BOOK I. able to yield them relief1: what would become of man himself, whom these things now do all serve? See we not plainly that obedience of creatures unto the law of nature is the stay of the whole world?

> [3.] Notwithstanding with nature it cometh sometimes to pass as with art. Let Phidias have rude and obstinate stuff to carve, though his art do that it should, his work will lack that beauty which otherwise in fitter matter it might have had. He that striketh an instrument with skill may cause notwithstanding a very unpleasant sound, if the string whereon he striketh chance to be uncapable of harmony. In the matter whereof things natural consist, that of Theophrastus taketh place, Πολύ τὸ οὐχ ὑπακοῦον οὐδὲ δεχόμενον  $\tau \delta \epsilon \hat{v}^2$ . "Much of it is oftentimes such as will by no means "yield to receive that impression which were best and most "perfect." Which defect in the matter of things natural, they who gave themselves unto the contemplation of nature amongst the heathen observed often: but the true original cause thereof, divine malediction, laid for the sin of man upon these creatures which God had made for the use of man, this being an article of that saving truth which God hath revealed unto his Church, was above the reach of their merely natural

his mind the following passage:

"Christianæ religionis occœpit, "quidnam inusitatum, quid incog-"nitum, quid contra leges princi-"paliter institutas aut sensit aut "veteres formas, novellarum sem-"passa est rerum ipsa quæ dicitur "appellaturque Natura? Nunquid "in contrarias qualitates prima illa "elementa mutata sunt, ex quibus "res omnes consensum est esse "concretas? Nunquid machinæ "hujus, et molis, qua universi "tegimur et continemur inclusi, "parte est in aliqua relaxata aut "dissoluta constructio? Nunquid "vertigo hæc mundi, primogenii "motus moderamen excedens, aut "tardius repere, aut præcipiti cœpit "tellus recusat accipere? aut fron-"volubilitate raptari? Nunquid ab "descere arbores nolunt?" Arnob. "occiduis partibus attollere se astra, "atque in ortus fieri signorum "cœpta est inclinatio? Nunquid l. 10, ed. Basil, 1541.] "upse syderum sol princeps, cuius

1 [Hooker seems to have had in "omnia luce vestiuntur atque ani-"mantur, calore exarsit, intepuit, "Postquam esse nomen in terris "atque in contrarios habitus moder-"aminis soliti temperamenta cor-"rupit? Nunquid luna desivit "redintegrare seipsam, atque in "per restitutione, traducere? Nun-"quid frigora, nunquid calores, "nunquid tepores medii, inæqua-"lium temporum confusionibus oc-"ciderunt? Nunquid longos ha-"bere dies bruma, et revocare tar-"dissimas luces nox cœpit æstatis? "Nunquid suas animas expiraverunt "venti? emortuisque flaminibus " neque cœlum coarctatur in nubila, "nec madidari ex imbribus arva "suescunt? Commendata semina adv. Gent. I. 2.] <sup>2</sup> Theophrast. in Metaph. [p. 271,

capacity and understanding. But howsoever these swervings BOOK I. are now and then incident into the course of nature, nevertheless so constantly the laws of nature are by natural agents observed, that no man denieth but those things which nature worketh are wrought, either always or for the most part, after one and the same manner 1.

[4.] If here it be demanded what that is which keepeth nature in obedience to her own law, we must have recourse to that higher law whereof we have already spoken, and because all other laws do thereon depend, from thence we must borrow so much as shall need for brief resolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion therefore, as some are, that nature in working hath before her certain exemplary draughts or patterns, which subsisting in the bosom of the Highest, and being thence discovered, she fixeth her eve upon them, as travellers by sea upon the pole-star of the world, and that according thereunto she guideth her hand to work by imitation: although we rather embrace the oracle of Hippocrates<sup>2</sup>, that "each thing both "in small and in great fulfilleth the task which destiny "hath set down;" and concerning the manner of executing and fulfilling the same, "what they do they know not, yet "is it in show and appearance as though they did know "what they do; and the truth is they do not discern the "things which they look on:" nevertheless, forasmuch as the works of nature are no less exact, than if she did both behold and study how to express some absolute shape or mirror always present before her; yea, such her dexterity and skill appeareth, that no intellectual creature in the world were able by capacity to do that which nature doth without capacity and knowledge; it cannot be but nature hath some director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her ways. Who the guide of nature, but only the God of nature? "In him we live, move, and are 3." Those things which nature is said to do, are by divine art performed,

 $^{1}$  Arist. Rhet. i. cap. 39. [ $\hat{\eta}$  γὰρ αἰεὶ,  $\theta$ '  $\hat{a}$  μὲν ὁρῶσι οὐ γινώσκουσι. [p. 342, 48. ed. Genev. 1657. It need <sup>2</sup> Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοίρην εκαστον hardly be observed, that the beginning of the sentence alludes to 8 Acts xvii. 28.

η ως επιτοπολύ ωσαύτως αποβαίνει.] έκπληροί καὶ έπὶ τὸ μέζον καὶ έπὶ τὸ μείου ... δ πρήσσουσιν οὐκ οἴδασιν, Plato's doctrine.] δ δε πρήσσουσι δοκέουσιν είδεναι, καί VOL. I.

BOOK I. using nature as an instrument; nor is there any such art or knowledge divine in nature herself working, but in the Guide of nature's work.

> Whereas therefore things natural which are not in the number of voluntary agents, (for of such only we now speak, and of no other,) do so necessarily observe their certain laws, that as long as they keep those forms 1 which give them their being, they cannot possibly be apt or inclinable to do otherwise than they do; seeing the kinds of their operations are both constantly and exactly framed according to the several ends for which they serve, they themselves in the meanwhile, though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they do, nor why: it followeth that all which they do in this sort proceedeth originally from some such agent, as knoweth, appointeth, holdeth up, and even actually frameth the same.

> The manner of this divine efficiency, being far above us, we are no more able to conceive by our reason than creatures unreasonable by their sense are able to apprehend after what manner we dispose and order the course of our affairs. Only thus much is discerned, that the natural generation and process of all things receiveth order of proceeding from the settled stability of divine understanding. This appointeth unto them their kinds of working; the disposition whereof in the purity of God's own knowledge and will is rightly termed by the name of Providence. The same being referred unto the things themselves here disposed by it, was wont by the ancient to be called natural Destiny. That law, the performance whereof we behold in things natural, is as it were an authentical or an original draught written in the bosom of God himself; whose Spirit being to execute the same useth every particular nature, every mere natural agent, only as an instrument created at the beginning, and ever since the beginning used, to work his own will and pleasure withal. Nature therefore is nothing else but God's instrument<sup>2</sup>: in the course whereof Dionysius perceiving

thing proportionable unto the soul the world are distinguished into

some sudden disturbance is said to have cried out, "Aut BOOK I. "Deus naturæ patitur, aut mundi machina dissolvetur1:" Ch. iii. 5. "either God doth suffer impediment, and is by a greater than "himself hindered; or if that be impossible, then hath he "determined to make a present dissolution of the world; the "execution of that law beginning now to stand still, without "which the world cannot stand."

This workman, whose servitor nature is, being in truth but only one, the heathens imagining to be moe, gave him in the sky the name of Jupiter, in the air the name of Juno, in the water the name of Neptune, in the earth the name of Vesta and sometimes of Ceres, the name of Apollo in the sun, in the moon the name of Diana, the name of Æolus and divers other in the winds; and to conclude, even so many guides of nature they dreamed of, as they saw there were kinds of things natural in the world. These they honoured, as having power to work or cease accordingly as men deserved of them. But unto us there is one only 2 Guide of all agents natural, and he both the Creator and the Worker of all in all, alone to be blessed, adored and honoured by all for ever.

[5.] That which hitherto hath been spoken concerneth natural agents considered in themselves. But we must further remember also, (which thing to touch in a word shall suffice,) that as in this respect they have their law, which law directeth them in the means whereby they tend to their own perfection: so likewise another law there is, which toucheth them as they are sociable parts united into one body; a law which bindeth them each to serve unto other's good, and all to prefer the good of the whole before whatsoever their own particular; as we plainly see they do, when things natural in that regard forget their ordinary natural wont; that which is heavy mounting sometime upwards of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Form in other creatures is a diversity of inward forms, things of in living creatures. Sensible it is their kinds. not, nor otherwise discernible than

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vide Thom. in Compend. Theol. only by effects. According to the cap. 3: "Omne quod movetur ab

<sup>&</sup>quot;aliquo est quasi instrumentum "præter naturam defecisse animad-"quoddam primi moventis. Ridi-"culum est autem, etiam apud in-"doctos, ponere, instrumentum mo-"veri non ab aliquo principali

<sup>&</sup>quot;... cum adhuc in Gentilitatis errore

<sup>&</sup>quot;versaretur, eo die quo Christus "Dominus cruci affixus est, solem ἡμῖν εἶs Θεὸς, ὁ Πατήρ.]

<sup>&</sup>quot;vertens, exclamasse traditur: 'aut "Deus,' &c." Suidas (in Dionysio) makes him say, "Η τὸ Θείον πάσχει, η τω πάσχοντι συμπάσχει. Michael "agente." [t. xvii. fol. 10.] Syngelus in Encomio; 'Ο ἄγνωσ
[Vid. Breviar. Roman. 9 Oct. τος, έφη, σαρκὶ πάσχει Θεός. Apud "Dionysius . . . unus ex Areopagitis Opp. S. Dionys. II. 213. See also, p. 91, 253-259.]
<sup>2</sup> [Suggested by I Cor. viii. 6.

BOOK I. it 1 own accord, and forsaking the centre of the earth which to itself is most natural, even as if it did hear itself commanded to let go the good it privately wisheth, and to relieve the present distress of nature in common.

The law which angels do work by,

IV. But now that we may lift up our eyes (as it were) from the footstool to the throne of God, and leaving these natural, consider a little the state of heavenly and divine creatures: touching Angels, which are spirits 2 immaterial and intellectual, the glorious inhabitants of those sacred palaces, where nothing but light and blessed immortality, no shadow of matter for tears, discontentments, griefs, and uncomfortable passions to work upon, but all joy, tranquillity, and peace, even for ever and ever doth dwell: as in number and order they are huge, mighty, and royal armies 3, so likewise in perfection of obedience unto that law, which the Highest, whom they adore, love, and imitate, hath imposed upon them, such observants they are thereof, that our Saviour himself being to set down the perfect idea of that which we are to pray and wish for on earth, did not teach to pray or wish for more than only that here it might be with us, as with them it is in heaven 4. God which moveth mere natural agents as an efficient only, doth otherwise move intellectual creatures, and especially his holy angels: for beholding the face of God 5, in admiration of so great excellency they all adore him; and being rapt with the love of his beauty, they cleave inseparably for ever unto him. Desire to resemble him in goodness maketh them unweariable and even unsatiable in their longing to do by all means all manner good unto all the creatures of God 6, but especially unto the children of men<sup>1</sup>: in the countenance of whose nature, looking down- BOOK I. ward, they behold themselves beneath themselves; even as upward, in God, beneath whom themselves are, they see that character which is no where but in themselves and us resembled. Thus far even the paynims have approached; thus far they have seen into the doings of the angels of God; Orpheus confessing, that "the fiery throne of God is attended "on by those most industrious angels, careful how all things "are performed amongst men<sup>2</sup>;" and the Mirror of human wisdom plainly teaching, that God moveth angels, even as that thing doth stir man's heart, which is thereunto presented amiable 3. Angelical actions may therefore be reduced unto these three general kinds: first, most delectable love arising from the visible apprehension of the purity, glory, and beauty of God, invisible saving only unto spirits that are pure 4: secondly, adoration grounded upon the evidence of the greatness of God, on whom they see how all things depend<sup>5</sup>; thirdly, imitation 6, bred by the presence of his exemplary goodness, who ceaseth not before them daily to fill heaven and earth with the rich treasures of most free and undeserved grace.

[2.] Of angels, we are not to consider only what they are and do in regard of their own being, but that also which concerneth them as they are linked into a kind of corporation amongst themselves, and of society or fellowship with men-Consider angels each of them severally in himself, and their law is that which the prophet David mentioneth, "All ye "his angels praise him "." Consider the angels of God associated, and their law is that which disposeth them as an army, one in order and degree above another8. Consider finally the angels as having with us that communion which the apostle to the Hebrews noteth, and in regard whereof

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> [So all the early edd. On II, possessive, v. Morris, Spec. Early English, xxxi.] 1886. Psalm civ. 4; Heb. i. 7; Ephes. iii. 10.
Dan. vii. 10; Matt. xxvi. 53; Heb. xii. 22; Luke ii. 13.
Matt. vi. 10.
Matt. xviii. 10. p. xxxi.] 1886.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> ["How oft do they their silver bowers leave,
"To come to succour us, that succour want! "How oft do they with golden pinions cleave

<sup>&</sup>quot;The flitting skies, like flying pursuivant, "Against foul fiends to aid us militant!

<sup>&</sup>quot;They for us fight, they watch and duly ward,

<sup>&</sup>quot;And their bright squadrons round about us plant, "And all for love, and nothing for reward-

<sup>&</sup>quot;O why should heavenly God to men have such regard?" Fairy Queen, II. viii. 2. The three first books of the Fairy Queen were published 1590. Spenser died 1508.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Psalm xci. 11, 12; Luke xv. 7; "alia moventur." Ap. Thom. Aquin. Heb. i. 14; Acts x. 3; Dan. ix. 23; t. IV. fol. 159, ed. Venet. 1593.] Matt. xviii. 10; Dan. iv. 13. Σφ δε θρόνφ πυρόεντι παρεστά-

σιν πολύμοχθοι "Αγγελοι, οίσι μέμηλε βροτοίς ώς

πάντα τελείται. [Fragm. iii. ex Clem. Alex. Strom. V. p. 824, 8 = 724. Potter.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Arist. Metaph. l. xii, c. 7. [" Movet ut amatum: moto vero,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Job xxxviii. 7; Matt. xviii. 10. <sup>5</sup> Psalm cxlviii. 2; Heb. i. 6; Isa. vi. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> This is intimated wheresoever we find them termed "the sons of "God," as Job i. 6, and xxxviii. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ps. cxlviii. 2. 8 Luke ii. 13. Matt. xxvi. 53.

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BOOK I. angels have not disdained to profess themselves our "fellow-Ch. iv. 3. "servants;" from hence there springeth up a third law, which bindeth them to works of ministerial employment 1. Every of which their several functions are by them performed with joy.

> [3.] A part of the angels of God notwithstanding (we know) have fallen 2, and that their fall hath been through the voluntary breach of that law, which did require at their hands continuance in the exercise of their high and admirable virtue. Impossible it was that ever their will should change or incline to remit any part of their duty, without some object having force to avert their conceit from God, and to draw it another way; and that before they attained that high perfection of bliss, wherein now the elect angels 3 are without possibility of falling. Of any thing more than of God they could not by any means like, as long as whatsoever they knew besides God they apprehended it not in itself without dependency upon God; because so long God must needs seem infinitely better than any thing which they so could apprehend. Things beneath them could not in such sort be presented unto their eyes, but that therein they must needs see always how those things did depend on God. It seemeth therefore that there was no other way for angels to sin, but by reflex of their understanding upon themselves; when being held with admiration of their own sublimity and honour, the memory of their subordination unto God and their dependency on him was drowned in this conceit; whereupon their adoration, love, and imitation of God could not choose but be also interrupted. The fall of angels therefore was pride 4. Since their fall, their practices have been the clean contrary unto those before mentioned 5. For being dis

persed, some in the air, some on the earth, some in the water, BOOK I, some among the minerals, dens, and caves, that are under the Ch.v. 1, 2. earth; they have by all means laboured to effect an universal rebellion against the laws, and as far as in them lieth utter destruction of the works of God. These wicked spirits the heathens honoured instead of gods, both generally under the name of Dii inferi, "gods infernal;" and particularly, some in oracles, some in idols, some as household gods, some as nymphs: in a word, no foul and wicked spirit which was not one way or other honoured of men as God, till such time as light appeared in the world and dissolved the works of the devil. Thus much therefore may suffice for angels, the next unto whom in degree are men.

V. God alone excepted, who actually and everlastingly The law is whatsoever he may be, and which cannot hereafter be that man is in which now he is not 1; all other things besides are somewhat his actions in possibility, which as yet they are not in act. And for this the imitacause there is in all things an appetite or desire, whereby they fion of God. incline to something which they may be; and when they are it, they shall be perfecter than now they are. All which perfections are contained under the general name of Goodness. And because there is not in the world any thing whereby another may not some way be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good.

[2.] Again, sith there can be no goodness desired which proceedeth not from God himself, as from the supreme cause of all things; and every effect doth after a sort contain, at leastwise resemble, the cause from which it proceedeth: all things in the world are said in some sort to seek the highest, and to covet more or less the participation of God himself2. Yet this doth no where so much appear as it doth in man, because there are so many kinds of perfections which man seeketh. The first degree of goodness is that general perfection which all things do seek, in desiring the continuance of their being. All things therefore coveting as much as may be to be like unto God in being ever, that which cannot here-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Heb. xii. 22; Apoc. xxii. 9. <sup>2</sup> 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6. <sup>3</sup> [1 Tim. v. 21.]

<sup>\*[&</sup>quot;But pride, impatient of long resting peace,
"Did puff them up with greedy bold ambition,
"That they gan cast their state how to increase

<sup>&</sup>quot;Above the fortune of their first condition, "And sit in God's own seat without commission: "The brightest angel, even the child of light, "Drew millions more against their God to fight."

Spenser's Hymn on Heavenly Love, published 1596.] <sup>5</sup> John viii. 44; 1 Pet. v. 8; Apoc. ix. 11; Gen. iii. 15; 1 Chron. xxi. 1; Job i. 7. and ii. 2; John xiii. 27; Acts v. 3; Apoc. xx. 8.

<sup>1 [&</sup>quot;Let him know, that I have "him." Walton's Life of Herbert, "considered, that God only is what p. 321. ed. 1675.] "he would be; and that I am by

Πάντα γάρ εκείνου δρέγεται. "his grace become now so like him, Arist. de An. lib. ii. cap. 4. [Opp. I. "as to be pleased with what pleaseth 390. ed. Lugd. 1590.]

BOOK I. unto attain personally doth seek to continue itself another Ch. v. 3. way, that is by offspring and propagation. The next degree of goodness is that which each thing coveteth by affecting resemblance with God in the constancy and excellency of those operations which belong unto their kind. The immutability of God they strive unto, by working either always or for the most part after one and the same manner; his absolute exactness they imitate, by tending unto that which is most exquisite in every particular. Hence have risen a number of axioms in philosophy 1, showing how "the "works of nature do always aim at that which cannot be "bettered."

> [3.] These two kinds of goodness rehearsed are so nearly united to the things themselves which desire them, that we scarcely perceive the appetite to stir in reaching forth her hand towards them. But the desire of those perfections which grow externally is more apparent; especially of such as are not expressly desired unless they be first known, or such as are not for any other cause than for knowledge itself desired. Concerning perfections in this kind; that by proceeding in the knowledge of truth, and by growing in the exercise of virtue, man amongst the creatures of this inferior world aspireth to the greatest conformity with God; this is not only known unto us, whom he himself hath so instructed 2, but even they do acknowledge, who amongst men are not judged the nearest unto him. With Plato what one thing more usual, than to excite men unto the love of wisdom, by shewing how much wise men are thereby exalted above men; how knowledge doth raise them up into heaven; how it maketh them, though not gods, yet as gods, high, admirable, and divine? And Mercurius Trismegistus speaking of the virtues of a righteous soul<sup>3</sup>, "Such spirits" (saith he) "are never cloyed "with praising and speaking well of all men, with doing good "unto every one by word and deed, because they study to frame "themselves according to the pattern of the Father of spirits,"

VI. In the matter of knowledge, there is between the angels BOOK I. of God and the children of men this difference: angels already Ch. vi. 1-3. have full and complete knowledge in the highest degree that Men's first can be imparted unto them; men, if we view them in their beginning spring, are at the first without understanding or knowledge to the at all 1. Nevertheless from this utter vacuity they grow by knowledge of that law degrees, till they come at length to be even as the angels which they themselves are. That which agreeth to the one now, the are to observe. other shall attain unto in the end; they are not so far disioined and severed, but that they come at length to meet. The soul of man being therefore at the first as a book, wherein nothing is and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to search by what steps and degrees it riseth unto perfection of knowledge.

[2.] Unto that which hath been already set down concerning natural agents this we must add, that albeit therein we have comprised as well creatures living as void of life, if they be in degree of nature beneath men; nevertheless a difference we must observe between those natural agents that work altogether unwittingly, and those which have though weak yet some understanding what they do, as fishes, fowls, and beasts have. Beasts are in sensible capacity as ripe even as men themselves, perhaps more ripe. For as stones, though in dignity of nature inferior unto plants, yet exceed them in firmness of strength or durability of being; and plants, though beneath the excellency of creatures endued with sense, yet exceed them in the faculty of vegetation and of fertility: so beasts, though otherwise behind men, may notwithstanding in actions of sense and fancy go beyond them; because the endeavours of nature, when it hath a higher perfection to seek, are in lower the more remiss, not esteeming thereof so much as those things do, which have no better proposed unto them.

[3.] The soul of man therefore being capable of a more divine perfection, hath (besides the faculties of growing unto sensible knowledge which is common unto us with beasts) a further ability, whereof in them there is no show at all, the ability of reaching higher than unto sensible things 2. Till

<sup>1</sup> Έν τοις φύσει δεί τὸ βέλτιον, ἐὰν ένδέχηται, υπάρχειν μαλλον ή φύσις δέποτε έχει υμνούσα ευφημούσά τε αει ποιεί των ενδεχομένων το βέλ- πάντας ανθρώπους, και λόγοις και τιστον. Arist. 2. de cœl. cap. 5. [t. i. έργοις πάντας [πάντως] εὐποιοῦσα, <sup>2</sup> Matt. v. 48; Sap. vii. 27.

<sup>3 &#</sup>x27;Η δὲ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ κόρον οὐμιμουμένη αὐτης τον πατέρα. [C. 10. §. 21.] lib. iv. f. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vide Isa, vii, 16. αναβαίνει, και μετρεί αὐτὸν, και οίδε 2 'Ο δε ἄνθρωπος είς τὸν οὐρανὸν ποῖα μεν έστιν αὐτῷ [leg. αὐτοῦ]