

[3.] The honour generally due unto all men maketh a decent interring of them to be convenient even for very humanity's sake. And therefore so much as is mentioned in the burial of the widow's son¹, the carrying of him forth upon a bier and the accompanying of him to the earth, hath been used even amongst infidels, all men accounting it a very extreme destitution² not to have at the least this honour done them. Some man's estate may require a great deal more according as the fashion of the country where he dieth doth afford. And unto this appertained the ancient use of the Jews to embalm the corpse with sweet odours³, and to adorn the sepulchres of certain⁴.

In regard of the quality of men it hath been judged fit to commend them unto the world at their death, amongst the heathen in funeral orations, amongst the Jews in sacred poems⁵; and why not in funeral sermons also amongst Christians⁶? Us it sufficeth that the known benefit hereof doth countervail millions of such inconveniences as are therein surmised⁷, although they were not surmised only but found therein. The life and the death of saints is precious in God's sight. Let it not seem odious in our eyes if both the one and the other be spoken of then especially, when the present occasion doth make men's minds the more capable of such speech. The care no doubt of the living both to live and to die well must needs be somewhat increased, when they know

"mus." Would it not seem that he speaks rather with an eye to that trying time in particular, than as censuring universally the custom of wearing mourning? But see Bingham, *Antiq.* xxiii. 3. 21.]

¹ Luke vii. 12.

² Psalm lxix. 3.

³ John xix. 40.

⁴ Matt. xxiii. 27.

⁵ 2 Sam. i. 19.

⁶ [Funeral orations, at least for illustrious persons, were usual in the fourth century, and so were set forms of funeral psalmody and prayer. Bingham (xxiii. 3. 8, 11-13.) gives instances from the Apostolical Constitutions, vi. 30; and from Dionysius de Eccles. Hierarch. c. vii.]

⁷ [Namely, first, that the funeral sermon "nourisheth an opinion "that the dead are the better for it, "which doth appear in that there "are none more desirous of funeral sermons than the papists." Secondly, "forasmuch as the minister is driven oftentimes by this "means to preach upon a sudden, "the word of God thereby is negligently handled." Thirdly, "considering that these funeral sermons are at the request of rich "men, and those which are in "authority, and are very seldom "at the burial of the poor, there "is brought into the church contrary to the word of God, an acceptance of persons, which ought "not to be."]

that their departure shall not be folded up in silence but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Besides when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with their brethren in their last need, besides the praise which they give to God and the joy which they have or should have by reason of their fellowship and communion with saints, is not their hope also much confirmed against the day of their own dissolution? Again the sound of these things doth not so pass the ears of them that are most loose and dissolute in life but it causeth them one time or other to wish, "O that I might die the death "of the righteous and that my end might be like his!" Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at those times by speech concerning the dead, besides the benefit of public instruction common unto funeral with other sermons.

For the comfort¹ of them whose minds are through natural affection pensive in such cases no man can justly mislike the custom which the Jews had to end their burials with funeral banquets², in reference whereunto the prophet Jeremy spake concerning the people whom God had appointed unto a grievous manner of destruction, saying³ that men should not "give them the cup of consolation to drink "for their father or for their mother," because it should not be now with them as in peaceable times with others, who bringing their ancestors unto the grave with weeping eyes have notwithstanding means wherewith to be recomforted. "Give wine," said Salomon, "unto them that have grief of "heart⁴." Surely he that ministereth unto them comfortable speech⁵ doth much more than give them wine.

[4.] But the greatest thing of all other about this duty of Christian burial is an outward testification of the hope which we have touching the resurrection of the dead. For which purpose let any man of reasonable judgment examine, whether

¹ [This seems to refer to a complaint of T. C. (i. 162) that "this "device of man's brain . . . driveth "quite away a necessary duty of "the minister, which is to comfort "with the word of God the parties "which be grieved at the death of "their friends." See Def. 735; T. C. iii. 240.]

² [See Buxtorf, *Synag. Judaic.*

c. 35. p. 504; from which it appears that the materials of the funeral banquet must all be presents from friends: it being unlawful during so many days for the mourner to taste any thing of his own.]

³ Jer. xvi. 7.

⁴ Prov. xxxi. 6.

⁵ 1 Chron. xix. 2; Job ii. 11.

it be more convenient for a company of men as it were in a dumb show¹ to bring a corse to the place of burial, there to leave it covered with earth, and so end, or else to have the exequies devoutly performed with solemn recital of such lectures, psalms and prayers, as are purposely framed for the stirring up of men's minds unto a careful consideration of their estate both here and hereafter.

Whereas therefore it is objected that neither the people of God under the Law, nor the Church in the Apostles' times did use any form of service in burial of their dead, and therefore that this order is taken up without any good example or precedent followed therein²: first while the world doth stand they shall never be able to prove that all things which either the one or the other did use at burial are set down in holy Scripture, which doth not any where of purpose deliver the whole manner and form thereof, but toucheth only sometime one thing and sometime another which was in use, as special occasions require any of them to be either mentioned or insinuated. Again if it might be proved that no such thing was usual amongst them, hath Christ so deprived his Church of judgment that what rites and orders soever the later ages thereof have devised the same must needs be inconvenient?

Furthermore, that the Jews before our Saviour's coming had any such form of service although in scripture it be not affirmed, yet neither is it there denied; (for the forbidding

¹ [Form of Common Prayer used by the English at Geneva (in Phœnix i. 257). "The corse is reverently brought to the grave, accompanied by the congregation, without any further ceremonies; which being buried, the minister, if he be present and required, goeth to the church, if it be not far off, and maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people touching death and resurrection."]

² [T. C. i. 200. al. 161. "Another general fault, that these ceremonies are taken up without any example either of the churches under the Law, or of the purest churches under the Gospel. . . For when the Scripture describeth the ceremonies or rites of burial amongst the people of God so di-

ligently, that it maketh mention of the smallest things, there is no doubt but the Holy Ghost doth thereby shew us a pattern, whereby we should also frame our burials. And therefore for so much as neither the Church under the Law nor under the Gospel, when it was in the greatest purity, did ever use any prescript form of service in the burial of their dead, it could not be but dangerous to take up any such custom; and in the time of the law it was not only not used but utterly forbidden; for when the law did forbid that the priest should not be at the burial, which ought to say or conceive the prayers there, it is clear that the Jews might not have any such prescript form."]

of priests to be present at burials¹ letteth not but that others might discharge that duty, seeing all were not priests which had rooms of public function in their synagogues;) and if any man be of opinion that they had no such form of service, thus much there is to make the contrary more probable. The Jews at this day have, as appeareth in their form of funeral prayers² and in certain of their funeral sermons published³, neither are they so affected towards Christians, as to borrow that order from us, besides that the form thereof is such as hath in it sundry things which the very words of the Scripture itself do seem to allude unto, as namely after departure from the sepulchre unto the house whence the dead was brought it sheweth the manner of their burial feast⁴, and a consolatory form of prayers appointed for the master of the synagogue thereat to utter⁵, albeit I may not deny but it hath also some

¹ [Lev. xxi. 1. "Speak unto the priests the sons of Aaron, and say unto them, There shall none be defiled for the dead among his people." ap. T. C. i. 161.]

² [Of which a specimen was translated into Latin by Genebrard, from the Machazor or Prayer Book of the Roman Jews, and published 1575. It may be found among the Opuscula at the end of his Chronographia, Paris, 1600, p. 77-81.]

³ [Leo of Modena, (al. R. Jehuda Arje),* published in 1598, at Venice, several funeral orations and some elegies and epitaphs, under the title of "the Desert of Judah." The same writer in 1637 published in Italian a History of the Customs of the Jews of his time, from the translation of which, Lond. 1650, c. ix. p. 242, the following is taken: "At the month's or year's end, if he were a rabbin that is dead, or a person of quality, they then have sermons or funeral orations, which they call יְהוֹרֵת, made for him." Cf. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. i. 414, 15, and iv. 1170.]

⁴ [Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. 504.]

⁵ ["Hascaba, (א נצוּבַי *jacuit, dormit*), i. e. Oratio pro defunctis,

"quam Hazan sive Minister Synagogæ recitat ad sepulcrum, itemque in synagogis. . . Hanc sæpius cule minister repetit prout rogatur a diversis flagitantibus sibi dari *Hascaba* pro anima N. Sic enim loquuntur. Unde posset juxta ecclesiasticam loquendi formulam appellari 'Requiem' vel 'Libera' Hebræorum.

"Melius est ire in domum lucus, quam in domum convivi; in qua est finis omnium hominum. Quod vivens in cor inducat suum. Finem verbi omnes audiamus; Deum time et mandata ejus serva. Nam istud est omnis hominis.

"Requies firma in superna habitatione sub alis Numinis, in gradu sanctorum et purorum, tantum quam splendor firmamenti, colluentium fulgentiumque; permutatio ossium, propitiatio delictorum, remotio prævaricationis, accessio salutis, indulgentia et miseratio a conspectu inhabitantis cæleste domicilium, pars denique bona in vita venturi sæculi ibi sit portio, tectumque ac habitatio celebris animæ sapientis hujus, intelligentia præditi, gloriæ magistri, vel domini.

* [Leo Juda (1574-1654), a famous rabbinical scholar, head of the Synagogue at Venice. But Hooker can hardly have seen his earliest work. v. Biog. Univ.] 1887.

things which are not perhaps so ancient as the Law and the Prophets.

But whatsoever the Jews' custom was before the days of our Saviour Christ, hath it once at any time been heard of that either church or Christian man of sound belief did ever judge this a thing unmeet, undecent, unfit for Christianity, till these miserable days, wherein under the colour of removing superstitious abuses the most effectual means both to testify and to strengthen true religion are plucked at, and in some places even pulled up by the very roots? Take away this which was ordained to show at burials the peculiar hope of the Church of God concerning the dead, and in the manner of those dumb funerals what one thing is there whereby the world may perceive we are Christian men?

LXXVI. I come now unto that function which undertaketh the public ministry of holy things according to the laws of Christian religion. And because the nature of things consisting, as this doth, in action is known by the object whereabout they are conversant, and by the end or scope whereunto they are referred, we must know that the object of this function is both God and men; God in that he is publicly worshipped of his Church, and men in that they are capable of happiness by means which Christian discipline appointeth. So that the sum of our whole labour in this kind is to honour God and to save men.

For whether we severally take and consider men one by one, or else gather them into one society and body, as it hath been before declared¹ that every man's religion is in him the well-spring of all other sound and sincere virtues, from whence both here in some sort and hereafter more abundantly their full joy and felicity ariseth, because while they live they are blessed of God and when they die their works follow them: so at this present we must again call to mind how the very worldly peace and prosperity, the secular happiness, the tem-

“ Spiritus Domini quiescere faciat eum in horto Eden, et societur ei pax, quemadmodum scribitur in Esaia: veniat pax, quiescat in cubilibus suis ambulans ante ipsum, ipse ac omnes defuncti Israelis
“ ipsius misericordia et propitiatione. Amen.” Genebrard, p. 80.* See Bp. Taylor, Pref. to Rule of Holy Dying.]
¹ [See above c. i. § 2-5.]

* [Genebrard, Archbp. of Aix, was one of the famous Hebrew scholars of Hooker's time (1537-1597). v. Biog. Univ.] 1887.

poral and natural good estate both of all men and of all dominions hangeth chiefly upon religion, and doth evermore give plain testimony that as well in this as in other considerations the priest is a pillar of that commonwealth wherein he faithfully serveth God. For if these assertions be true, first that nothing can be enjoyed in this present world against his will which hath made all things; secondly that albeit God doth sometime permit the impious to *have*, yet impiety permitteth them not to *enjoy* no not temporal blessings on earth; thirdly that God hath appointed those blessings to attend as handmaids upon religion; and fourthly that without the work of the ministry religion by no means can possibly continue, the use and benefit of that sacred function even towards all men's worldly happiness must needs be granted.

[2.] Now the first being a theorem both understood and confessed of all¹, to labour in proof thereof were superfluous.

The second perhaps may be called in question except it be perfectly understood. By good things temporal therefore we mean length of days, health of body, store of friends and well-willers, quietness, prosperous success of those things we take in hand, riches with fit opportunities to use them during life, reputation following us both alive and dead, children or such as instead of children we wish to leave successors and partakers of our happiness. These things are naturally every man's desire, because they are good. And on whom God bestoweth the same², them we confess he graciously blesseth.

Of earthly blessings the meanest is wealth, reputation the chiefest. For which cause we esteem the gain of honour an ample recompense for the loss of all other worldly benefits.

[3.] But forasmuch as in all this there is no certain perpetuity of goodness, nature hath taught to affect these things not for their own sake but with reference and relation to somewhat independently good, as is the exercise of virtue and

¹ “ Si creatura Dei merito et dispensatio Dei sumus. Quis enim magis diligit quam ille qui fecit? Quis autem ordinatius regit quam is qui et fecit et diligit? Quis vero sapientius et fortius ordinare et regere facta potest quam qui et facienda providit, et provisavit?” Quapropter omnem potestatem a Deo esse omnemque ordinationem et qui non legerunt sentiunt, et qui legerunt cognoscunt.” Paul Oros. (Fifth century a friend of S. Aug.) Hist. advers Pagan. lib. ii. [c. 1.]

² Οὗτοι τὰ χρήματα ἴδια κέκτηνται βροτοί, τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα. Eurip. Phœniss. 555.

speculation of truth. None whose desires are rightly ordered would wish to live, to breathe and move, without performance of those actions which are becoming man's excellency. Wherefore having not how to employ it we wax weary even of life itself. Health is precious because sickness doth breed that pain which disableth action. Again why do men delight so much in the multitude of friends, but for that the actions of life being many do need many helping hands to further them? Between troublesome and quiet days we should make no difference if the one did not hinder and interrupt, the other uphold, our liberty of action. Furthermore if those things we do, succeed, it rejoiceth us not so much for the benefit we thereby reap as in that it probably argueth our actions to have been orderly and well guided¹. As for riches, to him which hath and doth nothing with them they are a contumely. Honour is commonly presumed a sign of more than ordinary virtue and merit, by means whereof when ambitious minds thirst after it, their endeavours are testimonies how much it is in the eye of nature to possess that body the very shadow whereof is set at so high a rate. Finally such is the pleasure and comfort which we take in doing, that when life forsaketh us, still our desires to continue action and to work though not by ourselves yet by them whom we leave behind us, causeth us providently to resign into other men's hands the helps we have gathered for that purpose, devising also the best we can to make them perpetual. It appeareth therefore how all the parts of temporal felicity are only good in relation to that which useth them as instruments, and that they are no such good as wherein a right desire doth ever stay or rest itself.

[4.] Now temporal blessings are enjoyed of those which have them, know them, *esteem them according to that they are in their own nature*. Wherefore of the wicked whom God doth hate his usual and ordinary speeches are, that "blood-thirsty and deceitful men shall not live out half their days²," that God shall cause "a pestilence to cleave³" unto the wicked, and shall strike them with consuming grief, with fevers, burning diseases, and sores which are past cure; that when the impious are fallen, all men shall tread them down

¹ οἰόμεσθα γὰρ

Τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι καλῶς. Eurip. Herac. [741.]

² Psalm lv. 23.

³ Deut. xxviii. 21, 22, 27.

and none shew countenance of love towards them as much as by pitying them in their misery; that the sins of the ungodly shall bereave them of peace; that all counsels, complots, and practices against God shall come to nothing; that the lot and inheritance of the unjust is beggary; that the name of unrighteous persons shall putrefy¹, and the posterity of robbers starve. If any think that iniquity and peace, sin and prosperity can dwell together, they err, because they distinguish not aright between the matter, and that which giveth it the form of happiness, between possession and fruition, between the having and the enjoying of good things. The impious cannot enjoy that they have, partly because they receive it not as at God's hands, which only consideration maketh temporal blessings comfortable, and partly because through error placing it above things of far more price and worth they turn that to poison which might be food, they make their prosperity their own snare, in the nest of their highest growth they lay foolishly those eggs out of which their woful overthrow is afterwards hatched. Hereby it cometh to pass that wise and judicious men observing the vain behaviours of such as are risen to unwonted greatness have thereby been able to prognosticate their ruin. So that in very truth no impious or wicked man doth prosper on earth but either sooner or later the world may perceive easily how at such time as others thought them most fortunate they had but only the good estate which fat oxen have above lean, when they appeared to grow their climbing was towards ruin².

The gross and bestial conceit of them which want understanding is only that the fullest bellies are happiest³. There-

¹ Prov. x. 7.

² "Ante ruinam elatio." Prov. xvi. 18. Φιλέει ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολοῦειν οὐ γὰρ εἴα φρονεῖν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν. Herod. lib. vii. [c. 10, 5.]

³ [S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, ii. 20. "Tales cultores et dilectores Deorum istorum, quorum etiam imitatores in sceleribus et flagitiis esse lætantur, nullo modo curant pessimam ac flagitiosissimam non esse remp. Tantum stet, inquit, tantum floreat copiis referta, victoriis gloriosa; vel quod est

"felicis, pace secure sit. Et quid ad nos? immo id ad nos magis pertinet, si divitias quisque semper augeat, quæ quotidianis effusionibus suppetant, per quas sibi etiam infirmiores subdat quisque potentior. Obsequantur divitibus pauperes causa saturitatis, atque ut eorum patrociniis quæta inertia perfruantur, divites pauperibus ad clientelas et ad ministerium sui fastus abutantur. Populi plaudant, non consultoribus utilitatis suarum, sed largitoribus voluptatum. Non jubeantur dura, non

fore the greatest felicity they wish to the commonwealth wherein they live is that it may but abound and stand, that they which are riotous may have to pour out without stint, that the poor may sleep and the rich feed them, that nothing unpleasant may be commanded, nothing forbidden men which themselves have a lust to follow, that kings may provide for the ease of their subjects and not be too curious about their manners, that wantonness, excess, and lewdness of life may be left free, and that no fault may be capital besides dislike of things settled in so good terms. But be it far from the just to dwell either in or near to the tents of these so miserable felicities.

[5.] Now whereas we thirdly affirm that religion and the fear of God as well induceth secular prosperity as everlasting bliss in the world to come, this also is true. For otherwise godliness could not be said to have the promises of both lives, to be that ample revenue wherein there is always sufficiency, and to carry with it a general discharge of want, even so general that David himself should protest he "never saw the just forsaken¹."

Howbeit to this we must add certain special limitations; as first that we do not forget how crazed and diseased minds (whereof our heavenly Physician must judge) receive often-

"prohibeantur impura. Reges non curent quam bonis sed quam subditis regnent. Provinciæ regibus non tanquam rectoribus morum, sed tanquam rerum dominatoribus et deliciarum suarum provisoribus serviant: eosque non sinceriter honoret, sed nequiter ac serviliter timeant. Quid alienæ viti potius, quam quid suæ vitæ quisque noceat, legibus advertatur. Nullus ducatur ad iudices, nisi qui alienæ rei, domui, salutis, vel cuiquam invito fuerit importunus aut noxius: cæterum de suis, vel cum suis, vel cum quibusque volentibus faciat quisque quod libet. Abundent publica scorta, vel propter omnes quibus frui placuerit, vel propter eos maxime, qui privata habere non possunt. Exstruantur amplissimæ atque ornatissimæ domus, opipara convivia

"frequententur, ubi cuique libuerit et potuerit die noctuque ludatur, bibatur, vomatur, diffluatur. Sationes undique concrepent, theatra inhonestæ lætitiæ vocibus, atque omni genere crudelissimæ sive turpissimæ voluptatis exæstuent. Ille sit publicus inimicus, cui hæc felicitas displicet: quisquis eam mutare vel auferre tentaverit, eum libera multitudo avertat ab auribus, evertat e sedibus, auferat a viventibus. Illi habeantur dii veri, qui hanc adipiscendam populis procuraverint adeptamque servaverint. Colantur ut voluerint, ludos exposcant quales voluerint, quos cum suis vel de suis possint habere cultoribus: tantum efficiant, ut tali felicitati nihil ab hoste, nihil a peste, nihil ab ulla clade timeatur."

¹ [Ps. xxxvii. 25.]

times most benefit by being deprived of those things which are to others beneficially given, as appeareth in that which the wise man hath noted concerning them whose lives God mercifully doth abridge lest wickedness should alter their understanding¹; again that the measure of our outward prosperity be taken by proportion with that which every man's estate in this present life requireth. External abilities are instruments of action. It contenteth wise artificers to have their instruments proportionable to their work, rather fit for use than huge and goodly to please the eye. Seeing then the actions of a servant do not need that which may be necessary for men of calling and place in the world, neither men of inferior condition many things which greater personages can hardly want, surely they are blessed in worldly respects that have wherewith to perform sufficiently what their station and place asketh, though they have no more². For by reason of man's imbecility and proneness to elation of mind, too high a flow of prosperity is dangerous³; too low an ebb again as dangerous, for that the virtue of patience is rare, and the hand of necessity stronger than ordinary virtue is able to withstand. Salomon's discreet and moderate desire we all know, "Give me O Lord neither riches nor penury⁴." Men over high exalted either in honour or in power or in nobility or in wealth; they likewise that are as much on the contrary hand sunk either with beggary or through dejection or by baseness do not easily give ear to reason, but the one exceeding apt unto outrages and the other unto petty mischiefs⁵. For greatness delighteth to show itself by effects of power, and baseness to help itself with shifts of malice. For which cause a moderate indifferent temper between fulness of bread and emptiness hath been evermore thought and found (all

¹ [See Wisd. iv. 11.]

² Ἐπεὶ τὰ γ' ἀρκοῦνθ' ἰκανὰ τοῖς γε σάφροσιν. Eurip. Phœniss. [554.]

³ Ταπεινότερων ὁ λογισμὸς ἴσως, ἀλλ' οὖν ἀσφαλεστέρων, ἴσον ἀπέχει καὶ ὕψους καὶ πτώματος. Greg. Nazian. Apol. 3. [t. i. p. 134 D.] "They may seem haply to be the most deject, but they are the wisest for their own safety which fear climbing no less than falling."

⁴ [Prov. xxx. 8.]

⁵ Arist. Polit. lib. iv. cap. 11. [Ἵπέρκαλον, ἢ ὑπερίσχυρον, ἢ ὑπερευγενῆ, ἢ ὑπερπλούσιον ἢ τὰναντία τοῦτοις, ὑπέρπρωχον, ἢ ὑπερασθενῆ, καὶ σφόδρα ἄτιμον, χαλεπὸν τῷ λόγῳ ἀκολουθεῖν. γίνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὕβρισται καὶ μεγαλοπύνηροι μάλλον' οἱ δὲ κακοῦργοι καὶ μικροπύνηροι λίαν.]