of his son (an hard matter) was commanded him, so was their disobedience in Paradise so much the more extreme, as the precept was easy to perform. And as the obedience of the second was the more rarely excellent, in that he kept it unto the death: so was that disobedience of the first man the more truly detestable, because he brake his obedience to incur death: for where the punishment of the breach of obedience is so great, and the precept so easily kept, who can fully relate the guilt of that sin that breaks it, standing neither in awe of the commander's majesty, nor in fear of the terrible affliction following the breach?

And in one word, what reward, what punishment is laid, upon disobedience, but disobedience? What is man's misery, other than his own disobedience to himself: that seeing he would not what he might, now he cannot what he would? for although in Paradise all was not in his power during
his obedience, yet then he desired nothing but what was in his power, and so did what he would.

But now, as the Scripture says, and we see by experience, "Man is like to vanity," for who can recount his innumerable desires of impossibilities, the flesh, and the mind, that is himself, disobeying the will, that is himself also, for his mind is troubled, his flesh pained, age and death approach, and a thousand other emotions seize on us against our wills, which they could not do if our nature were wholly obedient unto our will. And the flesh suffers something, that hinders the service of the soul, what does it matter, as long as it is God's almighty justice, to whom we would not be subject, that our flesh should not be subject to the soul, but trouble it whereas it was subject wholly unto it before, though we in not serving God, do trouble ourselves and not Him? for He needs not our service, as we need our bodies: and therefore it is our pain to have a body, not any hurt to Him that we have made it such a body. Besides, those that we call fleshly pains, are the soul's pains, in, and from the flesh, for what can the flesh either feel, or desire without the soul? But when we say the flesh does either, we mean either the man (as I said before) or some part of the soul that the fleshly passion affects, either by sharpness, procuring pain and grief, or by sweetness producing pleasure. But fleshly pain is only an offence given to the soul by the flesh, and a dislike of that passion that the flesh produces: as that which we call sadness, is a distaste of things befalling us against our wills: but fear commonly foreruns sadness, and that is wholly in the soul, and not in the flesh: but whereas the pain of the flesh is not forerun by any fleshly fear, felt in the flesh before that pain: pleasure indeed is ushered in by certain appetites felt in the flesh, as the desires
Only impotent desires. thereof: such are hunger and thirst and the carnal appetite usually called lust: whereas lust is a general name to all fleshly desires: for wrath is nothing but a lust of revenge, as the ancient writers defined it: although a man sometimes without sense of revenge will be angry at senseless things, as to break his pen in anger when it writes badly: but even this is a certain desire of revenge, though it be reasonless, it is a certain shadow of rendering evil to them that do evil. So then wrath is a lust of revenge; avarice, a lust of having money; obstinacy, a lust of getting victory; boasting, a lust of vainglory; and many such lusts there are: some peculiarly named, and some nameless: for who can give a fit name to the lust of sovereignty, which notwithstanding the tyrants show by their intestine wars, that they stand well affected unto?

CHAPTER XVI

The state of the two cities, the heavenly and the earthly.

Two loves therefore, have given original to these two cities: self-love in contempt of God unto the earthly, love of God in contempt of one's self to the heavenly; the first seeks the glory of men, and the latter desires God only as the testimony of the conscience, the greatest glory. That glories in itself, and this in God. That exalts itself in self-glory: this says to God: "My glory and the lifter up of my head." That boasts of the ambitious conquerors, led by the lust of sovereignty: in this every one
serves other in charity, both the rulers in counselling and the subjects in obeying. That loves worldly virtue in the potentates: this says unto God, "I will love Thee, O Lord, my strength." And the wise men of that, follow either the good things of the body, or mind, or both: living according to the flesh: and such as might know God, honoured Him not as God, nor were thankful but became vain in their own imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened: for professing themselves to be wise, that is, extolling themselves proudly in their wisdom, they became fools: changing the glory of the incorruptible God to the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds and four-footed beasts and serpents: for they were the people's guides, or followers unto all those idolatries, and served the creature more than the Creator who is blessed for ever. But in this other, this heavenly city, there is no wisdom of man, but only the piety that serves the true God and expects a reward in the society of the holy angels, and men, that God may be all in all.
THE THIRTEENTH BOOK

CHAPTER I

Of the two contrary courses taken by the human race from the beginning.

Such then the origin of the place and felicity of the local Paradise, together with man's life and fall therein, there are many opinions, many assertions, and many books, as several men thought, spoke, and wrote. What we held hereof, or could gather out of Holy Scriptures, correspondent unto their truth and authority, we related in some of the foregoing books: if they be farther looked into, they will give birth to more questions, and longer disputations than we have now room for: our time is not so large as to permit us to argue scrupulously upon every question that may be asked by busy heads that are more curious of inquiry than capable of understanding. I think we have sufficiently discussed the doubts concerning the beginning of the world, the soul, and mankind: which last is divided into two sorts: such as live according to man, and such as live according to God. These, we mystically call, "two cities" or societies, the one predestinated to reign eternally with God: the other condemned to perpetual torment with the devil. This is their end: of which hereafter. Now seeing we have said sufficient concerning their original, both in the angels whose number we know not, and in the two first parents of
mankind: I think it fit to pass on to their career, of the from man's first offspring until he cease to beget any more. Between which two points all the time included, wherein the livers ever succeed the diers, is the career of these "two cities." Cain therefore was the first begotten of those two that were mankind's parents: and he belongs to the city of man: Abel was the later, and he belongs to the city of God. For as we see that in that one man (as the apostle says) that which is spiritual was not first, but that which is natural first, and then the spiritual (whereupon all that comes from Adam's corrupted nature must needs be evil and carnal at first, and then if he be regenerate by Christ, becomes good and spiritual afterward): so in the first propagation of man, and course of the "two cities" of which we dispute, the carnal citizen was born first, and the pilgrim on earth, or heavenly citizen, afterwards, being by grace predestinated, and by grace elected, by grace a pilgrim upon earth, and by grace a citizen in heaven. For as for his birth, it was out of the same corrupted mass that was condemned from the beginning: but God like a potter (for this simile the apostle himself uses) out of the same lump, made "one vessel to honour and another to reproach." The vessel of reproach was made first, and the vessel of honour afterwards. For in that one man, as I said, first was reprobation, whence we must needs begin (and wherein we need not remain), and afterwards, goodness, to which we come by profiting, and coming thither, therein making our abode. Whereupon it follows that no one can be good that has not first been evil, though all that be evil become not good: but the sooner a man betters himself the quicker does this name follow him, abolishing the memory of the other. Therefore it is recorded of Cain that he
The true city is here a pilgrim. built a city, but Abel was a pilgrim, and built none. For the city of the saints is above, though it have citizens here upon earth, wherein it lives as a pilgrim until the time of the kingdom come, and then it gathers all the citizens together in the resurrection of the body and gives them a kingdom to reign in with their King, for ever and ever.

CHAPTER II

Of the sons of the flesh, and the sons of promise.

The shadow and prophetical image of this city (not presenting it but signifying it) served here upon earth, at the time when it was to be discovered, and was called "the holy city," of the significant image, but not of the express truth, wherein it was afterwards to be stated. Of this image serving, and of the "free city" herein prefigured, the apostle speaks thus unto the Galatians: "Tell me ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law? for it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a bondwoman, and the other by a free:" but the son of the bondwoman was born of the flesh, and the son of the freewoman by promise. Which things are an allegory: for these are the two Testaments, the one given from Mount Sinai, begetting man in servitude, which is Hagar: for Sinai is a mountain in Arabia, joined to the Jerusalem on earth, for it serves with her children. But our mother the celestial Jerusalem is free, for it is written, "Rejoice thou barren that bearest not: break forth into joy, and cry out, thou that travailest not with child, for the desolate hath
many more children than the married wife, but we, brethren, are the sons of promise according to Isaac."

But as then he that was born of the flesh, persecuted him that was born after the spirit, even so it is now. Nevertheless says the Scripture, "Cast out the bondwoman and her son, for the bondwoman's son shall not be heir with the freewoman's. Then brethren, we are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free." Thus the apostle authorises us to conceive of the old and new covenant. For a part of the earthly city was made an image of the heavenly, notsignifying itself, but another, and therefore serving: for it was not ordained to signify itself, but another, and itself was signified by another precedent signification: for Hagar, Sarah's servant, and her son, were a type hereof. And because when the light comes, the shadows must flee away, Sarah the freewoman, signifying the free city (which that shadow signified in another manner), said, "Cast out the bondwoman and her son: for the bondwoman's son shall not be heir with my son Isaac:" whom the apostle calls the freewoman's son. Thus then we find this earthly city in two forms: the one presenting itself, and the other prefiguring the city celestial, and serving it. Our nature, corrupted by sin, produces citizens of earth: and grace freeing us from the sin of nature, makes us citizens of heaven: the first are called the vessels of wrath: the last, of mercy. And this was signified in the two sons of Abraham: the one of which being born of the bondwoman, was called Ishmael, being the son of the flesh: the other, the freewoman's, Isaac, the son of promise. Both were Abraham's sons: but natural custom begot the first, and gracious promise the latter. In the first was a demonstration of man's use, in the second was a commendation of God's goodness.
CHAPTER III

Of Sarah’s barrenness, which God turned into fruitfulness.

Isaac was barren and despaired of having any child; and desiring to have a child, though it were from her slave, gave her to Abraham to bring him children, seeing she could bring him none herself. Thus exacted she her due of her husband, although it were by the womb of another: so was Ishmael born, being begotten by the usual commixture of both sexes in the law of nature: and thereupon said to be born after the flesh: not that such births are not God’s benefits or works (for His working wisdom, as the Scripture says, reaches from end to end, mightily and sweetly ordering all things): but in that, that for the signification of that free grace that God meant to give unto man, such a son should be born, as the laws and order of nature did not require: for nature denies children unto all such copulations as Abraham’s and Sarah’s were, age and barrenness both swaying in her then: whereas she could have no child in her younger days, when her age seemed not to want fruitfulness, though fruitfulness was lacking in that youthful age. Therefore in that her nature being thus affected could not exact the birth of a son, is signified this, that man’s nature being corrupted and consequently condemned for sin, had no claim afterward unto any part of felicity. But Isaac being born by promise, is a true type of the sons of grace, of those free citizens, of those dwellers in eternal peace, where no private or self-love shall be predominant, but all shall joy in that universal good, and many hearts shall meet in one, forming a perfect model of charity and obedience.
CHAPTER IV

Of the conflict and peace of the earthly city.

But the temporal, earthly city (temporal, for when it is condemned to perpetual pains it shall be no more a city) has all the good here upon earth, and therein takes that joy that such an object can afford. But because it is not a good that acquits the possessors of all troubles, therefore this city is divided in itself into wars, altercations, and appetites of bloody and deadly victories. For any part of it that wars against another, desires to be the world’s conqueror, whereas indeed it is vice’s slave. And if it conquer, it extols itself and so becomes its own destruction: but if we consider the condition of worldly affairs, and grieve at man’s openness to adversity, rather than delight in the events of prosperity, thus is the victory deadly: for it cannot keep a sovereignty for ever where it got a victory for once. Nor can we call the objects of this city’s desires, good, it itself in its own human nature, far surmounting them. It desires an earthly peace, for very low ambitions, and seeks it by war, where if it subdue all resistance, it attains peace: which notwithstanding the other side, that fought so unfortunately for the same reasons, lack. This peace they seek by laborious war, and obtain (they think) by a glorious victory. And when they conquer that had the right cause, who will not congratulate their victory, and be glad of their peace? Doubtless those are good, and God’s good gifts. But if the things appertaining to that celestial and supernal city where the victory shall be everlasting, be neglected...
enjoy all for those goods, and those goods desired as the only earthly goods, or loved as if they were better than the other, misery must needs follow and increase that which is inherent before.

CHAPTER V

Of that murderer of his brother, that was the first founder of the earthly city, whose act the builder of Rome paralleled, in murdering his brother also.

Therefore this earthly city’s foundation was laid by a murderer of his own brother, whom he slew through envy, and who was an earthly pilgrim, of the heavenly city. Whereupon it is no wonder if the founder of that city which was to become the world’s chief, and the queen of the nation, followed this his first example or archetype in the same fashion. One of their poets records the fact in these words—

“Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri.”

“The first walls stained with a brother’s blood.”

Such was Rome’s foundation, and such was Romulus’ murder of his brother Remus, as their histories relate: only this difference there is, these brethren were both citizens of the earthly city and propagators of the glory of Rome, for whose institution they contended. But they both could not have that glory, that if they had been but one, they might have had. For he that glories in dominion, must needs see his glory diminished when he has a
partner to share with him. Therefore the one to have all, killed his partner, and by villainy grew into bad greatness, whereas innocence would have installed him in honest meanness. But those two brethren, Cain and Abel, stood not both alike affected to earthly matters: nor did this produce envy in them, that if they both should reign, he that could kill the other, should arise to a greater pitch of glory, for Abel sought no dominion in that city which his brother built, but that devil, envy did all the mischief, which the bad bear unto the good, only because they are good: for the possession of goodness is not lessened by being shared: nay, it is increased when it has many possessing it in one link and league of charity. Nor shall he ever have it, that will not have it common; and he that loves a partner in it, shall have it more abundantly. The strife therefore of Romulus and Remus shews the division of the earthly city in itself: and that of Cain and Abel shews the opposition of the city of men and the city of God. The wicked oppose the good: but the good being perfect, cannot contend amongst themselves: but whilst they are imperfect they may contend one against another in that manner that each contends against himself, for in every man the flesh is against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh. So then the spiritual desire in one may fight against the carnal in another, or contrariwise: the carnal against the spiritual, as the evil do against the good; or the two carnal desires of two good men that are imperfect may contend as the bad do against the bad, until their diseases be cured, and themselves brought to everlasting health of victory.
CHAPTER VI

Of the origin of the two states.

Thus the two cities are described to be seated: the one in worldly possession, the other in heavenly hope, both coming out at the common gate of mortality, which was opened in Adam, out of whose condemned race, as out of a putrefied lump, God elected some vessels of mercy and some of wrath: giving due pains unto the one, and undue grace unto the other, that the citizens of God upon earth may take this lesson from those vessels of wrath, never to rely on their own election but hope to call upon the name of the Lord: because the natural will which God made (but yet here the Unchangeable made it not changeless) may both decline from Him that is good, and from all good, to do evil, and that by freedom of will; and from evil also to do good, but that not without God's assistance.
THE FOURTEENTH BOOK

CHAPTER I

A recapitulation of the thirteen books past, concerning the two cities, continuing unto the time of Christ's birth, the Saviour of the world.

In my confutations of the perverse contemners of Christ in respect of their idols, and the envious enemies of Christianity (which was all that I did in my first nine books), I promised to continue my discourse through the origin, progress, and limits of the two cities, God's and the world's, as far as should concern the generation of mankind. Of this my triple promise, one part, the origin of the cities, have I declared in the next four books: part of the second, the progress: from Adam to the deluge: and so from thence unto Abraham I followed down all the times as they lay. But whereas from Abraham's father's time, until the kingdom of the Israelites, and from thence unto our Saviour's birth, I have only carried the City of God along with my pen, where both the cities ran on together, in the generations of mankind: this was my reason; I desired first to manifest the descent of those great and manifold promises of God, from the beginning, until He, in whom they all were bounded, and to be fulfilled, was come to be born of the Virgin,
I must now to the earthly. without any interposition of aught done in the worldly city during the mean space: to make the City of God more apparent, although that all this while, until the revelation of the New Testament, it did but lie involved in figures: now, therefore, must I begin where I left off, and bring along the earthly city, from Abraham's time, unto this point where I must now leave the heavenly: that having brought both their times to one quantity, their comparison may shew them both with greater clearness.

CHAPTER II

Of the kings, and times of the earthly city, correspondent unto those of Abraham.

MANKIND, therefore, being dispersed through all the world far and wide (differing in place, yet one in nature), and each one following his own affections, and the thing they desired being either insufficient for one, or all (being not the true good), began to be divided in itself: the weaker being oppressed by the stronger: for still the weaker dominion, or freedom, yielded to the mightier, preferring peace and safety howsoever, so that they were wondered at that had rather perish than serve, for nature cries with one voice (almost all the world through), "It is better to serve the conqueror, than to be destroyed by war."

Hence it is that some are kings and some are subjects (not without God's providence for prince and subject are unto Him, alike, and both in His power), but in all those earthly dominions, wherein divided mankind followed each his temporal profit and respect: we
find two more eminent than all the other, first Assyria, and then Rome: several both in times and places: the one in the East, long before the other, that was in the West; finally the end of the first was the beginning of the latter. The other kingdoms were but as appendants unto these two. In Assyria, Ninus ruled, the second king thereof after his father Belus the first, in whose time Abraham was born.

Then was Sicyon but a small thing, whence the great scholar Varro begins his discourse, writing of the Roman nation: and coming from the Sicyonians to the Athenians, from them to the Latins, and so to the Romans. But those were trifles in respect of the Assyrians, before Rome was built. Though the Roman Sallust say that Athens was very famous in Greece: I think indeed it was more famous, than fameworthy, for he, speaking of them, says thus, "The Athenians' exploits I think were worthy indeed: but short of their report: as being enhanced by their eloquence in relations, and so came the world to ring of Athens; and the Athenians' virtues held as powerful in their acts, as their wits were copious in their reports." Besides, the philosophers continually abode thereabouts, and the nourishment of such studies there, added much unto the fame of Athens. But as for dominion, there was none in those times so famous, nor so spacious as the Assyrians, for Ninus, Belus' son, ruled there with all Asia, the world's third part in number, and half part in quantity, under his dominion: out as far as the furthest limits of Lybia. Only the Indians (of all the East) he had not subdued: but his wife, Semiramis, warred upon them after his death. Thus were all the viceroys of those lands at the command of the princes of Assyria. And in this Ninus' time was Abraham born in Chaldea. But because we know the state of Greece
better than that of Assyria, and the ancient writers of Rome's origin have deduced it from the Greeks to the Latins, and so unto the Romans (who are indeed Latins), therefore must we here reckon only the Assyrian kings as far as needs is, to shew the progress of Babylon (the first Rome) together with that heavenly pilgrim on earth, the holy City of God: but for the things themselves that shall concern this work, and the comparison of both cities, then we must rather fetch from the Greeks and Latins, where Rome (the second Babylon) is seated.

At Abraham's birth, therefore, Ninus was the second king of Assyria, and Europs of Sicynonia, for Belus was the first of the one, and Ægialeus of the other: but when Abraham left Chaldea upon God's promise of that universal blessing to the nations in his seed, the fourth king ruled in Assyria, and the fifth in Sicynonia, for Ninus, the son of Ninus, reigned there after his mother Semiramis, whom they say he slew because she bore an incestuous lust towards him. Some think she built Babylon; indeed she might have repaired it: but when and by whom it was built our sixteenth book declares. Now this son of Ninus and Semiramis, that succeeded his mother, some call Ninus and some Ninyas by a derivative from his father's name. And now was Sicynonia governed by Telxion, who had so happy a reign that when he was dead, they adored him as a God, with sacrifices, and plays, whereof it is said they were the first inventors.
CHAPTER III

What kings reigned in Assyria and Sicyonia in the hundredth year of Abraham’s age, when Isaac was born according to the promise: or at the birth of Jacob and Esau.

In his time also did Sarah, being old, barren, and past hope of children, bring forth Isaac unto Abraham, according to the promise of God. And then reigned Arrius, the fifth king of Assyria. And Isaac being threescore years of age, had Esau and Jacob, both at one birth of Rebecca, Abraham his father being yet living, and of the age of one hundred and sixty years, who lived fifteen years longer, and then died, Xerxes the older, called also Baleus, reigning the seventh king of Assyria, and Thuriachus (called by some Thurimachus) the seventh of Sicyon. Now the kingdom of the Argives began with the time of these sons of Isaac; and Inachus was the first king there. But this we may not forget out of Varro, that the Sicyonians used to offer sacrifices at the tomb of the seventh king Thurimachus. But Armamites being the eighth king of Assyria, and Leucippus of Sicyonia, and Inachus the first king of Argos, God promised the land of Canaan unto Isaac for his seed, as he had done unto Abraham before, and the universal blessing of the nations therein also: and this promise was thirdly made unto Jacob, afterwards called Israel, Abraham’s grandchild, in the time of Belocus the ninth Assyrian monarch, and Phoroneus, Inachus’ son, the second king of the Argives, Leucippus reigning as yet in Sicyon. In this Phoroneus’ time, Greece grew famous for diverse good laws and ordinances: but yet his brother Phegous, after his
death, built a temple over his tomb, and made him to be worshipped as a god, and caused oxen to be sacrificed unto him, holding him worthy of this honour, I think, because in that part of the kingdom which he held (for their father divided the whole between them) he set up oratories to worship the gods in, and taught the true course and observation of months and years: which the rude people admiring in him, thought that at his death he was become a god, or else would have it to be thought so. For so they say that Io was the daughter of Inachus, she that afterwards was called Isis, and honoured for a great goddess in Egypt; though some write that she came out of Ethiopia to be queen of Egypt, and because she was mighty and gracious in her reign, and taught her subjects many good arts, they gave her this honour after her death, and that with such diligent respect, that it was death to say she had ever been mortal.

CHAPTER IV

Of the times of Jacob and his son Joseph.

Baleus being the tenth king of Assyria, and Messapus (otherwise called Cephisus, but yet both these names were by several authors used for one man) being the ninth of Sicyonia, and Apis the third of Argos, Isaac died, being a hundred and eighty years old, leaving his sons at the ages of a hundred and twenty years: the younger Jacob, belonging to God's city, and the elder to the world's. The younger had twelve sons, one whereof called Joseph, his brothers sold unto merchants going into Egypt, in their grand-
father Isaac's time. Joseph lived (by his humility) Apis in great favour and advancement with Pharaoh, being now thirty years old. For he interpreted the king's dreams, foretelling the seven plenteous years, and the seven dear ones, which would consume the plenty of the other: and for this the king set him at liberty (being before imprisoned for his true chastity, in not consenting to his lustful mistress, but fled and left his raiment with her, who hereupon falsely complained to her husband of him), and afterwards he made him vice-royal of all Egypt. And in the second year of scarcity, Jacob came into Egypt with his sons, being one hundred and thirty years old, as he told the king. Joseph being thirty-nine when the king advanced him thus, the seven plentiful years, and the two dear ones being added to his age.

CHAPTER V

Of Apis, the Argive king, called Serapis in Egypt, and there adored as a deity.

At this time did Apis, king of Argos, sail into Egypt, and dying there, was called Serapis, the greatest god of Egypt. The reason of changing his name, says Varro, is this: a dead man's coffin (which all do now call σαρκοφάγον), is σώρος also in Greek: so at first they worshipped at his coffin and tomb, ere his temple were built, calling him at first Sorosapis or Sorapis: and afterwards (by change of a letter, as is ordinary) Serapis. And they made a law, that who-soever should say he had been a man, should die the death. And because that in all the temples of Isis
His son and Serapis, there was an image with the finger laid upon the mouth, as commanding silence; this was (says Varro) to shew them that they must not say that those two were ever mortal. And the ox which Egypt (being wondrously and vainly seduced), nourished in all pleasures and fatness unto the honour of Serapis; because they did not worship him in a coffin, was not called Serapis but Apis: which ox being dead, and they seeking him, and finding another, flecked of colour just as he was: here they thought they had gotten a great god by the foot. It was not such an hard matter indeed for the devils, to imprint the imagination of such a shape in any cow's phantasy, at her time of conception, to have a mean to subvert the souls of men, and the cow's imagination would surely model the conception into such a form, as Jacob's ewes did, and his she goats, by seeing the party-coloureded sticks, for that which man can do with true colours, the devil can do with apparitions, and so very easily frame such shapes.

CHAPTER VI

The kings of Argos and Assyria at the time of Jacob's death.

Apis the king of Argos (not of Egypt) died in Egypt, Argus his son succeeded him in his kingdom, and from him came the name of the Argives. For neither the city nor the country bare any such name before his time. He reigning in Argos, and Eratus in Sicyonia, Baleus ruling as yet in Assyria, Jacob died in Egypt, being one hundred and forty-seven in
age, having blessed his sons and grandsons at his
death, and prophesied apparently of Christ, saying in
the blessing of Judah: "The sceptre shall not depart
from Judah, nor the law-giver from between his feet,
until that come which is promised him: and He shall
be the nations' expectation." Now in Argus' time
Greece began to know husbandry and tillage, fetching
seeds from others. For Argus after his death was
counted a god, and honoured with temples and sacri-
fices. Which honour a private man, one Homogyrus,
who was slain by lightning, had before him, because
he was the first that ever yoked oxen to the plough.

CHAPTER VII

In what king's time Joseph died in Egypt.

In Mamitus' time, the twelfth Assyrian king, and
Phennæus', the eleventh king of Sicyonia (Argus
being alive in Argos as yet), Joseph died in Egypt;
being a hundred and ten years old. After the death
of him, God's people remaining in Egypt, increased
wonderfully, for a hundred and forty-five years
together, until all that knew Joseph were dead.
And then because their great increase was so envied,
and their freedom suspected, a great and heavy bondage
was laid upon them, in the which nevertheless they
grew up still, for all that they were so persecuted
and kept under, and at this time the same princes
ruled Assyria and Greece, whom we named
before.
In Saphrus' time, the fourteenth Assyrian king, Orthopolus being then the twelfth of Sicyon, and Criasus the fifth of Argos, Moses was born in Egypt, who led the people of God out of their slavery, wherein God had exercised their patience during His pleasure. In the aforesaid king's time Prometheus (as some hold) lived, who was said to make men of earth, because he taught them wisdom so excellently well, yet are there no wise men recorded to live in his time. His brother Atlas indeed is said to have been a great astronomer, whence the fable arose of his supporting heaven upon his shoulders: yet there is an huge mountain of that name, whose height may seem to an ignorant eye to hold up the heavens. And now began Greece to fill the stories with fables, but from the first unto Cecrops' time (the king of Athens) in whose reign Athens got that name, and Moses led Israel out of Egypt: some of the dead kings were recorded for gods, by the vanity and customary superstition of the Greeks. As Melantomice, Crias' wife, Phorbas their son, the sixth king of Argos, and the son of Triopas, the seventh king, Jasus, and Sthelenas or Sthelenus, or Sthenelus (for he is diversely written), the ninth: and in these times also lived Mercury, Atlas' grandchild, born of Maia his daughter: the story is common. He was a perfect artist in many good inventions, and therefore was believed (at least men desired he should be believed) to be a deity. Hercules lived after this, yet was he about those times of the Argives: some think he lived
before Mercury, but I think they are deceived. But however, the gravest historians that have written of them avouch them both to be men, and that for the good that they did mankind in matter of civility or other necessaries to human estate, were rewarded with those divine honours. But Minerva was long before this, for she (they say) appeared in Ogyges' time, at the lake Triton, in a virgin's shape, whereupon she was called Tritonia: a woman indeed of many good inventions, and the likelier to be held a goddess, because her origin was unknown, for that of Jove's brain is absolutely poetic, and no way depending upon history. There was indeed a great deluge in Ogyges' time, not so great as that wherein all perished save those in the ark (for that neither Greek author nor Latin do mention), but greater than that which befell in Deucalion's days. But of this Ogyges' time, the writers have no certainty, for where Varro begins his book, I shewed before: and indeed he fetched the Romans' origin no further than the deluge that befell in Ogyges' time. But our chroniclers, Eusebius first, and then Jerome, following other more ancient authors herein, record Ogyges' deluge to have fallen in the time of Phoroneus, the second king of Argos, three hundred years after the time before-said. But however, this at least is certain, that in Cecrops' time (who was either the builder or restorer of Athens) Minerva was there adored with divine honours.
CHAPTER IX

The time when Athens was built, and the reason that Varro gives for the name.

Of the name of Athens (coming of ἄθνα, which is Minerva) Varro gives this reason. An olive tree grew suddenly up in one place, and a fountain burst out as suddenly in another. These prodigies drew the king to Delphos, to know the oracle’s mind, which answered him, that the olive tree signified Minerva, and the fountain Neptune, and that the city might after which of these they pleased to name their city. Hereupon Cecrops gathered all the people of both sexes together (for then it was a custom in that place to call the women unto consultations also) to give their voices in this election, the men being for Neptune, and the women for Minerva: and the women being more, won the day for Minerva. At this Neptune being angry, overflowed all the Athenians’ lands (for the devils may draw the waters which way they list), and to appease him, the Athenian women had a triple penalty set on their heads. First, they must never hereafter have a vote in council. Second, never hereafter be called Athenians: third, nor ever leave their name unto their children. Thus this ancient and goodly city, the only mother of arts and learned inventions, the glory and lustre of Greece, by a scoff of the devil’s, in a contention of their gods a male and female, and by a feminine victory obtained by women, was enstilyed Athens, after the female’s name that was victor, Minerva: and yet being plagued by him that was conquered, was compelled to punish the means of the victor’s victory, and shewed that it feared Neptune’s waters, worse than Minerva’s arms.
For Minerva herself was punished in those her women votes champions; nor did she assist those that advanced her, so much as to the bare reservation of her name unto themselves, besides the loss of their votes in elections and the leaving of their names unto their sons: thus they lost the name of this goddess, whom they had made victorious over a male god: whereof you see what I might say, but that mine intent carries my pen on unto another purpose.

CHAPTER X

Varro's relation of the original of the word Areopage: and of Deucalion's deluge.

But Varro will believe no fables that make against their gods, lest he should disparage their majesty: and therefore he will not derive that Areopagus (the place where St. Paul disputed with the Athenians, and whence the judges of the city had their names), from that, that Mars (in Greek, ἄρης) being accused of homicide, was tried by twelve gods in that court, and quit by six voices: so absolved (for the number being equal on both sides the absolution is to over-poise the condemnation). But this though it be the common opinion he rejects, and endeavours to lay down another cause of this name, that the Athenians should not offer to derive Areopagus from ἄρης and Pagus: for this were to injure the gods by imputing broils and contentions unto them, and therefore he affirms this, and the goddesses' contention about the golden apple, both alike, false: though the stage may present them to the gods as true, and the gods take
pleasure in them, be they true or false. This Varro will not believe, for fear of disgracing the gods in it: and yet he tells a tale concerning the name of Athens: of the contention between Neptune and Minerva (as frivolous as this), and makes that the likeliest origin of the city's name: as if they two contending by prodigies, Apollo durst not be judge between them, but as Paris was called to decide the strife between the three goddesses, so he was made an umpire in this wrangling of these two, where Minerva conquered by her fautors, and was conquered in her fautors, and getting the name of Athens to herself, could not leave the name of Athenians unto them. In these times, as Varro says, Cranaus, Cecrops' successor, reigned at Athens, or Cecrops himself, as our Eusebius, and Jerome do affirm: and then befel that great inundation called the flood of Deucalion: because it was most extreme in his kingdom. But it came not near Egypt nor the confines thereof.

CHAPTER XI

About whose times Moses brought Israel out of Egypt.

Of Joshua: in whose times he died.

In the latter end of Cecrops' reign at Athens, came Moses with Israel out of Egypt: Ascalades, Marathonus, and Triopas being kings of Assyria, Sicyon, and Argos. To Sinai did Moses lead them, and there received the law from above, called the Old Testament, containing all terrestrial promises: the New one, containing the spiritual, being to come with Christ our Saviour: for this order was fittest
(as it is in every man as St. Paul says) that the The natural should be first, and the spiritual afterwards, law given at Sinai.

Forty years did Moses rule this people in the desert, dying a hundred and twenty years old: having prophesied Christ by innumerable figures in the carnal observations about the tabernacle, the priesthood, the sacrifices, and other mystical commands. Unto Moses was Joshua the successor, and he led the people into the land of promise, and by God's conduct expelled all the pagans that swarmed in it, and having ruled seven and twenty years, he died in the time that Amintas sat as eighteenth king of Assyria; Corax, the sixteenth of Siconya; Danus, the tenth of Argos; and Ericthonius, the fourth of Athens.

CHAPTER XII

The false gods, adored by those Greek princes, which lived between Israel's freedom, and Joshua's death.

Betwixt the departure of Israel out of Egypt, and the death of Joshua, who led them into the land of promise, the Greek princes ordained many sorts of sacrifices to their false gods, as solemn memorials of the deluge, and the freedom of mankind from it, and the miserable time that they had in it, and upon it, now being driven up to the hill, and soon after coming down again into the plains; for this they say the Luperci running up and down the holy street de- ciphers, namely, how the men ran up to the moun-
These tains in that great inundation, and when it ceased, came all down again into the plains. And at this time they say that Dionysius (otherwise called father Liber, and made a god after his decease) did first shew the planting of the vine in Attica: and then were there musical plays dedicated to Apollo of Delphos, to appease him whom they thought had afflicted all Greece with barrenness, because they defended not his temple which Danaus, in his invasion, burned: and the oracle itself charged them to ordain those plays. Ericthonius was the first that presented them in Attica, both unto him and Minerva, where he that conquered, had a reward of oil, which Minerva they say invented, as Liber had found out the wine: and in these times did Xanthus, king of Crete, carry off Europa, and begat Rhadamantus, Sarpedon, and Minos, who are reported to be the sons of Jove and Europa. But the pagans yield to the truth of history in this matter of the king of Crete: and this that hangs at every poet’s pen, and at every player’s lips, they do account as a fable, to prove their deities wholly delighted in beastly untruths: and now was Hercules famous at Tyre: not he that we spoke of before: (for the more secret histories say there were many Hercules, and many father Libers) and this Hercules they make famous for twelve sundry rare exploits (not counting the death of the African Antæus amongst them, for that belongs to the other Hercules), and this same Hercules do they make to burn himself upon Mount Oeta, his virtue whereby he had subdued so many monsters, failing him now in the patient endurance of his own pains: and at this time Busyrus (the son of Neptune and Libya, daughter to Epaphus), and king, or rather tyrant, of Egypt, used to murder strangers and offer them to his gods: O but we must
never think Neptune could have committed this adultery, or the gods will be incriminated, let the poets have this scope to fill the stage and please the gods withal! It is said that Vulcan and Minerva were parents to this Erichthonius, in the end of whose reign Joshua died. But because they hold Minerva a virgin, therefore (say they) in their striving together, the seed of Vulcan fell upon the earth, and thence came this king as his name shews: for ἐρίς is "strife," and ἀθόν is "earth:" which joined to make Erichthonius. But indeed the best learned of them do reject this filthiness from their gods, and say that the fable arose hereupon, that in the temple of Vulcan and Minerva, which were both one at Athens, there was a little child found with a dragon wound about him, which was a sign that he should prove a famous man, and because of this temple's knowing no other parents that he had, they called him the son of Vulcan and Minerva: but howsoever, that fable does manifest his name better than this history. But what is that to us when as this is written in true books, to instruct religious men, and that is presented on public stages to delight the unclean devils, whom notwithstanding their truest writers honour as gods, with those religious men? and let them deny this of their gods, yet can they not acquit them of all crime, in affecting the presenting of those filthinesses, and in taking pleasure to behold those things filthily acted, which wisdom seems to say might better be denied: for suppose the fables belie them, yet if they do delight to hear those lies of themselves, this makes their guilt most true.
CHAPTER XIII

What fictions got footing in the nations when the Judges began first to rule Israel.

While Joshua being dead, Israel came to be ruled by judges: and in those times they prospered, or suffered, according to the goodness of God’s mercies, or the defeat of their sins. And now the fiction of Triptolemus was on foot, who by Ceres’ appointment flew all over the world with a yoke of dragons, and taught the use of corn: another fiction also of the Minotaur, shut in the labyrinth, a place which none that entered could ever get out of. Of the Centaurs also, half men and half horses: of Cerberus, the three-headed dog of hell. Of Phryxus and Helle, who flew away on the back of a ram. Of the Gorgon, whose hairs were snakes, and who turned all that beheld her into stones. Of Bellerophon, and his winged horse Pegasus: of Amphion, and his stone-moving music on the harp. Of Ædipus, and his answer to the monster Sphinx’s riddle, making her break her own neck from her stand. Of Antæus, earth’s son, killed by Hercules in the air, for that he never smote him to the ground but he arose up as strong again as he was when he fell: and others more that I perhaps have omitted. Those fables, unto the Trojan war, where Varro ended his second book, “De Gente Romanorum,” were by men’s inventions so drawn from the truth of history that their gods were no way by them disgraced. But as for those that feigned that Jupiter stole Ganymede, that goodly boy, for his lustful use (a villainy done by Tantalus and ascribed unto Jove), or that he came down to lie with Danaë in a shower of gold (the woman being tempted by
gold unto dishonesty): and all this being either done or devised in those times, or done by others, and feigned to be Jove's: it cannot be said how mischievous the presumption of those fable-forgers was upon the hearts of all mankind, that they would bear with such ungodly slanders of their gods: which they did notwithstanding, and gave them gracious acceptance, whereas had they truly honoured Jupiter, they would severely have punished his slanderers. But now they are so far from checking them, that they fear their gods' anger if they do not nourish them, and present their fictions unto a populous audience. About this time Latona bore Apollo, not that god of the oracles before said, but he that kept the herds of King Admetus with Hercules: yet was he afterwards held a god, and counted one and the same with the other. And then did father Liber make war in India, leading a crew of women about with him in his army, called Bacchae, being more famous for their madness than their virtue. Some write that this Liber was conquered and imprisoned: some, that Perseus slew him in the field, mentioning his place of burial also: and yet were those wicked sacrilegious sacrifices called the Bacchanals, appointed by the unclean devils unto him, as unto a god. But the Senate of Rome at length (after long use of them) saw the barbarous filthiness of these sacrifices, and expelled them the city. And in this time Perseus and his wife Andromeda being dead, were verily believed to be assumed into heaven, and thereupon the world was neither ashamed nor afraid to give their names unto two goodly constellations, and to form their images therein.
CHAPTER XIV

Of the theological poets.

About that time lived poets, who were called theologians, versifying of their men-made gods: or of the world’s elements (the true God’s handiwork), or the principalities and powers (whom God’s will and not their merit, had so advanced), of these as of gods did they make their poems. If their fables contained anything that concerned the true God, it was so intermingled with the rest, that He was neither to be discerned from their false gods thereby, nor could they take that direction to give him the whole, his only due, but must needs worship the creatures as gods, with God the Creator, and yet could not abstain from disgracing the same their gods with obscene fables. Such was Orpheus, Musaeus, and Linus. But those were only the gods’ servants, not made gods themselves. Though Orpheus, I know not by what means, has gotten the ruling of the infernal sacrifices, or rather sacrileges in the city of the devil. The wife of Athamas also, Ino, cast herself headlong into the sea with her child Melicertes, and yet your reputed gods, as others of those times were also, as Castor and Pollux. Ino was called by the Greeks, Leucothea, and by the Latins, Metuta, and held a goddess by both parts.
CHAPTER XV

The ruin of the Argive kingdom: Picus, Saturn's son, succeeding him in Laurentum.

Then was the Argive kingdom translated to Mycenae, where Agamemnon ruled: and then arose the kingdom of the Laurentines, which Picus, Saturn's son, was the first successor in, Deborah, a woman, being judge of the Jews: God's Spirit indeed judged in her, for she was a prophetess: (her prophecy is too obscure to draw unto Christ without a long discourse). And now had the Laurentines had a kingdom in Italy, from whence (after their descent from Greece) the Roman's pedigree is drawn. Still the Assyrian monarchy kept up: Lampares, the twentieth king, ruling there now, when Picus began his kingdom in Laurentum. His father Saturn (the pagans say) was no man: let the pagans look to that: some of them have written that he was, and that he was king here before his son Picus. Ask these verses of Virgil, and they will tell you—

"Is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
Maluit: his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
Aureaque ut perhibent illo sub rege suère."

"The undocile sort on mountains high dispersed
He did compose, and gave them laws, and first
Would call it Latium, when he latent lay,
In whose reign was the golden age men say."

But these they say are poetical fictions. Sterces was Saturn's father, he that invented manuring of the ground with dung, which of him was called Stercus:
Some of the heroes become gods. Some say they called him Stercutius: well, howsoever he got the name of Saturn, he was the same Sterces or Stercutius whom they deified for his husbandry. And Picus, his son, was deified after him also, a cunning soothsayer, and a great soldier as they report him to be. He begat Faunus, the second king of Laurentum, and he was made a sylvan god. And these men were deified before the Trojan war.

CHAPTER XVI

How Diomedes was deified after the destruction of Troy: and his fellows said to be turned into birds.

Troy (whose destruction the excellent wits of elder times have left recorded unto all memory, as well as the greatness of itself) being now destroyed in the reign of Latinus, son to Faunus (and from him came the Latin name, the Laurentine ceasing): the Grecian victors returning each one to his home, were sore afflicted on all sides, and destroyed in great numbers: yet some of them got to be gods. For Diomedes was made one, who never returned home, and his fellows they say became birds: this now they have history for, not poetry only, yet neither could his new god-head, nor his entreaty of Jove prevail so much as to turn his fellows unto men again. It is said also that he has a temple in the Isle Diomedea, not far from Mount Gargarus in Apulia, where these birds continually fly about the temple, and dwell there with such wonderful obedience, that they will wash the temple with water which they bring in their beaks, and when any
Grecian comes thither, or any of a Greek race, they such tales Varro believes. Are quite, and will be gentle with them, but if any one else come they will fly at his face with great fury, and hurt some even to death, for their beaks are very big, sharp, and strong, as it is said.

CHAPTER XVII

Of the incredible changes of men that Varro believed.

Varro, to get credit unto this, reports many strange tales of that famous witch Circe, who turned Ulysses' fellows into beasts: and of the Arcadians, who swimming over a certain lake became wolves, and lived with the wolves of the woods: and if they ate no man's flesh, at nine years' end, swimming over the said lake they became men again. Nay, he names one Demænetus, who tasting of the sacrifices, which the Arcadians (killing of a child) offered to their god Lycaeus, was turned into a wolf, and becoming a man again at ten years' end, he grew to be a champion, and was victor in the Olympic games. Nor does he think that Pan and Jupiter were called Lycae in the Arcadian history for any other reason than for their transforming of men into wolves: for this they held impossible to any but a divine power: a wolf is called λυκος in Greek, and thence came their name Lycaeus: and the Roman Luperci (says he) had their origin from their mysteries.
CHAPTER XVIII

Of the devil's power in transforming man's shape: what a Christian may believe herein.

(Nor do I doubt the devil

Some perhaps will look for our opinion here, touching this deceit of the devils, what a Christian, should do, upon this report of miracles amongst the infidels. What shall we say, "but get you out of the midst of Babylon"? this prophetical command wills us, to ply our faith's feet as fast as we can, and quit ourselves of this worldly city compact of a confused crew of sinners and evil angels, and hie us unto the living God. For the greater power we behold in the deceiver, the firmer hold must we lay upon our mediator, by whom we leave the dregs and ascend unto the height of purity. So then if we should say, all those tales are lies, yet are there some that will avow they have either heard them for truth, of persons of credit, or have seen them tried themselves. For when I was in Italy, I heard such a report there, how certain women of one place there, would but give one a little drug in cheese, and presently he became an ass, and so they made him carry their necessaries whither they would, and having done, they reformed his figure again: yet had he his human reason still, as Apuleius had in his ass-ship, as himself writes in his book of the golden ass; be it a lie or a truth that he writes. Well either these things are false, or incredible, because unusual. But we must firmly hold God's power to be omnipotent in all things: but the devils can do nothing beyond the power of their nature (which is angelical, although malevolent) unless he whose judgments are ever secret, but never unjust, permit them. Nor can the
devils create anything (whatever shows of theirs produce these doubts) but only cast a changed shape over that which God has made, altering only in show. Nor do I think the devil can form any soul or body into bestial or brutal members, and essences: but they have an unspeakable way of transporting man’s phantasy in a bodily shape, unto other senses (this running ordinarily in our dreams through a thousand several things, and though it be not corporal, yet seems to carry itself in corporal forms through all these things) while the bodies of the men thus affected lie in another place, being alive, but yet in an ecstasy far more deep than any sleep. Now this phantasy may appear unto other senses in a bodily shape, and a man may seem to himself to be such an one as he often thinks himself to be in his dream, and to bear burdens, which if they be true burdens indeed, the devils bear them, to delude men’s eyes with the appearance of true burdens, and false shapes. For one Pæstantius told me that his father took that drug in cheese at his own house, whereupon he lay in such a sleep that no man could awake him: and after a few days he awoke of himself and told all he had suffered in his dreams in the meanwhile, how he had been turned into a horse and carried the soldiers’ victuals about in a budget. Which was true as he told, yet seemed it but a dream unto him: another told how one night before he slept, an old acquaintance of his, a philosopher, came to him and expounded certain Platonisms unto him, which he would not expound him before. So afterwards he asked him why he did it there which he would not do in his own house when he was entreated? “I did it not,” quoth the other, “indeed I dreamed that I did it.” And so that which the one dreamed, the other in a fantastical appearance beheld: these now
were related by such as I think would not lie, for had anyone told them, they would not have been to be believed. So then those Arcadians, whom the god (nay the devils rather) turned into wolves, and those fellows of Ulysses being charmed by Circe into bestial shapes, had only their phantasy, occupied in such forms, if there were any such matter. But for Diomedes’ birds, seeing there is a generation of them, I hold them not to be transformed men, but that the men were taken away, and they brought in their places, as the hind was, in Iphigenia’s room, Agamemnon’s daughter. The devil can play such juggling tricks with ease, by God’s permission, but the virgin being found alive afterwards, this was a plain deceit of theirs to take away her, and set the hind there. But Diomedes’ fellows, because they were never seen (the evil angels destroying them) were believed to be turned into those birds that were brought out of their unknown habitations into their places. Now for their washing of his temple, their love to the Greeks, and their fury against others, they may have all this by the devil’s instinct: because it was his endeavour to persuade that Diomedes was become a god, thereby to make them injure the true God, by adoring feigned ones, and dead persons (with temples, altars, priests, and sacrifices) who when they lived, had no life: all which honours being rightly bestowed, are peculiar to that one true and only God.
That Æneas came into Italy when Abdon was judge of Israel

Troy being now taken and razed, Æneas with ten ships filled with the remains of Troy came into Italy, Latinus being king there, Mnestheus at Athens, Poliphypdos in Sicyon, Tautanos in Assyria, and Abdon judging Israel. Latinus dying, Æneas reigned three years in the same time of the same kings, excepting that Pelasgus was king of Sicyon, and Samson judge of the Hebrews, who was counted Hercules for his admired strength. Æneas being not to be found after his death, was canonized for a god by the Latins. So was Sangus or Sanctus by the Sabines. And at this time Codrus, the king of Athens, went in disguise to be slain of the Peloponnesians, the Athenians' enemies; and so he was: hereby delivering his country from ruin. For the Peloponnesians had an oracle told them that they should conquer if they killed not the Athenian king. So he deceived them by his disguise, and giving them evil words, provoked them to kill him, whereof Virgil says: "Or the quarrels of Codrus." And him the Athenians sacrificed unto as a god. Now in the reign of Sylvius, the fourth Latin king (Æneas' son by Lavina, not by Creusa, nor brother to Ascanius) Oneus, the nine and twentieth of Assyria, Melanthus, the sixteenth of Athens, and Eli the priest judging Israel, the Sicyonian kingdom fell to ruin, which endured (as it is recorded) 959 years.
CHAPTER XX

Of the succession of the kingdom in Israel after the judges.

And Soon after (in those kings' times) the judges ceased, and Saul was anointed the first king of Israel, in Samuel the prophet's time: and now began the Latin kings to be called Sylvii, of Sylvius, Æneas' son: all after him, had their proper names several, and this surname in general, as the emperors that succeeded Cæsar, were called Cæsars long after. But Saul and his issue being rejected, and he dead, David was crowned, forty years after Saul began his reign. Then had the Athenians no more kings after Codrus, but began an aristocracy. David reigned forty years, and Solomon his son succeeded him, he that built that goodly temple of God at Jerusalem. In his time the Latins built Alba, and their kings were thenceforth called Alban kings, though ruling in Latium. Rehoboam succeeded Solomon, and in his time Israel was divided into two kingdoms, and either had a king by itself.

CHAPTER XXI

Of the Latin kings: Æneas (the first) and Aventinus (the twelfth) are made gods.

Latium, after Æneas, their first deified king, had eleven more, and none of them deified. But Aventinus, the twelfth, being slain in war, and buried on that hill that bears his name, he was put into the
calendar of their men-gods. Some say he was not killed, but vanished away, and that Mount Aventine had not the name from him but from another: after him was no more gods made in Latium but Romulus, the builder of Rome, betwixt whom and Aventine were two kings: one Virgil names, saying,

"Proximus ille Procas Trojanæ gloria gentis."

In whose time, because Rome was now upon hatching, the great monarchy of Assyria took end. For now after one thousand three hundred and five years (counting Belus' reign also in that little kingdom at first) it was removed to the Medes. Procas reigned before Amulius. Now Amulius had made Rhea (or Ilia) his brother Numitor's daughter, a vestal virgin, and Mars they say lay with her (thus they honour her whoredom) and begot two twins on her, who (for a proof of their foresaid excuse for her) they say were cast out, and yet a she-wolf, the beast of Mars, came and fed them with her dugs: as acknowledging the sons of her lord and master. Now some do say that there was an whore found them when they were first cast out, and she sucked them up. (Now they called whores "lupæ," "she-wolves," and the stews unto this day are called "lupanaria"). Afterwards Pastulus, a shepherd, had them (they say), and his wife Acca brought them up. Well, what if God, to tax the bloody mind of the king that commanded to drown them, preserved them from the water and sent this beast to give them nourishment? Is this any wonder? Numitor, Romulus' grand-sire, succeeded his brother Amulius in the kingdom of Latium, and in the first year of his reign was Rome built, so that from thenceforward, he and Romulus reigned together in Italy.
CHAPTER XXII

Rome founded at the time of the Assyrian monarchy's fall, Hezekiah being King of Judah.

Briefly, Rome, the second Babylon, daughter of the first (by which it pleased God to quell the whole world, and fetch it all under one sovereignty) was now founded. The world was now full of hardy men, painful and well practised in war. They were stubborn, and not to be subdued but with infinite labour and danger. In the conquests of the Assyrians over all Asia, the wars were of far lighter account, the people were weak in their defences, nor was the world so populous. For it was not above a thousand years after that universal deluge wherein all died but Noah and his family, that Ninus conquered all Asia excepting India. But the Romans came not to their monarchy with that ease that he did: they spread by little and little, and found sturdy hindrances in all their proceedings. Rome, then, was built when Israel had dwelt in the land of promise 718 years, 27 under Joshua, 329 under the Judges, and 362 under the Kings, until Ahaz, now King of Judah, or as others count, unto his successor Hezekiah, that good and godly king, who reigned (assuredly) in Romulus' time: Hosea in the meantime being King of Israel.
Of the evident prophecy of Sibylla Erythrea concerning Christ.

In those days Sibylla Erythrea (some say) prophesied: there were many Sibyls (says Varro), more than one. But this Sibyl of Erythrea wrote some apparent prophecies of Christ, which we have read in rough Latin verses, not correspondent to the Greek, the interpreter we learned afterwards, being none of the best poets. For Flaccianus, a learned and eloquent man (one that had been Consul's Deputy), being in a conference with us concerning Christ, shewed us a Greek book, saying they were this sibyl's verses, wherein in one place, he shewed us a sort of verses so composed, that the first letter of every verse being taken, they all made these words, ἰησοῦς χριστὸς θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτῆρ. Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, Salvator, "Jesus Christ, Son of God the Saviour." Now these verses, as some have translated into Latin, are thus. The English of them you shall have in the note under it in an acrostic out of the Greek.¹

¹ "In sign of Doomsday, the whole earth shall sweat:
Ever to reign, a King in heavenly seat,
Shall come to judge all flesh, the faithful and
Unfaithful too, before this God shall stand,
Seeing him high with saints, in time's last end.

Corporal shall He sit; and thence, extend
His doom on souls. The earth shall quite lie waste,
Ruined, o'ergrown with thorns, and men shall cast
Dols away, and treasure. Scorching fire
Shall burn the ground, and thence it shall inquire,
Through seas, and sky, and break Hell's blackest gates:
Now this translator could not make his verses' ends meet in the same sense that the Greek meet in: as for example, the Greek letter υ is in the head of one verse, but the Latins have no word beginning with υ that could fit the sense. And this is in three verses, the fifth, the eighteenth, and the nineteenth. Again, we do not take these letters from the verses' heads in their just number, but express these five words, Jesus Christus Dei Filius, Salvator. The verses are in all twenty-seven, which make a trine, fully quadrate, and solid. For three times three is nine, and three times nine is twenty-seven. Now take the five first letters from the five first words of the Greek sentence included in the verse's heads, and they make Ἰχθύς, "a fish," a mystical name of Christ, who could be

S o shall free light salute the blessed states
O f saints; the guilty, lasting flame shall burn.
N o act so hid, but then to light shall turn;
N or breast so close, but God shall open wide.
E achwhere shall cries be heard, and noise beside

O f gnashing teeth. The sun shall from the sky
F ly forth; and stars no more move orderly.

G reat Heaven shall be dissolved, the moon deprived
O f all her light; places at height arrived
D epressed; and valleys raised to their seat:

T here shall be nought to mortals, high or great.
H ills shall lie level with the plains; the sea
E ndure no burden; and the earth, as they,

S hall perish cleft with lightning: every spring
A nd river burn. The fatal trump shall ring
U nto the world, from heaven, a dismal blast
I ncluding plagues to come for ill deeds past.
O ld Chaos, through the cleft mass, shall be seen,
U nto this bar shall all earth's kings convene:
R ivers of fire and brimstone flowing from heaven."
in this mortal world as in a deep sea, without all of the
sin. Now this Sibylla Erythrea, or (as some rather Sibyl.)
think) Cumæan, has not one word in all her verses
(wherewith these are a portion) tending to idolatry, but
all against the false gods and their worshippers, so
that she seems to me to have been a citizen of the
City of God. Lactantius also has prophecies of
Christ out of some Sibyl, but he says not from which.
But that which he scatters in short fragments do I
think good to lay together, and make one large pro-
phesy of his many little ones. This it is: "After-
wards He shall be taken by the ungodly, and they
shall strike God with wicked hands, and spit their
venomous spirits in His face. He shall yield His
holy back to their strokes, and take their blows with
silence, lest they should know that He is the Word,
or whence He came to speak to mortals. They shall
crown Him with thorn, they gave Him gall instead
of vinegar to eat, this table of hospitality they shall
afford Him. Thou foolish nation, that knewest not
thy God, but crownedst Him with thorn, and didst
feast Him with bitterness. The veil of the temple
shall rend in two, and it shall be dark for three hours
at noonday. Then shall He die and sleep three days,
and then shall He rise again from death and shew
the first fruits of the Resurrection to them that are
called." All this has Lactantius used in several
places, as he needed, from the sibyl: we have laid it
together, distinguishing it only by the heads of the
chapters, if the transcriber have the care to observe
and follow us. Some say Sibylla Erythrea lived in
the Trojan war, long before Romulus.
CHAPTER XXIV

The seven sages in Romulus' time: Israel led into captivity: Romulus dies, and is deified.

Romulus in Romulus' time lived Thales, one of those who (after the theological poets, in which Orpheus was chief) were called the wise men or sages. And now did the Chaldeans subdue the ten tribes of Israel (fallen before from Judah), and lead them into Chaldea captive, leaving only the tribes of Judah and Benjamin free, who had their king's seat at Jerusalem. Romulus dying, and being not to be found, was hereupon deified, which use was now almost given over, so that in the Caesars' times they did it rather upon flattery than error; and Tully commends Romulus highly in that he could deserve those in so wise and learned an age, though philosophy were not yet in her height of subtle and acute positions and disquisitions. But although in the later days they made no new gods of men, yet kept they their old ones still, and gave not over the worship of them: increasing superstition by their swarms of images, whereof antiquity had none: and the devils working so powerfully with them, that they got them to make public presentations of the gods' shames, such as if they had been undreamed of before, they would have been ashamed to invent then. After Romulus reigned Numa, who stuffed all the city with false religion, yet could he not shape a godhead for himself out of all this chaos of his consecrations. It seems he stowed heaven so full of gods that he left no room for himself. He reigning at Rome, and Manasseh over the Hebrews (that wicked king that killed the Prophet Isaiah), Sibylla Samia lived, as it is reported.
CHAPTER XXV

Philosophers living in Tarquinius Priscus' time, and Zedekiah, when Jerusalem was taken, and the temple destroyed.

Zedekiah ruling over the Hebrews, and Tarquinius Priscus (successor to Ancus Martius) over the Romans, the Jews were carried captive to Babylon, Jerusalem was destroyed, and Solomon's temple razed. The prophets had told them long before that their wickedness would be the cause of this, chiefly Jeremiah, who told them the very time that it would hold: about this time lived Pittacus of Mitylene, another of the sages. And the other five also (which with Thales and this Pittacus make seven) lived all (as Eusebius says) within the time of the Israelites' captivity in Babylon. Their names were Solon of Athens, Chilo of Lacedæmon, Periander of Corinth, Cleobulus of Lindum, and Bias of Prienæum. These were all after the theological poets, and were more famous for their better discipline of life, than others observed, and for that they gave sundry good instructions, touching the reformation of manners. But they left no records of their learning to posterity, excepting only Solon, that left the Athenians some laws of his making. Thales was a naturalist, and left books of his opinions: and in this time also lived Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Xenophon, all natural philosophers, and Pythagoras also, from whom philosophy seemed to take beginning.
CHAPTER XXVI

The prophets more ancient than any of the Gentile philosophers.

In our prophets’ time (whose works are now so far divulged) there were no philosophers stirring as yet, for the first of them arose from Pythagoras of Samos, who began to be famous at the end of the captivity. So that all other philosophers must needs be much later, for Socrates of Athens, the chief moralist of his time, lived after Esdras, as the chronicles record. And soon after was Plato born, the most excellent of all his scholars. To whom if we add also the former seven, who were called sages, not philosophers, and the naturalists that followed Thales’ study, to wit, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, and others, before Pythagoras professed philosophy, not one of these was before the prophets, for Thales, the most ancient of them all, lived in Romulus’ time, when this prophetical doctrine flowed from the fountain of Israel, to be derived unto all the world. Only, therefore, the theological poets, Orpheus Linus, Musæus, and the others (if there were any more) were before our canonical prophets. But they were not more ancient than our true divine Moses, who taught them one true God, and whose books are in the front of our canon, and therefore though the learning of Greece warms the world at this day, yet need they not boast of their wisdom, being neither so ancient nor so excellent as our divine religion, and the true wisdom: we confess, not that Greece, but that the barbarians, as Egypt for example, had their peculiar doctrines before Moses’ time, which they called their wisdom: otherwise our Scripture would
not have said that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians: for there was he born, and brought up worthily by the daughter of Pharaoh. But their wisdom could not be before our prophets, for Abraham himself was a prophet. And what wisdom could there be in Egypt, before Isis, their supposed goddess, taught them letters? This Isis was daughter to Inachus, king of Argos, who reigned in the times of Abraham's grandchildren.

CHAPTER XXVII

Of some Scriptures too ancient for the Church to allow, because that might cause a suspicion that they are rather counterfeit than true.

Now if I should go any higher, there is the patriarch Noah, before the great deluge: we may very well call him a prophet, for his very ark, and his escape in that flood, were prophetical references unto these our times. What was Enoch, the seventh from Adam? Does not the canonical epistle of Jude say that he prophesied? The reason that we have not their writings, nor the Jews neither, is their too great antiquity: which may cause a suspicion that they are rather feigned to be theirs, than theirs indeed. For many that believe as they like, and speak as they list, defend themselves with quotations from books. But the canon neither permits that such holy men's authority should be rejected, nor that it should be abused by counterfeit pamphlets. Nor is it any marvel that such antiquity is to be suspected when, as we read in the histories of the Kings of Judah and Israel
(which we hold canonical) of many things touched at there which are not there explained, but are said to be found in other books of the prophets, who are sometimes named, and yet those works we have not in our canon, nor the Jews in theirs. I know not the reason of this, only I think that those prophets whom it pleased the Holy Spirit to inspire, wrote some things historically as men, and other things prophetically as from the mouth of God, and that these works were really distinct: some being held their own, as they were men, and some the Lord's, as speaking out of their bosoms: so that the first might belong to the bettering of knowledge, and the latter to the confirming of religion, to which the canon only has respect, besides which, if there be any works going under prophets' names, they are not of authority to better the knowledge, because it is doubtful whether they are the works of those prophets or no: therefore we may not trust them especially when they make against the canonical truth, wherein they prove themselves directly false births.

CHAPTER XXVIII

That the Hebrew letters have been ever continued in that language.

We may not therefore think as some do, that the Hebrew tongue only was derived from Heber to Abraham, and that Moses first gave the Hebrew letters with the law: no, that tongue was derived from man to man successively by letters as well as
language. For Moses appointed men to teach them no human wisdom older.

before the law was given. These the Scriptures call Grammaton-eisagogōs, that is, introducers of letters, because they did as it were bring them into the hearts of men, or rather their hearts into them. So then no nation can overpoise our prophets and patriarchs in antiquity of wisdom, for they had divine inspirations; and the Egyptians themselves, that usually gave out such extreme and palpable lies of their learnings, are proved short of time in comparison with our patriarchs. For none of them dare say that they had any excellence of understanding before they had letters, that is, before Isis came and taught them. And what was their goodly wisdom, think you? Truly nothing but astronomy, and such other sciences as rather seemed to exercise the wit than to elevate the knowledge. For as for morality, it stirred not in Egypt until Trismegistus' time, who was indeed long before the sages and philosophers of Greece, but after Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, yea, and Moses also: for at the time when Moses was born, was Atlas, Prometheus' brother, a great astronomer, living, and he was grandfather by the mother's side to the elder Mercury, who begat the father of this Trismegistus.

CHAPTER XXIX

The Egyptians' abominable lyings, to claim their wisdom the age of 100,000 years.

It is therefore a monstrous absurdity to say, as some do, that it is above 100,000 years since astronomy began in Egypt. What records have they for this,
What had their letters but two thousand years ago (or little more), from Isis! Varro's authority is of worth here, agreeing herein with the Holy Scriptures. For seeing it is not yet six thousand years from the first man Adam, how ridiculous are they that overrun the truth such a multitude of years! whom shall we believe in this, so soon as him that foretold what now we see accordingly effected? The dissonance of histories gives us leave to lean to such as do accord with our divinity. The citizens of Babylon, indeed; being diffused all the earth over; when they read two authors of like (and allowable) authority, differing in relations of the eldest memory, they know not which to believe. But we have a divine history to undershore us, and we know that whatsoever secular author he be, famous or obscure, if he contradict that, he goes far astray from truth: but be his words true or false, they are of no value to the attainment of true felicity.

CHAPTER XXX

The dissension of philosophers, and the concord of the Canonical Scriptures.

But to leave history, and come to the philosophers whom we left long ago: their studies seemed wholly to aim at the attainment of beatitude. Why did the scholars then contradict their masters; but that both were whirled away with human affections: wherein, although there might be some spice of vainglory, each thinking himself wiser and quicker conceited than other, and affecting to be an arch-dogmatist
himself, and not a follower of others; notwithstanding, to grant that it was the love of truth, that carried some (or the most of them) from their teacher's opinions, to contend for truth, careless if it were truth or the reverse? what course, what act can mortal misery perform to the obtaining of true blessedness, without it have a Divine instruction? as for our canonical authors, God forbid that they should differ. No, they do not; and therefore worthily did so many nations believe that God spoke either in them or by them; this the multitude in other places, learned and unlearned, do avow, though your petty company of jugglers in the schools deny it. Our prophets were but few, lest being more, their esteem should have been less, which religion ought highly to reverence, yet are they not so few but that their concord is justly to be admired. Let one look amongst all the multitude of philosophers' writings, and if he find two that tell both one tale in all respects, it may be registered for a rarity. It were too much for me to stand ranking out their diversities in this work. But what dogmatist in all this demon-honouring city has any such privilege that he may not be controlled, and opposed by others, with gracious allowance to both parts: were not the Epicureans in great account at Athens, holding that God had nought to do with man? And were not the Stoics, their opponents, that held the gods to be the directors of all things, even as gracious as they? Wherefore I marvel that Anaxagoras was accused for saying that the sun was a fiery stone, denying the godhead thereof: Epicurus being allowed and graced in that city, who divided both deities of sun, stars, yea, of Jove himself and all the rest, in all respect of the world, and man's supplications unto them: was not Aristiphus there
is of no with his bodily sumnum bonum, and Antisthenes with his mental? Both famous Socratists, and yet both so far contrary to each other in their subjects of beatitude. The one bade a wise man fly rule, the other bade him take it, and both had full and frequent audience. Did not everyone defend his opinion in public, in the town gallery, in schools, in gardens, and likewise in all private places? One held one world, another a thousand: some hold that one created, some not created: some hold it eternal, some not eternal: some say it is ruled by the power of God, others by chance. Some say the souls are immortal, others mortal: some transfuse them into beasts, others deny it; some of those that make them mortal, say they die presently after the body; others say they live longer, yet not for ever: some place the chiefest good in the body, some in the soul, some in both: some draw the external goods to the soul and the body: some say the senses go always true, some say but sometimes, some say never. These and millions more of dissensions do the philosophers bandy; and what people, state, kingdom, or city of all the diabolical society has ever brought them to the test, or rejected these and received the other, but has given nourishment to all confusion in their very bosoms, and upheld the rabble of curious janglers, not about lands, or cases in law, but upon main points of misery and bliss? Wherein if they spake true, they had as good leave to speak false, so fully and so fitly sorted their society to the name of Babylon, which (as we said) signifies "confusion." Nor cares their king, the devil, how much they jangle, it procures him the larger harvest of variable impiety. But the people, state, nation, and City of Israel, to whom God's holy laws were left, they used not that licentious
confusion of the false prophets with the true, but all We have in one consent held and acknowledged the latter divine authority, for the true authors, recording God's testimonies. These were their sages, their poets, their prophets, their teachers of truth and piety. He that lived after their rules, followed not man, but God; who spake in them. The sacrilege forbidden there, God forbids: the commandment of "honour thy father and mother," God commands. "Thou shalt not commit adultery, nor murder, nor shalt steal;" God's wisdom pronounces this not the wit of man. For what truth soever the philosophers attained and disputed of amidst their falsehood, as, namely, "That God framed the world, and governed it most excellently, of the honesty of virtue, the love of our country, the faith of friendship, just dealing," and all the things belonging to good manners: they knew not to what end the whole was to be referred: he prophets taught that from the mouth of God in the persons of men, not with inundations of arguments, but with apprehension of fear and reverence of the Lord in all that understood them.

CHAPTER XXXI

Of the translations of the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Greek, by the ordinance of God for the benefit of the nations.

These Scriptures one Ptolemy, a king of Egypt, desired to understand, for after the strange and admirable conquest of Alexander of Macedon, sur-named "the Great," wherein he brought all Asia
and almost all the world under his subjection, partly by fair means and partly by force (who came also into Judea), his nobles after his death making a turbulent division, or rather a dilaceration of his monarchy, Egypt came to be ruled by the Ptolemies. The first of which was the son of Lagus, who brought many Jews captive into Egypt: the next was Philadelphus, who freed all those captives, sent gifts to the temple, and desired Eleazar the priest to send him the Old Testament, whereof he had heard great commendations, and therefore he meant to put it into his famous library: Eleazar sent it in Hebrew, and then he desired interpreters of him, and he sent him seventy-two, six of every tribe, all most perfect in the Greek and Hebrew. Their translation do we now usually call the Septuagint's. The report of their divine concord therein is admirable: for Ptolemy having (to try their faith) made each one translate by himself, there was not one word difference between them, either in sense or order, but all was one, as if only one had done them all: because indeed there was but one spirit in them all. And God gave them that admirable gift, to give a divine commendation to so divine a work, wherein the nations might see that presaged, which we all see now effected.

CHAPTER XXXII

That the translation of the Seventy has most authority, next unto the Hebrew.

There were other translators out of the Hebrew into the Greek, as Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion,
and that nameless interpreter whose translation is
has been
called the fifth edition. But the Church has received
translated.
that of the Seventy, as if there were no other, as
much of the Greek Christians, using this wholly,
know not whether there be or no. Our Latin
translation is from this also. Although one Jerome,
learned priest, and a great linguist, has translated
the same Scriptures from the Hebrew into Latin.
But although the Jews affirm his learned labour to
be all truth, and avouch the Seventy to have often-
times erred, yet the Churches of Christ hold no one
man to be preferred before so many, especially being
selected by the high priest, for this work: for
although their concord had not proceeded from their
unity of spirit but from their collations, yet were no
one man to be held more sufficient than they all.
But seeing there was so divine a demonstration of it,
truly whosoever translates from the Hebrew, or any
other tongue, either must agree with the Seventy, or
if he dissent, we must hold by their prophetical
depth. For the same Spirit that spake in the
prophets, translated in them. And that Spirit might
say otherwise in the translation, than in the prophet,
and yet speak alike in both, the sense being one unto
the true understander though the words be different
unto the reader. The same Spirit might add also,
or diminish, to shew that it was not man’s labour
that performed this work, but the working Spirit
that guided the labours. Some held it good to
correct the Seventy, by the Hebrew, yet durst they
not put out what was in them and not in the Hebrew,
but only added what was in that and not in them,
marking the places with asterisks at the head of the
verses, and noting what was in the Seventy, and not
in the Hebrew, with lines, as we mark ounces of
weight withal: and many Greek and Latin copies
What are interspersed with these marks. But as for the alteration, whether the difference be great or small, they are not to be discerned but by a collation of the books. If therefore we go all to the Spirit of God and nothing else, as is fittest, whatsoever is in the Seventy, and not in the Hebrew, it pleased God to speak it by those latter prophets, and not by these first. And so contrariwise of that which is in the Hebrew and not in the Seventy, herein shewing them both to be prophets, for so did He speak this by Isaiah, that by Jeremiah, and other things by others as His pleasure was. But what we find in both, that the Spirit spake by both; by the first as prophets, by the latter as prophetical translations: for as there was one Spirit of peace in the first who spake so many several things without discordance, so was there in these who translated so agreeably without conference.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Of the destruction of Nineveh, which the Hebrew prefixes forty days unto, and the Septuagint but three.

Ay, but will some say, How shall I know whether Jonas said, “Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed,” or, “Yet three days”? Who does not see that the prophet, presaging their destruction, could not say both: if at three days’ end they were to be destroyed, then not at forty; if at forty, then not at three.

If I be asked the question, I answer for the Hebrew. For the Seventy being long after, might
say otherwise, and yet not against the sense, but as pertinent to the matter as the other, though in another signification: advising the reader not to leave the signification of the history for the circumstance of a word, nor to contemn either of the authorities: for those things were truly done at Nineveh, and yet had a reference farther than Nineveh: as it was true that the prophet was three days in the whale's belly, and yet intimated the being of the Lord of all the prophets three days in the womb of the grave. Wherefore if the Church of the Gentiles were prophetically figured by Nineveh, as being destroyed in repentance, to become quite different from what it was: Christ doing this in the said Church, it is He that is signified both by the forty days, and by the three: by forty, because He was so long with His disciples after His resurrection, and then ascended into heaven; by three, for on the third day He arose again: as if the Septuagints intended to stir the reader to look further into the matter than the mere history, and that the prophet had intended to intimate the depth of the mystery; as if he had said: "Seek Him in forty days whom thou shalt find in three:" this in His resurrection, and the other in His Ascension. Wherefore both numbers have their fit signification, both are spoken by one Spirit, the first in Jonah, the latter in the translators. Were it not for tediousness, I could reconcile the Seventy and the Hebrew in many places wherein they are held to differ. But I study brevity, and according to my talent have followed the apostles, who assumed what made for their purposes out of both the copies, knowing the Holy Spirit to be one in both. But to proceed with our purpose.
CHAPTER XXXIV

The Jews had no prophets ever after the repairing of the Temple, and were afflicted even from thence until Christ came: to shew the prophets spoke of the building of the other Temple.

After the Jews were left destitute of prophets, they grew daily worse and worse: namely, from the end of their captivity, when they hoped to grow into better state upon the repairing of the Temple. For so that carnal nation understood Haggai's prophecy, saying: "The glory of this last house shall be greater than the first:" which he shews that he meant of the New Testament in the words before, where he promised Christ expressly, saying: "I will move all nations, and the Desire of all nations shall come." Where the Seventy used a sense rather applicable to the members than the Head, saying: "And they that are God's elect shall come out of all nations," to wit, the men of whom Christ said in the Gospel, "Many are called, but few are chosen." For those chosen, is the house of God built by the New Testament, of living stones, far more glorious than that which was built by Solomon, and repaired after the captivity. Therefore from thence had this nation no more prophets, but were sore afflicted by aliens, even by the Romans themselves, to teach them that Haggai was not speaking of that house which they had repaired. For Alexander came soon after that, and subdued them: who, although he made no massacre of them (for they durst do no other but yield at his first beck), yet there was the glory of that Temple proved inferior to what it had been in the times of their own free kings. For in the temple did
Alexander sacrifice, not in any true worship unto God, but giving Him a place in the adoration of his false deities. Then came the fore-named Ptolemy, son to Lagus, after Alexander's death, and he led many of them captive into Egypt, yet his son Philadelphia did courteously free them afterwards, and had the Seventy to translate the Old Testament for him, as I said before: from whence it came into our hands.

After all this, the wars mentioned in the Maccabees, lay upon them. And in process of time, Ptolemy, king of Alexandria, subdued them (he that was called Epiphanes), and then were they extremely plagued, forced to offer to idols, and their temple filled with sacrilegious pollution by Antiochus, king of Syria, whose powers notwithstanding Judas Maccabeus utterly subverted, and restored the temple to the ancient dignity.

Within a while after, did Alcimus (a man born out of the priests' blood) by ambition aspire to the priesthood, and then about fifty years after, all which were passed under the variable chance of war, did Aristobulus assume a diadem, and became both king and priest. For all the time before, ever since the captivity, they had no kings, but captains and generals, or princes (though a king may be called a prince, because of his pre-eminence, but all that are captains and princes are not kings, as Aristobulus was). To him did Alexander succeed both in the kingdom and the priesthood, and is recorded for a tyrant over his people. He left the regality to his wife Alexandra, and from thence began the Jews' extremities of affliction. For her two sons, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, contending for the principality, called the Roman forces to come against Israel by the means of Hircanus demanding their aid against his
and became tributary of Rome. Then had the Romans conquered all Africa and Greece, and having commanded over a multitude of other nations, the state seemed too heavy for itself, and brake itself down with its own burden. For now had sedition gotten strong hold amongst them, breaking out into confederacies, and civil wars, wherewith it was so maimed, that now all declined unto a monarchical form of government. But Pompey, the great general of Rome’s forces, brought his powers into Judea, took Jerusalem, opened the Temple doors (not to go in to pray unto God, but to prey upon God rather) and not as a worshipper, but as a profaner, entered the sanctum sanctorum, a place only lawful for the high-priest to be seen in. And having seated Hyrcanus in the priesthood, and made Antipater provost of the province, he departed, carrying Aristobulus away with him, prisoner. Here began the Jews to be the Romans’ tributaries. Afterwards came Cassius and spoiled the Temple. And within a few years after, Herod an alien was made their governor, and in his time was our Saviour Christ born.

For now was the fulness of the time come which the patriarch prophetically implied, saying, “The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and He shall gather the nations unto Him.” For the Jews had never been without a prince of their blood, until Herod’s time, who was their first alien king. Now then was the time of Shiloh come, now was the New Testament to be promulgated, and the nations to be reconciled to the truth. For it were impossible that the nations should desire Him to come in His glorious power to judge (as we see they do), unless they had first been united in their true belief upon Him, when He came in His humility to suffer.
CHAPTER XXXV

Of the Word's becoming flesh, our Saviour's birth: and the dispersion of Jews.

Herod reigning in Judea, Rome's government being Christ's changed, and Augustus Cæsar being emperor, the birth world being all at peace, Christ (according to the precedent prophecy) was born in Bethlehem of Judah, being openly man of His virgin mother, and secretly God, of God, His Father: for so the prophet had said: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son: and she shall call His name, Emmanuel, that is, God with us." Now He shewed His deity by many miracles, which, as far as concerns His glory and our salvation, are recorded in the Gospel. The first is His miraculous birth, the last His as miraculous ascension. But the Jews who rejected Him, and slew Him (according to the needfulness of His death and resurrection), after that were miserably spoiled by the Romans, chased all into the slavery of strangers, and dispersed them over the face of the whole earth. For they are in all places with their Testament, to shew that we have not forged those prophecies of Christ, which many of them considering, both before His passion and after His resurrection, believed in Him, and they are the remnant that are saved through grace. But the rest were blind, as the Psalm says: "Let their table be made a snare unto them, and their prosperity their ruin: let their eyes be blinded that they see not, and make their loins alway to tremble." For in refusing to believe our Scriptures, their own (which they read with blindness) are fulfilled upon them.

Some say that the sibyl's prophecies which concern
the Jews are but fictions of the Christians: but that suffices us that we have from the books of our enemies, which we acknowledge in that they preserve it for us against their wills, themselves and their books being dispersed as far as God’s Church is extended and spread; in every corner of the world, as that prophecy of the Psalm, which they themselves do read, foretells them: “My merciful God will prevent me: God will let me see my desire upon mine enemies. Slay them not, lest my people forget it, but scatter them abroad with Thy power.” Here did God shew mercy to His Church, even upon the Jews, His enemies, because, as the apostle says, “through their fall cometh salvation to the Gentiles.” And therefore He slew them not, that is, He left them their name of Jews still, although they be the Roman’s slaves, lest their utter dissolution should make us forget the law of God concerning this testimony of theirs. So it were nothing to say, “Slay them not,” but that He adds, “Scatter them abroad:” for if they were not dispersed throughout the whole world with their Scriptures, the Church should want their testimonies concerning those prophecies fulfilled in our Messiah.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Whether any but Israelites, before Christ’s time, belonged to the City of God.

Wherefore any stranger, be he no Israelite born, nor his works allowed for canonical by them, if he have prophesied of Christ, that we can know or rehearse,
may be added unto the number of our testimonies: not that we need his words, but because it is no error to believe that there were some of the Gentiles to whom this mystery was revealed, and who were inspired by the Spirit of prophecy to declare it: were they elect or reprobate, and taught by the evil spirits, whom we know confessed Christ being come, though the Jews denied Him: nor do I think the Jews dare aver, that no man was saved after the propagation of Israel, but Israelites: indeed there was no other people properly called the people of God. But they cannot deny that some particular men lived in this world and in other nations that were belonging to the heavenly hierarchy. If they deny this, the story of holy Job convinces them, who was neither a native Israelite, nor a proselyte, adopted by their law, but born and buried in Idumea: and yet is he so highly commended in the Scriptures, that there was none of his time (it seems) that equalled him in righteousness, whose time though the chronicles express not, yet out of the canonical authority of his own book we gather him to have lived in the third generation after Israel. God's providence (no doubt) intended to give us an instance in him, that there might be others in the nations that lived after the law of God, and in His service, thereby attaining a place in the celestial Jerusalem: which we must think none did but such as foreknew the coming of the Messiah, Mediator between God and man, who was prophesied unto the saints of old that He should come just as we have seen Him to have come in the flesh: thus did one faith unite all the predestinated into one city, one house, and one Temple for the living God. But what other prophecies soever there pass abroad concerning Christ, the vicious may suppose that we have forged, therefore there is no way so sure to batter
exiled throughout the world. down all contentions in this kind, as by citing the prophecies contained in the Jews' books: by whose dispersion from their proper habitations all over the world, the Church of Christ is happily increased.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Haggai's prophecy of the glory of God's house fulfilled in the Church, not in the Temple.

This is that House of God more glorious than the former for all the precious material: for Haggai's prophecy was not fulfilled in the repairing of the Temple, which never had that glory after the restoring that it had in Solomon's time: but rather lost it all, the prophets ceasing, and destruction ensuing, which was performed by the Romans as I formerly related. But the House of the New Testament is of another lustre, the workmanship being more glorious, and the stones being more precious. But it was figured in the reparation of the old Temple, because the whole New Testament was figured in the Old one. God's prophecy, therefore, that saith, "In that place will I give peace," is to be meant of the place signified, not of the place significant: that is, as the restoring that house prefigured the Church which Christ was to build, so God said, "in this place" (that is, in the place that this prefigures), "will I give peace," for all things signifying, seem to support the persons of the things signified, as St. Peter said: "the Rock was Christ:" for it signified Christ. So then, far is the glory of the House of the New Testament above the glory of the Old, as shall appear in the final
dedication. Then shall the Desire of all nations appear (as it is in the Hebrew): for His first coming was not desired of all the nations, for some knew not whom to desire, nor in whom to believe. And then also shall they that are God’s elect out of all nations come (as the LXX. read it), for none shall come truly at that day but the elect, of whom the apostle says, “As He hath elected us in Him, before the beginning of the world:” for the Architect Himself, that said, “Many are called, but few are chosen,” He spake not of those that were called to the feast and then cast out: but meant to shew that He had build an house of His elect, which time’s worst spite could never ruin. But being altogether in the Church as yet, to be hereafter sifted, the corn from the chaff, the glory of this House cannot be so great now, as it shall be then, where every man shall be always there where he once comes.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The Church’s increase uncertain, because of the commingling of elect and reprobate in this world.

Therefore in these mischievous days, wherein the Church works for His future glory in present humility, in fears, in sorrows, in labours, and in temptations, joying only in hope when she joys as she should, many reprobate live amongst the elect: both come into the Gospel’s net, and both swim at random in the sea of mortality, until the fishers draw them to shore, and then the bad are thrown from the good, in whom as in His temple, God is all in all. We
So the Church started on her course to acknowledge therefore His words in the Psalm, "I would declare and speak of them, but they are more than I am able to express, to be truly fulfilled." This multiplication began at that instant when first John His messenger, and then Himself in person began to say, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of God is at hand." He chose Him disciples, and named the apostles: poor, ignoble, unlearned men, that what great work soever was done He might be seen to do it in them. He had one, who abused His goodness, yet used He this wicked man to a good end, to the fulfilling of His passion, and presenting His Church an example of patience in tribulation. And having sown sufficiently the seed of salvation, He suffered, was buried, and rose again; shewing by His suffering what we ought to endure for the truth, and by His resurrection what we ought to hope for from eternity, besides the ineffable sacrament of His blood, shed for the remission of sins. He was forty days on earth with His disciples afterwards, and in their sight ascended to heaven, ten days later sending down His promised Spirit upon them: which in the coming, gave that manifest and necessary sign of the knowledge in languages of all nations, to signify that it was but one catholic Church, that in all those nations should use all those tongues.

CHAPTER XXXIX

The Gospel preached, and gloriously confirmed by the blood of the preachers.

And then, as it is written, "The law shall go forth from Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem," and as Christ had foretold, when (His
disciples being astonished at His resurrection) He opened their understandings in the Scriptures, and told them that it was written thus: "It behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again the third day, and that repentance, and remission of sins should be preached in His name amongst all nations, beginning at Jerusalem:" and where they asked Him of His second coming, and He answered, "It is not for you to know the times and seasons which the Father hath put in His own power: but ye shall receive power of the Holy Ghost when He shall come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses of Me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the utmost part of the earth." First the Church spread itself from Jerusalem, and then through Judea, and Samaria, and those lights of the world bare the Gospel unto other nations: for Christ had armed them, saying, "Fear not them that kill the body but are not able to kill the soul:" they had the heat of love that kept out the cold of fear: finally, by their persons who had seen Him alive, and dead, and alive again: and by the horrible persecutions endured by their successors after their death, and by the ever conquered (to others unconquerable) tortures of the martyrs, the Gospel was diffused through all the habitable world: God going with it in miracles, in virtues, and in gifts of the Holy Ghost: in so much that the nations believing in Him who suffered for their redemption, in Christian love did hold the blood of those martyrs in reverence, which before, they had shed in barbarousness, and the kings whose edicts afflicted the Church came humbly to be warriors under that banner which they cruelly before had sought utterly to abolish: beginning now to persecute the false gods, for whom before they had persecuted the servants of the true God.
CHAPTER XL

That the Church is established even by the schisms of heresies.

Nor do heresies thwart her. Now the devil seeing his temples empty and all running unto this Redeemer, set heretics on foot to subvert Christ, in a Christian mask, as if there were that allowance for them in the heavenly Jerusalem which there was for contrariety of philosophers in the devil's Babylon. Such therefore as in the Church of God do distaste anything, and being checked and advised to beware, do obstinately oppose themselves against good instructions, and rather defend their abominations than discard them, those become heretics, and going forth out of God's house, are to be held as our most eager enemies: yet they do the members of the catholic Church this good, that their fall makes them take better hold upon God, who uses evil to a good end, and works all for the good of those that love Him. So then the Church's enemies whatsoever, if they have the power to impose corporal affliction, they exercise her patience: if they bait her with opposition only verbal, they practise her in her wisdom: and she in loving these enemies exercises His benevolence and bounty, whether she go about them with gentle persuasion or severe correction: and therefore though the devil her chief opponent, move all his vassals against her virtues, still he cannot injure her an inch. Comfort she has in prosperity, to be confirmed, and constant in adversity: and exercised is she in this, to be kept from corruption in that: God's providence managing the whole: and so tempering the one with the other that the Psalmist said fitly: "In the multitude of the
cares of mine heart. Thy comforts have rejoiced my All
soul.” And the apostle also: “Rejoicing in hope and
patient in tribulation.” For the same apostle’s words, saying, “All that will live godly in Christ
shall suffer persecution,” must be held to be in con-
tinual action: for though ab externo abroad, all seem
quiet, no gust of trouble appearing, and that is a great
comfort, to the weak especially; yet at home, ab intus,
there do we never want those that offend and
molest the godly pilgrim by their devilish demeanour, blaspheming Christ and the catholic name,
which how much dearer the godly esteem, so much
more grief they feel to hear, if less respected by their
pernicious brethren than they desire it should be: and
the heretics themselves, being held to have Christ,
and the sacraments amongst them, grieve the hearts
of the righteous extremely, because many that have a
good desire to Christianity, stumble at their dissen-
sions, and again many that oppose it, take occasion
hereby to burden it with greater calamities: the
heretics bearing the name of Christians also. These
persecutions befall God’s true servants by the vanity
of others’ errors, although they be quiet in their
bodily estate: this persecution touches the heart, and
not the body: as the Psalm says, “In the multitude
of the cares of mine heart:” not of my body. But
then again, when we revolve the immutability of
God’s promises, who, as the apostle says, “knoweth
them that are His, whom He has predestinate to be
made like the image of His Son,” there shall not one
of these be lost: therefore the Psalm adds, “Thy
comforts have rejoiced my soul.” Now the sorrow
that the godly feel for the perverseness of evil, or
false Christians, is good for their own souls, if it
proceed, from charity, not desiring their destruction
nor the hindrance of their salvation: and the re-
for her patience and virtue. formation of such, yields great comfort to the devout soul, redoubling the joy now, for the grief that it felt before for their errors. So then in these malignant days, not only from Christ and His apostles' time, but even from holy Abel whom his wicked brother slew, so along unto the world's end, does the Church travel on her pilgrimage, now suffering worldly persecutions, and now receiving divine consolations.

**CHAPTER XL I**

*Whether the opinion of some be credible, that there shall be no more persecutions after the ten passed, but the eleventh, which is that of Antichrist.*

But I think that that is not to be rashly affirmed, which some do think, viz., that the Church will suffer no more persecutions until Antichrist's time than the ten already passed, that his shall be the eleventh and last. The first was under Nero, the second by Domitian, the third by Trajan, the fourth by Antoninus, the fifth by Severus, the sixth by Maximinus, the seventh by Decius, the eighth by Valerian, the ninth by Aurelian, the tenth by Diocletian and Maximian. For some hold, the plagues of Egypt being ten in number before Israel's freedom, to have reference unto these, Antichrist's eleventh persecution being like the Egyptians' pursuit of Israel in the Red Sea, in which they were all drowned. But I take not those events in Egypt to be any way pertinent unto these, either as prophecies, or figures, although they that hold otherwise have made a very ingenious adaptation of the one to the other, but not by the
Spirit of prophecy, but only by human conjecture, which sometimes may err, as well as not: for what will they that hold this affirm of the persecution wherein Christ was killed? What rank shall that have amongst the rest? If they except this, and hold that such only are to be reckoned as belong to the body and not to the Head, what do they say to that after the ascension, where Stephen was stoned, and James the brother of John beheaded, and Peter shut up for the slaughter, but that the angel freed him? where the brethren were chased from Jerusalem, and Saul (afterwards made an apostle and called Paul) played the pursuer amongst them, haling them out to destruction? and where he himself also being converted, and preaching the faith which he had persecuted, suffered such afflictions as aforesaid he had laid upon others, wheresoever he preached, unto Jews or Gentiles? why do they begin at Nero, when the Church was never without persecutions through all the time before, whereof it is too tedious to recount the particulars. If they will not begin but at persecutions by a king, why, Herod was a king, who did the Church extreme injury after Christ’s ascension? Again, why are not Julian’s villainies reckoned amongst the ten? was not he a persecutor that forbade the Christians to be taught the liberal arts? was not Valentinian the elder (who was third Emperor after him) deprived of his generalship for confessing Christ? to leave all the massacres begun at Antioch by this wicked Apostate, until one faithful and constant young man lying in tortures a whole day, continually singing psalms, and praying of God, did with his patience so terrify the persecuting Atheist, that he was both afraid and ashamed to proceed. Now, lastly, Valens an Arian, brother to the above-named Valentinian, had not he afflicted the Eastern
Nor is it Church with all extremity, even now before our eyes? What a lame consideration is it to collect the persecutions endured by an universal Church under one prince, and in one nation, and not in another? cannot a Church so far diffused, suffer affliction in one particular nation but it must suffer in all? perhaps they will not have the Christian persecution in Gothland, by their own king for one, who martyred many true Catholics, as we heard of divers brethren who had seen it living in those parts when they were children: and what can they say to Persia? Have not the persecutions there chased divers even unto the towns of the Romans? It may be now quiet, but it is more than we can tell. Now all these considerations laid together, and such like as these are, makes me think that the number of the Church's persecutions is not to be defined: but to affirm that there may be many inflicted by other kings before that great and assured one of Antichrist, were as rash an assertion as the other: let us therefore leave it in the midst, neither affirming nor contradicting, but only controlling the rashness of both in others.

CHAPTER XLII

Of the unknown time of the last persecution.

The last persecution under Antichrist, Christ's personal presence shall extinguish: for, "He shall consume him with the breath of His mouth, and abolish him with the brightness of His wisdom," says the apostle. And here is a usual question: When shall this be? It is an unreasonable one. If the know-
ledge of it would have done us good, who would have revealed it sooner than Christ unto His disciples? for they were not silent when with Him, but asked Him, saying: "Lord, wilt Thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" But what said He? "It is not for you to know the times or seasons which the Father hath put in His own power." They asked Him not of the day or hour, but of the time, when He answered them thus. In vain therefore do we stand reckoning the remainder of the world's years; we hear the plain truth tell us: "It befits us not to know them." Some talk how it shall last four hundred, some five hundred, some a thousand years after the ascension; everyone has his view, it were in vain to stand shewing upon what grounds: in a word, their conjectures are all human, grounded upon no certainty of Scripture. For He that said, "It is not for you to know the times," &c., stops all your accounts and bids you leave your calculations.

But this being an evangelical sentence, I wonder not that it was not powerful enough to repress the audacious fictions of some infidels touching the continuance of Christian religion. For those, observing that these greatest persecutions did rather increase than suppress the faith of Christ, invented a sort of Greek verses (as if they had been oracular), containing how Christ was clear from this sacrilege, but that Peter had by magic founded the worship of the name of Christ for three hundred threescore and five years, and at that date it should utterly cease. Oh learned heads! oh rare inventions! fit to believe those things of Christ, since you will not believe in Christ: to wit, that Peter learned magic of Christ: yet was He innocent: and that His disciple was a wizard, and yet would rather have his Master's name honoured than his own, working to that end with his
is unknown to us.
magic, with toil, with perils, and lastly with the effusion of his blood! If Peter’s witchcraft made the world love Christ so well, what had Christ’s innocence done that Peter should love Him so well? Let them answer, and (if they can) conceive that it was that supernal grace that fixed Christ in the hearts of the nations for the attainment of eternal bliss: which grace also made Peter willing to endure a temporal death for Christ, by Him to be received into the said eternity. And what goodly gods are these, that can presage things and yet not prevent them! but are forced by one wizard and (as they affirm) by one child-slaughtering sacrifice, to suffer a sect so injurious to them to prevail against them so long time, and to bear down all persecutions by bearing them with patience, and to destroy their temples, images, and sacrifices! Which of their gods is it (none of ours it is) that is compelled to work these effects by such wicked an oblation? for the verses say that Peter dealt not with a devil, but with a god, in his magical operation. Such a god have they, that have not Christ for their God.

CHAPTER XLIII

The pagans’ foolishness in affirming that Christianity should last but 365 years.

I could gather many such as this, if the year were not past that those lies prefixed and those foolish men expected. But seeing it is now above three hundred and sixty-five years since Christ’s coming in the flesh, and the apostles’ preaching His name, what needs
any plainer confutation? For to omit Christ's infancy and childhood wherein He had no disciples, yet after His baptism in Jordan, by John, as soon as He called some disciples to Him, His name assuredly began to be divulged, of whom the prophet had said, "He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river to the land's end." But because the faith was not definitely decreed until after his passion, to wit, in His resurrection; for so says St. Paul to the Athenians; "Now He admonisheth all men everywhere, to repent, because He hath appointed a day in which He will judge the world in righteousness, by that Man in whom He hath appointed a faith unto all men, in that He hath raised Him from the dead." We shall do better for the solution of this question, to begin at that time, chiefly because then the Holy Spirit descended upon that society wherein in the second law, the New Testament, was to be professed, according as Christ had promised. For the first law, the Old Testament was given in Sinai by Moses, but the latter which Christ was to give was prophesied in these words: "The law shall go forth out of Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." Therefore He said Himself that it was fit that repentance should be preached in His name throughout all nations, yet beginning at Jerusalem. There then began the belief in Christ crucified and risen again. There did this faith heat the hearts of divers thousands already, who sold their goods to give to the poor, and came cheerfully to Christ and to voluntary poverty, withstanding the assaults of the bloodthirsty Jews with a patience stronger than an armed power.

If this now were not done by magic, why might not the rest, in all the world be as clear? But if Peter's magic had made those men honour Christ, who both crucified Him and derided Him being cru-
this date coincides with

ciied, then I ask them when their three hundred threescore and five years must have an end? Christ died in the consulship of the two Gemini, the eighth of the calends of April; and rose again the third day, as the apostles saw with their eyes, and felt with their hands: forty days after ascended He into heaven, and ten days after (that is fifty after the resurrection) came the Holy Ghost, and then three thousand men believed in the apostles' preaching of Him. So that then His name began to spread, as we believe, and it was truly proved, by the operation of the Holy Ghost: but as the infidels feign, by Peter's magic. And soon after five thousand more believed through the preaching of Paul, and Peter's miraculous curing of one that had been born lame and lay begging at the porch of the Temple: Peter with one word, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ," set him sound upon his feet. Thus the Church got up by degrees. Now reckon the years by the consuls from the descent of the Holy Spirit that was in the ides of May, unto the consulship of Honorius, and Eutychian, and you shall find full three hundred threescore and five years, expired. Now in the next year, in the consulship of Theodorus Manlius, when Christianity should have been utterly gone (according to that oracle of devils, or fiction of fools): what is done in other places, we need not inquire, but for that famous city of Carthage, we know that Junius and Gaudentius, two of Honorius' officers, came thither on the tenth of the calends of April, and brake down all the idols, and pulled down their temples.

It is now thirty years ago since (almost), and what increase Christianity has had since, is apparent enough: and partly by many whom the expectation of the fulfilling of that oracle kept from being recon-
ciled to the truth, who since are come into the bosom of the Church, discovering the ridiculousness of that former expectation. But we that are Christians re et ore, in deed and in name, do not believe in Peter, but in Him that Peter believed in. We are edified by Peter’s sermons of Christ, but not bewitched by his charms nor deceived by his magic, but furthered by his religion. Christ, that taught Peter the doctrine of eternity, teaches us also. But now it is time to set an end to this book, wherein as far as need was we have run along with the courses of the two Cities in their confused progress: the one of which, the Babylon of the earth, has made her false gods of mortal men, serving them and sacrificing to them as she thought good; but the other, the heavenly Jerusalem, she has stuck to the only and true God, and is His true and pure sacrifice herself. But both of these do feel one touch of good and evil fortune, but not with one faith, nor one hope, nor one law: and at length, at the last judgment, they shall be severed for ever, and either shall receive the endless reward of their works. Of these two ends we are now to discourse.
THE FIFTEENTH BOOK

CHAPTER I

That Varro observed two hundred and eighty-eight sects of the philosophers in their question of the perfection of goodness.

Where I am now to draw my discourse (from the progress) unto the consummation of the state of those two hierarchies, the celestial and the terrestrial, I must therefore first lay down their arguments (as far as the quantity be seeming this volume may permit) who intend to make themselves up a beatitude extant even in the continual misfortunes of man's temporal mortality: wherein my purpose is to parallel their vain positions with our assured hope which God has given us, and with the object of that assurance, namely, the true blessedness which He will give us: that so confirming our assertions both with Holy Scriptures, and with such reasons as are fit to be produced against infidels, the difference of their grounds and ours may be the more fully apparent.

About that question of the final good, the philosophers have kept a wonderful coil amongst themselves: seeking in every cranny and cavern thereof for the true beatitude: for that is the final good, being only desired for itself, all other goods having in their attainments a reference unto that alone. We do not call that the final good, which ends goodness,
that is, which makes it nothing: but that which profits it, which gives it fulness of perfection: nor do we call that the end of all evil, whereby it ceases to be evil, but that point which mischief arises unto, still reserving the mischievous nature, that we call the end of mischief. So, then, the great good and the greatest evil, are the ends of all good and evil: the final goodness and the final badness. About which two there has been wonderful inquisition, to avoid the final evil and attain the final good: this was the daily endeavour of our worldly philosophers, who thought they were guilty of much exorbitance of error, yet the bonds of nature were such limits to their aphorisms that they sought no further than either the body, the mind, or both, wherein to place this sumnum bonum of theirs. From this tripartite foundation has M. Varro, in his book "De Philosophia," most knowingly then and diligently observed two hundred and eighty-eight sects to have origin not in esse, but in posse, so many several positions may be drawn from those three fountains: of which to make a brief demonstration, I must begin with that which he rehearses in the book afore-named, viz.: That there are four things which everyone desires by nature, without help of master or industry; or that habit of life which is called virtue, and is learned by degrees: namely, either sensible pleasure, or sensible rest, or both (which Epicurus calls by one name of pleasure), or the universal first positions of nature, wherein these and the rest are included, as in the body, health and strength, and in the mind, sharpness of wit, and soundness of judgment: these four, therefore, pleasure, rest, both, and Nature's first positives, are in the fabric of man under these respects, that either virtue (the effect of doctrine) is to be desired for them, or
How sages have wrangled about for itself, or they for virtue or for themselves. And here are foundations for twelve sects, for by this means they are all tripled: I will shew it in one, and that will make it apparent in all the rest. Bodily pleasure being either set under virtue, above it, or equal with it, gives life to three divers opinions. It is under virtue when virtue rules it and uses it, for it is a virtue to live for our country's good, and for the same end to beget our children: neither of which can be excluded from corporal delight, for without that we neither eat, to live, nor use the means of carnal generation. But when this pleasure is preferred before virtue, then is it affected in mere respect of itself, and virtue's attainment is wholly referred unto that, that is, all virtue's acts must tend to the production of corporal pleasure, or else to the preservation of it: which is a deformed kind of life, because therein virtue is slave to the commands of voluptuousness (though, indeed, that cannot properly be called virtue that is so). But yet this deformity could not want patronage, and that by many philosophers. Now, pleasure and virtue are joined in equality when they are both sought for themselves, no way respecting others. Wherefore, as the subjection, pre-eminence, or equality of virtue unto voluptuousness, makes three sects, so does rest, delight and rest, and the first positives of nature make three more in this kind, for they have their three places under, above, or equal to virtue, as well as the other: thus does the number arise unto twelve. Now add but one difference, to wit, society of life, and the whole number is doubled: because whosoever follows any one of these twelve sects, either does follow it as respecting himself or his fellow, to whom he ought to wish as well as himself: so there may be twelve men that hold those twelve positions each one for
their own respect, and another twelve that hold the
them in respect of others, whose good they desire as
much as their own. Now, bring in but your new
Academics, and these twenty-four sects become
forty-eight, for every one of these positions may be
either maintained Stoically to be certain (as that of
virtue, that it is the sole good) or Academically, as
uncertain, and not so assuredly true, as likely to be
ture. Thus are there twenty-four affirming the
certain truth of those positions, and twenty-four
standing wholly for their uncertainty. Again, each
of these positions may be defended either in the
habit of any other philosopher or of a cynic, and this
of forty-eight makes the whole ninety-six. Again,
these may either be disputed of by such as profess
mere philosophy, no way intermeddling with affairs
of State, or by such as love argument, and yet never-
theless, keep a place in politic directions and employ-
ments of the weal-public, or by such as profess both,
and by a certain vicissitude, do now play the mere
philosophers, and now the mere politicians: and thus
is the number trebled, amounting to two hundred and
eighty-eight. Thus much, as briefly as I could out
of Varro, laying down his doctrine in mine own
forms. But to show how he confesses all the rest
but one, and chooses that, as peculiar to the old
Academics of Plato's institution (continuing to
defend certain aphorisms from him to Polemo, the
fourth that succeeded him), who are quite different
from the new Academics laying down nothing
positively, instituted by Archesilas, Polemo's suc-
cessor: to shew Varro's opinion in this, that the
old Academics were free both of uncertainty and
error. It is too tedious to make a full relation of it,
yet may we lawfully (nay, and must necessarily) take
a view of it in some part: first therefore he removes
Whole of philosophy a mere all the differences procuring this multitude of sects: his reason is, they aim not at the perfection of goodness. For he holds not that worthy the name of a sect in philosophy which differs not from all others in the main ends of good and evil: the end of philosophy being only beatitude, which is the main end and perfection of all goodness. This then is the aim of all philosophers: and such as do not level at this are unworthy that name. Wherefore in that question of society in life, whether a wise man should respect the perfection of goodness in his friend as much as in himself, or do all he does for his own beatitude's sake: this now does no way concern the good itself, but the assuming or not assuming of a companion into the participation of it, not for one's own sake, but for his sake that is admitted, whose good the other affects as he does his own. And likewise in these new Academics, whether all these assertions be to be held as uncertain, or with that assurance that other philosophers defended them: the question meddles not with the nature of that which we are to attain as the end of all good, but it asks whether there be such a thing or no, averring a doubt hereof rather than an affirmation: that is, to be more plain, the controversy is, whether the follower of this perfection may affirm his final good to be certain, or only that it seems so, but may be uncertain, and yet both these intend one good. And likewise again, for the habit of the Cynics, the reality of the good is not called in question, but whether it be to be followed in such a fashion of life and conversation or no. Finally, there have been philosophers that have affirmed diversely of the final good, some placing it in virtue, and some in pleasure, and yet have all observed one habit of the Cynics and form of carriage: so that the cause of their being enstyled
so, had no manner of reference to the perfection that question they studied to attain. For if it had, then should of the that end be peculiar to that habit, and not be com- municated with any other.

**CHAPTER II**

*Varro’s reduction of the final good out of all these differences unto three heads and three definitions, one only of which is the true one.*

Therefore in these three sorts of life, the contemplative, the active, and the mixed, if our question be, which of these we should observe? we do not meddle with the final good, but with the easy or hard attainment of that good, which accompanies those three several courses: for being attained, the final good does immediately make the attainer blessed. But it is neither contemplation, nor action, nor these two proportioned together, that makes a man blessed, for one may live in any of these three fashions, and yet be far wide from the true course to beatitude. So then the questions touching the end of goodness, which distinguish all those sects, are far different from those of society of life, academical doubt, the manners of the Cynics, and that of the three courses of conversation, philosophical, politic, and neuter. For none of all these do once meddle with the natures of good and evil. Wherefore Varro having recited the last four, whereby the whole sum of opinions amounts to two hundred and eighty-eight, because they are not worthy the name of sects, in
—that which makes happy.

that they make no mention of the good that is chiefly to be desired, he leaves them all, and returns to their first twelve, whose controversy is about the main point, “Man’s chief good:” out of these will he gather one direct truth, and shew all the rest to be false. For first he removes the three sorts of life, and they carry two parts of the number with them: so there remains but ninety-six. Then go the Cynics, and they carry forty-eight with them, so there remains but forty-eight: then send away the new Academics with their parts, so there remains but thirty-six. And then the social conversation, with the multitude that it brought, so there remains only twelve, which no man can deny to be twelve several sects. For their only difference is the highest parts of good and evil. For the ends of good being found, the evils lie directly opposite. So these twelve sects are produced by the triplication of these four, pleasure, rest, both, and nature’s primitive desires and habits, which Varro calls primogenia. For they are all made either virtue’s inferiors, and desired only in respect of her, or her superiors, and she desired only for their sake: or equals, and both are affected for their own sakes: thus do they amount to twelve several positions. Now of these four heads, Varro takes away three: pleasure, rest, and both united: not that he disapproves them, but that they are already included in the fourth: namely the first positives of nature, as well as many things more are, and therefore what need they keep a number in this rank? So then of the three remaining deducted from the fourth head, his discourse must wholly be framed, to know which of them is the truth: there can be but one true one by reason, be it in these three, or in some other thing, as we shall see afterwards. Meantime let us briefly see Varro’s
choice of the three: which are these: "Whether Nature's first positive desires ought to be desired for virtue's sake, or virtue for theirs, or both for themselves."

CHAPTER III

Varro's choice amongst the three fore-named sects, following therein the opinion of Antiochus, author of the old Academical sect.

Thus he begins to shew in which of them the truth is contained. First, because the question concerns not the beatitude of gods, or beasts, or trees, but of man, he holds it fit to examine what man is. Two things he finds in his nature, body and soul, whereof the soul he affirms to be the far more excellent part. But whether the soul be only man, and that the body be unto it, as the horse is to the horseman, that he makes another controversy of (for the horseman, is the man alone, not the horse and man both together: yet is it the man's reference to the horse, that gives him that name). Or whether the body only be the man, having that respect unto the soul that the cup has to the drink (for it is not the cup and the drink both that are called poculum in Latin, but the cup only: yet only in respect that it contains the drink), or whether it be both body and soul conjoined, and not several, that is called man, and these two are but his parts, as two oxen are called a yoke (which though it consist of one on this side, and another on that, yet call we neither of them separately a yoke, but both combined together). Now of those three
Man consists of soul and body. Positions he chooses the last, calling the essence, composed of body and soul, man, and denying the appellation unto either of them, being severally considered. And therefore (says he) man's beatitude must be included in the goods that belong jointly both to body and soul: so that the prime gifts of nature are to be desired for themselves, and that virtue which doctrine does gradually ingraft in a good mind, is the most excellent good of all. Which virtue or method of life, having received those first gifts of nature (which notwithstanding had being, before that they had virtue) it now desires all things for itself, and itself also: using all things together with itself, unto its own pleasure and delightful fruition, more or less, making a liking use of all, and yet if necessity require, rather refusing the smaller goods, for the attainment or preservation of the greater, than otherwise. But evermore holding itself in higher respect than any other good whatsoever, mental or corporeal: for it knows both the use of itself and of all other good things that makes a man happy. But where it is wanting, be there never so many good things, they are none of his that has them, because he cannot give them their true natures by good application of them. That man, therefore, alone is truly blessed, that can use virtue, and the other bodily and mental goods which virtue cannot be without, all unto their true end. If he can make good use of those things also that virtue may easily want, he is the happier in that. But if he can make that use of all things whatsoever, to turn them either to the good of the body or of the mind, then is he the happiest man on earth: for life and virtue are not all one. The wise man's life only it is, that deserves that name, for some kind of life may be wholly void of virtue, but no virtue can be without life. And so likewise of memory, reason,
and other qualities in man: all these are before learning, it cannot be without them, no more than virtue, which it does teach. But swiftness of foot, beauty of face, strength of body, and such, may be all without virtue, and all of them are good of themselves without virtue, yet is virtue desired for itself nevertheless, and uses these good things as befits. Now this blessed estate of life they hold to be sociable also, desiring the neighbour's good as much as their own, and wishing them in their own respects, as well as itself: whether it be the wives and children, or fellow-citizen, or mortal man whatsoever, nay, suppose it extend even to the gods whom they hold the friends of wise men, and whom we call by a more familiar name, angels. But of the ends of the good and evil they make no question wherein only (they say) they differ from the new Academics: nor care they what habit, Cynical, or whatsoever a man bear, so he aver their ends. Now of the three lives, contemplative, active, and mixed, they choose the last. Thus (says Varro) the old Academy taught: Antiochus master to him and Tully, being author hereof, though Tully make him rather a Stoic than an old Academician in most of his positions. But what is that to us? we are rather to look how to judge of the matter, than how others judge of the men.

CHAPTER IV

The Christian's opinion of the chiefest good and evil, which the philosophers held to be within themselves.

If you ask us now what the City of God says, first to this position of the perfection of good and evil, it
To the citizen of God the sole good will answer you presently, Eternal life is the perfection of good, and eternal death the consummation of evil, and that the aim of our life must be to avoid this, and attain that other. Therefore is it written, "The just shall live by faith." For we see not our greatest good, and therefore are to believe and hope for it, nor have we power to live accordingly, unless our belief and prayer obtain help of Him who has given us that belief and hope that He will help us. But such as found the perfection of felicity upon this life, placing it either in the body, or in the mind, or in both: or, to speak more plainly, either in pleasure or in virtue, or in pleasure and rest together, or in virtue, or in both, or in nature's first desires, or in virtue, or in both: fondly and vainly are these men persuaded to find true happiness here. The prophet laughs at them, saying, "The Lord knoweth the thoughts of men" (or, as St. Paul has it, "of the wise") "that they are vain." For who can discourse exactly of the miseries of this life? Tully, upon his daughter's death, did what he could. But what could he do? in what person can the first objects of nature be found without alteration? What, has not sorrow and disquiet full power to disturb the pleasure and quiet of the wisest?... So strength, beauty, health, vigour, and activity, are all subverted by their contraries, by loss of limbs, deformity, sickness, faintness, and unwieldiness. And what if a member fall into some tumour or other disease? what if weakness of the back bend a man down to the ground, making him near to a four-footed beast? is not all the grace of his posture quite gone? And then the first gifts of nature, whereof sense and reason are the two first, because of the apprehension of truth, how easily are they lost! how totally does deafness or blindness take away hearing and sight! And
then for the reason, how soon is it subverted by a frenzied passion; a lethargy or so! Oh, it is able to wring tears from our eyes to see the actions of insane persons so wholly different, nay, so directly contrary unto reason's directions! What need I speak of the demoniacs, whose understanding the devil wholly dulls, and uses all their powers of soul and body at his own pleasure? And what wise man can fully secure himself from these incursions? Again, how weak is our apprehension of truth in this life? when we read in the book of true Wisdom, "The corruptible body is heavy unto the soul, and the earthly mansion keepeth down the mind that is full of cares."

And that same ὀρνηθή, that violent motion unto action, which they reckon for one of nature's first positives in good men: is it not that that affects those strange and horrible acts of madness when the reason and sense are both besotted and darkened? Besides, virtue, which is not from nature, but comes afterwards from industry, when it has got the highest stand in humanity, what other work has it but a continual fight against the inbred vices that are inherent in our own bosoms, not in others? chiefly that σωφροσύνη, that temperance which suppresses the lusts of the flesh, and curbs them from carrying the mind away into mischief? for that same is a vice when, as the apostle says, "the flesh lusteth against the spirit;" and that contrary is a virtue, "when the spirit lusteth against the flesh:" for they, says he, are contrary, so that ye cannot do what you would. And what would we? what is our desire in this perfection of God, but that the flesh should not lust against the spirit, and that there were no vice in us against which the spirit should lust? which, since we cannot attain in this life, would we never so fain, let us by God's grace endeavour this, that we do not subject our
How can spirit unto the concupiscence of our flesh, and so set our seal unto the bond of sin with a free consent.

So that far be it from us ever to think that we have attained the true happiness whilst we live here. Who is so wise but has now and then divers fights against his own lusts? What is the office of prudence? is it not to discern between things to be chosen, and things to be refused, to the end that no error be incurred in either? This testifies that there is evil in us, and that we are in evil. It teaches us that it is evil to assent unto sin, and good to avoid it. But yet neither can prudence nor temperance rid our lives of that evil which they forewarn us of and arm us against. And what of justice, that gives every one his due? and the just order of nature is that the soul be under God, the flesh under the soul, and both together under God. Is it not plain that this is rather continually laboured after than truly attained in this life? for the less that the soul does meditate on God, the less it serves Him, and the more that the flesh lusts against the soul, the less command has the soul over it; wherefore as long as we are objected unto this languor and corruption, how dare we say we are safe? or (if not safe, much more) blessed by the perfection of attained bliss? Now there is also fortitude, another authentical testimony of human miseries endured with patience.

I wonder with what face the Stoics deny these to be evils, of which they confess that if a wise man cannot, or ought not to endure them, he may lawfully (nay he must needs) kill himself, and avoid this life. To this height is their proud stupidity grown (building all their beatitude upon this life), that if their wise man were blind, deaf, lame, and made the very hospital of all agonies and anguish, which should lie so sore on him that they should force him to be his
own death, yet this life that is environed with all those plagues, are not they ashamed to call blessed. O sweet and blessed life, which it is requisite that death do conclude! for if it be blessed why then keep it still? but if those evils make it avoidable, what is become of the bliss? or what are these but evils, that have such power to subvert the good of fortitude? making it not only guilty of dejection, but of dotage in affirming that one and the same life is blessed, and yet must be avoided: who is so blind that sees not that if it be the one, it cannot possibly be the other? O but, say they, the avoidance is caused by the effect of the overpressing infirmity: why may they not as well bid adieu to obstinacy, and confess that it is wretched? was it patience that made Cato kill himself? no, he would not have done it but that he took Caesar's victory so impatiently: where was his fortitude now? gone, it yielded, and was so trodden down that it fled both light and life, as blessed as it was. Was not his life then blessed when then it was wretched? Why then are not they true evils that can make one's life so wretched and so to be avoided? And therefore the Peripatetics and old Academicians (whose sect Varro stands wholly for) did better in calling these accidents, plainly evil. But they have one foul error to hold his life that endures these evils, blessed, if he rid himself from them by his own voluntary destruction. The pains and torments of the body are evil, say they, and the greater the worse, which, to avoid, you must willingly betake yourself to death, and leave this life: what life? this, that is so encumbered with evils. What, is it then blessed among so many evils that must be avoided, or call you it blessed, because you may abandon these evils when you list, by death? what if some power Divine should hold you from...
If "this life only" dying, and keep you continually in those evils, then you would say this were a wretched life indeed! well, the soon leaving of it makes not against the misery of it: because if it were eternal, yourself would judge it miserable. It is not quit of misery therefore because it is short, nor (much less) is it happiness in that the misery is short. It must needs be a forcible evil, that has power to make a man (nay and a wise man) to be his own executioner, it being truly said by themselves, that it is as it were Nature's first and most forcible precept, that a man should have a dear respect of himself, and therefore avoid the hand of death, by very natural instinct: and so befriend himself, that he should still desire to be a living creature, and enjoy the conjunction of his soul and body. Mighty are the evils that subdue this natural instinct, which is in all men to desire to avoid death, and subduing it so far, that what was before abhorred, should now be desired, and (rather than wanted) effected by a man's own hand. Mighty is the mischief that makes fortitude an homicide, if that can be called fortitude which yields so to these evils, that it is fain to force him to kill himself to avoid these inconveniences whom it has undertaken to defend against all inconveniences.

Indeed a wise man is to endure death with patience, but that must come ab externo from another man's hand and not from his own. But these men teaching that he may do it himself, must needs confess that the evils are intolerable which ought to force a man to such an extreme inconvenience. The life therefore that is liable to such a multitude of miseries can no way be called happy, if men to avoid this infelicity be fain to give it place by killing of themselves, and being convinced by the certainty of reason are fain in this their quest of beatitude, to
give place to the truth, and to discern, that the perfection of beatitude is not resident in this mortal life, when in man's greatest gifts, the greater help they afford him against anguish, dangers, and griefs, the surer testimonies are they of human miseries. For if true virtue can be in none in whom there is no true piety, then do they not promise any people in whom they are, any assurance from suffering of temporal sorrows. For true virtue may not dissemble, in professing what it cannot perform: but it aims at this only, that man's life which being in this world, is perturbed with all these extremes of sorrows, should in the life to come be made partaker both of safety and felicity. For how can that man have felicity that wants safety? It is not therefore of the unwise, intemperate, impatient, or unjust that St. Paul speaks, saying, "We are saved by hope," but of the son of true piety, and observers of the real virtues: "Hope that is seen, is not hope, for how can a man hope for that which he seeth? But if we hope for that which we see not, we do with patience wait for it." Wherefore as we are saved, so are we blessed by hope, and as we have no hold on our safety, no more have we of our felicity, but by hope, patiently awaiting it; and being as yet in a desert of thorny dangers, all which we must constantly endure until we come to the paradise of all ineffable delights, having then passed all the perils of encumbrance. This security in the life to come, is the beatitude we speak of which the philosophers not beholding will not believe, but forge themselves an imaginary bliss here, wherein the more their virtue assumes to itself, the falser it proves to the judgment of all others.
CHAPTER V

Of living sociably with our neighbour: how fit it is, and yet how subject to crosses.

We do worthily approve their enjoining a wise man to live in mutual society: for how should our Celestial City (the fifteenth book whereof we now have in hand) have ever come to its origin, development, or perfection, unless the saints live all in sociable union? But yet what is he that can recount all the miseries incident unto the societies of mortals? Here what the comedian says, with a general applause: "I married a wife. O what misery wanted I then! I begat children: so there's one care more." And those inconveniences that Terence pins on the back of love as injuries, enmities, war, and peace again, do not all these lackey our mortality continually? do not these foot sometimes into the friendliest affections? and does not all the world keep these examples in continual renovation as war, I mean injuries and enmities? And our peace is as uncertain, as we are ignorant of their hearts, with whom we hold it, and though we nigh know to-day what they would do, to-morrow we shall not. Who should be greater friends than those of one family? yet how many secret plots of malice lie even amongst such, to expel security? their firmer peace becoming fouler malice: and being reputed most loyal, whereas it was only most craftily feigned: the far-spread contagion of this made Tully let this saying run out with his tears: "Treason is never so close carried, as when it lurks under the name of duty or affinity. An open foe is easily watched: but this your secret
serpent both breeds and strikes ere ever you can discover it.” Wherefore that which the Holy Scriptures says, “A man’s foes are those of his own household,” this we hear with great grief: for though a man have fortitude to endure it, or prevention to avoid it, yet if he be a good man, he must needs take great grief at the badness of those so near him; be it that they have been accustomed unto this viperous dissimulation of old, or have learnt it but of late. So, then, if a man’s own private house afford him no shelter from these incursions, what shall the city do, which, as it is larger, so is it fuller of brabbles, and suits, and quarrels, and accusations, even if we grant the absence of seditions and civil contentions, which are too often present: and whereof the cities are in continual danger, when they are in their safest estate?

CHAPTER VI

The error of human judgments in cases where truth is not known.

And how lamentable and miserable are those men’s judgments whom the cities must perforce use, as magistrates, even in their most settled peace, concerning other men! they judge them whose consciences they cannot see, and therefore are often driven to wring forth the truth by tormenting of innocent witnesses. And what say you when a man is tortured in his own case, and tormented, even when it is a question whether he be guilty or no? and though he be innocent, yet suffers assured pains when they are not
How poor is human justice! Assured he is faulty. In most of these cases the judge's ignorance turns to the prisoner's misery. Nay, which is more lamentable, and deserves a sea of tears to wash it away; the judge in torturing the accused, lest he should put him to death being innocent, oftentimes through his wretched ignorance kills that party being innocent, with torture, whom he had tortured to avoid the killing of an innocent. For if (according unto their doctrine) he had rather leave this life than endure those miseries, then he says presently that he did the thing whereof he is clear indeed. And being thereupon condemned and executed, still the judge cannot tell whether he were guilty or no. He tortured him lest he should execute him guiltless, and by that means killed him ere he knew that he was guilty. Now, in these mists of mortal society, ought the judge to sit or no? Yes, he must sit: he is bound to it by his place, which he holds it wickedness not to discharge, and by the State's command, which he must obey. But he never holds it wickedness to torture guiltless witnesses in other men's causes, and when the tortures have overcome the patience of the innocent, and made them their own accusers, to put them to death as guilty, whom they tortured but to try, being guiltless: nor to let many of them die even upon the very rack itself, or by that means, if they do, escape the hangman. Again, what do you say to this, that some bringing a just accusation against this man or that for the good of the State, the accused endures all the tortures without confession, and so the innocent plaintiffs being not able to prove their plea, are by the judge's ignorance cast and condemned. These now, and many more than these, the judge holds no sins, because his will is not assenting unto them, but his service to the State compels him, and his
ignorance of hurt it is that makes him do it, not any will to hurt. This, now, is misery in a man: if it be not malice in a wise man, is it the troubles of his place and of ignorance that cause those effects, and does he not think he is not well enough in being free from accusation, but he must needs sit in beatitude? How much more wisdom and discretion would he shew in acknowledging his mortality in those troubles, and in detesting this misery in himself, crying out unto God (if he be wise) with the psalmist: "Lord, take me out of all my troubles."

CHAPTER VII

Difference of language, an impediment to human society. The miseries of the justest wars.

After the city, follows the whole world, wherein the third kind of human society is resident, the first being in the house, and the second in the city. Now the world is as a flood of waters, the greater, the more dangerous: and first of all difference of language divides man from man. For if two meet, who perchance light upon some accident craving their abiding together, and conference, if neither of them can understand the other, you may sooner make two brute beasts of two several kinds, sociable to one another than these two men. For when they would commune together, their tongues do not agree, which being so, all the other helps of nature are nothing: so that a man had rather be with his own dog, than with another man of a strange language. But the great western Babylon endeavours to communicate
her language to all the lands she has subdued, to procure a fuller society, and a greater abundance of interpreters on both sides. It is true, but how many lives has this cost! and suppose that done, the worst is not past: for although she never wanted stranger nations against whom to lead her forces, yet this large extension of her empire procured greater wars than those, named civil and confederate wars, and these were they that troubled the souls of mankind both in their heat, with desire to see them extinct, and in their pacification, with fear to see them renewed. If I should stop to recite the massacres, and the extreme effects hereof, as I might (though I cannot do it as I should) the discourse would be infinite. Yea, but a wise man, say they, will wage none but just war. He will not! As if the very remembrance that himself is man, ought not to procure his greater sorrow in that he has cause of just war, and must needs wage them, which if they were not just, were not for him to deal in, so that a wise man should never have war: for it is the other men's wickedness that works his cause just that he ought to deplore, whether ever it produce wars or not: wherefore he that does but consider with compassion all those extremes of sorrow and bloodshed, must needs say that this is a mystery, but he that endures them without a sorrowful emotion, or thought thereof, is far more wretched to imagine he has the bliss of a god, when he has lost the natural feeling of a man.
That true friendship cannot be secure, amongst the incessant perils of this present life.

But admit that a man be not so grossly deceived (as Nor is many in this wretched life are) as to take his foe for his friend, nor contrariwise, his friend for his foe: what comfort have we then remaining in this vale of mortal miseries, but the unfeigned faith and affection of sure friends? whom the more they are, or the further off us, the more we fear, lest they be endangered by some of these infinite casualties attending on all men's fortunes. We stand not only in fear to see them afflicted by famine, war, sickness, imprisonment, or so, but our far greater fear is, lest they should fall away through treachery, malice, or deprivation. And when this comes to pass, and we hear of it (as the more friends we have, and the farther off withal, the likelier is such news to be brought us), then who can decipher our sorrows but he that has felt the like? we had rather hear of their death, though that we could not hear of either, except with grief. For seeing we enjoyed the comfort of their friendships in their life, how can we but be touched with sorrowful emotions at their death? he that forbids us that, may as well forbid all conference of friend and friend, all social courtesy, nay, even all human passion, and thrust them all out of man's conversation: or else prescribe their uses no pleasurable ends. But as that is impossible, so is it likewise for us not to bewail him dead whom we loved being alive. For the sorrow thereof is as a wound, or ulcer in our heart, unto which bewailments do serve in the stead of fomentations, and plasters. For though that the
without sounder one's understanding be, the sooner this cure is effected, yet it proves not but that there is a malady that requires one application or other. Therefore in all our bewailing more or less, of the deaths of our dearest friends or companions, we do yet reserve this love to them, that we had rather have them dead in body, than in soul, and had rather have them fall in essence, than in manners, for the last is the most dangerous infection upon earth, and therefore it was written, "Is not man's life a temptation upon earth?" Whereupon our Saviour said: "Woe be to the world because of offences;" and again: "Because iniquity shall be increased, the love of many shall wax cold." This makes us give thanks for the death of our good friends, and though it make us sad a while, yet it gives us more assurance of comfort ever after, because they have now escaped all those mischiefs which oftentimes seize upon the best, either oppressing, or perverting them, endangering them howsoever.

CHAPTER IX

The friendship of holy angels with men: indiscernible in this life, by reason of the devils, whom all the heathen took to be good powers, and gave them divine honours.

Now the society of angels with men (those whom the philosophers called the gods' guardians, Lares, and a number more names), they set in the fourth place, coming as it were from earth to the whole
universe, and here including heaven. Now for those (Nor can we now feel angels' sympathy.) we need not fear to be affected with sorrow for any death, or depravation of theirs, they are impassible. But this friendship between them and us is not visibly apparent as that of man's is: which adds unto our terrestrial misery. And again, the devil, as we read, often transforms himself into an angel of light to tempt men, some for their instruction, and some for their ruin: and here is need of the great mercy of God, lest when we think we have the love and fellowship of good angels, they prove at length pernicious devils, feigned friends, and subtle foes, as great in power as in deceit. And where is this great mercy of God so needed except in this worldly misery, which is so enveloped in ignorance, and subject to be deluded? As for the philosophers of the reprobate city, who said they had gods to their friends, most sure it was they had devils indeed whom they took for deities: all the whole state wherein they lived is the devil's monarchy, and shall have the like reward with his, unto all eternity. For their sacrifices, or rather sacrileges, wherewith they were honoured, and the obscene plays which they themselves exacted, were manifest testimonies of their diabolical natures.

CHAPTER X

The reward that the saints are to receive after the passing of this world’s afflictions.

Yea, the holy and faithful servants of the true God are in danger of the devil's manifold ambushes: for
Our hope looks for life eternal as long as they live in this frail and foul-browed world, they must be so, and it is for their good, making them more attentive in the quest of that security where their peace is without end, and without want. There shall the Creator bestow all the gifts of nature upon them, and give them not only as good things, but as eternal benefits, not only to the soul, by reforming it with wisdom, but also to the body, by restoring it in the resurrection. There the virtues shall not have any more conflicts with the vices, but shall rest with the victory of eternal peace, which none shall ever disturb. For it is the final beatitude, having now attained a consummation to all eternity. We are said to be happy here on earth when we have that little peace that goodness can afford us: but compare this happiness with that other, and this shall be held but plain misery. Therefore if we live well upon earth, our virtue uses the benefits of the transitory peace unto good ends, if we have it: if not, yet still our virtue uses the evils that the want thereof produces, unto a good end also. But then is our virtue in full power and perfection when it refers itself, and all the good effects it can give being unto either upon good or evil causes, unto that only end, wherein our peace shall have no end, nor anything superior unto it in goodness or perfection.

CHAPTER XI

The beatitude of eternal peace, and that true perfection wherein the saints are installed.

We may therefore say that peace is our final good, as we said of life eternal: because the psalm says
unto that city whereof we write this laborious work: and the
"Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem, praise thy Lord, O Sion: for He hath made fast the bars of thy gates, and blessed thy children within thee; He giveth peace in thy borders." When the bars of the gates are fast, as none can come in, so none can go out. And therefore this peace which we call final, is the borders and bounds of this city: for the mystical name hereof, Jerusalem, signifies, "a vision of peace:" but because the name of peace is ordinary in this world where eternity is not resident, therefore we choose rather to call the bound wherein the chief good of this city lies, "life eternal," rather than "peace." Of which end the apostle says, "Now being freed from sin, and made servants to God, ye have your fruit in holiness, and the end, everlasting life." But on the other side, because such as are ignorant in the Scriptures may take this "everlasting life" in an ill sense, for the life of the wicked, which is eternally evil, either, as some philosophers held, because the soul cannot die, or, as our faith teaches, because torments cannot cease: yet would not the wicked feel them eternally, unless they have also their eternal life: therefore the main end of this city's aim is, either to be called, Eternity in peace, or Peace in eternity, and thus it is plain to all. For the good of peace is generally the greatest wish of the world, and the most welcome when it comes. Whereof I think we may take leave of our reader, to have a word or two more, both because of the city's end, whereof we now speak, and of the sweetness of peace, which all men do love.
CHAPTER XII

That the bloodiest war's chief aim is peace: the desire of which is natural in man.

And this desire for peace will not confess this with me, who marks man's affairs, and the general form of nature? For joy and peace are desired alike of all men. The warrior would but conquer: war's aim is nothing but glorious peace: what is victory but a suppression of resistent, which being done, peace follows? So that peace is war's purpose, the scope of all military discipline, and the limit at which all just contentions level. All men seek peace by war, but none seek war by peace. For they that perturb the peace they live in, do it not for hate of it, but to shew their power in alteration of it. They would not disannul it, but they would have it as they like; and though they break into seditions from the rest, yet must they hold a peaceful force with their fellows that are engaged with them, or else they shall never effect what they intend. Even the thieves themselves that molest all the world besides them, are at peace amongst themselves. Admit one be so strong, or subtle that he will have no fellow, but plays all his parts of roguery alone, yet such as he can neither cut off, nor care to make known his deeds unto, with those he must needs hold a kind of peace. And at home, with his wife and family, there must he needs observe quietness, and questionless delights in their obedience unto him, which if they fail in, he chases, and chides and strikes, setting all in order by force if need be, or by cruelty: which he sees he cannot do, unless all the rest be subjected under one head, which is himself. And might he have the sway of a city, or province
in such sort as he has that of his house, he would put is natural
off his thievish nature, and put on a king's, albeit his
covetousness and malice remained unchanged. Thus
then you see that all men desire to have peace with
such as they would have live according to their
liking. For those against whom they wage war,
they would make their own if they could, and if they
conquer them they give them such laws as they like.
But let us imagine some such insociable fellow as the
poet's fable records, calling him half-man, for his
inhuman barbarism.

Now he although his kingdom lay in a lightless
cave, and his villainies so rare that they gave him
that great name of Cacus, which is, evil, though his
wife never had good word of him, he never played
with his children, nor ruled them in their manlier
age, never spoke with friend, nor so much as with
his father Vulcan (than whom he was far more
happy in that he begat no such monster as Vulcan
had in begetting him) though he never gave to any,
but robbed and reaved all that he could grip from all
manner of persons, yea and the persons themselves,
yet in that horrid dungeon of his, whose floor and
walls were always dank with the blood of new
slaughters, he desired nothing but to rest in peace
therein, without molestation. He desired also to be
at peace with himself, and what he had, he enjoyed,
he ruled over his own body, and to satisfy his own
hungry nature that menaced the separation of soul
and body, he fell to his robberies with celerity, and
though he were barbarous and bloody, yet in all
that, he had a care to provide for his life and safety:
and therefore if he would have had that peace with
others, which he had in the cave with himself alone,
he would neither have been called half-man nor
monster. But if it were his horrible shape and
breathing of fire that made men avoid him, then was it not will, but necessity that made him live in that cave and play the thief for his living. But there was no such man, or if there were, he was not such as the poets feign him. For unless they had mightily belied Cacus, they should not sufficiently have commended Hercules. But, as I said, it is likely that there was no such man, no more than is truth in many other of their fictions: for the very wild beasts (part of whose brutishness they place in him), do preserve a peace each with other in their kind, begetting, breeding, and living together amongst themselves, being otherwise the insociable births of the deserts: I speak not here of sheep, deer, pigeons, starlings or bees, but of lions, foxes, eagles, and owls. For what tiger is there that does not purr over her young ones, and fawn upon them in their tenderness? What kite is there, though he fly solitarily about for his prey, but will seek his female, build his nest, sit his eggs, feed his young, and assist his mate in her motherly duty, all that in him lies? Far stronger are the bands that bind man unto society, and peace with all that are peaceable: the worst men of all do fight for their fellows' quietness, and would (if it lay in their power) reduce all into a distinct form of state, drawn by themselves, whereof they would be the heads, which could never be, but by a coherence either through fear or love. For herein is perverse pride an imitator of the goodness of God, having equality of others with itself under Him, and laying a yoke of obedience upon its fellows, under itself, instead of Him: thus hates it the just peace of God, and builds an unjust one for itself. Yet can it not but love peace, for no vice however unnatural, can pull nature up by the roots. But he that can discern between good and bad, and
between order and confusion, may soon distinguish the godly peace from the wicked. Now that perverse confusion must be reformed by the better disposing of the thing wherein it is, if it be at all, as, for example: hang a man up with his head downwards, all his posture is confounded, that which should be lowest, having the highest place, and so contrary this confusion disturbs the flesh, and is troublesome to it. But it is the soul's peace with the body that causes the feeling of that disturbance. Now if the soul leave the body by the means of those troubles, yet as long as the body's form remains it has a certain peace with itself, and in the very manner of hanging, shews that it desires to be placed in the peace of nature, the very weight, seeming to demand a place for rest, and though life be gone, yet very nature sways it unto that order wherein she placed it. For if the dead body be preserved from putrefaction by unguents, and embalmings, yet the peace of nature is kept, for the body's weight is applied thereby to an earthly sympathising site, and convenient place for it to rest in. But if it be not embalmed, but left to nature's dissolving, it is so long altered by ill-tasting vapours, until each part be wholly reduced to the particular natures of the elements, yet is not a tittle of the Creator's all-disposing law controlled: for if there grow out of this carcase, a many more living creatures, each body of these, serves the quantity of life that is in it, according to the same law of creation. And if that be devoured up, by other ravenous beasts or birds, it shall follow the ordinance of the same law, disposing all things congruently, into what form of nature soever it be changed.
CHAPTER XIII

Of that universal peace which no perturbances can seclude from the law of nature, God's just judgments disposing of every one according to his proper desert.

The body's peace therefore is an orderly disposal of the parts thereof: the unreasonable soul's, a good temperature of the appetites thereof: the reasonable soul's, a true harmony between the knowledge, and the performance. That of body and soul alike, a temperate and undisease habit of nature in the whole creature. The peace of mortal man with immortal God, is an orderly obedience unto His eternal law, performed in faith. Peace of man and man, is a mutual concord: peace of a family, an orderly rule and subjection amongst the parts thereof: peace of a city, an orderly command, and obedience amongst the citizens: peace of God's City a most orderly coherence in God, and fruition of God: peace of all things, is a well disposed order. For order, is a good disposition of discrepant parts, each in the fittest place, and therefore the miserable (as they are miserable), are out of order, wanting that peaceable and unperturbed state which order exacts. But because their own merits have incurred this misery, therefore even herein they are imposed in a certain set order howsoever. Being not conjoined with the blessed, but severed from them by the law of order, and being exposed to miseries, yet these are adapted unto the places wherein they are resident, and so are digested into some kind of methodical form, and consequently into some peaceful order. But this is their misery, that although that some little security wherein they live, may
exempt them from present sorrows, yet are they not in that state which excludes sorrow for ever, and affords eternal security. And their misery is far greater if they want the peace of nature: and when they are offended, the part that grieves is the first disturber of their peace: for that which is neither offended, nor dissolved, preserves the peace of nature still. So then as one may possibly live without grief, but cannot possibly grieve unless he live: so may there be peace without any war or contention: but contention cannot be without some peace (not as it is contention, but), because the contenders do suffer and perform diverse things herein according to nature's prescript, which things could not consist, had they not some peaceful order amongst them. So that there may be a nature (you see) where no evil may have inherence, but to find a nature utterly void of goodness, is utterly impossible. For the very nature of the devils (considered as nature) is most excellent, but their own voluntary perverseness depraved it. The devil abode not in the truth, yet escaped he not the sentence of the truth: for he transgressed the peaceful law of order, yet could not avoid the powerful hand of the Orderer.

The good which God had bestowed on his nature, cleared him not from God's heavy judgment which allotted him to punishment. Yet does not God herein punish the good which Himself created, but the evil which the devil committed: nor did He take away his whole nature from him, but left him part, whereby to bewail the loss of the rest: which lamentation, testifies both what he had and what he has: for had he not some good left, he could not lament for what he had lost. For his guilt is the greater that having lost all his uprightness, should rejoice at the loss thereof. And he that is sick, if he
of eternal peace. benefit him nothing yet grieves at the loss of his health. For uprightness and health being both good in themselves, it behoves the losers of them to mourn, and not to rejoice, unless this loss be repaired with better recompence, as uprightness of mind is better than health of body; but far more reason has the sinner to lament in his suffering than to rejoice in his transgression. Therefore even as to rejoice at the loss of goodness in sinning, argues a depraved will: so likewise lament for the same loss, in suffering, proves a good nature. For he that bewails the loss of his natural peace, has his light from the remainder of that peace, which are left in him, keeping his nature and him in concord.

And in the last judgment, it is but reasonable that the wicked should deplore the loss of their natural goods, and feel God's hand justly heavy in depriving them of them, whom they scornfully respected not in the bestowing them upon them. Wherefore the high God, nature's wisest Creature, and most just Disposer, the Parent of the world's fairest wonder (mankind) bestowed divers good things upon him, which serve for this life only, as the worldly and temporal peace, kept by honest coherence and society: together with all the adjuncts of this peace, as the visible light, the spirable air; the potable water; and all the other necessaries of meat, drink, and clothing: but with this condition, that he that shall use them in their due manner, and reference unto human peace, shall be rewarded with gifts of far greater moment, namely with the peace of immortality, and with unshaded glory, and full fruition of God, and his brother, in the same God: but he that uses them amiss, shall neither partake of the former nor the latter.
CHAPTER XIV

Of the law of Heaven and Earth which sways human society by counsel and unto which counsel human society is obedient.

All temporal things are referred unto the benefit of the peace which is resident in the terrestrial city, by the members thereof: and unto the use of the eternal peace, by the citizens of the Heavenly society. Wherefore if we wanted reason, we should desire only an orderly state of body, and a good temperature of desires: nothing but fleshly ease, and fulness of pleasure. For the peace of the body augments the quiet of the soul: and if it be awanting, it procures a disturbance even in brute beasts, because the emotions have not their true temperature.

Now both these combined add unto the peace of soul and body both, that is, unto the healthful order of life. For as all creatures shew how they desire their bodies’ peace, in avoiding the causes of their hurt: and their souls’, in following their appetites when need requires: so in flying of death; they make it as apparent how much they set by their peace of soul and body. But man having a reasonable soul, subjects all his actions common to animals, unto the peace of that, to work so both in his contemplation and action, that there may be a true consonance between them both, and this we call the peace of the reasonable soul. To this end he is to avoid molestation by grief, disturbance by desire, and dissolution by death, and to aim at profitable knowledge, whereunto his actions may be conformable. But lest his own infirmity, through the much desire to know, should draw him into any pestilent inconveni-
to the ence of error, he must have a divine instruction, to obtaining of lasting peace.

And because that during this life, "He is absent from the Lord, he walketh by faith, and not by sight," and therefore he refers all his peace of body, of soul, and of both, unto that peace which mortal man has with immortal God: to live in an orderly obedience under His eternal law, by faith.

Now God, our good Master, teaching us in the two great commandments the love of Him, and the love of our neighbour, to love three things, God, our neighbour, and ourselves, and seeing he that loves God, offends not in loving himself; it follows that he ought to counsel his neighbour to love God, and to provide for him in the love of God, sure he is commanded to love him, as his own self. So must he do for his wife, children, family, and all men besides: and wish likewise that his neighbour would do as much for him, in his need: thus shall he be settled in peace and orderly concord with all the world. The order whereof is, first, to do no man hurt, and secondly, to help all that he can. So that his own have the first place in his care, and those, his place and order in human society affords him more conveniency to benefit. Whereupon St. Paul says, "He that provideth not for his own, and, namely, for them that be of his household, denieth the faith, and is worse than an infidel." For this is the foundation of domestic peace, which is, an orderly rule, and subjection in the parts of the family, wherein the provisors are the commanders, as the husband over his wife; parents over their children, and masters over their servants: and they that are provided for, obey, as the wives do their husbands, children their parents, and servants their masters. But in the family
of the faithful man, the heavenly pilgrim, there the commanders are indeed the servants of those they seem to command: ruling not in ambition, but being bound by careful duty: not in proud sovereignty, but in nourishing pity.

CHAPTER XV

Nature's freedom, and bondage, caused by sin: in which man is a slave to his own passions, though he be not bondman to any one besides.

Thus has nature's order prescribed, and man by God was thus created. "Let them rule," saith He, "over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and over every thing that creepeth upon the earth." He made him reasonable, and lord only over the unreasonable, not over man, but over beasts. Whereupon the first holy men were rather shepherds than kings, God shewing herein what both the order of the creation desired, and what the merit of sin exacted. For justly was the burden of servitude laid upon the back of transgression. And therefore in all the Scriptures we never read the word servant, until such time as that just man Noah laid it as a curse upon his offending son. So that it was guilt, and not nature that gave original unto that name. The Latin word servus, had the first derivation from hence: those that were taken in the wars, being in the hands of the conquerors to massacre or to preserve, if they saved them, then were they called servi, of servo, "to save." Nor was this effected beyond the desert of sin. For in the justest war, the sin upon one side causes it; and if the victory fall to the wicked (as sometimes it may) it is God's decree
to humble the conquered, either reforming their sins herein, or punishing them. Witness that holy man of God, Daniel, who, being in captivity, confessed unto his Creator that his sins, and the sins of the people were the real causes of that captivity.

Sin therefore is the mother of servitude, and first cause of man's subjection to man: which notwithstanding comes not to pass but by the direction of the highest, in whom is no injustice, and who alone knows best how to proportionate his punishment unto man's offences: and he himself says: "Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin," and therefore many religious Christians are servants unto wicked masters, yet not unto freemen, for that which a man is addicted unto, the same is he slave unto. And it is a happier servitude to serve man than lust: for lust (to omit all the other passions) practises extreme tyranny upon the hearts of those that serve it, be it lust after sovereignty or fleshly lust. But in the peaceful orders of states, wherein one man is under another, as humility does benefit the servant, so does pride endamage the superior. But take a man as God created him at first, and so he is neither slave to man nor to sin. But penal servitude had the institution from that law which commands the conservation, and forbids the disturbance of nature's order: for if that law had not first been transgressed, penal servitude had never been enjoined.

Therefore the apostle warns servants to obey their masters and to serve them with cheerfulness, and good will: to the end that if they cannot be made free by their masters, they make their servitude a freedom to themselves, by serving them, not in deceitful fear, but in faithful love, until iniquity be overpassed, and all man's power and principality disannulled, and God only be all in all.
CHAPTER XVI

Of the just law of sovereignty.

Wherefore although our righteous forefathers had servants in their families, and according to their temporal estates, made a distinction between their servants and their children, yet in matter of religion (the fountain whence all eternal good flows), they provided for all their household with an equal respect unto each member thereof. This, nature’s order prescribed, and hence came the name of, “The Father of the family,” a name which even the worst masters love to be called by. But such as merit that name truly, do care that all their families should continue in the service of God, as if they were all their own children, desiring that they should all be placed in the household of heaven, where command is wholly unnecessary, because then they are past their charge, having attained immortality, which until they be installed in, the masters are to endure more labour in their government, than the servants in their service. If any be disobedient, and offend this just peace, he is forthwith to be corrected, with strokes, or some other convenient punishment, whereby he may be re-ingrained into the peaceful stock from whence his disobedience has torn him. For as it is no good turn to help a man unto a smaller good by the loss of a greater: no more is it the part of innocence by pardoning a small offence, to let it grow unto a fouler. It is the duty of an innocent to hurt no man, but, withal, to curb sin in all he can, and to correct sin in whom he can, that the sinner’s correction may be profitable to himself, and his example a terror unto others. Every family then being part of the city,
Yet in spite of this sympathy every beginning having relation unto some end, and every part tending to the integrity of the whole, it follows apparently, that the family's peace adheres unto the city's, that is, the orderly command, and obedience in the family, has real reference to the orderly rule and subjection in the city. So that "the father of the family" may fetch his instructions from the city's government, whereby he may proportionate the peace of his private estate, by that of the common.

CHAPTER XVII

The grounds of the concord and discord between the cities of heaven and earth.

But they that live not according to faith, angle for all their peace in the sea of temporal profits: whereas the righteous live in full expectation of the glories to come, using the occurrences of this world, but as pilgrims, not to abandon their course towards God for mortal respects, but thereby to assist the infirmity of the corruptible flesh, and make it more able to encounter with toil and trouble. Wherefore the necessaries of this life are common, both to the faithful and the infidel, and to both their families: but the ends of their two usages thereof are far different.

The faithless, "worldly city" aims at earthly peace, and settles the self therein, only to have an uniformity of the citizens' wills in matters only pertaining to mortality. And the "Heavenly City," or rather that part thereof, which is as yet a pilgrim on earth and lives by faith, uses this peace also: as it
should, it leaves this mortal life, wherein such a peace is requisite, and therefore lives (while it is here on earth) as if it were in captivity, and having received the promise of redemption, and divers spiritual gifts as seals thereof, it willingly obeys such laws of the “temporal city” as order the things pertaining to the sustenance of this mortal life, to the end that both the cities might observe a peace in such things as are pertinent hereunto. But because that the “earthly city” has some members whom the Holy Scriptures utterly disallow, and who standing either too well affected to the devils, or being deluded by them, believed that each thing had a peculiar deity over it, and belonged to the charge of a several god: as the body to one, the soul to another, and in the body itself the head to one, the neck to another, and so of every member: as likewise of the soul, one had the wit, another the learning, a third the wrath, a fourth the desire: as also in other necessaries or accidents belonging to man’s life, the cattle, the corn, the wine, the oil, the woods, the monies, the navigation, the wars, the marriages, the generations, each being a several charge unto a particular power, whereas the citizens of the “Heavenly State” acknowledged but one only God, to whom that worship, which is called λατρεία was peculiarly and solely due; hence came it that the “two hierarchies” could not be combined in one religion, but must needs dissent herein, so that the good part was fain to bear the pride and persecution of the bad, had not their own multitude sometimes, and the providence of God continually stood for their protection.

This “celestial society” while it is here on earth, increases itself out of all languages, never respecting the temporal laws that are made against so good and religious a practice: yet not breaking, but observing
though it respects social order.

their diversity in divers nations, all which do tend unto the preservation of earthly peace, if they oppose not the adoration of one only God. So that you see, the “Heavenly City” observes and respects this temporal peace here on earth, and the coherence of men’s wills in honest morality, as far as it may with a safe conscience; yea, and so far desires it, making use of it for the attainment of the peace eternal: which is so truly worthy of that name, as that the orderly and uniform combination of men in the fruition of God, and of one another in God, is to be accounted the reasonable creature’s only peace, which being once attained, mortality is banished, and life then is the true life indeed, nor is the carnal body any more an encumbrance to the soul, by corruptibility, but is now become spiritual, perfected and entirely subject unto the sovereignty of the will.

This peace is that unto which the pilgrim in faith refers the other which he has here in his pilgrimage, and then lives he according to faith, when all that he does for the obtaining hereof is by himself referred unto God, and his neighbour withal, because being a citizen, he must not be all for himself, but sociable in his life and actions.

CHAPTER XVIII

That the doubtful doctrine of the new Academy opposes the constancy of Christianity.

As for the new Academicians, whom Varro avouches to hold no certainty but this, “That all things are uncertain:” the Church of God detests these doubts
as madness, having a most certain knowledge of the things it apprehends, although but in small quantity, because of the corruptible body which is a burden to the soul, and because, as the apostle says, “We know (but) in part.” Besides it believes the evidence of the senses in objects, of which the mind judges by the sensitive organs, though he would be in a gross error that trusts entirely in them: it believes also the holy canonical Scriptures, both old and new, from which the just man has his faith, by which he lives, and wherein we all walk without doubt, as long as we are in our pilgrimage, and personally absent from God: and this faith being kept firm, we may lawfully doubt all such other things as are not manifested unto us either by sense, reason, Scripture, nor testimony of grounded authority.

CHAPTER XIX

Of the dress and habits belonging to a Christian.

It is nothing to the City of God what attire the citizens wear, or what rules they observe, as long as they contradict not God’s holy precepts, but each one keep the faith, the true path to salvation: and therefore when a Philosopher becomes a Christian, they never make him alter his habit nor his manners, which are no hindrance to his religion, but his false opinions. They respect not Varro’s distinction of the Cynics, as long as they forbear unclean and intemperate actions. But as concerning the three kinds of life, active, contemplative, and the mean between both, although one may keep the faith in any of those courses, yet there
is a difference between the love of the truth and the duties of charity. One may not be so given to contemplation, that he neglect the good of his neighbour: nor so far in love with action that he forget Divine speculation. In contemplation one may not seek for idleness, but for truth; to benefit himself by the knowledge thereof, and not to grudge to impart it unto others. In action one may not aim at highness or honour, because "all under the sun is mere vanity;" but to perform the work of a superior unto the true end, that is, unto the benefit and salvation of the subject, as we said before, and this made the apostle say, "If any man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work:" what this office was, he explains not; it is an office of labour, and not of honour. The Greek word signifies that he that is herein installed, is to watch over his people that are under him: Episcopus, a bishop, comes of εἰσπορευόμεθα, which is, "over," and στηρίζομαι, which is, "a watching," or "an attendance:" so that we may very well translate εἰσπορευόμεθα, "a superintendent," to shew that he is no true bishop, who desires rather to be lordly himself, than profitable unto others. No man therefore is forbidden to proceed in a laudable form of contemplation. But to affect sovereignty, though the people must be governed, and though the place be well discharged, yet notwithstanding is liable to be deemed unfitting. Wherefore the love of truth requires a holy retiredness: and the necessity of charity, a just employment, which if it be not imposed upon us, we ought not to seek it, but betake ourselves wholly to the holy search after truth: but if we be called forth unto a place, the law and need of charity binds us to undertake it. Yet may we not for all this, give over our first resolution, lest we lose the sweetness of that, and be surcharged with the weight of the other.
Hope, the bliss of the heavenly citizens, during this life.

Then therefore is the good of the "holy society" perfect, when their peace is established in eternity: not running any more in succession as mortal men do in life and death, one to another: but confirmed unto them together with their immortality for ever, without touch of the least imperfection. What man is he that would not account such an estate most happy, or comparing it with that which man has here upon earth, would not avouch this latter to be most miserable, were it never so well fraught with temporal conveniences? yet he that has the latter in possession, and applies it all unto the use of his hope's firm and faithful object: the former may not unfitly be called happy already, but that is rather in his expectation of the first, than in his fruition of the latter. For this possession without the other hope, is a false beatitude, and a most true misery. For herein is no use of the mind's truest good, because there wants the true wisdom, which in the prudent discretion, resolute performance, temperate restraint, and just distribution of these things, should refer his intent in all these, unto that end, where God shall be all in all, where eternity shall be firm, and peace most perfect and absolute.
CHAPTER XXI

Whether the City of Rome had ever a true commonwealth, according to Scipio's definition of a commonwealth, in Tully.

Now it is time to perform a promise which I passed in the second book of this work: and that was, to shew that Rome never had a true commonwealth as Scipio defines one in Tully's book De Republica. His definition was: a commonwealth is the estate of the people, Respublica est res populi. If this be true, Rome never had any, for it never had an estate of the people, which he defines the commonwealth by: for, he defines the people to be a multitude, united in one consent of law and profit: what he means by a consent of law, he shews himself: and shews thereby that a state cannot stand without justice: so that where true justice is wanting, there can be no law. For what law does, justice does, and what is done unjustly, is done unlawfully. For we may not imagine men's unjust decrees to be laws: all men defining law to arise out of the fountain of justice; and that that same unjust assertion of some, is utterly false: "That is law which is profitable unto the greatest." So then, where justice is not, there can be no society united in one consent of law, therefore no people, according to Scipio's definitions in Tully. If no people, then no estate of the people, but rather of a confused multitude, unworthy of a people's name. If then the commonwealth be an estate of the people, and that they be no people that are not united in one consent of law: nor that a law, which is not grounded upon justice: then it must needs follow, that where no justice is, there no commonwealth is. Now then
ad propositum: justice is a virtue distributing unto everyone his due. What justice is that then, that takes man from the true God, and gives him unto the condemned fiends? is this distribution of due? is he that takes away thy possessions, and gives them to one that has no claim to them, guilty of injustice, and is not he so likewise, that takes himself away from his Lord God, and gives himself to the service of the devil? There are wise and powerful disputations in those books, De Republica, for justice against injustice. Wherein, it having first been argued for injustice, against justice, and averred that a state could not stand without injustice; and this brought as a principal confirmation hereof, that it is injustice for man to rule over man, and yet if the city whose dominion is so large, should not observe this form of injustice, she could never keep the provinces under. Unto this it was answered on the behalf of justice, that this was a just course, it being profitable for such to serve, and for their good to wit, when the power to do hurt is taken from the wicked, they will carry themselves better being curbed, because they carried themselves so badly before they were curbed. To confirm this answer this notable example was alleged, as being fetched from nature itself: “If it were unjust to rule, why does God rule over man, the soul over the body, reason over lust, and all the mind’s other vicious affections?” This example teaches plain that it is good for some to serve in particular, and it is good for all to serve God in general. And the mind serving God, is lawful Lord over the body: so is reason being subject unto God, over the lusts and other vices. Wherefore if man serve not God, what justice can be thought to be in him? seeing that if he serve not Him the soul has neither lawful sovereignty over the body, nor the reason over the
affections: now if this justice cannot be found in one man, no more can it then in a whole multitude of such like men. Therefore amongst such there is not that consent of law which makes a multitude a people, whose estate makes a commonwealth: what need I speak of the profit, that is named in the definition of a people? for although that none live profitably that live wickedly, that serve not God but the devils (who are so much the more wicked in that they being most filthy creatures, dare exact sacrifices as if they were gods): yet I think that what I have said of the consent of law may serve to shew that they were no people whose estate might make a weal-public, having no justice amongst them. If they say they did not serve devils, but holy gods, what need we rehearse that here which we said so often before? Who is he that has read over this work unto this chapter, and yet doubts whether they were devils that the Romans worshipped or no? unless he be either senselessly thick-headed, or shamelessly contentious? But to leave the powers that they offered unto, take this place of holy writ for all: "He that sacrificeth unto gods, shall be rooted out, save unto one God alone." He that taught this in such threatening manner will have no gods sacrificed unto, be they good or be they bad.

CHAPTER XXII

Whether Christ, the Christians' God, be He unto whom only sacrifice is to be offered.

But they may reply: Who is that God? or how prove you Him to be worthy of all the Romans'
sacrifices, and none besides Him to have any part? Oh, it is a sign of great blindness, to have yet to learn who that God is! It is He whose prophets foretold what our own eyes saw effected: it is He that told Abraham, "In thy seed shall all the nations be blessed," which the remainders of the haters of Christianity do know, whether they will or no, to have been fulfilled in Christ, descended from Abraham in the flesh. It is that God whose Spirit spake in them whose prophecies the whole Church beholds fulfilled: the whole Church spread over the face of the whole earth, beholds them, and in that were they fulfilled which I related in my former books. It is that God whom Varro called the Romans' Jove, though he know not what he says, yet this I add because that so great a scholar thought him to be neither no God at all, nor one of the meanest, for he thought that this was the great God of all. Briefly, it is even that God whom that learned Philosopher Porphyry (albeit he was a deadly foe to Christianity) acknowledged to be the highest God, even by the Oracles of those whom he called the inferior gods.

CHAPTER XXIII

Porphyry's relation of the Oracles touching Christ.

For he in his books which he entitles θεολογία φιλοσοφίας, "The divinity of Philosophy," wherein he sets down the Oracles' answers in things belonging to philosophy, has something to this purpose, and thus it is from the Greek: "One went," says he,
"unto the Oracle, and asked unto what God he should sacrifice to obtain his wife's conversion from Christianity:" Apollo answered him thus: "Thou mayest sooner write legible letters upon the water, or get thee wings to fly through air like a bird, than revoke thy wife from her polluted opinion. Let her run after her mad opinions, as long as she list; let her honour that dead God with her false lamentations, whom the wise and well-advised judges condemned, and whom a shameful death upon the cross despatched." Thus far the Oracle; the Greek is in verse but our language will not bear it. After these verses, Porphyry adds this: "Behold how remediless their erroneous belief is; because as Apollo said, quoth he, the Jews do deceive God with means greater than others." Hear you this? he disgraces and obscures Christ, and yet says, "The Jews receive God," for so he interprets the Oracle's verses, where they say that Christ was condemned by well-advised judges, as though He had been lawfully condemned and justly executed. This lying priest's Oracle let him look unto, and believe if he like: but it may very well be that the Oracle gave no such answer, but that this is a mere fiction of his. How he reconciles the Oracles, and agrees with himself, we shall see by-and-by. But, by the way, here he says that the Jews, as the receivers of God, judged aright in doing Christ to so ignominious and cruel a death. So then to the Jews God said well in saying, "He that sacrificeth unto many gods shall be rooted out, save unto one God only." But to proceed, let us go to more manifest matter, and hear what he makes of the Jews' God. He asked Apollo which was better, "The word, or the law:" and he answered thus (says he), and then he adds the answer, I will relate as much of
it as is necessary: "Upon God the Creator, and upon testimony the King before all things, who maketh heaven and earth, the sea, and hell, yea and all the gods to tremble: the law is their father, whom the holy Hebrews do adore. This glory does Porphyry give the Hebrew God, from his god Apollo, that the very deities do tremble before Him. So then this God having said, "He that sacrifices unto many gods shall be rooted out," I wonder that Porphyry was not afraid to be rooted out for offering to so many gods. Nay, this fellow speaks well of Christ afterwards, as forgetting the reproach he offered Him before: as if in their dreams, his gods had scorned Christ, and being awake, commended Him, and acknowledged His goodness. Finally, as if he meant to speak some marvellous matter: "It may exceed all belief," says he, "which I am now to deliver: the gods affirmed Christ to be a man most godly, and immortalised for His goodness, giving Him great commendations: but for the Christians, they avouch them to be persons stained with all corruption and error: and give them all the soul words that may be." Then he relates the oracles which blaspheme the Christian religion, and afterwards, Hecate, says he, being asked if Christ were God, replied thus: "His soul, being severed from His body, became immortal; but it wanders about void of all wisdom: it was the soul of a most worthy man, whom now those that forsake the truth do worship." And then he adds his own sayings upon this oracle, in this manner. "The goddess therefore called Him a most godly man, and that the deluded Christians do worship His soul, being made immortal after death, as other godly souls are." Now, being asked why He was condemned then? she answered: "His body was
(Jewish god condemned to torments, but His soul sits above in heaven, and gives all those souls unto error by destiny, who cannot attain the gifts of the gods, or come to the knowledge of immortal love. And therefore are they hated of the gods, because they neither acknowledge them nor receive their gifts, but are destined unto error by Him: now He Himself was godly, and went up to heaven as godly men do. Therefore blaspheme not Him, but pity the poor fools whom He has bound in error."

What man is there so fond that cannot observe that these oracles are either directly feigned by this crafty foe of Christianity, or else the devil’s own tricks to this end, that in praising Christ they might seem truly to reprehend the Christian profession? and so, if they could, to stop man’s entrance into Christianity, the sole way unto salvation? for they think it no prejudice to their many-formed deceit, to be believed in praising of Christ as long as they be believed also in dispraising the Christian, so that he that believes them must be a commender of Christ, and yet a contemner of His religion. And thus although he honour Christ, yet shall not Christ free him from the clutches of the devil, because they give Christ such a kind of praise, as whoso believes to be true shall be far from true Christianity, and rather than otherwise, of Photinus’ heresy who held Christ to be only man, and no God at all: so that such a believer should never be saved by Christ, nor cleared of the devil’s fowling nets.

But we will neither believe Apollo in his depravation, nor Hecate in her commendation of Christ. He will have Christ a wicked man, and justly condemned; she will have Him a most godly man, and yet but only man. But both agree in this, they would have no Christians, because all but Christians
are in their clutches. But let this philosopher, or superior
they that give credence to those oracles against
Christianity, if they can reconcile Apollo and
Hecate, and make them both tell one tale, either in
Christ's praise or dispraise. Which if they could
do, yet would we avoid them, as deceitful devils,
both in their good words and in their bad. But
seeing this god and this goddess cannot agree about
Christ, truly men have no reason to believe or obey
them in forbidding Christianity. Truly either
Porphyry or Hecate in these commendations of
Christ, affirming that He destined the Christians to
error, yet goes about to shew the causes of this
error; which before I relate, I will ask him this one
question: If Christ did predestinate all Christians
unto error, whether did He this wittingly or against
His will? If He did it wittingly, how then can
He be just? if it were against His will, how can
He then be happy? But now to the causes of this
error. There are some spirits of the earth, says he,
which are under the rule of the evil demons. These,
the Hebrew wise men (whereof Jesus was one, as
the divine oracle, declared before, does testify) for-
bade the religious persons to meddle withal, advising
them to attend the celestial powers, and especially
God the Father, with all the reverence they possibly
could. And this, says he, the gods also do com-
mand us, as we have already shewn, how they ad-
monish us to reverence God in all places. But the
ignorant and wicked, having no divine gift, nor any
knowledge of that great and immortal love, nor
following the precepts of the gods or good men,
have cast all the deities at their heels, choosing not
only to respect, but even to reverence those depraved
demons. And whereas they profess the service of
God, they do nothing belonging to His service.
There is no true state for God is the Father of all things, and stands not in need of anything: and it is well for us to exhibit Him His worship in chastity, justice, and the other virtues, making our whole life a continual prayer unto Him, by our search and imitation of Him. For our search of Him, quothe, purifies us, and our imitation of Him defies the effects in ourselves. Thus well has he taught God the Father unto us, and us how to offer our service unto Him. The Hebrew prophets are full of such holy precepts, concerning both the commendation and reformation of the saints' lives. But as concerning Christianity, there he errs, and slanders, as far as his devil's pleasure is, those whom he holds deities: as though it were so hard a matter, out of the obscenities practised and published in their temples and the true worship and doctrine presented before God in our churches, to discern where manners were reformed and where they were ruined. Who but the devil himself could inspire him with so shameless a falsification, as to say that the Christians do rather honour than detest the devils whose adoration was forbidden by the Hebrews? No, that God whom the Hebrews adored, will not allow any sacrifice unto His holiest angels (whom we that are pilgrims on earth, do notwithstanding love and reverence as most sanctified members of the city of heaven) but forbids it directly in this thundering menace: "He that sacrificeth unto gods, shall be rooted out," and lest it should be thought He meant only of the earthly spirits, whom this fellow calls the lesser powers, and whom the Scripture also calls gods (not of the Hebrews, but the heathens), as is evident in that one place, Psalm xcvi. 5: "For all the gods of the heathen are devils:" lest any should imagine that the foresaid prohibition extended no further than these devils, or that it con-
cerned not the offering to the celestial spirits, he except adds: "save only the Lord alone, but unto one God only." Some may take the words, nisi domino soli, to be "unto the Lord, the Son:" and so understand the place to be meant of Apollo, but [the original, and] the Greek translations do subvert all such misprision. So then the Hebrew God, so highly commended by this philosopher, gave the Hebrews a law in their own language, not obscure or uncertain, but already scattered throughout all the world, wherein this cause was literally contained: "He that sacrificeth unto gods shall be rooted out, save only unto the Lord." What need we make any further search into the law and the prophets concerning this? nay, what need we search at all, they are so plain and so manifold, that what need I stand aggravating my disputation with any multitudes of those places, that exclude all powers of heaven and earth from participating of the honours due unto God alone? Behold this one place, spoken in brief, but in powerful manner by the mouth of that God whom the wisest Ethnics do so highly extol; let us mark it, fear it, and observe it, lest we also be rooted out: "He that sacrificeth unto more gods than that true and only Lord, shall be rooted out:" yet God Himself is far from needing any of our services, but all that we do herein is for the good of our own souls. Hereupon the Hebrews say in their holy Psalms: "I have said unto the Lord, Thou art my God, my well-doing is nothing unto Thee:" no, we ourselves are the best and most excellent sacrifice that He can have offered Him. It is His city whose mystery we celebrate in such oblations as the faithful do full well understand, as I said once already. For the ceasing of all the typical offerings that were exhibited by the Jews, and the ordaining
alone is of one sacrifice, to be offered through the whole world from East to West (as now we see it is) was prophesied long before, from God, by the mouths of holy Hebrews: whom we have cited, as much as needed, in convenient places of this our work.

Therefore to conclude, where there is not this justice that God rules all alone over the society that obeys Him by grace, and yields to His prohibition a sacrifice unto all but Himself, and where in every member belonging to this heavenly society, the soul is lord over the body, and all the bad effects thereof, in the obedience of God, and an orderly form, so that all the just (as well as one) live according to faith which works by love, in which a man loves God as he should, and his neighbour as himself; where this justice is not, there is no society of men combined in one uniformity of law and profit: consequently, no true state popular (if that definition hold touch), and finally no commonwealth; for where the people have no certain state, the general has no exact form.

CHAPTER XXIV

A definition of a people by which both the Romans and other kingdoms may challenge themselves commonwealths.

But omit the former definition of a people, and take this: “A people is a multitude of reasonable creatures conjoined in a general communication of those things it respects:’” and then to discern the state of the people, you must first consider what those things are. But whatever they be, where there is a
multitude of men, conjoined in a common fruition of what they properly desire, there may fitly be said to a people: the better that their higher interests are, the better are they themselves, and otherwise, the worse. By this definition, Rome had a people, and consequently a commonwealth: what they embraced at the first, and what afterwards, what goodness they changed into bloodiness, what concord they forsook for seditions, confederacies and civil wars, history can testify, and we (in part) have already related. Yet this does not bar them the name of a people, nor their state from the style of a commonwealth, as long as they bear this our last definition unimpaired. And what I have said of them, I may say of the Athenians, the Greeks in general, the Egyptians, and the Assyrian Babylonians, were their dominions great or little, and so of all nations in the world. For in the “City of the wicked,” where God does not govern and men obey, sacrificing unto Him alone, and consequently where the soul does not rule the body, nor reason the passions, there is generally found wanting the virtue of true justice.

CHAPTER XXV

That there can be no true virtue where there is no true religion.

For though there be a seeming of these things, yet if the soul and the reason serve not God, as He has taught them how to serve Him, they can never have true dominion over the body, nor over the passions: for how can that soul have any true measure of this
We are pilgrims here.

We are decorum, that knows not God, nor serves His greatness, but is prostituted with the influence of the unclean and filthy devils? No, those things which she seems to account virtues, and thereby to sway her affections, if they be not all referred unto God, are indeed rather vices than virtues. For although some hold them to be real virtues, when they are desired only for their own account, and nothing else; yet even so they incur vainglory, and so lose their true goodness. For as it is not of the flesh, but above the flesh, that animates the body; so it is not of man, but above man, which beatifies the mind of man, yea, and of all the powers of the heavens.

CHAPTER XXVI

The peace of God's enemies, useful to the piety of His friends as long as their earthly pilgrimage lasts.

Wherefore, as the soul is the flesh's life, so is God the beatitude of man, as the Hebrew's holy writ affirms: "Blessed is the people whose God is the Lord;" wretched then are they that are strangers to that God, and yet have those a kind of allowable peace, but that they shall not have for ever, because they used it not well when they had it. But that they should have it in this life is for our good also; because that during our commixture with Babylon, we ourselves make use of her peace, and faith does free the people of God at length out of her, yet so, as in the meantime we live as pilgrims in her. And therefore the apostle admonished the Church, to pray for the kings and potentates of that earthly city,
adding this reason, "That we may lead a quiet life Our peace in all godliness and charity." And the prophet is incom-
Jeremiah, foretelling the captivity of God's ancient people, commanding them (from the Lord) to go peaceably and patiently to Babylon, advised them also to pray, saying, "For in her peace shall be your peace," meaning that temporal peace which is common both to good and bad.

CHAPTER XXVII

The peace of God's servants, the fulness whereof it is impossible in this life to comprehend.

But as for our proper peace, we have it double with God: here below by faith, and hereafter above by sight. But all the peace we have here, be it public or peculiar, is rather a solace to our misery, than any assurance of our felicity. And for our righteousness, although it be truly such, because the end is the true good whereunto it is referred, yet as long as we live here, it consists rather of sin's remission, than of virtue's perfection; witness that prayer which all God's pilgrims use, and every member of His holy city, crying daily unto Him, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." Nor does this prayer benefit them whose faith, wanting works, is dead, but them whose faith works by love: for, because our reason though it be subject unto God, yet as long as it is in the corruptible body, which burdens the soul, cannot have the affections under perfect obedience, therefore the justest man stands in need of this prayer. For though that reason have the conquest, it is not without combat.
And still one touch of infirmity or other, creeps upon the best conqueror, even when he hopes that he holds all viciousness under, making him fall either by some vain word, or some inordinate thought, if it bring him not unto actual error. And therefore as long as we overrule sin, our peace is imperfect: because both the affections not as yet conquered are subdued by dangerous conflict, and they that are under already do deny us all security, and keep us doing in a continual and careful command. So then, in all these temptations (whereof God said in word, "Is not the life of man a temptation upon earth?") who dare say he lives so, that he need not say to God, "Forgive us our trespasses"? none but a proud fool. Nor is he mighty, but madly vainglorious, that in his own righteousness will resist Him, who gives grace to the humble, whereupon it is written, "God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble." Man's righteousness therefore is this: to have God his Lord, and himself His subject, his soul master over his body, and his reason over sin, either by subduing it or resisting it: and to entreat God both for His grace for merit, and His pardon for sin, and lastly to be grateful for all His bestowed graces. But in that final peace, unto which all man's peace and righteousness on earth has reference, immortality and incorruption do so refine nature from viciousness, that there we shall have no need of reason to rule over sin, for there shall be no sin at all there, but God shall rule man, and the soul the body: obedience shall there be as pleasant and easy, as the state of them that live shall be glorious and happy. And this shall all have unto all eternity, and shall be sure to have it so, and therefore the blessedness of this peace, or the peace of this blessedness, shall be the fulness and perfection of all goodness.
The end of the wicked.

But on the other side, they that are not of this society are destined to eternal misery, called the second death, because there, even the soul, being deprived of God, seems not to live, much less the body, bound in everlasting torments. And therefore, this second death shall be so much the more cruel, in that it shall never have end. But seeing war is the contrary of peace, as misery is unto bliss, and death to life, it is a question what kind of war shall reign as then amongst the wicked, to answer and oppose the peace of the godly. But mark only the hurt of war, and it is plainly apparent to be nothing but the adverse disposal and contentious conflict of things between themselves. What then can be worse than that, where the will is such a foe to the passion, and the passion to the will, that they are for ever insupportable and irreconcilable? and where nature and pain shall hold an eternal conflict, and yet the one never master the other? In our conflicts here on earth, either the pain is victor, and so death expels sense of it, or nature conquers, and expels the pain. But there, pain shall afflict eternally, and nature shall suffer eternally, both enduring to the continuance of the inflicted punishment. But seeing that the good and the bad are in that great judgment to pass unto those ends, the one to be sought for, and the other to be fled from: by God’s permission and assistance, I will in the next book following have a little discourse of that last day, and that terrible judgment.
THE SIXTEENTH BOOK

CHAPTER I

God's judgments continually effected: His last judgment the proper subject of this book following.

Being now to discourse of the day of God's last judgment, against the faithless and the wicked, we must lay down Holy Scriptures first for the foundation of our following structure: which some believe not, but oppose them with fond and frivolous arguments, wresting them either quite unto another purpose, or utterly denying them to contain anything Divine. For I do not think that man lives, who understanding them as they are spoken, and believing that God inspired them into sanctified men, will not give his full assent unto what they aver, but he must needs profess as much, be he never so ashamed or afraid to avouch it, or never so obstinate that he would conceal it, and study to defend mere and known falsehood against it. Wherefore, the whole Church believes and professes that Christ is to come from heaven "to judge both the quick and the dead," and this we call the day of God's judgment, the last time of all: for how many days this judgment will hold we know not, but the Scripture uses day for time very often, as none that uses to read it but well discerns it. And we, when we speak of this day, do
add last, "the last day," because that God does judge for last at this present and has done ever since He set man judgment forth of Paradise, and chased our first parents from the Tree of Life for their offences; nay, from the time that He cast out the transgressing angels, whose envious prince does all that he can now to ruin the souls of men. It is his judgment that both men and devils do live in such miseries and perturbations in air and earth, fraught with nothing but evils and errors.

And if no man had offended, it had been His good judgment that man and all reasonable creatures had lived in perfect beatitude and eternal coherence with the Lord their God. So that He judges not only men and devils unto misery in general, but He censures every particular soul for the works it has performed out of freedom of will. For the devils pray that they may not be tormented, neither does God unjustly either in sparing them or punishing them: and man, sometimes in public, but continually in secret, feels the hand of Almighty God punishing him for his trespasses and misdeeds, either in this life or in the next: though no man can do well without the help of God, nor any devil can do hurt without His just permission. For, as the apostle says: "Is there unrighteousness in God? God forbid:" and in another place, "Unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out." I intend not, therefore, in this book to meddle with God's ordinary daily judgments, or with those at first, but with that great and last judgment of His (by His gracious permission) when Christ shall come from heaven, "to judge both the quick and the dead," for that is properly called the judgment day: because there shall be no place for ignorant complaint upon the happiness of the bad and the misery
of the good. The true and perfect felicity on that day shall be assured only to the good, and eternal torment shall then shew itself as an everlasting inheritance only for the evil.

CHAPTER II

The change of human estates ordered by God's unsearchable judgments.

But here on earth the evils endured by the good men instruct us to endure them with patience, and the goods enjoyed by the wicked, advise us not to covet them too eagerly. Thus in the things where God's judgments are not to be discovered, His counsel is not to be neglected. We know not why God makes this bad man rich, and that good man poor: that he should have joy whose deserts we hold worthier of pains, and he pains whose good life we imagine to merit content: that the judge's corruption or falseness of the witnesses should send the innocent away condemned, much more uncleared; and the injurious foe should depart revenged, much more unpunished; that the wicked man should live sound, and the godly lie bed-ridd; that lusty youths should turn thieves, and those that never did hurt in word be plagued with extremity of sickness; that silly infants, of good use in the world, should be cut off by untimely death, while they that seem unworthy ever to have been born, attain long and happy life; that the guilty should be honoured, and the godly oppressed, and such like as these; O who can stand to collect or recount them?
These now, albeit they kept this seemingly absurd and order continually, that in this whole life (wherein as the prophet says in the Psalm, "Man is like to vanity, and his days like a shadow that vanisheth") the wicked alone should possess those temporal good things, and the good only suffer evils, yet might this be referred to God's just judgments, yea, even to His mercies: that such as sought not for eternal felicity, might either for their malice, be justly deluded by this transitory happiness, or by God's mercy be a comfort unto the good, and that they being not to lose the bliss eternal, might for a while be exercised by crosses temporal, either for the correction of sins, or augmentation of their virtues.

But now, seeing that not only the good are afflicted, and the bad exalted (which seems injustice), but the good also often enjoy good, and the wicked, evil; this proves God's judgments more inscrutable, and His ways more unsearchable. Although, then, we see no cause why God should do thus or thus; He in whom is all wisdom, and justice, and no weakness, nor rashness, nor injustice: yet here we learn that we may not esteem too highly of those goods, or misfortunes, which we see the bad share with the righteous. But to seek the good, peculiar to the one, and to avoid the evil reserved for the other.

And when we come to that great judgment, properly called "the day of doom," or "the consummation of time:" there we shall not only see all things apparent, but acknowledge all the judgments of God from the first to the last, to be firmly grounded upon justice. And there we shall learn, and know this also, why God's judgments are generally incomprehensible unto us, and how just His
Let no judgments are in that point also: although already one doubt indeed it is manifest unto the faithful, that we are justly, as yet, ignorant in them all, or at least in the most of them.

CHAPTER III

Thus, then, by this which is so undeniable is that proved credible which impudence dares yet deny. For who would ever have hoped for that which the unbelievers themselves do now behold, as well as we, to their utter heart-breaking and confusion? Who did ever look that the Gentiles should embrace Christianity, that had seen the Author thereof bound, beaten, mocked, and crucified? That which one thief durst but hope for upon the Cross, in that now do the nations far and wide repose their utmost confidence, and lest they should incur eternal death are signed with that figure whereupon He suffered His temporal death. Let none, therefore, make any doubt that Christ shall bring forth such a judgment as the Scriptures do promise, except he believe not the Scriptures, and stand in his own malicious blindness against that which has enlightened all the world.

And this judgment shall consist of these circumstances, partly precedent and partly adjacent: Elijah shall come, the Jews shall believe, Antichrist shall persecute, Christ shall judge, the dead shall arise, the good and bad shall sever, the world shall burn and be renewed. All this we must believe shall be, but in
what order, our full experience then shall exceed our imperfect intelligence as yet. Yet verily I do think they shall fall out in order as I have rehearsed them. Now remains there two books more of this theme, to the perfect performance of our promise: the first of which shall treat of the pains due unto the wicked, and the second of the glories bestowed upon the righteous; wherein, if it please God, we will subvert the arguments which foolish mortals and miserable wretches make for themselves against God’s holy and Divine promises, and against the sacred nutriment given to the soul by an unspotted faith, thinking themselves the only wise men in these their ungracious cavils, and deriding all religious instructions as contemptible and ridiculous. As for those that are wise in God, in all that seems most incredible unto man, if it be avouched by the Holy Scriptures (whose truth we have already sufficiently proved), they lay hold upon the True and Omnipotent Deity, as the strongest argument against all opposition, for He (they know) cannot possibly speak false in those Scriptures, and withal, can by His Divine power effect that which may seem more than most impossible to the unbelievers.
THE SEVENTEENTH BOOK

CHAPTER I

Why the punishment of the condemned is here disputed of before the happiness of the saints.

And first of the lost. Seeing that by the assistance of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, "the Judge of the quick and the dead," we have brought both the cities (the one whereof is God's and the other the devil's), unto their intended consummation, we are now to proceed (by the help of God) in this book, with the declaration of the punishment due unto the devil and all his confederacy. And this I choose to do before I handle the glories of the blessed, because both these and the wicked are to undergo their sentences in body and soul, and it may seem more incredible for an earthly body to endure undissolved in eternal pains, than without all pain, in everlasting happiness. So that when I have shewn the possibility of the first, it may be a great motive unto the confirmation of the latter. Nor does this method want a precedent from the Scriptures themselves, which sometimes relate the beatitude of the saints foremost, as here, "They that have done good, unto the resurrection of life, but they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of condemnation," and sometimes afterward, as here, "The Son of Man shall send forth His angels, and they shall gather out of His
kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire; there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth: then shall the just shine like the sun, in the kingdom of the Father;” and again, “And these shall go into everlasting pain; but the righteous into life eternal.” Besides, he that will look into the prophets shall find this order often observed: it were too much for me to recite all: my reason why I observe it here, I have set down already.

CHAPTER II

Whether an earthly body may possibly be incorruptible by fire.

What then shall I say unto the unbelievers, to prove that a body carnal and living, may endure undisolved both against death and the force of eternal fire. They will not allow us to ascribe this unto the power of God, but urge us to produce it to them by some example. If we shall answer them that there are some creatures that are indeed corruptible, because mortal, and yet do live untouched in the midst of the fire: and likewise, that there are a kind of worms that live without being hurt in the fervent springs of the hot baths, whose heat sometimes is such as none can endure; and yet those worms do so love to live in it, that they cannot live without it: this, either they will not believe unless they see it; or if they do see it, or hear it affirmed by sufficient authority, then they cavil at it as an insufficient proof for the proposed question; for that these creatures are
and not eternal however, and living thus in this heat, nature has made it the means of their growth and nutriment, not of their torment. As though it were not more incredible that fire should nourish anything rather than not consume it. It is strange for anything to be tormented by the fire, and yet to live; but it is stranger to live in the fire and not to be tormented. If then this latter be credible, why is not the first so also?

CHAPTER III

Whether a fleshly body may possibly endure eternal pain.

Yea but (say they) there is no body that can suffer eternally but it must perish at length. How can we tell that? Who can tell whether the devils do suffer in their bodies, when, as they confess, they are extremely tormented? If they answer that there is no earthly soul, and visible body, or (to speak all in one) no flesh that can suffer always and never die, what is this but to ground an assertion upon mere sense and appearance? for these men know no flesh but mortal, and what they have not known and seen, that they hold impossible. And what an argument is this, to make pain the proof of death, when it is rather the testimony of life! for though our question be, whether anything living may endure eternal pain and yet live still, yet are we sure it cannot feel any pain at all unless it live, pain being inseparably adherent unto life, if it be in anything at all. · Needs then must that live that is pained, yet is there no necessity that this or that pain should kill it: for all pain does not kill all the bodies that perish. Some
pain indeed must, by reason that the soul and the body are so conjoined that they cannot part without great torment, which the soul gives place unto, and the mortal frame of man being so weak that it cannot withstand this violence, thereupon are they severed. But afterwards, they shall be so rejoined again, that neither time nor torment shall be able to procure their separation. Wherefore though our flesh as now be such that it cannot suffer all pain, without dying; yet then shall it become of another nature, as death also then shall be of another nature. For the death then shall be eternal, and the soul that suffers it shall neither be able to live, having lost her God her only life, nor yet to avoid torment, having lost all means of death. The first death forces her from the body against her will, and the second holds her in the body against her will. Yet both are one in this, that they enforce the soul to suffer in the body against her will. Our opponent will allow this, that no flesh as now can suffer the greatest pain, and yet not perish: but they observe not that there is a thing above the body, called a soul, that rules and guides it, and this may suffer all torment and yet remain for ever. Behold now, here is a thing, sensible of sorrow, and yet eternal: this power then that is now in the souls of all, shall be as then in the bodies of the damned. And if we weigh it well, the pains of the body are rather referred to the soul. The soul it is, and not the body that feels the hurt inflicted upon any part of the body.

So that as we call them living, and sensitive bodies, though all the life and sense is from the soul; so likewise do we say they are grieved bodies, though the grief be only in the soul. So then, when the body is hurt, the soul grieves with the body. When the mind is offended by some inward vexation, then the soul grieves alone, though it be in the body; and
Soul can feel pain and yet not die.

Further, it may grieve when it is without the body, as the soul of the rich glutton did in hell, when he said, "I am tormented in this flame." But the body wanting a soul grieves not, nor having a soul, does it grieve without the soul. If therefore it were meet to draw an argument of death, from the feeling of pain, as if we should say, he may feel pain: *ergo*, he may die, this should rather infer that the soul may die, because it is that which is the feeler of the pain.

But seeing that this is absurd and false, how then can it follow that those bodies which shall be in pain, shall therefore be subject unto death? Some Platonists hold that those parts of the soul wherein fear, joy, and grief were resident, were mortal, and perished: whereupon Virgil said, "Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudent," "hence" (that is, by reason of those mortal parts of the soul) "did fear, hope, joy, and grief possess them." But touching this we proved in our book, that after that their souls were purged to the uttermost, yet remained there a desire in them, to return unto their bodies: and where desire is, there grief may be. For hope being frustrate and missing the aim, turns into grief and anguish. Wherefore if the soul which does principally, or only suffer pain, be notwithstanding (after a sort) immortal, then does it not follow that a body should perish because it is in pain. Lastly, if the body may breed the soul's grief, and yet cannot kill it, this is a plain consequent that pain does not necessarily infer death. Why then is it not as credible that the fire should grieve those bodies and yet not kill them, as that the body should procure the soul's anguish and yet not the death? Pain therefore is no sufficient argument to prove that death must needs follow it.
CHAPTER IV

Nature's testimonies, that bodies may remain un-
diminished in the fire.

If therefore the salamander live in the fire (as the Pain no
most exact naturalists record), and if there be certain argument
famous hills in Sicily that have been on fire con-
tinually, from beyond the memory of man, and yet
remain whole and unconsumed, then are these
sufficient proofs to shew that all does not consume
that burns, as the soul proves that all that feels pain
does not perish. Why then should we stand upon
any more examples to prove the perpetuity of man's
soul and body, without death, or dissolution in ever-
lasting fire and torment? That God that endowed
nature with so many several and admirable qualities,
shall as then give the flesh a quality whereby it shall
endure pain and burning for ever. Who was it but
He, that has made the flesh of a dead peacock to
remain always sweet, and without all putrefaction?
I thought this impossible at first, and by chance being
at meat in Carthage, a boiled peacock was served up,
and I, to try the conclusion, took of some of the lyre
of the breast and caused it to be laid up. After a
certain space (sufficient for the putrefaction of any
ordinary flesh) I called for it, and smelling to it,
found no ill taste in it at all. Laid it up again, and
thirty days after, I looked again, it was the same I
left it. The like I did a whole year after, and found
no change, only it was somewhat more dry and solid.
Who gave such cold unto the chaff, that it will
keep snow unmelted in it, and withal, such heat, that
it will ripen green apples? Who gave the fire that
wonderful power to make all things that it burns
black, itself being so bright, and to turn a shining brand into a black coal? Neither does it always thus. For it will burn stones until they be white, and though it be red, and they whitish, yet does this their white agree with the light as well as black does with darkness. Thus the fire burning the wood, to bake the stone, works contrary effects upon objects which are not contrary. For stone and wood are different but not opposite, whereas white and black are, the one of which colours the fire effects upon the stone, and the other upon the wood, whitening the first, and darkening the latter, though it could not perfect the first except by the help of the latter.

And what strange things there are in a coal! it is so brittle that a little blow turns it to powder, and yet so durable that no moisture corrupts it, no time wastes it, so that they are wont to lay coals under boundaries, and markstones for lands, to convince any one that should come hereafter and say this is no boundary-stone. What is it that makes them endure so long in the earth, where wood would easily rot, but that same fire that corrupts all things? And then for lime, besides that it is whitened by the fire, it carries fire in itself, as taken from the fire, and keeps it so secret, that it is not discoverable in it by any of our senses, nor known to be in it but by our experience. And therefore we call it quicklime, the invisible fire being as the soul of that visible body. But the wonder is that when it is killed it is quickened. For, to fetch out the fire from it, we cast water upon it, and being cold before, that inflames it, that cools all other things being never so hot. So that the lump dying as it were, gives up the fire that was in it, and afterwards remains cold, if you water it never so: and then for quicklime we call it quenched lime,
What thing can be more strange? yes. If you pour oil upon it instead of water, though oil be rather the feeder of fire, yet will it never alter, but remain cold still. If we should have heard thus much of some Indian stone, that we had not, nor could not get to prove it, we should surely imagine it either to be a stark lie, or a strange wonder.

But things occurring unto daily experience, are debased by their frequency, in so much that we have left off wondering at some things that only India (the farthest continent of the world) has presented to our view. The diamond is common amongst us, chiefly with our jewellers and lapidaries: and this is so hard that neither fire, stone, nor steel can once dint it, but only the blood of a goat. But do you think this hardness so much admired now as it was by him that first of all descried it? Such as know it not, may peradventure not believe it, or believing it, on seeing it, may admire it as a rare work of nature: but daily trial ever takes off the edge of admiration. We know that the loadstone draws iron strangely: and surely when I observed it at the first, it made me much aghast. For I beheld the stone draw up an iron ring, and then as if it had given its own power to the ring, the ring drew up another and made it hang fast by it, as it hung by the stone. So did a third by that, and a fourth by the third, and so until there was hung, as it were, a chain of rings only by touch of one another, without any inter-linking. Who would not admire the power in this stone, not only inherent in it, but also extending itself through so many circles, and such a distance? Yet stranger was that experiment of this stone which my brother and fellow bishop Severus, Bishop of Milevita, shewed me.

He told me that he had seen Bathanarius (some-
If these time a count of Africa), when he feasted him once at his own house, take the said stone and hold it under a silver plate upon which he laid a piece of iron; and still as he moved the stone under the plate, so did the iron move above, the plate not moving at all, and just in the same motion that his hand moved the stone, did the stone move the iron. This I saw, and this did I hear him report, whom I will believe as well as if I had seen it myself. I have read furthermore of this stone, that lay but a diamond near it, and it will not draw iron at all, but puts it from it as soon as ever the diamond comes to touch it. These stones are to be found in India. But if the strangeness of them be now no more admired of us, how much less do they admire them where they are as common as our lime, whose strange burning in water (which ordinarily quench the fire) and not in oil (which feeds it) we do now cease to wonder at because it is so frequent.

CHAPTER V

Of such things as cannot be assuredly known to be such, and yet are not to be doubted of.

But the unbelievers, hearing of miracles, and such things as we cannot make apparent to their sense, fall to ask us the reason of them, which because it surpasses our human powers to give, they deride them, as false and ridiculous; but let them but give us reason for all the wondrous things that we have seen, or may easily see hereafter, which if they cannot do, then let them not say that there is not,
nor can be anything without a reason why it should be; thus seeing that they are convinced by their own eyesight, I will not therefore run through all relations of authors, but try their cunning in things which are extant for any to see, that will take the pains. The salt of Agrigentum in Sicily, being put in fire melts into water, and in water, it crackles like the fire.

The Garamantæ have a fountain so cold in the day that it cannot be drunk of: so hot in the night that it cannot be touched. In Epirus is another, wherein if you quench a torch, you may light it again thereat. The Arcadian asbestos being once inflamed, will never be quenched. There is a kind of fig tree in Egypt whose wood sinks, and being thoroughly steeped (and the heavier, one would think), it rises again to the top of the water.

The apples of the country of Sodom are fair to the eye, but being touched, fall to dust and ashes. The Persian pyrites, pressed hard in the hand, burns it, whereupon it has the name. The selenites is another stone wherein the waxing and waning of the moon is ever visible. The mares in Cappadocia conceive with the wind, but their foals live but three years. The trees of Ceylon, an isle in India, never cast their leaves. All these, and thousands more, are no past things, but visible at this day, each in their places; it were too long for me to recite all, my purpose is otherwise. And now let those infidels give me the reason of these things, those that will not believe the Scriptures, but hold them to be fictions, in that they seem to relate incredible things, such as I have now reckoned! Reason (say they) forbids us to think that a body should burn, and yet not be consumed, that it should feel pain, and yet live everlastingly. O rare disputers! you that can give reason for all miraculous things, give me the
No need reasons of those strange effects of nature before named, of those few only, which if you know not to be now visible, and not future, but present to the view of those that will make trial, you would be more incredulous in them than in this, which we say shall come to pass hereafter. For which of you would believe us if we say (as we say that men's bodies hereafter shall burn and not consume, so likewise) that there is a salt that melts in fire, and crackles in the water? of a fountain intolerably hot in the night, and intolerably cold in the day? or a stone that burns him that holds it hard, or another, that being once fired, never quenches? and so of the rest. If we had said, these things shall be in the world to come, and the infidels had bidden us give the reason why, we could freely confess we could not, the power of God in His works surpassing the weakness of human reason: and yet that we knew that God did not act without reason in these things surpassing the reason of mortal man: we know not His will in many things, yet know we that what He wills is no way impossible, as He has told us, to whom we must neither impute falseness nor imperfection. But what say our great reasoners unto those ordinary things which are so common, and yet exceed all reason, and seem to oppose the laws of nature? If we should say they were to come, then the infidels would forthwith ask reason for them, as they do for that which we say is to come. And therefore, seeing that in those works of God man's reason is at fault, as these things are such now, and yet why, no man can tell, so shall the other be also hereafter, beyond human capacity and apprehension.
CHAPTER VI

All strange effects are not Nature's: some are man's devices: some the devil's.

Perhaps they will answer, Oh, these are lies, we do not believe them not, they are false relations: if these be credible, then believe you also if you list (for one man has related both this and those), that there was a temple of Venus wherein there burned a lamp which no wind nor water could ever quench, so that it was called the inextinguishable lamp. This they may object, to put us in a dilemma, for if we say it is false, we detract from the truth of our former examples, and if we say it is true, we shall seem to acknowledge a pagan deity. But as I said in the fourteenth book, we need not believe all that paganism has historically published, their histories (as Varro witnesses) seeming to conspire in voluntary contention one against another: but we may, if we will, believe such of their relations as do not contradict those books which we are bound to believe. Experience and sufficient testimony shall afford us wonders enough of nature, to convince us of the possibility of what we intend against those infidels. As for that lamp of Venus, it rather gives our argument more scope than any way suppresses it. For unto that, we can add a thousand strange things effected both by human invention and magical operation: which if we would deny, we should contradict those very books wherein we believe. Wherefore that lamp either burned by the artificial placing of some asbestos in it, or it was effected by art magic, to procure a religious wonder, or else some devil having honour there under the name of Venus, con-
of human or demoniac wiles.

continued in this apparition for the preservation of men's misbelief. For the devils are allured to inhabit some certain bodies by the very creatures of God, and not their delighting in them, not as other creatures do in meats, but as spirits do in characters and signs adapted to their natures, either by stones, herbs, plants, living creatures, charms, and ceremonies.

And this allurement they do subtly entice man to procure them, either by inspiring him with the secrets thereof, or teaching him the order in a false and flattering apparition, making some few, scholars to them, and teachers to many more. For man could never know what they love, and what they loathe, but by their own instructions, which were the first foundations of art magic. And then do they get the fastest hold of men's hearts (which is all they seek and glory in) when they appear like angels of light. However, their works are strange, and the more marvellous, the more to be avoided, which their own natures do persuade us to do; for if these foul devils can work such wonders, what cannot the glorious angels do then? Nay, what cannot that God do, who has given such power to the most hated creatures? So, then, if human art can effect such rare conclusions, that such as know them not would think them divine effects: (as there was an iron image hung in a certain temple, so strangely that the ignorant would have verily believed they had seen a work of God's immediate power, it hung so just between two loadstones (whereof one was placed in the roof of the temple, and the other in the floor) without touching of anything at all), and as there might be such a trick of man's art, in that inextinguishable lamp of Venus, if magicians (whom the Scriptures call sorcerers and enchanters) can do such, are taught by the action of the devils, as Virgil, that
famous poet, relates of an enchantress, in these words—

"Hæc se carminibus promittit solvere montes
Quas velit, ast aliis duras immittere curas,
Sistere aquam fluviis et vertere sidera retrò,
Nocturnosque ciet manes, mugire videbis
Sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos."

"She said her charms could ease one's heart of pain,
Even when she list, and make him grieve again.
Stop floods, bring back the stars, and with her breath,
Rouse the black fiends, until the earth beneath
Groaned, and the trees came marching from the hills," &c.

If all this be possible to those, how much more then can the power of God exceed them in working such things as are incredible to insidelity, but easy to His omnipotency, who has given virtues unto stones, wit unto man, and such large power unto angels! His wonderful power exceeds all wonders, His wisdom permits and effects all and every particular of them, and cannot He make the most wonderful use of all the parts of that world that He only has created?

CHAPTER VII

God's omnipotency the ground of all belief in things marvelled at.

Why then cannot God make the bodies of the dead to rise again, and the damned to suffer torment and yet not to consume, seeing He has filled heaven, earth, air, and water so full of innumerable miracles,

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God can so re-create bodies that and the world, which He made, being a greater miracle than any it contains? But our adversaries, believing a God that made the world and the other gods, by whom He governs the world, do not deny, but avouch that there are powers that effect wonders in the world, either voluntarily, or ceremonially and magically, but when we give them an instance wrought neither by man nor by spirit, they answer us, It is nature, nature has given it this quality. So then it was nature that made the Agrigentine salt melt in the fire, and crackle in the water. Was it so? this seems rather contrary to the nature of salt, which naturally dissolves in water, and crackles in the fire. Ay, but nature (say they) made this particular salt of a quality just opposite. Good: this, then, is the reason also of the heat and cold of the Garamantine fountain, and of the other that puts out the torch and lights it again, as also of the asbestos, and those other, all which to rehearse were too tedious: there is no other reason belike to be given for them, but, Such is their nature. A good brief reason verily, and a sufficient. But God, being the Author of all nature, why then do they exact a stronger reason of us, when we, in proving that which they hold for an impossibility, affirm that it is thus by the will of Almighty God, who is therefore called Almighty because He can do all that He will, having created so many things which were they not to be seen, and confirmed by sufficient testimony, would seem as impossible as the rest, whereas now we know them, partly all, and partly some of us. As for other things that are but reported without testimony, and concern not religion, nor are not taught in Scripture, they may be false, and a man may lawfully refuse to believe them. I do not believe all that I have set down, so firmly that I do make no doubt of
some of them, but for that which I have tried, as the burning of lime in water and cooling in oil; the loadstone’s drawing of iron and not moving a straw; the incorruptibility of the peacock’s flesh, whereas Plato’s flesh did putrefy; the keeping of snow and the ripening of apples in chaff; the bright fire making the stones of its own colour, and wood of the just contrary, these I have seen and believe without any doubt at all: such also are these, that clear oil should make black spots, and white silver draw a black line: that coals should turn black, from white wood, brittle of hard ones, and incorruptible of corruptible pieces: together with many other which tediousness forbids me here to insert. For the others, excepting that fountain that quenches and kindles again, and the dusty apples of Sodom, I could not get any sufficient proofs to confirm them. Nor met I any that had beheld that fountain of Epirus, but I found divers that had seen the like, near unto Grenoble in France. And for the apples of Sodom, there are both grave authors, and eye-witnesses enough alive, that can affirm it, so that I make no doubt thereof. The rest I leave indifferent, to affirm or deny; yet I did set them down because they are recorded in our adversaries’ own histories, to shew them how many things they believe in their own books, without all reason, that will not give credence to us, when we say that God Almighty will do anything that exceeds their capacity to conceive. What better or stronger reason can be given for anything than to say, God Almighty will do this, which He has promised in those books wherein He promises as strange things as this, which He has performed. He will do it, because He has said He will: even He, that has made the incredulous heathens believe things which they held mere impossibilities.
CHAPTER VIII

That the alteration of the known nature of any creature, unto a nature unknown, is not opposite unto the laws of nature.

If they reply that they will not believe that man's body can endure perpetual burning, because they know it is of no such nature, so that it cannot be said of it, that nature has given it such a quality, we may answer them out of the Scriptures, that man's body before his fall was of such a nature that it could not suffer death; and yet in his fall was altered unto that mortal misery wherein now all mankind lives, to die at length: and therefore at the resurrection it may undergo such another alteration, unknown to us as yet. But they believe not the Scriptures that relate man's estate in Paradise; if they did, we should not need to stand long with them upon this theme of the pains of the damned: whereas now we must make demonstration out of their own authors, how it is possible that there may be a full alteration of nature in any one object, from the kind of being that it had before, and yet the laws of nature be kept unviolated. Thus we read in Varro's book, “Of the Race of the Roman People,” Castor (saith he) relates, that in that bright star of Venus, which Plautus calls “Hesperugo,” and Homer “the glorious Hesperus,” befel a most monstrous change both of colour, magnitude, figure, and motion: the like never was before nor since: and this, says Adrastus of Cyzicus, and Dion of Naples (two famous astronomers) befell in the reign of Ogyges. A monstrous change, says Varro, and why, but that it seemed contrary to nature: such we say, all portents to be, but we are deceived: for
how can that be against nature which is effected by the will of God, the Lord and Maker of all nature? A portent, therefore, is not against nature, but against the most common order of nature. But who is he that can relate all the portents recorded by the Gentiles? Let us seek our purpose in this one. What more decretal law has God laid upon nature in any part of the creation, than He has in the motions of the heavens? what more legal and fixed order does any part of nature keep? and yet you see, that when it was the pleasure of Nature's highest sovereign, the brightest star in all the firmament changed the colour, magnitude, and figure, and which is most marvellous, the very course and motion. This made a foul disturbance in the rules of the astrologers (if there were any then) when they, observing their fixed descriptions of the eternal course of the stars, durst affirm that there never was, nor ever would be any such change as this of Venus was. Indeed, we read in the Scriptures that the sun stood still at the prayer of Joshua, until the battle was done, and went back to shew Hezekiah that the Lord had added fifteen years unto his life. As for the miracles done by the virtues of the saints, these insidels know them well, and therefore aver them to be done by magic: whereupon Virgil says, as I related before of the witch, that she could

"Sistere aquam fluviiis et vertere sidera retrò:"

"Stop floods, bring back the stars," &c.

For the River Jordan parted, when Joshua led the people over it, and when Elijah passed it, as likewise when his follower Elisha divided it with Elijah's cloak, and the sun, as we said before, went back in the time of Hezekiah. But Varro does not say that any one desired this change of Venus. Let not the
God can, therefore, hoodwink themselves in the knowledge of nature, as though God's power could not alter the nature of anything from what it was before unto man's knowledge, although that the known nature of anything be fully as admirable, but that men admire nothing but rarities. For what reasonable man does not see, that in that greatest likeness and most numerous multitude of one work of nature, the face of man, there is such an admirable quality, that were they not all of one form, they should not distinguish man from beast, and yet were they all of one form, one man should not be known from another? Thus likeness and difference are both in one object. But the difference is most admirable, nature itself seeming to exact an uniformity in the proportion thereof, and yet because it is rarities which we admire, we do wonder far more when we see two so like that one may be easily and is oftentimes deceived in taking the one for the other. But it may be they believe not the relation of Varro, though he be one of their most learned historians, or do not respect it, because this star did not remain long in this new form, but soon resumed the former shape and course again. Let us therefore give them another example, which together with this of his, I think may suffice to convince, that God is not to be bound to any conditions in the allotting of particular being to anything; as though He could not make an absolute alteration thereof into an unknown quality of essence. The country of Sodom was formerly otherwise than it is now: it was once like the rest of the land, as fertile and as fair, if not more than the rest, insomuch that the Scripture compares it to Paradise. But being smitten from heaven (as the heathen stories themselves record, and all travellers confirm) it now is as a field of soot and ashes, and the apples of the soil
being fair without are naught but dust within. Behold, it was not such, and yet such it is at this day. Behold a terrible change of nature wrought by nature's Creator: and that it remains in that sole estate now, which it was a long time ere it fell into. So then, as God can create what He will, so can He change the nature of what He has created at His good pleasure. And hence is the multitude of monsters, visions, portents, and prodigies, for the particular relation whereof here is no place. They are called monsters, from monstro, "to shew," because they betoken somewhat: and portents and prodigies from portendo, and porrò dico, to presage and foretell somewhat to ensue. But whether they, or the devils, whose care it is to inveigle and entangle the minds of the imperfect, and such as deserve it, do delude the world either by true predictions, or by stumbling on the truth by chance, let their observers and interpreters look to that. But we ought to gather this from all those monsters and prodigies that happen or are said to happen against nature (as the apostle implied when he spoke of "The engrafting of the wild olive into the garden olive, whereby the wild one was made partaker of the root and fatness of the other"), that they all do tell us this, that God will do with the bodies of the dead, according to His promise, no difficulty, no law of nature can or shall prohibit Him. And what He has promised, the last book declared out of both the Testaments, not in very great measure, but sufficient (I think) for the purpose and volume.
CHAPTER IX

Of hell, and the qualities of the eternal pains therein.

As God therefore by His prophet spoke of the pains of the damned, such shall they be: “Their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched.” Our Saviour, to commend this unto us, putting the parts that offend a man, for man’s right members, and bidding him cut them off, adds this: “Better it is for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell into the fire that never shall be quenched, where their worm dies not, and their fire is not quenched,” and likewise of the foot: “Better for thee to go halting into life, than having two feet to be cast into hell,” &c. And so says He of the eye also, adding the prophet’s words three several times. O whom would not this thunder from the mouth of God strike a chill terror into, sounding so often? Now, as for this worm and this fire, they that make them only mental pains do say that the fire implies the burning of the soul in grief and anguish, that now repents too late for being severed from the sight of God: after the manner that the apostle says: “Who is offended and I burn not?” And this language may be meant also by the worm, say they, as it is written, “As the moth is to the garment, and the worm to the wood, so does sorrow eat the heart of a man.” Now such as hold them both mental and real, say that the fire is a bodily plague to the body, and the worm a plague of conscience to the soul. This seems more likely in that it is absurd to say that either the soul or body shall be clear of pain; yet had I rather take part with them that say they are both bodily than with those that say that
neither of them is so; and therefore that sorrow in
the Scriptures though it be not expressed so, yet it is
understood to be a fruitless repentance conjoined with
a corporal torment, for the Scripture says: "The
vengeance of the (flesh of the) wicked is fire and the
worm:” he might have said more briefly, "The
vengeance of the wicked," why then did he add
"of the flesh," but to shew that both these plagues,
"the fire and the worm," shall be corporal? If he
added it because that man shall be thus plagued for
living according to the flesh (for it is therefore that he
incurs the second death, which the apostle means
when he says, "If ye live after the flesh, ye die:")
but let every man believe as he like, either giving the
fire truly to the body, and the worm figuratively to
the soul, or both properly to the body: for we have
fully proved already that a creature may burn and yet
not consume, may live in pain and yet not die: which
he that denies knows not Him that is the author of
all nature's wonders, that God who has made all
the miracles that I erst recounted, and thousand
thousands more, and more admirable, shutting them
all in the world, the most admirable work of all.
Let every man therefore choose what to think of
this, whether both the fire and the worm plague
the body, or whether the worm have a metaphorical
reference to the soul. The truth of this question shall
then appear plainly, when the knowledge of the saints
shall be such as shall require no trial of it, but only
shall be fully satisfied and resolved by the perfection
and plentitude of the divine Wisdom. For now we
know but in part, until that which is perfect be come,
but yet may we not believe those bodies to be such
that the fire can work them no anguish nor torment.
CHAPTER X

Whether the fire of hell if it be corporeal, can take less effect upon the incorporeal devils.

So the BuR here now is another question: whether this fire, if it plague not spiritually, but only by a bodily touch, can inflict any torment upon the devil and his angels? they are to remain in one fire with the damned, according to our Saviour's own words: "Depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." But the devils, according as some learned men suppose, have bodies of condensed air, such as we feel in a wind; and this air is passible, and may suffer burning, the heating of baths proves, where the air is set on fire to heat the water, and does that which first it suffers. If any will oppose, and say the devils have no bodies at all, the matter is not great, nor much to be stood upon. For why may not unbodied spirits feel the force of bodily fire, as well as man's incorporeal soul is now included in a carnal shape, and shall at that day be bound into a body for ever. These spiritual devils therefore, or those devilish spirits, though strangely, yet shall they be truly bound in this corporeal fire, which shall torment them for all that they are incorporeal. Nor shall they be so bound in it, that they shall give it a soul as it were, and so become both one living creature, but as I said, by a wonderful power shall be so bound that instead of giving it life, they shall from it receive intolerable torment, although the coherence of spirits and bodies, whereby both become one creature, be as admirable, and exceed all human capacity. And surely I should think the devils shall burn them, as the rich glutton
did, when he cried saying, "I am tormented in this bodies to flame," but that I should be answered that that fire was such as his tongue was, to cool which, he seeing Lazarus 'afar off, entreated him to help him with a little water on the tip of his finger. He was not then in the body but in soul only; such likewise (that is incorporeal) was the fire he burned in, and the water he wished for, as the dreams of those that sleep and the vision of men in ecstasies are, which present the forms of bodies, and yet are not bodies indeed. And though man see these things only in spirit, yet thinks he himself so like to his body, that he cannot discern whether he have it on or no. But that hell, that lake of fire and brimstone, shall be real; and the fire corporeal, burning both men and devils, the one in flesh and the other in air: the one in the body adherent to the spirit, and the other in spirit only adherent to the fire, and yet not infusing life, but feeling torment for one fire shall torment, both men and devils. Christ has spoken it.

CHAPTER XI

Whether it be not justice that the time of the pains should be proportioned to the time of the sins and crimes.

But some of the adversaries of God's city, hold it injustice for him that has offended but temporarily, to be bound to suffer pain eternally, this (they say) is utterly unjust. As though they knew any law that adapted the time of the punishment to the time in which the crime was committed. Eight kinds of
Not unjust to give eternal pain does Tully affirm, the laws to inflict: damages, imprisonment, whipping, like for like, public disgrace, banishment, death, and bondage, which of these can be performed in so little time as the offence is, excepting the fourth, which yields every man the same measure that he metes unto others, according to that of the law, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth"? Indeed one may lose his eye by this law, in as small a time as he put out another man's by violence. But if a man kiss another man's wife, and be therefore adjudged to be whipped, is not that which he did in a moment, paid for by a good deal longer sufferance? Is not his short pleasure repaid with a longer pain? And what for imprisonment? Is every one judged to lie there no longer than he was in doing his villainy? Nay, that servant that has but violently touched his master, is by a just law doomed unto many years' imprisonment. And as for damages, disgraces, and banishments, are not many of them dateless, and lasting a man's whole life, wherein they bear a proportion with the pains eternal? Fully eternal they cannot be, because the life which they afflict is but temporal, and yet the sins they punish are all committed in an instant, nor would any man advise that the continuance of the penalty should be measured by the time of the fact, for that, be it murder, adultery, sacrilege, or what villainy soever, is quickly despatched, and consequently is not to be weighed by the length of time, but by the foulness of the crime. And as for him that deserves death by an offence, does the law hold the time that he is dying, to be the satisfaction for his guilt, or his being taken away from the fellowship of men, which? That then which the terrestrial city can do by the first death, the celestial can effect by the second, in clearing herself of malefactors.
For as the laws of the first cannot call a dead man back again into their society, no more do the laws of the second call him back to salvation that is once entered into the second death. How then are our Saviour’s words true, say they, “With what measure ye mete, with the same shall men mete to you again;” if temporal sins be rewarded with eternal pains? O, but you mark not that those words have a reference to the returning of evil for evil in our nature, and not in one proportion of time: that is, he that does evil, shall suffer evil, without limitation of any time: although this place be more properly understood of the judgments and condemnations whereof the Lord did there speak. So that he that judges unjustly, if he be judged unjustly, is paid in the same measure that he meted withal, though not what he did: for he did wrong in judgment, and such like he suffers: but he did it unjustly, yet nevertheless he is repaid according to justice.

CHAPTER XII

The greatness of Adam’s sin, inflicting eternal condemnation upon all that are out of the state of grace.

But therefore does man imagine, that this infliction of eternal torment is injustice, because his frail imperfection cannot discern the horribleness of that offence that was the first procurer thereof. For the fuller fruition man had of God, the greater impiety was it for him to renounce Him, and therein was he worthy of everlasting evil, in that he destroyed his own good, that otherwise had been everlasting.
Hence came condemnation upon all the stock of man, parent and offspring undergoing one curse, from which none can be ever freed, but by the free and gracious mercy of God, which makes a separation of mankind, to shew in one of the remainders the power of grace, and in the other the revenge of justice. Both which could not be expressed upon all mankind, for if all had tasted of the punishments of justice, the grace and mercy of the Redeemer had had no place in any: and again, if all had been redeemed from death, there had been no object left for the manifestation of God's justice: but now there is more left, than taken to mercy, that so it might appear what was due unto all, without any impeachment of God's justice, who notwithstanding having delivered so many, has herein bound us for ever to praise His gracious com- miseration.

CHAPTER XIII

Against such as hold, that the torments after the judgment shall be but the means whereby the souls shall be purified.

Some Platonists there are who though they assign a punishment to every sin, yet hold they that all such inflictions, be they human or divine, in this life or in the next, tend only to the purgation of the soul from enormities. Whereupon Virgil having said of the souls—

"Hinc metuunt cupiuntque," &c.

"Hence fear, desire," &c.
And immediately:

"Quin ut supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes
Corporae excedunt pestes, penitusque necessa est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
Ergo exercentur pænis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt, aliae panduntur inanes
Suspensa ad ventos, aliae sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni."

"For when the souls do leave the bodies dead,
Their miseries are not yet finished:
Nor all their times of torment yet complete:
Many small crimes must needs make one that's great.
Pain therefore purgeth them, and makes them fair
From their old stains: some hang in dusky air,
Some in the deep do pay the debt of sin,
And fire is chosen to cleanse others in."

They that hold this, affirm that no pains at all are to be suffered after death, but only such as purge the souls, and those shall be cleared of all their earthly contagion by some of the three upper elements, the air, the fire, or the water. The air, in that he says, Suspensa ad ventos: the water, by the words, Sub gurgite vasto; the fire is expressly named, aut exuritur igni. Now indeed we do confess that there are certain pains during this life, which do not properly afflict such as are not bettered but made worse by them, but belong only to the reforming of such as take them for corrections. All other pains, temporal and eternal, are laid upon every one as God pleases, by His angels good or bad, either for some sin past, or wherein the party afflicted now lives, or else to exercise and declare the virtue of His servants. For if one man hurt another willingly, or by chance, it is an offence in him to do any man harm, by will or through ignorance, but God whose secret judgment assigned
“All pain is remedial.”

As for temporal pain, some endure it here, and some hereafter, and some both here and there, yet all is past before the last judgment. But all shall not come into these eternal pains (which notwithstanding shall be eternal after the last judgment, unto them that endure them temporally after death). For some shall be pardoned in the world to come that are not pardoned in this, and acquitted there and not here from entering into pains eternal, as I said before.

CHAPTER XIV

The temporal pains of this life afflicting all mankind.

But few there be that endure none of these pains until after death. Some indeed I have known and heard of that never had hour’s sickness until their dying day, and lived very long, though notwithstanding man’s whole life be a pain “in that it is a temptation and a warfare upon earth,” as holy Job says, for ignorance is a great punishment, and therefore you see that little children are forced to avoid it by stripes and sorrows, that also which they learn being such a pain to them, that sometimes they had rather endure the punishments that enforce them to learn it, than to learn that which would avoid them. Who would not tremble and rather choose to die than to be an infant again, if he were put to such a choice? We begin it with tears, and therein presage our future miseries. Only Zoroasters smiled (they say) when he was born: but his unnatural mirth boded him no good: for he was, by report, the first inventor of magic, which notwith-
standing stood him not in a pin's stead in his misfor-
tunes, for Ninus, king of Assyria overcame him in
battle and took his kingdom of Bactria from him.
So that it is such an impossibility that those words of
the Scripture, "Great travail is created for all men
and an heavy yoke upon the sons of Adam from the
day that they got out of their mother's womb, until
the day that they return unto the mother of all
things," should not be fulfilled, that the very infants,
being baptised, and therein quit from all their guilt,
which then is only original, are notwithstanding
much and often afflicted, yea even sometimes by
the incursion of devils, which notwithstanding cannot
hurt them if they die at that tenderness of age.

CHAPTER XV

That the scope of God's redeeming us is wholly pertinent
to the world to come.

But yet notwithstanding in this heavy yoke that lies
upon Adam's children from their birth to their burial,
we have this one means left us, to live soberly, and to
weigh that our first parent's sin has made this life
but a pain to us, and that all the promises of the
New Testament belong only to the heritage laid up
for us in the world to come: pledges we have here,
but the performance due thereto we shall not have
till then. Let us now therefore walk in hope, and
profiting day by day let us mortify the deeds of the
flesh, by the Spirit, for God knows all that are His,
and as many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the
sons of God, but by grace, not by nature, for God's
All only Son by nature, was made the Son of man for us, that we being the sons of men by nature might become the sons of God in Him by grace, for He remaining changeless, took our nature upon Him, and keeping still His own divinity, that we being changed might leave our frailty and aptness to sin, through the participation of His righteousness and immortality and keep that which He had made good in us, by the perfection of that good which is in Him: for as we all fell into this misery by one man’s sin, so shall we ascend unto that glory by one (deified) Man’s righteousness. Nor may any imagine that he has had this pass, until he be there where there is no temptation, but all full of that peace which we seek by these conflicts of the spirit against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit. This war had never been, had man kept his will in that right way wherein it was first placed. But refusing that, now he fights in himself, and yet this inconvenience is not so bad as the former, for happier far is he that strives against sin, than he that allows it sovereignty over him. Better is war with hope of eternal peace, than thralldom without any thought of freedom. We wish the want of this war though, and God inspires us to aim at that orderly peace wherein the inferior obeys the superior in all things: but if there were hope of it in this life (as God forbid we should imagine) by yielding to sin, yet ought we rather to stand out against it, in all our miseries, than to give over our freedoms to sin, by yielding to it.
CHAPTER XVI

The laws of grace, that all the regenerate are blessed in.

But God's mercy is so great in the vessels whom He has prepared for glory, that even the first age of man, which is his infancy, where the flesh rules without control, and the second, his childhood, where his reason is so weak that it gives way to all enticements, and the mind is altogether incapable of religious precepts; if notwithstanding they be washed in the fountain of regeneration, and he die at this or that age, he is translated from the powers of darkness to the glories of Christ, and freed from all pains, eternal and purificatory. His regeneration only is sufficient to clear him from that after death which his carnal generation had contracted with death. But when he comes to years of discretion, and is capable of good counsel, then must he begin a fierce conflict with vice lest it allure him to damnation. Indeed the freshwater soldier is the more easily put to flight, but practice will make him valorous, and to pursue victory with all his endeavour, which he must evermore essay by a weapon called "the love of true righteousness," and this is kept in the faith of Christ, for if the command be present, and the assisting spirit absent, the very forbidding of the crime inflames the perverse flesh to run the sooner into it, sometimes producing open enormities, and sometimes secret ones, far worse than the other, in that pride, and ruinous self-conceit, persuades men that they are virtues.

Then therefore sin is quelled, when it is beaten down by the love of God, which none but He gives and He only, by Jesus Christ the Mediator of God and man, who made Himself mortal, that we might
to be one be made eternal; few are so happy to pass their youth without taint of some damnable sin or other, either in deed, opinion, or so; but let them, above all, seek to suppress by the fulness of spirit all such evil motions as shall be incited by the looseness of the flesh. Many, having betaken themselves to the law, becoming prevaricators thereof through sin, are afterwards fain to fly unto the law of grace assistant, which making them both truer penitents, and stouter opponents, subjects their spirits to God, and so they get the conquest of the flesh. He therefore that will escape hell fire, must be both baptised and justified in Christ, and this is his only way to pass from the devil unto Him. And let him assuredly believe that there is no purgatory pains except before that great and terrible judgment. Indeed, it is true that the fire of hell shall be more forcible against some than against others, according to the diversity of their deserts, whether it be adapted in nature to the quality of their merits, or remain one fire unto all, and yet be not felt alike of all.

CHAPTER XVII

Of some Christians that held that hell's pains should not be eternal.

Now must I have a gentle disputation with certain tender hearts of our own religion, who think that God, who has justly doomed the condemned unto hell fire, will after a certain space, which His goodness shall think fit for the merit of each man's guilt, deliver them from that torment. And of this opinion
was Origen, in far more pitiful manner, for he held In hell that the devils themselves after a set time expired, should be loosed from their torments, and become bright angels in heaven, as they were before. But this, and other of his opinions, chiefly that rotation and circumvolution of misery and bliss which he held that all mankind should run in, gave the Church cause to pronounce him anathema: seeing he had lost this seeming pity, by assigning a true misery, after a while, and a false bliss, unto the saints in heaven, where they (if they were true) could never be sure of remaining. But far otherwise is their tenderness of heart, which hold that this freedom out of hell shall only be extended unto the souls of the damned after a certain time appointed for every one, so that all at length shall come to be saints in heaven. But if this opinion be good and true, because it is merciful, why then the farther it extends, the better it is: so that it may as well include the freedom of the devils also, after a longer continuance of time. Why then ends it with mankind only, and excludes them? nay, but it dares go no farther, they dare not extend their pity unto the devil. But if any one does so, he goes beyond them, and yet sins in erring more deformedly, and more perversely against the express word of God, though he think to shew the more pity herein.

CHAPTER XVIII

Of those that hold that the intercession of the saints shall save all men from damnation.

I have talked with some that seem to reverence the Scriptures, and yet are no good livers, who would
Prayers of saints can make God far more merciful than the other. For as for the wicked, they confess that they deserve to be plagued, but mercy shall have the upper hand when it comes to judgment: for God shall give them all unto the prayers and intercession of the saints, who if they prayed for them when they insulted over them as enemies, will do it much more now when they see them prostrate at their feet like slaves. For it is incredible (say they) that the saints should forget mercy when they are most holy and perfect, who prayed for their foes, when they were not without sin themselves. Surely then they will pray for them being now become their suppliants, when as they have no sin at all left in them. And will not God hear them, when their prayers have such perfection? Then bring they forth the testimony of the Psalm which the other; that held the saving of all the damned after a time, do allege also, but these affirm that it makes more for them: the words are these: "Hath God forgotten to be merciful, or will He shut up His mercies in displeasure?" His displeasure (say they) condemns all that are unworthy of eternal life, to eternal torment. But if this condemnation continue, little or long, how can it be then that the Psalm should rightly say, "Will He shut up His mercy in displeasure?" It says not, "Will He shut them long," but implies that He will not shut them up at all. Thus do they prove that the judgment of God is not false, although He condemn none, no more than His threatening to destroy Nineveh was false, though it was not effected (say they) notwithstanding that He promised it without exception. He said not, "I will destroy it unless it repent," but plainly without addition, "Nineveh shall be destroyed." This threatening do they hold true, because God
foretold plainly what they had deserved, though He spake not that which He meant to do. For though He spared them, yet knew He that they would repent: and yet did He absolutely promise their destruction. This therefore (say they) was true in the truth of His severity, which they had deserved, but not in respect of His mercy, which He did not shut up in displeasure, because He would shew mercy unto their prayers, whose pride He had threatened to punish. If, therefore, He shewed mercy then (say they), when He knew He should thereby grieve His holy prophet, how much more will He shew it now when all His saints shall entreat for it? Now this surmise of theirs they think the Scriptures do not mention, because men should be reclaimed from vice by fear of tedious or eternal torment, and because some should pray for those that will not amend: and yet the Scriptures (say they) do not utterly conceal it: for what does that of the Psalm intend, "How great is Thy goodness which Thou hast laid up for them that fear Thee! Thou keepest them secret in Thy tabernacle from the strife of tongues." That is, say they, this great sweetness of God's mercy is kept secret from us, to keep us in the more awe, and therefore the apostle says God "has shut up all in unbelief, that He might have mercy on all," to shew that He will condemn none. Yet these opinionists will not extend this general salvation unto the devils, but make mankind the only object of their pity, promising impunity to their own bad lives withal, by pretending a general mercy of God unto the whole generation of man: and in this, they that extend God's mercy unto the devil and his angels do quite exceed these latter.
CHAPTER XIX

Of such as hold that heretics shall be saved, in that they have partaken of the body of Christ.

(How others there are that clear not hell of all, but only of such as are baptised and partakers of “Christ’s body,” and these (they say) are saved, be their lives or doctrines whatsoever, whereupon Christ Himself said, “This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that he which eateth of it should not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven.” Therefore (say these men) must all such be saved of necessity, and glorified by everlasting life.

CHAPTER XX

Of such as allow this deliverance only to wicked and revolted Catholics.

Another sort restrain the former position only to Catholics, live they never so vilely, because they have received Christ truly and been ingrafted in His body: of which the apostle says: “We that are many are one bread and one body, because we all are partakers of one Bread.” So that fall they into never so bad heresies afterwards, yea, even into paganism, yet because they received the baptism of Christ in His Church, they shall not perish for ever, but shall receive eternal life, nor shall their guilt make their torments everlasting, but only temporal, though they may last a long time, and be extremely painful.
CHAPTER XXI

Of such as affirm that all that abide in the Catholic faith shall be saved for that faith only, be their lives never so worthy of damnation.

There are some, who because it is written, "He that endureth to the end, he shall be saved," do affirm that only they that continue Catholics (howsoever they live) shall be saved by the merit of that foundation; whereof the Apostle says, "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus." And if any man build on this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, timber, hay or stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day (of the Lord) shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by the fire, and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work that he has built upon abide, he shall receive wages. If any man's work burn he shall lose, but he shall be safe himself, yet as it were by fire. So that all Christian Catholics (say they) having Christ for their foundation (which no heretics have, being cut off from His body), be their lives good or bad (as those that build timber, hay, or stubble, upon this foundation), shall nevertheless be saved by fire, that is, shall be delivered after they have endured the pains of the fire which punishes the wicked in the last judgment.
And some I have met with that hold that none shall be damned eternally, but such as neglected to satisfy for their sins by alms-deeds: alleging that of James: “There shall be judgment merciless unto him that sheweth no mercy.” Wherefore he that does (say they), though he amend not his life, but live sinfully even in these merciful works, shall nevertheless have so merciful a judgment, that he shall either not be punished at all, or, at least, be freed from his pain after his sufferance of them for some certain space, more or less. And therefore the Judge of the quick and dead would mention no other thing in His words to those on both sides of Him, for the salvation of the one part and the condemnation of the other, but only the alms-deeds which they had either done or neglected. To which also (say they) does that part of the Lord’s Prayer pertain, “Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.” For he that forgives an offence done to him, does a work of mercy: which Christ so approved, that He said: “If ye do forgive men their trespasses, your Heavenly Father will also forgive you, but if ye do not forgive men their trespasses, no more will your heavenly Father forgive you your trespasses.” So that hereunto belongs also the aforesaid place of Saint James: “There shall be judgment merciless,” &c. The Lord said not, “Your small trespasses,” say they, “nor your great,” but generally, “your trespasses,” and therefore they hold that those that live never so viciously until their
dying day, have notwithstanding their sins absolutely \textit{If bliss be}
 pardoned every day by this prayer used every day, if \textit{ever-
 lasting}, withal they do remember freely to forgive all such as
 have offended them, when they entreat for pardon.
When all those errors are confuted, I will, God
willing, make an end of this present book.

\textbf{CHAPTER XXIII}

\textit{Against those that exclude both men and devils from}
\textit{pains eternal.}

\textbf{First then we must shew why the Church has con-
demned them that affirm that even the very devils}
after a time of torment, shall be taken to mercy.
The reason is this, those holy men, so many and so
learned in both the laws of God, the old and the
new, did not envy the modification and beatitude of
those spirits, after their long and great extremity of
torture, but they saw well, that the words of our
Saviour could not be untrue, which He promised to
pronounce in the last judgment, saying: \textit{Depart
from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire which is}
prepared for the devil and his angels.} Hereby
shewing that they should burn in everlasting fire;
likewise in the Revelation: \textit{The devil that
deceived them was cast into a lake of fire and
brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet
shall be tormented even day and night, for evermore.}"
There he says, \textit{"everlasting,"} and here \textit{"for ever-
more,"} in both places excluding all termination and
end of the time. Wherefore there is no reason
either stronger or plainer to assure our belief that the
devil and his angels shall never more return to the
so too is glory and righteousness of the saints, than because the Scriptures, that deceive no man, tell us directly and plainly, “that God hath not spared them, but cast them down into hell, and delivered them unto chains of darkness, there to be kept unto the condemnation in the just judgment, then to be cast into eternal fire, and there to burn for evermore.” If this be true how can either all or any man be delivered out of this eternity of pains, if our faith, whereby we believe the devil to be everlastingly tormented, be not hereby infringed? for if those (either all or some part) to whom it shall be said, “Depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels,” shall not continue for ever in the fire, what reason have we to think that the devil and his angels shall? Shall the word of God, spoken alike both to men and devils, be proved true upon the devils and not upon the men? So indeed would man’s surmises be of more certainty than God’s promises. But seeing that cannot be, they that desire to escape this pain eternal, must cease to argue against God, and take His yoke upon them while they have time.

For what foolishness were it to value the pains eternal by a fire only of a long continuance, but yet to believe assuredly that life eternal has no end at all, seeing that the Lord in the same place including both these parts in one sentence, said plainly, “These shall go into everlasting pains, and the righteous into life eternal.” Thus does He make them parallels: here are everlasting pains, and there is eternal life. Now to say this life shall never end, but that pain shall, were grossly absurd. Wherefore seeing that the eternal life of the saints shall be without end, so therefore is it a consequent that the everlasting pain of the damned shall be as endless as the other’s beatitude.
CHAPTER XXIV

Against those that would prove all damnation frustrate by the prayers of the saints.

This is also against those who under colour of more God not pity, oppose the express word of God: and say that God's promises are true in that men are worthy of the plagues He threatens, not that they shall be laid upon them. For He will give them (say they) unto the entreaties of his saints, who will be the readier to pray for them then, in that they are more purely holy, and their prayers will be the more powerful, in that they are utterly exempt from all touch of sin and corruption. Well, and why then in this their pure holiness and powerfulness of prayer will they not entreat for the angels that are to be cast into everlasting fire, that it would please God to mitigate His sentence, and set them free from that intolerable fire? Some perhaps will pretend that the holy angels will join with the saints (as then there follows) in prayer both the angels and men also that are guilty of damnation, that God in His mercy would be pleased to pardon their wicked deserts. But there is no sound Christian that ever held this, or ever will hold it; for otherwise, there were no reason why the Church should not pray for the devil and his angels, seeing that her Lord God has willed her to pray for her enemies. But the same cause that stays the Church from praying for the damned spirits (her known enemies) at this day, the same shall hinder her for praying for the reprobate souls, at this day of judgment, notwithstanding her fulness of perfection. As now, she prays for her enemies in mankind, because this is the time of wholesome
if true repentance, and therefore her chief petition for them in His mercy, is, "that God would grant them penitence and escape from the snares of the devil, who are taken from him at his will," as the apostle says. But if the Church had this light that she could know any of those who (though they live yet upon the earth, yet) are predestined to go with the devil into that everlasting fire; she would offer as few prayers for them, as she does for him. But seeing that she has not this knowledge, therefore prays she for all her foes in the flesh, and yet is not heard for them all, but only for those who are predestinated to become her sons, though they be as yet her adversaries. If any shall die her impenitent foes, and not return into her bosom at all, does she pray for them? No, because they that before death are not ingrafted into Christ, are afterward reputed as associates of the devil: and therefore the same cause that forbids her to pray for the reprobate souls as then, stops her for praying for the apostatical angels as now; and the same reason there is why we pray for all men living, and yet will not pray for the wicked, nor infidels, being dead. For the prayer either of the Church or of some godly persons is heard for some departed this life: but for them which being regenerated in Christ, have not spent their life so wickedly, that they may be judged unworthy of such mercy: or else so devoutly, that they may be found to have no need of such mercy. Even as also after the resurrection there shall be some of the dead which shall obtain mercy after the punishments, which the spirits of the dead do suffer, that they may not be cast into everlasting fire. For otherwise that should not be truly spoken concerning some, that "they shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come:" unless there were some who, although they have no remission in
this, yet might have it in the world to come. But when it shall be said of the Judge of the quick and the dead: "Come, ye blessed of My Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world;" and to others on the contrary, "DePART FROM Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels:" it were too much presumption to say, that any of them should escape everlasting punishment whom the Lord has condemned to eternal torments, and so go about by the persuasion of this presumption, either also to despair, or doubt of eternal life.
THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK

CHAPTER I

Of the estate of angels and of men.

This present book being the last of this whole work, shall contain a discourse of the eternal beatitude of the City of God. Which City is not called eternal, as if it should continue for the space of so many, or so many thousand, ages, and then have an end, but as it is written in the Gospel, "Of His kingdom there shall be no end." Nor shall this perpetuity preserve the form by succession, as a bay tree seems to keep a continual verdure, though one leaf fall off and another spring up: but every citizen therein shall be immortal, and man shall attain to that which the angels have never foregone. This God, the Founder of this City, will effect: for so He has promised, who cannot lie, and who to confirm the rest has effected part of His promises already.

He it is that made the world, with all things sensible and intelligible therein, whose chief work the spirits were, to whom He gave an understanding, making them capable of His contemplation, and combining them in one holy and united society, which we call the City of God, holy and heavenly, wherein God is their life, their nutriment, and their beatitude.
He gave a free election also unto those intellectual natures, that if they would forsake Him, who was their bliss, they should presently be enthralled in misery. And foreknowing that certain of the angels, proudly presuming that themselves were sufficient beatitude to themselves, would forsake Him, and all good with Him, He did not abridge them of His power, knowing it a more powerful thing to make good use of such as were evil, than to exclude evil for altogether. Nor had there been any evil at all, but that those spirits (though good, yet mutable) which were formed by the omnipotent and unchangeable Deity, procured such evil unto themselves by sin: which very sin, proved that their natures were good in themselves. For if they had not been so (although inferior to the Maker) their apostasy had not fallen so heavily upon them. For as blindness being a defect, proves plainly that the eye was made to see, the excellency of the eye being hereby made more apparent (for otherwise blindness were no defect), so those natures enjoying God, proved themselves to be created good, in their very fall, and that eternal misery that fell upon them for forsaking God, who has given assurance of eternal perseverance unto those that stood firm in Him, as a fit reward for their constancy. He also made man upright, of a free election, earthly, yet worthy of heaven, if he stuck fast to his Creator; otherwise, to partake of such misery as was consonant to a nature of that kind: and foreknowing likewise, that he would break the law that He bound him to, and forsake his Maker, yet did He not take away his freedom of election, foreseeing the good use that He would make of this evil, by restoring man to His grace by means of a Man, born of the condemned seed of mankind, and by gathering so many unto this grace as should supply

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Men are to fill up the place of the lapsed, the places of the fallen angels, and so preserve (and perhaps augment) the number of the heavenly inhabitants. For evil men do much against the will of God, but yet His wisdom foresees that all such actions as seem to oppose His will, do tend to such ends as He foreknew to be good and just. And therefore, whereas God is said "to change His will," that is, to turn His meekness into anger, against some persons, the change in this case is in the persons, and not in Him: and they find Him changed in their sufferances, as a sore eye finds the sun sharp, and being cured, finds it comfortable, whereas this change was in the eye and not in the sun, which keeps his office as he did at first. For God's operation in the hearts of the obedient, is said to be His will, whereupon the apostle says, "It is God that worketh in you both will and deed." For even as that righteousness wherein both God Himself is righteousness, and whereby also a man that is justified of God is such, is termed the righteousness of God; so also is that law which He gives unto man, called His law, whereas it is rather pertinent unto man than unto Him. For those were men unto whom Christ said, "It is written also in your law;" though we read elsewhere, "The law of his God is in his heart," and according unto His will, which God works in man, Himself is said to will it, because He works it in others who do will it, as He is said to know that which He makes the ignorant to know. For whereas St. Peter says, "We now knowing God, yea rather being known of God," we may not hereby gather that God came but as then to the knowledge of those whom He had predestinated before the foundations of the world, but God as then is said to know that which He made known to others. Of this phrase of speech I have spoken (I remember)
heretofore. And according unto this will, whereby we say that God wills that which He makes others to will, who know not what is to come, He wills many things, and yet effects them not.

CHAPTER II

Of the eternal and unchangeable will of God.

For the saints do will many things that are inspired with His holy will, and yet are not done by Him, as when they pray for any one, it is not He that causes this their prayer, though He do produce this will of prayer in them, by His Holy Spirit. And therefore when the saints do will, and pray according to God; we may well say that God wills it and yet works it not, as we say He wills that Himself, which He makes others to will. But according to His eternal will, joined with His foreknowledge, thereby did He create all that He pleased, in heaven and in earth, and hath wrought all things already, as well future as past or present. But when the time of manifestation of anything which God foreknows to come, is not yet come, we say, It shall be when God will: and if both the time be uncertain, and the thing itself, then we say, It shall be if God will: not that God shall have any other will as then, than He had before, but because that shall be then effected, which His eternal, unchanging will, had from all eternity ordained.
CHAPTER III

The promise of the saints' eternal bliss, and the wicked's perpetual torment.

His promise of bliss must come true. Wherefore (to omit many words) as we see in His promise to Abraham, “In thy seed shall all nations be blessed,” fulfilled in Christ, so shall that be fulfilled hereafter which was promised to the said seed by the prophet, “The dead shall live, even with their bodies shall they rise.” And where He says, “I will create new heavens and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind, but be ye glad, and rejoice in the things I shall create; for behold I will create Jerusalem as a rejoicing, and her people as a joy,” &c. And by another prophet, “At that time shall thy people be delivered, everyone that shall be found written in the book of life, and many that sleep in the dust of the earth, shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and perpetual contempt.” And again, “They shall take the kingdom of the saints of the Most High, and possess it for ever, even for ever and ever.” And a little after, “His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom,” &c. Together with all such places as I either put into the sixteenth book, or left untouched; all these things shall come to pass, and those have already which the infidels would never believe. For the same God promised them both, even He whom the pagan gods do tremble before, as Porphyry, a worthy philosopher of theirs, confesses.
CHAPTER IV

Against the wise men of the world that hold it impossible for man's body to be transported up to the dwellings of joy in heaven.

But the learned of the world think that they oppose this all-converting power very strongly, as touching the resurrection, when they use that place of Cicero in his third book De Republica, who having affirmed that Romulus and Hercules were both deified, yet were not their bodies (says he) translated into heaven, for nature will allow an earthly body no place except on the earth. This is the wise man's argument, which God knows how vain it is: for admit that we were all mere spirits, without bodies, dwelling in heaven, and being ignorant of all earthly creatures, and it should be told us, that one day we should be bound in corporal bodies, might we not then use this objection to more power, and refuse to believe that nature would ever suffer an incorporeal substance to be bound or circumscribed by a corporal one? Yet is the earth full of vegetable souls, strangely combined with earthly bodies. Why then cannot God that made this creature, transport an earthly body into heaven, as well as He can bring a soul (a purer essence than any celestial body) down from heaven, and inclose it in a form of earth. Can this little piece of earth include so excellent a nature in it, and live by it, and cannot heaven entertain it, nor keep it in it, seeing that it lives by an essence more excellent than heaven itself? Indeed this shall not come to pass as yet, because it is not His pleasure who made this that we daily see and so respect not, in a far more admirable manner than that shall be which
Why should it be hard for God?

those wise men believe not: for why is it not more strange that a most pure and incorporeal soul should be chained to an earthly body, than that an earthly body should be lifted up to heaven, which is but a body itself? Only because the first we see daily in ourselves, and the second we have yet never seen. But reason will tell one that it is a more divine work to join bodies and souls, than to join bodies to bodies though never so different in natures, as if the one be heavenly and the other of the earth.

CHAPTER V

Of the resurrection of the body, believed by the whole world excepting some few.

This was once incredible. But now we see the whole world believes that Christ’s body is taken up to heaven. The resurrection of the body, and the ascension unto bliss is believed now by all the earth; learned and unlearned embrace it, only some few reject it: if it be credible, what fools are they not to believe it: if it be not, how incredible a thing is it, that it should be so generally believed! These two incredible things, to wit, the resurrection, and the world’s belief thereof, our Lord Jesus Christ promised should come to pass, before that He had effected either of them. Now one of them (the world’s belief of the resurrection) we see is come to pass already; why then should we despair of the other, that this incredible thing which the world believes, should come to pass as well as that other? Especially seeing that they are both promised in
those Scriptures, whereby the world believed. The manner of which belief is more incredible than the rest; that men, ignorant in all arts, without rhetoric, logic, or grammar, plain fishers, should be sent by Christ into the sea of this world, only with the nets of faith, and draw such an innumerable multitude of fishes of all sorts, so much the stranger, in that they took many rare philosophers. So that this may well be accounted the third incredible thing, and yet all three are come to pass. It is incredible that Christ should rise again in the flesh, and carry it up to heaven with Him. It is incredible that the world should believe this: and it is incredible that this belief should be effected by a small sort of poor, simple, unlearned men. The first of these our adversaries believe not; the second they behold, and cannot tell how it is wrought, if it be not done by the third. Christ's resurrection and ascension is taught and believed all the world over. If it be incredible, why does all the world believe it? If many noble, learned, and mighty persons, or men of great sway, had said they had seen it, and should have divulged it abroad, it had been no marvel if the world had believed them, and unbelievers would have been thought hardly of. But seeing that the world believes it from the mouths of a few, mean, obscure, and ignorant men, why do not our obstinate adversaries believe the whole world which believed those simple, mean, and unlearned witnesses, because that the Deity itself in these poor shapes did work the more effectually, and far more admirably? for their proofs and persuasions lay not in words, but wonders: and such as had not seen Christ risen again, and ascending, believed their affirmations thereof, because they confirmed them with miracles: for whereas they spoke but one language, or (at the most) but
Did not two, before, now of a sudden, they spoke all the
tongues of all nations. They cured a man that had
been forty years lame, even from his mother's breasts,
only by the very name of Jesus Christ. Their
handkerchiefs helped diseases; the sick persons got
themselves laid in the way where they should pass, that
they might have help from their very shadows, and
amongst all these miracles done by the name of
Christ, they raised some from the dead. If these
things be true as they are written, then may all these
be added to the three former incredibles: thus do we
bring a multitude of incredible effects to persuade our
adversaries but unto the belief of one, namely, the
resurrection; and yet their horrible obstinacy will
not let them see the light: if they believe not that
the apostles wrought any such things for confirmation
of the resurrection of Christ, it is sufficient then that
the whole world believed them without miracles,
which is a miracle as great as any of the rest.

CHAPTER VI

That love made the Romans deify their founder Romulus,
and faith made the Church love her Lord and
Master Christ Jesus.

Let us hear what Tully says of the fabulous deity
of Romulus: “it is more admirable in Romulus (says
lie) that the rest of the deified men lived in the times
of ignorance, where there was more scope for fiction,
and where the rude vulgar were far more credulous.
But Romulus, we see, lived, within this six hundred
years, since which time (and before also) learning
has been more common, and the ignorance of elder

times utterly abolished." Thus says Tully: and a
little after. "Hereby it is evident, that Homer was
long before Romulus, so that in the later times, men
grew learned, and fictions were well near wholly
excluded, whereas antiquity has given credence to
some very unlikely fables; but our modern ages being
more polished, deride and reject all things that seem
impossible." Thus says the most learned and elo-
quent man, that Romulus’s divinity was the more
admirable, because his times were enlightened, and
kept no place for fabulous assertions. But who
believed this deity, but Rome, as then a little thing
(God knows) and a young? Posterity indeed must
needs preserve the traditions of antiquity, everyone
sucked superstition from his nurse, whilst the city
grew to such power, that seeming in sovereignty to
stand above the nations under it, she poured the belief
of this deity of his throughout her conquered provinces,
that they should affirm Romulus to be a god (how-
soever they thought), lest they should scandalise the
founder of their lady and mistress, in saying otherwise
of him than error of love (not love of error) had
induced her to believe. Now Christ likewise, though
He founded the Celestial City, yet does not she think
Him a God for founding of her, but she is rather
founded for thinking Him to be a God. Rome being
already built and finished, adored her founder in a
temple: but the heavenly Jerusalem places Christ her
Founder in the foundation of her faith, that hereby
she may be built and perfected. Love made Rome
believe that Romulus was a god: and the belief that
Christ is God, made His City to love Him. So
that even as Rome had an object for her love, which
she was ready to honour with a false belief: so the
City of God has an object for her faith which she is
ever ready to honour with a true and rightly grounded love. For as touching Christ, besides those many miracles, the holy prophets also did teach Him to be God, long before His coming: which as the Fathers believed should come to pass, so that we do now see that they are come to pass. But as touching Romulus, we read that he built Rome, and reigned in it, not that this was prophesied before: but as for his deification, their books affirm that it was believed, but they shew not how it was effected, for there were no miracles to prove it. The she-wolf that fed the two brethren with her milk, which is held so miraculous, what does this prove as concerning his deity? If this she-wolf were not a courtesan but a brute beast, yet the accident concerning both the brethren alike, why was not Remus deified for company? And who is there that if he be forbidden upon pain of death to say that Hercules, Romulus, or such are deities, had rather lose his life than profess belief in it? What nation would worship Romulus as a god, if it were not for fear of Rome? But on the other side, who is he that can number those that have suffered death willingly in what form of cruelty soever, rather than deny the Deity of Christ? A light and little fear of the Roman power compelled divers inferior cities to honour Romulus as a god: but neither fear of power, torment, nor death, could hinder an infinite multitude of martyrs, all the world through, from both believing and professing that Christ was God. Nor did His City, though she were as then a pilgrim upon earth, and had huge multitudes within her, ever go about to defend her temporal estate against her persecutors by force, but neglected that to gain her place in eternity. Her people were bound, imprisoned, beaten, racked, burned, torn, butchered, and yet multiplied. Their fight for
life was the contempt of life for their Saviour. Tully, love in his third De Republica (or I am deceived) argues that a just city never should take arms, but either for her safety or faith. What he means by safety he shews elsewhere. From those pains (says he) which the most foolish may feel, as poverty, banishment, stripes, imprisonment, or so, do private men escape, by the ready despatch of death. But this death which seems to free private men from pains, is pain itself unto a city. For the aim of a city's continuance should be eternity. Death, therefore, is not so natural to a commonwealth as to a private man; he may oftentimes be driven to wish for it: but when a city is destroyed, the whole world seems (in a manner) to perish with it. Thus says Tully, holding the world's eternity with the Platonists. So then he would have a city to take arms for her safety, that is, for her continuance for ever here upon earth, although her members perish and renew successively, as the leaves of the olive and laurel trees, and such like as they are: for death (says he) may free private men from misery, but it is misery itself unto a commonwealth. And therefore it is a question whether the Saguntines did well in choosing the destruction of their city, before the breach of faith with the commonwealth of Rome; an act which all the world commends. But I cannot see how they could possibly keep this rule, that a city should not take arms but either for her faith or safety. For when these two are jointly endangered, that one cannot be saved without the other's loss, one cannot determine which should be chosen. If the Saguntines had chosen to preserve their safety, they had broken their faith: if their faith, then would they lose their safety, as indeed they did. But the safety of the City of God is such, that it is preserved (or rather purchased) by faith,
Christ ascended in a critical age, and faith being once lost, the safety cannot possibly but perish also. This thought, with a firm and patient resolution, crowned so many martyrs for Christ, when Romulus never had so much as one man that would die in defence of his deity.

CHAPTER VII

That the belief of Christ's Deity was wrought by God's power, not man's persuasion.

But it is absurd to make any mention of the false deity of Romulus when we speak of Christ. But if the age of Romulus, almost six hundred years before Scipio, were so stored with men of understanding that no impossibility could enter their belief, how much more wise were they six hundred years after in Tully's time, in Tiberius' time, and in the days of Christ's coming? So that His resurrection and ascension would have been rejected as fictions and impossibilities, if either the power of God or the multitude of miracles had not persuaded the contrary, teaching that it was now shewn in Christ, and hereafter to be shewn in all men besides, and averring it strongly against all horrid persecutions, throughout the whole world, through which the blood of the martyrs made it spread and flourish. They read the prophets, observed a concordance, and a concurrence of all those miracles, the truth confirmed the novelty, being not contrary to reason, so that at the last the world embraced and professed that which before it had hated and persecuted.
CHAPTER VIII

Of the miracles which have been and are as yet wrought to procure and confirm the world's belief in Christ.

But how comes it, say they, that you have no such miracles nowadays, as you say were done of yore? I might answer, that they were necessary, before the world believed, to induce it to believe: and he that seeks to be confirmed by wonders now, is to be wondered at most of all himself; in refusing to believe what all the world believes besides him. But this they object implies that they believe not that there were any miracles done at all, No? Why then is Christ's ascension in the flesh so generally avowed? Why, does the world in such learned and circumspect times, believe such incredible things, without seeing them confirmed by miracles? were they credible, and therefore believed? Why then do not they themselves believe them? Our conclusion is brief: either this incredible thing which was not seen, was confirmed by other incredibles which were seen, or else this being so credible that it need no miracle to prove it, condemns their own gross incredulity, that will not believe it. This I say to silence fools: for we cannot deny but that the miraculous ascension of Christ in the flesh was ratified unto us by the power of many other miracles. The Scriptures do both relate them, and the end whereunto they tended. They were written to work faith in men, and the faith they wrought has made them far more famous. They are read to induce the people to believe, and yet would not be read unless they are believed: and for miracles, there are some wrought as yet, partly by the sacraments, partly by the commemorations and prayers of
Such miracles prove the saints, but they are not so famous, nor so glorious as the other; for the Scriptures which were to be divulged in all places, have given lustre to the first, in the knowledge of all nations, whereas the latter are only known unto the cities where they are done, or some parts about them. And generally, there are few that know them there, and many that do not, if the city be great; and when they relate them to others, they are not believed so fully, and so absolutely as the other, although they be declared by one Christian to another.

CHAPTER IX

That all the miracles done by the martyrs in the name of Christ, were only confirmations of that faith, whereby the martyrs believed in Christ.

And what does all this multitude of miracles do, but confirm that faith which holds that Christ rose again in the flesh, and so ascended into heaven? For the martyrs were all only martyrs, that is, witnesses of this; and for this, they suffered the malice of the cruel world, which they never resisted, but subdued by sufferance. For this faith they died, obtaining this from Him for whom they died. For this, their patience made the way for the power of these so powerful miracles to follow. For if this resurrection had not been past, in Christ, or had not been to come, as Christ promised, as well as those prophets that promised Christ; how comes it that the martyrs that died for this belief should have the power to
work such wonders? For whether God Himself Christ (who being eternal can effect things temporal by such wondrous means) has wrought these things of Himself, or by His ministers, or by the souls of the martyrs, as if He wrought by living men, or by His angels over whom He has an invisible, unchangeable, and merely intellectual command (so that those things which the martyrs are said to do, be only wrought by their prayers, and not by their powers): be they effected by this means, or by that; they do nevertheless in every particular tend only to confirm that faith which professes the resurrection of the flesh unto all eternity.

CHAPTER X

How much honour the martyrs deserve in obtaining miracles for the worship of the true God, in respect of the devils, whose works tend all to make men think that they are gods.

But it may be, here they will say, that their gods have also wrought wonders: very well, they must come now to compare their deities with our dead men. Will they say, think you, that they have gods that have been men, such as Romulus, Hercules, &c.? Well, but we make no gods of our martyrs; the martyrs and we have both but one God, and no more. But the miracles that the Pagans ascribe unto their idols, are no way comparable to the wonders wrought by our martyrs. But as Moses overthrew the enchanters of Pharaoh, so do our martyrs overthrow their devils, who wrought those
wonders out of their own pride, only to gain the reputation of gods. But our martyrs (or rather God Himself through their prayers) wrought unto another end, only to confirm that faith which excludes multitudes of gods, and believes but in one. The Pagans built temples to those devils, ordaining priests and sacrifices for them, as for gods. But we build our martyrs no temples, but only erect them monuments, as in memory of men departed, whose spirits are at rest in God. We erect no altars to sacrifice to them; we offer only to Him who is both their God and ours, at which offering those conquerors of the world as men of God, have each one his peculiar commemoration, but no invocation at all. For the sacrifice is offered unto God, though it be in memory of them; and he that offers it, is a priest of the Lord, and not of theirs, and the offering is "the body of the Lord," which is not offered unto them, because they are that body themselves. Whose miracles shall we then believe? Theirs that would be accounted for gods by those to whom they shew them; or theirs which tend all to confirm our belief in one God, which is Christ? Those that would have their filthiest acts held sacred, or those that will not have their very virtues held sacred in respect of their own glories, but referred unto His glory, who has imparted such goodness unto them? Let us believe them that do both work miracles, and teach the truth: for this latter gave them power to perform the former. A chief point of which truth is this, Christ rose again in the flesh, and shewed the immortality of the resurrection in His own body, which He promised unto us in the end of this world, or in the beginning of the next.
CHAPTER XI

Against the Platonists that oppose the elevation of the body up to heaven, by arguments of elementary ponderosity.

Against this promise do many ("whose thoughts God knoweth to be vain") make opposition out of the nature of elements: Plato (their master) teaching them that the two most contrary bodies of the world are combined by other two means: that is, by air and water. Therefore (say they) earth being lowest, water next, then air, and then the heaven, earth cannot possibly be contained in heaven, every element having its peculiar poise, and tending naturally to its proper place. See with what vain, weak, and weightless arguments man's infinitesimal opposes God's omnipotency! Why then are there so many earthly bodies in the air, air being the third element from earth? Cannot He that gave birds (that are earthly bodies) feathers, of power to sustain them in the air, give the like power to glorified and immortal bodies, to possess the heaven? Again, if this reason of theirs were true, all that cannot fly, would live under the earth, as fishes do in the water. Why then do not the earthly creatures live in the water, which is the next element unto earth, but in the air, which is the third? And seeing they belong to the earth, why does the next element above the earth presently choke them, and drown them, and the third feed and nourish them? Are the elements out of order here now, or are their arguments out of reason? I will not stay here to make a rehearsal of what I spoke in another book, of many terrene substances of great weight, as lead, iron, &c., which notwithstanding...
“flesh cannot ascend.”

standing may have such a form given it, that it will swim, and support itself upon the water. And cannot God Almighty give the body of man such a form likewise that it may ascend, and support itself in heaven? Let them stick to their method of elements (which is all their trust), yet can they not tell what to say to my former assertion. For earth is the lowest element, and then water and air successively, and heaven the fourth and highest, but the soul is a fifth essence above them all. Aristotle calls it a fifth body, and Plato says it is utterly incorporeal. If it were the fifth in order, then were it above the rest: but being incorporeal, it is much more above all substances corporeal. What does it then in a lump of earth, it being the most subtle, and this the most gross essence? It being the most active, and this the most unwieldy! Cannot the excellency of it have power to lift up this? Hath the nature of the body power to draw down a soul from heaven, and shall not the soul have power to carry the body thither whence it came itself? And now if we should examine the miracles which they parallel with those of our martyrs, we should find proofs against themselves out of their own relations.

One of their greatest ones is that which Varro reports of a vestal votaress, who being suspected of whoredom, filled a sieve with the water of the Tiber and carried it unto her judges, without spilling a drop. Who was it that kept the water in the sieve, so that not one drop passed through those thousand holes? Some god, or some devil, they must needs say. Well, if he were a god, is he greater than He that made the world? If then an inferior god, angel, or devil had this power to dispose thus of a heavy element, that the very nature of it seemed altered; cannot then the Almighty Maker of the whole
world, take away the ponderosity of earth, and give the quickened body an ability to dwell in the same place that the quickening spirit shall elect? And whereas they place the air between the fire above, and the water beneath, how comes it that we oftentimes find it between water and water, or between water and earth; for what will they make of those watery clouds, between which and the sea, the air has an ordinary passage? What order of the elements does appoint, that those floods of rain that fall upon the earth below the air, should first hang in the clouds above the air? And why is air in the midst between the heaven and the earth, if it were (as they say) to have the place between the heavens and the waters, as water is between it and the earth? And lastly, if the elements be so disposed as that the two means, air and water, do combine the two extremes fire and earth, heaven being in the highest place, and earth in the lowest, as the world’s foundation, and therefore (say they) impossible to be in heaven; what do we then with fire here upon earth? for if this order of theirs be kept inviolate, then, as earth cannot have any place in fire, no more should fire have any in earth: as that which is lowest cannot remain aloft, no more should that which is aloft remain below. But we see this order reversed: we have fire both on the earth, and in the earth: the mountain tops give it up in abundance, nay more, we see that fire is produced out of earth, namely from wood, and stones, and what are these but earthly bodies? Yea, but the elementary fire (say they) is pure, hurtless, quiet, and eternal: and this of ours, turbulent, smoky, corrupting, and corruptible. Yet does it not corrupt nor hurt the hills wherein it burns perpetually, nor the hollows within ground, where it works most powerfully. It is not like the other
We are undisturbed, but adapted unto the convenient use of man. But why then may we not believe that the nature of a corruptible body may be made incorruptible, and fit for heaven, as well as we see the elemental fire made corruptible, and fit for us? So that these arguments drawn from the sight and qualities of the elements, can no way diminish the power that Almighty God has, to make man's body of a quality fit and able to inhabit the heavens.

CHAPTER XII

Against the infidels' calumnies cast out in scorn of the Christian's belief of the resurrection.

But in their scrupulous inquiries, touching this point, they come against us with such scoffs as these: Whether of the abortive births will have any part in the resurrection? And seeing the Lord says, "There shall not one hair of your head perish," whether shall all men be of one stature and bigness or no? If they be, how shall the abortives (if they rise again) have that at the resurrection which they wanted at the first? Or if they do not rise again because they were never born, but cast out, we may make the same doubt of infants, where shall they have that bigness of body which they wanted when they died? for they know are capable of regeneration, and therefore must have their part in the resurrection. And then these Pagans ask us, of what height and quantity shall men's bodies be then? If they be as tall as ever was any man, then both little and many great ones shall want that which they
wanted here on earth, and whence shall they have by subtle
it? But if that be true which St. Paul says, "that problems.
we shall come to the measure of the age of the
fulness of Christ," and again if that place, "He
predestinated [them] to be made like to the image
of His Son," implying that all the members of
Christ's kingdom shall be like Him in shape and
stature, then must many men (say they) forego part
of the stature which they had upon earth. And then
where is that great protection of every hair, if there
be such a diminution made of the stature and body.
Besides, we make a question (say they) whether man
shall arise with all the hair that ever the barber cut
from his head. If he does, who will not loathe such
an ugly sight? for so likewise must it follow that he
have on all the parings of his nails. And where is
then the comeliness, which ought in that immortality
to be so far exceeding that of this world, while man
is in corruption? But if he does not rise with all
his hair, then it is lost, and where are your Scriptures
then? Thus they proceed unto fatness and leanness.
If all be alike (say they) then one shall be fat and
another lean. So that some must lose flesh, and
some must gain: some must have what they wanted
and some must leave what they had. Besides, as
touching the putrefaction and dissolution of men's
bodies, part going into dust, part into air, part into
fire, part into the entrails of beasts and birds; part
are drowned and dissolved into water, these accidents
trouble them much, and make them think that such
bodies can never gather to flesh again. Then pass
they to deformities, as monstrous births, misshapen
members, scars and such like; inquiring with scoffs
what forms these shall have in the resurrection. For
if we say they shall be all taken away, then they
come upon us with our doctrine that Christ arose
Sages and Christians agree with His wounds upon Him still. But their most difficult question of all is, whose flesh shall that man's be in the resurrection, which is eaten by another man through compulsion of hunger? for it is turned into his flesh that eats it, and fills the parts that famine had made hollow and lean.

Whether therefore shall he have it again that owned it at first, or he that eats it and so owned it afterwards? These doubts are put unto our resolutions by the scorners of our faith in the resurrection, and they themselves do either estate men's souls for ever in a state never certain, but now wretched, and now blessed (as Plato does), or else with Porphyry they affirm that these resolutions do toss the soul a long time, but notwithstanding have a final end at last, leaving the spirit at rest, but being utterly separated from the body for ever.

CHAPTER XIII

Of the obstinacy of some few in denying the resurrection, which the whole world believes, as it was foretold.

But as touching the good things of the mind, which the blessed shall enjoy after this life, the philosophers and we are both of one mind. Our difference is concerning the resurrection, which they deny with all the power they have: but the increase of the believers has left us but a few oppressors; Christ, (that disproved the obstinate even in His proper body) gathering all unto His faith, learned and unlearned, wise and simple. The world believed God's promise in this; who promised also that it should believe this.
It was not Peter’s magic that wrought it, but it was on future bliss of the soul. In future bliss of the soul. 

It was not Peter’s magic that wrought it, but it was future bliss of the soul.

Porphyry confesses from their own oracles) all their gods do stand in awe and dread. Porphyry calls Him “God the Father, and King of Gods:” but God forbid that we should believe His promises as they do, that will not believe what He had promised, that the world should not believe. For why should we not rather believe as the world does, and as it was prophesied it should, and leave them to their own idle talk that will not believe this that the world was promised to believe? For if they say we must take it in another sense; because they will not do that God whom they have commended, so much injury, as to say His Scriptures are idle things; yet surely they injure Him as much, or more, in saying they must be understood otherwise than the world understands them, which is, as God both promised and performed. Why cannot God raise the flesh unto eternal life? Is it a work unworthy of God? Touching His omnipotence, whereby He works for many wonders, I have said enough already. If they would shew me a thing which He cannot do: I will tell them He cannot lie. Let us therefore believe only what He can do, and not believe what He cannot. If they do not then believe that He can lie, let them believe that He will do what He promises. And let them believe as the world believes, which (He promised) should believe, and whose belief He both produced, and praised. And how prove they the work of the resurrection any way unworthy of God? There shall be no corruption therein, and that is all the evil that can befall the body. Of the elementary orders, we have spoken already: as also of the possibility of the swift motion of the incorruptible body. Of man’s bodily health in this world, and
We only refuse to banish body, the weakness of it in respect of immortality. I think our book contains what will satisfy. Let such as have not read this book, or do not remember what they have read, read the passages of this present volume already recorded.

CHAPTER XIV

That Porphyry's opinion that the blessed souls should have no bodies is confuted by Plato himself, who says that the Creator promised the inferior deities, that they should never lose their bodies.

Yea but (says Porphyry) a blessed soul must have no body: so that the body's incorruption is nothing worth, if the soul cannot be blessed unless it want a body. But hereof we have sufficiently argued in the book: only I will rehearse but one thing only. If this were true, then Plato their great master must go reform his books, and say that the gods must go and leave their bodies (for he says they all have celestial bodies), that is, they must die, ere they can be blessed: howsoever that he has made them, promised them immortality, and an eternal dwelling in their bodies, to assure them of their bliss: and this should come from his powerful will, not from their natures. The same Plato, in the same place, overthrows their reason that say there shall be no resurrection, because it is impossible for God, the uncreated Maker of the other gods, promising them eternity, says plainly that He will do a thing which is impossible: for thus (says Plato) He said unto them: "Because you are created, you cannot but be
mortal and dissoluble: yet shall you never die, nor be dissolved: fate shall not control my will, which is a greater bond for your perpetuity, than all those whereby you are composed." No man that heareth this (be he never so doltish, so he be not deaf), will make any question that this was an impossibility which Plato's Creator promised the deities which he had made. For saying, "You cannot be eternal, yet by my will you shall be eternal," what is it but to say, my will shall make you a thing impossible? He therefore that (as Plato says) did promise to effect this impossibility, will also raise the flesh in an incorruptible, spiritual and immortal quality. Why do they now cry out that that is impossible which God has promised, which the world has believed, and which it was promised it should believe, seeing that Plato himself is of our mind, and says that God can work impossibilities? Therefore it must not be the want of a body, but the possession of one utterly incorruptible, that the soul shall be blessed in. And what such body shall be so fit for their joy, as that wherein (while it was corruptible) they endured such woe? They shall not then be plagued with that desire that Virgil relates out of Plato, saying:

"Rursus et incipient in corpora velle reverti."

"Now 'gan they wish to live on earth again."

I mean, when they have their bodies that they desired, they shall no more desire any bodies: but shall possess those for ever, without being ever severed from them so much as one moment.
CHAPTER XV

Contrarieties between Plato and Porphyry, wherein if either should yield unto other, both should find out the truth.

Plato and Porphyry held divers opinions, which if they could have come to reconcile, they might perhaps have proved Christians. Plato said, “That the soul could not be always without a body: but that the souls of the wisest at length should return into bodies again.” Porphyry said, “That when the purged soul ascendeth to the Father, it returns no more to the infection of this world.” Now if Plato had yielded unto Porphyry, that the soul’s return should be only into a human body: and Porphyry unto Plato, that the soul should never return unto the miseries of a corruptible body, if both of them jointly had held both these positions, I think it would have followed, both that the souls should return into bodies, and also into such bodies as were befitting them for eternal felicity. For Plato says, “The holy souls shall return to human bodies”: and Porphyry says, “The holy souls shall not return to the evils of this world.” Let Porphyry therefore say with Plato, “They shall return unto bodies”: and Plato with Porphyry, “They shall not return unto evils”: and then they shall both say, “They shall return unto such bodies as shall not molest them with any evils”; namely those wherein God has promised that the blessed souls should have their eternal dwellings. For this I think they would both grant us; that if they confessed a return of the souls of the just into
immortal bodies, it should be into those wherein they almost suffered the miseries of this world, and wherein they served God so faithfully, that they obtained an everlasting delivery from all future calamities.

CHAPTER XVI

What either Plato, Labeo, or Varro might have contributed to the true faith of the resurrection, if there had been an harmony in their opinions.

Some of us liking and loving Plato for a certain eloquent and excellent kind of speaking: and because his opinion has been true in some things, say that he thought something like unto that which we do, concerning the resurrection of the dead, which thing Tully so touches in his De Republica that he affirms that he rather spake in sport, than that he had any intent to relate it, as a matter of truth. For he declares a man revived, and related some things agreeable to Plato's disputations. Labeo also says, that there were two which died both in one day, and that they met together in a crossway, and that afterward they were commanded to return again to their bodies, and then that they decreed to live in perpetual love together, and that it was so until they died afterward. But these authors have declared, that they had such a resurrection of body, as they have had, whom truly we have known to have risen again, and to have been restored to this life: but they do not declare it in that manner, that they should not die again. Yet Marcus Varro records a more strange, admirable, and wonderful matter, in his books which
he wrote of a nation of the people of Rome. I have thought good to set down his own words. “Certain Genethliaci (wizards) have written,” says he, “that there is a regeneration, or second birth in men to be born again, which the Greeks call παλιγγενεσία.” They have written, that it is brought to pass, and effected in the space of four hundred and forty years: so that the same body and soul which had been fore-time knit together, should return again into the same conjunction and union they had before. Truly this Varro, or those Genethliaci (I know not who they are for he has related their opinion concealing their names) have said something, which although it be false, because the souls returning into the bodies, which they have before managed, will never after forsake them: notwithstanding it serves to stop the mouth of those babblers, and to overthrow the stronghold of many arguments of that impossibility. For they do not think it an impossible thing which have thought these things, that dead bodies resolved into air, dust, ashes, humours, bodies of devouring beasts, or of men themselves, should return again to that they have been. Wherefore let Plato, and Porphyry, or such rather as do affect them and are now living, if they accord with us, that holy souls shall return to their bodies, as Plato says, but not to return to any evils as Porphyry says, that that sequel may follow, which our Christian faith does declare, to wit, that they shall receive such bodies, as they shall live happily in them eternally without any evil: let them (I say) assume and take this also from Varro, that they return to the same bodies in which they had been before time, and then there shall be a sweet harmony between them, concerning the resurrection of the flesh eternally.
CHAPTER XVII

Of the quality of the vision with which the saints shall see God in the world to come.

Now let us see what the saints shall do in their immortal and spiritual bodies, their flesh living now no more carnally but spiritually: so far forth as the Lord shall vouchsafe to enable us. And truly what manner of action or rather rest and quietness it shall be, if I say the truth, I know not, for I have never seen it by the senses of the body, but if I shall say I have seen it by the mind, that is by the understanding, alas, how great, or what is our understanding in comparison of that exceeding excellency? For there is, "the peace of God which passeth all understanding," as the apostle says. What understanding, but ours, or peradventure of all the holy angels? For it does not pass the understanding of God. If therefore the saints shall live in the peace of God, without doubt they shall live in that peace, "which passeth all understanding." Now there is no doubt, but that it passes our understanding. But if it also pass the understanding of angels, for He seems not to except them when He says, "all understanding;" then according to this saying we ought to understand that we are not able, nor any angels, to know that peace wherewith God Himself is pacified, in such sort as God knows it. But we being made partakers of His peace, according to the measure of our capacity, shall obtain a most excellent peace in us, and amongst us, and with Him, according to the quantity of our excellency. In this manner the Holy angels according to their measure do know the same: but men
eternal now do know it in a far lower degree, although they excel in acuteness of understanding.

We must consider what a great man did say, "We know in part, and we prophesy in part, until that come which is perfect. And we see now in a glass darkly: but then we shall see Him face to face." So do the holy angels now see which are called also our angels, because we being delivered from the power of darkness, and translated to the kingdom of God, having received the pledge of the Spirit, have already begun to pertain to them, with whom we shall enjoy that most holy and pleasant City of God, of which we have already written so many books. So therefore the angels are ours, which are the angels of God, even as the Christ of God is our Christ. They are the angels of God, because they have not forsaken God: they are ours, because they have begun to account us their citizens. For the Lord Jesus has said, "Take heed ye do not despise one of these little ones: For I say unto you, that their angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven." As therefore they do see, so also we shall see, but as yet we do not see so. Wherefore the apostle says that which I have spoken a little before, "We see now in a glass darkly: but then we shall see Him face to face." Therefore that vision is kept for us, being the reward of faith, of which also the apostle John, speaking, says: "When He shall appear, we shall be like unto Him, for we shall see Him as He is."

But we must understand by "the face of God," His manifestation, and not to be any such member, as we have in the body, and do call it by that name. Wherefore when it is demanded of us, what the saints shall do in that spiritual body, I do not say, that I see now, but I say, that I believe: according to that
which I read in the Psalm, "I believe, and therefore I spake." I say, therefore, that they shall see God in the body, but whether by the same manner, as we now see by the body, the sun, moon, stars, sea and earth, it is no small question.

It is a hard thing to say, that then the saints shall have such bodies, that they cannot shut and open their eyes, when they will. But it is more hard to say, that whosoever shall shut their eyes there, shall not see God. For if the prophet Elisha, absent in body, saw his servant Gehazi receiving the gifts which Naaman gave unto him, whom the aforesaid prophet had cleansed from the deformity of his leprosy, which the wicked servant thought he had done secretly, his master not seeing him: how much more shall the saints in that spiritual body see all things, not only if they shut their eyes, but also from whence they are absent in body? For then shall that be perfect of which the apostle speaking, says, "We know in part, and prophesy in part: but when that shall come which is perfect, that which is in part shall be done away."

Afterward that he might declare by some similitude, how much this life differs from that which shall be, not of all sorts of men, but also of them which are endowed here with an especial holiness, he says, "When I was a child, I understood as a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things. We now see in a glass darkly, but then we shall see face to face. Now I know in part, but then shall I know even as I am known." If therefore in this life, where the prophecy of admirable men is to be compared to that life, as children to a young man: notwithstanding Elisha saw his servant receiving gifts where he himself was not: shall therefore the
Not in saints stand in need of corporal eyes to see those things which are to be seen, which Elisha being absent needed not to see his servant? For when that which is perfect is come, neither now the corruptible body shall any more aggravate the soul: and no incorruptible thing shall hinder it.

For according to the LXX. interpreters, these are the words of the prophet to Gehazi: "Did not my heart go with thee, and I knew that the man turned back from his chariot to meet thee, and thou hast received money," &c. But as Jerome has interpreted it out of the Hebrew: "Was not my heart," says he, "in presence, when the man returned from his chariot to meet thee?" Therefore the prophet said, "That he saw this thing with his heart," wonderfully aided by the Divine power, as no man doubts. But how much more shall all abound with that gift, when God shall be all things in all? Nevertheless those corporal eyes also shall have their office, and shall be in their place, and the spirit shall use them by the spiritual body. For the prophet did use them to see things present, though he needed not them to see his absent servant, which present things he was able to see by the spirit, though he did shut his eyes, even as he saw things absent, where he was not with them. God forbid therefore that we should say that the saints shall not see God in that life, their eyes being shut, whom they shall always see by the spirit. But whether they shall also see by the eyes of the body, when they shall have them open, from hence there arises a question. For if they shall be able to do no more, in the spiritual body by that means, as they are spiritual eyes, than those are able which we have now, without all doubt they shall not be able to see God: therefore they shall be of a far other power, if that incorporate nature shall be seen
by them, which is contained in no place, but is whole everywhere. For we do not say, because we say that God is both in heaven and also in earth (for He says by the prophet, “I fill heaven and earth”), that He has one part in heaven, and another in earth, but He is whole in heaven, and whole in earth, not at several times, but He is both together, which no corporal nature can be. Therefore there shall be a more excellent and potent force of those eyes, not that they may see more sharply than some serpents and eagles are reported to see: for those living creatures by their greatest sharpness of seeing can see nothing but bodies, but that they may also see incorporate things. And it may be that great power of seeing was granted for a time to the eyes of holy Job, yea in that mortal body, when he says to God, “By the hearing of the ear I did hear Thee before, but now my eye doth see Thee, therefore I despised myself, consumed, and esteemed myself to be earth and ashes.” Although there is nothing to the contrary, but that the eye of the heart may be understood, concerning which eyes the apostle says: “To have the eyes of your heart enlightened.” But no Christian man doubts, that God shall be seen with them, when He shall be seen which faithfully receives that which God the Master says: “Blessed are the pure in heart, because they shall see God.” But it now is in question, whether He may be seen there also with corporal eyes. For that which is written: “And all flesh shall see the salvation of God,” without any knot, or scruple of difficulty may so be understood, as if it had been said, “And every man shall see the Christ of God,” who, as He has been seen in body, shall likewise be seen in body, when He shall judge the quick and the dead. But that He is the Salvation of
God, there are also many other testimonies of the Scriptures.

But the words of that worthy and reverend old man Simeon declare it more evidently: who, after he had received the infant Christ into his hands, "Now," says he, "lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word: because mine eyes have seen Thy salvation." Also that, which the above recited Job says, as it is found in many copies taken from the Hebrew: "And I shall see God in my flesh." Verily he prophesied the resurrection of the flesh without all doubt, yet he said not, "By my flesh." For if he had said so, God Christ might have been understood, who shall be seen in the flesh by the flesh: now indeed it may also be taken, "In my flesh I shall see God:" as if he had said, "I shall be in my flesh when I shall see God." And that which the apostle says, "Face to face," does not compel us that we believe that we shall see God by this corporal face, where there are corporal eyes, whom we shall see by the spirit without intermission. For unless there were a face also of the inward man, the same apostle would not say, "But we, beholding the glory of the Lord with the face unveiled, are transformed into the same image from glory unto glory, as it were to the spirit of the Lord." Neither do we otherwise understand that which is sung in the Psalm. "Come unto Him and be enlightened, and your faces shall not be ashamed." For by faith we come unto God, which as it is evident, belongeth to the heart and not to the body (universally). But because we know not now how near the spiritual body shall approach, for we speak of a thing of which we have no experience, where some things are, which cannot otherwise be understood, the authority of the divine scriptures does not resist, but succour us: it
must needs be that that happen in us which is read in
the book of Wisdom: "The thoughts of men are
fearful, and our sore sights are uncertain." For
if that manner of arguing of the philosophers, by
which they dispute that intelligible things are so to
be seen by the aspect of the understanding; and
sensible, that is to say, corporal things, so to be seen
by the sense of the body, that neither the under-
standing can be able to behold intelligible things by the
body, nor corporal things by themselves, can be most
certain unto us, truly it should likewise be certain,
that God could not be seen by the eyes of a spiritual
body. But both true reason and prophethical authority
will deride this manner of disputing. For who is
such an obstinate and opposite enemy to the truth,
that he dare say, that God knows not these corporal
things? Has he therefore a body by the eyes of
which he may learn those things? Furthermore
does not that, which we spake a little before of the
prophet Elisha, declare sufficiently also, that corporal
things may be seen by the spirit, not by the body?
For when his servant received rewards, though it was
corporally done, yet the prophet saw it, not by the
body but by the spirit. As therefore it is manifest,
that bodies are seen by the spirit: what if there shall
be such a great power of the spiritual body, that the
spirit may also be seen by the body? For God is a
Spirit. Moreover, every man knows his own life, by
which he lives now in the body, and which does
make these earthly members grow and increase, and
makes them living, by the inward sense, and not by
the eyes of the body. But he sees the lives of other
men by the body, when as they are invisible. For
from whence do we discern living bodies from unliv-
ing, unless we see the bodies and live together. But we
do not see with corporal eyes the lives without bodies.
Wherefore it may be, and it is very credible, that then we shall so see the worldly bodies of the new heaven, and new earth, as we see God present everywhere, and also governing all corporal things, by the bodies we shall carry, and which we shall see, wheresoever we shall turn our eyes, most evidently all clouds of obscurity being removed: not in such sorts as the invisible things of God are seen now, being understood by those things which are made in a glass, darkly and in part, where faith prevailed more in us, by which we believe, than the object of things which we see by corporal eyes. But even as, so soon as we behold men amongst whom we live, being alive, and performing vital motions: we do not believe that they live, but we see them to live, when we cannot see their life without bodies: which notwithstanding we clearly behold by the bodies, all ambiguity being removed: so wheresoever we shall turn about these spiritual eyes of our bodies, we shall likewise see incorporate God governing all things by our bodies.

God therefore shall either so be seen by those eyes, because they have something in that excellency, like unto the understanding whereby the incorporeal nature may be seen, which is either hard or impossible to declare by any examples or testimonies of divine scriptures: or that which is more easily to be understood, God shall be so known, and conspicuous unto us, that He may be seen by the spirit of every one of us, in every one of us, may be seen of another in another, may be seen in himself, may be seen in the new heaven and in the new earth, and in every creature, which shall be then: may be seen also by the bodies in every body, wheresoever the eyes of the spiritual body shall be directed by the sight coming thither. Also our thoughts shall be open, and discovered to one another, for then shall that be fulfilled
which the apostle intimates when he said, “Judge No more not anything before the time, until the Lord come, who will lighten things that are hid in darkness, and make the counsels of the heart manifest, and then shall every man have praise of God.”

CHAPTER XVIII

Of the eternal felicity of the city of God, and the perpetual Sabbath.

How great shall that felicity be, where there shall be no evil thing, where no good thing shall lie hidden, there we shall have leisure to utter forth the praises of God, which shall be all things in all! For what other thing is done, where we shall not rest with any slothfulness, nor labour for any want I know not. I am admonished also by the holy song, where I read, or hear, “Blessed are they, O Lord, which dwell in Thy house, they shall praise Thee for ever and ever.” All the members and bowels of the incorruptible body, which we now see distributed to diverse uses of necessity, because then there shall not be that necessity, but a full, sure, secure, everlasting felicity, shall be advanced and go forward in the praises of God. For then all the numbers (of which I have already spoken) of the corporal harmony shall not lie hid, which now lie hid: being disposed inwardly and outwardly through all the members of the body, and with other things which shall be seen there, being great and wonderful; shall kindle the reasonable souls with delight of such a reasonable beauty to sound forth the praises of such a great and excellent workman. What the motions of
Graves of honour but no envy. Those bodies shall be there; I dare not rashly define, when I am not able to dive into the depth of that mystery. Nevertheless both the motion and state, as the form of them shall be comely and decent, whatsoever it shall be, where there shall be nothing which shall not be comely. Truly where the spirit will, there forthwith shall the body be: neither will the spirit will anything, which may not becomem the body nor the spirit. There shall be true glory, where no man shall be praised for error or flattery. True honour, which shall be denied unto none which is worthy, shall be given unto none unworthy. But neither shall any unworthy person covet after it, where none is permitted to be, but he which is worthy. There is true peace, where no man suffers anything which may molest him, either from himself or from any other. He himself shall be the reward of virtue, which has given virtue, and has promised Himself unto him, than whom nothing can be better and greater. For what other thing is that, which He has said by the Prophet: "I will be their God, and they shall be My people:" but I will be whereby they shall be satisfied: I will be whatsoever is lawfully desired of men, life, health, food, abundance, glory, honour, peace, and all good things? For so also is that rightly understood, which the apostle says: "That God may be all in all." He shall be the end of our desires, who shall be seen without end, who shall be loved without any satiety, and praised without any tediousness. This function, this affection, this action verily shall be unto all as the eternal life shall be common to all. But who is sufficient to think, much more to utter, what degrees there shall also be of the rewards for merits; of the honours and glories? But we must not doubt, but that there shall be degrees. And also that blessed city shall
see that in itself, that no inferior shall envy his superior: even as now the other angels do not envy the archangels: as every one would not be which he has not received, although he be combined with a most peaceable bond of concord to him which has received, by which the finger will not be the eye in the body, when a peaceable conjunction, and knitting together of the whole flesh contains both members. Therefore one shall so have a gift less than another has, that he also has this gift, that he will have no more. Neither therefore shall they not have free will, because sins shall not delight them. For it shall be more free being freed from the delight of sinning to an undeclinable and steadfast delight of not sinning. For the first free will, which was given to man, when he was created righteous, had power not to sin, but it had also power to sin: but this last free will shall be more powerful than that, because it shall not be able to sin. But this also by the gift of God, not by the possibility of his own nature. For it is one thing to be God, another thing to be partaker of God. God cannot sin by nature, but he which is partaker of God, receiveth from Him, that he cannot sin. But there were degrees to be observed of the divine gift, that the first free will might be given, whereby man might be able not to sin: the last whereby he might not be able to sin: and the first did pertain to obtain a merit, the latter to receive a reward. But because that nature sinned, when it might sin, it is freed by a more bountiful grace, that it may be brought to that liberty, in which it cannot sin. For as the first immortality, which Adam lost by sinning, was to be able not to die. For so the will of piety and equity shall be free from being lost, as the will of felicity is free from being lost. For as by sinning we neither kept piety nor felicity:
yet not the less free.

Truly is God himself therefore to be denied to have free will, because He cannot sin? Therefore the free will of that city shall both be one in all, and also inseparable in every one, freed from all evil, and filled with all good, enjoying an everlasting pleasure of eternal joys, forgetful of faults, forgetful of punishments, neither therefore so forgetful of her deliverance, that she be ungrateful to her deliverer. For so much as concerns reasonable knowledge she is mindful also of her evils, which are past: but so much as concerns the experience of the senses, altogether unmindful.

For a most skilful physician also knows almost all diseases of the body, as they are known by art: but as they are felt in the body, he knows not many, which he has not suffered. As therefore there are two knowledges of evils: one, by which they are not hidden from the power of the understanding, the other, by which they are infixed to the senses of him, that feels them (for all vices are otherwise known by the doctrine of wisdom, and otherwise by the most wicked life of a foolish man) so there are two forgetfulnesses of evils. For a skilful and learned man does forget them one way, and he that has had experience and suffered them, forgets them another way. The former, if he neglect his skill, the latter, if he want misery. According to this forgetfulness which I have set down in the latter place, the saints shall not be mindful of evils past. For they shall want all evils, so that they shall be abolished utterly from their senses. Nevertheless that power of knowledge, which shall be great in them, shall not only know their own evils past, but also the everlasting misery of the damned.
wise, if they shall not know that they have been miserable, how, as the psalm says, "Shall they sing the mercies of the Lord for ever?" Than which song nothing verily shall be more delightful to that city, to the glory of the love of Christ, by whose blood we are delivered. There shall be perfected, "Be at rest and see, because I am God." Because there shall be the most great Sabbath having no evening, which the Lord commended unto us in the first works of the world, where it is read, "And God rested the seventh day from all His works He made, and sanctified it, because in it He rested from all His works, which God began to make." For we ourselves also be the seventh day, when we shall be replenished, and repaired with His benediction and sanctification. There being freed from toil we shall see, because He is God, which we ourselves would have been when we fell from Him, hearing from the seducer: "Ye shall be as gods:" and departing from the true God, by whose means we should be gods by participation of Him, not by forsaking Him. For what have we done without Him, but that we have fallen from Him and gone back in His anger? Of whom we being restored and perfected with a greater grace shall rest for ever, seeing that He is God, with whom we shall be replenished, when He shall be all in all: for our good works also, although they are rather understood to be His than ours, are then imputed unto us to obtain this Sabbath: because if we shall attribute them unto ourselves, they shall be servile, when it is said of the Sabbath: "Ye shall not do any servile work in it." For which cause it is said also by the prophet Ezekiel. "And I have given my Sabbaths unto them for a sign between Me, and them, that they might know, that I am the Lord, which sanctify
which them:” Then shall we know this thing perfectly, and we shall perfectly rest and shall perfectly see, that He is God. If therefore that number of ages, as of days be accounted according to the distinctions of times, which seem to be expressed in the sacred Scriptures, that Sabbath day shall appear more evidently, because it is found to be the seventh, that the first age, as it were the first day, be from Adam unto the flood, then the second from thence unto Abraham, not by equality of times, but by number of generations. For they are found to have a tenth number. From hence now, as Matthew the Evangelist doth conclude, three ages do follow even unto the coming of Christ, every one of which is expressed by fourteen generations. From Abraham unto David is one, from thence even unto the transmigration into Babylons, is another, the third from thence unto the incarnate nativity of Christ. So all of them are made five. Now this age is the sixth, to be measured by no number, because of that which is spoken. “It is not for you to know the seasons, which the Father has placed in His own power.” After this age God shall rest as in the seventh day, when God shall make that same seventh day to rest in Himself, which we shall be. Furthermore it would take up a long time to discourse now exactly of every one of those several ages. But this seventh shall be our Sabbath, whose end shall not be the evening, but the Lord’s day, as the eighth eternal day, which is sanctified and made holy by the resurrection of Christ, not only prefiguring the eternal rest of the spirit, but also of the body. There we shall rest, and see, we shall see, and love, we shall love, and we shall praise: Behold what shall be in the end without end! For what other thing is our end, but to come to that kingdom of which there is no end.
I think I have discharged the debt of this great work by the help of God. Let them which think I have done too little, and they which think I have done too much, grant me a favourable pardon: But let them, which think I have performed enough, accepting it with a kind congratulation, give no thanks unto me, but “unto the Lord with me.” Amen.
This issue of Augustine's "City of God" has been edited by the Rev. F. N. Bussell, D.D., Vice-Principal of Brazenose College, Oxford, who has carefully revised the text, recasting the arrangement of some of the chapters so as to present the description of the "City of God" in a consecutive form, and to separate what is probably the work of Augustine from any later accretions supplied by monkish followers. He has also supplied the Marginalia, Notes, and the Historical Epilogue at the end of the third volume.

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NOTES

XII. 6 (end of second sentence). This has a very modern sound: "immo omnes nihil aliud quam voluntates sunt." Kant, reacting from the intellectual naturalism of the eighteenth century, rediscovered man as "will." But the tendency to unify impelled the pessimistic school to find in this, not a confirmation of the moral dignity of man, but a benumbing sense of dependence on an unconscious world-will, which as a somnambulist God had dreamt a nightmare and woke up (in man) on the verge of an abyss.

XII. 10 (end). It was a favourite surmise with some of the Fathers that man was created to fill the empty places in heaven left by the defection of the rebel angels. We may here again remark on the episodic and secondary character of human destiny. Man is not a protagonist in the drama; and the main issue is settled before he appears on the stage. (See XVIII. 1.)

XIII. 1. "God like a potter." Augustine, who no doubt used this argument so familiar to readers of the "Romans" and Omar Khayyam, for his theory of Determinism, has not remarked that in St. Paul the argument is merely ad hominem; and that the whole position is reversed in the succeeding chapters. Religion would be possible but not morality on such an hypothesis. (See Chap. vi., at end, massa damnationi tradita, etc.)

XIII. 1 (end). The "increase" of the City of Saints is here permitted, but not encouraged, "quamvis hic pariat cives." We are already in the chilly atmosphere of the early middle ages; God's kingdom is a mere "pilgrim and sojourner" (peregrinus occurs about twenty-five times—Books XIII.-XVIII.) Yet the insecurity of the social and political world at the beginning of the fifth century may excuse this dualism.

XIV. 1 (end). In this chapter we have a useful summary of the general scope and arrangement of the work. We cannot, in spite of the wearisomeness of this portion, refrain from admiring the veteran author, who will not leave a
single branch of secular or sacred history and thought unexplored. The result is a monument of patience and of uncritical research; but it fairly represents the final verdict passed on the whole panorama of profane records, and on the now faded classical age, by the first of the schoolmen, the last of the great Latin Fathers.

XIV. 29 (last sentence). In this important pronouncement lies the entire policy of the Mediæval Church, claiming supremacy in every department of human life and knowledge. "Quicquid ei resistis, non dubitamus esse falsissimum." It seems clear to us to-day that this pretension arose from a perverted sense of duty, like religious persecution, and not from any love of tyranny or cruelty for its own sake. But the Church can no more suffocate the impulse to free discovery in the scientific domain, than natural knowledge can extirpate the religious feelings. They must co-exist in armed neutrality. This chapter may also shew how few of the general principles current to-day are novel. Just as Ionian philosophy began with the postulate of "infinite universes in infinite time," and with tentative guesses at evolutionary development and natural selection, so Egyptian history and science told of the immense epochs in the past life of our planet. It was Aristotle above all who introduced the Hellenic notion of πέρας limit into the universe, and bounded it on all sides in a series of concentric circles. Modern thought, a reaction against this cramping conception, only reverts to an earlier belief. But neither the finitude nor infinity of space or time is strictly conceivable.

XIV. 30 (first sentence). The presupposition of this chapter is, that man desires happiness; that philosophy promises and cannot secure; that religion alone provides. Neither the ancient sects nor the Christian Church were perplexed by doubt as to the fundamental duty of man to seek his own good. The protest of the eighteenth century in favour of "Disinterested Virtue"—is mainly polemical and insincere; not because "unselfishness" (an inaccurate term) is untrue to human nature—it is its most familiar impulse; but because it is impossible to conceive a course of conduct being followed and taught through long generations, which has absolutely no sanction in the objective world, or in some supersensuous region of which the soul has somehow an intuitive certainty. It is no mere demand for personal satisfaction, but for justice.
XIV. 30 (last sentence). Here we have again the ecclesiastical principle of authority; law as a command of divine autocracy; morality as the (arbitrary) condition of a future recompense; obedience as the supreme virtue in the Church's subject. We contrast this Western idea with the Oriental notion of truth and subjective illumination; heresy, not schism, the deadly sin. He seems to rejoice that righteousness, whether in principle or effect, is a magical gift: "non ora humana sed oracula divina... propheticis, h.s. divinis vocibus, non argumentationum concertationibus... non hominis ingenium sed Dei eloquium." What, it may be asked, is the "principle of recognition" in man? What compels his respect or his obedience? St. Paul, in Rom. vii., and his sermons in the Acts, has a fairer conception of the subordinate yet important part played by the human.

XIV. 35 (first sentence). "World being at peace." This idea of the Roman Empire as the great pacific State, Augustine, amongst others, hands down to the middle ages, a doubtful heritage. For, in spite of attempts to weld together Church and State into a concrete whole, the "peregrina" and the "impia civitas" had each their supporters. Their rivalry, though needful to the development of Europe, caused much waste of energy and unhappiness.

XV. 11 (fifth sentence). Herein Augustine differs profoundly and irreconcilably from Greek patristic or modern thought. We may reluctantly be forced to admit that a spirit, dowered with freedom and immortality, may suffer an eternal remorse for a persistent choice of evil; but it appals us to see our author first enfeebling man's conscious liberty, and next demanding everlasting existence, only in order that he may endure everlasting torment. The accommodation of the Roman Church to the needs of man is nowhere more to be admired than on this point; the "abuses" of supererogation, superfluous merit, prayers for the dead, indulgences, purgatory (which to the Protestants constituted in themselves ample reason for schism), were but attempts to justify the theoretic crudeness of the Augustinian scheme.

XV. 14 (first sentence). There is latent here the great modern principle of "libera Chiesa in libero Stato," each with profoundly different aims and clearly marked province. He ends with a principle of "Imperium in Imperio:" the
Medieval Church had perforce, in the absence of any real political centre, to alter this into a concrete monism, in which the several duties of the magistrate and the priest were inextricably interwoven. To-day, it seems likely that in countries of the Roman communion the nominal union of the Church and State will be retained, in fear of the preponderating influence of an autonomous hierarchy, owning a foreign allegiance. (See middle of Chap. xvii., and the significant and unpatriotic statement in Chap. xxvi., "utimur et nos pace Babylonis").

XV. 14. "Divine instruction," etc. Hoffding in his History of Modern Philosophy, well points out the two somewhat incompatible requisites in our idea of God: a Being in which the finite shall be embraced and find rest (the notion underlying all "absolute" speculation), and an active helper for man in his peculiar and possibly transitory stage of moral struggle. Here Augustine in his emphasis on "certus obtemperare" and "liber obtemperare" shews this antinomy in another sphere. God is not only "magister," but "adjutor." We might go further, the Christian believes himself a fellow-worker with a God who had, like him, toiled and suffered. This fundamental truth (see J. S. Mill on "Theism") is obscured by Augustine's undue emphasis on God's omnipotence—not only the least intelligible of all divine attributes, but the least prominent in the scheme of the gospel. The Medieval Church perhaps unduly centres its attention on Christ as the absent King and future Judge. Hence the rise of subordinate mediators.

XV. 16. Here he styles domus, the family, initium, and particula civilis, following Aristotle. This speculation is entirely opposed to the more modern theorising, of a compact between resilient and hostile atoms, as in Hobbes. Individual man could never have had a conception of the state unless he had learnt in the family the need of union and the duty of obedience.

XV. 27. Patience, tolerance, endurance, such was the negative conception of Christian virtue in Lactantius. Positive or active exercise or perfection was not, as yet, the aim of the moralist. Augustine here believes that our righteousness lies rather in "remission of sins" than in "perfect development of the virtues." The burden of responsibility thrust on the Roman Church enlarged the positive scope, and maintained, indeed, the ideal of the
NOTES

quiescent and contemplative virtues, but found place and consecration for every innocent activity. Certainly, with this phase of quietism, no admirer of the Hellenic system can find fault; for one and all ended in the counsels of abstention, or the secret conviction of the uselessness of effort. To Augustine, the consummation, like the early commencement of the holy life, is the absolute gift of God.

XVII. 8 (after "Varro" and "portents"). A very modern and sagacious maxim. He points out that "nature" is not a fixed term; it is always changing and enlarging its meaning to take in some newly ascertained fact ("not fixed, but progressive," as Butler says). It is a convenient title for a vague and indistinct realm. He very rightly objects to the term super-natural, or "contra-natural"; a miracle is not against nature (which is the concrete expression of God's will; but "contra quam est nota natura"). Yet we must observe that to him nature cannot be conceived of as constant or mechanically explicable; but liable to constant interruption and breaches of continuity. What is significant is his thought of natural "laws" as entirely subordinate to a higher code, and in themselves constituting neither a divine complex as to the Stoic, nor in any true sense an object of knowledge.

XVII. 12 (first sentence). "We do not realise the enormity of Adam's sin." Here Augustine is out of sympathy with Christian thought to-day. But at least no stone can be hurled upon the edifice of his theology by those who believe in scientific determinism, still more merciless.

XVII. 13. "Purgatorial," after Virgil's quotation. This word is used by Macrobius, a contemporary, to translate Porphyry's καθαρρητική, tropically, of moral as opposed to theoretic or contemplative virtue. From this passage grows the well-known mediæval use. Law to the Roman is absolute, and issues from omnipotence. Yet, as epicycles, to harmonise the Ptolemaic system with observation and experience, so are the concessions and compromises which a wise and philanthropic system makes to a popular sentiment of the just and righteous. It is illogical to exclude theoretically the possibility of a persistent self-exile from the "Divine presence;" but we are happily unable to believe this of any individual, unless he be insane, and the "smoking flax" of the feeblest aspiration to good will not be quenched. Orthodox Protestantism reverts to an impracticable dualism here and hereafter. It incorporates
all the most uncompromising features of Augustine’s theology; while Rome maintains a hierarchy, a gradation of function and fruition, agreeable to the words of Christ, “in My Father’s house are many mansions.” (See Chap. xvi., where he allows (1) purgation possible before the last judgment, and (2) a proportionment of fiery trial in intensity according to guilt.

XVII. 14. “Be an infant again?” The pessimistic outlook has been deepening in these latter books, and the Christian interests are violently and finally divorced from the fortunes of the secular state. This sentence might be echoed by Schopenhauer or Leopardi. It is far truer to ancient classical reflection on things and the meaning of life than to the Christian ideal.

XVII. 15 (end). Here is the perpetual inconsistency of the upholders of “Disinterested Virtue” as a system (for as an actual fact of experience it needs no champion or explanation). The very notion and significance of such words depends on a belief, a moral conviction (demonstrable scientifically it can fortunately never become!) that right will triumph: \( \text{Αλλουν εὶς τὸ δ’ ἐστιν κατ’} \). If it does not, and if we do not share, we must embrace, Nietzsche’s transmutation of values, and combine the advice given to Clovis at his baptism and the Epicurean maxim of St. Paul. It cannot be sufficiently impressed upon mankind, that such hope is essential to the moral life. Without it we are reduced to a mere æsthetic appreciation of goodness, which, in a large number of cases, is sufficient guide in life; but it is incommunicable to others (because partly subjective, like a taste for sugar); and is, besides, bound sooner or later to bring back again the old super-sensuous, super-evidential sanction as “postulates of the Practical Reason.”

XVIII. 7. How Augustine’s style has changed from the Ciceronian elegance of the early Dialogues! The middle sentence of this chapter is an inopportune example to monastic imitators in the darkness of the coming epoch, from which the careful style of Humanism was a welcome reaction. The whole of this latest work is mediæval in temper.
EPILOGUE

DATES IN THE LIFE OF AUGUSTINE

Roman Emperors in the West—
337-361. Constantius II.

361-363. Julianus II.  
364-375. Valentinianus I.  
[Usurpation of Maximus III. 383-388.]


[Usurper Attalus, under Alaric, 409.]
410. Third Siege and Sack of Rome.

[423. Usurpation of Joannes.]  
476. Abolition of the Western Cæsar and reunion to the Eastern Empire in nominal suzerainty.


373. Becomes a Manichee (at. 19). 
Lectures at Carthage and Tagastè.
383. To Rome to teach rhetoric.
387. Baptized at Milan, April 25 (at. 33).  
391. Ordained Priest by Valerius, Bishop of Hippo.

395. Bishop-coadjutor at Hippo. 
[Donatist Schism: "Holiness above Catholicity" to Augustine as to Cyprianus the reverse.]

Pelagian controversy.

416. } Pelagianism condemned by the African Synod.
413-426. "De Civitate Dei."
430. Augustine dies, at. 76, Aug. 28.