

BOOK V. for them, who in such sort are already ordained to life, and unprofitable for them which are not; whereby it appeareth that as yet it was not clear in St. Augustin's books whether the grace and predestination which he taught would enforce an absolute necessity of belief and salvation, such as the Schoolmen call *necessitatem consequentis*<sup>1</sup>; which indeed would have taken away freewill, and made all instructions and exhortations superfluous. This gave occasion of writing afterwards many treatises<sup>2</sup>, whereby (as commonly in such cases it falleth out) some were mervailous well pleased, some waxed fiercer and bolder to contradict. Not long after the rising of these flames<sup>3</sup>, St. Augustin dieth without any equal in the *Church of Christ from that day to this*. This defence Prosper undertook and sustained with all constancy for the space of thirty-six years<sup>4</sup> following. In which time, being aided by Pope Cælestin<sup>5</sup> and Leo<sup>6</sup>, he much weakened the Pelagian heresy, and lived not only to see

<sup>1</sup> [E. g. Tho. Aquin. Quæst. de Verit. q. xxiv. art. i. Resp. ad 13<sup>m</sup>. "Ex præscientia Dei, non potest concludi quod actus nostri sint necessarii necessitate absoluta, quæ dicitur necessitas consequentis; sed necessitate conditionata, quæ dicitur necessitas consequentia." t. viii. 443. f. Venet. 1593.]

<sup>2</sup> [I. e. De Prædestinatione Sanctorum, De Dono Perseverantiæ, and perhaps, in part, the second reply to Julian, which St. Augustine did not live to finish. But this latter Hooker had not seen. It was first published by Vignier in 1653.]

<sup>3</sup> [The letters of Hilary and Prosper are dated by the Benedictines A. D. 429: St. Augustin died 430, Aug. 28.]

<sup>4</sup> [Prosper (having been, as is supposed, twenty-two years Bishop of Riez in Provence) died June 25, 466. See his Life prefixed to his works, Lyons 1539.]

<sup>5</sup> [See his letter to the bishops of Gaul, A. D. 431, in which at the request of Prosper and Hilary he gives what was interpreted to be an official sanction to the views of St. Augustin in his later works. See Concil. ii. 1612, and Prosper contr. Collatorem (Cassian.) sub fin. (cap. 21.) p. 163, 164: who states amongst other things that Cælestine caused

Pelagius's most active supporter, Cælestius, to be exiled from Italy. "Nec vero signiore cura ab hoc eodem morbo Britannias liberavit, quando quosdam inimicos gratiæ solum suæ originis occupantes" (for Pelagius, as is well known, was a Briton) "etiam ab illo secreto exclusit Oceani; et ordinato Scotis Episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam."]

<sup>6</sup> [Prosper. de Promiss. et Prædict. Dei, dimid. Temp. c. vi. "In Italia quoque nobis apud Campaniam constitutis, dum venerabilis et apostolico honore nominandus Papa Leo Manichæos subverteret, et contereret Pelagianos et maxime Julianum," &c. p. 111 A. Photius, Biblioth. c. 54. Πρόσπερος τις, ἄσθρωνος ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῦ Θεοῦ, λιβέλλου κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδωκῶς, ἀφανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἀπειργάσατο, ἔτι Λέοντος τοῦ προειρημένου τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν θρόνον ἰθύνοντος. See two Epistles of St. Leo to the bishops of the Venetian province, circ. A. D. 444, with directions what kind of recantation should be required of the Pelagians returning to the Church; which imply a considerable movement of that kind. Concil. iii. 1388, 90.]

the open recantation of Julian<sup>1</sup> then best learned on that part, against whom before St. Augustin had written, but also to frame and to set down with his own hand those Canons which being agreed upon by the Arausican Synod<sup>2</sup>, St. Augustin's opinion touching grace prevailed for ever after, and the contrary was clean crushed.

[38.] Prosper's successor<sup>3</sup> was one Faustus, not in wit and industry, nor eloquence inferior unto Prosper, only behind him in soundness of faith. He therefore refelleth Pelagius<sup>4</sup> as touching sufficiency of nature in itself without grace, to the end that with less suspicion he might notwithstanding defend with Pelagius<sup>5</sup>, that grace is not given without the merit of present labour, and endeavour to obtain the same. But the wound, which Pelagius in both had received, was incurable. Fulgentius<sup>6</sup> therefore after Prosper's death, opugned whatsoever Faustus either wrote or did, in that cause

<sup>1</sup> [Prosper. Chron. Theodos. xvii. et Festo Coss. (A. D. 439.) "Hæc tempestate Julianus Athelenensis jactantissimus Pelagiani erroris assertor, quem dudum amissi episcopatus intemperans cupido exagitabat, multimoda arte fallendi correctionis spem præferens, molitus [molitur?] in communionem Ecclesiæ irrepere; sed his insidiis Sixtus Papa diaconi Leonis hortatu vigilanter occurrens nullum aditum pestiferis conatibus patere permisit; et ita omnes catholicos defectione fallacis bestiæ gaudere fecit, quasi tunc primum superbissimam hæresin apostolicus gladius detruncasset." In Bibl. Patr. Colon. t. v. pars iii. 193.]

<sup>2</sup> Anno 430. [This date in the Dublin Transcript seems to have strayed from its place: it being the date of St. Augustin's death, mentioned above; whereas the second council of Orange was held A. D. 529. From the ninth to the twenty-fourth of what are called the Arausican Canons are *dicta* of St. Augustin on the subjects of grace and free-will, which had been mostly extracted by Prosper in his Sentences, and may therefore with much probability be supposed to have been adopted by that council from him. See Concil. ii. 1099. ed. Harduin.]

<sup>3</sup> [That is, in the bishopric of Riez: but Tillemont seems to have demonstrated that Prosper never was Bishop of Riez. Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique, t. xvi. p. 27.]

<sup>4</sup> [De lib. Arbitr. lib. i. c. 1, 2.]

<sup>5</sup> [In the rest of the same treatise.] "Priorem volunt obedientiam quam gratiam, ut initium salutis ex eo quod Salvator [qui salvatur, non ex eo credendum sit stare qui salvat." Prosp. ap. Aug. x. 782. Mr. Gibbings states, that this unfinished sentence is written on the line "Prosper's successor," &c. in the D. MS. and remarks that the reading to which Hooker refers may allude to St. John vii. 17.]

<sup>6</sup> [Bishop of Ruspa in Africa from A. D. 508, to A. D. 533. Vit. Fulg. c. 30, in Bibl. Patr. Colon. vi. 11. g. 11: Basnage, Annales, iii. 618. 11: tracts on this controversy were, 1. De Incarnatione et Gratia: written A. D. 520, in the name of sixty bishops of Africa, then exiled to Sardinia by the Arian Vandals. 2. Seven books against Faustus: written in his second exile, A. D. 522, and now lost. 3. The first of the three Books to Monimus: the subject of which is "God's twofold Predestination;" the date uncertain.]

against St. Augustin; by means whereof their doctrine could not prevail, as otherwise it might have done. But in the matter of *grace*, they were utterly overthrown. Nevertheless<sup>1</sup> being loath that the world should think they had for no just cause contended, whereas they had amongst them one Lucidus a priest, very earnest in defence of absolute *predestination*, and thereby fallen into divers absurdities, which St. Augustin, the master whom he pretended to follow, had never held; him when Faustus had brought to be of another mind, they assembled a Synod<sup>2</sup>, whereat some *twenty and six Bishops* met together, gave their sentence against his opinions, and took the recantation of Lucidus, submitting his former judgment to the order of this their Synod, and pronouncing<sup>3</sup> accursed openly, 1. all such as either with Pelagius save man by man's mere labour, or as others by predestination though labour want: 2. all such as hold, that no man perisheth but for original sin only: 3. or, that God's foreknowledge presseth down into hell: 4. or, that God is wanting to all them which perish, rather than they wanting to themselves: 5. or, that vessels of contumely cannot rise to be vessels of honour, though they would: 6. or, that Christ did not die for all men, neither would have all men saved. Wherein it clearly appeareth, that the first of these rehearsed articles condemneth Pelagianism only so far forth as Faustus approved it not: the rest of

<sup>1</sup> [This word would seem to connect the proceedings against Lucidus with the attack of Fulgentius; but the former took place A.D. 475, or thereabouts: a full generation before Fulgentius flourished.]

<sup>2</sup> [At Arles, Leontius archbishop of that city presiding. Conc. Harduin. ii. 806. Some copies make the number of bishops present to have been thirty. Faustus in his dedication to Leontius intimates that his work on Free-will had the approbation of this synod and of another at Lyons. Bibl. Patr. Colon. t. v. pars 3, p. 593.]

<sup>3</sup> [Faust. ep. ad Lucid. ibid. p. 526. "Cum gratia Domini operationem baptizati famuli semper adjungas; et eum, qui predestinationem excluso labore hominis asserit, cum Pelagii dogmate detesteris. Anathema ergo illi, qui inter reliquas Pelagii impietates hominem sine peccato nasci, et per solum laborem posse salvari, dam-

nanda præsuntione contenderit, et qui eum sine gratia Dei liberari posse crediderit. Item anathema illi, qui hominem cum fidei confessione solenniter baptizatum, et asserentem catholicam fidem, et postmodum per diversa mundi hujus oblectamenta prolapsam, in Adam et originale peccatum [originali peccato?] periisse asseruerit. Item, anathema illi, qui per Dei præscentiam in mortem deprimi hominem dixerit. Item anathema illi, qui dixerit illum qui periit non accepisse ut salvus esse posset: i. e. de baptizato, vel de illius ætatis pagano, qui credere potuit et noluit. Item anathema illi, qui dixerit quod vas contumeliæ non possit adsurgere ut sit vas in honorem. Item anathema illi, qui dixerit quod Christus non pro omnibus mortuus sit, nec omnes homines salvos esse velit." Comp. Conc. Harduin. t. ii. p. 807.]

the articles would closely insinuate, that Lucidus by following St. Augustin's doctrine against Pelagius in that point, (where Faustus was himself a Pelagian,) had fallen into those absurdities and follies, which now he forsakes. But by this we see how the question about both *grace* and *predestination*, being first set on foot by St. Augustin, was afterwards both followed with and against him, as men's capacities and other accidents gave occasion at that time. But surely his judgment of *predestination* was far enough from such phrenetical opinions, as, in that Fathers' synod, Lucidus did renounce<sup>1</sup>. 1. Predestination, as St. Augustin himself taught it, doth no way diminish the great necessity of labour required at our hands: nor 2. import that original sin is the only cause of destruction or exprobatation [sic]; nor 3. that God's foreknowledge is a cause why any man doth perish: nor 4. that the grace of God is withheld from any man but justly and deservedly: 5. nor that any man in whom [sic] desire and endeavour to be saved, can be a vessel of contumely and wrath: nor 6. that Christ did ever purpose and determine to exclude any from the benefit of his death, but whom their own incurable wickedness doth worthily exclude.

[39.] To proceed therefore with the rest: we have seen the general inclination of God towards all men's everlasting happiness notwithstanding sin: we have seen that this natural love of God towards mankind, was the cause of appointing or predestinating Christ to suffer for the sins of the whole world: we have seen that our Lord, who made himself a sacrifice for our sins, did it in the bowels of a merciful desire that no man might perish: we have seen that God nevertheless hath found most just occasion to decree the death and condemnation of some: we have seen that the whole cause, why such are excluded from life, resteth altogether in themselves: we have seen that the natural will of God being inclined towards all men's salvation, and his occasioned will having set down the death

<sup>1</sup> [Ibid. 809. "Damno vobiscum sensum illum, qui dicit humanæ obedientiæ laborem divinæ gratiæ non esse jungendum. . . . Qui dicit quod post acceptum legitime baptismum in Adam moriatur quicumque deliquerit. . . . Qui dicit quod præscentia Dei hominem violenter compellat ad mortem. . . . Profiteor etiam æternos ignes et infernales flammæ factis capitalibus præparatas: quia perseverantes humanas culpas merito se-

quitur divina justitia; quam juste incurrunnt qui hæc non toto corde crediderint. . . Libens fateor Christum etiam pro perditis advenisse, quia eodem nolente perierunt. . . . Si Christum his tantum remedia attulisse dicimus, qui redempti sunt, videbimur absolvere non redemptos, quos pro redemptione contempta constat esse puniendos." The fifth head does not occur, either in the councils or in the Bibliotheca Patrum.]

but of some in such consideration as hath been shewed; it must needs follow, that of the rest there is a determinate ordinance, proceeding from the good pleasure of God, whereby they are, and have been, before all worlds, predestinated heirs of eternal bliss. We have seen that in Christ the Prince of God's elect all worthiness was foreseen; that in the elect angels there was not foreseen any matter for just indignation and wrath to work upon; that in all other God foresaw iniquity, for which an irrevocable sentence of death and condemnation might most justly have past over all. For it can never be too often inculcated, that touching the very decree of endless destruction and death, God is the judge from whom it cometh, but man the cause of which it grew. Salvation contrariwise and life proceedeth only both from God and of God. We are receivers through grace and mercy, authors, through merit and desert, we are not, of our own salvation. In the children of perdition, we must always remember that of the Prophet<sup>1</sup>, *Thy destruction, O Israel, is of thyself*, lest we teach men blasphemously to cast the blame of all their misery on God. Again, lest we take to ourselves the glory of that happiness, which if he did not voluntarily and freely bestow, we should never be made partakers thereof; it must ever in the election of saints be remembered, that to choose is an act of God's good pleasure, which presupposeth in us sufficient cause to avert, but none to deserve it. For this cause, whereas St. Augustin had sometimes been of opinion that God chose Jacob and hated Esau, the one in regard of belief, the other of infidelity, which was foreseen, his mind he afterwards delivered thus<sup>2</sup>: "*Jacob I have loved,*" behold what God doth bestow freely: "*I have hated Esau,*" behold what man doth justly deserve."

[40.] It remaineth therefore that we come now unto those things about ourselves, which by God's own appointment are means of bringing his desire, and our Saviour's merit, finally to that effect, which they both covet. Christ is a mean unto God for us. But this sufficeth not, unless there be also the means of application which God requireth, the decree of whose good pleasure, touching man's salvation, includeth both the one and the other. Christ in himself hath that cup of life, which is able to do all men good. *Sed si non bibitur, non medetur*, saith Prosper<sup>3</sup>, *if we taste not, it heals not*. There are

<sup>1</sup> Hos. iv. 6; viii. 8; ix. 15; xiii. 9. "quid homini donaretur; et in eo  
<sup>2</sup> Prosp. Respons. ad Exceptiones "quod dictum est, *Esau autem odio*  
 [Excerpta] Gen. [in App. ad Aug. "*habui*, ostensum esse quid homini  
 t. x. p. 215. "In eo quod dictum "deberetur."  
 "est, *Jacob dilexi*, ostensum esse <sup>3</sup> Prosp. Resp. ad Ob. [Respons.

means which God hath appointed towards us, means to be in us, and means which are to proceed from us. The mean towards us, is that grace, whereby we are outwardly called, and chose into the fellowship of God's people. The Jews were persuaded, that God, for the love he bare unto Abraham's integrity and virtue, did, in lieu of his obedience and faithful service, make him the root of a sanctified generation of men on earth; and that God bringeth no man to life, which is not either born, or else adopted the son of Abraham: circumcised also as he was, and consequently tied to all the laws which Abraham's posterity received at the hands of Moses. For which cause the very Christian Jews themselves were offended when they saw that the Apostles did impart the grace of external vocation to the Gentiles, and never tie them to any such conditions. It seemed new and strange in their eyes, that the nations which so long had lived in ignorance, idolatry, and utter contempt of God, should, notwithstanding all their wickedness, now, not as proselytes, but universally without any bond of subjection to the law of Moses, be received into favour, and his ancient elect people be shaken off. This gave the Apostle occasion to enter into many mysteries, and to handle with a bleeding heart things, *which his own very pen even trembleth sometimes to set down*. But concerning the grace of their outward vocation to the means of eternal life, he which asketh, "Hath any man given unto God first, and soe by desert made him "a debtor," though for horror's [honour's?] sake he name not Abraham, must notwithstanding needs mean, that the adoption of him and his seed, to be a sanctified generation, a church visible to God on earth, the glory of his residence and miraculous presence amongst them, the covenants, law, service, promises, with other the like spiritual prerogatives, as to [be?] the father of a race of so many holy patriarchs, and to be Christ's own principal progenitor, was more than God could owe unto Abraham. Yet not so much, but that they, which were of this line and posterity, might afterwards, in time to come, by virtue of these preeminencies, afford matter for the building of that ark, which the Gentiles should enter into, and they themselves, in the deluge of their own infidelity, perish: God towards them being deservedly just, and towards the nations of the world undeservedly merciful. For we must note, there is an election, the grace whereof includeth *their temporary*

ad Capitula Objectionum Vincenti- "nostra et virtute divina, habet qui-  
 anarum. App. ad Aug. t. x. 208. "dem in se ut omnibus prosit; sed  
 "Poculum quippe immortalitatis, "si non bibitur, non medetur."  
 "quod confectum est de infirmitate

benefit, that are chosen, and there is an election that includeth *their eternal* good. By temporary I do not understand any secular or worldly blessing, of which nature God bestowed plenty upon that people; but I mean such spiritual favours, as albeit they tend to everlasting felicity, yet are not themselves everlastingly continued, neither are inwardly infused, but outwardly bestowed graces, as all those preeminencies were upon the nations of the Jews, and that through God's mere mercy towards them. God, by the laws of his providence, hath stinted the degrees and measures of that outward grace, which from time to time he hath offered. To the Jews that was given, which to all other nations of the world besides was denied; according to that of the Prophet in the Psalm<sup>1</sup>, *God hath not so dealt with every nation*, neither have the people knowledge of his ways, in such sort, degree, and measure, as that only people had. Of the later age of the world it is said, God did never so discover the holy mysteries of his saving truth, since the beginning of the world, as to us they are now manifested<sup>2</sup>: this abundance of grace, which God hath now poured out, doth not argue that to Israel grace was wanting, because it was less. *Nec de illa cura Dei quæ Patriarcharum filiis proprie præsidebat conjiciendum est gubernacula Divinæ misericordiæ cæteris omnibus [hominibus] fuisse subtracta. Qui quidem in comparatione electorum videntur abjecti, sed nunquam sunt manifestis . . . beneficiis abdicati*<sup>3</sup>. God left not himself without testimony amongst them<sup>4</sup>; what testimony, saith Prosper<sup>5</sup>; *Quod est hoc testimonium, quod semper Domino deserivit, et nunquam de ejus bonitate ac potestate conticuit, nisi ipsa totius mundi inenarrabilis pulchritudo, et inenarrabilem beneficiorum ejus dives et ordinata largitio; per quæ humanis cordibus quædam æternæ legis tabulæ præbebantur, ut in paginis elementorum ac voluminibus temporum communis et publicæ divinæ institutionis doctrina legeretur.*

[41.] If it be therefore demanded, why the Jews had the law of God, and not the Gentiles in former times? or why afterward those outward means of conversion, which prevailed nothing with Corazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum<sup>6</sup>, were not bestowed upon Tyre and Sidon, or upon Sodom, where they had been able to take effect as our Saviour himself witnesseth? or why his disciples for a time were forbidden to preach to Gentiles and Samaritans<sup>7</sup>, till first they had gone to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, with whom

<sup>1</sup> [Psalm cxlvii. 20.]<sup>2</sup> [Eph. iii. 5.]<sup>3</sup> Prosp. de 2. 1. [de Vocat. Gent. ii. 4. ap. Bibl. PP. Colon. V. iii. 175. c.]<sup>4</sup> Acts xiv. [17.]<sup>5</sup> Prosp. ibidem.<sup>6</sup> Matt. xi. 21.<sup>7</sup> Matt. x. 6.

they spent their labour in vain? or why the Apostles were hindered by the Spirit<sup>1</sup>, when they meant to have preached in Asia: why stayed, when their purpose was towards Bithynia for the same intent; and yet that grace not denied altogether unto those countries, but deferred only? what should we answer touching these things, but that God hath made of one blood<sup>2</sup> all mankind, to dwell upon the face of the whole earth, and hath assigned the times which were ordained before, together with the seasons, bounds, and limits, as of all things, so of grace itself, which whensoever it least shineth, ministereth always *if not sufficient light* to guide in the way of life, *yet competent* to give men that introduction, which clearer light would make complete, but that too much love of one kind of darkness or other hath been the world's perpetual impediment, and to some a cause, not only of having the offer of [more?] grace withdrawn clean, but the very former possession of less also taken from them.

That thus it stood with the Jewish nation, that all those spiritual favours of grace which God had bestowed upon them were voluntary: that his choice of the Jews before others hereunto was free, and on their part without desert: that he in his promise made to their fathers remained steadfast, but the true construction thereof they did not conceive, because they were obstinate and would not understand: finally, that whereas the light, which their fathers would have greatly rejoiced to see, had presented itself to them, and was rejected; if God did now depart from them being thus repelled, and were content to be found of the Gentiles, who sought not him, but he them; as the one had no cause to grudge, so neither had the other any to boast: all this the Apostle proveth in the ninth, the tenth, and eleventh to the Romans. At the length, in consideration that they sometimes were a people, whom God so wonderfully did affect; a people, to whom he had given so many privileges, honours, preeminences, above the rest of the whole world; a people, with whose forefathers he had made so many covenants and leagues of mercy: a people, for whose advancement so mighty nations had been quelled; a people, for whose defence the angels had taken arms, the sun and moon been stayed in their course: a people, that had filled heaven with so many Patriarchs, Prophets, Saints, Martyrs; a people, that had been the well-spring of life to all nations: a people, the top of whose kindred sitteth at the right hand of God, and is the author of salvation unto all the world:—

<sup>1</sup> Acts xvi. [6.]<sup>2</sup> Acts xvii. 26.

these things considered in such sort, as we may think an apostolic spirit did consider them after long discourse against them; the question is moved, *Hath God then clean cast off his people?* Not his people *eternally chosen*. Be it far from us so to think. But is there no hope that the very nation itself shall recover what it now hath lost? Have they stumbled to the end they might fall? God forbid. Nay, their fall hath occasioned salvation to arise unto the Gentiles, and the Gentiles not unlikely to be a mean of restoring salvation unto them again. That as now they are losers to our gain, so in time our gain may be their abundance. And as we, being sometimes unbelievers, have at the length obtained mercy; so they at the length may find mercy, although they be now unbelievers, and thus God, who is all-merciful, become merciful towards all<sup>1</sup>. "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his footsteps how impossible to be traced out!"

This may suffice touching outward grace, whereby God inviteth the whole world to receive wisdom, and hath opened the gates of his visible Church unto all, thereby testifying his will and purpose to have all saved, if the let were not in themselves.

[42.] The inward mean, whereby his will is to bring men to eternal life, is that grace of his Holy Spirit, which hath been spoken of already at large, in the article that concerneth free-will. Now *from whom this inward grace is either withheld altogether, or withdrawn*, such, being left to themselves, wax hard and obdurate in sin. Touching the manner of their obduration, it hath been ever on all sides confest, that the malice of man's own heart doth harden him, and nothing else. Therefore in the Psalm it is said<sup>2</sup>, *harden not your own hearts*. In Jeremy<sup>3</sup>, *Thou hast stricken them, but they have not sorrowed; thou hast consumed them, and they have refused to receive correction: they have made their faces harder than stones*. And in the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans<sup>4</sup>, *Thou, according to thine own hardness and heart impenitent, heapest up to thyself wrath*. But some difference there is, by reason that all have not alike defined after what sort God himself worketh in this action. It cannot be denied that they take occasion at the very goodness of God to strengthen themselves in malice. His mercy towards Abel hardened Cain: and his mercy towards Israel, the Ægyptians<sup>5</sup>: yea, the mercy which is shewed towards them hardeneth them.

<sup>1</sup> [Rom. xi. 33.]<sup>4</sup> Rom. ii. 5.<sup>2</sup> Ps. xcvi. 7.<sup>3</sup> Jerem. v. 3.<sup>5</sup> Exod. i. 12.

*I saw the prosperity of the wicked*, saith David<sup>1</sup>, *they are not troubled nor plagued like others, they have more than heart can wish; therefore they are proud, cruel, blasphemous*, they set their mouths even against heaven. Pharaoh in misery confesseth sin<sup>2</sup>, whereupon God in lenity withdrawing his plague, sin and hardness of heart return, both in him and his: whereby it hath been by some<sup>3</sup> inferred, that God hath no other hand in the obduration of such, but only so far forth as their malice doth abuse his lenity, and turn it unto their own evil. St. Augustin and others considering more deeply, that God himself had said touching Pharaoh, *I have hardened his heart, and the heart of his servants, that I might work these my miracles amongst them*, conceived, that God did hereby somewhat more than only foretell what hurt the Ægyptians would take occasion to do themselves, by the very good which he intended to do for them. It seemed therefore probable, that God who eternally had foreseen what Pharaoh was, and what himself did purpose to work concerning Pharaoh, declared to Moses<sup>4</sup> that which was in Pharaoh's heart, namely, an obstinate will, that the people should not go whither God required. And concerning himself thus far to Moses also God did reveal<sup>5</sup> what his own determinations were. At first, that

<sup>1</sup> [Ps.] lxxiii. [3-]9.<sup>2</sup> Exod. ix. 34; x. 1.<sup>3</sup> [Faustus de Lib. Arbitr. ii. c. 1.

"Hac ratione Pharaonem, dicit Dominus, obdurabo, dum eum mihi in decem plagis, quas a Moyse exoratus removeo, insultare permitto. . . Sic interdum familiariter etiam apud homines hujus elocutionis vim assumimus, sic interdum contumacibus famulis exprobramus mansuetudinem nostram, ita dicentes: 'Ego patientia mea te pessimum feci,' &c.]

<sup>4</sup> Ex. iv. 21. [De Prædest. et Gratia, suspecti auctoris liber, c. vi. in App. ad Aug. x. 53. "Qui pie quærens aliquid desiderat invenire, illum locum ejusdem Scripturæ relegat, ubi primo Moysi in rubo ignis apparuit, . . . et ibi inveniet totum hoc, quod indurasse Deus cor Pharaonis præmittit, non ad operationem Dei, sed ad præscientiam pertinere. Loquens enim Dominus de rubo sic dicit: 'Ego autem scio quod non dimittet vos Pharaon rex Ægypti, nisi per manum magnam. Sed extendens

"manum meam, percutiam Ægyptios in omnibus mirabilibus quæ faciam, et postea dimittet vos." Hæc prima vox Dei est, qua futuram voluntatem, Pharaonis, sicut præviderat, indicabat.]

<sup>5</sup> [Ibid. "Postea jam inter ipsos miraculorum imbres dixisse legitur, 'Ego autem indurabo cor Pharaonis, ne dimittat populum.' Ubi jam aperte intelligitur primam iterasse sententiam. Quid est enim, *indurabo*, nisi *non molliam*? Apparet enim in alios manante justitia, in . . . gratia profluente, Scripturæ . . . sententiam fuisse completam, qua dicit Deus Pharaoni, 'In hoc ipsum excitavi te, ut ostendam in te virtutem meam,' &c. Utente enim Deo bene etiam malis, induratione Pharaonis, flagellis Ægypti, tot ac tantis miraculis, &c. . . . quid aliud gestum est, quam ut Dei virtus . . . ad humani generis notitiam perveniret? . . . Pharaonem non esse mutandum, et illam omnem gentem, . . . alta illa Deus providentiæ suæ luce præscivit. Sed periturorum