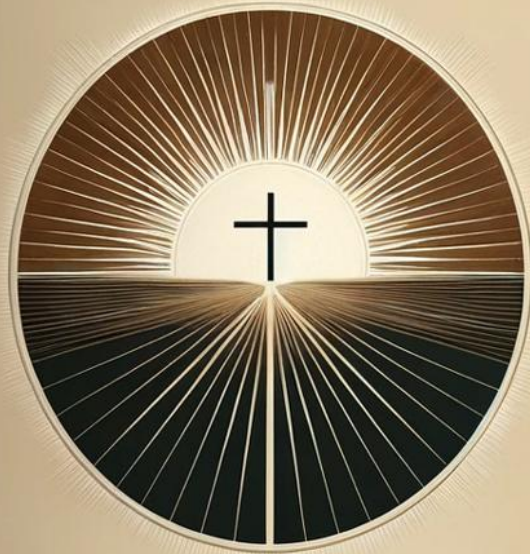


OF THE
RESURRECTION



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by Peter Martyr Vermigli

The Resurrection

The entitlement of the resurrection of the flesh is very hardly believed because it is a thing alien from man's reason. But a sure persuasion thereof comprehends many principal points of the Christian faith, which are very necessary unto salvation. And those who are fully and firmly settled in their minds about the resurrection provide well for themselves against the last hour. For those who, being at the point of death, assure themselves of the blessed resurrection, cannot help but depart joyful and cheerful from this life. But on the contrary, those who waver in this article are then in great disquietness: they are vexed, they storm, and know not certainly whither to turn.

Furthermore, this persuasion comforts us when we lose our kinsfolk and friends through death. So did Paul teach the Thessalonians. Besides this, we are armed against persecutions and hardships which

we must suffer for the faithful confession of the name of Christ. For what is it that martyrs will not patiently abide when they know for certain that a most happy life shall be restored unto them? Moreover, the remembrance thereof makes us esteem temperance highly: for we easily forbear unlawful pleasures when we assuredly trust that we shall have true and perfect pleasures given to us, both of mind and body. And if this article is abolished, many principal points of religion are overthrown. Paul says in the first epistle to the Corinthians: "If the dead rise not again, Christ is not risen." Which is most absurd, for then he should even to this time be detained in death, which is not convenient for God nor for the redeemer of mankind. And if he is not risen, neither did he truly die; otherwise, he would be detained by death.

Whereupon they, who deny the resurrection of the dead, affirm that Christ did not truly die: neither will they admit that he had natural, but fantastical flesh only; that is to say, he died in show and outward appearance.

2. Seeing therefore a disputation of the resurrection of the flesh is so profitable and necessary, we shall, for good cause, dwell longer upon it. First, if it is demanded why GOD did institute the same, two reasons may be brought: first, that he might truly and perfectly make happy his elect; for true happiness cannot be obtained in this life because no human actions, neither contemplative nor active, can be counted exquisite and perfect. For concerning knowledge, there are many more things that we do not know than we know. Which Socrates, perceiving, said that this one thing he knew; namely, that he knew nothing. Further, those few small things that we know, we have a very scant and slender understanding of them. Neither may we affirm this of natural things only, but of those also which are opened unto us by the spirit of God. Wherefore Paul said: "Now we

know in part, and prophesy in part, and we now see as through a glass, and in a dark saying." We are of weak memory, and many times our memory fails us. Who remembers all things that he has read, that he has learned, that he has taught and determined? The knowledges which come later to mind exclude the former: as one nail is driven out with another, and as in the course of waters, the latter driveth away the former. And whereas the knowledges of things consist either in invention or in teaching; what one of many is found to be excellent at invention? And very many are unapt and unmeet to learn. Wherefore, as touching things contemplative, we are of small happiness in this world.

Also in matters of practice, there is great want in us, seeing either we live dishonestly, or else in honest actions, we are very far wide from perfection. For our virtues are maimed and imperfect; therefore, we cannot draw out of them any perfect and absolute actions. There happen moreover perturbations or affects of the mind, which draw us to and fro, so that we cannot altogether be inclined to do those things which are right. Yes, and from the body itself, which is frail and brittle as glass, many inconveniences do come. For if it is touched with diseases (which have grown to such a number as they have gotten the upper hand of the physician's art) if it is wounded, if it is torn, if it is fired, if it hungers and is pressed with miseries and calamities; finally, if it is ill-handled with penury and beggary, how can it otherwise be, but the mind will be moved, troubled, and grieved? These, and many other things, do sufficiently show that we are past all hope of absolute felicity while we live in this world.

3. This has diverse men noted, and therefore have referred the enjoying of perfect happiness to another life: but they thought that the same must only be attributed unto the soul; yea and they judged that the body, if it should be revived, would be an impediment

thereto. And with this error was infected Marcion, Basilides, the Valentinians, the Manichees, and such other pestiferous sects; who affirmed that there were two beginnings of things; namely, a good god and an evil. And seeing they thought the evil god to be the author of visible creatures, they said also, that he was the maker of the body and of flesh; and that therefore the soul, being severed from these things after death, should be happy: and that there should be no need of them to be restored again, which do hinder and not further felicity. The same opinion had they, which thought that the soul is joined to the body, as a mariner is coupled to the ship, and as a thing moving unto that which it moveth: and therefore they affirmed, that it would not come to pass, that the soul after this life should be joined again unto his body. For even as the shipman, or they which move and put forward any burdens, when they be rid of their business, and have gotten wealth enough, do not return again to their former labors: so did they think, that souls being once put away from the laborious government of bodies, should not return again. But they err exceedingly: for the soul must not so be adjoined to the body; for it is the form and perfection thereof, and of both being joined together is made one person. So then, there is left remaining in souls after death a vehement disposition to take unto them their bodies again. Which Plato seemed not to be ignorant of, nor yet Pythagoras; for either of them said, that There is a passage of souls from one body into another. For (as they would have it) souls after death are removed into other bodies. And because they returned not to the selfsame again, that was rather said to be an alteration of place, than a resurrection.

4. But whatever manner of resurrection they have appointed, those who have taught that after the great year, or perfect revolution of the heavens, all things shall be restored as they now are: so that thirty-six thousand years hence, we shall become even the same, both in

number and in very deed as we now are; so that I myself shall teach in this place, you sitting here, in such a way as I now teach, with you being present. The reason for this opinion is astronomical. For they will have it (as Ptolemy taught) that the highest orb of the heavens comprehends in it three hundred, threescore, and six degrees; and that every star passes over one of those degrees every hundred years: whereby it should come to pass that after thirty-six thousand years, every star should return to the point from whence it began its motion. And seeing the state or situation of the celestial bodies was then, even in the same manner as it was from the beginning; they think that all things shall return to the same form in which they then were. I know there were some of them who prolonged this restitution of all things, not to thirty-six but to forty thousand years; however, this reckoning is not allowed.

But ridiculous and vain is each opinion, and is confuted by Aristotle; who earnestly affirms that it cannot be that the things which perish and decay in the meantime should return to the very same in particularities, whatever space of time you will admit in the meantime. However, these men might lie without control: for who can reprove them after thirty-six thousand years; especially seeing from the beginning of the world, unto this day, six thousand years are not yet finished? I pass it over, that such a kind of device is repugnant to the truth, because the resurrection of the dead depends not on celestial bodies, nor on stars, nor on degrees of the firmament; but upon the will of the high GOD. Besides this, the holy scriptures show that by the last resurrection, eternal life shall be given unto them that are dead; so they shall die no more. But such a life cannot be expected from celestial bodies. Moreover, the blessedness of saints would not be firm and steadfast; when they should consider that they must be thrust forth again unto the same travels and miseries which they suffered before, while they were

here. Wherefore men have erred greatly concerning the resurrection of the dead. And among the Hebrews were the Sadducees, who believed that there were no spirits, and denied the resurrection of the dead. At this day also there are Libertines, who make a jest of it: and the resurrection, which is spoken of in the scriptures, they only refer unto the souls. And in the time of Paul, there lived Hymenaeus & Philetus, who affirmed that the resurrection of the dead was even then past; whose doctrine (as the apostle saith) was like a canker that hath a wide fret: for the minds of the unlearned are easily corrupted with such perverse opinions.

5. Another reason for which God will restore the life of the bodies of those who are dead depends on his perfect justice, which is not declared in this life. Where we see that for the most part, the wicked flourish in power and dignities, and they are gently used; but on the other side, godly and honest men are hardly treated and are in danger of most grievous displeasures. These things might seem to be unjust unless there should remain another hope. Neither would it be justly done if the soul only should be either blessed or tormented with punishments, seeing it has had the body with it as a companion in executing actions, both good and bad. Therefore, it is fitting that together with the body, it should have experience of both joys and pains, as it did all things by the same.

The Rabbis among the Jews, for the testifying hereof, devised a fable, saying that a certain mighty and rich man planted himself a garden of most noble kinds of trees, which bore very excellent fruits; and lest it should be robbed, he appointed keepers for the same. And because it behooved to take heed unto the keepers themselves, he appointed two, which were so made: one did perfectly see, but yet was so lame that he might not in any way be able to go; the other was indeed able to go but was blind. When the Lord of the orchard was gone, the ill

keepers began to consult among themselves about eating the fruits. The blind man said, "I indeed lust after them, but I see not"; the cripple said, "I see them, but I am not able to come at them." After long talk, they agreed that the blind man should stoop down and receive the cripple upon his back, who, having his sight, directed the blind man with his hand; therefore, they, being both joined together, came unto the trees and fulfilled their lusts with those fruits according to their own desire. The lord of the garden returned and spying the harm that was done, blamed the keepers. The lame man excused himself, saying he could not come to the tree, and the blind man said he might not see the fruits. Then the owner, when he knew their sleight and shift, said, "You have joined your labours together, wherefore I also will join you again, and will punish you together." Therefore, he bound them together again, and by beating and striking them, punished them both together. So, they say, does the case stand in a man: the soul indeed knows, understands, and perceives; but it cannot take any outward work in hand by itself. Certainly, the body of itself is a senseless thing, neither does it perceive. Nevertheless, being moved and stirred up by the mind, it is a fit instrument for outward actions. Which being so, both reason and justice require that they should be again joined together after death, for receiving punishments and rewards.

6. These things are spoken generally. And now coming to the matter, we will divide this treatise into certain principal points.

First, we will bring the reasons which seem to hinder and gainsay the resurrection of the flesh. Secondly, we will search out what is the nature thereof. Thirdly, whether by human reasons (and that by such reasons as are probable) it may be proved and confirmed. Moreover, we will bring testimonies out of the holy scriptures, as well of the old as of the new testament, whereby it shall be proved that the same

must in any wise be looked for. Afterward, we will treat of the causes thereof. Over this, some things shall be spoken of the conditions and qualities of them that shall rise again. And last of all shall be confuted the arguments of them which seem to persuade that there shall be no resurrection. And those arguments will I first of all recite; yet not all, but those only which I shall judge to be of most importance, by the confutation whereof, others may easily be dissolved.

Can Souls Be Perfectly Blessed if they are Coupled Again to their Bodies

7. First, Porphyrius said that all bodies must be avoided for attaining to the felicity of the soul because they hinder and further not the contemplation and knowledge of God, wherein consists our felicity. By which there seemeth to be affirmed that souls cannot perfectly be made blessed if they should be coupled again to their bodies. Further, this cannot be that when the bodies are already dissolved and are gone into ashes, they should return to their first elements, or to the first substance of their nature. Besides, it happens sometimes that a man is eaten by a wolf; a wolf, by a lion; a lion, by the fowls of the air, which afterward become the meat of other men: therefore, the flesh of the first man might not be discerned from the flesh of the latter men. Moreover, this will the more plainly appear if we consider those Anthropophagi, being men that feed upon man's flesh: whereby it comes to pass that the substances of human bodies, by that kind of means, are mingled. Wherefore, if there shall be a resurrection of the dead, unto which men shall those fleshes be attributed? To them that eat, or to them that be eaten? We see also in nature that it is taken for an impossibility that one and the same indivisible thing should be restored to number when it has perished.

And therefore, generation was appointed, that at leastwise, by procreating like things in kind, order might be continued.

To this, in death, when the soul is taken away from the body, not only the things accident thereunto are destroyed, but the essential beginnings also, whereby a man is made; namely the body, and also certain parts of the mind, as is the power of nourishing and feeling, which cannot be had without the body. Besides this, if any quantity be sundered, it is no more one in number, but they be two quantities. And a motion that surceases, if it be begun again, it may be in kind the same that it was; but in number, it shall be distinguished from the first. For who is it, that when he shall have walked a mile, if he stand at rest for a while, and afterward returneth, can affirm that his latter walk is the very same that was before? And this is not only perceived in quantity and motion, and in things that happen; but also in qualities and forms. For if a man enjoy health, and do fall into a sickness, the first health doubtless is gone: but if so be he afterward recover, the health that happens is not altogether the same that the first was. In like manner, if bodies, with all the things belonging unto them, are to be restored, all the humors, hairs, and nails shall be given again, and the heap will be monstrous. But if all these things shall not be restored, but a certain of them, there can be no reason made, why rather one sort than another shall be given again.

8. There are moreover in the holy scriptures many places which are against resurrection, if they should be weighed as they appear at the first sight. In the 78th Psalm, it is written that God did, after a sort, chasten the Jews in the wilderness, but that he would not utterly pour out his wrath upon them: because he remembered (saith David) that they were but flesh, and as a spirit that passes away, and comes not again. But if so be that the souls return not again, there is no resurrection. Also, it is said in the 114th Psalm, "The dead shall not

praise thee, O Lord." And if the spirits of them that be dead do not celebrate the praises of God, and that they who be departed shall not declare things, there shall be no resurrection. And in the same psalm, it is written, "All the whole heavens are the Lord's, and the earth hath he given to the children of men." If heaven belongs not unto men, but that they must dwell upon the earth, and therein must come to their end, there is no resurrection to be hoped for.

And Solomon, in the third chapter of Ecclesiastes, writes, "There is all one end both of man and of beasts. For as the one doth die, so doth the other: yea, they have both one manner of breath. And who knoweth (saith he) whether the breath of the sons of men ascend upward, and the breath of beasts downward?" And in the 14th of Job, it is written that it is not so with man as it is with trees or plants. For these, when they be cut off, are wont to sprout and to shoot forth again: but man, when he is dead, returneth not. Again, it is said that this resurrection shall be universal. But Daniel, in the 12th chapter, seemeth to describe the same to be particular; "Many (saith he) which now sleep in the dust, shall rise again." But he would not have said "many" if they should all be raised up. Yea, and it is written in the psalm, "The ungodly shall not rise in judgment." And it is meet that seeing by Christ, the dead are to be restored; they only should obtain this benefit, which shall be joined unto Christ. Whereupon it followeth that the ungodly, which are strangers unto Christ, shall not be raised up. These are the reasons which are wont to be objected against those who affirm that there is a resurrection.

Shall that which was Fallen to Stand up Again?

9. Now let us come to the second point, in searching out what may serve to the nature and definition of resurrection. And we will begin at the etymology of the word. It is called of the Greeks "ἀνάστασις": in the composition of which word, the preposition "ἀνά" is the very same thing that "again" is, which signifies again: as if it were meant; That which was fallen to stand up again. Therefore, Damascene writing of this matter saith, that Resurrection is the second standing of the dead. And the Hebrews called the same "Thechijath hammethim"; for Chaia is, To live. Wherefore it is even as if they had said; The quickening of the dead. And because Com among them is To rise, thereof they derived the noun derivative Thekum hammethim; that is, The rising of dead men. Also among them, there is found Cuma. And of the verb Amad, which signifies, To stand, they have derived some noun of this kind. Perhaps also they have other words of this signification, but these are more accustomed and more commonly used among the Rabbins. Touching the Latin name we will consider afterward.

10. As to the matter, resurrection belongs to the predicament of action. And whereas in actions two things are chiefly to be considered; namely, the doer, and the subject itself, into which the action is poured by him that does. The efficient cause of this action is God; for that no cause in nature, nor power in any creatures can be found, which is able to bring to pass the resurrection: as afterward in place convenient we shall declare. Action indeed is many ways distinguished. One is natural, as generation, corruption, increasing, diminishing, alteration, and such like. And there are also other actions, which belong to practicing knowledge; as to build, to paint, to plough, to cast metal. And other actions, which have respect unto the will, that is, to man's choice: such be the works of virtues and vices. Again, actions are distinguished, that some be economical (that is, pertaining to household government) others be political, and

others be ecclesiastical. But resurrection takes place in no part of these distinctions: for all these things, which we have rehearsed, after a sort are revoked unto nature. But the resurrection of the dead is an act altogether beyond nature. Wherefore it shall be reckoned among those things, which do exceed and surpass the force of nature.

Does the Resurrection Pertain to the Body or to the Soul?

11. Now resteth for us to consider of the subject, wherein it is received. And undoubtedly it is no other thing that is raised up but man, which was by death extinguished. But man (as all men know) consisteth of two parts; to wit, of the soul and of the body. So as it must be considered, whether resurrection pertain to the body or to the soul. To speak properly: bodies do rise again, and not souls; for that is said to rise again, which fell when it had stood up. But souls die not together with the body, but remain alive: and therefore, seeing they fell not, they shall not rise again. And that souls remain alive after they be separated from bodies, the holy scriptures do show: for Christ said unto the apostles; Fear ye not them which kill the body, but the soul they cannot kill. But if souls should be extinguished, together with the bodies, they which destroy the body, would also destroy the soul. Over this, Christ said unto the thief; This day shalt thou be with me in paradise: which would not have been, if the soul had perished with the death of the body.

And when the death of the rich man and of Lazarus is described in the gospel, it is plainly enough expressed, what becomes of men after death: for Lazarus was carried by the ministry of angels, to the bosom of Abraham: but the rich man to the torments in hell. There are also other testimonies agreeable unto this saying, but let these be

sufficient at this time. That resurrection is to be attributed unto bodies, Tertullian also taught in his 5th book against Marcion, and in his book De resurrectione carnis: and saith, that many things do rise, which before fell not, as herbs, plants, and such like; but none is said to rise again, but such as fell first, when they had stood before. And he argues from the propriety of the Latin tongue, which makes a difference between Surgere and Resurgere, [the one signifying To rise, and the other, To rise again.] And he saith, that Cadaver, a dead body, was so called à Cadendo, of falling: wherefore he affirmed that the resurrection is not of souls, but of bodies.

12. Moreover, it must be noted that the resurrection of the dead is a certain new birth. For even as in the first birth, a man is brought forth consisting both of body and soul; so in the resurrection, which is a second nativity, he shall be repaired again. In the 19th chapter of Matthew, it is written; In the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in His majesty. Indeed, the regeneration (as concerning the soul) begins now, but it shall be then performed, as touching the body: so as it is a certain new generation. Which I, therefore, say, lest it should be esteemed for a creation, which is not done of things that be extant, but of nothing. However, it is not always taken after this sort in the divine scriptures. Wherefore, the soul shall return, and of her being shall impart unto the body, even as it did before death: and shall not only give a being thereunto, but it shall bring therewith all the properties of man, and shall communicate them thereunto. Indeed, there shall be some diversity, but yet not concerning the essential beginnings: only the things accidental shall be changed, which may be altered, notwithstanding that one and the selfsame subject still remain. For others be the qualities and affections of children, and others of young men, and old men: yet is the person all one, and even the same man, both in childhood, in youth, and in age. Thus then we may define the resurrection of the dead; namely, that It

is a new coupling together of the soul unto the body, by the might or power of God, that men may stand wholly in the last day of judgment, and may receive rewards or punishments, according to the state of their former life. By this definition all the kinds of causes are expressed. The form is the Coupling together of the soul and the body: the which also is done so soon as men be borne, and therefore is added New or Done again, namely after death. The efficient cause is showed when we affirm, that it shall be done By the might and power of God. The matter is the Soul and the body, which shall again be joined together. The end also is, That at the last judgment it may be determined of the whole man.

13. Furthermore, it must be considered that there is no small difference between the death of man, which goes before the resurrection of the dead; and that death, whereby brute beasts do perish. For the death of man is called a separation of the soul from the body. For albeit that the body do perish, yet does the soul still remain alive: which happens not in brute beasts, whose death is the destruction of mind and body both together. Whereupon that which Solomon saith in Ecclesiastes, that The end of man and of beasts is all one, is not true, unless it be understood generally; that is to wit, that death happens to both: but the kind of death is not all one, both in the one, and in the other. But of the sentence brought by Solomon, shall be spoken afterward: I made mention of it now because we may understand, that even as between brute beasts and men, is given a sundry respect of death; so, if resurrection also should be granted to them both, the form of the same should not be all one. Wherefore, although it be said of the body, and not of the soul, that it shall rise; yet without the soul, the resurrection shall not be: for the same must of necessity be present. But yet it may after some sort be said of the soul, that it shall rise again in two respects. First, that even as through death it ceases to form and direct the body; and in this

respect after a sort to die: so on the other side, when it returns to form and direct the same, it may as touching these things be said after a sort to rise again. Another cause is, that even the souls are said to fall: so as if it be his property to rise again which hath fallen, they also, seeing after a sort they fall, may be understood to rise.

Therefore Paul said unto the Colossians; If ye have risen together with Christ, savor ye of things that be from above. Now is there any doubt but he speaketh of the resurrection of souls? For they as yet lived, to whom he wrote. Unto the Romans also he saith; If Christ be risen by the glory of His father, so walk ye also in newness of life. And unto the Ephesians; Rise from the dead, rise, and Christ shall illuminate thee. And in the book of Ecclesiasticus, the second chapter; Shrink not away from God, that ye fall not. Again; He that standeth, let him take heed he fall not. And unto the Romans, as touching the not judging of another man's servant, it is written; He standeth or falleth to his own master. Seeing therefore, that all these places are referred to souls, it seems, that both falling and resurrection belong unto them. These things are true, but yet it must be understood, that in the holy scriptures there is put two sorts of resurrection; namely, a former and a latter. In the first, we rise in the soul from sin; but in the latter, the body is restored. Now at this time we speak of the latter; therefore said we, that the same is proper unto the body. And even as in that former, the soul rises again, and not the body: so in the latter, the body rises, and not the soul.

Two Sorts of Resurrection

14. These two sorts of resurrection we gather, not only from the book of the Apocalypse, where they are pronounced blessed, which have their part in the first resurrection: but we learn it also from the

Gospel of John, where in the fifth chapter both are joined together in one place. First, Christ spoke there of the former resurrection when he said, "The time cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that believe it, shall live." That these words belong unto the first resurrection, it sufficiently appears, in that he says; "The time will come, and now is." But there is no man will say, that the hour of the latter resurrection was then present. So as then he meant, that those dead should live again if they believed in the Son of God, who for their sins were destitute of the spiritual life of souls: of whom Christ said in another place; "Let the dead bury their dead." And to the Ephesians, it is written; "When ye were dead in your offenses and sins." And to Timothy it is written of widows; "She that is truly a widow, continues still in prayers, and supplications before the Lord: but she that lives in worldly pleasures, she is dead while she yet lives." Undoubtedly before justification by faith, we are all dead in original sin; or else in those sins, which we of our own accord have added by our choice, and we have altogether need of this resurrection from death. But between the first resurrection and the latter, there is very much difference; because the first belongs unto the elect only, and unto them which shall perpetually be made blessed: but the latter belongs unto all, as well miserable as blessed. Of the which resurrection, Christ added in the same place of John, saying; "And marvel ye not, for the time will come, when they that be in their graves, shall hear the voice of the Son of God, & shall come forth: they that have done well, into the resurrection of life; and they that have done ill, into the resurrection of judgment." Here there is mention made of graves, that is, of sepulchers. Further he says, "The time will come," and said not, that it is already come. Wherefore, as there is appointed a first and second death, so is there also appointed a first and second resurrection. But we (as it has been already said) do only treat at this present of the latter.

15. Thus it has been shown that the resurrection of the dead is an action of those kinds of things, which consist of miracle, and not of nature. He then that shall demand whether it be natural; we will answer him after this manner. As touching the form, the which I said is a joining together of the soul with the body: the name of natural is not to be refused; for it is agreeable to the nature of man, that the soul should be joined to the body. But if we consider the efficient cause, and the mean: those things do utterly go beyond nature. Whereby it comes to pass, that we may easily answer to the third point of this treatise, wherein it was demanded; Whether, for the resurrection of the dead, there might be natural reasons given, and demonstrations made. After this manner, I say, seeing the thing itself surpasses all the power of nature; there can be no reasons made for this kind. Indeed, there are some reasons of force great enough: but if they are diligently examined, they are probable arguments; yet respecting the nature of things, they are not necessary. And to make the matter more plain, we must understand that demonstrations are twofold. For there are some which resolve their questions into principles, which are known by themselves at the first sight in the nature of things: but there are very few reasons of this kind, so as a certain few only can be shown in the Mathematics.

Others there are, which although they consist not of propositions known at the first, and by themselves; yet the propositions, whereby they conclude, may resolve into those things which are truly and of themselves known. And again, there are certain arguments, which consist of true and necessary principles; but yet not evident in that science which uses them: but such as are shown and truly known in a higher and more worthy faculty. This kind of science is commonly called Subalternate, that is, which succeeds by turn. For a Musician shows and concludes some things of harmony and sounds, which he showed and made out of certain principles in Arithmetic: which kind

of argument is demonstrative, yet to him that knows both the sciences; namely, Arithmetic and Music. But to him that is only a Musician, it cannot be called a demonstration; seeing thereof is made no resolution into principles that are known at the first, and by themselves. Even so is it in the reasons concerning the resurrection of the dead. Many reasons for the same are brought of natural propositions, which are very probable: but if the principles of them are examined, natural men, and such as only respect the nature of things, shall not be convinced because they cannot see a resolution unto supernatural causes, which may prove a conclusion, and constantly approve the same. But godly men, when they refer these propositions unto the word of God, and in their resolution fortify and confirm them thereby, they have them for demonstrations, which indeed proceed not from natural knowledge, but from faith, which altogether depends on divine Oracles.

16. But by what ways the philosophers, and they who lean only on natural reason, do set themselves against the reasons, which are drawn forth of natural principles, must now be declared. And now to begin with those reasons, which seem to have more strength than the rest. First, they say, that a thing imperfect is not capable of perfect felicity; But the soul being separated from the body, is maimed and imperfect; Therefore the soul, for obtaining of felicity, must be again joined to the body. This argument the philosophers answer two manner of ways: for either they would say, that the part which is pulled from the other, is imperfect; forsomuch as it receives some benefit and perfection from that other: but that this is the nature of the soul, that it gives her good things to the body, when as yet it receives nothing of it, either of perfection, or profit; therefore the absence of the body is no hindrance to the full felicity of the soul. Or else they would adder, that unto the perfect blessedness of the soul, it is sufficient, that the last good thing be present with it, whereby it

perfectly understands the same, and does embrace it with singular delight: and that the body is not needful thereunto. But to the faithful, the reason that is brought is confirmed by the scriptures, because there they learn, that soul and body together are cast by God into hell: but if he does so as touching punishments, it follows, that he does so as touching rewards.

Another argument is framed after this sort; Whatsoever shall be against nature, is not perpetual; But it is against the soul of man, that it should continue severed from the body: but it continues, seeing it is immortal, and falls not together with the body. And as it is a natural thing unto it, to be the form of the body; so is it against the nature thereof to be severed from the same. If this cannot be perpetual, there remains nothing else, but that it be again united to the body. Unto this reason first the Ethnics would say, that that which is taken for a certain and evident thing, is unto the light of nature obscure; namely, that the soul after death remains and is immortal: for noble philosophers, not a few, judged far otherwise. Yea, and by very learned men; to wit, Tertullian; and Gregory Nazianzen, it is ascribed unto Aristotle himself, that he thought the soul of man to be mortal. And Alexander Aphrodysaeus, no mean Peripatetike, was of this opinion. And Averroes taught in the School of the Peripatetics, that There is only one human intelligence, which by conceits is adjoined unto every man. Wherefore this principle that is assumed; to wit, that the soul after death remains uncorrupt, seeing it is a doubt, and depends not of things, which of themselves be known and evident in the nature of things: the argument that is built thereupon, staggers, and cannot be counted firm.

For Avicenna in his Metaphysics says, that The soul is therefore joined to the body; because through the outward senses, it may procure unto itself both inward knowledge and sciences of things,

which when it has once obtained, there is no need to resort again to that conjunction. Others confute this reason more subtlety; saying, that it is against nature, not to be continual, when the originals of the restitution thereof remain in the nature of things. But if these are utterly abolished, restitution is not to be looked for. And that which they have alleged, they set forth with an indifferent plain similitude; A tree (say they) being cut off, lies along against his nature; which nevertheless is restored, if the roots remaining be quick; because it springs and grows again but if the roots be altogether plucked up, the destruction shall be perpetual. Whereby they affirm, that the soul, being pulled away from the body, does sufficiently understand, that in the nature of things there is no more extant the beginnings of this conjunction to be made again; and that therefore it is not affected with the desire thereof, because the chief of our will is not carried to things impossible. Thus widowed Ethnics answer to the reason that is brought. But the faithful use the same reason, and comfort themselves, in confirming it by the word of God; whereby the immortality of our soul after death is confirmed: and free power of uniting it with the body is granted to be in God.

17. The third reason is wont to be drawn from the justice of God, which must render punishments and rewards for those things, which be done in this life by the body: for because it cannot seem just, that seeing these two, the soul and the body being joined both together, did either right or wrong, only one of them should either be punished or rewarded. Hereto the philosophers would answer, that it appeareth not to them, that the world is so governed of God by justice that rewardeth and punisheth; as it hath consideration of every particular person, in giving to each one either rewards or punishments. Perhaps they would grant, that as touching the firm and constant motions of the heavens, there is a certain providence: so would they also do, as touching the preservation of kinds: but they

would deny it to be had as concerning every particular. Further, they would add, that there be rewards and punishments enough used in those very actions good and evil: for in well doing, there is a wonderful joyfulness of conscience, which excelleth all outward rewards. And again, in doing wickedly men are wonderfully vexed: neither can they escape the butchery of conscience, which is misery and unhappiness enough for the punishment of them.

At length they would affirm, that it is sufficient, while the soul itself either receives rewards, or suffers punishments: and that there is no need, that these things should be done unto the body; because it is not the principal cause of actions, but only the instrument. And there may be a similitude brought of artificers, unto whom only is given a reward, if they have made a fair web, or built a fair house: but unto the instruments, which they used, either in weaving or in building, there is no recompense made. The which instruments receive not the same punishment or loss, if the work have in success: Neither will any man break a poisoned pot, because some have perished by drinking out of the same; especially if it shall be a precious and beautiful vessel. Neither do men break or cast away the sword, wherewith any man is slain; forsomuch as these be instruments, but not special causes. Howbeit, wrath is sometimes so outrageous, as cups envenomed are broken, and swords cast away. Wherefore, seeing both the one thing and the other may be, and sometime doth happen; the argument will be probable, but not necessary.

But as concerning that, which belongeth unto instruments, it seemeth that there must be a distinction made; to wit, that some instruments are conjoined, and some dissevered. Doubtless, the body is an instrument of the soul; but is joined unto it: so as it is no marvel, if it bear away with it both punishment and profit. For we see, even while we live here, that the hands are cut off, that the eyes

of wicked men are put out. Notwithstanding all this, it must not be forgotten, that this reason, which is taken of the justice and judgment of God, is not general: because infants also shall be raised up, who for all this shall not have need to yield a reckoning of the works, which they did by the body. But yet Paul seemeth to confirm this argument, saying in the 15th chapter to the Corinthians, when he had confirmed the resurrection of the bodies; Therefore my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast and constant, abounding in every good work, knowing that your labor shall not be unprofitable before the Lord. But labor is common, as well to the mind, as to the body: therefore profit shall redound to them both. And this kind of argument well-near all the fathers used. I have already declared those, which were of the greatest force: now will I come to other arguments, which are more feeble; wherein is perceived no proof of resurrection, but a certain show of the same.

18. Days (say they) do daily as we see pass away and return; but in very deed yesterday is not the same in number with this day. Also there is brought a similitude of herbs and trees; these things seem in the winter season to be dead, but when the springtime cometh, they bud forth again, they be garnished with leaves, they put forth flowers, and lastly bring forth fruit. But it must be understood, that they were not utterly dead in the winter season: for there remaineth life still in them, although it lay secret. But thereunto it might be answered, that the life also of man, after death, is not utterly taken away; because it still remaineth in the souls that be alive. And certainly Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter, useth after a sort this reason, and showeth, that after corruption, reviving is obtained, while he saith; That which thou sowest, is not quickened, unless it first die. He thereby also showeth the variety of conditions of new fruit, when the seed is first thrown: for thou (saith he) dost sow a grain of wheat, or some other seed: God giveth a body

to it, as pleaseth him. Then, if oftentimes there happen a renewing in creatures; what shall be done unto man, who is of much more value before God, than are trees or hay? For all those things were made for man.

They borrow also a similitude from the bird of India, which is called a Phoenix, the which is properly described by Lactantius, in what sort she dieth, and is renewed. Also there be testimonies taken from the Sibyls, by whom the resurrection of the dead is confirmed. And least anything should want, there are wound in the inventions of the poets; who say, that Hippolytus and Aesculapius were in old time raised from the dead. And so they say that these men for this cause fabled of such things; because this opinion of the resurrection was taught in old time by the fathers, the which by these is transformed, or rather deformed by their fond verses. Howbeit, this is not necessary; because not all things, which they feigned, were invented and taught by the godly fathers: for they wrote and fabled certain things of the Centaurs, Harpies, and Chimeras, which were never devised by the godly. Besides this, there is brought in the image of sleepers, the which is common with us. When a man sleepeth, he ceaseth from actions, he walketh not, he doth nothing: the same being afterward awaked, returneth straightway to his former business. And the similitude is allowed by a form of speech used in the scriptures, which calleth death a sleep: and dead men they call sleepers. Again, the unbelief of men is reproved, who mistrust, that the bodies of men shall from corrupt ashes be restored again: seeing they perceive oftentimes, that of corrupt and putrefied matter, sundry kinds of beasts are brought forth; to wit, mice, moles, frogs, and worms: and out of the caves of the earth are many times gathered most orient precious stones. And who seeth in seed, those things which in process of time are reaped thereof? For the seed of living creatures, is as it were a drop or trickle of an unshapen humor,

wherein may not appear either hands, feet, ears, eyes, head, and other such like.

And to speak of the berry of the vine, it hath so very small and slender a body, as it can scarcely be fastened between two little fingers. In what part of the same are the roots and the bodies of the roots, and the intricating of the branches? Where are the shadows of the vine leaves? Where is the beauty of the clusters? And whereas it is but a very dry seed, yet from thence doth come presses abounding with the most plentiful liquor of wine. These things do daily come to pass in nature. Wherefore we must consider, that how often as bodies must be put into sepulchers; so often is the seed of the resurrection committed to the furrows, to be renewed again. Some of the dead have been raised up again by the prophets, by Christ, and by the apostles: yea and it is reported of some godly men, which restored brute beasts unto their former life. It is written of Sylvester, that he restored to life a dead bull. And they say that Saint German called to life his ass that died, and a calf which his family had eaten. But thou wilt say, that these things be forged: I will not deny it; for many things are mingled among the lives of the saints, which although they should be granted to be true, yet must we not of necessity yield, that those brute beasts were restored to the same quantity, for it might be, that not the very same, but their like were represented. Yet can I not say, that this were impossible to be done by the power of God; for he that made man of nothing, is able out of doubt to renew those things. Gregory, in his sixth treatise of his morals, wrote, that it should be evident unto all men, that it is much more hard to create those things, which have not been, than to repair those that had been.

19. Moreover, it is in God to be able to do all those things, which (as they speak in the schools) contain not in themselves a plain

introduction one to the other: for otherwise, those things, when they take away and destroy one another; it is impossible that they should consist together. Yet this hath not diminished anything of the omnipotency of God: for God is almighty, though he cannot either sin, or deny himself, or bring to pass that those things, which be past, should not be past; neither make that man's body, while it is, should not be a body; and that the number of three should not be three: because these be not impossible things by defect in him, but by reason of the very contrariety of things. But the resurrection of the dead belongeth not unto this kind: for as concerning souls, they perish not; but they remain alive together with their powers and human properties. So as they which are dead, may after a sort be said to be alive in their propriety and original. Which Gregory Magnus, out of the history of Job, confirmeth after this manner; Therein it is taught, that all things were restored unto him twofold: at the first he had seven thousand sheep, there were restored unto him fourteen thousand: he had three thousand camels [afterward] he possessed six thousand: but yet he begat but seven sons, and three daughters. But it is understood, that the number of children also was doubled, because (as Gregory saith) these seven first remained still safe with God, wherefore it might be said, that he had fourteen.

Seeing the matter is after this sort, all the difficulty of the resurrection seemeth to be in the resurrection of the body: for when the same is dead, and that in such sort as there appeareth not so much as the steps thereof; it seemeth impossible to be repaired. Howbeit, seeing it is not gone into nothing, but dissolved into elements, or (as the philosophers speak) into the first matter; therefore it must not be denied, but that it may be framed again of the same matter, and of the same elements. Yea, and the very substance of beasts, albeit they are extinguished by death, yet are they not reduced to nothing. So then, through the power of God, they

might be made again, as well of the matter, as of the elements: For God (as it is written to the Romans) calleth those things, which be not, as though they were: neither is there anything that may resist his word. For even as by the word of God all things be made; so by the very same all things may be restored. And these things shall suffice concerning natural reasons, the which, as it hath been said, are probable, but not demonstrative. And that which is vouched hereof, may also be judged of other articles of the faith: for those things, which are believed of any man, cannot by him naturally be known. But will some say; We believe that there is one God: who nevertheless by natural reason is concluded to be. Hereunto we answer, that the philosophers indeed, in searching out of natural things, learned, that there is one principal beginning, which the Greeks called ΘΕΟΝ, and the Latins DEVM, that is, GOD. But that is not he, whom Christian faith profeseth: for we do not simply and nakedly believe one God; but believe in him that created heaven and earth, and that hath a son, and the holy Ghost. These appurtenances doubtless the philosophers perceived not. Whereby that appeareth most true, which the apostle taught the Hebrews; namely, that Faith is an argument of things which are not seen.

The Testimonies of the Word of God Confirm Resurrection

20. Now, seeing thus it is, reason requires that we should come to another point of the question, and by the testimonies of the word of God confirm resurrection, which indeed cannot be truly showed by natural reasons. Which testimonies, being comprehended in the old and new testament, according to the order of time, we will here begin with the old testament: and first with that, which we read in the third chapter of Exodus; I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.

This place did Christ use, when he was tempted by the Sadducees. The name of Sadducees, is derived from the word Tsedec, that is to say, from Justice; for they were judiciary men, who besides the law given by Moses, admitted no other scripture: they strictly urged the very bare word, not admitting (as it appears) any interpretation. And further, because they believed not the resurrection of the dead, they thought in like manner, that there were no angels; even as we read in the Acts of the Apostles. Also among the Hebrews in those days (to touch that by the way) were Pharisees, of the verb Pharasch, which signifies, To distinguish, interpret, and extend. These men not only allowed the law, but also the prophets as interpreters thereof: also they did expound and interpret the holy scriptures. Besides these also, there were certain called Essenes, which were so called of the verb Ascha, which is, To do. They were very just, and wrought with their own hands, that thereby they might live and help the poor; in like manner as if we should call them laborers. And no doubt but they deceive themselves, which judge, that they were so called of < in non-Latin alphabet > , that is, Holy: for the Etymologies of Hebrew names must not be sought for in the Greek tongue.

Among the Jews also, there were Gaulonites, so called, of a certain principal man of the Jewish faction: these in all respects held with the Pharisees, saving that they held opinion, that tribute should not be given to foreign nations. For they would, that the children of Abraham; to wit, the people of God, should be altogether free. All these things are plainly set forth by Josephus, as well in his book of the Jews war, as in his antiquities. But now I return unto the Sadducees. By them all things in a manner were attributed unto freewill: they lived rigorously, using homely and rustic manners; so as they might seem to be the Stoics of the Hebrews: saving that the Stoics yielded almost all things to the providence of God, and to destiny; whereas these men were of far contrary opinion. And albeit

that the sects of the Pharisees and Sadducees disagreed one with another; yet did they agree together, to withstand Christ. So as the Sadducees, because they would jest at the resurrection of the dead, said; Among us there was a woman, whom seven brethren, seeing they departed without children, took to wife, (according to the prescript rule of Moses law, the which is written in the 25th chapter of Deuteronomy:) In the resurrection of the dead, whose wife of the seven brethren shall she be? The scope of this question was, that the resurrection should not be admitted, because absurdities thereof might follow, which would be against the law of God: neither could those things consist without impeachment thereof. Christ answered; Ye are deceived. And yet are we not to believe, that the ignorance, wherewith they were infected, did discharge them of fault: for therefore did they err, because they would not understand nor hear them, which rightly admonished them. And of their error he showeth two heads, or two fountains; first, because they understood not the scriptures; secondly, for that they had no consideration of the power of God.

There are many ways, wherein men may be deceived about the scriptures; either for lack of knowledge in the tongues; or because that proper speeches are not distinguished from those which be spoken figuratively; or when a hard place is not expounded by another place that is plainer; or when we do not mark, that sometime those things, which belong unto the things signified, are attributed unto the signs: and contrariwise, the properties of the signs ascribed unto the things signified. And he that would more plentifully know of these things, let him peruse the books of Augustine, which he profitably wrote of Christian doctrine. But about the power of God, there is a double error; the first, when all things are assigned unto him without any manner of exception; the other, when too little is attributed to him. And with this latter kind of error were the

Sadducees infected: for when as they heard, that the dead should live again after this world, they considered not, that there may be another life from this, in which we now live, and have need of meat, drink, and procreation of children. Wherefore they, having too slender an opinion of the power of God, did not think that he is able to translate men, after they be raised up, unto a heavenly life, which should be near unto the state of angels. But how they did err, Christ (as we read in Luke) expounded, saying; The children of this world marry wives, and be married, but at the resurrection of the dead, they neither marry wives, nor yet are given in marriage, but become equal unto angels. And while he makes mention of angels, he reprehended the Sadducees, which denied that there be angels.

21. But why men shall be such after the resurrection, he showed the cause, saying; For they can die no more. Wherein must be considered, that the procreation of children was appointed for two causes. First, for that men, which were at the first created but two only, might be multiplied. Secondly, that when they should be multiplied to the just number (many dying in the meanwhile) others should be substituted in their place. So that, seeing at the resurrection there shall be a just complete number of persons, and that death cannot happen therein, procreation would be unnecessary. Neither are the words of the evangelists, or rather of Christ, to be understood; as though he taught, that a corporeal substance should be wanting unto them, which shall be raised up. For he said not; They shall be angels: but, They shall be as the angels, and equal unto angels. Neither is that to be marvelled at, which is written by Luke, that They shall be the children of the resurrection, and the children of God: for that must not be taken, as if it were denied, that the saints are also the children of God in this life. For otherwise, while they live here, how should they cry; Abba, Father: or pray; Our Father, which art in heaven? But the manner of the holy

scriptures is, that sometimes they affirm things to be then done, when they are made manifest. And because it is not now evident, that we be the children of God, at the resurrection it shall be manifest: for When Christ shall come, then we also shall appear together with him in glory. Therefore it is written in Luke, that The saints shall then be the children of God. Neither is that to be passed over, that those things, which are there spoken by Christ, pertain only to the resurrection of the just. For the ungodly, when they shall rise again, albeit they shall be immortal, yet shall they not after the manner of angels become glorious and impassible. And these things spoke Christ of the ignorance which the Sadducees had, as touching the divine power.

22. And justly also might he say, that they knew not the scriptures. For how could they deny angels to be, seeing it is written in the book of Genesis, that an angel forbade Abraham, that he should not offer his son, as he was minded to do? It is there also written, that there were three received by Abraham in guestwise, whereof two at least were angels. Also it is said, that they were with Lot. And an angel appeared unto Moses in the midst of a bush, and set himself in the midst between the tents of the Israelites and Egyptians. Again, unto Jacob there were seen tents of angels in Mahanaim, and he wrestled almost a whole night with an angel. Rightly therefore did Christ say, that They knew not the scriptures. And the place he brought out of the second book of Moses, as well because they, besides the law, received no scriptures: indeed they read the prophets, and the psalms, no otherwise than we do the fathers, the books of the Maccabees, and the Wisdom of Solomon and Sirach: as also for that they alleged Moses against Christ. So as rightly he did reply upon them with Moses.

Neither was it the Lord's mind, when he would answer them, to gather all the testimonies of the old testament: for then he might have found oracles enow out of the counsel of the prophets, and out of other scriptures. And albeit these words; I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, are found in many places of the holy scriptures: yet do Mark and Luke expressly refer them to the vision which Moses had at the bush; as we find in the third chapter of Exodus. When Jesus had on this wise confuted the Sadducees, the people were amazed, wondering at the wisdom of Christ. But because the simple people is thought sometime to want judgment, therefore Luke added, that Certain of the Scribes said; Master, thou hast said well. Wherefore the reasoning that Christ made, was allowed, not only by the common sort, but also by them that were learned. And not without cause: for what more fit interpreter of the law of God will we have, than the word, by whom it was given at the beginning?

23. But the foundations of this reason must be searched out more narrowly, that they may the more plainly appear. If so be that the fathers, which be dead, were utterly perished; how should God still be their God? Indeed they are dead, that is to wit, in the judgment of man, and according to nature; but not before God. For it is written in Luke; All men live unto him. But, The fathers living unto God, may be understood two manner of ways. First, if it be wholly referred to the prescience or predestination of God: for all things that are to come, be present with him; neither can he be disappointed of his purpose. Wherefore they which shall be raised up, though it be a thousand years hence, are said to live. Or else, The fathers live unto him; because they reign with him in celestial glory. The same form of speaking used Paul unto the Romans, writing of Christ; In that he died to sin, he died once; in that he liveth, he liveth unto God, that is, he is with him in glory, and sitteth at his right hand. But thou wilt say; Thus it might be said, that not the saints themselves, but their

souls do live with Christ in heaven. Indeed this is true, but by the figure Synecdoche, that which is a part, is attributed to the whole. For we doubt not to say, but that saint Peter, and saint James are in heaven with Christ, when as only their souls are conversant there. Yea moreover, Paul said, that He desired to be loosed hence, and to be with Christ: when he knew that only his soul should be with him, until the latter day of judgment. And in the Evangelical story we read, that Lazarus was carried into the bosom of Abraham; and that the cruel rich man was carried into the torments of hell: whereas only their souls were brought to those places.

24. But against the arguing of our Lord there is a cavil objected; namely, that God called himself the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, because he was their God in old time while they lived, he helped them, and made a covenant with them. But this is a fond objection: because it is not said, that he was their God; but the word is pronounced in the present tense, Εγώ εἰμι ὁ θεός. In very deed, in the Hebrew, the verb substantive is not put to, but it is absolutely written Anoki Elobe. But this maketh no matter, seeing the holy Ghost expressed by the mouth of the Evangelists, the verb substantive [namely Am] for they wrote εἰμι. But if the godly, who be departed, have no fruition at all of life, nor are not thereunto to be called again; what commodity are they to wait for of him, or how is he their God? Moreover, a master having certain scholars, he may say, so long as they live; I am their master: but when they be dead, he cannot so say. Even in like manner, as a wife, when her husband is dead, will not say; I am his wife: but, I was his wife. And the father, when his son is dead, will not say, I am: but, I was his father. Even so is it gathered, that life must after some sort be ascribed unto those fathers which be dead, if God shall be truly said to be their God: for there is no benefit bestowed upon them, that be utterly dead.

Nor do I make reckoning of those cavillers, which affirm, that God did good unto the fathers departed, in their posterity. For it must be considered in the holy scriptures, that the proposition is copulative; namely, that God would be God both of the fathers themselves, and also of their issue: and therefore the same must needs be true, as well for the one part as the other. Here, in consisteth the strength of this reason, that we understand, that GOD doth always benefit, maintain, and defend them, whose God he is. And when there was a covenant made between God and men, God would be worshipped, and had in honor by them: and again, that he would acknowledge them for his people. But who can be a father without children? Who can be a lord without servants? Who can be a king without subjects? Certainly none: and even so God cannot be the God of them which be not. But this connection Christ showed not at the first. But Abacuck, in the first chapter, touched the same, when he saith; Seeing thou art our God from the beginning, we shall not die; that is to wit, eternally. Therefore God suffereth not them, whose God he is, utterly to die. And undoubtedly he is worshipped and honored of them, whose God he is. But the dead do neither praise God, neither yet do they worship or honor him. Wherefore Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, if they have a God, they worship him: if they do this, now are they not dead.

But let us hear Christ himself, how he fortieth and confirmeth the reason that is brought. When he had said; I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob: as though some man had answered; What then? He added withal; But God is not the God of the dead, but of the living. But against this saying, that seemeth to be which is written unto the Romans; Christ therefore died, and rose again, that he might have dominion both over the dead, and over the living. Whereof some man would gather, that it is no absurdity for God to be Lord of them which be dead. There be some which answer, that Christ said not, that God is not the Lord of the dead: but; The

God of the dead. To say the very truth, this seemeth to me but a slender shift in arguing: for it is manifest and evident enough, that the Lord and GOD in the scriptures are both counted one. And the word Elohe, which is read in the Hebrew, is very often translated by the name of Lord. Wherefore the doubt must be dissolved another way: as to say with Christ, that God is only the God of the living: but that these must be distinguished into two sorts; because some of them have their body as yet joined to them, and some be loosed from the same, nevertheless, they live all. Notwithstanding we deny not, but that it followeth hereof, that the souls of them that be departed, do live with God. Howbeit, it must be added, that God is not a savior of a part of those which be his, so as he would only have the soul to be saved: and as he is God both of the body and of the soul, so will he save both. Nor shall it be meet for them, which have served God purely and sincerely, to obtain only a half salvation: they shall in very deed have a full, whole, and perfect salvation.

25. By this manner of arguing of Christ, the Anabaptists are two ways beaten. First, because they think, that the old testament serves nothing at all for us, seeing Christ does plainly take a testimony from hence to confirm the resurrection of the dead; which also the apostles at diverse times did. Again, whereas they contend with us for the baptism of children; they will have us to bring out of the scriptures, express, plain, and manifest words, whereby is affirmed, that children should be baptized. Neither will they be content with the reasons and conclusions derived from the scriptures, when as Christ nevertheless intending here to prove the resurrection of the dead, brought no express testimony, but such a testimony, as from thence the resurrection might be inferred. And he himself having brought in a testimony, added the Minor or less proposition; saying, that He is not the God of the dead, but of the living. But there be others also, even of our time, which think, that the testimony alleged

by Christ, was not known to the elder fathers; in such sort as they knew it surely to belong to the resurrection of the dead. For they persuade themselves, that the old people had in deed salvation by Christ, in receiving through him the forgiveness of sins, and perpetual felicity, when as yet they understood not these things. Even in like manner as the children of Christians are saved, when as they nevertheless as yet understand not the heavenly and Christian mysteries.

They say that God, through temporal and worldly promises (namely of the land of Canaan and of innumerable issue) through victories, and riches, fed them, and kept them in his service: but that they acknowledged not Christ as the savior from sin, and from everlasting death, as the author of life, and prince of the resurrection, and of all good gifts. And they will have it, that Christ first of all other, revealed the secret mystery of the resurrection, and derived his argument from the place which we have now in hand; whereas they of the old time never understood of the same before. Such at this day are the Servetians, who greatly deceive and be deceived. How dare they say this, if they embrace the new testament? Doubtless Paul affirms unto the Galatians, that The same seed promised unto Abraham, in whom all the nations of the earth should be blessed, was Christ. And seeing he believed, and was justified; certainly he had not that by the faith which was of temporal things, or of the multitude of posterity; but of Christ the son of God. For as it is written unto the Romans; We are justified even after the same sort that Abraham was; namely by faith in Christ: who also saith of him; He saw my day, and rejoiced.

Besides this, the prophets did so manifestly foreshow the mysteries of Christ, as they may seem to be no prophets, but evangelists. But did they speak & write those things which they understood not? Surely, that had not been the part of prophets, but of mad men.

Neither is it likely, that this meaning of Christ was unknown; otherwise the Sadducees would easily have answered, that that place was not so understood by the forefathers, neither that it was so interpreted of the life of the fathers. But the matter was so evident, that some of the Scribes said openly; Master, thou hast said well. And as the evangelists teach; The Pharisees perceived, that Christ had put the Sadducees to silence: which declareth the matter to be so manifest, as there should be no place left to cavillation. Further, the Pharisees affirmed the resurrection of the dead: and seeing they were interpreters of the scriptures, there can be no doubt, but they proved the same by the scriptures. And that they were before the coming of Christ, it is sufficiently declared out of the history of Josephus, who affirms, that they were in the time of the Asmonaeans. Wherefore, Christ was not the first that avouched this opinion; neither did he so pervert the way of teaching, as he proved his own sayings by obscure and uncertain things. Whenever he handled anything out of the scriptures, he always brought forth those things which were plain and manifest.

When he demanded of the Jews what they believed concerning Messiah; and they had answered, that he should be the son of David: he answered; And how cometh it to pass, that David in spirit calleth him Lord, citing the psalm; The Lord said unto my Lord? And if it had not appeared unto all men, that the same psalm was written of Messiah, he should have prevailed nothing. In like manner, when he spake of divorce, he cited a place out of the book of Genesis; Male and female created he them. And that saying also, which Adam spake; This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; and they shall be two in one flesh. Here also he compiled not his reason of obscure, but of manifest things. In like manner, when he treated of the order and dignity of the commandments, he declared this to be the first and greatest commandment; Thou shalt love the Lord thy

God, with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength: and the other is like unto this; Love thy neighbor as thyself. Wherefore, seeing he always grounded upon manifest and certain things; why then will we only in this place have his reason to be uncertain and obscure, and never known before? But I will pass over these things, and will observe this, that these two vices; namely, ignorance of the scriptures, and of the power of God, may also at this day be objected to all them which be maintainers of wicked opinions: for they are infected with the ignorance either of both, or at the least wise of the one or of the other. So as when we have access to the reading of the scriptures, we must endeavor to be delivered from both those vices, whereby we may well understand the scriptures, and judge rightly of the power of God. Thus much shall suffice concerning the testimony brought by Christ,

The Book of Job

26. Now having respect to the course of times, I will handle the text of Job, which is in the 19th chapter of his book: but before I set forth the words themselves, it seemeth good to touch that, which he treated of before. To the intent that those things, which were to be spoken, should the more diligently be considered, he did move men after this sort to give ear to him; I would to God my words were written, not in papers, but in a book, yea, and graven with an iron pen in lead or in stone, for an everlasting continuance! So the laws in old time were graven in tables of brass, lest the writing should wear out. And in Jeremiah we read, that the sin of Judah was written with a pen of adamant, so as it could not be wiped out. The words therefore be worthy of memory, which Job desired to print after this manner. The words are these; And I know (certainly, not by natural knowledge, but by faith) that my redeemer liveth. He beginneth the

saying with the letter Vau, which coupleth together: as if he should say; Seeing other faithful men believe this, I also know and confess this with them, that my redeemer liveth.

He calleth him A redeemer; to wit, from death, from sins, and from all evils. He saith moreover, that He liveth; because he is the fountain of life, and quickeneth all things that have life. This undoubtedly is Christ the son of God: for there is no other redeemer given unto men besides him. And therefore a little after he calleth him The last; because there were many partly and imperfect redeemers. But Christ is the last and perfect, beside whom no other ought to be looked for. Albeit, the Hebrew word Acharon may be referred to the time, as to say; That redeemer of mine liveth, and at the last time he shall rise out of dust. This do some attribute to the resurrection of Christ: for he was raised up with his body, which after the manner of the scripture is called dust. And undoubtedly, Christ in rising again was the first fruits of them which sleep. And he is said to have risen in the last time, because his resurrection happened in the beginning of the last age: for there is no other age to be looked for, than that which we now live in; so that of John it is called the last hour. We may very conveniently also refer that saying to the resurrection of the dead, so as of that living redeemer it may be said; At the last time: that is, At the end of the world; He shall rise, to wit, He shall exercise his power upon dust; that is, upon dead bodies already become dust, in raising them up again.

Moreover, Job making the matter more plain, addeth; Afterward, that is to say, At that time; this my hide, or skin, or flesh; which they have gnawed, pierced and hacked (for these things doth the word Nacaph signify; that is to wit, sorrows, diseases, and worms) shall not be despised of my redeemer, but in my flesh (that is, being in flesh) I shall see God. The Latin translation hath, Rursus circundabor

pelle mea; I shall be again compassed about with my skin. They who so translated the same, it should seem they had a respect unto the verb Iacaph, which signifieth, To compass about: and in the conjugation Niphal it is said Nikkephu, that is, They shall be compassed about; namely, my joints, sinews, and members in this skin, and in this hide, and with my flesh I shall see God. Both the one sense and the other do affirm resurrection. With mine eyes I shall see him; I myself, and not a stranger or other for me. He affirmeth that he shall rise in his own proper body, and not in another: for even as Christ took again his own body unto him, even so likewise shall be given unto us our own bodies, and no other.

Whereupon Tertullian De resurrection carn is said; I shall not be another man, but another thing: affirming, that there shall be no diversity of substance, but of conditions, qualities, and properties. However, they speak contrariwise at this day in the schools; to wit, that every man shall be another person, but not another thing. Nevertheless, the diverse forms of speaking do not alter the matter. I shall see (saith Job) Li, which signifieth, For myself, for mine own profit: for albeit he deal severely with me now, and seemeth to be mine enemy, he will then show himself to be merciful and gracious unto me. This is the consolation of the godly, while they abide affliction in this world; even to have an eye unto the resurrection, and therein to quiet themselves. And while he saith; I shall see him with mine eyes, he hath made manifest the two natures of Christ; namely, the divine and the human: for God is not seen with bodily eyes. These things be so manifest, as they have no need of greater light. Whereby it appeareth, that the fathers in old time were not ignorant of Christ the redeemer, nor yet of the resurrection from the dead.

27. Some say that Job spoke these things regarding the recovery both of his health and his goods in this life: and they are not of that mind that he spoke anything of the world to come. But that interpretation is strange and vain, which is two ways to be confuted by argument. First, of the recovery of health concerning this life, he despaired; and with the hope of resurrection, he comforted himself, as it has been said: which is evident in the same 19th chapter, where he says that God dejected all his hope, so he compares himself with a plant that is cut off and springs not again: and the very same appears in many chapters of his book. Further, if he had spoken of this temporal restitution; what needed he to have used such magnificent speech before he began the matter, wishing that his words were written in a book, and graven in flint, or in lead, for a perpetual remembrance thereof? It is a common matter that calamities be removed from them that repent, and to have their old state, and many times a better restored by God: yea his friends promised that this should happen unto him, if he returned into the way from whence they thought he was departed.

Wherefore Job spoke these things, that they might all understand that even in the midst of death, he godlily comforted himself with the hope of resurrection: which he would teach his friends and others to do by his example. The interpretation that is brought is so clear as it may seem to be written, not with ink, but with the beams of the sun. So as they are fond without all measure, which seek a doubt in this plain matter. The Hebrew interpreters upon this place be so obscure, as in reading of them thou mightest seem to grope in the dark: certainly they have even of set purpose followed obscurity. It seems they would have said that Job knew that God (whom he calls his redeemer) lives, through the effect of punishments and miseries, which he perceived to be grievously inflicted. And to this purpose, they force what he says, as touching his flesh he sees God: that is to

wit, that he feels him, and acknowledges him by the griefs which he endured, and which he himself, and no other, could have considered. These are trifles impertinent and clean beside the purpose: neither can they be applied unto all the words of this text. Hereunto thou mayest add that in a manner all the fathers, although they were most ancient, understood this place of the resurrection.

28. But passing over Job, I will bring another testimony out of David. He in the 16th psalm pronounces; I have set GOD in my sight; namely, in perpetual recording of thy law, lest I should commit anything against the same: or else in considering him to be always present in all my thoughts, sayings, and doings, that I should do nothing unworthy of his presence: or else in calling always upon him in adversities, lest I should put my hope in any other but in him. He has not failed me, but standeth at my right hand, to maintain, support, and defend me. Therefore, was my heart glad; namely, with a sound and perfect gladness, not with a vain, inconstant, and worldly joy. And my glory rejoiced. Under the name of glory, many of the Hebrews understand the soul; because that is the principal part and glory of man. But others expound it to be the tongue, because the worthiness and excellency of man were sometime thought to come by speech. The Hebrew word is Kavod, which the Septuaginta in their translation called Tongue: which also the apostles observed in the Acts when they handled this place. Neither doth there want examples, in which Kavod signifieth A tongue. In the 30th psalm; He shall sing unto thee, Kavod, with his tongue, and shall not hold his peace. Also in the 108th psalm; I will sing and give praise unto thee, Kavod, with my tongue. And in the book of Genesis, the 49th chapter, Simeon and Levi are warrelie instruments of iniquity, my soul cometh not into their secrets, nor my Tongue is not united with their congregations: that is to say, I have allowed nothing of their

wicked counsel; neither have I with my Tongue, that is, by my commandment, driven them unto so grievous wickedness.

And very well doubtless, among the Hebrews, both glory and tongue are signified by the word Kavod: for albeit that man's dignity depends on a reasonable soul, yet the same being invisible is not known by any other thing more than by speech. Whereupon some have taught that the special distinction of mankind is that he is endued with the gift of speaking. And Aristotle said that Words are tokens of those passions or affections which be in the mind. Also, Democritus taught that Speech is *διανοίας ῥήγματα*, that is, A certain flowing of reason: for the thoughts of our reason, which be hidden, flow and break forth by words. So as the meaning of David is; I have conceived so much joy in my mind as my tongue exceedingly rejoices in giving of thanks and setting forth of his benefits. Neither doth my gladness there cease, but it also replenisheth the body: For my flesh shall rest in hope. The verb Yashab, betokeneth not only To lie or rest; but also, To dwell: whereupon some have interpreted; It shall boldly dwell. And from whence this confidence ariseth, he straightway addeth; Because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption. My flesh doth rest in hope, or boldly dwelleth; because I hope that I shall be raised from death unto life: and that life not to be common, but a true, happy, and everlasting life. Therefore he addeth; Thou shalt show me the path of life; the fullness of joys is in thy countenance; at thy right hand are pleasures forevermore.

29 These verses of David were alleged in the Acts, both by Peter and Paul, before the people of Israel, as being things which pertained to the resurrection of Christ. But in the examination of them, three things seem to be alleged; first, that the sense of the words be understood; secondly, to know whether they do belong unto Christ,

or unto David; last of all, how they may be aptly applied to our resurrection. First and foremost we must call to mind, that the judgment was pronounced by God, against Adam and his posterity, that by death they should return into the earth from whence they were taken: and in the earth they should perpetually have remained, unless Christ (by his death and resurrection) had cut off and abrogated that curse. He verily died and was buried, but he lived not so long in the sepulcher, that his dead body did putrefy. He died and was buried, as other men be; but saw not corruption in like manner as they did. Other men also shall not be left in the graves, seeing that in the end of the world they shall rise again: yet shall they not escape corruption, although that their bodies, by the travel of physicians be preserved either with myrre, or alloes, or baulme, or with other spices. For the flesh is consumed, and being wholly dried up, it cleaveth to the bones, being so corrupted and changed, as it may rather seem to be skin than flesh.

The elect, while they live here, are not delivered from troubles, vexations, calamities, and diseases: yea in comparison of others, they suffer grievous things, and yet they are said to be at rest; verily not in act, but in the hope of resurrection. Thereby are they comforted in the midst of death: by it the martyrs did constantly suffer, and were liberal of their life and blood for the name of Christ. And that this hope is to be understood of the resurrection, the words which follow, do sufficiently declare; Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption. This hope nevertheless, albeit it do cheer us up very much, and doth exceedingly strengthen us; yet hath it sighs & sobs joined therewith. For Paul in the 8. chapter to the Romans, writeth; We having the first fruits of the spirit, do sigh in our selves, expecting the adoption and redemption of our body: for through hope we are saved.

30. Moreover, that saying hath a great emphasis, wherein it is written; "Thou shalt not leave me in the grave": for thereby David prophesies, that Christ should be buried. For we leave not anything in a place, unless it were first put there. Wherefore he deals not in this place touching any protection, safe custody, and defense of the flesh in this world; but of the resurrection of the flesh, and eternal life. Even cattle and brute beasts, when they die, be at rest, as well from diseases, as from labors: but they rest not in hope; because they hope not for the blessed and happy resurrection. The Hebrew word Chasid (חֲסִיד), is translated by the Septuaginta ἅγιος (hagios), that is, Holy. So was Christ peculiarly called; "The holy one of God": and so did the devils call him, as we read in Mark and in Luke. Scheol (שְׁאוֹל), among the Hebrews, expresseth both a grave, and also hell; of the verb Schaal (שָׂאָל), which is, To crave; because these things seem evermore to demand and crave, neither are they at any time satisfied. The 70. interpreters, and the apostles in the Acts said, εἰς ᾗδου (eis Hádou), into hell. But Schacath (שַׁחַת) is derived of the verb Schacath (שָׁחַת), which signifieth, To destroy and corrupt: whereupon, as well a hole as a grave, is called Schacath; because dead carcasses do there putrefy and corrupt. Thus much of the names.

So as the confession of our faith hath, that Christ was dead and buried: but yet so, as neither his soul was long detained in hell, nor yet his body so long tarried in the grave, that it had trial of corruption. These words contain singular and excellent comfort, as touching the flesh; seeing we believe that the same shall be raised up from death. Which doubtless would be no comfort at all, if so be that our body and flesh should be subjected unto perpetual death. The elect do advance their joy and hope; because they be not afraid of death. They know, that in these words, there is no speaking of a certain short deliverance, to be given unto them for a time. Certainly David was many times delivered from sundry dangers, and from

most sharp and deadly sicknesses: and for those benefits, he in his psalms gave GOD sundry thanks; for he acknowledged, that those things were laid upon him for his benefit. But in this place he speaketh of eternal life, and of the chief felicity, which the words that follow do declare, when it is said; Thou shalt show me the path of life; in thy presence is the fullness of joys; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore. But it is a cold comfort that ariseth thorough hope of deliverance, from one danger or another, and from one disease or another; when others be at hand, and that finally we must die: for that in deed is nothing else, but even to take breath for a time.

Further, I pass it over, that such benefit is common to us with the wicked; because both their death is oftentimes deferred, and they escape from sundry sicknesses. But this is the great happiness of the godly, that unto them death is turned into rest; and the grave is not properly corruption unto them: in the which they sweetlie lie, being now delivered from the troubles and labors of this life. And when it is said, that the flesh doth rest in hope: it must not so be understood, as though the carcase or dead flesh doth hope. For if we consider of it, as it is separated from the soul, it is a brute and rude thing, neither doth it hope nor despair: but the meaning is, that the godly, while they live here, do so comfort themselves, as they hope that their flesh shall both rest, and be restored unto a most happy life. If David, which lived under the law, and in the old testament thus prophesies concerning the resurrection of the dead, and of Christ; how dare foolish men say, that the fathers in the old testament were ignorant of these things? Peter advised the Israelites, that they should give credit unto David; because he could rightly pronounce of these things, in that he was a prophet; whose function is to foreshow of things to come. Further, that Christ was promised unto him by an oth; and that not only he should come forth of his stock, but that he

should sit upon his seat, that he might faithfully govern and rule the Israelites.

31. Nor must it be forgotten that David did not write, "I did rest in hope," but he attributed the same to his flesh, lest he should give cause of suspicion that death did also pertain unto the soul: for there be such as think that the soul doth perish together with the body. Further, that at the resurrection of the dead, both parts shall be restored: the which opinion we have before confuted by most evident testimonies of the scriptures. And that the thing may yet more manifestly appear, it is to be understood that "Soul" in this place is not taken by all men after one manner: for some do consider of the same properly, as it is distinguished from the body, and then they take the word Scheol, not for a grave, but for hell: to have the sense to be, that Christ was not to be forsaken in hell, but should quickly be restored to his body. And undoubtedly the greatest part of the fathers, when they would confirm the going down of Christ into hell, do use this interpretation: from which also the apostles do not fly, who said with the seventy interpreters; "Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell," and turned not the word Scheol, sepulcher. But others do understand Soul, as though it should signify a dead man, that is, the dead carcass itself: and they think it to be said; "Thou shalt not leave me being dead," that is, my dead carcass in the grave: so as if the same thing were repeated in the second clause, which was spoken in the first; namely, that it is all one [to say] that the holy one shall not see the grave; and [to say] my soul shall not be left in the grave. This interpretation David Kimhi follows.

Now, that the soul doth sometimes signify a dead man, or a dead carcass, it is read in the 21st of Leviticus, where God commands the Israelites that they should not contaminate or pollute themselves over a soul, that is, over a dead man, or over a dead carcass. But for

this matter, I mean not now to contend. But yet as touching that which belongeth unto the descending of Christ into hell, which is gathered of the former exposition; I think it not amiss to have noted that they fly from the true mark, which think that the soul of Christ did so descend into hell, where the damned souls are punished for their deserts, as that he suffered there also the punishments and torments of the ungodly, to the intent that we should be delivered from those evils. These are devises of men, neither are they grounded upon any of the holy scriptures: nay rather, when Christ was at the point of death upon the cross, he said; "It is finished," because in dying he had finished his vocation, so far forth as he was sent for the redeeming of mankind, and by that one only oblation or sacrifice (as it is written to the Hebrews) he obtained salvation for us. And we read everywhere in the holy scriptures that we by the death, cross, and blood of Christ are redeemed: but we read nowhere [that we are redeemed] by the torments and punishments in hell, which happened after his death. Further, when he was even now dying, he said unto the father; "Into thy hands, I commend my spirit," and they which be in the hands of God, undoubtedly are not tormented with the pains of hell. But of this matter we have sufficiently spoken at this time: for I think that hereby it is plainly showed what sense is to be gathered out of the words of David. Now resteth to be considered whether this oracle were uttered concerning David himself, or touching Christ.

32. The Hebrews, and chiefly among them D. Kimhi, think that the prophet spoke these things of himself; namely, that he believed he should in that sort be protected and delivered by God, as he should neither be left in his sepulcher, nor see the grave. However, Peter excepted him and such others, as we read in the second chapter of the Acts, saying unto the Israelites, "For I may boldly speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and that his

sepulcher remaineth with us unto this day." By which words he shows that his dead body was not only left in the sepulcher, but that it there became rotten, and that therefore that prophecy could not be applied unto him; but was fulfilled in Christ. But the Hebrews laugh us to scorn, and say, "Without all doubt your Christ died, and was buried, as ye yourselves confess; how cometh it then to pass that he saw not the grave?" We answer that we indeed confess that Christ died; but yet not so, that he was detained either by death or by hell. Wherefore his dead body was not left in the sepulcher, neither did he see corruption, if we understand Schacath, to signify Putrefaction, which by the apostolic doctrine is the lawful interpretation thereof.

But if we yield unto these men; to wit, that by that word is signified either a grave or a sepulcher, we will say that it was pronounced of Christ, that he should not see the grave; either by the figure Hyperbole, or else by Catachresis. By which figures we say that this thing was not extant, or was not done; because it was extant and enduring but for a short time, or for a moment. If this be spoken as touching them, which believe (as we read in John), "They which have believed in the son of God, shall not see death," whereas they shall be in death, till the end of the world: how much rather and more truly is it pronounced of Christ, which was there but three days, and those not fully complete? And certainly, according to these tropes or figures, his dying was no dying, and his burying no burying. Indeed he died truly, but he tarried not in death; he was truly buried, but he tarried not in the sepulcher: but as touching corruption or putrefaction, he had no manner of trial thereof. Wherefore unto the question proposed, I answer, that David, when he hoped well of his own resurrection to come, spoke these things: but yet so spoke them, as he altogether bent his mind upon Christ, knowing that he himself was appointed unto the church, to be the shadow or figure of him. Chiefly therefore he referred the resurrection, which he spoke of unto

him, by whom it is derived unto other men: so as he is justly and deservedly called by Paul; "The first fruits of them that sleep." For this cause he spoke those things, which might wholly surmount and excel the degree and condition of his own reviving: for he would carry up men to Christ himself. Neither had these words been truly nor profitably spoken by him, unless he had referred them to Christ, the author of the most happy resurrection.

Wherefore we must understand that it is a certain and firm rule, that the dignities and prerogatives, which we read in the holy scriptures to be attributed unto the saints; all those are chiefly, and that excellently well to be referred unto Christ. So then David spoke not alone of Christ, but also of himself; but yet so far forth, as he was in Christ, and was included among others of his members. Thou wilt perhaps say that the apostles seem to deny this, which affirm it to be fulfilled only in the Lord. I answer: they denied not that the dead body of David was left in the sepulcher; for they affirmed the same to be left there, even unto those times. Nor deny they that he saw the grave, seeing he was therein even until that day. But again, they denied not but that he should from thence be taken at the time appointed, and that he should at the last be raised from corruption. Wherefore these things agree to David, so far forth as the grave and corruption shall not be perpetual unto him. Hereby likewise it appeareth what answer we are to shape unto the third question; namely, that these things belong also unto us, so far forth as we with David be the members of Christ. For as Christ by dying overcame death, not only for himself, but also for us; so by rising again, he liveth both unto himself, and unto us. Wherefore perfect life, perpetual and eternal felicity, as concerning both the soul and the body, do rest in Christ the head; and by little and little distill and flow into the members, according to the analogy or proportion of them.

Some demand why God suffereth the dead bodies of holy men to lie so long in the grave, and to be corrupted and putrefied; seeing both they be holy, and (as Paul saith) the temples of the Holy Ghost? Hereunto is answered that our flesh indeed is of one kind and nature with the flesh of our Lord; but that in the meantime there be many differences put between them. For the flesh of Christ was pure, neither was it in any respect subject unto sin: but on the contrary part, we are compassed on all sides with sins; only we are not altogether oppressed. Moreover, as David saith; "We are conceived in iniquity, but Christ by the Holy Ghost." Besides this, it is very meet that the head should go before the rest of the members; and it is requisite that the members should be all made perfect together in one. So then, the dead bodies of the elect do wait, until the full number of the brethren be complete.

33. But seeing in the places now alleged, there is only mention made of the resurrection of the blessed; some man perhaps will doubt whether the wicked shall be also raised from the dead. We answer that the resurrection doth also belong unto them: because even as in Adam all do perish, and are wrapped in the sentence of death; so shall all be quickened in Christ. But this difference there is, that the godly shall be raised up to glory, but the ungodly to destruction. Wherefore we read in John, that They which be in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they which have done well shall go forth into the resurrection of life; and they which have done ill, into the resurrection of judgment: that is, of condemnation. Therefore the holy scriptures have the oftener made mention of the resurrection of the faithful; because that is the resurrection of life. The other, which is of the reprobate, may rather be called an everlasting fall and destruction, than life and resurrection. For which cause the prophet Isaiah, in the 26th chapter said; "Thy slain men shall rise again: but speaking before of the wicked; The dead men

(saith he) shall not rise again." So then we must assure ourselves that by the benefit of Christ, life shall be restored as well unto the good, as unto the bad. But the godly shall be honored with great glory, whereas the wicked shall receive perpetual shame. This indeed is the cause why the divine scriptures make oftener mention of the resurrection of the godly than of the wicked. And that in this place only the resurrection of the just is treated of, those words which David added, do bear witness, saying; "Thou shalt show me the path of life; in thy presence is the fullness of joys, and at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore." By which words are showed that this happy resurrection pertaineth only unto them which have set God always before their eyes.

34. But there do not want at this day also, which say that David indeed foretold of these things; yet not so expressly and manifestly as they might be understood by others: but that only by the apostles, after the coming of Christ, those things were expounded and made plain. For they affirm further that in the Old Testament, the resurrection was altogether unknown. But we say that the prophecy was evident, and that there was no obscurity therein, but by the fault of teachers, who laying aside the scriptures of God, began to follow the opinions of the Greeks; rather bringing in the decrees of philosophers, than the sentences of the holy scriptures. This also might happen by default of the readers, who did not attentively, but negligently peruse the sayings of the prophets. Otherwise, the prophecies would be plain enough, or at the least not so dark and obscure, as they may by no means be understood. For they are given to edify withal, therefore they might not instruct men unless they should be understood: and they would bring no more benefit to the church, than does a strange tongue, whose use in the church is forbidden by the Holy Ghost, because it tended not unto edifying. But against us is objected a place unto the Ephesians, where the

apostle Paul testifies that "The secret or mystery of Christ was hidden many ages from the children of men, that the Gentiles should be inheritors also, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the Gospel." But that the meaning of the apostle's words may appear, we must make certain distinctions.

35. The first is to make a difference between the Jews and the Gentiles: for unto the Gentiles we will easily grant that the mysteries of Christ and spiritual lessons for the most part were unknown. For it was no open profession of them; albeit that there were some among the Ethnics that knew those things. But the Hebrews, who received the law from God, and had given unto them most excellent prophets, were not ignorant of the mysteries of Christ; unless it were in respect that they of set purpose contemned the word of God, or else that they being hindered through affections, and blinded through hatred, would not hear them which taught well. An example may be the wicked Jews, that when as Christ had said; Abraham saw my day, and rejoiced, they were so thoroughly vexed, as they would have stoned him: when nevertheless among the Hebrews, nothing was better known, than that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, & other the patriarchs, both knew Messiah, & also prophesied of him. However, they were so blinded with wrath, as they inverted the Lord's words, saying; Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham? Whereas Christ did not say that he saw Abraham, in respect of his manhood, or else was with him: but that Abraham himself, in spirit and in faith, saw his day. But we must also make a difference between the Jews themselves: for the secrets or mysteries were not known unto them all. For among them, some were Epicures, and altogether Atheists, which contemned divine things: those understood little or nothing of Christ, and of his mysteries. Others were godly, but yet rude and unskillful; who yet were not ignorant of the principal points of religion, and of those things which should be

believed of Messiah. But others were learned, and well acquainted with the holy scriptures, which understood in a manner all things touching Messiah and the mysteries of him.

36. Furthermore, we grant that the Hebrews, according to their time, did much more obscurely see the mysteries of our salvation than we do. For prophecies are much more plainly perceived when they are come to pass, than when they are not yet fulfilled. That the fathers in old time knew those things, which belong unto Messiah, hereby we may easily perceive, in that they all declared him to be the son of David. For the common people, the children, and blind men called him The son of David. And the Scribes and Pharisees being demanded by Herod, Where Christ should be borne, named expressly, In the city of Bethlehem. And Isaiah in the 53rd chapter, so notably, so plainly, and so manifestly foreshowed the acts and mysteries of Christ, as he seemeth not to play the part of a prophet, but rather of an evangelist. In like manner, the death of the Lord, together with his triumph and victory, came so readily to hand in each place of the scriptures, as the Hebrews appointed two Messiahs, one of the tribe of Ephraim, which should die for the salvation of their nation; and another they made of the tribe of Judah, and him to be the son of David, which should obtain the victory, and bear rule over all nations. And by this means the things which belonged unto one Christ, concerning his two comings, they divided into two. And the calling of the Gentiles, (whereof in the place before alleged to the Ephesians, the apostle specially discoursed) is showed in the holy scriptures. For there we read, that All nations shall come to mount Zion, to worship Jehovah: and that Altars shall be built unto him, even in Egypt; and that All people shall speak in the language of Canaan: also that From the east unto the west his name shall be extolled, by offering unto him acceptable and sweet sacrifices.

37. Certainly, these things were very well known unto the Hebrews: yet nevertheless, they were called hidden things, as touching execution and experience. For they believed that they should come to pass afterward: but the means, the time, the way, and the manner how, all men did not plainly perceive. Herein are we happier than they: for both we understand these things, and we are not ignorant, both when and how they were ordered. Yea and the apostles themselves, whom Christ had commanded to preach the Gospel unto all creatures, kept themselves long time among the Hebrews neither went they unto the Gentiles, because as yet they knew not the time, the means, and the manner how they should preach to the nations. They waited for some certain sign to be given them, which at the last they obtained by the conversion of Cornelius the centurion. Yea moreover, the angels themselves (as the Apostle testifieth in the epistle to the Ephesians) do understand sundry and manifold things of the church, as touching the sundry and manifold wisdom of God. Indeed, I willingly confess that there are certain things in the holy scriptures, which are somewhat hard, being not yet perfectly understood; but those (I say) neither are, nor in old time were of necessity unto salvation. And thus I think that the godly Jews, in the old time, held in effect the principal points of religion; and believed those things which did suffice unto piety, and that the propheties of Christ were well known unto the godly. And that if there were any, which knew them not, we must think that the same happened through their own fault. For Isaiah, in the 29th chapter, when he had reproved the people of Israel, said; that They were come to that pass, that all the visions of the prophets, were unto them like a book sealed up, which they might not read, if it were showed unto them. And he straightway added the cause, saying; Because this people honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.

38. Wherefore, the fault must not be laid unto the scriptures, but rather unto the sloth and negligence of Men, who love darkness rather than light: otherwise, The holy scripture is plain and giveth understanding even to the simple. So as they be very ill-advised, which under the pretence of difficulty and obscureness lay aside the reading of the scriptures. And some such ye may find, which say, they know not the secret mysteries of the father, the son, and the holy Ghost: and that they know not whether they be one God, and whether one God be these three; namely, the father, the son, & the holy Ghost. And in the meantime they neglect the diligent reading of the scriptures: and sometime they so deceive themselves, as they suffer to be obtruded unto them, to be worshipped and honored for God, him whom they think to be a creature. In those mysteries they feign themselves dull of understanding, when as otherwise they be sharp enough of wit, and diligent to defend their own inventions. And whereas they challenge unto themselves the knowledge of the scriptures, and boast that they have the key of them; neither do they enter in themselves, nor yet suffer others to enter.

But I return unto David Kimhi, who albeit (as I have showed) that he did interpret the place of the psalm to belong to David, who trusting in the goodness of God, hoped to receive help in all dangers, and that he understood not these things to be spoken of the happy resurrection, (so as except he had affirmed the same in another place, I would soon have judged him to be a Sadducee:) yet did he not overpass a certain sentence of the elders, in Midrash, which is written after this manner; Achare melammed melmalto bhi vet bolaa; that is, He teacheth, that after death the worm & moth shall not bear rule over him. But wherefore in this place they have so greatly shunned the light, I see no other cause, but the hatred which they bear against Christians: which was greater than that, wherewith the people of Rome hated Vatinius. For seeing it is not unknown

unto them, that the apostles; namely, Peter and Paul had used this testimony of David, for confirming of the resurrection of Christ, therefore devised they so many sundry & intricated expositions, because they should not consent unto the apostles of Christ. Lastly, it is to be noted, that the prophet was taught by inspiration from God, not by the power of nature; that resurrection should come: when he saith unto God himself; Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, neither suffer thy holy one to see corruption. And much more in those things that follow; Thou shalt show me the path of life, &c.

39. The prophecy of David being plainly expounded, it seemeth good to bring forth another testimony, which we read in the 26th chapter of Isaiah. There the prophet, at such time as the Israelites were grievously afflicted and oppressed with extreme calamities, would have them comforted, by testifying unto them what help should be expected from God: the help I mean of eternal life, through the resurrection that should come. Wherefore he turning his speech towards God, saith; Thy slain men shall live: calling martyrs, or those, whose whole life was a martyrdom, The slain men of God; because they set forth the glory of God, through their good works: and whom the same Paul calleth; The dead in Christ. And he addeth; Together with my dead body: coupling and associating himself to those elect of God, that shall be raised up. Certainly, the piece of sentence added, doth not a little serve for vehement affirmation. For he showeth that he speaketh or entreateth not of things unknown, or such as pertained not unto him; but of those things, which he verily perceived, and after a sort had already tasted.

Which we in like manner should imitate; namely, to apply unto our own selves those things, which are promised by GOD unto the saints. Undoubtedly, The slain of God shall live in that resurrection, which is now begun, when God relieveth his elect in afflictions: but shall be

thoroughly and perfectly fulfilled at the last day, in the blessed resurrection. Whereupon, in the Acts of the apostles, the third chapter, that day is called; The time of restitution of all things. And we must not forget, that the Hebrew word Nibblathi, may by another manner of Hebrew pricks be read in the plural number Nibblothai: so as it may signify; My dead bodies shall rise: as though God should answer unto the prophet (which said; Thy slain men shall arise) and say affirmatively; Yea verily, my dead bodies shall arise. Furthermore, it must be diligently considered, that the cause of the resurrection is expressed; for therefore the slain men shall arise, because they be of God: but God is not God of the dead, but of the living; as Christ himself testifieth.

40. Besides this, it is said; Awake ye, or Be ye raised up. Because the death of the godly is counted like a sleep, as we oftentimes read in the scriptures. And he addeth; Rejoice ye: because seeing there is speaking of the resurrection of the godly, that day must of necessity be most comfortable unto them. And he calleth them; The inhabitants of the dust: partly, because it happeneth to them to be disquieted, and torn in pieces, while they be in this life; and partly, because after death they be resolved into ashes. Afterward he, turning himself to God, saith; Thy dew is even as the dew of herbs. For even as they, being dried up in the winter, either else, through heat of the sun, do again flourish and wax green, by receiving the dew of heaven: so the dead, by virtue of thy goodness and power, shall return unto life. Herein consisteth the elegancy of this similitude; that even as these things flourish, and are green without man's labor; even so shall the dead rise again by the power of God, without the force of nature. God hath painted out in external things, the form and image of the expected resurrection; while as those things do spring, bud forth, flourish, and fructify, which before were withered. Which similitude also Paul to the Corinthians toucheth.

It followeth in the prophet; The earth shall thrust forth her dead, and shall discover her blood; but thou my people enter thou into thy chambers: namely, while the blessed resurrection is attended for. Thou mayest patiently abide the cross, while thou seest so great a good laid up for thee: For the passions of this life, if we compare them to the glory to come, which shall be revealed unto us, are not to be esteemed. Tertullian, in his book De resurrectione carnis: That which the Hebrews call Chadarim, and the Latins turn Cubicula, he calleth Larders or safes; which he saith are for this cause used in the house, that meat may be laid up in them, to be delivered out again unto the use of man. Even so (saith he) dead bodies are put into the graves, to the intent that they should be brought forth from thence again. But to return unto the lodgings, or chambers, and closets, in the which God commandeth that the faithful should bestow themselves in the meantime; namely, before the blessed life. And if it be demanded, what the godly shall there do, while they be afflicted? I answer, that they be therein, to the intent they may weep, complain themselves, sigh, call earnestly for help, and as it were to set forth in the bosom of the father, their griefs, and whatsoever doth disquiet them. For it is not the part of godly men to bewail their griefs in the streets, in taverns, or in barbershops, or openly to exclaim of their oppressions: for they must commit their cause to the just judge. Even in like manner as it is said by Peter, in his first epistle, the second chapter, that Christ himself did shut the door unto thee for a little space.

The argument of this consolation is derived from the shortness of time, even as Paul wrote in the second epistle to the Corinthians; that The momentary lightness of the afflictions of this life, doth breed unto us a great weight of glory. And it is called a short time, which is appointed in the meantime, till the resurrection: and that not amiss, although it should be a long time; because this must be understood

by comparison. For if a very long time be compared with eternity, it is a very short time. After the same manner, the souls of them that be slain for the name of Christ (which prayed God, that their blood might be revenged) are willed to be at rest, & to attend a certain time. The testimony brought out of the prophet Isaiah, even Ibn-Ezra, a famous interpreter among the Hebrews, referred unto the resurrection of the dead. And the Chaldean paraphrast saith, that Thy God shall throw the dead into hell: which saying belongeth to the time of the resurrection. I might also have brought those things, which be written by the same prophet, in the thirtieth chapter, and in the last chapter, concerning hell-fire, Topheth, fire unquenchable, the worms that shall never die, sulfur, the bellows, and such like: but the time will not suffer, and I come to Ezekiel.

41. This prophet writes that he was led by the spirit into a field filled with bones. This happened two ways; first, because he saw those things by the inspiration of God, and not by human sense or imagination; secondly, because those things were not shown to him in the body, but in the spirit, and vision of the mind. And it is to be understood that the resurrection of the dead was openly believed at that time; and therefore, the prophet derived his argument from there. He saw bones that were dry, bare, withered, and worm-eaten; that the greater difficulty of recovering former life might be expressed. For dead carcasses, that are whole and full of moisture, would perhaps be thought to be more easily restored to life. God said to the prophet; "Thou son of man, thinkest thou that these bones shall live?" He answered; "Lord, thou knowest." In very deed, his faith was tempted, but he made a godly answer, as one that was neither Sadducee, nor yet Libertine. But if the resurrection of the dead were an article of faith, and openly received, why did he not boldly say; "They shall live?" I answer: because, albeit he did believe that the dead, at the end of the world, should be quickened, yet he

was ignorant of whether they should be raised up at that time; and therefore, he committed the matter unto God. So if any doubt is objected unto us concerning the articles of faith: we will fitly and profitably follow his example, in referring the matter to God, saying; "He knoweth, and is able." And seeing he has made his will manifest unto us in the holy scriptures, we believe those things which he has shown should come to pass.

And as concerning the vision of the prophet, we must understand that the city of Jerusalem, being destroyed by the host of Nebuchadnezzar, and the temple overthrown by Nebuzaradan (the chief man that had to deal with life and death), there seemed to be an utter ruin of the Jews, being in captivity in Babylon. Wherefore, the restoring of them into the land of Canaan was now in a manner despaired of. But God confirms and advances their hope, deriving his argument from the Major unto the Minor, that is, from the greater to the lesser, and says; "Seeing I am to restore life unto the dead (which is a far greater thing than to redeem captives) I will also make you to be delivered from captivity, as I have promised: which is much easier than to raise up the dead." And to the intent that the antecedent, that is, the resurrection of the dead, should be more thoroughly perceived, more evident, and more firm; he set before the eyes of the prophet, that vision. Wherefore, by the resurrection of the dead, which is a divine thing and of much more difficulty, he makes credit to be given, that that is to be done which is temporal and of lesser importance. The very same kind of argument ought we to use if we begin at any time to doubt of wanting things necessary unto this life. In that temptation let us say; "Seeing God will give unto our body eternal life and felicity in the resurrection; surely, he will not withdraw from us the necessary sustenance of this life."

The Hebrews so ordered themselves in those days as they believed in the resurrection of the dead; but of the return into their native country, they despaired: when as nevertheless God promised both. But the calamities which presently disquieted them so occupied their senses; as either they forgot the promises of God, or else they gave little or no credit unto them. God commanded Ezekiel that he should prophesy and speak to the bones, which were in his sight, saying in the name of God; "I will put breath into you, and ye shall live." But it is a marvel that the prophet should be commanded to prophesy and speak unto the bones, which are so rude, base, and void of sense, as they cannot either hear or understand anything. But it must be considered that all things, though they are void of life, and without sense and motion, do obey God without delay. And Christ in like manner saith in John; "The hour shall come, when they that be in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God:" whereas yet the bones & ashes of dead men, which are in graves, neither hear nor feel anything; yet, nevertheless, it is said that they shall arise at the voice of the archangel, and trumpet of God.

42. The order and disposition of bones in the resurrection are most diligently taught by the prophet. First, bones being joined to bones, are bound and knit together with sinews. Further, they are replenished with flesh, which, because it should not remain unseemly and foul to look upon, is covered with skin. When the dead bodies were now become perfect, he commanded the prophet to prophesy unto the spirit, that it should come; and that they should be made living things with soul. There are two sorts of spirit mentioned; namely, of the soul, which quickens the body; and of the spirit of God, which illuminates and sanctifies the soul. And for this cause, the dead raised up are not only said to have stood upon their feet, but also it is added; "And they shall know that I am God." Undoubtedly, God is known by the greatness of his works: but that knowledge

happens not without the spirit of God. A voice was heard: perhaps it was thunder; and there was an earthquake: for these things were used to be done in showing of the excellent miracles of God. When the law was given in Sinai, there was horrible thunder and earthquakes; yea and at the death and resurrection of the Lord, a great earthquake was made. The spirit comes from the four winds, etc.

At the resurrection of the saints that are dead, the souls return unto their bodies from the high places of heaven; however, by diverse and sundry ways; because the ashes and dead bodies of them are not heaped up together into one certain place of the world. And all the ways doth the scripture comprehend by the four winds; that is, by the east, west, south, and north. Or else perhaps the scattering abroad of the captives, unto the four parts of the world is noted. Moses also in Deuteronomy, promised unto the penitent Jews, this restitution from the four parts of the world. Hereby moreover we gather that the souls of men are not bred in them: even as God breathed a soul into Adam, and afterward to every man creates souls; even so in the resurrection he will send them from abroad unto them again: which also is a plain token that they with their bodies do not die. And where it is after added, that "All these bones are the whole house of Israel": thereby we learn that the speech here is meant as touching the resurrection of the godly: for they are truly the house of Israel. And the prophet saw an exceeding great host because (as we also read in the Apocalypse) the company of the faithful is a great number.

43. All these bones are the whole house of Israel. When he had now finished the proposition, he adds the application. It may be noted that the verb substantive "Is" is all one, as if he had said, it signifies: for those bones were not, in very deed, the house of Israel, but they

did betoken the same; even as the seven unfruitful and empty ears, which were seen unto Pharaoh, were the seven years of dearth. I will open (says the Lord) your sepulchers. But it must needs be that the graves were open already, seeing those bones were scattered in the field. Unto this it is answered, that as concerning those bones, the graves were first opened: but if so be respect be had unto the restitution of the Israelites into the land of Canaan, they were yet to be opened. And whereas the prophet says; "And I will bring you into your land": some understand it allegorically, as if the land of the Israelites should be taken for the kingdom of heaven and eternal felicity. But setting allegories aside, I rather weigh this in this place; that the vanity of those Jews is confuted, who think that the dead shall only be raised up in Judea. Whereas the prophet in this place affirms it to come to pass far otherwise: for to the dead already revived, he promises a return into the land of promise. Certainly, it is a fond and foolish devise, so to tie the power and strength of God to a certain place, as it may not or will not do the same thing in one place, that it hath done in another. The graves do betoken the captivity of Babylon, and the lamentable servitude under a tyrant, which God promised to release. Also, the sepulcher of the Jews was extreme desperation; which they ran into, casting aside all hope of their return. This sepulcher did God promise to unlock, by opening the way of their return to their own country. So in very deed, the case standeth as touching assistance of the godly, as when things be in great despair, then ariseth the daybreak of heavenly help. To be short: two things are showed by this oracle; the first is, the resurrection of the dead; the second, the return of the Israelites into their country. And one thing is proved by another: for the restitution of the Jews is confirmed by raising up the dry bones unto life.

44. Against this sound and true interpretation, some do vehemently argue two manner of ways, saying; first, that there is no speaking

here of the universal resurrection of all men, seeing those bones made alive are said to be the house of Israel. Secondly, that this was a feigned and imagined vision; and therefore, that nothing can be constantly affirmed thereby. Hereunto we answer, that indeed we confess, that the prophet speaks of the resurrection of the just, as we have already said before: but in that it was a vision, it makes no matter; neither does it make anything the less, but that this vision was a general consolation, for confirming the hope of the general resurrection, as well as the restitution of the Jews. For it is sufficient that the argument is taken and derived from the resurrection of the dead. Also, the Hebrew interpreters do not deny, but that the same is to be proved out of this place. Neither is that of any force, which some cavil; namely, that the argument from the greater to the less, is nothing worth, if so be that which is taken as the greater, be more uncertain, or as doubtful as that which is inferred for the less. These men think that the resurrection of the dead is more uncertain or as doubtful as the restoring of the Jews into their native land. But they are far deceived; because the resurrection of the dead is accounted as better known, especially to the faithful Jews, unto whom it was certain and evident; not by nature or sense, but by faith, through whose light those things become manifest and firm unto our minds, which unto the sense and reason of man be obscure. And that this it was that doth prove, that the Hebrews, which seek occasions against the Christians, never contended with them concerning the resurrection of the dead: because it was always received by them and by their forefathers. Whereupon Martha, when Christ had promised her, that her brother should be raised up, answered boldly; "I know that my brother shall rise again at the last day."

The Judgment of the Fathers

45. But for the better explication of this cavil, I think it good to rehearse what the fathers have judged thereof. Tertullian, in his book *De resurrectione carnis*, objects the very same against himself: and he answers; that unless a thing first be, the same cannot be resembled unto another thing by a similitude. And therefore, unless the resurrection be known by faith, and that it shall come to pass in very deed, it cannot (says he) be applied to the restitution of the Jews. A similitude he says of a void thing is not meet: and a parable of nothing is not convenient. And certainly, they that will, that the resurrection of the dead is inserted in this place metaphorically, must consider, that such is the nature of a metaphor, that the thing should be translated from his own proper place unto another. So as of necessity a thing must first be, before it suffer a metaphor: for unless that laughter and gladness were in man, he might not apply them to the corn fields and meadows. Nay rather, those metaphors are chiefly commended, which be derived from notable things, and from things that be nearest, and most known. The very which thing comes to pass in parables. Christ brought a similitude of the vine, which after it was well dressed, and in excellent order, it was let forth unto ill husbandmen. This parable had not been plain, neither would it have been of force, unless that vines excellently well handled, should be found in the nature of things; & unless that the owners of farms should oftentimes happen upon ill husbandmen. Likewise he brought in a parable of a barren & unfruitful fig tree, the which for a year or two was dressed with compass; and seeing it brought forth no fruit, it was at the length cut down. This parable also had been brought in vain, unless that compassing of the fig tree, and pruning in husbandry or gardening, should not everywhere appear. Nor let any object unto me the monster Chimaera, and such like monsters; which albeit they are not in the nature of things, yet wise men do frame the like shaped things. For albeit Chimaera itself be not extant,

yet are the parts thereof seen: the which be the lion, the goat, and serpents; which are everywhere seen.

46. But Jerome (they say) was reprov'd, because he interpreted not the place brought out of Ezekiel, to concern the resurrection of the dead. I grant: howbeit we must understand, that it is a far other thing for him to gather the resurrection of the dead by the words of the prophet, than it is to have it proved and confirmed by a certain & evident demonstration. This latter did Jerome deny, and that of a sound and right judgment. For it was not Ezekiel's mind to show the quickening of the dead: it was known, and (as we have said) it was at that time believed of the Jews. Wherefore, as out of a known principle, he derived and confirmed thereby the restitution of the Jews. Yet did not this father deny, but that the resurrection of the dead might be gathered hereby: yea rather, he says with Tertullian, that unless the resurrection itself should consist, there might no similitude be derived from thence; and that no man confirms uncertain things by things not extant. Wherefore, even as the life of withered bones seemeth incredible, and yet the same shall be; so the deliverance of the Israelites out of captivity, which was thought should not come to pass, shall be put in execution at the time appointed. But if any man shall ask, why the similitude is rather brought from the resurrection of the dead, than from any other thing, as it might have been? I would say, it was therefore done, that by the way might be showed, that without mention of the resurrection made, that earthly restitution out of earthly captivity should be no perfect and absolute tranquility & blessedness unto them. And thus much hath been said concerning this place.

Daniel and the Prophets

47. Now let us allege Daniel. He in the twelfth chapter says; "And at that time shall Michael the great prince stand up, who stands for the children of your people. And there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was, since there began to be a nation, unto that same time. And at that time your people shall escape, whoever shall be found written in the book of God: and many of them, which sleep in the dust of the earth, shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and perpetual reproach and contempt. But such as teach and instruct, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they which make many righteous, shall be as the stars forever and ever, &c." Daniel had set forth four Monarchies, which by a continual succession should prevail in the world; and that the kingdom of God should prevail at the last: but before he should obtain (he says) that Antichrist should be destroyed, who tyrannically had oppressed the godly. And I understand Antichrist to be Mahomet, the Pope, and all those which are against the religion of Christ. He writes, that in the same last time, the afflictions and calamities of the church should be more grievous than ever they were before. But in the mean time he comforts the faithful, because they should have their present help to be Michael, that is, Christ the son of God, the prince of our Church. The self same thing did he promise unto his disciples, when he said; "I will be with you until the end of the world."

He adds another comfort; namely, that they shall not all utterly perish in those troubles, but that such as are predestinate unto life, shall escape: that is, they shall be written in the book of God. Lastly, he comforts the church under this name, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead. And he says, that many of the dead shall be raised up: neither does he say [All;] because many shall be found alive at the coming of the Lord. Whereupon Paul says; "We shall not all die, but we shall be all changed." Neither does the word [Many] betoken a certain small number: because (as Ezekiel said;) "There

stood up a mighty great host; namely, of those bones restored unto life again." And in the book of the Apocalypse, the company of the saints is described to be great in number. In this place Daniel treats of the resurrection, and that of the same which shall be universal: for he divides it into a resurrection of salvation, and of reproach.

And there is no doubt, but that Christ alluded unto the words of the prophet, when he said in John; "They which be in their graves shall hear the voice of the son of God, and shall come forth: they which have done well, into the resurrection of life; but they which have done evil, into the resurrection of judgment." As to the felicity of the saints, to be looked for after resurrection, he adds; that "They which instruct others, shall be very glorious; and he compares them with the brightness of the celestial Spheres. And them which make many righteous, he compares to the clear light of the stars, because they teach the promises especially of Messiah, whereunto they giving their assent, are justified. For the power and virtue of making righteous, must not be attributed unto men, seeing that is only the gift of God: neither can it be given to men, otherwise than as the ministers and instruments of the word of God. And that which is first spoken of the firmament of heaven, and of the brightness of the stars, I think it to be all one: for it is an usual thing in the holy scriptures, to repeat in the latter member of any verse, that which had been spoken in the former."

48. This prophecy of Daniel, although it is very plain and evident, yet has been subject to the cavillations of Porphyrius, no mean philosopher. He, being very angry with the Christians, confesses that Daniel was a most excellent man; but that the prophecies, which are written under his name, do not pertain unto him, but that they were written by a forger, who lived after the times of Antiochus and Maccabeus. And that in his book he prophesied not of things to

come; but rather he contrived into riddles, the things which were already past. And those things he says, which in this place are pieced to, belong altogether to the time of Antiochus: for the Jews were very cruelly used by him. First, he subdued to himself the city of Jerusalem, and robbed the temple; afterward he began to compel the Jews to depart from the rites and customs of their country, and to forsake the just worshipping of God: he forbade circumcision, he obtruded unto them the eating of swine's flesh against their wills; he set up in the temple of God the sign of Jupiter Olympus, to be worshipped. Which done, it came afterward into his mind to go against Persia, where he attempted to rob a church that was most rich, and furnished with very many gifts, and from thence had repulse with great shame. For which cause he conceived so great indignation, as he began to be sick in his mind; and he devising with himself to pour out all his wrath against the Jews, returned with great haste into Syria. But he fell from his chariot, and was so hurt with the crushing of his body, as partly thereby, and partly through his vehement trouble of mind, and with the news brought him of Lysias and other his captains put to flight and overthrown by the Israelites (for at his going away, he commanded that they should most grievously afflict the Jews) he died. Then (says Porphyrius) the Jews which seemed to be dead, were after a sort raised up, and are risen again: but yet so, as they which had constantly behaved themselves in preserving of their country, became religious, famous and glorious: but they which shamefully had revolted from true godliness, became very vile and full of reproach. These be the dotting follies, yea rather the poisons that Porphyrius scattered in this place.

But of us which profess Christ, the first point of his interpretation may not be received; namely, in that he affirms the book not to be written by Daniel, when as Christ not only made mention thereof, but also cited words which we read in the same. As touching the

other point, wherein he will that these things should have relation unto Antiochus; Jerome demands, how that the afflictions, wherewith the Hebrews were vexed under that tyrant, were more grievous than ever they were before? Certainly, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the city of Jerusalem was overthrown, the temple utterly razed, and all the people led into captivity, and therein kept, until the seventy year. More grievous doubtless were these afflictions, than the other which Antiochus brought upon them. The book of the Maccabees does after a sort mitigate this saying; where it is said, that the evils of Antiochus were more grievous, than had happened from that time, wherein the Jews were without a prophet; that is, from Esdras, which was the prophet Malachi. However, we must consider, not what is written in the book of Maccabees; but that very thing which is contained in the volume of Daniel. Furthermore, we demand why the transgressors of the law are said to be raised from death, after that king Antiochus was dead (for so Porphyrius expounds it) since that revolters rather fell back, than rose again? For while the tyrant yet lived, they were had in estimation, and they occupied the chief priesthoods and bishoprics: and the Maccabees, whom perhaps he understands to have become famous, lived in exceeding great troubles and sorrows, and were almost all utterly extinct. Judas fell in battle, Jonathan being a captive was slain, and Simon was beheaded in a banquet.

Certainly, I do not deny, but that they were very grievous things, which happened under Antiochus; but not so bitter and rigorous, as are those things which the prophet shows shall come to pass under Antichrist: whose types and figures went before, who were not only Antiochus, but also Demetrius, and other princes of Greece, which both afflicted the Hebrews, and also were adversaries to the true worshipping of God. I know likewise, that there was a certain other man named Polychronius, who was bold to affirm, that this place of

Daniel must not be understood of the resurrection of the dead: but he grounds upon no firm reasons; and he is confuted by John Oecolampadius a very learned man. Further, we see that by John the apostle, in the 20th chapter of the Apocalypse, the very same things well-near, and in the same order are taught as they be written by Daniel: where we read, that there were seats placed, and the judgment appointed; again it is added, that they did live again, which suffered death for Christ. Lastly, this we may say, even that which we brought for making plain that place of Ezekiel; namely, if they will have it metaphorically taken, that by the resurrection of the dead, is showed the state of the people of the Jews after the death of Antiochus, it must in very deed be determined, that there is a resurrection of the dead: otherwise a similitude or parable cannot be derived from thence.

49. Furthermore, God commands the prophet that he should seal up the book for a time: which must not be wrested so, as though God would not that these prophecies should be read and known; seeing prophecy is given, to the intent it should edify and teach. But the Holy Ghost prophesies by Daniel, that the negligence of men in reading and knowing the word of God should be great: and that therefore, for their incredible sloth, the holy books should be sealed up from them; to the intent they should understand nothing of spiritual things. And therefore, he prophesies, that the incredulity should be great: and he that believeth not, understands not the secret heavenly things. Yea, and at this day among Christians, what a very great number may you find, that would be counted and called by that name, which never read the Gospels throughout? We may also interpret, that the books of God are sealed up, as touching our senses and human reason: for a natural man does not perceive those things that be of God; yea, not only they are sealed up to him, but they seem to be foolishness. These things are open unto them, to whom the

Lamb hath opened: to whom only (as we read in the Apocalypse) it is given to open the sealed book.

Moreover, there are many who read the holy books, recite them unto others, and instruct others; unto whom nevertheless they are sealed up, because they indeed have no sense nor experience in themselves, neither do they taste what things they read and teach. R. L. Bengerson thought, that by this form of speech, God commanded the prophet, that from these visions he should take nothing away; nor yet add anything thereto over and besides. At the end it is written; Many shall run into diverse parts, and shall pass by, and knowledge shall be multiplied. By these words let others understand what they will; to me it seems, that the time of the New Testament is foreshowed, when the apostles are sent to preach the Gospel over all the world. Therefore, when they had wandered among all nations, the sayings of the prophets became much more plain than they were before: as well, for the great abundance of spirit that was poured out; as also for that the prophecies may be a great deal better understood, when they are fulfilled; than before, when they were revealed. And these things I think to be sufficient for this place.

50. Now I come unto the prophet Hosea. God promised sundry times that he would once destroy death: whereby it is manifestly gathered that we must believe in the resurrection of the dead; which being taken away, death reigns and cannot be said to be abolished. Isaiah, in the 25th chapter, says; "I will destroy death forever, and I will wipe away the tears from all faces, and I will take away the rebuke of my people forever." These things are manifest; but Hosea in the place now brought, spoke more vehemently and effectually the same; "From the hand of the sepulcher will I deliver them, and from death will I redeem them. O death, I will be thy plague. O grave, I will be thy destruction." This place did Paul use in the 15th of the first to the

Corinthians, as an evident testimony. Neither must it move us that he followed not the Hebrew verity, but the Greek interpreters: for albeit he changed the words, yet he departed not from the sense. The translation of the seventy interpreters was then better known, and was well-nigh in all men's hands; and so Paul sometimes used the same, that even the Gentiles might understand that those things which he taught were extant in the holy scriptures.

But as to the meaning of the prophet, thus it stands. He a little before had inveighed bitterly against Ephraim, that is, against the kingdom of the ten tribes, prophesying destruction and most certain overthrow unto them for their idolatry and wicked life; afterward he gave the comfort, which I have rehearsed; to wit, that they should be delivered and plucked out from death, and from the grave. But you will say; "How may it be that these things are not repugnant one with another; namely, that they should be utterly cut off, and that they should be delivered?" But there must be a difference put between the Israelites. For on the one part, many of them were of a most obstinate mind, cleaving unto idolatry and to most grievous sins: to these belonged destruction, because they repented not. On the other side, there were among them some good men, holy men, and true worshippers of God; who notwithstanding that they were to be wrapped in other temporal calamities, yet should they be delivered: and to them properly belongs the comfort which is brought. But the adversaries will yet urge more earnestly, and say; "We do not read that the ten tribes were restored, nor delivered from the grave of their captivity: some of them perhaps returned, but they came not by great companies; neither was anymore restored the kingdom of Ephraim, that is, of the ten tribes." This indeed is true, and therefore God in comforting them did not promise temporal redemption or the deliverance of this life: but the blessed resurrection, with everlasting felicity. And he says that he will redeem them from the grave, and

that he will deliver them from death: and says that he will be the plague of death and the destruction of the grave. In reading of the prophets we must oftentimes use this rule; namely, that we should understand threatenings to take place, as touching them, which be obstinate in sins, and which will by no means repent: but that promises and consolations shall be most certainly true and fulfilled towards them that repent. "Repentance is removed from mine eyes." This added God, that he might appoint the certainty of the resurrection: as if he should say; "I will not repent me of this decree, it shall in any wise come so to pass." "Ephraim shall increase and multiply among brethren." Under the name Ephraim, he understands all them with Christ their head, which shall be heaped up in the resurrection, with great honors and incredible ornaments. Afterward the prophet returns with his prophecy unto the wicked Ephraimites, and says that they shall be utterly banished. Doubtless they were men of wealth, riches, and power: in which things they put their trust, thinking that they should never come to ruin. But God says; "Behold, I will bring the east wind, that is, Salmanazar the king of Assyria, which shall dry up their fountains and veins: that is, not only the waters, but also the springing of the fountains, the very originals and roots, so as they may not be repaired anymore: and he will take away the treasure, and all pleasant vessels." This is the interpretation, which to me seemeth plain and manifest.

51. Albeit I note that David Kimhi converts the future tense into the pluperfect tense, and says; "I had delivered the dominion of the twelve tribes out of the grave, and had redeemed them from death, and had been the plague of their death, and the destruction of their grave, if they had been wise." By wisdom, I mean true repentance, that is; "If they had repented and heard my words." And because they should not despair due to such an unhappy outcome, the prophet speaks so magnificently of deliverance, redemption, plague,

death, and abolishing of the grave. Even as if he had said; "Although they had been extinct and utterly abolished, yet I had delivered them." Whereby it is gathered that there is no calamity of men so great but that God can either take away or mitigate the same. Therefore, we must never despair but always set before our eyes that it is the property of God to redeem from death and to be the death and destruction thereof. And if at any time deliverance does not come, and death is not taken away, God is not at fault thereof, but our own obstinacy and unbelief, because we will not repent.

Paul, who was most circumspect in perusing the sayings of the prophets, derived the argument (wherewith he confirmed the resurrection of the dead) from that same property of God, whereby he is pronounced in the scriptures to be the conqueror of death and redeemer from the graves: because it behooves sometimes that the properties of God should break forth into act. He notes that the prophet stirs up unto repentance the kingdom of the ten tribes by promising them that God would be with them; who is so mighty and magnificent a conqueror over death. Which exhortation certainly would be of no force if we should desire of God that thing, which indeed would never come to pass. And seeing the apostle had affianced that it would so be, therefore he uses glorious rejoicings against death, saying: "O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy dart, wherewith thou didst pierce all men?" It is understood; "These things are wrested from thee by Christ."

52. It must not seem any marvel if Christ is called a plague or destruction: for this must be understood in respect of evil things. And always a new generation must needs be the corruption of the thing which went before: for when fire is made of wood, the form and nature of wood must needs perish; otherwise, the fire would not be brought forth. And as the philosophers or logicians commonly

affirm; "The corrupting of evil things is numbered among good things." And we are wont to say of a noble and happy emperor; "He is a lion, a wolf, a dragon; he is fierce and terrible:" but it is added; "Unto his enemies:" whereas otherwise, unto his citizens he is merciful, gentle, and courteous. Yea, and in this self-same prophet, God named himself like a bear, a leopard, and a lioness; but that was toward the wicked and ungodly: whereas otherwise he is mild and merciful towards the faithful. So as God has tempered for us a medicine out of the death and resurrection of Christ, whereby we are delivered, and death perishes: in like manner as a wise physician administers medicine to the patient, wherewith he is relieved, and the ailment or disease extinguished. And, of this wholesome medicine we drink healthily, while either by reading or by preaching, there is mention made of the death and resurrection of the Lord, and we with a lively faith embrace the same: and also, when we make a protestation of our faith by the sealing of baptism and receiving of the Lord's Supper. For in these holy actions, both the death and resurrection of Christ are celebrated. In the treatise of this place, Paul added; "that Death is swallowed up by victory;" namely, of Christ.

Testimonies of the New Testament

53. And thus much have we spoken concerning the places of the Old Testament, of which sort there might be more brought: but these I was minded to produce, and to stand content with them. And I have the more largely expounded them because there are some at this day who affirm that in the Old Testament there is nothing concerning the resurrection of the dead: or if there be any testimony there extant, they say it was not known unto the fathers of those times. Now come I to the testimonies and assertions of the New Testament.

First, we read in the fifth of John, which already I have oftentimes alleged; "They which be in their graves, shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they which have done well, shall come forth into the resurrection of life; but they that have done evil, into the resurrection of judgment." And in the sixth chapter; "He that believeth in me, hath life everlasting, and I will raise him up at the last day." In the 22nd of Matthew, the 12th of Mark, and the 20th of Luke; "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. But God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." And in the 14th chapter of Luke, when Christ had exhorted them that stood by, that they should be beneficial unto the poor, and that they should make feasts unto them; "They have not wherewithal (saith he) to requite thee again, but it shall be restored to thee in the resurrection of the just."

In John; "He that loveth his soul in this world shall lose it; and he that doth hate the same, shall preserve it unto everlasting life." And under the word "Soul," he understandeth this life of the body: whereunto he that is overmuch affected, and will not render it for the Gospel's sake shall lose the same; because in the resurrection it shall be judged to perpetual destruction: But he that shall lose the same, shall receive it safe unto eternal life.

In the 25th of Matthew; "Before him shall be gathered all nations." And in the 13th of Mark; "And he shall send his angels, and shall gather his elect together from the four winds, and from the uttermost parts of the earth, to the uttermost part of heaven." In the 17th of the Acts, Paul preached this resurrection to the Athenians, when there were present with him the Stoics and Epicures, in the street of Mars: who hearing of that doctrine, partly they laughed it to scorn, and partly they said; "We will hear thee another time of this matter." And they called him "A carrier about of news, and a setter forth of strange gods, and of new doctrine." In the same book, the 23rd chapter,

when as Paul stood in the college of the Scribes, Pharisees, and priests, and saw himself to live in great danger, he cried out; "I am a Pharisee, and the son of a Pharisee, and I am judged of the resurrection of the dead." And again, in the 24th chapter of the same book, when he had pleaded his cause before Felix the president, he testified, that both the just and unjust should rise again. The very which thing he rehearsed again when he was before Festus, in the presence of King Agrippa, and Bernice his wife.

54. Yea, and Peter in the first epistle, and first chapter, says that God, according to the abundance of his mercy, has begotten us again unto a lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. And ye by the power of God are kept through faith unto salvation, which shall be showed in the last time. And in the latter epistle, the third chapter, he says that In those days there shall be new heavens, and a new earth. Also John, in his first epistle, and third chapter, writes; When Christ shall appear, then we shall be like unto him. Whereof it is gathered, that seeing Christ has a body, and is risen again; we also shall rise again together with our bodies. In the 20th chapter of the Apocalypse, we read; And I saw the dead, both great and small, stand in the sight of God, etc. Also in the 21st chapter; And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, etc. In the 22nd chapter also; Blessed be they which keep his commandments, that their power may be in the tree of life. Paul in the eighth chapter to the Romans; But if his spirit that raised up Jesus Christ from the dead, dwell in you, he that hath raised Jesus Christ from the dead, will also quicken your mortal bodies, And in the sixth chapter; For if we be planted with him to the similitude of his death, even so shall we be partakers of his resurrection. And in the 14th chapter; For we shall all appear before the tribunal seat of Christ.

Unto the Corinthians, the first epistle and 15th chapter, he treats purposely and diligently of this question, in such sort confirmeth the resurrection, that of his judgment and meaning therein, it is not lawful to doubt: I will not draw out words from thence, because it should be meet to recite the whole chapter. However, this I will rehearse out of the sixth chapter of the same epistle; Our body is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body. And God hath also raised up the Lord, and shall raise us up by his power. And in the latter epistle, the fifth chapter, mention is made of our habitation in heaven, Not being made with hands: and that we desire to be clothed upon, and that while we be in this tabernacle, we sigh, because we would not be unclothed, but be clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life. Further it is added, that All we shall appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that everyone may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil. Unto the Ephesians, the second chapter; When we were dead through sins, he quickened us together in Christ, and hath raised us up together with him, and made us to sit in the heavenly places, etc. Unto the Philippians, the third chapter; That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his afflictions, while I am made conformable unto his death, if I may by any means attain to the resurrection of the dead. Unto the Colossians, the second chapter; Ye being buried together with him, by baptism, in whom ye are also raised together with him, through the faith of the operation of God, which hath raised him up from the dead. Likewise in the third chapter; Your life is hidden with Christ in God: wherefore when Christ your life shall appear, then shall you be made manifest with him in glory. Unto the Thessalonians, the first epistle, the 4th chapter, he admonishes them, that They should not sorrow for them that are asleep, as others do, which have no hope: for if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so God will bring with him those

which sleep in Jesus. And straight after; For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, and with the voice of an archangel, and with the trumpet of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Unto the Hebrews, the second chapter; That by death he might abolish him, who had power over death. In the same epistle, the eleventh chapter: when Abraham at the commandment of God would have sacrificed his son Isaac, of whom he had the promise of posterity; he considered with himself, that God was able even to raise him up from the dead, from whence also he reduced him, to be a figure of the resurrection. Jude, in his epistle, brings in Enoch for a testimony, who was the seventh from Adam, and said; Behold, the Lord cometh in thousands of his saints, to give judgment against all men, and to reprove all the wicked. And soon after; Looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto eternal life. Let it be sufficient, that we have brought these things out of the new testament: unto the which add the article of the apostles Creed, wherein we confess ourselves to believe the resurrection of the flesh. Further, all those places, wherein Christ is said, that he shall be judge of the quick and the dead, have relation unto this.

Causes of the Resurrection

55. Now that we have seen the signification of the word, and also the definition, and have sought whether this resurrection may be plainly set forth by natural reasons, and further have brought testimonies, as well of the old as new scriptures, now it follows that we speak somewhat of the causes thereof. It is the effect of faith, and it follows justification. Whereupon it is said in the sixth chapter of John; "He that believeth in me, hath life everlasting, and I will raise him up at the last day." So as God, by his power, is the efficient cause thereof. For which cause Christ said unto the Sadducees; "Ye err being

ignorant of the scriptures, and of the power of God." And not only God the Father himself, but also the Holy Ghost is the cause of the resurrection. For (as we have already said) it is written in the epistle to the Romans; "If the spirit of him, which hath raised up Christ from the dead, dwell in you, &c." Yea moreover, the Son himself, which is Christ Jesus, is a cause of this resurrection: for in the Gospel of John he said; "I will raise him up at the last day." And again; "Even as the Father raiseth up and quickeneth, even so also the Son quickeneth, &c." Further; "They which be in the graves, shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and shall come forth, &c." In the eleventh of John; "I am the resurrection and the life." Moreover, there is an argument taken hereof; that Christ, by his death, took away sin, which was the cause of death. Verily no man doubts, but that the cause being removed, the effect is taken away. In the first to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter; "In Adam all men are dead, in Christ all men shall be revived: & as by one man came death, so by one man came the resurrection from the dead."

The final cause of resurrection is assigned to be, that the whole and entire man should be judged at the tribunal seat of God, and should receive rewards or punishments, according as he hath behaved himself. But the angels, although they shall be ministers of the resurrection, yet can they be no causes. Among the causes of the resurrection to come, the resurrection also of Christ is numbered: for Paul, in the first to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter, saith; "If the dead rise not again, neither is Christ risen again: and if Christ be not risen, our preaching is in vain." But we may argue on the other side; "Christ rose again; Therefore we also shall rise again." So then, the resurrection of Christ seems to be the cause of our resurrection; which indeed is to be granted: but yet not so, as that very action, wherein Christ was raised up, and which is now past, is the efficient cause that performs or does anything, which should bring forth our

resurrection: but because the divine power and might, which is in Christ, seeing he is God, is retained still, even as he raised him up from the dead, so will he also quicken us in due time. This we see come to pass in human things. For he that is a white man, begetteth also a white son: not that the color itself can procreate, but that those beginnings or causes, which wrought the begetter to be white, do make him also white, which is begotten by him. Even so our resurrection shall not be unlike to the resurrection of Christ. Further this must be noted, that the divine actions, and heavenly benefits, which are employed upon men, be (as Damascenus saith) derived unto us by the flesh of Christ, which now should be none at all, unless he had been raised from the dead. Wherefore by this means, the resurrection of Christ may be also called ours: because without that, we might not have obtained ours. Again, if we should like philosophers follow Plato, adding unto the four kinds of causes an Idea [or pattern], we might say, that the resurrection of Christ was the exemplar cause of our resurrection. The final cause of resurrection is assigned to be, that the whole and entire man should be judged at the tribunal seat of God, and should receive rewards or punishments, according as he behaved himself. And thus much of the causes.

Properties and Conditions of the Bodies, which Shall be Raised up

56. It follows that we should speak of the properties and conditions of the bodies, which shall be raised up. The Schoolmen called them endowments or qualities: neither can I disallow of those, which they have reckoned; because I perceive them to be gathered out of the holy scriptures. However, I think not that all the properties were gathered by them; neither yet may it be: for in this life we cannot

have experience of the glory of the saints; but we shall then perfectly and absolutely know it, when we shall come unto it. The first condition that comes to my remembrance of the blessed, is immortality. And assuredly, in the divine scriptures, so often as there is mention of the life to come, the same is said to be eternal, as being that, which shall have no end. Paul saith; "This mortal must put on immortality, and this corruptible body must put on incorruption." And seeing the punishments and rewards, which shall be rendered, according to the nature of works, be sempiternal; the subject or nature, which shall be given them, must needs be immortal also. Furthermore, seeing it is no doubt, but that Christ destroyed sin and death; it remains, that the life of the saints should be immortal. And in the sixth chapter to the Romans it is written; "Christ rising again from the dead dies no more; neither shall death have any more power over him." Besides, in the first to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter; "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Yet must not these things be taken for the very nature and substance of flesh and blood: for they, which shall rise again, shall be wholly endued with these things. But the apostle has respect unto corruption, unto which flesh and blood in this life are subject: wherefore he added; "And corruption shall not inherit incorruption."

57. Upon this property follows another; namely, that after resurrection there shall be no need, either of meat, drink, or of women: seeing men (as Christ taught) shall be like unto angels. Wherefore, the Mahometists, and the Saracens are herein shamefully deceived; who believe, that after the resurrection, the blessed sort shall have ministered unto them abundance of meat, store of drink, and a plentiful use of women: for so has their Alcoran taught. Yet has Avicenna in his Metaphysics, not unwisely interpreted this, and says; that Those speeches are metaphorical, because (as he thinks) the honest pleasures of the life to come might not be expressed,

(especially unto ignorant men) otherwise than in terms of the vulgar delights, which be received in this world. These things I said were not unwisely brought, because even in the holy scriptures are found such allegories or translations. For we read in the twelfth of Luke; Blessed be those servants, which the Lord shall find waking, for he will gird himself about, and passing by, will minister unto them. And in the 22nd chapter of the same evangelist, it is written; I appoint unto you a kingdom, even as my father hath appointed unto me, that ye should eat and drink at my table in my kingdom. Yea, and among our most ancient fathers, there were very many, which thought, that Christ, at his latter coming, should reign together with his saints for the space of a thousand years, in singular delights, and great pleasure. These men be called by the Grecians, chiliasts; of the Latins Millenarians; of whom Augustine spoke at large in his second book *De civitate Dei*, and 20th chapter. Hereby they first took an occasion of error; because Christ did eat and drink together with his apostles, after his resurrection; secondly, because the prophets do oftentimes make mention of these things, when they prophesy of the last times. Moreover, unto this purpose they wrested a place out of the 20th chapter of the Apocalypse: where there is mention made of those thousand years. To confute this error of theirs: first we say, that Christ, with his apostles, did eat and drink, to the intent he might leave a most testified truth of his human nature, and not to serve necessity. For he had an incorruptible body, which was neither troubled with hunger, nor thirst. Wherefore the meat and drink which he used, turned not into the substance and quantity of his body; but they departed, and were resolved into their first matter. Whereby it may be understood, that there were certain things, which Christ did after his resurrection, to testify the truth of his human body; and some other, for the setting forth of his glory.

Tokens of his glory were these; that he vanished away upon the sudden, when he was seen, and was suddenly present with his apostles; that he came in unto them, when the doors were shut; and at the last, in that he ascended up into heaven. But on the other side, he showed himself still to be very man, when he offered himself to be seen and handled, when he did eat and drink together with his apostles, when he ascending up into heaven, was visibly separated from them. And whereas the holy scriptures, as well in the prophets, as in the evangelists, make mention of meat and drink: that (as we have declared) is done by an allegory, and by metaphors and similitudes well enough applied unto teaching. This we may show by a testimony of the book of Proverbs, where wisdom is described, which mingled her wine, and prepared her table. Which things cannot be agreeable unto wisdom, whose nature is spiritual, and sticks in the minds of men: but under the name of meat and drink, we understand the knowledge of God, the fervent love of heavenly things, and the joy that flows out of the presence of God. These things (I say) shall unto the elect be like most delicate meat and drink.

And therefore, when as Mary sat at the Lord's feet, and was marvellously refreshed with his doctrine; she was defended by Christ himself, when she was accused by Martha, in respect that she intermitted her business of preparing things necessary to livelihood: for he said; Mary hath chosen the better part, which shall not be taken from her. Touching the place of the Apocalypse, we must understand, that the resurrection, whereby the saints shall reign with Christ a thousand years; is not that, whereof we now treat: but it is the regeneration, whereby we are justified. And therefore it is there in express words added; And this is the first resurrection. Neither does the thousand years note any other time, than that, wherein we now remain under the protection of Christ in his kingdom, which is

the church. Neither is it any doubt, but that the certain and prescribed number is there put for an infinite number. So as those things belong not to the latter coming of Christ, but unto the former. Which if those ancient fathers had considered, they had not so fallen into error. Wherefore, in that mortal life, there shall need neither bodily food, neither yet procreation of children: for these things serve unto mortal life, but the other shall be immortal. And because there is nothing diminished of the substance of bodies, there shall be no need of that renewing which is made by meat and drink. And because also none shall die, others shall not be substitute in their place by new procreation.

58. Another condition or quality they have called light, and resplendent brightness: whereof Paul to the Philippians says; God will make our base body like to his glorious body. And a show of this condition did Christ make, when he was transformed, where his face did shine like unto the sun. And in Matthew it is written; "The just shall shine in the sight of God like unto the sun." Neither did Daniel pass over this brightness or clearness, as we have already heard. And Paul, in the first to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter, says; "Now it is sown in ignominy, then it shall rise again in glory." Moreover, they think that this brightness must be derived unto the bodies of the blessed, from the souls, which shall see God: not as in a dark speech, or in a glass; but shall see him indeed as he is: by which sight they shall receive so great joy and gladness, as it shall flow from thence to their body. Neither is it unknown to any, that the mind and the spirit do exhilarate the countenance, and make the body cheerful.

Besides this, there is put an agility in the bodies of the blessed: for the body and members shall be wholly subjected unto the soul, so as it shall neither contend nor strive against it. Whereof Paul said; "It is now sown in feebleness, but then it shall rise in power." Therefore in

the book of Wisdom, the third chapter, it is read of the saints, that as sparks they shall run through the reeds or stubble.

And Paul unto the Thessalonians says; "We that shall be found alive, and the dead that be raised, shall be caught up to meet with Christ in the air." This no doubt will be a great rejoicing, and nimble motion of our bodies, that we shall ascend unto Christ through the air. In this ability the body of Christ excelled, seeing it walked upon the waters, and gave power unto Peter to do the like: and seeing Christ himself was taken up out of the earth into heaven. And herein it consists, that the soul shall perfectly govern the body, so as the weight and burden of the flesh shall be no hindrance unto it. This property in very deed belongs unto local motion. Wherefore it is a wonder, that the Ubiquists admit this quality to be in the bodies of the blessed, (as they write in their books;) and yet do affirm heaven to be everywhere: so that they will not attribute places certain to the body of Christ, and to our bodies, when we shall be blessed; as though local motion may be without a place.

59. Over this, unto the saints after resurrection, there is appointed an impassibility: for they shall not be corrupted nor diminished with any passions, sorrows, or diseases. Wherefore the apostle wrote; "It is now sown in corruption, but it shall rise again in incorruption." Of affections and passions in bodies, we must not judge all after one sort: for some be hurtful, which do waste and diminish the body, yea and finally do consume the same. Such are hunger, thirst, sickness, sorrow, and others of this kind: from these affections the saints shall be delivered. But there be other passions, which do rather help nature, and make it perfect; than hurt or impair it: such are the feelings of the senses. The eye is not hurt, when it is affected with beautiful colors; neither the hearing with harmony and tunes well composed; neither is the smelling harmed by good odors. So as our

bodies shall not be deprived of these passions, when after resurrection they shall be in the everlasting mansion.

They add, that there shall be a subtlety; which must not so be understood, as though the bodies of them that rise again should be converted into spirit, and that it should be airy or elemental, or like unto the wind, so as they may penetrate all things: but I refer this subtlety unto the exquisite, subtle, and sharp understanding of the senses: as also unto the affects, which do follow the body, and which shall not be gross and full of impediments; neither shall they trouble the mind.

And to this purpose might be bent that saying of Paul; "It is sown a natural body, but it shall rise again a spiritual body." By which words he meant not, that the body should be transformed into a spirit; but he taught, that the human body (saving the nature thereof) should, as much as may be, draw unto the property of a spirit, as touching knowledge and affects. These notable properties have the schoolmen gathered, being confirmed by the holy scriptures. And yet have they not declared all: for saith Paul to the Corinthians; "The eye hath not seen, nor the ear hath not heard those things, which God hath prepared for them that love him." Neither must we leave untouched, that neither the holy scriptures, nor fathers, nor schoolmen, in any place, have attributed, either unto the flesh of Christ being risen, or to other saints, the gift of ubiquity, or prerogative of no certain place. Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, that this devise so pleased certain men of our age: yea and the schoolmen especially. Thomas Aquinas said, that it is hereby gathered; that because the conditions of blessed bodies do attain unto heavenly properties, their habitation after this life is in the heavens; yea above the heavens.

Furthermore, they dispute concerning the age of them that shall rise again; and they affirm that the same shall be of full growing, of mature state, ripe and strong. And hereunto they wrest that, which is read in the epistle to the Ephesians; "Till we meet together in the unity of faith, and acknowledging of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, and unto the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ." But (by their leave) the words of the apostle have no relation to this purpose: for he entreated not there of the fashioning again of bodies, but of the instauration of souls, as the words going before do most plainly declare. But as concerning a perfect age of them that rise again, I do not disagree with them: but yet after another sort. When God created the first men, he made them not either infants, or cripples, or else imperfect, or deformed. And seeing the resurrection is a certain new creation or forming again, it is meet that it should be like the first. So that, as those things, which God created, were very good; that is, perfect in their kind: even so shall the bodies, which by his power shall be repaired in the resurrection, be perfect of nature.

60. But what shall we affirm of the properties and conditions of the wicked, when they shall rise again, as concerning their body? In very deed they shall have immortality, but other qualities of the godly they shall not obtain. Nay rather, they shall be deformed with contrary and plain opposite qualities. They shall be altogether destitute of light and clearness: for as Christ taught; "They shall be commanded to be cast into the uttermost darkness." Neither shall they be without sufferings: for they shall be vexed with immeasurable torments and griefs. There (saith the Lord) shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be extinguished. Cheerful also and nimble shall they not be, because they shall be cast bound hand and foot into hell-fire. Neither (for the cause, which we have now alleged) shall subtlety happen unto them; for as much as they shall live in tears and

weeping, in most gross affects, and in vehement desires: even as it is gathered by the evangelical narration of the rich man & Lazarus. However, among those things that I have spoken, this of ours must chiefly be remembered: to wit, that through this diversity of qualities and conditions, the subject, that is, the substance of our bodies is not to be altered: for in any wise the same body and the same flesh is to be raised up.

Neither must we give ear to Origen, which thinketh; that only the body shall be restored, but not the flesh. We must rather believe Christ, which said, after he was risen from the dead; "Feel and see, for a spirit hath no flesh and bones, as ye see me have." And if the same body shall rise again, the same flesh and members shall also be restored. A place also shall be appointed for them: for these things cannot consist without a place. But that the subject shall be all one, Paul plainly proved, when he said unto the Corinthians; "This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." The pronoun demonstrative "This" doth plainly declare the substance and very human nature of a body. Yet, thou tellest me, that the same apostle, in the sixth chapter of the same epistle saith; "Meats are ordained for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God shall destroy both it and them." It is also said, that "The blessed shall be as the angels: so as they shall neither marry wives, nor the women shall be married." To what purpose shall variety of sex be in the blessed, which rise again; to what use, or to what end? We answer, that indeed God, in the everlasting felicity, will take away from them that be raised up, the use and action of these parts: but not the substance and nature of them.

And being demanded why the things themselves shall remain still, the use and action being taken away: we answer, that therefore they shall remain, because they belong to the wholeness and perfection of

a human body. For if all these things should be taken away, what part thereof would be remaining? First, the throat should be plucked out, the stomach, and all the bowels, whereby dregs have their passage, and flowing humors are distilled. Further, it is meet, that those parts, which we have rightly used, while we lived here, should be benefited with reward together with us. And seeing blessed men did honestly and temperately use their throat, their taste, and their belly, and chastely kept their inferior parts; why should they not receive these parts, that they may be crowned together with them?

61. Neither is it a firm consequent: The use of certain parts and members is taken away; Therefore they themselves also must be taken away. It does not so come to pass in nature: An old barren woman, which can no more bring forth children, or give suck, is not therefore deprived of her paps; nor yet of those parts, which served for procreation. Yea, and a valiant and noble emperor, which has done many worthy acts in battle, when he dies, has his armor, which sometimes he wore, fastened about his tomb; although he is not to use the same anymore afterward. And the ships, which sometimes bore away the victory upon the sea, albeit that men cannot use them anymore; yet do they draw them up into docks, and will have them preserved there, for a perpetual memory of the things that were done. Yea, and Christ himself also being risen from the dead, brought again with him the scars of his wounds: and said unto Thomas, who doubted; "Put thy fingers here into my side, and into the holes of the nails, and be not unbelieving, but faithful." The wounds had already performed their part, for by them mankind was redeemed; and yet he had them after he was risen from the dead; to the intent it might be perceived, that it was the very same body, which had suffered before. Elias also and Moses, when they had fasted by the space of forty days, had not in vain their mouth, throat, and belly; when nevertheless they used not them a long time.

Origin

62. But I return to Origen, who thought that the body should rise again, but not the flesh. But we in the Creed do confess not the resurrection of the body, but of the flesh. But this father, as we gather out of his book **peri archon**, says; that There be two errors noted, as concerning the resurrection. The first he makes to be ours, which think, that flesh, blood, bones, and the very same members, are to be received, when we shall be raised up. For this he supposes to be absurd and fond, and over gross: because he thinks, that it would follow thereof, that we should eat, drink, and marry wives again. But how weak this argument is, we declared before, when we showed, that it is meet and convenient, that without use and proper functions, these parts shall be received at the blessed resurrection. Another error he makes of certain heretics, which altogether denied the resurrection of the dead, attributing eternal salvation to souls only: and of such, as were bold to call the resurrection of Christ, a fantastical resurrection; as who should say, it were only showed by an imagined vision. Wherefore he, having set down these two errors, as certain extremities, pretended to allow of a certain mean way. He said, that when the soul shall be separated from the body, the four principal things whereof the body consisteth, retire themselves again to their own store-houses of nature: so as the flesh goeth into the earth, the breath into the air, the blood and other humors into waters, the heat into heaven. These he affirms, do not perish, when they come there; but are so mingled with those elements, as they can be no more discerned or drawn away from thence.

Howbeit, he affirms, that the bodies shall rise again; and so rise again, as to everyone shall be given his own proper body, and not another man's. The body of Peter (as he says) shall be given to Peter;

of Paul, to Paul: because it is not meet that sins should be punished in a strange body, and not in the same, by which they were committed. And after what manner this may be done, he thus declares. In seeds there is engrafted by God a certain nature and power of things, that it may draw unto it all the matter that is to come, and the corporal substance of things which do come from thence. Yet nevertheless, in the seed of the tree are not seen the fruits, the flowers, the leaves, the branches, the bark, or the body: whereas otherwise, the nature & power of all these things hath being in the same. Even so he judges to be in the ashes and matter that remaineth of our bodies. And he calleth that power by the Greek word **dunamis**, or **charakter**, or (as Erasmus corrected it in his scholies to Jerome) **threptikon**, that is, A preserving place, or seed-store of the dead. And this he says shall at the time of the last judgment, shoot forth and bud out human bodies; but not flesh, bones, and blood, least in heaven we should have need of meat and drink, of marriages, barbers, and of handkerchiefs to wipe away the uncleanness of the nose.

And when he denies that the flesh shall return, he abuses the words of Paul, wherein he says; that They which be in the flesh cannot please God. For the apostle, [By flesh] meant not in that place substance and nature: but corruption, viciousness, and lewdness. Even as in the book of Genesis, GOD said; My spirit shall not rest upon these men, because they be flesh. And by Paul it is written; But ye be not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if the spirit of Christ dwell in you. Wherefore Origen judged, that the body of them that rise again, shall be Homogenium; that is, of one and the same nature. Now (saith he) we see with eyes, we hear with ears, and we go with feet: but then we shall see, hear, and go with that whole body. He moreover abuses the words of the same Paul unto the Philippians, when he said of Jesus Christ, **metaschematisei**, that is; He shall

transfigure the body of our humility. For this he also understandeth to be spoken of the nature & substance of our body; whereas it respecteth only the changing of qualities and conditions. For the Greek word **metaschematisei**, from whence that verb is derived, belongeth to the predicament of quality: and so doth **schemati**, which signifieth, Form or Shape, whereof is derived **suneidos**, that is to say, Conformed. These things if Origen had weighed, he had not so foully fallen, as to say, that the bodies of them that rise again, shall be airy or elemental, so as they should not be subject, either to seeing, or feeling; but shall be invisible, and impalpable. Yet did he leave them a place: for he said, that they should not be removed, according to the variety of places: where in the mean time, they which confess, that flesh and bones shall be restored again unto us, do take away place from them.

But I return to Origen, who teaches, that indeed the bodies shall rise again, but not the flesh. But these are distinguished, as the general and the special kind: for every flesh is a body, but everybody is not flesh. For flesh is that which consisteth of blood, and veins, and skin, and also of bones and sinews. But of bodies, some be airy or elemental; such as Plato assigned to certain spirits, & unto our souls, wherein, as in a certain chariot, they should be carried, and joined to the outward body, which is the more gross and more earthy. And those bodies, which he imagined to be on this sort, might not be either felt or perceived. There be also other bodies, which may both be seen, and felt; when as yet they be no flesh: as is a wall, and wood, which be sensible bodies, and yet no flesh. So as the body, which is the general word, is drawn by the flesh into a special kind. Which is proved by the words of Paul unto the Colossians, who saith; When ye were strangers from Christ, and enemies by cogitation in evil works, hath he yet now reconciled in the body of his flesh, through death. And in the same epistle; With circumcision made without hands, by

putting off the body of flesh, subject to sin. This was the opinion of Origen, out of the book **peri archon**, as Jerome reporteth in his epistle against John bishop of Jerusalem.

63. He greatly erred in many things concerning this matter. First, he fondly reasons of that seed-store of dead men, remaining after death in the ashes of them that be departed. For what need is it to appoint an original of the resurrection in the matter of our body? The action of raising up from the dead is all wholly in God: neither are there any powers of the body, whereby it should spring up again. And to note this by the way: some of the ancient fathers must be read very circumspectly; because they seem to attribute unto the Eucharist, that which Origen hath assigned to reason, and to a power engrafted in the bodies, which is not extinguished in them that be dead. Of this matter did Irenaeus in his 4th book, and Justinus in his apology unto Antonius the emperor write, and said that our bodies, when they have received the Eucharist, are no more mortal, because that sacrament is become unto our bodies a preserver unto life everlasting. If these things should properly & absolutely be understood, as they seem to be at the first sight (as though they should teach, that the body and blood of Christ passeth into the true nourishment of bodies, and so in them to be the beginning of the resurrection) the opinion would be very absurd.

For the very meat of the body is concocted, digested & distributed among the parts, and is also converted into the substance and nature of him, which is nourished. But the body of Christ being impassible, cannot be changed into other bodies; even as also it cannot be buried with them. Yet did those fathers truly write, so as their sayings be fitly understood. Wherefore, let us understand, that the faithful in the supper of the Lord do receive bread and wine with the mouth of their body, and they with their mind and spirit do receive the body &

blood of Christ, even in such sort as he was given upon the cross for our salvation: and that in receiving these things by faith, we be justified and regenerated, or we be confirmed in righteousness and spiritual birth. But justification and regeneration, which be in the mind, do make the body itself capable of resurrection. And in this respect we may say, that the outward elements which we receive with our body, are a preparative to the resurrection; because they be instruments of the Holy Ghost, whereby he stirs up faith in us, which is the very original of resurrection.

64. Herein moreover Origen erred, in judging that the body, which he acknowledges in the resurrection, shall be of one and the same nature: so as the whole shall see, the whole shall hear, and the whole shall go; as though it shall not have eyes, ears, and feet, distinct one from another. Furthermore, Christ in his transfiguration, when he gave to his apostles a pattern of blessed bodies, was not so changed, as that he went into a round figure, as be the bodies of the sun, moon, and stars. His face remained several from the rest of his parts: for the evangelist writes, that His face did shine like the sun. Furthermore, when as after his resurrection he did eat and drink together with them, I judge he did it with his teeth, mouth, throat, and belly; not with his feet, or the skull of his head. Also he talked with them, and that no doubt with his tongue and mouth; not with his knees and legs. Besides, it is said in plain terms, that he showed his side that was pierced upon the cross; wherefore he had the same distinguished from the other parts of his body. So as these members were either members in very deed, or else counterfeit members and delusions. If they were very members, let these men agree, that bodies with their several members, shall be restored in the resurrection. But if they were delusions and counterfeit things, the truth of the resurrection is ill proved by a lie.

But they will say, that these were certain prerogatives belonging unto Christ; because he was not, as we be, conceived of man's seed; but by the help of the Holy Ghost was fashioned in the virgin's womb. However, for my part, I take the resurrection of Christ to be the image and similitude of our resurrection: so that if to him were restored his own proper parts, they shall also be restored unto us. But they add, that these things were done of the Lord, with his apostles by a certain dispensation; when he was raised up from death unto life: otherwise he showed the condition of his body to be airy and spiritual, when as he so dealt with his apostles as they knew him not; and vanished not out of their sight, in such sort as he became invisible: as also, when he entered in unto them, the doors being shut. But the apostles knew him not, in respect that he himself was invisible, or that he wanted flesh and hands: but because (as saith the evangelist) their eyes were holden, that they should not know him. Wherefore, when as they knew him afterward, he writes, that their eyes were opened; to the intent we should know their eyes to be letted, and no diversity to be in the body of the Lord. Further, he withdrew himself upon the sudden from their eyes, neither did they see him anymore; because their eyes were let, that they should not perceive his departing.

Apollonius Tyanaeus, when he was in the council before Domitian, was suddenly taken from among them, neither did he appear anymore: not that his body was made invisible, or vanished into air; but because the eyes of them that were present, were held by the conjuring of devils, that they could not see him while he was yet present, or when he went away. Therefore that which was done by devilish sorceries, about the body of a profane man, shall we deny unto the body of Christ, in whom was present the perfect Godhead? Also, the argument as touching the doors is weak: for it might be that he came in unto the apostles, by the house top, or in at the windows,

when as the gates were locked. And perhaps at his coming, the doors gave place, and made passage for him. But what needeth much speech? Ezekiel making mention of the resurrection of the dead, speaks nothing of an airy or elemental body, but he says that the bones came unto bones, and everyone to his own joint; that they were jointed together with sinews, covered with flesh, and skin put thereupon; and that at the last, they stood upright upon their feet. And so the prophet describes bodies, even as he knew that it would come to pass at the resurrection. And Job says; In my flesh I shall see God, with these eyes of mine, neither shall I be another, but as touching substance, the very same that I now am. These things are so manifest, as they have no need to be explained.

65. And in the resurrection we shall not only have that body, which we now have; but it shall also occupy a place: neither can it be together and at one time in many places, because the nature of bodies, and especially of human bodies, suffers not this: for seeing they be limited, and described with their parts, members, and lineaments, they must needs be contained in certain places. And yet notwithstanding at this day, there be found some so shameless and intemperate, who to defend their opinion, either of ubiquity, or of real and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ in the holy supper, dare require of us to prove unto them, and that out of the holy scriptures, that a body cannot be without a place, and that it cannot be together at one time in sundry places. What if we again for our part, should demand of them, that out of the same holy scriptures they should show us by express words, that a definite body may be without place, or together at one time in sundry places? Certainly, unless they will use other canonical books than those which the catholic church acknowledges, they shall never be able to show us any such testimony. Wherefore the voice of nature, which hath God himself to be author, must be heard. That undoubtedly

hath decreed, that these things cannot be; even as our adversaries themselves do testify. And Augustine in his epistle to Dardanus hath acknowledged, and Cyrillus also in his dialogs De trinitate, who wrote; that Even the divine nature, if it were divisible, should be of quantity, and in any wise in a place, nor might not avoid circumscription.

Verily the grounds of nature are not to be new made, except it be when they withstand the word of God. But these things which I have declared, are not repugnant thereunto. Seeing then they cannot show it to be otherwise had in the holy scriptures, let them cease without them to obtrude unto us articles of faith, which are not lawful to be coined without the word of God. But we will follow the teaching of the holy scriptures, which wheresoever they speak of the body of Christ, do everywhere attribute a place unto him: sometime saying, that he was in Galilee: other while at Jerusalem: now and then in Bethany, or in the temple, or in the house of Simon. And they so assign him a certain place, as they may exclude him from another: for he himself saith, when he went to raise up Lazarus; He is dead, & I am glad that I was not there. Whereby he testifieth himself to be so in the way, as he was not at that time in Bethany. And the angel (to the intent he might show him to be departed out of the sepulcher) said unto the women; He is risen, he is not here. Thus he so went from thence, as he was not there present. After this manner doth Christ speak, and the angel testify. So as the human nature of Christ was comprehended in a place, and was nowhere else.

But they will say; When we ask the question concerning power, thou answerest us as touching the fact. Hereunto say I, that that power, which is not showed to have at any time broke out into act, is no hindrance to any purpose. Again, I return to the first demand, and I require, that they will show me by the word of God, how this can be;

namely, that a human body is without place, and that it is together in diverse places: but seeing they cannot do this, let them cease to affirm, and to set it forth as a thing necessary to be believed. I know they will say, that it is written and affirmed by Christ, as touching the wine and bread of the supper; This is my body, and this is my blood. But these words are far otherwise understood, and expounded by the wiser sort, than they understand them: wherefore, a firm and certain argument is not taken from a place diversely expounded. And this perhaps also they will object; There is nothing impossible unto God. I know that so it is written: however, that sentence must not be admitted without all exception. For Paul excepted, when he said; that God is so true, as he cannot deny himself. And the fathers excepted many other things. And it is commonly said in the schools; that Whatever things do include contradiction among themselves, cannot be done by God. Furthermore, the Heretiks abused that saying, who being reprov'd by the Catholics, that they affirmed absurd and impossible things; answered, that With God all things are possible. Paulus Samosatenus, which denied the distinction of persons, and affirmed the father to be the same that is the son: and being urged by us, that it is impossible that any should beget himself, granted the same to be impossible, as touching us, but that with God all things may be.

66. But I retire myself to the scripture, which acknowledges so great a conjunction between a place and a body comprehended therein; as the place being taken away, it utterly forbids the thing placed, to be; which reason would not be firm, but altogether feeble, if it were lawful for a body to be without a place: for it might not be proved, that it hath no being, if the place be utterly taken away. In Job, the seventh chapter, when as the prophet would show, that man after death hath no being, saith; His place shall not know him: that is to say; He shall not be. And in the 20th chapter it is written of the

taking away of the wicked out of life; The place shall not behold him: that is to say, He shall not be. And David, in the 37th psalm, expressed the same more plainly, saying; Yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be: thou shalt seek his place, and he shall not be found. Thus therefore doth the scripture speak. Whereupon Augustine, whom these men with so great impudency refuse, is not to be accused, when he wrote concerning bodies; that If they be nowhere, they be not at all. For he did not learn that form of speaking only of Aristotle, or of natural philosophy; but of the phrases of the holy scripture.

Neither is there any reason, why these men should imagine, that these sayings belong only unto this life, and to the present state we be in; seeing places do also pertain unto the everlasting felicity, in the kingdom of God. For Christ said to his disciples, when he advertised them of his departure; I go to prepare a place for you. And again; I will that where I am, there my minister should be. And in the Apocalypse we are taught; that The company of the elect do follow the lamb whithersoever he shall go. But local motion cannot be without place. And that one body cannot be in many places at one time, the fathers did so well know, as they would not attribute that unto angels. Yea and they proved thereby, that the holy Ghost is God, because he was together at one time in many places, which (as they declare) cannot agree to any creature. And to this opinion did Basil, in his treatise De spiritu sancto, Didymus, Cyrillus, Theodoretus, and many others condescend. But the scripture doth confess the very same of the body of Christ: for Peter, in the Acts said, that Heaven must contain him, so long as, or until all things be restored. There is a great efficacy, and a great weight of signification in the adverb of time [Until] or [So long as.] For it is showed, that the body of Christ shall so be in heaven, as in the meantime his presence shall be excluded from our places. There might perhaps be other things

brought; but these I judge sufficient for proving of these properties in the bodies of them that rise again; whereof I have hitherto treated.

Responding to Objections

67. Now lastly we must confute those arguments, which were objected at the beginning; as though they should make against the resurrection of the dead. First it was said, that by the judgment of Porphyrius, souls, for obtaining of the chief felicity (which consisteth in the knowledge of divine things) should eschew all bodies; because those trouble and let the mind, that it cannot apply itself unto heavenly things. Yea and he seemeth for this cause to have forsaken Plato, who affirmed a return of souls to their former bodies. Here we answer, that this Philosopher had respect to human bodies: not as they were instituted at the beginning; but as they be now infected and corrupted. And indeed, so good is God, as at the beginning he gave nothing unto men that was evil, or that might hinder felicity; He saw all things that he had made, and they were very good. And it is a ridiculous devise (I will not say a wicked) to affirm σῶμα, to be said as it were σήμα, that is, a body as it were a sepulcher; because it is as it were the sepulcher of our souls. GOD made the nature of man to be bodily, because it might be holpen by the body; not to receive detriment thereby. This if it did afterward in some part procure, it must not be ascribed unto God; but unto sin. Neither yet in the mean time is it altogether unprofitable, while we be conversant in these calamities, if a man by faith use the same well. Whereunto add, that it shall be restored unto us so corrected and amended in the blessed resurrection, and so furnished with excellent conditions and qualities; as it shall not diminish the desired felicity, but it shall rather augment the same.

There was another argument; namely, that after death the parts of our body are so resolved into elements, from whence it is taken, and so mingled with them; as thenceforth it can be no more dissevered and brought forth. But this is to judge over meanly and basely of the power of God, when we will not attribute as much unto him; as we grant unto the endeavors of men in this life. If water be mingled with wine, there be such men, as can dissever the one from the other again. Further, goldsmiths and finers of metals can resolve into their parts, those lumps, which are mixed together of gold, silver, brass, and steel. Neither doth there want such, as can of every dry and hard thing press out oil, or liquid fatness. And shall not God (who is declared to be omnipotent, and could create the world of nothing) be able to draw human bodies out of the ashes again? And therefore it is written in the Apocalypse, the twentieth chapter; And the sea gave up her dead, which were in her; and death and hell delivered up the dead, which were in them, &c.

68. But it may be (say they) that human flesh should be devoured either of fishes, or of birds, the which afterward may become the food of men, and be converted into the flesh of another man. Hereunto we answer, that certainly the dust and ashes are raised up, not as they were the substances of fishes or of birds; but as they were of a man first consumed by them. Neither shall the latter man (which fed of those fishes and birds, and turned them into his own flesh) be raised up with the augmentation or matter of the other man, which went before him. The very which answer may be made concerning the Anthropophagi. And that the matter may be the more plainly known; we must understand, that in the nature of things, there is no need about the keeping still of the substance of one and the self-same body, that all things, which were in it, should perpetually remain in the same. For the matter of our body does continually shed and fall away; the hairs and nails do shed, and are clipped; many things flow

out by the mouth, by the nostrils, and by other excremental parts: further, the natural heat does always spend the vital moisture; and the substance, which flows out, is repaired again by new eating and drinking: and this is done every hour, and yet do not the bodies cease to be the same in number. Which also we see come to pass in trees, whose fruits are gathered, whose leaves fall, and whose branches are each year shredded; when as yet the same trees do remain very long the same in number. So that if the whole matter together should be taken away, that unity might not be appointed: but because the matter avoideth by parts, and that the new matter, which is gathered by meat and drink, is joined to those that were before; therefore unity is retained, especially where one and the self-same form endureth, and is preserved.

Seeing therefore unto the truth and unity of a body, there is no necessity, that all things, which passed through the same, should be in it; it may be that GOD doth not lay up in the resurrection, for such as were consumed by the Anthropophagi, the flesh of those, which did eat them; but that he will restore other things, which at sundry times flowed from their body. And if perhaps anything should be wanting, he will supply it by his power: even as an addition of flesh was given to the rib of Adam, when Eve was formed thereof. But if a man will say, that it may happen, that the Anthropophagi did not feed of any other thing than man's flesh: we say that this is to small purpose, seeing they have also other brute beasts, which they feed of. They do also use milk, and the grains called millet, and panic, and such other like meats. Wherefore the substance to some shall be all one, that it was in others, and it shall be diminished, which was too much. There was brought another reason; If there be a resurrection to come, there had been no need of new generation; But the same (as we see) is continued, and God commanded it as well before the flood, as after. But they, which reason after this sort, ought to consider of

two things. First, that procreation endureth to the end of the world: but that it is to take place no more after that time. Further, when generation was commanded, there was no condition added, that it should be perpetual. Wherefore the argument is most weak: for it is taken from the nature of things present, whereas this state of ours is sometimes utterly to be changed.

69. Besides this, it was said, that in death the essential beginnings of man are destroyed: and not the body alone, but the inferior parts also of the mind. For the powers of the senses; namely, of fervent desiring and being angry, do perish as do those, which serve unto nourishment and procreation. We answer; that the use indeed of these things does cease by death, but that the powers themselves are not extinguished, but are kept whole in the soul, which is severed from the body: so that when the body shall be restored thereunto, the exercise of them shall be restored also, except that which declares itself to belong either to procreation, or nourishment of the body in this life.

Furthermore, it was objected; that one and the same unity of body cannot be preserved, when as the life or continuance thereof shall be broken off. For the being, wherein we be, consists in a certain succession, or continuation of life. And indeed we see, that walking, when it is broken off, if it be afterward renewed, is not one and the same in number. And it was added, that in augmentation, the same thing happens as touching other qualities. For health being discontinued by reason of sickness, when the sick man is restored, health indeed returneth; but it is not the same in number: for as well the old things brought forth, as the new, are diverse. Hereunto we say, that this indeed is true, and altogether takes place in those efficient causes, in which the action, or thing itself brought forth, is distinguished from the efficient cause: as it comes to pass in all

causes created. But the resurrection is the work of God, wherein the action is not divided from the nature and substance of the agent itself. And lastly, whereas it was alleged, that the heap of those things, which passed and fell from the body, should be monstrous; and that if all things should be restored at the resurrection, men's bodies should be of exceeding greatness: but if on the other side, all things shall not be laid up in store; what reason can be assigned, why some parts should be restored more than other some? I answer; It has been already said, that not all things which be cast forth of our bodies, shall be received when we rise again: but only those things, which make to a just and convenient quantity. But why rather one sort than another are kept in store, we must commit it to the judgment of God, who disposes all things with singular wisdom.

70. Now it rests that we dilate on those places, which in the holy scriptures seem at the first sight to be against the resurrection. In the 78th psalm it is written; And he remembered that they were but flesh, their spirit or breath departing away, and not returning again. For the exposition of this place, the scope must first be considered; namely, that God was led to take mercy of his people because their infirmity was known unto him. So as, because of their frailty and feebleness, therefore had he mercy upon them, and scattered them not abroad with one only stripe. Sometimes the spirit is said to be against the flesh, in respect that the flesh is said to be weak, and the spirit strong and valiant. So said Christ unto his apostles, when as they slept, while he was praying; The spirit indeed is ready, but the flesh is frail. And Isaiah in the third chapter, describing the weakness of Egypt, says; Egypt is flesh, and not spirit: that is; It staggers with feebleness, it does not stand firm and strong. But sometimes the flesh and spirit are taken both for one thing, and both betoken infirmity; even as in this place: where the same thing is repeated in the latter clause, which is spoken in the former. In this place

therefore, the spirit is not meant to be the soul of man, or the divine inspiration; but the breath, blast, and wind, which being gone and past, perish, and are restored no more. When the life of man is finished, we begin not again at the original; neither do we bud forth as trees and herbs cut down: but we lie in the dust, not returning unto our former state.

When I say, that after death men are not like unto herbs, I am not against David, who says in the 103rd psalm; He knows his workmanship, he remembers that we are but dust. The days of man are as grass, and as the flourishing flower of the field; the wind comes over him, and he is withered, and his place has known him no more. Herein stands the similitude, that the sudden and unexpected destruction of flourishing man, may be perceived: but in this is the similitude taken away, that men do not spring forth anew, like unto plants and herbs. There is shown moreover, that there is nothing found in man to provoke God unto mercy, but misery. But if spirit be taken for the soul; then we will say, that the prophet does weigh of man, and consider of him according to his own nature and strength; and truly pronounces, that his spirit departs so, as it returns not. For the blessed resurrection is a miracle, and not a work of nature. This scripture speaks not of man, according to those things which he shall receive, through the bountifulness and power of God; but according to the faculties and strength, which it has by nature.

Also it is written in the book of Wisdom, the 15th chapter; His spirit shall go forth of him, and it shall not return again. And no man doubtless has brought with him from his mother's womb, or from the originals of nature, the power to rise again. Indeed our soul has a being after death, but it has no power of itself to return unto the body which it had. Nay rather, if God should remove from it his preserving power, it would fall to utter ruin. This is the common and received

exposition of this place. However, there is another sense, which comes to my remembrance, no less profitable than both the former. When the Israelites were pressed with adversity in the desert, and were for just causes punished by God; they cried unto him, that they might be delivered: but this they did very imperfectly, which was not hidden from God. Yet nevertheless, he had mercy upon them; because they were flesh, that is, of a corrupted nature: and for this cause they oftentimes fell again into the same sins. Also their spirit, that is, their earnest motion of praying and invoking of the true God Jehovah, was not steadfast in them; but in a manner passed by them, and returned not, seeing they fell again to idolatry, after the deliverance obtained. Wherefore these were Chronij, that is, Temporizers: as we read in the parable of the seed in the eighth of Luke.

71. In the 115th psalm, it is written; The heaven of heavens is the Lord's, but the earth has he given to the children of men. Whereupon some do gather, that men are so become bound to the earth, as heaven does not belong to them. But they are far deceived: for from there is drawn abundantly, the goodness of God, which has no need of earthly commodities, neither has it any manner of need of worldly wealth; and yet did it bring forth the whole world, howbeit unto the use and commodity of men. But that God has no need of those good things, hereby it is proved; that he dwells in the heavens, whither these things ascend not; and where they cannot grow. Neither yet did the prophet so affirm God to be settled in heaven, as he denies him to be everywhere: for the essence and power of God are in all places. But he is peculiarly said to dwell in heaven; because his presence is there meant to be more famous, more mighty, and more effectual: as well for the splendent and ample light, for the constant motion of the circles, and proceeding thereof in excellent order, and for the sundry and manifold influences; as also, because from the parts above we

have winds, clouds, rain, hail, lightnings, thunder, etc. Neither does the prophet utterly exclude men from heaven, as though they should never come thither: for thither they shall come, which have lived godly; but that must be at their time appointed. So as the Psalmist speaks of the time of this life, as the state of things now stand.

But presumptuous men have sometimes abused the words of David; so that some have thought, that it should be lawful for them to do anything upon the earth, to rob and slay, to turn all upside down, as though God does not mark these things, as he that only dwells in heaven, and walking about the limits of heaven, takes no care of our doings. Again, others have so wickedly wrested these words; that seeing God has heaven to himself, and has given the earth unto the children of men, there is no cause why we should aspire to heaven; but rather that every man provide for himself, (as many parts of the earth as he can get. Of this mind they seem to be, which couple field to field, and house to house; so as they scarcely suffer a foot of land to be possessed by others. Further, the prophet proceeds, and says; The dead shall not praise the Lord, nor yet all they which go down into silence. The mind of the suppliant is, that God would spare the godly men; lest they being consumed, there should be a want of such, as would set forth the praise of God. But thou wilt say; If the senses of souls, and the life of them that be departed be taken away, will there be a want of such as should praise God? True in very deed it is, that in heaven there will be no want. But he hath appointed to receive fame and praise, not only in another world, but even here also upon the earth: which will not come to pass, if the godly be consumed by the wicked. And God hath so ordained this, as he brought forth man for this end. Otherwise he gave also the earth unto cattle, unto lions, and also to serpents, flies, and creeping beasts: for all these things are there brought up and nourished, but yet not so as men be. For we be placed in the world, that we should

publish and set forth God: this cannot the dead do here, seeing they be far from this world. And therefore it is said; The dead shall not praise the Lord; namely, upon the earth.

Indeed brute beasts, and dumb cattle, have their abiding upon the earth, and therein are fed and nourished; but they were made for the behoove of man: but unto this manner of end they are not advanced; because they are not so endued with reason, as they can give thanks, call upon and celebrate the name of God. Hereby let us gather, that the earth is given unto men: not to the intent that they should rashly abuse the same, and that they should devour the good things thereof like unto brute beasts; but celebrate and extol the name of God, even as they are continually invited by his benefits. Which being only done by the godly sort, if they be oppressed by tyrants and wicked persons; who shall remain to declare and sing out the praises of God? The wicked do blaspheme the name of God: so far is it off, that they magnify & extol it. The repetition of the word; namely [Heaven of heavens] does betoken a certain famous and excellent region of the heavens, wherein God and Christ dwell with the saints.

72. But let us come unto Ecclesiastes, where, in the third chapter it is written; that Men and cattle have one manner of end, both the one and the other do die, and they have all one manner of spirit or breath: and who knows whether the spirit of the sons of Adam goes upward, and the spirit of beasts goes downward? He had said a little before, that the successes of the godly and of the wicked are all one; and that thereby it comes to pass, that no man knows by the outward fortunes and events of men, who are beloved of God, and who are hated. But now he compares man with cattle, affirming that the conditions and qualities of them all are one and the same. But these must we distinguish, because some are general, and some are special. As to the special, the conditions are not all one in every sort: for

cattle are four-footed, but men are two-footed; the cattle are without speech, but man does speak; cattle are not capable of vices and virtues, but men are garnished with virtues, and polluted with vices. Wherefore Solomon, in that place, treats of general qualities, as well of men, as of beasts. For as men are born and bred up, so it happens with cattle: as those are dissolved into ashes and elements, so does it happen unto men, as touching the body: as beasts are fed with meat, and quench thirst with drink, and engender their young ones: so do men likewise.

And whereas it is said, that the spirit as well of the one as the other is one, that must not be referred to the soul: as though Solomon judged, that all men have but one soul; as Averroes, and other of the Peripatetics did think. But by the spirit he understands the wind or breath: for brute beasts and men breathe all in one air. Indeed the spirit of man goes upward, and the breath of beasts downward: but who knows this? Who is able to prove it by strong natural reasons? It is not denied by Solomon, that these things happen; but he says, that the knowledge and understanding of these things are scarcely, or not at all extant among men, as touching natural principles. And whereas he says; Who knows? He (as Jerome interprets) shows a difficulty: not an utter impossibility. For Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, and some other philosophers, attained after a sort to the knowledge of immortality of souls; by what means I stand not to prove. In the same book of Ecclesiastes, the ninth chapter, it is written; In the grave that thou goest unto, there is neither work, cogitation, knowledge, nor wisdom, etc. These things (as Jerome says) pertain unto the good works, whereby it is the part of the faithful to approve themselves unto God, while they live in this world; because in the other life they shall have no place. In this life must we believe the word of God, that we may be justified; here repentance must be taken in hand; here the sacraments must be received; here alms must

be bestowed: because after death, there is no place reserved for these actions. And thus spoke Christ in the Gospel of John; Now work ye while it is day, otherwise the night will come, wherein no man can work. Gregorius Neocaesariensis refers the places, which we have alleged out of Ecclesiastes, unto Solomon, who wrote these things of himself. Because, when he gave himself to pleasures, he in a manner felt his mind to grow beastly, and to be infected with these cogitations; namely, that the end of man and beasts should be all one; that after this life, in another world, there remains not either cogitation, or work, or wisdom, or knowledge. And assuredly it comes to pass, that they, which are occupied in such beastly cogitations, do eftsoons every day burn in the lusts of delights, and do more and more grow beastly. So as this interpreter does not think, that these things were approved by Solomon, whom he thinks to make a report of the things, which he affected of old, and of which he repented: because this book of Ecclesiastes is accounted among the Jews; The Repentance of Solomon. Wherefore the voluptuous and delicate men, to confirm themselves in their beastliness, do say, that as well men as beasts do die, that there shall nothing remain after this life. Let us use therefore no measure in carnal and earthly delights: and (as Paul said;) Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die.

Also Olympiodorus an interpreter of the book of Ecclesiastes says; that First these things do belong unto the life of the body; wherein (as it has been said) many qualities are common, as well to men as beasts. Secondly, that they who bend themselves wholly to pleasures and delights, do rather approach to the nature of brute beasts. And therefore he will have us here to be admonished, that we should withdraw ourselves from these things, lest we in our manners degenerate into brute beasts, whereas we are made unto the image of God, and ordained to become one day like unto angels. Lastly, he

interprets them to be men, who rightly use reason; but those to be beasts, who have utterly addicted themselves to flesh and affections. But who (says he) knows those men, who belong unto the one sort, or those who belong unto the other; seeing the conditions of men are secret and hidden? So as it may be, that Solomon spoke these things under the person of voluptuous men; or else (as it seemed to Gregorius Neocaesariensis) he had in remembrance his own person.

73. Job, in the 14th chapter, seems to depict humans in a worse condition than trees cut down, rivers, and the sea. For a tree cut down, springs again and returns to its former state. And rivers, though they may be emptied of their waters due to heat, are abundantly restored. Similarly, the sea, though it departs from the dry land every six hours, covers it again. But it doesn't happen like that with humans when they die; they do not return, nor are they restored to their former state. Job laments these things, which indeed seem true if one considers man in his own nature, without the word of God or Christ. However, if we consider that even Job himself, who was entangled in these things, found a balm wherein, being washed, he not only revived but returned from death to life, then we must interpret differently. It's also worth noting that there is a limited time during which the dead do not return to life; it is written there: "Until heaven passes away," indicating the end of the world. Job does not deny that men shall rise again after heaven has passed away.

Moreover, he seems to affirm this more strongly when he compares death to sleep and mentions men who will be awakened. Sleep is not perpetual; it is ordained to be limited by waking. He adds in the same place, "Who will bring it about that you will hide me in the grave until your wrath is over?" By this form of speaking, he shows that there will be an end to God's wrath and that death will once have

an end. He more plainly states, "And to appoint a time when you may remember me." He bears record afterward that he waits for renewal. He then says straightaway, "You shall call me, and I will answer you," indicating that rising from the dead, he will stretch forth his right hand to his own workmanship. Some have even interpreted this as an argument from the lesser to the greater, asking, "Shall a tree cut down, a river, and the sea be restored to their former state, and man not attain thereto?" It is not likely, considering that man is far better than these things, and God regards him no less.

Undoubtedly, Ibn-Ezra acknowledges that the resurrection is understood in that place. However, some things seem more difficult, such as those spoken in the 7th chapter of the same book, where he says, "My eye shall not return to see good things." However, this must be understood concerning the good things that pertain to this life. After the resurrection, the dead will not return to eat, drink, or beget children as they did before in their previous life. Furthermore, he says, "The eye shall see me no more," suggesting that after this world, there will be no bargains, covenants, or intercourse between men as there was before. To this, he adds, "The cloud is gone and does not return; so he who descends into the pit does not ascend, nor does he return to his own house, nor does he know his own place anymore."

74. These things (as I have hitherto warned) are spoken regarding the strength of nature: and if a man is considered without God and Christ, as he is in his own corrupt and imperfect nature; and also, if death and hell are weighed as they indeed are. For these things cannot be overcome by natural strength. Therefore, it is said that in hell there is no redemption because no man, by the help of man or by the power of nature, can be called back from there. But if we embrace Christ with perfect faith, since he overcame sin, death, and hell, we

have great redemption in him. In the book of Samuel, we read that it is God who leads us down to hell and brings us back again. We must not overlook the similitude which Job uses of the cloud, which suddenly goes away, noting the shortness of our life. Just as James did in his epistle when he said, "What is your life? It is even a vapor that appears for a little while." Afterward, he says, "It shall not return to its own home," which means that the conditions of this life shall not be received again after the resurrection; that is, no one shall return to being a prince, householder, husbandman, citizen, or in any other state. Ibn-Ezra also did not deny that by this passage, the resurrection of the dead is not disproved.

Another argument was brought out of the words of Daniel; because he wrote that many should rise again, and did not say "All," which raised a suspicion that he might make the resurrection particular, and not universal, as it is shown to be. However, we explained this saying of his, declaring that he might not say "All," since many are to be found alive on the last day who shall not die but be changed. Nevertheless, the prophet in that place touched on the resurrection, both of the godly and the wicked, when he said, "Some shall rise unto ignominy, and others unto glory, and that everlasting." Neither is it an obstacle that is spoken in the psalm; namely, that "The wicked shall not rise in judgment," because he is discussing the cause and not the nature and substance of them. They shall not stand, but their cause shall be overthrown, for they shall not be acquitted at the tribunal seat of God but condemned. These are the answers we have made to the objections, and according to our promise, we have explained the principal points of this treatise. Now, it remains that we earnestly endeavor while we live here to have a part in the first resurrection: ensuring that our faith is excellent, our charity fervent and effectual, our hope firm and constant, and that our actions, both inward and outward, are Christian and well-ordered, and that we

subdue the wicked motions and affections of the flesh; altogether conforming our will and mind to the law of God. By performing these, we shall obtain that latter and blessed resurrection after the former.

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