

BENITO ARIAS MONTANO

*THE PRACTICAL RULE  
OF CHRISTIAN PIETY*

ARCHIBALD LOVELL (TRANS.)

CINTA ZUNINO-GARRIDO (ED.)



Bibliotheca Montaniana





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*CRITICAL EDITION AND INTRODUCTION*

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## INTRODUCTION

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In 1575 the Spanish humanist Benito Arias Montano published in Christopher Plantin's printing office in Antwerp a short didactic and religious treatise entitled *Dictatum Christianum sive communes et aptae disciplinorum Christi omnium partes*. It is assumed that shortly after the publication of the Latin original the treatise was translated into French, Dutch, and Italian. Plantin himself is believed to have translated the manual into French in 1579 under the title of *La leçon chrestienne*, yet, though there is written evidence of its impression, no copy of this translation nor of the Italian —entrusted to Cardenal Caraffa— or Dutch —apparently translated by Plantin's son in love, Moretus— are extant.<sup>1</sup> During years the only known surviving translation of the *Dictatum* was the one rendered into Spanish, thirty years after the publication of the original, by Montano's disciple Pedro de Valencia. This translation remained unpublished among Valencia's papers until 1739, when, in the endeavour to recover the works of celebrated sixteenth-century Spanish humanists, Gregorio Mayans and Francisco Cerdá decided to publish the *Leción Christiana*, as Pedro de Valencia had entitled it.

These circumstances certainly underline the exceptionality of the 1685 English translation of the *Dictatum Christianum* to which its translator, Archibald Lovell, gave the title of *The Practical Rule of Christian Piety: Containing the Summ of the Whole Duty of a True Disciple of Christ*. This version of the *Dictatum Christianum* has remained unknown to scholars until very recently, when the digital scanning of the volumes contained in the *Short-Title Catalogue* resulting from the *Early English Books Online* project unveiled a copy of Lovell's translation shelved among the holdings of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. According to the information gathered in Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue*, there is another extant copy of this translation in the catalogue of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library. And I have been able to locate a third copy preserved at the Library of Innerpefferay in Scotland. Printed in London in 1685 by Joseph Hindmarsh, this unique translation of *The Practical Rule* will surely prove particularly interesting to scholars who study Spanish and English Humanism and early modern

<sup>1</sup> Ben Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano* (Madrid: Taurus, 1973), p. 188. Melquíades Andrés Martín, 'Introducción' to Arias Montano, *Leción Christiana. Dictatum Christianum*, trans. Pedro de Valencia (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2003), p. 33.

spirituality, philosophy, and culture. With this new edition of the text, our aim is to make it known to modern researchers and to explore the peculiarities of the translation and of the ideological backdrop against which Lovell Englished Montano's *Dictatum Christianum* almost a century after the death of the Spanish Hebraist, and in a country where Anglicanism had become the established official creed in stern opposition to Catholicism.

Despite the rareness of the translation of Lovell, Montano was not unknown to seventeenth-century England. Numerous editions of his polyglot Bible were among the holdings of diverse university and private libraries, and his *Commentaria in dudodecim prophetas* (1571), *Elucidationes in quatuor Evangelia et in Acta Apostolorum* (1575), *Monumenta humanae salutis* (1571) and *De optimo imperio sive in Librum Iosue commentarium* (1583) had circulated in the hands of English scholars since the end of the sixteenth-century. The renowned Dutch physician and historian Hadrianus Junius, who lived in England from 1544 to 1550 working as tutor to the children of the Earl of Surrey and other noble families, was acquainted with Montano to the extreme of asking the Hebraist help when his name was put on the papal index.<sup>2</sup> The works of the controversial divine born at Ely in 1562, Andrew Willet, were significantly influenced by Montano's exegetical commentaries, a fact that he stated in the subtitle to his *Hexapla in Genesin*, first published in 1605: '*Hexapla in Genesin: that is, A sixfold commentarie upon Genesis wherein sixe seuerall translations, that is, the Septuagint, and the Chaldee, two Latin, of Hierome and Tremelliius, two English, the great Bible, and the Geneva edition are compared, where they differ, with the originall Hebrew, and Pagnine, and Montanus interlinearie interpretation.*'<sup>3</sup> Willet's understanding of Montano could have possibly been fueled by his godfather, Andrew Perne, master of Peterhouse at Cambridge, where Willet studied before moving to Christ's College. In the catalogue of the Cambridge University Library, it is recorded that Perne owned a copy of Montano's *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas* and an edition of *De optimo imperio*. The Regius professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, Richard Kilby, who collaborated on the translation of the King James Bible, held among the Hebrew books that he bequeathed to Lincoln College the 'eight-volume edition of Arias Montano's Polyglot Bible, valued at £20.'<sup>4</sup>

2 For the correspondence between Junius and Montano, see Hadrianus Junius, *Hadr. Junii Epistolae, Quibus accedit Ejusdem Vita & Oratio De Artium liberalium dignitate. Nunquam antea edita* (Dordrecht: Vincentium Caimax, 1653), sigs. L6<sup>v</sup>–L7<sup>r</sup>. Junius's letters also show his acquaintance with Christopher Plantin, who published numerous editions of his texts, sigs. L7<sup>v</sup>–L8<sup>r</sup>, sigs. M1<sup>r-v</sup>, sigs. M4<sup>r-v</sup>.

3 Andrew Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin: that is, A sixfold commentarie upon Genesis wherein sixe seuerall translations* (London: John Legat, 1605), front cover.

4 Mordechai Feingold, 'Oriental Studies', *The History of the University of Oxford*. Vol. IV: *Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 449–504 (p. 455).

Also, already in the first half of the seventeenth century, Montano's *Psalmes of David the King and Prophet and of Other Holy Prophets —Commentaria in unum et triginta priores Davidis Psalmos* (1605)— was translated into English by the poet Richard Brathwaite (1638), and there is evidence that, for example, among the 2100 volumes of Isaac Newton's library, the illustrious scientist kept three of Montano's exegetical works.

Unfortunately, no such accurate information can be traced back to Archibald Lovell. The scattered information about his life can only be retrieved from his translations and a brief treatise called *A Summary of Material Heads* that he composed and published in 1696 as an answer to, at that time Master of the Charterhouse, Thomas Burnet and his *Sacred Theory of the Earth*, first printed in 1681. From the documents gathered and examined for this edition can only be concluded that Lovell was probably educated at Cambridge, was in some way most likely related to certain members of the Royal Society, Gresham College, and Greenwich Observatory, and flourished as a translator in London in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, his most productive period having probably ran from 1677 to 1687. That Lovell himself was a person interested in the learned circles of seventeenth-century London seems evident when the attention is drawn to the nature of the works that he translated. These range from philosophy to religion, science or history, and, in the words of Gerald M. MacLean, 'display a significant engagement with the rationalist method associated with the new science in general and with Cartesianism in particular.'<sup>5</sup> Although this statement may seem to contradict Lovell's apparent interest in translating at the end of the seventeenth century a sixteenth-century Spanish humanist and spiritual tract like Montano's *Dictatum Christianum*, I believe such an interest is justified by the intellectual context in which it was translated, a context where the rapport of moral with natural philosophy shortened the distance between theology and the emergent new science. In this regard, at variance with the Catholic Church, which only admitted instruction through revealed theology, the Church of England, aware of the seventeenth-century philosophical advances, did not hesitate to encourage the valuable relationship between natural philosophy and theology. It is not surprising therefore that the majority of the most celebrated natural philosophers of the period — particularly of the second half of the century— also developed successful careers as theologians in an attempt to improve their religious knowledge on the basis of their experiential philosophy. That Lovell showed through his translations an evident concern for questions equally pertaining to theology and to natural philosophy reveals therefore a notable acquaintance with the attitudes towards

<sup>5</sup> Gerald M. MacLean, ed., 'Introduction' to François Poullain de la Barre, *The Woman as Good as the Man, or, The Equality of the Sexes* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988), p. 17.

religion and experimental philosophy of an important number of Restoration, and mainly Anglican, scholars. This inference would thus help to locate the English *Dictatum* within an Anglican environment, for, as will be explained, Lovell's hypothetical education and training as translator appear to underpin a potential bonding with Anglican rather than with Catholic principles.

In line with this assumption, there are several aspects of Lovell's translation that need attention, as they appear to point at a possible, though perhaps circumspect, endeavour to adapt the *Dictatum* to an Anglican readership. First of all, the focus should be placed on the title, which varies, if slightly, from the original and the other two translations we have notice of, the Spanish *Leción Christiana* and the French *La leçon chrestienne*. Nothing in the Latin nor in the other versions hints at the words deliberately used by Lovell. Even if the title *Dictatum Christianum* itself already evinces its didactic character and an interest in the actual practice of the theoretical contents explained in the treatise, the English *Practical Rule* visibly stresses the functionality of these contents, whereas the complement *Christian Piety* appears to sum up as well as to specify the basic and central lesson conveyed by Montano, and which is based, as he constantly insists, on three Christian spiritual essentials: 'Fear, Repentance, and Charity, with the observation of the Laws of God.'<sup>6</sup> Equally significant are Lovell's conscious omission of the reference to the Council of Trent that we read in paragraph fifteen of the *Dictatum*, his partial removal of the diverse allusions to the Catholic Church, or his systematic substitution of the Roman sacrament of penitence for the Anglican idea of repentance, which certainly dims the Catholic undertone that the reference to that sacrament could have conveyed. Even if few, these divergences from the Latin text are notably revealing, especially if we bear in mind the general accuracy of Lovell's translation. Apart from the underlined examples and the displacement —or perhaps printing error— of a couple of marginal notes, the version of Lovell is rather faithful to the original. For this reason, the deletion of these direct references to the Council of Trent or the Catholic Church, the substitution of penitence for repentance, as well as the connotations suggested by the title are unlikely to be unintended, and are the textual evidence that might hint at either a possible Anglican or, at least, not too conspicuously Catholic intention in the translation.

Whether the English *Dictatum* was intentionally altered or not to fit into a possible Anglican atmosphere is perhaps hard to confirm, but what does not seem so problematical is the apparently trouble-free reception of this Catholic book in England, for it was authorized for publication with no visible impediment. Had the translation encountered any kind of censorship, it would have not

<sup>6</sup> Benito Arias Montano, *The Practical Rule of Christian Piety: Containing the Sum of the Whole Duty of a True Disciple of Christ*, trans. Archibald Lovell (London: Joseph Hindmarsh, 1685), sig. C12<sup>r</sup>.

been so openly advertised among the books sold by Joseph Hindmarsh.<sup>7</sup> This—it would seem—unproblematic reaction to the *Dictatum* would make more sense if one takes into account that the Latin manual has, on the whole, been described as a spiritual and didactic volume devoted to instruct Christians in general in the practice of charity, piety, and repentance. The explicit allusions to the Catholic Church in the text do not cloud its broad general spiritual purpose. As a matter of fact, the *Dictatum* has been interpreted more like a heterodox than an orthodox Christian manual, particularly on account of Montano's presumed connections with the Family of Love,<sup>8</sup> a religious movement which arose in the Low Countries in the second half of the sixteenth century, and which, combining all sorts of Christian creeds, was based, among other tenants, on the practice of charity and piety and the 'primacy of godly life over pure doctrine.'<sup>9</sup> For his part, Andrés Martín has doubts about the actual influence of the familist ideas on the *Dictatum* and has read it instead as an ecumenical tract with Erasmian and irenic inclinations, basically aimed at the unification of the Christian Church on the strength of the essentials common to Christianity.<sup>10</sup>

Regardless of their particularities, these studies coincide in regarding the *Dictatum* as a sort of call for toleration and for the unification of the divided Church, a reading that would not have seemed dissonant within certain circles of Restoration England; more especially if it is kept in mind that in his little volume Montano constantly insisted on the need to instill a sound concern for the practice of piety and charity into the faithful. Montano's *Dictatum* was indeed most probably welcomed in an English context which promoted moral values similar to those endorsed by the Spanish humanist, and which, largely rooted in the observance of mutual respect and a general practice of piety and charity, pleaded in favour of toleration, religious pluralism, and the mitigation of religious dissensions. This was most possibly the environment of the scholars imbued with the philosophy and rational methods of the Cambridge Platonists, latitudinarianism, and The Royal Society of London. Although there is no

7 See, for example, the inside covers of John Kettlewell's *Of Christian Prudence* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh, 1691), Thomas Wagstaffe's *An Answer to Dr. Sherlock's Vindication of The Case of Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh, 1692), and George Mackenzie's *The Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh, 1686 [1685]).

8 Ben Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), Studies of the Warburg Institute*, Vol. 33 (London: Warburg Institute, 1972); Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1950).

9 Johannes Wallmann, 'Johann Arndt', *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 21–37 (p. 23).

10 Andrés Martín, 'Introducción' to Arias Montano, *Leción Christiana*; Manuel Pellicín Lancharro, 'Dictatum Christianum: Erasmismo en la Extremadura del siglo XVI', *Actas del Congreso Hernán Cortés y su tiempo* (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 1987), 693–698.

concluding evidence to positively affirm that the translation of Montano's tract was actually stimulated by potential adherents to these philosophical and ideological movements of seventeenth-century England, Lovell's career as translator and his personal interests in religious and experimental matters may function as an index to the hypothetical milieu which could have found some kind of spiritual or scholarly stimulus in the *Dictatum*. Lovell's possible education at Cambridge or Gresham College, his prospective acquaintance with The Royal Society and Greenwich Observatory, and his evident familiarity with the philosophy of these institutions outline an intellectual background that uncovers not only Lovell's, but his most immediate academic circle's wide-ranging interests in science, religion, and philosophy, in addition to a special concern for practical ethics and religious toleration. On the whole, Archibald Lovell's *The Practical Rule of Christian Piety* seems the outcome of this ideological background and of a substantial intellectual and, in all likelihood, religious and ideological endeavour to make a Catholic text acceptable to Anglican London for the sole reason that, despite theological differences, it upheld moral values similarly shared within the scene that fueled Lovell's project. After all, to Montano as well as to Lovell and his circle what really appeared to matter in a religiously and politically divided England—and Europe—was 'religious peace over theological precision.'<sup>11</sup>

This study is primarily intended to discover and analyse the features of this intellectual background which motivated the recognition of a sixteenth-century Spanish—and mainly Catholic—spiritual manual in Restoration England. The main goal of this edition is therefore not a discussion of the textual and theological traits of the *Dictatum Christianum*, for which I would kindly refer the reader to the seminal studies of renowned scholars such as Marcel Bataillon, Melquíades Andrés Martín, Ben Rekers, Daniele Domenichini, Gaspar Morocho Gayo, Ángel Alcalá, Jesús Luis Paradinas Fuentes, or Juan Luis Suárez, among others. I certainly draw on their theories and arguments as the point of departure for the thesis developed in this study, but the focus here is mainly placed on Lovell's work as a translator and what his professional career can reveal about the ideological circumstances that induced the interest in this particular text of Montano. How the *Dictatum* reached late seventeenth-century England is virtually impossible to determine, as there remain no traces that could illuminate its crossing of the Channel. Still, by means of the little evidence gathered about Archibald Lovell and his potential academic relations, in this edition my intention has been to piece together, if only hypothetically, the atmosphere that could have impelled the 1685 English translation of Montano's little manual.

11 Barbara Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England: A Study of the Relationship between Natural Science, Religion, History, Law, and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 75.

1.

ARCHIBALD LOVELL, A 'VENTUROUS UNDERTAKER'

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The identity of the seventeenth-century English translator Archibald Lovell is difficult to ascertain. The prologues that he wrote to some of his translations, along with a little manual by his own hand and a passing commentary by Anthony à Wood, are the only evidence available to piece together the scant biographical details known about the life of this translator. We learn from his works that Lovell was *Artium Magister*, Master of Arts, for that is how he signed several of his translations. However, even though in *Athenae Oxonienses* Anthony à Wood referred to him as ‘one A. Lovell M. A. of Cambridge,’ there are no records about Lovell’s matriculation in John Venn’s *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.<sup>1</sup> If he certainly studied at Cambridge, it would not be unthinkable to suppose that the entry for a student called ‘Lovell’ in Barker and Stenning’s *The Record of Old Westminsters* could perhaps have referred to Archibald Lovell.<sup>2</sup> Since the earliest days of its foundation in the sixteenth century, Westminster school had been strongly connected to Trinity College at Cambridge University, where, as we learn from the documents of Richard Bentley, master of this college at the beginning of the seventeenth century, ‘the Westminster scholars got the major part of the fellowships.’<sup>3</sup> Therefore, it might be possible that, despite the lack of information about his matriculation at Cambridge, Lovell could have been one of the students chosen off to Trinity after leaving Westminster. This could have occurred in 1656, as the only registered detail besides the surname ‘Lovell’ indicates that this student left Westminster that year. In case this undergraduate named Lovell really referred to our translator, Lovell’s date of birth could be hypothetically established around 1638–1640, as in seventeenth-century England it was customary for students to

1 Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the Most Ancient and Famous University of Oxford*. Vol. 2 (London: Tho. Benet, 1692), fol. 304. John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922).

2 G. F. Russell Barker and Alan H. Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminsters: A Biographical List of Those Who are Known to have been Educated at Westminster School from the Earliest Times to 1927*. Vol. 2 (London: Chiswick Press, 1928), p. 593.

3 Edward Walford, *Old and New London: A Narrative of its History, its People and its Places*. Vol. 3 (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1873), p. 472.

enter the university between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. Equally hypothetical would be the date of his death, too. This could probably have occurred after 1710 if what Lovell said about himself in a brief treatise entitled *A Summary of Material Heads*, published in June 1696 as an answer to Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth*, is accurate. Lovell signed this tract as 'Brother and Pensioner of the Charter-House.' The Charterhouse, also known as Sutton's Hospital in the seventeenth century, was a former Carthusian monastery and a London almshouse for pensioners 'who shall be gentlemen by descent and in poverty, soldiers that have borne arms by sea or land, merchants decayed by piracy or shipwreck, or servants in household to the King or Queen's Majesty, and to be fifty years of age or upwards at their admission.'<sup>4</sup> To have secured a pensioner's place there, Lovell most probably met not only the requirement of age but any of the others, too, though the limited information obscures all surmises. Still, in a *Summary of Material Heads* he affirms to have sailed 'between the Tropics, in or about the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> Degree of Northern Latitude,'<sup>5</sup> but this he could have actually done either as a gentleman, soldier, or merchant—it seems that he did not work as a servant in household to the King—, if he certainly met the conditions to be accepted as a pensioner. Or, perhaps, his reasons to have been warranted a place in the Charterhouse were others, different from the officially accepted. In any case, that Lovell signed *A Summary of Material Heads* as 'Brother and Pensioner of the Charter-House' points therefore at the possibility that he almost certainly spent his last days in this London almshouse as an aged person who was becoming blind and had most likely fallen in poverty and into social disgrace, as he lamented in the text when expressing his grief for 'want of Sight and Friends.'<sup>6</sup> It is regretted, however, that in this regard no confirmation can be found in the records of the burials at the Charterhouse, as there is no clear allusion to Lovell prior to 17<sup>th</sup> February 1710, and the leaves containing the registers between that date and 6<sup>th</sup> January 1739 have been lost.<sup>7</sup> If indeed Lovell died in the Charterhouse, his decease would have probably happened after February 1710. By then he would presumably have been in his early seventies.

Although Lovell had the habit of adding prologues to his translations, these had generally a laudatory tone and were basically aimed at justifying his work and repaying the patronage received, hardly revealing any other information about himself. Only the prologue to his translation of Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac's *The Comical History of the States and Empires of the Worlds* (1687)

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin Wheatley, *London Past and Present. Its History, Associations, and Traditions*. Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011 [1891]), p. 364.

<sup>5</sup> Archibald Lovell, *A Summary of Material Heads* (London: T. B., 1696), sig. C1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. A1<sup>v</sup>, E1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Francis Collins, *The Registers and Monumental Inscriptions of Charterhouse Chapel* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1921).

appears to contribute something relevant, even if vague, to Lovell's supposed life and education. Shortly after Bergerac's death his *Comical History* was published in two volumes. The first one, *Histoire Comique d'un Voyage à la Lune*, came out in France in 1656, and the second volume, *Histoire Comique des Etats et Empires su Soeil*, was printed six years later. Given the posthumous nature of this publication, the work suffers from inconsistencies and gaps, as Bergerac left a number of paragraphs unfinished and a handful of his personal papers got lost, or even stolen, as Lovell suggested in the prologue. In it Lovell expressed his sorrow for this theft and asserted that 'the defects of its History; [were] occasioned not by the Negligence of our Witty French Author, but by the accursed Plagiary of some rude Hand, that in his Sickness, rifled his Trunks, and stole his Papers, as he himself complains.'<sup>8</sup> To this he immediately added that a 'venturous Undertaker' should try to amend the deficiencies of the text: 'Let some venturous Undertaker auspiciously attempt it then; and if neither of the two Universities, Gresham-Colledge, nor Greenwich-Observatory can furnish him with an Instrument of Conveyance; let him try his own Invention, or make use of our Author's Machine.'<sup>9</sup> Although there is no positive evidence, one can presume that Lovell is in all likelihood the person behind this undertaker in charge of the translation of Bergerac. In point of fact, years later in *A Summary of Material Heads* he would again refer to himself as 'a blind undertaker.'<sup>10</sup> This indirect allusion would then help to unveil Lovell's potential institutional affiliation with Gresham College and Greenwich Observatory, where, it seems, he apparently received some kind of academic training.

Founded under the will of Thomas Gresham in 1597, Gresham College developed into a principal institution of higher education in London, but was never deemed a university, as Lovell implies. Its reputation—but also its little vitality and plenty of space in the second half of the seventeenth century<sup>11</sup>—promoted in 1663 the integration of the Royal Society of London, established only three years earlier by a group of leading physicians and natural philosophers. The partnership between the two institutions, 'based on a true community of interest,'<sup>12</sup> stimulated the advancement of experimental philosophy and

8 Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac, *The Comical History of the States and Empires of the Worlds of the Moon and Sun*, trans. Archibald Lovell (London: Henry Rhodes, 1687), 'The Translator to the Reader,' sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

9 *Ibid.*

10 Lovell, *Summary*, sig. E1<sup>r</sup>. In all these instances 'undertaker' should be taken as synonymous with translator. Cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*, entry 6.c.

11 Michael Hunter, 'A "College" for the Royal Society: The Abortive Plan of 1667–1668', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 38.2 (1984), 159–186 (p. 159).

12 Harold Hartley and Cyril Hinshelwood, 'Gresham College and the Royal Society', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 16.1 (1961), 125–135 (p. 125).

continued, not without interruptions and disagreements,<sup>13</sup> until the turn of the century. Moreover, the efforts to obtain financial support and the manifested interest in astronomy of a group of scholars of the Royal Society ended in the erection of an observatory at Greenwich in 1675, thus establishing a parallel relation between the Royal Society and the Royal Greenwich Observatory which ‘commenced by the Society lending to the new establishment some astronomical instruments’<sup>14</sup> and endured until 1961.<sup>15</sup> Lovell’s alleged affiliation with Gresham College and Greenwich Observatory is thus possible to have occurred, for both institutions were thus interconnected at the time Lovell flourished as a translator. Although once again there are unfortunately no existing records to confirm this, Lovell’s 1677 translation of *A Treatise Concerning the Motion of the Seas and Winds* by Isaac Vossius can shed some light on the question. Vossius, a Dutch scholar celebrated for having the most precious private library in the world at his time,<sup>16</sup> moved to England, where his reputation, according to Henry Oldenburg’s correspondence,<sup>17</sup> gained him fellowship in the Royal Society as early as 1664, and a post as canon of Windsor in 1670.<sup>18</sup> In *The History of the Royal Society*, a kind of minutes for the Society meetings, Thomas Birch refers to a translation of Vossius’s *Motion of the Seas and Winds* read at the Society’s session on 20<sup>th</sup> May 1675.<sup>19</sup> This was in all probability Lovell’s version, as there are no records of other English translations of Vossius’s treatise. Whether Lovell met Vossius in person remains an unsolved question, but it seems undeniable that his translation of the Dutch scholar openly connects him in one way or another with the Royal Society and, accordingly, Gresham College. This looks all the more probable in the light of the epistle dedicatory of the tract, as it is addressed to George Berkeley, who was first Earl of Berkeley and Viscount Dursley, fellow of the Royal Society since 1663, and Governor of the Levant Company from 1673 to 1696.<sup>20</sup> Even though Lovell

13 Ian Adamson, ‘The Royal Society and Gresham College: 1660–1711,’ *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 33.1 (1978), 1–21.

14 Charles Richard Weld, *A History of the Royal Society with Memoirs of the Presidents*. Vol. 1 (London: John W. Parker, 1848), pp. 254–255.

15 Sir Bernard Lovell, ‘The Royal Society, the Royal Greenwich Observatory, and the Astronomer Royal’, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 48.2 (1994), 283–297.

16 Frans Felix Blok, *Contribution to the History of Isaac Vossius’s Library* (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1974).

17 Eric Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575–1715* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 218.

18 *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. 58, p. 393.

19 ‘There was read a discourse concerning the several motions of the seas and winds; which was a translation of part of Dr. Vossius’s Latin treatise, *De Motu Marium & Ventorum*, brought in by Mr. Colwall’. Thomas Birch’s *The History of the Royal Society for the Improving of Natural Knowledge, from its First Rise*. Vol. 3 (London: A. Millar, 1758), p. 220.

20 Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 205, 257. George E. Cockayne et al., *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great*

admitted in the preface that he was not personally acquainted with Berkeley, he was well aware of the Earl's post in the East India and the Levant Companies and of his fascination with 'mechanical invention and overseas trade,'<sup>21</sup> and so he considered the subject of his translation appropriate enough to the interests of the addressee as well as 'acceptable (no doubt) to all the ingenious, and very useful to such as are conversant in, or curious to know the vicissitudes of the Seas and Winds, with their causes and season.'<sup>22</sup> Despite his lack of personal contact with Berkeley, however, Lovell confesses himself not so imprudent as to have dedicated the translation to the Earl had he not been persuaded of the suitability of his undertaking by a 'learned and worthy Person.'<sup>23</sup> Nothing else in the epistle gives a clue about the possible identity of this other individual, but he certainly seems to have been close to the renowned establishment, thus implicitly associating Lovell with both the Royal Society and Gresham College. Lovell's connection with these institutions happens to be likewise partially confirmed in his translation of Le Fontaine's *The Military Duties of the Officers of Cavalry* (1678). As in *Motion of the Winds and Seas*, its preface was dedicated to another member of the Royal Society, James Compton, third Earl of Northampton, who had been invested as fellow in May 1663, although his involvement with the organization probably went back to 1660 or 1661.<sup>24</sup> Again Lovell declares his lack of personal acquaintance with Compton, but his confidence in the relevance of the subject of the translation is enough reason to justify his search for Northampton's patronage, and, hence, for an ultimate approach, if oblique, to the Society and Gresham College.

Lovell's potential bonds with the circles of the Royal Society appear to be equally underpinned by the strength of the arguments that he used in *A Summary of Material Heads* to refute Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth*. By the time Lovell wrote his response to Burnet's theory, he was a pensioner of the Charterhouse, whose mastership Burnet had secured since 1685 thanks to the support he received from James Butler, duke of Ormonde.<sup>25</sup> Burnet's position did not inhibit Lovell, however, from confuting the theories of the master of the Charterhouse in this little manual, which surprisingly enough he

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*Britain and the United Kingdom*. Vol. 2 (London: The St. Catherine Press, 1912), p. 140. Cinta Zunino-Garrido, 'A Note on the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Entry for George Berkeley (1626/7–1698)', *Notes and Queries*, 64.3 (2017) (forthcoming).

21 Robert Latham and William Matthews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys. A New and Complete Transcription*. Vol. 10 Companion (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), p. 27.

22 Isaac Vossius, *A Treatise Concerning the Motion of the Seas and Winds*, trans. Archibald Lovell (London: H. C. for Henry Brome, 1677), Epistle dedicatory by the translator, sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

23 *Ibid.*, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

24 Michael Hunter, *The Royal Society and its Fellows, 1660–1700: The Morphology of an Early Scientific Institution* (Chalfont St. Giles: British Society for the History of Science, 1982).

25 *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. 7, p. 408.

dedicated ‘To the Right Honourable, The Governours of the Charter-House,’<sup>26</sup> and from defending what he assumed to be a more reasonable explanation for the creation of the earth and for the flood reported in the *Old Testament*. Being both a theologian and a natural philosopher, Burnet sustained that his conjectures about the formation of the earth, which, according to him, had been reshaped after the great flood, were utterly in tone with the biblical accounts of the creation. Starting from the assumption that there was not enough water in the universe to cover the entire earth during the deluge, Burnet justified the occurrence of such a phenomenon on the divine punishment that had caused the destruction of the primeval paradise and the subsequent foundation of the existing earth. Scholars such as Erasmus Warren, John Keill, or John Flamsteed, among others, soon entered into a long-lasting debate aimed at discussing the theories defended by Burnet.<sup>27</sup> Lovell similarly expressed his disagreement with Burnet and, at the same time he managed to reconcile the physical laws with the biblical narrative,<sup>28</sup> he argued, ‘by Experience and Observation’ and by means of an analogy established between the human body and the earth, that the flood could have perfectly happened by natural causes without the need of a miracle.<sup>29</sup> Lovell’s evidence-based demonstration indubitably ties in with the experimental practices of the Royal Society and the emerging rationalist method and evolving empirical science<sup>30</sup> of the seventeenth-century. Moreover, his rebuttal of Burnet’s *Sacred Theory* ultimately displays, as MacLean maintains, the translator’s evident ‘familiarity with the law of gravity’<sup>31</sup> articulated by Isaac Newton, who, despite his tensions with Robert Hook and ensuing progressive withdrawal from the

26 Lovell, *Summary*, Epistle Dedicatory.

27 Erasmus Warren, *Geologia, or A Discourse Concerning the Earth before the Deluge* (London: R. Chiswell for J. Southby, 1690). John Keill, *An Examination of Dr. Burnet’s Theory of the Earth with Some Remarks on Mr. Whiston’s New Theory of the Earth* (Oxford: Printed at the Theater, 1698). Thomas Burnet’s *Telluris theoria sacra* was first published in Latin in 1681. A modified English version was published in 1684, and an enlarged and revised edition was printed in 1689. Despite the opposition it encountered by a substantial number of philosophers, a new edition was again published in 1697, and further editions were issued between 1719 and 1759. Burnet’s work was translated into German in 1703. William Poole, *World Makers. Scientists of the Restoration and the Search for the Origins of the Earth* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), and ‘Sir Robert Southwell’s Dialogue on Thomas Burnet’s *Theory of the Earth: C & S discourse of M<sup>r</sup> Burnetts Theory of the Earth* (1684): Contexts and an Edition’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 23.1 (2008), 72–104.

28 MacLean, ‘Introduction’ to Poullain de la Barre, *Woman as Good as the Man*, p. 16.

29 Lovell, *Summary*, sig. B4<sup>r</sup>.

30 The word ‘science’ was not frequently used in this period, and much less in the sense it is used today. In the seventeenth century, ‘natural philosophy’ and ‘experimental philosophy’ were the terms employed to refer to what nowadays we understand by science. Despite the formal anachronism, the three terms are indistinctively used in this book to refer to what in Restoration England would have been the equivalent to the modern idea of science.

31 MacLean, ‘Introduction’ to Poullain de la Barre, *Woman as Good as the Man*, p. 16.

organization, had been fellow of the Royal Society since 1672. This is obviously too weak an argument to prove Lovell's actual affiliation with the institution, but it certainly suggests, in light of his rational methods, a possibly closer, rather than distant, acquaintance with the theories developed by the virtuosi of the Royal Society and Gresham College.

Additionally, it seems that Lovell's translating skills and style likewise disclose certain understanding of the idiosyncrasies of the two societies. In *Athenae Oxonienses*, Anthony à Wood said that Lovell translated George Bate and Thomas Skinner's *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia* (1685) 'but not well done,'<sup>32</sup> and, in his re-edition of Wood, not only did Philip Bliss reiterate that the translation 'was not well done,' but he added the disparaging remark that its translator 'live[d] by scribbling.'<sup>33</sup> That Wood judged Lovell so severely had most likely to do with the style of the latter, which appeared to be simpler and much less ornate than what the former considered appropriate for translation, a dissonance indicative of the divergences between the different modes of rhetoric and translation that emerged as the century progressed, and as the translation of literary and non-literary texts experienced noticeable growth. The over-free and pedantic as well as the over-literal method of translation that had been usual at the beginning of the century—and to which Wood seemed to adhere—gave way to a more mindful approach based on rhetorical decorum, which was later examined and improved by some of the most influential seventeenth-century theorists, from whom John Denham, John Dryden, and Edward Sherburne stood out.<sup>34</sup> These theorists moved in the circles of the Royal Society, where the applicability of important works written in other vernaculars than English, namely Dutch, French, and German, turned translation into an indispensable vehicle for the transmission of knowledge. In a letter to Sir Peter Wyche on 20<sup>th</sup> June 1665, the diarist John Evelyn, who for some time was chair of the Society's committee for the improving of the use of the English language, highlighted the relevance of translation and the style most recommended for it: 'Something might likewise be well translated out of the best Orators and Poets: Greeke Latine and even out of the Moderne Languages; that so some judgment might be made concerning the Elegancy of the style, and so a laudable, and unaffected imitation of the best recommended to Writers.'<sup>35</sup> Evelyn's counsels completely tally with the standards of the writing style that Thomas Sprat, who was part

32 Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (1692), fol. 304.

33 Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses. An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford*. Vol. 2, ed. Philip Bliss (London, 1817), p. 828.

34 T. R. Steiner, *English Translation Theory 1650–1800* (Assen: Koninklijke Van Gorcum & Comp. B. V., 1975), pp. 9–13.

35 Douglas D. C. Chambers and David Galbraith, eds., *The Letterbooks of John Evelyn*. Vol. 1 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2014), p. 373.

of the circle of Dryden, similarly recommended to the fellows of the Society, who should

reject all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style, to return back to the primitive purity, and shortness, when men deliever'd so many things, almost in an equal number of words. They have exacted from all their members, a close, naked, natural way of speaking; positive expressions; clear senses; a native easiness, bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness, as they can.<sup>36</sup>

Sprat's words agree 'with other statements made by the Society and its Fellows advocating brevity and clarity'<sup>37</sup> in order to avoid too a pedantic, obscure, or even corruptive use of the English language in texts discussed at or published by the Society, especially because these were basically meant to pose objective questions about experimental philosophy. In his practice as a translator, Lovell showed some concern for these principles of prose style and accordingly underscored, in his translation of Jean Thévenot's *The Travels of Monsieur Thévenot into the Levant* (1687), the need to apply an unpretentious yet clear-cut style when, in tune with Sprat's and Evelyn's recommendations, he affirmed that 'a genuine and simple style, such as can raise a distinct Idea in the mind of the Reader, is the proper style for particular and exact Relations of things.'<sup>38</sup>

As for the very act of translation, in the Royal Society the general assumption acquiesced with Dryden's call for faithfulness to the originals. In his '*Preface to Ovid's Epistles*', Dryden asserted that in translation 'the sense of an author, generally speaking, is to be sacred and inviolable,' for, he continued, 'when a painter copies from the life, I suppose he has no privilege to alter features, and lineaments, under pretence that his picture will look better: perhaps the face which he has drawn would be more exact, if the eyes, or nose were altered, but 'tis his business to make it resemble the original.'<sup>39</sup> A similar intention prevailed among the translators close to the Society. Within this context, Henderson points out that in the translation of Claude Perrault's *Memoir's for a Natural History of Animals* (1688) by Alexander Pitfeild, an active fellow of the Society, he stressed his faithfulness to the original: 'I have used my utmost endeavours for the rendering a faithful Translation thereof; still keeping as near as I could to the true sense of the *French Coppy*, and varying as little therefrom as the Nature of

36 Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London: T. R. for J. Martyn, 1667), sig. P1<sup>r</sup>.

37 Felicity Henderson, 'Faithful Interpreters? Translation Theory and Practice at the Early Royal Society', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 67.2 (2013), 101–122 (p. 103).

38 Jean de Thévenot, *The Travels of Monsieur Thévenot into the Levant*, trans. Archibald Lovell (London: Henry Clark, 1687), 'The Preface' by the translator, sig. B1<sup>r</sup>.

39 John Dryden, '*Preface to Ovid's Epistles*', *John Dryden. The Major Works*, ed. Keith Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 164.

the English Language would permit.<sup>40</sup> Henderson also explains that in an epistle to the collector of knowledge Samuel Hartlib, Robert Boyle, one of the founder members of the Society, assured that in his translations from the French he had been 'more careful to do right to [the author's] Words then to his Style'<sup>41</sup> to avoid altering 'the original, so that Hartlib could be absolutely sure that the meaning conveyed was as the original author had intended.'<sup>42</sup> Lovell certainly adhered to this practice and, stressing his faithfulness to the originals, underlined the sobriety and purity of his translations—which is what in all probability earned him Wood's and Bliss's reproof.<sup>43</sup> Accordingly, in his preface to François Poullain de la Barre's *The Woman as Good as the Man* (1677), published the same year as Vossius's tract, and hence by the time Lovell was possibly seeking an approach to the Royal Society, Lovell declared that 'as a faithful Translator, I have stuck to his words, and sense.'<sup>44</sup> His commitment to accuracy as regards both the sense and the style of the original was thus distinctly emphasized here, as well as it was similarly highlighted years later in his preface to Thévenot's *Travels*, where he avowed that 'the Translator dare venture to affirm for himself, that in the main he hath not Swerved from the Authors Meaning; and that if he has not magnified his Sense, so neither has he depress'd it.'<sup>45</sup>

Nonetheless, the efforts to faithfully translate foreign works were no excuse for discarding the addition of some changes to the originals if translators deemed these necessary. In this regard Dryden sustained that 'there is therefore a liberty to be allowed for the expression, neither is it necessary that words and lines should be confined to the measure of their original.'<sup>46</sup> With respect to the translating practices at the Royal Society, Henderson explains that the changes generally acceptable to the original texts 'ranged from apparently minor clarifications or insertions of extra text, to major revisions, additions or deletions,'<sup>47</sup> and cites the

40 'The Publisher to the Reader' in Claude Perrault, *Memoir's for a Natural History of Animals, Containing the Anatomical Descriptions of Several Creatures Dissected by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris* (London, 1688), sig. [π]2<sup>v</sup>, in Henderson, 'Faithful Interpreters?', p. 113.

41 Robert Boyle, 'To my much esteemed friend Samuel Hartlib the Elder, Esq.', *The Coppy of a Certain Large Act [...] Touching the Skill of a Better Way of Anatomy* (London, 1659), sig. [A]4<sup>r</sup>, in Henderson, p. 113.

42 Henderson, p. 113.

43 The quality of Lovell's translations appears to be much better than what Wood presumed, for his version of Bergerac's *Comical History of the States* is still nowadays the preferred translation of the three thus far rendered into English. In fact, Lovell's translation of *Comical History of the States* is the one included in *The Project Gutenberg* list of free e-books.

44 François Poullain de la Barre, *The Woman as Good as the Man, or, The Equality of Both Sexes*, trans. Archibald Lovell (London: T. M. for N. Brooks, 1677), 'The Preface' by the translator, sig. A11<sup>r</sup>.

45 Thévenot, *Travels*, 'The Preface' by the translator, sig. (c)2<sup>v</sup>.

46 Dryden, 'Preface to Ovid's Epistles', p. 163.

47 Henderson, p. 113.

cases of the fellows Joseph Moxon and Martin Lister, who found themselves forced to make some changes to their translations in order to better express in English the meaning of the originals. For all his commitment to faithful translation, Lovell similarly had to introduce some alterations to allow the 'Foreign Child[ren]' that he brought to Britain 'to speak [...] intelligible English.'<sup>48</sup> This was particularly necessary in his translation of Thévenot, in which 'there were two or three words in the Original either not genuine French or Obsolete, which no Dictionary Explained, nor any body that he could meet with, understood, and that these he hath made English as near as he could to the sense of the Context'<sup>49</sup> by the addition of some clarifications. Also, in his translation of Poullain de la Barre's *The Woman as Good as the Man*, Lovell acknowledged the complexity of some terms in the original, which could only be understood in English by means of particular explanations inserted by the translator:

I resolved indeed to have accommodated this Treatise as much as possibly I could to the manners, and present customes of this nation; but finding therein, somethings whereon the Author does insist as material to the establishing of his opinion, which are not well known to this Kingdome, [...] I thought it convenient to translate his words Literally, and for the understanding of one passage, which may seem difficult, advertise the Reader.<sup>50</sup>

But, in this regard, perhaps one of the most obvious examples of all of Lovell's translations is *The Practical Rule*, where, as will be discussed below, he took the liberty of omitting some key terms which could have made Montano's manual susceptible to be misconstrued within the Church of England. In this particular case, the deliberate omission of specific terms, therefore, does not seem to be justified by the clarity of the prose but by reasons other than mere style.

Furthermore, the autonomy to decide on the most suitable style for translations, as Dryden for instance averred in the quote above, allowed translators to freely adjust the contents of their works, which occasionally implied that in their endeavour to offer the most comprehensive version they felt either compelled or sufficiently unrestrained to notably alter the originals.<sup>51</sup> This is, for example, what Thomas Brancker and John Pell did to their English adaptation of Johann Heinrich Rahn's tract on algebra, whose title clearly evinces the translators' reworking of the original: *An Introduction to Algebra, Translated out of the High-Dutch into English, by Thomas Bracnker M.A. Much Altered and*

<sup>48</sup> François Tolet, *A Treatise of Lithotomy: Or, Of the Extraction of the Stone out of the Bladder*, trans. Archibald Lovell (London: W. W. for William Cademan, 1683), Epistle dedicatory by the translator, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> Thévenot, *Travels*, 'The Preface' by the translator, sig. (c)2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> Poullain de la Barre, *Woman*, 'The Preface', sig. A11<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Henderson, p. 114.

*Augmented by D[octor John] P[ell]* (1668).<sup>52</sup> In a similar way, although Lovell did not significantly modify François Antoine Pomey's *Indiculus Universalis, or The Universe in Epitome* (1679), he certainly considered it appropriate to enlarge the French original 'with a third language, Your Lordships Mother-Tongue, and some other Additions relating to your Native Country,'<sup>53</sup> a commitment openly stated at the bottom of the title page: '*Composed at first in French and Latine, For the Use of the Dolphin of France, by the Learned F. Pomey. And now enlarged, with the Addition of the English Language, and some other Supplements. By A. Lovell, M. A.*' Lovell's own additions affected the reception of this English version of Pomey to the point that it seems to have created some confusion about the authorship of a grammar apparently wrongly attributed to our translator. This is what, at least, can be presumed from the information recorded in the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae* (1743), the catalogue of the books owned by Edward Harley, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Oxford, and offered for sale after his death, and in *Bibliotheca Britannica; or, A General Index to British and Foreign literature* (1824), the far-reaching bibliographic compilation arranged by the Scottish Robert Watt. Besides the reference to *Indiculus Universalis*, the two volumes include a reference to one 'Lovell's English, Latin, and French Grammar', published in octavo in 1679.<sup>54</sup> The fact that Pomey's *Indiculus Universalis* was conceived as a polyglot dictionary for all arts and sciences and, like the alleged multilingual grammar by Lovell, was also published in octavo in 1679, suggests that the latter might have actually been mistaken for Pomey's lexicon. As revealed on the title page, Pomey's Latin and French dictionary had been enlarged with a third language 'and some other Supplements' of the translator's own accord, but, at variance with what is set down in the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae* and *Bibliotheca Britannica*, this seems unlikely to be indicative of the publication of a polyglot grammar by Lovell's own quill — more especially when no other extant sources make allusion to Lovell's grammar. Lovell's own enlargement of Pomey's dictionary is therefore suggestive of the liberty with which translators were at times allowed to work in Restoration England, provided that the alteration of the originals involved some improvement 'or the usefulness of the Present to the Receiver.'<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> François Antoine Pomey, *Indiculus Universalis, or The Universe in Epitome, Wherein The Names of Almost All The Works of Nature, of All Arts and Sciences, With their Most Necessary Terms, are in English, Latine & French, Methodically and Distinctly Digested*, trans. Archibald Lovell (London: John Macock for Robert Harford, 1679), Epistle dedicatory by the translator, sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae, in Locis communes distributos cum Indice Autorum*. Vol. 2 (London: Thomas Osborne, 1743), p. 1018. Robert Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica; or, A General Index to British and Foreign Literature*. Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and co., 1824), fol. 618f.

<sup>55</sup> Pomey, *Indiculus Universalis*, Epistle dedicatory by the translator, sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

The confidence that Lovell had in the usefulness and convenience of his translations was more often than not stressed in his prefaces or epistles dedicatory. This was also a usual practice in the Royal Society, where most of the translations ‘(translated by, or at the request of, Fellows) ha[d] some kind of prefatory material signalling the translator’s intentions for the volume, or giving the reader further information about the text.’<sup>56</sup> Lovell likewise used his prefaces to give relevant information about the originals and their authors, and to explain his reasons for translating them. Of the fourteen translations that can be ascribed in all certainty to him, only three lack a preface by the translator; in all the others, a preamble by Lovell is added to defend the advantages of the works and to insist on their inspiring and instructive nature. This formula was undoubtedly in tune with the values underlying the foundation of Gresham College and the Royal Society, given that their main objective was to advance the cause of modern thought. A comparable principle appeared to haunt Lovell’s mind. His prefaces certainly unearthed a manifest commitment to make accessible to English readers relevant works of science, philosophy, and knowledge in general that were mostly written in French or Latin, books which ‘came recommended from beyond Sea’ and which, after perusal, ‘I thought I could hardly, in my low Station, do better service to the publick, than to render [them] into English.’<sup>57</sup> This is why Lovell explained that Le Fontaine’s *Military Duties*, ‘as being useful to the publick, deserved to come abroad,’<sup>58</sup> whereas what encouraged him to translate Vossius’s *Motion of the Seas and Winds* was, as already mentioned, ‘the subject of the discourse, acceptable (no doubt) to all the ingenious, and very useful to such as are conversant in, or curious to know, the vicissitudes of the Seas and Winds, with their causes and seasons.’<sup>59</sup> His argument to translate François Tolet’s *A Treatise of Lithotomy* (1683) lied on its value to ‘prove Useful to any that profess Lithotomy, that laudable, but difficult and dangerous part of Chirurgery,’<sup>60</sup> while the reason to translate George Bate and Thomas Skinner’s *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia* rested on its power to ‘contribute something to the interest of the Government, by forewarning men how they betake themselves to those courses again which produced such dreadful Effects heretofore.’<sup>61</sup> As for his version of Pomey’s *Indiculus Universalis*,

56 Henderson, p. 111.

57 Richard Simon, *The Critical History of the Religions and Customs of the Eastern Nations*, trans. Archibald Lovell (London: J. Heptinstall, 1685), ‘The Translator to the Reader,’ sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

58 Sieur de Le Fontaine, *The Military Duties of the Officers of Cavalry*, trans. Archibald Lovell (London: Robert Harford, 1678), Epistle dedicatory by the translator, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

59 Vossius, *Motion of the Seas and Winds*, Epistle dedicatory by the translator, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

60 Tolet, *Treatise of Lithotomy*, Epistle dedicatory by the translator, sig. A4<sup>v</sup>.

61 George Bate and Thomas Skinner, *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia, or A Short Historical Account of The Rise and Progress of the Late Troubles in England*, trans. Archibald Lovell (London: Abel Swalle, 1685), ‘The Preface to the Reader,’ sig. [a]2<sup>v</sup>.

it presented itself as an academic manual that would prove useful not only to develop, through life-long learning, the education of Charles II's illegitimate son by Nell Gwynn, Charles Beauclerk, to whom the treatise is addressed, but also the instruction of its readers in general.

On the whole, the nature of the works translated by Lovell unveils his interests in a variety of topics which range from science, philosophy, and grammar to medicine, history, or religion, and, even if his translations —or, at least, those that have been preserved— were in reality published in a span of about ten years—from 1677 to 1687—, a certain progress of these interests can be appreciated. The translations published in the first years show substantial engagement with questions revolving around diverse aspects of experimental and natural philosophy and comprise Vossius's *Motion of the Seas and Winds*, Le Fontaine's *Military Duties*, Pomey's *Indiculus Universalis*, Poullain de la Barre's *The Woman as Good as the Man*, Tolet's *A Treatise of Lithotomy*, Antoine Gombaud's *Conversations of the Mareschal of Clerambault and the Chevalier de Meré* (1677), and René Rapin's *Reflexions upon Ancient and Modern Philosophy* (1678).<sup>62</sup> Diverging from the old scholasticism and the reliance on the authority of the ancient philosophers, these works rather tended to adhere to the new empirical methods based upon observation, natural reason, and the principles of Cartesianism.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, Lovell's *Summary of Material Heads* seems the very product of the new developing method of scientific learning manifest in some of these works.

At the end of 1679, nonetheless, Lovell apparently made a move to a different kind of work and translated Nicholas Montfaucon de Villars's *The Count of Gabalis, or Conferences about Secret Sciences*, printed for selling in May 1680. Another translation of *The Count of Gabalis* by the poet Philip Ayres had been published in November 1679. That this other translation came earlier than Lovell's irritated the translator to the point of complaining about his printer, Robert Harford, who had previously sent to press his translations of Le Fontaine and Pomey, but who on this particular occasion 'was not over-hasty to publish it [*The Count of Gabalis*] before the Term.'<sup>64</sup> *The Count of Gabalis*, on which Alexander Pope found inspiration for his celebrated *The Rape of the Lock* (1712, 1714), was a controversial Socratic-like

62 On the authorship of the English translation of Rapin's *Reflexions upon Ancient and Modern Philosophy*, see Cinta Zunino-Garrido, 'A Note on the authorship of the 1678 English Translation of René Rapin's *Reflexions upon Ancient and modern Philosophy*', *Notes and Queries*, 60.1 (2013), 63–65.

63 In fact, the Royal Society placed more trust in objective observation and empirical experiment than in the authority of the ancients as a source of knowledge; it simply 'resorted to authorities when it lacked other means of information,' Rogers B. Miles, *Science, Religion, and Belief. The Clerical Virtuosi of the Royal Society of London, 1663–1687* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), p. 85.

64 Nicholas Montfaucon de Villars, *The Count of Gabalis, or Conferences about Secret Sciences*, trans. Archibald Lovell (London: Robert Harford, 1680), 'The Translator's Advice to the Reader', sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

dialogue on esoteric alchemy, occult practices, and cabbala, directly connected with a brotherhood of alchemists and intellectuals known as the Rosicrucian movement, to which Robert Boyle and other members of what came to be termed the Invisible College —apparently the precursor group that gave birth to the Royal Society— were said to have been associated.<sup>65</sup> Paul Kleber Monod sustains that the book was in reality conceived as a subtle parody of the cabbalistic doctrines which ‘has deceived gullible readers up to the present into thinking that it is intended as a serious work of occult philosophy,’<sup>66</sup> and explains that the subtitle of Ayres’s translation clearly displays its parodic nature. Ayres translated Villars’s *Le Comte de Gabalis, ou Entretiens sur les sciences secretes* (1670) as *The Count of Gabalis: Or, The Extravagant Mysteries of the Cabalists* ‘at his vacant hours, being much affected at the odd Curiosity of the Cabalistic Sciences,’<sup>67</sup> in order to let the reader ‘as he reads this, or any other piece of this kind, both laugh and wonder, at the extravagant boldness of Mans imagination.’<sup>68</sup> But not only did Ayres satirize Villar’s tract by way of its English title and the emphasis on, in his opinion, its extravagant nature; he also appended at the back of the translation a series of animadversions meant to ridicule the subject matter of the original and the folly of the French author, who had ‘taken the pains to Collect, and give such Credit to these Cabalistic Whymseys.’<sup>69</sup> In these poignant animadversions Lovell stumbled on one more reason to ratify his displeasure with the publication of this other ‘idle, and (in many places) erroneous Translation’ of *The Count of Gabalis* ‘in an English Dress, for which he hath been obliged by an Ingenuous Translator, that out of the wantonness of his heart (as he makes the Devil tell lies) at vacant hours has Transposed him into that Habit.’<sup>70</sup> In the introduction to his translation of Villars, conceived as a piece of advice to warn the reader about the impreciseness of this earlier version, Lovell sustained that in parodying *The Count of Gabalis* Ayres had also derided himself, for if the latter really considered the book to be upbraided ‘it had been far better to have let the Author corrupt the World in his own Outlandish Tongue, than to have made him do mischief in English.’<sup>71</sup> Lovell’s resentment towards Ayres seemed also to be

65 Michael Hunter, *Boyle Studies. Aspects of the Life and Thought of Robert Boyle* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 41–42. Frances Yates, *Selected Works. Vol. 4: The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972).

66 Paul Kleber Monod, *Solomon’s Secret Arts: The Occult in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 111.

67 Nicholas Montfaucon de Villars, *The Count of Gabalis: Or, The Extravagant Mysteries of the Cabalists*, trans. Philip Ayres (London: B. M., 1679), ‘The Translator’s Animadversions on the Foreign Discourses’, sig. I9<sup>r</sup>.

68 *Ibid*, sigs. K1<sup>v</sup>–K2<sup>r</sup>.

69 *Ibid*, sig. I9<sup>v</sup>.

70 Villars, *Count of Gabalis* (1680), trans. Lovell, ‘The Translator’s Advice to the Reader’, sigs. A4<sup>r</sup>, A2<sup>r</sup>.

71 *Ibid*, sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

accentuated by the apparently incautious attitude of the latter, who, in Lovell's view, by giving credit to the occult practices reported by Villars, had depicted the French writer as a real devotee of the cabbala without making allowances for Villars's real intentions. As it stands, this understandable animosity could have probably been motivated by the fact that the two translators came from different environments and accordingly were prone to produce different readings of the same text, as 'Ayres was a translator of amorous poetry, art-treatises, and political and travel writing [whereas] Lovell had a much stronger scientific background, having Englished a number of serious scientific reference works, as well as early science fiction and comparative anthropology texts.'<sup>72</sup> It is impossible to know whether Lovell was indeed, in the words of Kleber Monod, one of these gullible readers deceived into thinking that *The Count of Gabalis* was a serious cabbalistic work, but what seems convincing is that he received the tract as a piece that certainly stimulated important intellectuals of the period like Robert Boyle. That he frowned on Ayres's translation could have been more motivated by the lighthearted and condescending attitude of the poet towards the author, whom he 'put in a Fools Coat, and expose to derision,'<sup>73</sup> than by the real legitimacy of the contents, which, in the opinion of our translator, could not be confuted unless by the application of rational arguments. This is exactly what, according to Lovell, Ayres ignored to do in his interpretation of Villars, but what he certainly took into account not to disparage the French original that he resolved to English:

I confess my Eyes were not so good, as to discover the dangerous flaws in my Author when I set upon the translating of him; for if I had, I should not have been so bold to have attempted it, being conscious of my own inability to incounter the Giants of the Cabal with no better Weapon than *Ens Rationis*, or *Universale a parte rei*.<sup>74</sup>

Lovell's viewpoint in this excerpt displays, as MacLean argues, an evident commitment to the rationalist method that was intertwined with Cartesian thought and the late seventeenth-century emergent science,<sup>75</sup> and again hints at a potential proximity of our translator to the theories explored by the virtuosi of the Royal Society and Gresham College.

The alleged scientific interests of Lovell were supplemented some time later by a remarkable concern for theological and ethnographic matters, as in 1685 he sent to press the translation of four treatises about religious customs, differences, and contentions not only in relation to Britain but to other foreign nations, too.

<sup>72</sup> Bonnie Latimer, 'Alchemies of Satire: A History of the Sylphs in *The Rape of the Lock*', *Review of English Studies*, 57.232 (2006), 684–700 (p. 687).

<sup>73</sup> Villars, *Count of Gabalis* (1680), trans. Lovell, 'The Translator's Advice to the Reader', sig. A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> MacLean, 'Introduction' to Poullain de la Barre, *Woman as Good as the Man*, p. 17.

These publications grouped Montano's *Practical Rule*, George Bate and Thomas Skinner's *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia*, Richard Simon's *The Critical History of the Religions and Customs of the Eastern Nations*, and Louis Maimbourg's *An Historical Treatise of the Foundation and Prerogatives of the Church of Rome and of Her Bishops*, and though their particular topics may show some divergence, this does not obscure the call for toleration—and more especially religious toleration—that appears to prevail in the four texts. In *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum* Bate and Skinner articulated their support for the royalist cause, especially in relation to the trial and execution of Charles II, and, mainly indicting the Calvinists for the English Civil War, 'blamed the deterioration of relations between the King and the Parliament on a factious group that had hijacked the legislature under pretext of reforming political and religious affairs.'<sup>76</sup> Without entering into further discussion that may evoke possible Tory attitudes, the overall political and religious unrest produced by this discontented group was interpreted by Lovell as an occasion to plead in his preface to the reader for religious toleration in such tumultuous times:

But then there is nothing in the world more contrary to this method, than for Subjects to raise Tumults, encourage Insurrections, lift Armies, and attempt the ruine and destruction of their Princes and fellow-Subjects, to defend this Faith; which was planted by Meekness, and watered with the blouds and tears of the Martyrs: and this, if Religion be never so apparently persecuted and endeavoured to be destroyed. But who can delineate the madness of perpetrating all these horrid Villanies out of meer fear & jealousy Religion should be designed upon, before there is one drop of Blood split, or one man ruined or attempted to be ruined?<sup>77</sup>

Lovell's entreaty for tolerance is similarly reiterated in the prologues to his translations of Simon and Maimbourg. Simon's *Critical History*, an essay on the practices of the Eastern Churches, is presented by Lovell as a practical initiative to accomplish the much desired reconciliation of peoples of different creeds. Lovell argues that this book is especially needed at this time 'when most men think themselves obliged to make a bustle for proselyting others to their Opinions, and yet are not certain wherein they differ one from another, or how far they agree together.'<sup>78</sup> Accordingly, Lovell maintains that those who endeavour to bring together all Christians under the same belief, should bear in mind that comprehension of the others' faith and opinions is the most effectual method

<sup>76</sup> Matthew Neufeld, *The Civil Wars after 1660: Public Remembering in Late Stuart England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), p. 95.

<sup>77</sup> Bate and Skinner, *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum*, trans. Lovell, 'The Preface to the Reader', sig. A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> Simon, *Critical History of the Religions and Customs*, trans. Lovell, 'The Translator to the Reader', sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

to achieve their goals, and preclude failure resulting from misunderstanding. Admitting, however, the impossibility 'that all men were of one mind, [...] and that Offences must come,' Lovell welcomes diversity, yet on no account affronts, and reiterates that the only solution for this rests on a plea for religious tolerance and respect when he affirms that 'it were to be desired at least, that all knew the minds one of another; that so they might rightly understand how to rectifie mistakes, or confirm the truth amongst men.'<sup>79</sup> In point of fact, by translating this work of Simon, which, following his rational method of enquiry, he did with the purpose of relating 'matter to fact, and to clear the truth from mistakes,'<sup>80</sup> Lovell simply tried to objectively set forth in English a discourse on toleration in which he had been 'very carefull not to offend in any thing against the publick.'<sup>81</sup> Lovell was likewise cautious about his translation of Maimbourg's *Historical Treatise of the Foundation and Prerogatives of the Church of Rome*, by which he hoped not to offend the government but to 'reach to others the Eyesalve'<sup>82</sup> that hath been handed to me.'<sup>83</sup> The purpose of Lovell in translating this book was to make English readers see —apropos of the metaphor of the eyesalve— that religious tolerance should be preferred to theological precision, above all at a time when different sectarian factions 'ha[d] occasioned either a scandalous separation from the Unity of the Church, or a persistence in that Separation.'<sup>84</sup> Maimbourg's thesis ties in with the idea of religious acceptance and, with the focus placed on the dissensions within the Catholic Church, and more particularly the Gallican Church —or the French Roman Catholic Church from 1682 to 1790—, it appeals for an understanding aimed at, in Lovell's words, 'removing those obstacles that hinder the reconciliation of Dissenting Believers.'<sup>85</sup> In Lovell's view, the book is outlined from an impartial perspective that neither reproaches nor exonerates a particular religious group, but that 'like a Quarter-Staff, strikes on both Hands, pelts Protestants and knocks down the Pope.'<sup>86</sup> As it stands, Maimbourg's treatise actually displays itself as an unbiased entreaty for religious concord, which, in its intention to unify the distinct groups, consequently offers different readings liable to be accepted in similar terms, as Lovell suggests, by opposing groups: 'And, truly, if by impartial Readers, the issue of a Mans Religion should be tried

79 *Ibid.*, sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

80 *Ibid.*, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

81 *Ibid.*

82 The 'eyesalve' is a sort of collyrium for the eye mentioned in *Revelation* 3:18: 'anoint thine eyes with eyesalve, that thou mayest see.'

83 Loius Maimbourg, *An Historical Treatise of the Foundation and Prerogatives of the Church of Rome and of Her Bishops*, trans. Archibald Lovell (London: J. Hindmarsh, 1685), 'The Translator to the Reader', sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

84 *Ibid.*, sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

85 *Ibid.*

86 *Ibid.*, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

by the verdict of the Authors Book, perhaps it would be no easie matter to decide the Point; since they'll find in it, too much either of a True Protestant, or a truly Jesuited Papist.<sup>87</sup>

The last translations by Lovell of which we have notice are Bergerac's *Comical History* and Thévenot's *Travels*, both published in 1687, and, even though the two fall into the category of travel books and, hence, are of a different nature than the works just mentioned, their intention somewhat recalls that of the manuals that he put in circulation in 1685. Bergerac's is a satirical recounting of the fictitious travel to the moon and the sun of Cyrano, the narrator of the story so called after himself, whereas Thévenot's is a personal account of his travels to Turkey, Persia, and the East Indies, and of the knowledge that he acquired in those places about natural philosophy, geometry, astronomy, and mathematics. Faithful to his commitment to the rationalist methods of the seventeenth century, Lovell positively praised the fact that Thévenot—who 'ended his Days in endeavouring to promote Knowledge and improve Learning'<sup>88</sup>—approached all these disciplines from 'the Philosophy of Descartes,' which permitted him 'with pleasure examine Natural Effects in their principles.'<sup>89</sup> Part of the tribute that in the preface Lovell paid to Thévenot was devoted to celebrate the latter's 'much Learning,' 'zeal for Religion,' and 'Piety and Conduct, which was Civil and Regular, free from any of those Extravagancies, that commonly decry his Country-Men among other Nations.'<sup>90</sup> To Lovell, Thévenot was, on the one hand, a clear paradigm of an intellectual committed to promote the cause of modern thought. On the other hand, the French adventurer's open-minded behaviour irrefutably embodied a sound example of religious respect, for his solid Christian beliefs were no impediment to accept and show serious interest in other people's religions, as well as they were no obstacle to make the traveller be accepted by those of a different faith. At variance with Thévenot's travels, Cyrano's expedition to the moon and the sun is understandably not a biographical report. However, by sketching an analogy between the earthly world and the realm of the stars, its fictitious and satirical character likewise endorses an analytical reflection on problems related to the practices and weaknesses of terrestrial states. Lovell celebrates Bergerac's witty and sharp discourse and assures that in the *Comical History* 'the Ingenious Reader will find [...] so extraordinary and surprizing Rarities, as well Natural, Moral, as Civil' that 'he will at least be pleased with his Relations.'<sup>91</sup> Following the philosophical schemes that began to prevail in the last part of the seventeenth century, and which were distinctive of his first translations, in the

87 *Ibid*, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

88 Thévenot, *Travels*, 'The Preface' by the translator, sigs. (a)1<sup>r-v</sup>.

89 *Ibid*, sig. (b)3<sup>v</sup>.

90 *Ibid*, sigs. (b)3<sup>v</sup>, (c)1<sup>r</sup>.

91 Bergerac, *Comical History*, 'The Translator to the Reader', sigs. A2<sup>v</sup>–A3<sup>r</sup>.

prologue to Bergerac Lovell once more discarded the old scholastic methods and the learning only based on the authority of the 'Gray-headed Antiquity,' that is, the conservative methods that the 'soaring Virtuoso' who censured Bergerac still abided by and were reluctant to revise.<sup>92</sup> In opposition to these 'soaring virtuosi', Lovell interpreted Cyrano's metaphorical voyage as a criticism of obsolete attitudes towards learning as well as a denunciation of the confrontation between the diverse religious factions that had sprung up within the Christian faith during the seventeenth century. In this regard, and somehow yet again calling for acceptance and toleration, Lovell complained that the 'Sublunary Philosophy, [...] as well as Religion, is lamentably rent by Sects and Whimseys.'<sup>93</sup>

With all these things considered about Lovell's translations, it does not seem surprising that he settled on translating Arias Montano's *Dictatum Christianum*. Commentators of Montano have stressed the particularly tolerant attitude of the Spanish Hebraist in this short didactic manual, which is in appearance mostly addressed to Catholics, but which could actually be appropriate to any other Christian belief and practice.<sup>94</sup> In accordance with Jesús Luis Paradinas, whether Montano followed a philosophy based on Erasmian, familist, or ecumenical principles is not as relevant as the fact that he aspired to compose, from the standpoint of humanism, a book chiefly on Christian education which could be equally acknowledged by all kinds of believers.<sup>95</sup> This approach certainly tones with what we can figure out about Lovell's own opinion regarding the attitudes towards religious tolerance. As the prologues to his translations show, Lovell condemned the various factions that had come out within the Christian Church and that had bolstered its dismembering, an idea to which Montano also called attention in his tract. In the same way Lovell considered the proliferation of sects a practice contrary to the appeasement of seventeenth-century religious dissension, a century earlier Montano had sustained that if 'open Malefactors, disturbers of the publick peace, and those that hurt and corrupt the Innocent and Simple' were 'expelled and cast out of Christian Governments, [...] we should find greater reverence paid to the Law, less licentiousness and wanton and rash Factiousness amongst Christians.'<sup>96</sup> Despite their temporal and geographical differences, to Montano and Lovell alike

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> Daniele Domenichini, 'Studio Introduttivo' to Benito Arias Montano, *Dictatum Christianum* (Pisa: Giardini Editori, 1984). Maurice Sabbe, 'Arias Montano y Barrefolet (Hiël y la teología ortodoxa)', *Revista de estudios extremeños*, 8 (1934), 63–92. Juan Luis Suárez, 'Arias Montano y la espiritualidad en el siglo XVI. Un estudio del *Dictatum Christianum*', *Ciudad de Dios*, 211 (1998), 33–49.

<sup>95</sup> Pedro de Valencia, *Obras completas. IX/2. Escritos Espirituales. La Lección Cristiana de Arias Montano*, ed. Jesús Luis Paradinas Fuentes and Antonio María Martín Rodríguez (León: Universidad de León and Junta de Castilla y León, 2002), p. 76.

<sup>96</sup> Arias Montano, *Practical Rule*, sigs. L10<sup>r</sup>–L11<sup>r</sup>.

religious peace hinged on tolerance and the recognition of the essentials common to all Christianity. This should certainly prevail over the theological accuracy and degree of specification that in the end was the foundation for the controversies in early modern Christian theology all over Europe.

Despite his apparent interest in the conciliation of the different Christian sects, the scant biographical records about Lovell makes it almost impossible to know whether he was actually a Protestant—with Anglican or Puritan inclinations—or a Catholic. However, the fact that Burnet, in conjunction with the rest of the governors of the Charterhouse, showed resistance to James II's demand that Andrew Popham, a Roman Catholic, were accepted 'as a pensioner of the hospital without tendering the necessary oaths or requiring his conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England,'<sup>97</sup> may throw some light on the matter. In this regard, the fact that Lovell found no apparent opposition to secure a place in the Charterhouse—even if it is uncertain whether he actually met all the requirements, as explained above—may imply that, at variance with the case of Popham, Burnet and the other governors presumably had no reasons to be suspicious of Lovell's religious inclinations. His purportedly untroublesome admission to the Charterhouse therefore points at the possibility that in all likelihood Lovell was not a Catholic, but perhaps an adherent to the Church of England.

Still, as virtually all the information so far examined about the life of Lovell, his religious beliefs can but simply remain a mystery for now. As evinced in these pages, what little we know about Lovell has been merely surmised from *A Summary of Material Heads* and the eleven prologues that he wrote to his translations. What appears reasonably clear from these, nonetheless, is that Lovell seemed no fanatic, but a moderate person open to dialogue and tolerance, and ready to use rationalist methods of discussion. That in his translation of Montano's *Dictatum Christianum* Lovell—possibly having Anglican rather than Puritan inclinations in view of his insistence on religious acceptance—only partially omitted the explicit references to the Catholic Church would perhaps be evidence of this lenient attitude and of the particular ideological circumstances that in Restoration England favoured the reception of a sixteenth-century Spanish Catholic text.

<sup>97</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 7, p. 408.





The prominence thus far given to Archibald Lovell as translator of Arias Montano's *Dictatum Christianum* may seem disproportionate, since his role regarding the reception of Montano's tract in late seventeenth-century England was certainly limited to that of translator. In such a case it could be argued that he might have had no personal interests in Englishing Montano and might have only worked at the request of a printer, bookseller, or any other third person with a real interest in the Spanish Hebraist. As a matter of fact, Lovell seems to have initially translated Villars's *The Count of Gabalis* for a 'Bookseller who employed me.'<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, his career as translator indeed works as a paradigm to somewhat understand the hypothetical context in which *The Practical Rule of Christian Piety* came out in English. Lovell's evident concern for questions that equally relate to experimental philosophy and religious practices —as evinced in his answer to Burnet, in which biblical narrative and natural philosophy alike had their place— seems to condense the attitudes towards religion and science of a significant number of seventeenth-century English scholars and divines. Lovell's supposed acquaintance with the scientific innovations of the Royal Society, his attention to theological matters, and his call for tolerance should not be understood as divergent interests, since for the most part science and theology coexisted in relative harmony in Restoration England. What follows therefore is a concise outline of the ideological background in which the English *Dictatum* appeared to have its place. On the basis of the information gathered about Lovell and the intellectual atmosphere of late seventeenth-century England, it is possible to assume that Montano was probably greeted in a context hypothetically open to religious debate and lenience. This could have most likely been the context of the Cambridge Platonists and latitudinarians, and the virtuosi of the Royal Society.

Unfortunately, the lack of any other evidence can only but raise conjectures about the reception of the humanist Spanish treatise in England, although it is true that the very nature of Montano's work could be decisive in understanding the significance that it might have attained in that country. Renown Hispanists like Bernard Rekers and Marcel Bataillon have interpreted Montano's alleged

1 Villars, *Count of Gabalis* (1680), trans. Lovell, 'The Translator's Advice to the Reader', sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

tolerance as a heterodox rather than orthodox Catholic attitude of the Hebraist towards theological issues, and have endorsed the assumption that, during Montano's stay in Antwerp, the kind of private self-determining spirituality practiced by Hendrik Niclaes, Christopher Plantin, and the Flemish familists had a crucial influence on the constitution of the *Dictatum*, thus relating the didactic manual to the distinguishing philosophy of the Family of Love (*Familia Caritatis*) movement.<sup>2</sup> For his part, Melquíades Andrés Martín has described the *Dictatum* as one of the first ecumenical tracts aimed at unifying the Christian Church by way of a common spirituality not necessarily related to the familist movement. He sustains that the main reasons that Montano found to compose the *Dictatum* were the pitiful situation of a divided Church—in fact, the reunification of the Church had become an established political and religious problem in Europe since Luther's separation from Rome—and the theological conflicts—like, for example, St. Bartholomew's day massacre in France in 1572—which threatened the stability of European society.<sup>3</sup> On the whole, by focusing on the many universal Christian truths and experiences,<sup>4</sup> in the *Dictatum* Montano addressed equally Catholics and Protestants, from whom he requested an agreement to reassemble the dismembered Church, split into diverse sects led astray by false values and beliefs:

Now the sum of all our Admonition shall consist of plain Sentences from the Oracles both of the Old and New Testament, the weight of which is such that neither humane wisdom can resist, nor the craft and subtilty of our adversary evacuate the force of them; and by this means we may be helpful both to those who admit of nothing in dispute, but what is taken from Holy Scripture, and to those also who rightly think that truth, wherever it be found, ought to be embraced; for to both these it is our design to do good, not alledging all that might be said, but only such things as we shall have reason to think may be profitable to all, and hurtful to no body.<sup>5</sup>

According to Montano, the way to unifying the separated reformed Church would rest on the configuration of a spirituality which, beyond disparities, and primarily based on the Holy Scripture and the practice of *caritas*—or brotherly love—, may be largely admitted as common and fundamental to all Christians. This consensus could only be achieved through the practice of piety and the sincere and active profession of a simple faith, devoid of complex rites and

2 Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano* (1973); Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*.

3 Andrés Martín, 'Introducción' to Arias Montano, *Leción Christiana*, pp. 15, 21, 33.

4 That is to say: *Old and New Testament* revelations, one and only God, the doctrine of the Trinity, and Christ as redeemer of mankind. Melquíades Andrés Martín, 'Una espiritualidad ecuménica (1575) en Arias Montano (1527–1598)', *Ciudad de Dios*, 211 (1998), 7–32 (p. 8).

5 Arias Montano, *Practical Rule*, sig. C7<sup>r</sup>.

compliant with the essential tenets of the Church —if more particularly the Catholic Church.<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps due to the pervasive political and religious instability, Andrés Martín points at the limited impact of the *Dictatum* in the Protestant circles of sixteenth century Europe.<sup>7</sup> It is certain that direct references to Montano in Elizabethan England are chiefly about his *Commentaria in dudodecim prophetas*, his *Elucidationes in quatuor Evangelia*, or his *De optimo imperio*, and that there is virtually no allusion to the *Dictatum*. This is what undeniably underscores the distinctiveness of Archibald Lovell's 1685 translation, apparently only justified by the particular ideological and cultural atmosphere that fostered its reception, an atmosphere that was certainly moulded upon the social and political changes that England had undergone from the Civil War and the death of Oliver Cromwell to the Glorious Revolution of 1688. It is this environment, where religious toleration and rationalism began to prevail as a way to preventing the errors of the past and to distinguishing Anglicanism from Catholicism, that is next examined.

## 2.1. THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS AND LATITUDINARIANISM

During the Interregnum, there came into being the so-called group of the Cambridge Platonists, whose genuine founder was Benjamin Whichcote, Puritan theologian and Provost of Christ's College at Cambridge University from 1644 to 1660. Whichcote's former teacher, Anthony Tuckney, Master of Emmanuel College, sharply censured his ex-pupil for having made a radical move in his career and choosing to pay more heed to the philosophy and metaphysics of Plato and Plotinus than to his own theological studies.<sup>8</sup> What Tuckney was actually condemning was Whichcote's heterodox and tolerant interpretation of the principles of Christian worship, because the Provost of Christ's College had been so much captivated by the teachings of the ancients that he envisaged the viability of merging classical philosophy and faith as a valid epistemological means to ascertaining spiritual truths. Whichcote devoted his attention on equal terms to the Scriptures and to the works of Plato, which, in the face of their disparities, he considered as comparative useful sources for the attainment of religious knowledge. To Whichcote Christianity was for sure not irreconcilable with the philosophy of Plato, since 'he is the ancestor and patron of that *pia philosophia*, which existed even before the Christian revelation, and which has proved its force and vitality through the centuries.'<sup>9</sup> Never loosing track of the

6 Andrés Martín, 'Introducción' to Arias Montano, *Leción Christiana*, pp. 26–27.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

8 Benjamin Whichcote, *Moral and Religious Aphorisms, Collected from the Manuscript Papers of the Reverend and Learned Doctor Whichcote*, ed. Samuel Salter (London: J. Payne, 1753).

9 Ernst Cassirer, *The Platonic Renaissance in England* (New York: Gordian Press, 1970), p. 9.

importance of the freedom of man's will—which contradicts the Calvinist idea of predestination—and of God's grace and love, Whichcote proposed a tolerant theology 'underpinned by a deep sense of the compatibility of philosophy and faith, which allowed him to see the good even in a pagan philosopher, like Plato.'<sup>10</sup> Whichcote thus urged a renewal of Platonism in seventeenth-century England that was soon bolstered by other Cambridge scholars such as Ralph Cudworth, appointed Master of Christ's College in 1650, John Smith, mathematics lecturer at Queens' College, Henry More of Christ's College, and Nathaniel Culverwell and Peter Sterry, both fellows of Emmanuel College.

Being as they were deeply religious scholars, these Cambridge Platonists based their theology and this revival of Platonism on the assumption that faith and reason should not be kept apart, and that revealed religion should not be divorced from natural theology.<sup>11</sup> To these scholars, faith and reason did not exclude but complemented one another, as John Smith asserted: 'Truth needs not any time flie from Reason, there being an Eternal amitie between them. They are onely some private *Dogmata*, that may well be suspected as spurious and adulterate, that dare not abide the tryall thereof.'<sup>12</sup> Reason then could not understand the certainty of divinity without the guidance of grace and revelation, while faith needed the help of reason and the intellect to comprehend divine truth. Indeed, Whichcote answered to Tuckney, 'I oppose not rational to spiritual; for spiritual is most rational,'<sup>13</sup> and, stepping into the shoes of former thinkers, he maintained that God revealed himself to mankind by reason as well as by revelation: 'Reason discovers, what is Natural; and Reason receives, what is Supernatural.'<sup>14</sup> And elsewhere: 'Reason is not a shallow thing: it is the first participation from God; therefore, he that observes reason, observes God.'<sup>15</sup> Aware of the fact that their teachings had been formulated many years before—not only in the classical antiquity, but also in the fifteenth-century Platonic Academy in Florence, in the days of Thomas More, and even in the Elizabethan period—the Cambridge

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G. A. J. Rogers maintains that the Cambridge Platonists were actually more influenced by Plotinus and Italian Neoplatonists like Marsilio Ficino than by Plato himself, 'The Other Wordly Philosophers and the Real World: The Cambridge Platonists, Theology and Politics', in *The Cambridge Platonists in Philosophical Context. Politics, Metaphysics and Religion*, ed. G. A. J. Rogers, J. M. Vienne, and Y. C. Zarka (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997), 3–15.

<sup>10</sup> Sarah Hutton, 'A Radical View of the Cambridge Platonists', in *Varieties of Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century English Radicalism in Context*, ed. Ariel Hessayon and David Finnegan (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 161–182 (p. 163).

<sup>11</sup> Gerald R. Cragg, *The Cambridge Platonists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 17.

<sup>12</sup> John Smith, *Select Discourses* (London: J. Flesher, 1660), sig. C3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Whichcote, 'Third letter to Tuckney', in *Moral and Religious Aphorisms*, sig. G6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Aphorism 99, sig. B7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Aphorism 460, sig. E5<sup>r</sup>.

Platonists turned to the ancient philosophers to establish the validity of reason on a par with the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and, defying the principles of Calvinism, thus confirmed that pagan philosophy could contribute to Christian theology without contradicting revelation and true religion.

In accordance with S. Brown, this movement of the Cambridge School seems to have been fueled as ‘a reaction against Calvinism with its stress on faith rather than reason and its pessimistic view of human nature.’<sup>16</sup> This does not imply that the Cambridge Platonists were not altogether Anglicans, but that they opposed the strict Calvinism that had come to control the academic Puritanism of the period, as well as they disagreed with the rigid dogmatization of the Puritans —‘the doctrine of predestination, [...] the very essence of the dogmatic Calvinism so prevalent in Puritan circles, was especially repellent to them’— and the inflexibility of Archbishop William Laud.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, however, Francis Bacon, René Descartes, and Thomas Hobbes, for all their reliance on reason as the instrument for the ascertainment of truth, were read with consternation by the Cambridge Platonists, since the new philosophy that these theorists proposed threatened the balance between reason and faith vindicated within the Cambridge School. Bacon endorsed the separation between religion and natural philosophy, Descartes professed a kind of materialistic physics which deviated from the realm of the spirit, whereas Hobbes defended a mechanistic view of man and the soul. The Cambridge Platonists therefore found themselves placed halfway between the radical Calvinists, who undervalued reason —but which was naturally acceptable to Anglicanism<sup>18</sup>—, and the natural philosophers, who advocated for the materiality of human beings and the passions making no allowances for the sphere of the spirit. Accordingly, in the same way the Cambridge scholars rejected the Hobbesian mechanistic explanation of nature, they refused to accept the Calvinist conviction about God’s constant intervention in the world. Alternatively, they understood the material world as a plastic representation of the spiritual power of God, as Henry More, for example, tried to substantiate in *The Immortality of the Soul* (1659). The problem of the Cambridge Platonists was, as Joseph Levine explains, ‘how to delimit reason even while defending it, to answer the “mere naturalists” as well as the extreme puritans.’<sup>19</sup> The answer, Levine continues, lay on classical philosophy, which confirmed itself effective

16 S. Brown, ‘Platonic Idealism in Modern Philosophy from Malebranche to Berkeley’, in *Cambridge Platonists in Philosophical Context*, ed. G. A. J. Rogers et al., 197–214 (p. 197).

17 Cragg, *Cambridge Platonists*, pp. 8, 9.

18 Raymond D. Tumbleson, ‘Reason and Religion: The Science of Anglicanism’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 57.1 (1996), 131–156 (p. 132).

19 Joseph Levine, ‘Latitudinarians, Neoplatonists, and the Ancient Wisdom’, in *Philosophy, Science, and Religion in England 1640–1700*, ed. Richard Kroll, Richard Ashcraft and Perez Zagorin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 85–108 (p. 91).

to preserve the truths of Christianity and to protect them from men who were not Christians and did not have confidence in revelation alone.<sup>20</sup> Whichcote and his adherents were then well aware that their mission was to steer ‘a middle course between a too exclusive faith and an unrestrained reason, a too exuberant “enthusiasm” and a desiccated spirit.’<sup>21</sup>

The fact that the Cambridge Platonists were in fact ‘steering in the middle course’ between reason and faith gained them the name of latitudinarians, a name which was ‘in every mans mouth,’ but was first put in writing by someone with the initials G. B. who on 15<sup>th</sup> May 1662 wrote to bishop Simon Patrick to frown on the unorthodox practices of ‘a certain new Sect of men call’d Latitude-Men.’<sup>22</sup> Yet Patrick, although somewhat imprecisely, seemed to stand up in his discourse for these men who deliberately located themselves ideologically midway between the most radical Puritans and the atheist philosophers, showing equal consideration for issues of faith and reason instead of placing the spiritual over the material, as the most orthodox Puritans would have expected. This standpoint was thus perceived as a lax conduct — latitude is indeed defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as ‘laxity of conduct or principle’ — which encouraged latitudinarians to look ‘upon the community of the church as a community of divine worship, not of dogmatic creed.’<sup>23</sup> As a matter of fact, in the course of history latitudinarianism has essentially been associated with religious and social moderation, or, in the words of Patrick, a ‘virtuous mediocrity,’<sup>24</sup> on the basis of which the latitudinarians made an attempt to ‘preserve the instituted structure and ceremonies of the Church of England, and, [...] within the conflicts of orthodoxy, to adapt the newest philosophical (or ‘scientific’) movements to the conditions of English life.’<sup>25</sup> For the latitudinarians, as Joseph Glanvill upheld, it was essential to

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>22</sup> Simon Patrick, *A Brief Account of the New Sect of Latitude-Men, Together with Some Reflections upon the New Philosophy* (London, 1662), sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Cassirer, *Platonic Renaissance*, p. 35. Cassirer explains that in this interpretation of religion as sincere worship devoid of dogma and rites there exists a parallel with the old humanistic ideal of religion: ‘The language of Whichcote, Smith and Cudworth does not differ on this point from that of the thinkers of the English Renaissance, Colet, Erasmus, and Thomas More. Undisturbed by all suspicions of the sanctification of the heathendom, they maintain that he who bears with him the true spirit of Christ, even though he has never heard His name, deserves far more to be called a Christian than those who know and profess all the articles of the faith of Christendom, and yet do not exemplify and realise them in their lives.’ In this respect, see, for example, John Smith, *Select Discourses*, sig. B1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Patrick, *Brief Account*, sig. A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Richard Kroll, ‘Introduction’, in *Philosophy, Science, and Religion*, ed. Richard Kroll et al., 1–28 (p. 1).

Study the moderate pacific ways, and principles, and run not in extremes: both Truth, and Love are in the middle; Extremes are dangerous. [...] when we travel in uncertain Roads, 'tis safest to choose the Middle. In this, though we should miss a lesser truth, (which yet is not very likely) we shall meet with Charity, and our gain will be greater than our loss. He that is extreme in his Principles, must needs be narrow in his Affections: whereas he that stands on the middle path, may extend the arms of his Charity to those on both sides.<sup>26</sup>

It has been argued that the aim of this call to moderation stemmed as a rejoinder to the extremist dogmatism of both Calvinism and Catholicism, and that it was motivated by the violent religious and political conflicts that the English society had undergone since the early days of the Civil War and even during the Restoration. Facing the systematic dissemination of Calvinist and Catholic authoritative dogmas, the latitudinarians were determined to 'cultivate a distinctive mode of ecclesiastical, social, and epistemological moderation,'<sup>27</sup> and to defend toleration and virtue against any dogmatic or extremist doctrine. Along with their admiration for the Scriptures and ancient scholarship, toleration and moderation therefore happened to be the distinctive features of seventeenth-century English latitudinarianism.

On the whole, it is evident that the Cambridge Platonists and the latitudinarians were consequently prepared to accept the religious dissension that characterized seventeenth-century English society, for, as Cragg suggests, 'from their view of the relation of faith to reason, and of theology to ethics, it naturally followed that [they] believed in liberty of conscience.'<sup>28</sup> As it stands, this lenient attitude essentially emanated from an expected agreement on the moral elements and fundamentals of religious doctrine that would help to join the divided Church, and from the conviction that this agreement on the universal and basic beliefs of Christianity would help to avoid the schismatic division that had caused—and was still causing—so much political and social turmoil. In line with Cragg, Richard Ascraft further suggests that the toleration of religious dissent in this period was most likely 'the outcome of the triumph of rationalism, the new experimental science, and the development of a latitudinarian perspective within Anglican theology.'<sup>29</sup> However, in his thesis Ascraft also disapproves of the perspective from which latitudinarianism has been construed by historians. As Ascraft maintains, Church historians appear

26 Joseph Glanvill, *Catholick Charity Recommended in a Sermon before the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London* (London: H. Eversden and J. Collins, 1669), sig. C2<sup>v</sup>.

27 *Ibid.*

28 Cragg, *Cambridge Platonists*, p. 20.

29 Richard Ascraft, 'Latitudinarianism and Toleration: Historical Myth versus Political History', in *Philosophy, Science, and Religion*, ed. Richard Kroll et al., 151–177 (p. 151).

to have overlooked the fact that, despite their plea for tolerance, a number of latitudinarians apparently proved tolerant only towards those dissenters who showed conformity with the principles of moderation that latitudinarianism proposed. In this regard, Puritan theologians such as Joseph Glanvill, Edward Fowler, or Samuel Parker took advantage of the latitudinarian standards to severely blame Restoration dissenters by acknowledging Anglicanism as the only kind of rational theology, since, at variance with the practices of dissidents, who drew on the ‘mad fantastick Tricks which were plaid in Religion,’<sup>30</sup> conformist divines were the only ones who appealed in their sermons to the use of reason and rational arguments.<sup>31</sup> Just as these latitudinarians identified Catholicism with idolatry and superstition, they equally accused Puritan nonconformists of irrationality and fanaticism.<sup>32</sup> Edward Fowler, who regarded latitudinarians as the most ‘Obedient Sons of the Church of England,’<sup>33</sup> denounced the theology put into practice by nonconformists asserting that

Divine Truth is far more unlikely to be found among men of violent and boisterous Passions, than among those that are soberly and sedately considerative. Passion doth cloud and darken the understanding, it casts a thick mist before the eye of the Soul, and makes it altogether unapt to discern a difference betwixt Truth, and the error that is nearest to it; and to distinguish it from one of the extrems which it lyeth between.<sup>34</sup>

For their part, dissenters such as Richard Baxter or John Howe deplored the hypocrisy of latitudinarian moderation, ironically bolstered by the ‘(somewhat misgovern’d) hand of a pious and good man.’<sup>35</sup> Theologian Howe maintained that the conduct of these moderate Anglicans was merely indicative of ‘a mean narrow spirit, and a most unwarrantable fondness of a party,’ and criticized the latitudinarian double standards that simultaneously endorsed moderation and tolerance and disparaged nonconformists as a whole:

And if it look unlvely in your eyes to see one of much avowed latitude and enlargedness of mind, and capable upon that account of being the more universally serviceable to the Christian Church, forsaking that comprehensive interest, so far as to be ingulft into a party upon a private

30 Simon Patrick, *A Friendly Debate Betwixt Two Neighbours, The One a Conformist, The Other a Non-conformist, About Several Weighty Matters* (London, 1668), sig. F2<sup>v</sup>.

31 See Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke, ed., *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

32 Ascraft, ‘Latitudinarianism and Toleration’, p. 156.

33 Edward Fowler, *The Principles and Practices of Certain Moderate Divines of the Church of England (greatly misunderstood), Truly Represented and Defended* (London: Lodowick Lloyd, 1670), sig. Dd2<sup>v</sup>.

34 *Ibid.*, sig. A7<sup>r</sup>.

35 John Howe, *An Answer to Dr. Stillingfleet’s Separation, Being a Letter Written out of the Country to a Person of Quality in the City* (London: S. W., 1680), sig. F3<sup>r</sup>.

and distinct basis, consider what aspect the same thing would have in yourself. And never make his difference with you in this matter, a reason to yourself of an hard judgment concerning him; who can, you must consider, differ no more from us, than we do from him.<sup>36</sup>

In light of these contentions, it seems that, regardless of their plea for toleration and moderation, as a consequence of their loyalty to the Church of England, latitudinarians did not always appear to act as the mild theologians and agents of moderation they affirmed themselves to be.<sup>37</sup> Nonetheless, Rogers suggests that this too is perhaps a rather restricted notion of the ideas lying beneath the genesis of latitudinarianism. Rogers pays special attention to the writings of Henry More to conclude that this Cambridge Platonist undoubtedly stands for a 'strong case for the primacy of conscience.'<sup>38</sup> As an illustration, the following excerpt from one of his letters to Samuel Hartlib, who was equally moderate and 'obsessed by the search of religious unity based on the fundamentals of a reasonable faith,'<sup>39</sup> evinces his dissatisfaction with the attitudes that instigated the ruptures among Christians:

That which is deplorable in this notion is this. That those men that make the greatest cry about religion, and count themselves the onely conspicuous godly in the kingdome, and think themselves even acted [?] altered] by God himself, and that they are zealous sincerely for the honour of his name. That all this zeal and heat which they spend and expresse, <are> about such things as are not at all essentiall to Godlinesse, nay are indeed nothing else but childish humours, and melancholick impressions upon their disturbed spiritts, or the stubborn effects of prevalent education or covetousnesse or pride or almost any thing rather than what they themselves, not examining themselves to the bottom, conceite it to be.<sup>40</sup>

In accordance with Rogers, More defended the idea that God had decided to speak with a different voice to different people in different places, thus causing their behaviour to produce different experiences of conscience but certainly resultant from the same spiritual source. In general, More in effect confronted those who 'have made their own inventions and argumentative conclusions articles

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> In this atmosphere of dubious toleration towards religious dissension, Ascraft underlines the impossibility of the actual application of the Toleration Act passed in 1689, pp. 151–154. See also John Spurr, 'The Church of England and the Toleration Act of 1689', *The English Historical Review*, 104 (1989), 927–946.

<sup>38</sup> Rogers, 'The Other Wordly Philosophers', in *Cambridge Platonists in Philosophical Context*, ed. G. A. J. Rogers et al., p. 13.

<sup>39</sup> Michael Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 28.

<sup>40</sup> Letter from Henry More to Samuel Hartlib, 30<sup>th</sup> December 1649. Ref. 18/1/40A–41B: 41A BLANK. Project *The Hartlib Papers*, Humanities Research Institute at the University of Sheffield. Retrieved 30<sup>th</sup> March 2017. <[https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/hartlib/view?docset=main&docname=18A\\_01\\_40](https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/hartlib/view?docset=main&docname=18A_01_40)>.

of faith, [...] because they are not yet sufficiently cleansed from the corruption they contracted under the Mother of Apostasy.<sup>41</sup> ‘Steering in the middle course’ between the Puritan authority, nonconformists, and the atheism of experimental philosophers, More managed then to

combine a commitment to an episcopalian church with a commitment to the primacy of conscience, because he held that a true Christian church would always allow freedom to its members, either to leave the church if prodded to do so by their conscience, or, within the episcopal fold, to vary its practices on things indifferent as the priest saw fit.<sup>42</sup>

In this context of religious toleration, as Rogers sums up, it would have been expected some kind of theological pluralism that could have granted the autonomy to live out religion without fears or pressure. This was, after all—and despite the subsequent disputes derived from too extremist and interested views of latitudinarianism—the ideal that prevailed among the Cambridge Platonists, summarized, for instance, in Cudworth’s *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons at Westminster*, whose objective ‘was not to contend for this or that Opinion; but onely to perswade men to the Life of Christ, as the Pith and Kernel of all Religion.’<sup>43</sup> And this was also perhaps the ideological foundation for the context of religious tolerance and rational theology in which *The Practical Rule of Christian Piety* was later accepted in seventeenth-century England.

## 2.2. THE ROYAL SOCIETY: SCIENCE AND THEOLOGY

The intimate relationship between reason and faith strengthened in turn the association between religion and natural philosophy in the circles of the Cambridge School. Contrary to Bacon’s claim that experimental philosophy ‘cannot guide us to the truths of revealed religion, nor bring us away from them,’<sup>44</sup> the Cambridge intellectuals and many latitudinarians—yet evidently not all—had confidence in the connections between science and religion, thus proving that in seventeenth-century England ‘Anglicanism and experimentalism [were] mutually compatible.’<sup>45</sup> In line with this, Goldie has underlined that one of the arguments to defend the supremacy of the Church of England against the Roman Catholic Church was

<sup>41</sup> Henry More, *An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness* (London: J. Flesher, 1660), sig. a4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Rogers, ‘The Other Wordly Philosophers’, p. 13.

<sup>43</sup> Ralph Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons at Westminster* (Cambridge: Roger Daniel, 1647), Epistle dedicatory. See also, for example, Cudworth’s *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (London: Richard Royston, 1671), aimed at vindicating for religious and moral freedom.

<sup>44</sup> Cassirer, *Platonic Renaissance*, p. 52.

<sup>45</sup> Tumbleson, ‘Reason and Religion’, p. 133.

precisely based on the rational methods employed by Anglicanism, which, at variance with Catholicism, was on the side of experimentalism.<sup>46</sup> Although some critics have endorsed the assumption that it was Puritanism that really fostered the hasty development of seventeenth-century English science,<sup>47</sup> others such as Kearney, Hunter, and Shapiro have underlined that the rise of experimental science during the Restoration was triggered by Anglicanism and the religious moderation of the latitudinarian movement rather than by the influence of Puritan views.<sup>48</sup> In fact, this ideology of moderation and the advance of the new philosophy underpinned, as McAdoo argues, the progressive deterioration of the dogmatism of English Calvinism, particularly because ‘its authoritative character had not the flexibility associated with the idea of reason and law as an implanted directive in the universe [...] which predisposed Anglican theological method to accept and to assimilate the work of scientists and naturalists.’<sup>49</sup>

As said above, the Royal Society was founded at the end of 1660 for the promotion of knowledge. Robert Markley explains that in the first years of the Restoration, and especially in the ambiance of the Royal Society, experimental knowledge certainly hinged on ‘theological narratives of progress, coherence, and order,’ since scholars ‘presuppose[d] the ontological coherence of nature and the epistemological coherence of the means they use[d] to probe its secrets.’<sup>50</sup> Indeed, in one of his letters, Henry Oldenburg, the first secretary to the Royal Society, explained that the activities and experiments held in this institution were ‘to be employed for the promoting of the knowledge of natural things, and useful Arts by Experiment. To the glory of God, and the good of mankind.’<sup>51</sup> It should not surprise modern readers to know that from 1663 to 1687 out of the 414 members

46 Mark Goldie, ‘The Theory of Religious Intolerance in Restoration England’, in *From Persecution to Toleration*, ed. Ole Peter Grell et al., 331–368.

47 Christopher Hill, ‘Puritanism, Capitalism, and the Scientific Revolution’, *Past and Present*, 29.1 (1964), 88–97, and *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965). Leo F. Solt, ‘Puritanism, Capitalism, Democracy and the New Science’, *The American Historical Review*, 68 (1967), 11–29. John Morgan, ‘Puritanism and Science: A Reinterpretation’, *The Historical Journal*, 22.3 (1979), 535–560.

48 Barbara Shapiro, ‘Latitudinarianism and Science in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Past and Present*, 40.1 (1968), 16–41. Hugh F. Kearney, ‘Purtianism, Capitalism, and the Scientific Revolution’, *The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011 [1974]), 218–242 (p. 234). Michal Hunter, ‘Latitudinarianism and the “Ideology” of the Early Royal Society: Thomas Sprat’s *History of the Royal Society* (1667) Reconsidered’, in *Philosophy, Science, and Religion*, ed. Richard Kroll et al., 199–229.

49 H. R. MacAdoo, *The Spirit of Anglicanism: A Survey of Anglican Theological Method in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Black, 1965), p. 5.

50 Robert Markley, *Fallen Languages: Crises of Representation in Newtonian England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 98.

51 Alfred. R. Hall and Marie Boas Hall, *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*. Vol. 4 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965–1986), p. 168.

of the Society 53 were clerics, 8 out of which, in turn, became bishops.<sup>52</sup> In this period there was a general assumption that the study of the material world could help to show signs of the magnificence of God.<sup>53</sup> This is, for example, what Boyle remarked in *The Christian Virtuoso* (1690), what Newton would later announce in the *Opticks* as regards the potential of experiential philosophy to enlarge the bounds of moral philosophy,<sup>54</sup> or what Sprat sustained in his *History of the Royal Society* when he asserted that ‘to understand aright what is supernatural, it is a good step first to know what is according to Nature.’<sup>55</sup> The philosopher, he continued, ‘defiles not his mind when he labors in the works of Nature; that the Diversion they give him, will stand with the greatest constancy, and the delight of pursuing them, with the truth and reality of Religion.’<sup>56</sup> Seeing then that, either from a spiritual or an experimental perspective, theology and science worked for the common good, the two branches of knowledge thus appeared to share similar goals. However, whereas the former achieved its target by reading the Scriptures, the latter did the same by reading ‘the Volume of the Creatures,’<sup>57</sup> which evinces, as Markley hints, that ‘the dialectical project of late seventeenth-century natural philosophy, then, can be described as the discovery and enumeration of an “objective” body of knowledge about the natural world and the presentation of that knowledge as incontrovertible evidence of the divinely created and maintained order of the universe.’<sup>58</sup>

Among the founding fellows of the Society, the physicist Robert Boyle, the mathematician Seth Ward, and the philosopher John Wilkins played prominent roles in the formation of the institution. Apart from their interests in experimental philosophy, the three scholars shared their concern for theological matters. The three were learned theologians who, in accordance with Kearney, rather than adherents to Puritanism fitted instead in ‘quite another tradition of religious thought, best described as latitudinarian or moderate.’<sup>59</sup> Kearney explains that not only Boyle or Wilkins, but other members of the Royal Society, too, endorsed the tolerant attitudes bolstered by the Cambridge Platonists. In fact, Isaac Newton showed inclinations to the kind of theology proposed by More; John Locke got acquainted with, among others, Boyle and Cudworth, and favoured

52 Miles, *Science, Religion, and Belief*, pp. 9–13.

53 Hunter, *Science and Society*, p. 28.

54 John Henry, ‘Enlarging the Bounds of the Moral Philosophy: Why did Isaac Newton Conclude the *Opticks* the Way he did?’, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, 71 (2017), 21–39.

55 Sprat, *History of the Royal Society*, sig. Xx4<sup>v</sup>.

56 *Ibid.*, sig. Aaa1<sup>r</sup>.

57 *Ibid.*, sig. Aaa2<sup>r</sup>.

58 Markley, *Fallen Languages*, p. 97.

59 Kearney, ‘Purtianism, Capitalism’, in *The Intellectual Revolution*, ed. Charles Webster, p. 234.

their rational theology; whereas at the proposal of John Wilkins, who was the first treasurer of the Society, Cudworth was invested as fellow in 1662 and More, who was also acquainted with Boyle, was admitted only two years later. Since the early days of its foundation, the Royal Society was indeed tightly linked with latitudinarianism—it is with good reason that in his *Brief Account of the New Sect of Latitude-Men*, Patrick affirmed that latitudinarians were ‘followers for the most part, of the new Philosophy.’<sup>60</sup> In this regard, Shapiro argues that the person that in actual fact fueled the relationships between latitudinarianism and the scholars of the Society was Wilkins, who, during his wardenship at Wadham College at Oxford University, succeeded—if unintentionally—in gathering a group of Puritans and Anglicans alike who were drawn to Oxford by the moderate policy cultivated by Wilkins, and by the opportunity to engage in scientific activities within an atmosphere that attempted to ‘avoid the religious factionalism that had engendered and then been fostered by the Puritan Revolution.’<sup>61</sup> Among other members of what came to be called the Wadham group, there could be counted active and reputed members of the Society such as Boyle, Ward, Christopher Wren, Jonathan Goddard, John Wallis, John Beale, and Ralph Barthust, who, being either moderate Anglicans or moderate Puritans, agreed all on eschewing religious bigotry.

As Shapiro explains, very few of members of the Royal Society were in fact radical Puritans. The environment of this institution was characterized by a general tone of toleration and by the rejection of dogmatic tendencies either in religion or in politics, an attitude that granted the Society the opportunity to get in with whatever authority in power.<sup>62</sup> Besides Boyle’s skills as an experimental philosopher, Jacob has underlined his natural talent for the analysis of social, political, and religious issues, and has emphasized the physicist’s leading position regarding the ideological message of the Society.<sup>63</sup> Boyle believed that the Restoration of the monarchy of James II would encourage the re-established clergy to seek vengeance on the Puritan—and more particularly Calvinist—bishops and on the harshness of the actions they practiced during the reign of Charles I and the Interregnum, for which they had put behind the true universal principles of Christianity. As Thomas Birch narrates, it was this fear that precisely led Boyle and his close friend Peter Plett from Oxford to propose the liberty of conscience as the only viable solution to religious schism and

<sup>60</sup> Patrick, *Brief Account*, sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> Shapiro, ‘Latitudinarianism and Science’, pp. 22–23.

<sup>62</sup> Hunter, ‘Latitudinarianism and the “ideology” of the early Royal Society’, in *Philosophy, Science, and Religion*.

<sup>63</sup> J. R. Jacob, ‘The Ideological Origins of Robert Boyle’s Natural Philosophy’, *Journal of European Studies*, 2 (1972), 1–21, and ‘Robert Boyle and Subversive Religion in the Early Restoration’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 6.4 (1974), 257–293.

bigotry: ‘being apprehensive, that the restored clergy might be tempted by their late sufferings to such a vindictive retaliation, as would be contrary to the true measures of Christianity and politics, they came at last to an agreement, that it would tend to the public good, to have something written and published in defence of liberty of conscience.’<sup>64</sup> The guiding principle to guarantee peace and the settlement of religion was, in Boyle’s opinion, no other than the ‘allowance of liberty of conscience.’<sup>65</sup> Not without reason had he also written to John Drury complaining about religious persecution and dogmatism, proposing instead a consensus on the essentials of religion that could ensure this liberty of conscience: ‘It is strange that men, should rather be quarreling for a few trifling opinions, wherein they dissent, then to embrace one another for those many saving truths, wherein they agree.’<sup>66</sup>

On the whole, most of the fellows of the Royal Society repudiated dogmatic forms of religious and political power. Accordingly, in line with the principles defended by Boyle, the underlying ideology of this scientific institution was based on the assumption that toleration —if not necessarily motivated by latitudinarian ideas— was the only means to preventing religious and political conspiracy. It should be noted here that the interests in science and latitudinarian moderation of some politicians of the Restoration —especially because of their trust in mutual respect as a way to temper the political and religious discrepancies that marked the Interregnum and the first years of the Restoration— led them to join the Royal Society. Among other examples, Shapiro mentions the case of Lord Berkley, patron of John Wilkins, whom the former highlighted as one of the most learned scholars of Gresham College.<sup>67</sup> Let us remember here that George Berkley was the fellow of the Society to whom Lovell dedicated his translation of Vossious’s *Motions of the Seas and Winds*. Like Boyle and other fellows of the establishment —and certainly in line with the principles of religious acceptance equally defended by Lovell—, Berkley also adhered to the latitudinarian ideas when expressing his objections to religious dissension and his appeal to the conciliation of the different spiritual factions:

It is a most deplorable thing to consider, that there should be such great Dissensions and Animosities amongst Christians, who professe to believe in the same Saviour, and many times about Circumstantials, not Essentials or Fundamentals, in Religion, even to a Scandal. There are

<sup>64</sup> Thomas Birch, *The Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, in *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*. Vol. 1 (London, 1772), sig. f3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, sig. f3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> Robert Boyle, *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle 1636–1691*. Vol. I, ed. Michael Hunter, Antonio Clericuzio and Lawrence M. Principe (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2001), p. 57.

<sup>67</sup> George Berkley, *Historical Applications and Occasional Meditations on Several Subjects* (London: J. Flesher, 1667), sig. A11<sup>r</sup>.

many pious, learned, well-disposed persons, who expresse great zeal and fervency of spirit to reconcile the Differences in Christian Religion, but commonly meet with a severe fate, (in stead of their deserved Reward) to be abominated, or at least disliked, by all Parties.<sup>68</sup>

Therefore, the ideological stance of the Royal Society rested on what has been described as an irenic —perhaps rather than entirely latitudinarian— position that invited to eschew political and religious disputes.<sup>69</sup> The reinforcement within the circles of the institution of non-dogmatic religion and liberty of conscience conducted to similarly underpin a parallel freedom of enquiry and of experiment in science, which would only then be ‘unconstrained by rules accepted *a priori* on the basis of authority.’<sup>70</sup> In relation to this liberty demanded for experimental philosophy, Shapiro underscores the opinion of Wilkins, who, years before the founding of the Royal Society, already endorsed the autonomy with which philosophers should do their work:

It behoves every one in the search of Truth, alwaies to preserve a Philosophicall liberty: not to be so inslaved to the opinion of any man, as to thinke what ever he sayes to be infallible. We must labour to find out what things are in themselves by our owne experience, and a through examination of their natures, not what another sayes of them. And if in such an impariall enquiry, we chance to light upon a new way, and that which is besides the common rode, this is neither our fault, nor our unhappinesse.<sup>71</sup>

Latitudinarians and scientists alike believed therefore that, given the disparity of opinions, liberty of conscience and of enquiry was absolutely necessary. The multiplicity of opinions, some of which could be more or less precise than others, evinced that man was by no means infallible and that, in consequence, the definite answer to questions entailing discrepant judgments seemed wholly unattainable:

For men seeing by several lights, relishing with diversly disposed palates, and measuring things by different standards, we can hardly doe or say any thing, which if approved and applauded by some, will not be disliked and blamed by others; if it advance us in the opinion of some, will not as much depress us in the judgment of others; so that in this irreconcilable diversity and inconsistency of mens apprehensions, it is impossible not to displease many.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, sigs. E5<sup>v</sup>–E6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> J. R. Jacob, ‘Restoration, Reformation, and the Origins of the Royal Society’, *History of Science*, 13.3 (1975), 155–176.

<sup>70</sup> Shapiro, ‘Latitudinarianism and Science’, p. 39.

<sup>71</sup> John Wilkins, *A Discourse Concerning a New World & Another Planet* (London: John Norton and R. Hearne, 1649), sigs. B2<sup>v</sup>–B3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> Isaac Barrow, *Of the Love of God and Our Neighbour, in Several Sermons : The Third Volume* (London: Miles Flesher, 1680), sig. V7<sup>r</sup>.

In sum, the confidence in broadmindedness and this liberal attitude in thought and belief drove the scholars of the Royal Society to keep away from dogmatism and indisputable authorities, or, in other words, from ‘every vain Opiniator [...] as much assured as if he were infallible [who] hence arise Disputes, Hatreds, Separations, Wars.’<sup>73</sup> They advocated instead for an ethical pluralism that would erase differences and mitigate ideological, religious, and political passions and dissensions. Proof of this pluralism was the ‘ecclesiastical comprehension’ which, according to Sprat, depicted the general principles of the Society.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, among the fellows of the Society, Catholics, nonconformists, and Quakers, for example, could be counted up. This attests that there existed a prevalent religious heterodoxy in the surroundings of the London institution which appeared to be basically justified by a common motivation—devoid of particular political or religious creeds—to scientific activity,<sup>75</sup> and which was sustained on mutual respect and a general practice of piety and practical morality. Only moderation and tolerance could therefore guarantee an ‘intellectual life in which the calm, friendly and practical pursuit of truth and goodness could replace abstract debate and ideologically motivated civil strife.’<sup>76</sup> The fundamental target of the Royal Society was after all the creation of a space where ‘to operate in a highly conscious mode of collaborative intellectual generosity, especially across religious, national, and political divisions, as a form of Christian *caritas*.’<sup>77</sup>

### 2.3. PRACTICAL PIETY AND TOLERATION

Some years before the creation of the Royal Society, Robert Boyle, who spent his life fully committed to religion as well as to experimental science, asserted that religious toleration had its root in the practice of piety and charity (or *caritas*), an opinion that he especially underlined after his involvement in the so-called Invisible College—a precursor, along the Oxford experimental club, to the London scientific organization—, whose members were ‘persons that endeavour to put narrow-mindedness out of countenance, by the practice of so extensive charity that it reaches into everything called man, and nothing less than an universal good-will can content it. And indeed they are so apprehensive of the

<sup>73</sup> Joseph Glanvill, *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion* (London: J. D., 1676), sig. E4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> Hunter, ‘Latitudinarianism’, p. 209.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211–212. See also Lotte Mulligan, ‘Debate: Science, Politics, and Religion: A Rejoinder’, *Past and Present*, 66 (1975), 139–142, and Jacob, ‘Restoration, Reformation’, pp. 169–170.

<sup>76</sup> Shapiro, ‘Latitudinarianism’, p. 41.

<sup>77</sup> Claire Preston, ‘Utopian Intelligences: Scientific Correspondence and Christian Virtuosos’, in *Debating the Faith: Religion and Letter Writing in Great Britain, 1550–1800*, ed. A. Dunan-Page and C. Prunier (Dordrecht: Springer, 2013), 139–157 (p. 140).

want of good employment, that they take the whole body of mankind for their care.<sup>78</sup> Boyle's confidence in the force of charity and piety was so 'crucial to his religious convictions and to the life of virtue,<sup>79</sup> that not only did it become a guiding principle throughout his life — Birch gives extensive descriptions about Boyle's commendable piteous behaviour—, but it also impelled him to put in writing his reflections on the topic. To Boyle, piety was a notion equally pertaining to Christians and atheists, and the only kind of respect and loyalty which could ensure harmony among different creeds: 'Piety is a Vertue that teaches us the True Worship of God. We intend not to hear treatate of Piety as it is a Christian Vertue described & Prescribed in the holy Scriptures: but as it is a Moral Vertue which the Hethen themselves by the Meere light of Nature have confest to be so, & Registred in their Writings.'<sup>80</sup> Taken as a whole, Boyle's description of piety as a Christian and as a moral virtue alike and his emphasis on the practice of charity condense the belief, generally endorsed by the members of the Royal Society, in 'the need to unite the acquisition of personal virtue — a traditional goal of natural philosophy— with the performance of good works.'<sup>81</sup> On the whole, piety was thus understood as a personal virtue which, tinted with noticeably ethical undertones, was put into effect by the performance of charity. It could thus be argued that this kind of practical ethics, which in part stemmed from Anglicanism and its emphasis on reason, constituted the basis for the toleration and religious reconciliation — where laity also appeared to have its place— which were notably buttressed in the environment of the Royal Society.

On the basis of the ideology underlying latitudinarianism, the Cambridge School, and the Royal Society, on the one hand, and, on the other, of what can be figured out about Lovell's academic interests and career as a translator, it could be argued that Montano's tract was most possibly received in this Anglican context where the significance of reason and of practical piety and ethics foreshadowed the acceptance of an all-encompassing churchmanship. The English translation of the *Dictatum Christianum* might have thus been stimulated within an environment which, by placing the focus on practical piety and religious toleration, seems to have shared the ideology lying behind the work of the Spanish Hebraist. As a matter of fact, if there is a prominent feature that distinguishes the *Dictatum* this is precisely a stress on the practice of piety and godly life in order to promote toleration among the diverse Christian factions.<sup>82</sup>

78 Birch, *Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, sig. e2<sup>r</sup>.

79 John T. Harwood, ed., *The Early Essays and Ethics of Robert Boyle* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), p. xlvi.

80 Boyle, 'On Piety'. *Manuscripts of The Royal Society of London*, Boyle MS. 196, fols. 48–58.

81 Peter Harrison, 'Religion, The Royal Society, and the Rise of Science', Inaugural Lecture, Examination Schools (University of Oxford, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2007), p. 16.

82 Cf. Arias Montano, *Practical Rule*, sig. C7<sup>r</sup>.

Paradinas Fuentes has claimed that Montano's *Dictatum Christianum* should first and foremost be understood as a treatise on education rather than as a work on spirituality, and he links it to the tradition of the Spanish biblical humanism and to earlier works of Christian education like those of John of Ávila. However, at variance with the latter, Montano did not write a catechism but a book on humanistic education aimed at renovating the moral conduct of all Christians. The name *Dictatum* already evinces that it is a didactic text, as in the Renaissance lessons at the universities were dictated. This is the reason why *Leçon* and *Lección* were the terms chosen for the French and Spanish translations, respectively.<sup>83</sup> In the like manner, Lovell also kept in mind the instructive nature of the text, if it is true that he especially underlined its practical character by incorporating the modifier that turned the 'Rule of Christian Piety' —i.e., the equivalent to Christian doctrine or religion<sup>84</sup>— into a text highly functional. The title given by Lovell—that is, *The Practical Rule of Christian Piety*— thus encompasses the practical principles that regulate the methods and practice of the active piety which, 'quickened by Charity,'<sup>85</sup> Montano aspired to instruct in, and requested from, Christians, who, in obeying the commands of God, 'may not be called Hearers only or Readers, Interpreters or Expounders thereof, but rather Doers of the same.'<sup>86</sup> In actual fact, the kind of piety and faith that Montano commended 'worke[d] by Charity'<sup>87</sup> and had to be primarily confirmed in deeds, for contemplation and passive faith alone were not sufficient to accomplish salvation and the duties of a Christian.<sup>88</sup> This was the idea of active piety —i.e. 'all that which every faithful Disciple and Follower of Christ and the Christian doctrine, believing the Promises, ought to know, hold fast, and practise'<sup>89</sup>— which certainly filtered through the *Dictatum*, where Montano affirmed that 'we must not only by Faith and in words, but in our endeavours, acts, and deeds renounce all worldly Pleasures, Lusts and Ambition; for Virtue consists not in words, but in deeds.'<sup>90</sup>

83 Jesús Luis Paradinas Fuentes, *Humanismo y educación en el Dictatum Christianum de Benito Arias Montano* (Huelva: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Huelva, 2006), pp. 129–133.

84 'Piety' or 'inner piety' were the early modern equivalents to our modern concept of religion. Peter Harrison claims that 'the appearance of the modern idea "religion" was to signal the objectification of this interior disposition', 'Religion, The Royal Society, and the Rise of Science', p. 19.

85 Arias Montano, *Practical Rule*, Sig. E4<sup>v</sup>. See also sig. H6<sup>r</sup>.

86 *Ibid*, sig. E12<sup>r</sup>.

87 *Ibid*, sig. E6<sup>r</sup>.

88 Alastair Hamilton, *The Family of Love* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1981), p. 79. See also Ángel Alcalá, 'Arias Montano y el familismo flamenco: Una nueva revisión', in *Anatomía del Humanismo. Benito Arias Montano 1598–1998*, ed. Luis Gómez Canseco (Huelva: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Huelva, 1998), pp. 102–103.

89 Arias Montano, sig. C9<sup>r</sup>.

90 *Ibid*, sig. E4<sup>r</sup>. See also sig. E5<sup>r</sup>.

This emphasis on the practice of piety could also be reason enough to hypothetically set the reception of the *Dictatum* within the context of the pietistic tradition that developed in England since the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and that would later be the seed for the Lutheran—or more generally Protestant—Pietism that originated in Germany in the last years of the seventeenth century. In its origins, this pietistic morality was endorsed by those English Puritans who maintained that piety ‘had its center in the majesty of the divine law,’ and who, particularly influenced by the works of the Puritan clergymen Richard Greenham, Lewis Bayly, and Richard Baxter, understood that people should be moved towards godliness and, accordingly, be made devoutly observants of the laws of God revealed in the Bible.<sup>91</sup> It has been commonly admitted that the practice of piety endorsed by this pietistic Puritanism exuded ‘a desire to connect practical godliness to the teachings of orthodox Protestantism, and to accentuate orthopraxis as the result of orthodoxy in order to distinguish a true believer from one who is merely nominally or outwardly committed to the Christian faith.’<sup>92</sup> However, from the Civil War onwards this piety founded on the certainty of God’s law turned into another kind of piety basically built on a close and rather subjective relationship to God, and on what Stoeffler has termed a sort of intuitional Biblicism, that is to say, a practice by means of which ‘in reading the Bible the pious person now looked for divine truth which the Spirit of God would directly impress upon his soul and the cogency and authority of which was “felt”, i.e., intuitively apprehended.’<sup>93</sup> As a result, the concept of godliness was progressively replaced by a notion of holiness, close to the idea of sanctity, through which ‘the emphasis was laid upon “holy exercises” such as fasting, meditation, and prayer, in addition to the older “practice of piety”.’<sup>94</sup> The Pietism that afterwards developed in Germany was very much influenced by this—especially early seventeenth-century—English devotional literature, and was mainly based on the conviction that true Christians possessed [...] a contrite and humble spirit, [...] and a brotherly love to one’s neighbor,<sup>95</sup> and that they

91 F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), pp. 58–78. It should be noted here that Bayly’s *The Practice of Piety*, first printed in 1611, underwent numerous editions and became a well-known Protestant work, retaining its recognition in England well into the eighteenth century. Daniel L. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), p. 37. See also C. John Sommerville, *Popular Religion in Restoration England* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1977), pp. 33–35.

92 Carl Trueman, ‘Lewis Bayly (d. 1631) and Richard Baxter (1615–1691)’, in *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 52–67 (p. 52).

93 Stoeffler, *Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, pp. 79–80.

94 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

95 Hans Otte, ‘The Pietist Laity in Germany, 1675–1750: Knowledge, Gender, Leadership’,

professed a ‘living faith active in works,’<sup>96</sup> since to pietists greatness of works was more relevant than greatness of faith.

Even if it could be argued that this Pietism appears to share some of its basic principles with the ideas defended by Montano, as in both cases experiential faith, charity, and the practice of piety were enhanced, I think there are reasons to discard the possible affinities between the *Dictatum* and a potential pietist context which could have animated its translation. First of all, the kind of Pietism that could have found some kind of ideological stimulation in the Latin text, that is, the Pietism coined by Phillip Jakob Spener in Germany which ‘against religious indifference and even dissension strove to promote piety in the most comprehensive sense, namely as the inner experience of the doctrine and on that basis the practical realization of God’s commands in all spheres of everyday life,’<sup>97</sup> was developing and expanding by the time Lovell translated the *Dictatum* and obviously had not penetrated England yet. In contrast, the pietistic Puritanism that had first originated in England, despite its early emphasis on the practice of individual piety, had lost strength by the second half of the seventeenth century, and had moved since the time of Cromwell to a sort of illuminism and subjective faith from which the intention of the *Dictatum* definitely deviated—and most probably the intention of the English version, too, given that, whether deliberately or not, Lovell omitted in the sentence ‘comparing the noble beginnings of Christian simplicity and Piety’ the translation of the noun *sanctitatis*, which in the Latin original is juxtaposed to simplicity and piety.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, in spite of the role of piety in the pietistic movement, its early Puritan orthodoxy as well as its later illuminism do not appear to have fostered the reception of the Spanish Catholic manual.<sup>99</sup>

Quite the reverse, the kind of piety ignited by Montano in the *Dictatum* rather pointed to a spirituality which, even if with Catholic roots, could in some way be

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in *The Rise of Laity in Evangelical Protestantism*, ed. Deryck W. Lovegrove (New York: Routledge, 2002), 47–63 (p. 48).

<sup>96</sup> Daniel Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, p. 35.

<sup>97</sup> Willem J. op ‘t Hof, ‘Protestant Pietism and Medieval Monasticism’, in *Confessionalism and Pietism. Religious Reforms in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Fred van Lieburg (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 31–50 (p. 32).

<sup>98</sup> Arias Montano, sig. E5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> I should also add here that, in spite of the allegedly connections between the *Dictatum* and Dutch Familism, a hypothetical link between Lovell’s translation and the English familists has also been discarded in this study. It is true that familists also spread in sixteenth-century England, but their influence was weakened during the first half of the seventeenth century, until they eventually merged into Quakerism. Lovell’s particular interests as well as the ideological differences between this religious movement and the *Dictatum*—in which, for example, at variance with Quakerism, the ordained clergy had its necessary function in a Christian society— seem reasons enough to justify this decision.

described as heterodox, or at any rate not too noticeably orthodox.<sup>100</sup> The reason for Montano's apparent relaxed orthodoxy significantly rested on his broad idea of individual piety, which presented itself as the only possible way to shunning the dissensions between Catholics and the other Christians<sup>101</sup>—an opinion that could certainly be comparable to the idea of ethical piety on which Boyle and other virtuosi of the Royal Society like Sprat based their vindication for religious tolerance. Not in vain did the Hebraist refrain from using either classical or non-biblical texts such as the patristic writings; instead, he reduced his sources to the *Old and New Testament*, because this was the sole text recognized by Christians in general.<sup>102</sup> After all, with the intention—ecumenical or not; or influenced or not by the Family of Love—of accommodating religious heterogeneity, Montano simply wanted his little manual to permeate all members of the Christian society, whom he saw 'rent into several Sects, not only seduced and led away by many errors, but also proud and puffed up in them,'<sup>103</sup> and promote their unity on the strength of the essentials common to the entire Christianity, the 'Laws and Conditions thereof, which are Constant, Universal and Immutable, and not made and published that, according to the desire, humour, lust and counsels of every private man, they may be altered and changed.'<sup>104</sup>

In sum, the lack of any other evidence makes it rather difficult to ascertain how the Latin manual might have possibly reached Lovell's hands—or even the hands of its printer, Joseph Hindmarsh, who, as will be later explained, did not appear to have any particular interest in sending to press books with Catholic tendencies. Therefore, only Lovell's career as translator and his apparent intellectual pursuits, which seem relatively analogous to the cultural and ideological context just depicted, could shed light on the potential atmosphere that stimulated the translation of the Hebraist's text. It seems therefore quite possible to presume that Montano's *Dictatum* was in all likelihood welcomed in an Anglican—rather than Puritan—context in which moral and ethical piety was envisaged as the means to ensuring the reconciliation of the diverse Christian

100 Alcalá claims that this apparent relaxed orthodoxy is based more on what Montano silences as regarding the Catholic Church than on what he eventually specifies in the text. 'Arias Montano y el familismo flamenco', p. 101.

101 *Ibid.*, pp. 101–103.

102 *Ibid.*, p. 138. Cf. Montano, *Practical Rule*, sigs. C7<sup>r-v</sup>. As for the sole use of the *Old and New Testament*, Gaspar Morocho Gayo has explained that, during his short participation in the Council of Trent, Montano made a strong impression because he exclusively used the Scripture to defend the orthodox doctrine of the Catholic Church, 'Trayectoria humanística de Benito Arias Montano I. Sus cuarenta primeros años (c. 1525/27–1567)', *El humanismo extremeño*, ed. Marqués de la Encomienda et al. (Trujillo: Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes, 1998), 227–304 (p. 190).

103 Arias Montano, sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

104 *Ibid.*, sig. C3<sup>v</sup>.

factions. It should be noted here that *The Practical Rule of Christian Piety* was printed during Hilary Term 1684/85,<sup>105</sup> right before the ascension of James II to the throne of England in March 1685. James II's Catholicism was no obstacle to succeed his brother Charles II, but it certainly earned him the hostility of the Parliament and Protestants who disapproved of his attempts to grant religious liberty for Protestant dissenters and Roman Catholics. *The Practical Rule* was certainly printed before James II's entreaty for civic equality, yet it was definitely hatched within a more than probable moderate Anglican environment which undoubtedly encouraged religious acceptance among Christians, and which only four years later, during the Glorious Revolution, would promote the enactment—regardless of its eventual shortcomings and failures—of the Act of Toleration.

105 Edward Arber, ed., *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709 A.D.; With a Number for Easter Term, 1711 A.D.* Vol. 2 (London, 1909), pp. 111–112.

3.

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE  
*DICTATUM CHRISTIANUM* AND ANGLICAN THEOLOGY

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Archibald Lovell's commitment to faithful translation has already been underscored in these pages. However, for all the accurateness of his translations, and in consonance with the translating practices of the late seventeenth century, Lovell took the liberty of making some changes to the original texts, if these were needed or seemed appropriate, as he explained, for instance, in the prologues to his translations of Thévenot, Poullain de la Barre, and Pomey. It is to be regretted that, at variance with his other 1685 translations, Lovell appended no foreword to Montano's manual; had he included one, it would perhaps be less complicated to ascertain the reasons why he left out or modified some key terms used in the Latin text. Still, bearing in mind the ideological environment so far portrayed, the particular traits and purpose of Montano's text, and Lovell's probable adherence to the Church of England, it could be inferred that Lovell's, if certainly minor yet significant, alterations were in all likelihood prompted by the intention of making an apparently Catholic text admitted in, or even adapted to, a —noticeably tolerant— Anglican setting. Among these modifications, call especial attention the partial omission of the reference to the Catholic Church, the exclusion of the direct allusion to the Council of Trent, the systematic substitution of penance for repentance, and an approach to the notion of the sacrament of penitence that appears to be more connected to Anglican than to Catholic theology. On the whole, all these variations seem relatively indicative of an ultimate interest in toning down the Catholic connotations of the English *Dictatum* and in adjusting the Spanish manual to an allegedly Anglican readership.

If perhaps the last three of the modifications just pointed out may be explained by this concern for a *Dictatum* likely to be accepted from an Anglican perspective, it nevertheless seems puzzling that Lovell ignored only two of the four instances in which the Catholic Church is mentioned by Montano. In the author's preface, Lovell removed the first allusion to the Catholic Church from the second paragraph by translating 'quae catholicae fidei communionem' as 'Communion of the Church,'<sup>1</sup> yet only five pages later he translated Montano literally suggesting

1 Arias Montano, sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

that Christians ‘persevere in the pure and holy Faith of the Catholick Church.’<sup>2</sup> The same kind of literal translation occurs on page 28 (sig. C2<sup>v</sup>), although he once more eliminates at the very end of the treatise (sig. N6<sup>v</sup>) the epithets Catholic and Roman which modify the *Ecclesiae* referred to by Montano. Even though there are no apparent reasons that may account for this inconsistency, it can be presumed that in all certainty Lovell’s real intention was the actual deletion of the reference to the Catholic Church, otherwise he would have retained and translated all the citations. It is probable, notwithstanding, that what these partial removals show is only a lapse in his Englishing of the original. As a matter of fact, on more than one occasion Lovell had recognized his translations to be liable to contain possible errors despite his concern for accuracy. He for example apologized for any potential mistake in the two editions of his version of Maimbourg, which ‘with how great dispatch it hath been Translated, I hope, he [the reader] will be so kind as to pardon the hasty mistakes of the Translator.’<sup>3</sup> Similarly, in the translation of Villars he promised to amend its possible faults if the text was sent to press again: ‘and therefore what Mistakes you may meet with (except those of the Press, for which I will not answer) put a Candid Interpretation upon them; and when I am told what they are, if the Book do bear another Impression, I do faithfully promise they shall be amended in the next Edition.’<sup>4</sup> And in his edition of Thévenot he justified the prospective errors on the impossibility of having had the chance to revise the text — ‘The Reader, then, is not to expect that the Language should be so Accurate, nor the Style so well turned, as if it had come abroad after many Reviews and Corrections’<sup>5</sup> — or to check the proofs — ‘What Errata may be found in the Book, the Reader is desired to Correct, and not impute them to the Translators Oversight, who had not the Correcting Sheets.’<sup>6</sup> However, at least regarding the oversight of the Catholic Church on the last page of *The Practial Rule*, what does not seem to be a momentary failure is Lovell’s deletion of the adjectives Roman and Catholic and their substitution for the phrase ‘the established Church and Government’ — where in the Latin text by the way there is no allusion to the word government. By overlooking the two adjectives Lovell might have thus intended to tinge Montano’s manual with some Anglican shades, given that, since its establishment during the reign of Henry VIII, the Church of England had been considered the state church of a country where the union of the Government and the Church has always been safeguarded, and more particularly since the Restoration.

2 *Ibid*, sig. A5<sup>r</sup>.

3 Maimbourg, *Historical Treatise*, ‘The Translator to the Reader’, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

4 Villars, *Count of Gabalis* (1680), trans. Lovell, ‘The Translator’s Advice to the Reader’, sig. A4<sup>v</sup>.

5 Thévenot, *Travels*, ‘The Preface’ by the translator, sig. c1<sup>v</sup>.

6 *Ibid*, sig. c2<sup>r</sup>.

Nonetheless, what does not seem a lapse in the translation of the *Dictatum* is Lovell's total erasure of Montano's mention of the Council of Trent on page 39 (sig. C8<sup>r</sup>). In that passage Montano underlined that the words and promises of God were contained in the Apostles' Creed, and in the articles of faith stated by learned men and confirmed by the ecclesiastical ministers under the authority of the Council of Trent. By entirely excluding the remark on the supremacy of the Tridentine Council, Lovell seemed to give to his edition of Montano another slight shade of Anglican spirituality, as one of the main reasons Protestants categorically used to disregard the Roman Church and the real effectiveness of the assembly held at Trent—whose design 'was more of Interest then real honesty'<sup>7</sup> and 'so entirely at the Popes devotion'<sup>8</sup>—rested on the agreement reached there on the power of both the Church tradition and the Bible to account for divine truth. In contrast to Catholics and the decision made by the Council of Trent during its fourth session on 24<sup>th</sup> May 1546, Protestants sustained that the Christian doctrine should be solely established on the authority of the Scriptures. This is for example what the popular Anglican clergyman Richard Allestree explained in one of his various writings, in which he denounced that since the Tridentine meeting the unwritten tradition had become for the Roman Church as influential as the Scriptures, and that Protestants—and especially the Church of England, which 'Rome has always oppos'd, most eminently in the Council of Trent'<sup>9</sup>—had been unjustly belittled for their sole reliance on the Bible:

Against what has bin hitherto said to the advantage of the holy Scripture, there opposes it self (as we have already intimated) the authority of the Church of Rome; which allows it to be only an imperfect rule of Faith, saying in the fourth Session of the Council of Trent, that Christian faith and discipline, are contain'd in the Books written, and unwritten Tradition. And in the fourth rule of the Index put forth by command of the said Council, the Scripture is declar'd to be so far from useful, that its reading is pernicious if permitted promiscuously in the vulgar Tongue, and therefore to be withheld: insomuch that the study of the holy Bible is commonly by persons of the Roman Communion, imputed to Protestants as part of their heresy; they being call'd by them in contemt the Evangelical men, and Scripturarians.<sup>10</sup>

7 Henry Foulis, *The History of Romish Treasons & Usurpations Together with a Particular Account of Many Gross Corruptions and Impostures in the Church of Rome* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1671), sig. Hhh4<sup>r</sup>.

8 Gilbert Burnet, *The Abridgment of The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (London: R. C., 1682), sig. C2<sup>r</sup> (p. 19).

9 Anon. *Ananias and Saphira Discovered, or, The True Intent of a Pamphlet Called Omnia comest[a] a Belo* (London: Henry Brome, 1679), sig. A4<sup>r</sup>.

10 Richard Allestree, *The Lively Oracles Given to Us. Or the Christians Birth-Right and Duty, in the Custody and Use of the Holy Scripture* (London: William Leak, 1678), sig. X3<sup>r</sup>.

In the same way, in one of his sermons the dean of Chester James Arderne pointed the finger at the Italian Catholic ministers because in the Tridentine assembly they had displayed their reluctance to put their faith exclusively in the Scriptures, ignoring what the Protestant clergy recommended and certainly did: ‘So the History of the Council of Trent tells us of the Italian Prelates, that they were good School-Divines, but understood little of Scripture. We should as the Rarraei among the Jews, cleave only to the Doctrines of Scripture, and exercise our selves herein continually, over and over again.’<sup>11</sup> Within this context it is then not unexpected to find comments like that of Luke Beaulieu, who singled out the Council of Trent as ‘that Company of Papists that met at Trent,’ and who doubted about the universal nature of an assembly to which most of the Protestants prelates had not been invited: ‘I wonder how you can call the Council of Trent universal, when there was none in it of the Clergy of the Reformed Churches which are almost as large and populous here in the West, as those of the Roman Religion.’<sup>12</sup> That the Council of Trent did not actually have a universal character in the eyes of Protestantism was not only a consequence of the small number of Protestant representatives if compared to their Catholic counterparts; the Council also failed because it did not succeed in attaining the reconciliation of the diverse Christian factions. In its place, it promoted their schism and the Catholics’ growing contempt for Protestants, who since then, as Bishop Gilbert Burnet explained, proved reluctant to the celebration of any other comparable kind of assembly:

Such was the cunning of the Legates, the number of Italian Bishops, and the dissensions of the Princes of Europe, that it had effects quite contrary to what all sides expected. The breach in Religion was put past reconciling by the positive decisions they made: the abuses of the Court of Rome were confirmed by the Proviso’s, made in favours of the Priviledges of the Apostolick See: and the World was so cured of their longings for a General Council, that none has been desired since that time.<sup>13</sup>

Bearing in mind these remarks, it should not surprise that Lovell discarded the insertion of the reference to the Council of Trent in a text most possibly addressed to an Anglican readership. However, it is remarkable that Lovell did not seem to object so categorically to mentioning the Council of Trent in his translation of Maimbourg, where there appear several references to the Trent assembly that Lovell did not bother to efface or alter. Perhaps, the motivation

<sup>11</sup> James Arderne, *A Sermon Preached at the Visitation of the Right Reverend Father in God, John Lord Bishop of Chester* (London: Henry Brome, 1677), sig. B4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Luke Beaulieu, *Poperie Manifested, or, the Papist Incognito Made Known by Way of Dialogue betwixt a Papist Priest, Protestant Gentleman, and Presbyterian Divine. In Two Parts* (London: Henry Brome, 1673), sig. B7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Burnet, *Abridgment of The History of the Reformation*, sig. N6<sup>r</sup>.

behind this decision presumably rested on the obvious difference between the texts of Montano and Maimbourg. The former had employed the reference to the Tridentine meeting—which he had personally attended from March 1562 to March 1564<sup>14</sup>—to validate the foundations of the Christian faith, to which not all Protestants assented, whereas the latter tackled the effects of the assembly from a viewpoint slightly detached from theological concerns, or in any case from those concerns which intensified the discrepancies between Protestants and Catholics. Thus, Maimbourg argued, for instance, that the Council of Trent was positive in that it proved that the Pope was not infallible, and, in line with the opinion of the ministers quoted above, he similarly maintained that, although the ‘Holy Ghost, which unites all minds into one Judgment, made all the Decrees of that Council to pass with the unanimous Consent of all the Fathers who had been so divided before,’ the universal and ecumenical character of the Tridentine convention should be put to question because ‘neither the Bishops of the Church of England, nor of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and that part of Germany who followed the Confession of Ausbourg, nor the Bishops of Greece, of the East, and of Egypt, who own not the Pope for Head of the Church, and who are no more of his Obedience [...] were present.’<sup>15</sup> It may then be reasonably presumed that Lovell did not alter Maimbourg’s text because, contrary to Montano, the French Jesuit did not use the references to the aforementioned meeting to cope with the essentials of the Christian doctrine sanctioned by prelates with Catholic tendencies—which might have been indubitably contested in an Anglican setting—, but he just set forth what appeared to be objective statements about the progress of the Council. Let us remember here that Maimbourg, after all, had arranged his book from an unbiased point of view with the purpose of, in Lovell’s words, ‘like a Quarter-Staff, strik[ing] on both Hands, pelt[ing] Protestants and knock[ing] down the Pope.’<sup>16</sup>

Still, what is perhaps most noticeable about Lovell’s translation of the *Dictatum Christianum* and its seeming adaptation to an Anglican atmosphere is his handling of the pastoral notion of penance, or penitence, which, in line with William Tyndale’s English version of the *New Testament*, he systematically replaced with repentance. In this sense, special attention must necessarily be paid to Lovell’s regular use of the Anglican idea of repentance in substitution for the Catholic sacrament of penitence, which was definitely obliterated from the *The Practical Rule*. This systematic deletion was with absolute certainty fueled by the fact that the sacrament of penance was abhorred by the Protestant reformers, who claimed that the—especially Roman Catholic—idea of forgiveness of sins

14 Morocho Gayo, ‘Trayectoria humanística de Benito Arias Montano I’, p. 189.

15 Maimbourg, *Historical Treatise*, sigs. N2<sup>v</sup>–N3<sup>r</sup>, sig. T8<sup>r</sup>, sigs. V1<sup>v</sup>–V2<sup>r</sup>.

16 *Ibid*, ‘The Translator to the Reader’, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

as a result of confession of mouth, contrition of the heart, and the pains endured by the penitent could by no means guarantee salvation. Rather, the reformers contended that the ‘sacrament of penance was never instituted by Christ’<sup>17</sup> and, as Anne Thayer claims, that ‘Christ had accomplished all that needed to be done for human salvation. To ask the individual to make a personal contribution to his or her own salvation was to overestimate human abilities, underestimate the depth of sin and fail to recognize divine forgiveness. Personal appropriation by faith of Christ’s completed work was all that the sinner needed.’<sup>18</sup> Indeed, in view of the belief that certainty of salvation could hardly be assured to troubled souls—and man in general—, Luther himself had suggested that the sacrament of penance, instead of comforting the distressed, actually increased their anguish. As a matter of fact, in two of his thesis of 1517 the German theologian underscored ‘that penance is not to be understood as an occasional response by a sinner but as a way of life,’ and explained that ‘when our Lord and master Jesus Christ said, “Repent”, he willed the entire life of the faithful to be one of repentance.’<sup>19</sup> Justification by faith was the main principle of Lutheran theology and the major point of disagreement between Protestants and Catholics. At variance with the Roman Church, Lutheranism was basically founded on the assumption that contrition and consolation could only be guaranteed by baptism and the ensuing penitential life.<sup>20</sup> Subsequent developments of the Protestant Reformation, among which Anglicanism must be counted in, kept to these convictions and accordingly eschewed penance from the sacramental system, more than ever because penance was not prescribed in the Scriptures, as Tyndale had confirmed in his *Answer vnto Sir Thomas Mores Dialoge* when affirming that ‘as for their penaūce, the scripture knoweth not of.’<sup>21</sup> Thus, the sacrifice of Christ, as Jenkins and Preston state, ‘was a sufficient sacrifice for sin, and repentance and faith were all that were needed to appropriate its effects.’<sup>22</sup> To Protestants and Anglicans alike forgiveness did not therefore stem from motions of contrition or penitential exercises, but from a commitment to spurn sin and from faith in ‘God’s coming to humanity in Christ to show God’s love and pay

17 David Clarkson, *The Practical Divinity of the Papists Discovered to be Destructive of Christianity and Mens Souls* (London: Tho. Parkhurst and Nath. Ponder, 1676), sig. X1<sup>r</sup>.

18 Anne T. Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching, and the Coming of the Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 143.

19 Andrew Purvues, ‘A Confessing Faith: Assent and Penitence in the Reformation Traditions of Luther, Calvin, and Bucer’, in *Repentance in Christian Theology*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Gordon T. Smith (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2006), 251–266 (p. 254).

20 *Ibid.*

21 William Tyndale, *An Answer vnto Sir Thomas Mores Dialoge Made by Vvillyam Tindale* (Antwerp: S. Cock, 1531), sig. B4<sup>r</sup>.

22 Allan K. Jenkins and Patrick Preston, *Biblical Scholarship and the Church. A Sixteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 94.

the price of forgiveness.<sup>23</sup> For that reason, facing the impossibility of knowing whether forgiveness and salvation would eventually be granted, rather than acts of penance, what Protestant theology taken as a whole required from the faithful was a change of heart and attitude in life —or, within the Calvinist tradition, ‘a transformation of the deepest self, in the inmost heart.’<sup>24</sup>

Curiously enough, in the *Dictatum* Montano displayed a rather lenient opinion about penitence which could be considered not totally constrained to Catholicism, and could in consequence be somehow reconciled with this Protestant stance on repentance as a substitute for the sacrament of penance. Obviously, this does not entail that in the *Dictatum* penitence was not to be understood from the point of view of the Catholic sacrament of penance —‘of which the particulars are, the sorrow and contrition of heart, the confession of the mouth, and satisfaction in deed’<sup>25</sup>—, but it was also, and more especially, approached from a broader theological and all-encompassing interpretation of penitence as a Christian virtue:

It is not enough to lament and bewail what is past, as is commonly said, to confess our sins, and not commit the same again; unless they who can, do bring forth fruits worthy of repentance. And therefore this part, which consists in the amendment of life, and in the exercise and practice of Righteousness, otherwise called the Virtue and Grace of Repentance, is the subject whereof we shall treat at present.<sup>26</sup>

Montano did not discuss in his manual the theological or scriptural implications of the sacrament, ‘for knowing the nature whereof, we shall refer you to the Books of the Learned who have fully handled and discussed that Point.’<sup>27</sup> Instead, with reference to penitence, he underlined the importance of action and the attitude of the believer, an idea which, despite the particular and distinguishing traits of the Protestant and Catholic confessions, could in some way be comparable to the Protestant confidence in the advantages of a life committed to repentance and the contrition of past actions —and which certainly runs parallel with the practice of piety promoted within the Anglican background depicted above and underscored by Montano from the first to the last page of his tract: ‘we are to take notice that Repentance comprehends two things; a detestation and forsaking of our sins and ill life past, and an earnest and sincere practice and performance of those Virtues, Acts, and Deeds which are known to be acceptable to God.’<sup>28</sup> As a general rule, Montano underscored the prevalence of practice over all other

23 Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching*, p. 151.

24 Purvues, ‘A Confessing Faith’, p. 256.

25 Arias Montano, sigs. D7<sup>v</sup>–D8<sup>r</sup>.

26 *Ibid*, sigs D8<sup>r-v</sup>. See also marginal note in the Latin *Dictatum*, sig. E5<sup>v</sup>.

27 *Ibid*, sig. D8<sup>r</sup>.

28 *Ibid*, sig. D7<sup>v</sup>.

theoretical considerations, a stance which certainly shaped the idea of spirituality disclosed in his treatise.<sup>29</sup> In fact, the emphasis on the knowledge and practice of the laws of God, that is, on action and the observance of a pure and virtuous life away from sin, was a principle that visibly pervaded the entire *Dictatum*. From this perspective, the Latin text would have most likely not been considered dissonant to an Anglican context governed by the belief in the practice of piety, and in repentance as a sign of God's grace and an alternative to a notion of forgiveness grounded on isolated and temporal acts of penance. In the end, it was simply knowledge of God, confidence in his wisdom, and exercise of his rules that led to divine knowledge and to an exemplary Christian virtuous life, which were actually common goals to Protestants and Catholics alike.

To the reception of the *Dictatum* in Protestant England also contributed the fact that Lovell similarly replaced Montano's reference to penance with the sacrament of confession (sig. E5<sup>r</sup>), which, though not acknowledged as a sacrament of the Gospel, was accounted as part of the standards of Anglican theology. Even though the Church of England disagreed with the Catholic mandatory auricular confession before a priest, it admitted, nevertheless, that confession certainly had a place in its theology. Still, this was rather a kind of private confession not necessarily practised before a priest or any other Christian, as James Ussher, a prominent and much quoted Irish bishop, made clear at the beginning of the seventeenth century:

Be it therefore knowne [...] that no kinde of *Confession*, either publick or private, is disallowed by us, that is anie way requisite for the due execution of that ancient power of the Keyes which Christ bestowed upon his Church: the thing which wee reject, is that new pick-lock of Sacramentall Confession, obtruded upon mens consciences, as a matter necessarie to salvation, by the Canons of the late Conventicle of Trent.<sup>30</sup>

By replacing the Catholic penance with the Protestant repentance and confession, Lovell thus removed from his translation possible allusions to the Roman Catholic sacramental system and liturgical rites. It is, consequently, not without good reason that he converted Montano's 'sacramentum poenitentiae' into the more flexible—and unquestionably less compromising from a Protestant theological perspective—phrase 'upon occasion of Confessing, or taking the Sacrament.'<sup>31</sup>

In consequence, Lovell's use of repentance and, to a lesser extent, of the sacrament of confession, as replacements for the Catholic penance undubitably

29 Suárez, 'Arias Montano y la espiritualidad en el siglo XVI'.

30 James Ussher, *An Answer to a Challenge Made by a Iesuite in Ireland* (Dublin: The Society of Stationers; London: Eliot's Court Press, 1624), sig. M3<sup>r</sup>.

31 Arias Montano, sig. E5<sup>r</sup>.

helped to open up the *Dictatum* to a prospective Anglican readership, which might have in some measure agreed with Montano's approach to repentance, as he claimed that 'the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures makes this *Repentance* the Grace of Heavenly Wisdom, to consist chiefly in this: that Man should war against his own Lusts, subdue and overcome his natural affections, abstain from worldly and carnal works, and with all care and industry endeavour to perform what is commanded and approved of by God.'<sup>32</sup> In sum, Lovell slightly adapted the English *Dictatum* in order to make it well received in a Protestant environment where it was believed that the forgiveness of sins was accomplished at the moment of baptism and on the grounds of a life of devotion, and that 'theological justification and psychological and spiritual peace [should] go together.'<sup>33</sup>

Other minor, or even subtle, changes to the translation seem to equally reveal Lovell's predisposition to make the *Dictatum* adequate for an Anglican environment. The translator, for example, removed from 'sanctissima veritatis mater' the complement *veritatis* and simply translated 'holy Mother,'<sup>34</sup> a variation most possibly grounded on the fact that since the Reformation the devotion to the Virgin Mary had been diminished by Protestant reformers. Although in *The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, to be used at the Ministration of the Holy Communion* of the Church of England's *Book of Common Prayer* —1662 revision— it was affirmed that Christ was 'born of a pure Virgin,'<sup>35</sup> the English Reformers had rejected the role of Mary as another mediator between God and humanity and consequently weakened her position within Reformed Churches.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, Lovell's omission of *veritatis*, if really intentional, could have been fueled by this opinion on the Virgin Mary, whose function in the life of the Church had been reduced to that of the mother of Christ, divested of that privileged and intermediary position between man and the truth of God. Lovell likewise left out the word *sacerdote*, or minister, in the paragraph in which Montano talked about baptism. Intentional or not, this omission might have also been related to the liturgical services as explained in the *Book of Common Prayer*, for in *The Ministration of Publick Baptism* it was prescribed that 'there shall be for every male child to be baptized two Godfathers and one Godmother: and for every female, one Godfather and two Godmothers.'<sup>37</sup> Where Montano only mentioned the

32 *Ibid*, sig. D8<sup>v</sup>.

33 Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching*, p. 151.

34 Arias Montano, sig. D3<sup>v</sup>.

35 Church of England, *Book of Common Prayer* (London: Iohn Bill & Christopher Baker, 1662), sig. E5<sup>r</sup>.

36 Donald Bolen and Gregory Cameron, ed., *Mary: Grace and Hope in Christ. The Seattle Statement of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission. The Text with Commentaries and Study Guide* (London: Continuum, 2006), pp. 47–48.

37 *Book of Common Prayer*, sig. Y1<sup>v</sup>.

priest and witnesses in baptism, Lovell nonetheless specified that the new Christian had to be baptized ‘in presence of his God-Fathers, God-Mothers and Witnesses in his Baptism.’<sup>38</sup> That he eventually did not include *sacerdote* might have been then justified by the fact that the priest was not considered a witness in the *Book of Common Prayer*, but just the person in charge of ministering the sacrament. Another minor variation of Lovell’s translation that unveils the Anglican steadfast loyalty to the Scriptures occurs on page 36 (sig. C6<sup>v</sup>) of *The Practical Rule*. There Montano used the expression ‘veritate atque virtute christiana,’ which Lovell Englished as ‘the Virtues of the Gospel,’<sup>39</sup> perhaps with the simple purpose of stressing the role of the Scripture as the sole conveyer of truth and authority, as indicted by the Church of England. Finally, one last modification that needs to be underscored is Lovell’s translation of the Latin ‘divino consilio et pacto’ as ‘Covenant of Grace’.<sup>40</sup> The Reformed Covenant Theology, essentially outlined at the Westminster Assembly (1643–1653), acknowledged that in the Bible God had made three different pacts with mankind by means of which he interacted with them: the Covenant of Redemption, the Covenant of Works, and the Covenant of Grace. The Roman Church did not deny the biblical idea of the covenant of God with man —indeed, Montano referred to it a couple of times in his tract<sup>41</sup>—, but it was the Reformed Church that in due course formulated and developed the covenantal theology. So by interpreting the more general divine pact mentioned by Montano in the *Dictatum* as one of the three specific contracts of the Reformed Covenant Theology, at the same time Lovell proved faithful to the Latin original, he managed to tinge it with an Anglican tone, too.

38 Arias Montano, sig. E3<sup>r</sup>.

39 *Ibid*, sig. C6<sup>v</sup>.

40 *Ibid*, sig. D2<sup>r</sup>.

41 *Ibid*, sig. I3<sup>v</sup>.

4.

THE TEXT IN PRINT

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In Hilary Term 1684/1685 *The Practical Rule of Christian Piety* was printed in duodecimo by Joseph Hindmarsh, bookseller to his Royal Highness at the Black Bull in Cornhill. The size of the book along with the scant number of copies that have been preserved indicate that the text probably had a small print run and that no subsequent editions were issued. Joseph Hindmarsh's first entry in the *Term Catalogues* is dated 1678 and his name is last heard of in 1696, after moving to the Golden Ball in Cornhill.<sup>1</sup> During the roughly twenty years that his career as bookseller seemed to last, Hindmarsh published numerous and varied works which ranged from medicine, history, poetry, and drama to philosophy, politics, or religion. Lovell collaborated with Hindmarsh, at least, on two occasions, as not only did the publisher send *The Practical Rule* to press, he was also responsible for the publication of Lovell's translation of *Historical Treatise of the Foundation and Prerogatives of the Church of Rome* by Maimbourg.

When the attention is drawn to the printer of *The Practical Rule* and to the nature of the other religious works that he issued from his printing-office, the assumptions about Lovell's potential intention of adjusting the *Dictatum* to an Anglican context are certainly underpinned. From the records about Hindmarsh's impressions contained in *The Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers*<sup>2</sup> and from the advertisement pages of other volumes printed under the Black Bull or Golden Ball press, it can be presumed that Hindmarsh showed no special affinity to Catholic manuscripts, but rather to Anglican and Protestant writings. He printed, for instance, some of the works of John Kettlewell and Richard Allestree, who were among the most popular Anglican devotional writers opposing radical Puritanism.<sup>3</sup> With the help of Simon Patrick he also worked in the posthumous

1 Henry R. Plomer et al, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (London: Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the Oxford University Press, 1922), pp. 156-157.

2 G. E. B Eyre, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, 1640-1708 [1709]*. Vol. 3 (London: Roxburghe Club, 1914).

3 Richard Allestree, *A Sermon Preach'd at Oxford, before Sir. Will. Walker, Mayor of the Said City, upon the 26th of July 1685* (London: H. Hill Jun. for Joseph Hindmarsh, 1685). John Kettlewell, *Christian Prudence, or, Religious Wisdom not Degenerating into Irreligious Craftiness in Trying Times* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh, 1691), and *Christianity, A Doctrine of the Cross, or, Passive Obedience,*

publication of the sermons and papers of the Anglican reverend Walter Raleigh, the second son of the celebrated explorer and politician Sir Walter Raleigh.<sup>4</sup> The sermons of the Puritan theologian Robert Sanderson were reissued in one of its multiple editions by Hindmarsh.<sup>5</sup> Our publisher was also in charge of the two editions of the Anglican cleric Edward Pelling's *The True Mark of the Beast, or, The Present Degeneracy of the Church of Rome*<sup>6</sup> and of the reproduction of the priest Adam Elliot's *A Modest Vindication of Titus Oates*,<sup>7</sup> an essay composed by Elliot in order to defend himself from Titus Oates, who had accused the clergyman of being a Jesuit. *Satyrs upon the Jesuits* by the translator and satirical poet John Oldham was similarly published by Hindmarsh in 1681.<sup>8</sup> As for books originally written in other languages than English, his printing-office got out, among others, Lovell's version of Maimbourg and an English translation of *Monsieur Jurieu's Pastoral Letters* by Pierre Jurieu, a French Protestant who eventually became ordained as Anglican priest.<sup>9</sup> It is remarkable that Hindmarsh sent to press two volumes containing the French versions of the *New Testament* and of the *Psalms* in verse which Clément Marot, a celebrated French Protestant poet, began to compose in the first half of the sixteenth century and which, after his death, were completed by Théodore de Bèze in 1562.<sup>10</sup> Marot's *Psalms* went through numerous editions and became a notorious Protestant hymn book. Hindmarsh's interest in a seventeenth-century re-edition of Marot is certainly indicative of the success of the latter's lyrical version of the *Psalms*, as well as it is a sign —along with the other publications just mentioned— of the printer's possible Protestant, and perhaps Anglican, inclinations. But Maimbourg's, Marot's, and Jurieu's texts were not the only volumes of French origin published by Hindmarsh. He, for instance, printed some musical compositions by the Baroque violinist Michel

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*under Any Pretended Invasion of Legal Rights and Liberties* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh and Rob. Kettlewell, 1691).

4 Walter Raleigh, *Reliquiae Raleighanae being Discourses and Sermons on Several Subjects by the Reverend Dr. Walter Raleigh* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh and John Macock, 1679).

5 Robert Sanderson, *XXXVI Sermons viz. XVI Ad aulam, VI Ad clerum, VI Ad Magistratum, VIII Ad Populum: with a Large Preface* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh, 1689).

6 Edward Pelling, *The True Mark of the Beast, or, The Present Degeneracy of the Church of Rome* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh and Walter Davies, 1682).

7 Adam Elliot, *A Modest Vindication of Titus Oates* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh, 1682).

8 John Oldham, *Satyrs upon the Jesuits* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh, 1681).

9 Pierre Jurieu, *Monsieur Jurieu's Pastoral Letters, Directed to the Protestants in France* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh, 1688).

10 Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze, *Les Pseaumes de David mis en rime Française* (London: R. Everingham, R. Bentley and Joseph Hindmarsh, 1686), and *La Bible, qui est toute la Sainte Escriture du Vieil et du Nouveau Testament autrement, l'ancienne et la nouvelle alliance, le tout reveu & confere sur les textes hebreux & grecs : avec les Pseaumes de David* (London: R. Everingham, R. Bentley and Joseph Hindmarsh, 1687).

Farinel or the dialogues about health by Nicholas Frémont d'Ablancourt.<sup>11</sup> The publisher's concern for French writings is also evinced in his impression of *Le Nouveau Testament, c'est à dire, la Nouvelle Alliance de Nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ*, attributed to Peter Paul Bouche,<sup>12</sup> who, rather than its author, seems to have been the engraver for this version of the *New Testament*.

This last entry is particularly relevant because Peter Paul Bouche was probably born in Antwerp, where he was baptized on 14<sup>th</sup> October 1646. Little is known about this printer, but the few preserved records show that he lived in the Flemish city until, at least, 1670, and that by 1687 he was working in London as engraver and publisher 'in Tower Street near St Giles in the fields, over against the Falcon, at the sign of the Half Moon Long Acre in Conduit Court near the King's Bagnio.'<sup>13</sup> Bouche's years in Antwerp, his move to London, and his collaboration as engraver —'sculptur' is the exact word used on the title page— of *Le Nouveau Testament* issued by Hindmarsh are significant as they constitute the only signs that might hint at a possible link between Hindmarsh, Lovell, and Antwerp, where Plantin had published and distributed the *Dictatum* a century earlier. Unfortunately, this can only remain a hypothesis, as it is unknown if Bouche had moved to London before 1687 —let us recall here that *The Practical Rule* was published in 1685—, or if he could have certainly had any particular interest in Montano.

Moreover, it is hard to discern whether the *Dictatum* had arrived in England shortly before Lovell translated it or had been in this country for years. In this sense, it should be taken into account that Christopher Plantin had established fruitful business relationships with numerous sixteenth-century English booksellers,<sup>14</sup> and that perhaps Montano's *Dictatum* had been dispatched in one of the parcels sent off to any of the English dealers, as his polyglot Bible —'one of the most expensive items in Plantin's catalogue'— had certainly been.<sup>15</sup> Additionally, another aspect that should be taken into consideration is that since the beginning of the seventeenth century librarians in Britain had included Huguenot refugees. These French Protestants found shelter as employees of some English libraries and soon became acquainted with the literal and political world of their new housing.<sup>16</sup> Among them, it should be noted that Franciscus Junius,

11 Michel Farinel, *The Kings Health Set to Farrinels Ground; in Six Strains* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh, 1682). Nicholas Frémont d'Ablancourt, *The Doctors Physician, or, Dialogues concerning Health Translated out of the Original French* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh, 1685).

12 Peter Paul Bouche, *Le Nouveau Testament, c'est à dire, la Nouvelle Alliance de Nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ* (London: R. Everingham, R. Bentley and Joseph Hindmarsh, 1687).

13 *The British Museum Online Research Catalogues*. Retrieved 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2017. <[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/term\\_details.aspx?bioId=156537](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=156537)>.

14 Colin Clair, 'Christopher Plantin's Trade-Connexions with England and Scotland', *The Library*, s5–XIV.1 (1959), 28–45.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

16 Stephen W. Massil, 'Immigrant Librarians in Britain: Huguenots and Some Others', Paper

son to Hadrianus Junius —who, as stated in the introduction, was acquainted with Montano and Plantin—, came to England in 1621, where about fifty years later he had the opportunity to welcome his nephew Isaac Vossius, whose *Motions of the Seas and Winds* Lovell translated. Another important Huguenot refugee was Henri Justel, who tried to ‘promote a non-sectarian translation of the Bible into French,’<sup>17</sup> ‘became the chief French agent of the newly founded Royal Society and its secretary Henry Oldenburg,’<sup>18</sup> and at the proposal of Christopher Wren —one of the members, along Wilkins, of the Wadham group— was invested as fellow of the Society in 1681. Justel got also acquainted with the Protestants James Ussher, whose quote on confession was used in the previous chapter, and Robert Sanderson, whose sermons were printed by Hindmarsh. It would then be possible too that Montano’s *Dictatum* might have found its place in England as a result of these relations between English and French Protestants.

Still, these are in any case mere assumptions about the potential arrival of the *Dictatum* in Britain. Regrettably, the records examined can shed no light on how Montano’s manual entered England or who promoted its translation. For the moment, the only documented journey to England is the one that Montano himself made from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> of October 1568, seven years before the publication of the *Dictatum* in Antwerp, with the intention of collecting useful manuscripts for his polyglot Bible.<sup>19</sup> This is the reason why, in the attempt to depict the supposed ideological context that could have most possibly favoured the reception of the *Dictatum* in late seventeenth-century England, in this introduction to *The Practical Rule of Christian Piety* the focus has been mainly placed on an analysis of Archibald Lovell’s production as translator and of the distinctiveness of his version of Arias Montano’s little manual.

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read at the *World Library and Information Congress: 69<sup>th</sup> IFLA General Conference and Council*. Berlin, 1–3 August 2003.

17 *The Royal Society of London*. Online Fellowship Directory. Retrieved 10<sup>th</sup> February 2017. <<https://collections.royalsociety.org/Dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Persons&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27justel%27%29>>.

18 *Ibid*, p. 6.

19 Gaspar Morocho Gayo, ‘Trayectoria humanística de Benito Arias Montano II. Años de plenitud (1568–1598)’, *El humanismo extremeño*, ed. Marqués de la Encomienda et al. (Trujillo: Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes, 1999), 227–304 (pp. 228–230).

THIS EDITION

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This edition of *The Practical Rule of Christian Piety* is based on the duodecimo printed by Joseph Hindmarsh in 1685. Three identical copies of this first—and, it seems, unique—edition have been preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, the Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and the Library of Innerpefferay in Scotland. This modern edition mainly relies on the copies located in the Bodleian and Urbana-Champaign libraries.

Although the spelling and punctuation of some passages have been corrected or modernized in an attempt to make the text clearer, this edition tries to be as faithful as possible to the original. It follows the typographical style of the 1685 text, maintaining the same use of capital letters, italics, and paragraph division. Catchwords at the foot of the pages have been omitted, and the original pagination is indicated through the use of forward slashes followed by page numbers and their corresponding signatures included within square brackets. In footnotes, the abbreviation *ante corr.* has been employed to specify editorial emendations of some words presumed to be incorrect, and erroneous words omitted from the main text are listed followed by the abbreviation *del.* For these deleted words the reference mark is appended to the word immediately preceding them in the main text. Words in between square brackets are an addition of this edition in order to clarify the text.

The quotations from the Bible have been modified to follow the punctuation and style of the *Authorized King James Version* (ed. Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett), although Lovell's minor lexical deviations have been kept. In-text bibliographical references used in the original edition have been moved to footnotes and are followed by the abbreviation *i.t.* and by the complete—and amended, if necessary—reference, including chapter and verse (i.e., *Luke 12 i.t. Lk. 12:47–48*). When in the 1685 copy there is no explicit reference to a Bible passage, the complete reference has been included, and if this reference appears in the *Dictatum Christianum* in a marginal note, this is also incorporated and followed by the shortened form *mg.* (i.e., *Acts 26:20. Acto. 26 mg. in DC*). As for marginal notes in *The Practical Rule*, these have also been moved to footnotes, and are followed by the abbreviation *mg.* and by the equivalent marginal note used in the Latin *Dictatum* (i.e., Human Felicity *mg.* 'Beatitudo humana' *mg. in DC*).

Marginal notes used in the *Dictatum*, but not in *The Practical Rule* have been similarly added as footnotes.

Specific sentences or phrases cited from the *Dictatum* —for which paragraph and line numbers are given (i.e., ‘tria haec pietatis capita’ in *DC*, 73.3–4)—follow Martín Rodríguez and Paradinas Fuentes’ bilingual edition of Pedro de Valencia’s *La Lección Cristiana de Arias Montano* (León, 2002). However, the original signatures of the Latin text (see the 1983 facsimile bilingual edition of Andrés Martín) have been employed when marginal notes of the *Dictatum* are referred to in the footnotes (i.e., *Apoc. 2 mg.* in *DC*, sig. E7<sup>r</sup>).

## ABBREVIATIONS

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## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE EDITION OF THE TEXT

<i>ante corr.</i>	before correction
<i>Cf.</i>	compare
<i>DC</i>	<i>Dictatum Christianum</i>
<i>del.</i>	deleted
<i>i.t.</i>	in the text
<i>KJV</i>	<i>The Bible. Authorized King James Version</i>
<i>mg.</i>	in the margin
<i>OED</i>	Oxford English Dictionary
<i>PR</i>	<i>The Practical Rule of Christian Piety</i>
<i>sig.</i>	signature

## BIBLE BOOK NAME ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Acts</i>	Acts
<i>Am.</i>	Amos
<i>2 Chron.</i>	2 Chronicles
<i>Col.</i>	Colossians
<i>1 Cor.</i>	1 Corinthians
<i>2 Cor.</i>	2 Corinthians
<i>Deut.</i>	Deuteronomy
<i>Ecclus.</i>	Ecclesiasticus (Sirach)
<i>Eph.</i>	Ephesians
<i>Ex.</i>	Exodus
<i>Ezk.</i>	Ezekiel
<i>Gal.</i>	Galatians
<i>Gen.</i>	Genesis
<i>Heb.</i>	Hebrews

<i>Isa.</i>	Isaiah
<i>Jm.</i>	James
<i>Jr.</i>	Jeremiah
<i>Job</i>	Job
<i>Joel.</i>	Joel
<i>Jn.</i>	John
1 <i>John</i>	1 John
<i>Jon.</i>	Jonah
<i>Josh</i>	Joshua
1 <i>Kings</i>	1 Kings
<i>Lk.</i>	Luke
<i>Mk.</i>	Mark
<i>Mt.</i>	Matthew
1 <i>Pet.</i>	1 Peter
2 <i>Pet.</i>	2 Peter
<i>Phil.</i>	Philippians
<i>Prov.</i>	Proverbs
<i>Ps.</i>	Psalms
<i>Rev.</i>	Revelation
<i>Rom.</i>	Romans
1 <i>Sm.</i>	1 Samuel
1 <i>Th.</i>	1 Thessalonians
2 <i>Th.</i>	2 Thessalonians
1 <i>Tim.</i>	1 Timothy
2 <i>Tim.</i>	2 Timothy
<i>Tit.</i>	Titus
<i>Wis.</i>	Wisdom of Solomon

BENITO ARIAS MONTANO'S  
*THE PRACTICAL RULE OF CHRISTIAN PIETY*

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THE PRACTICAL RULE OF CHRISTIAN PIETY:  
CONTAINING THE SUMM OF THE *WHOLE DUTY*  
OF A TRUE DISCIPLE OF CHRIST.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LATIN BY *BENEDICTUS ARIA MONTANUS*,  
AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY *A. LOVEL*, M. A.

*LONDON*, PRINTED FOR *JOSEPH*  
*HINDMARSH*, BOOKSELLER TO HIS  
ROYAL HIGHNESS, AT THE *BLACK*  
*BULL* IN *CORNHILL*, 1685.



/[A1<sup>r</sup>] THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE CHRISTIAN READER

*They who from the Study of the Holy Scriptures, and of the nature of worldly things, learn and do confess that God takes care of sublunary affairs; do clearly perceive that the rough Tempest wherein most Christian People are at present tossed, is not the effect of the uncertain influences of the Stars, nor that it is raised by hidden and obscure causes. None of them doubt but that the publick Calamities of / [A1<sup>v</sup>] Kingdoms, People and Cities, are sent by the Judgement and Providence of God the avenger of wickedness; and that before they happen, they are Propheesied and foretold by Pious and Chosen Men, for the glory of divine Justice, and the amendment of the lives of sinful Men; as it is written: Can two walk together, except they be agreed? Will a lion roar in the forest, when he hath no prey? will a young lion cry out of his den, if he have taken nothing? Can a bird fall in a snare upon the earth, where no gin is for him? shall one take up a snare from the earth, and have taken nothing at all? shall a trumpet be blown in the city, and the people not be afraid? shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord hath not done it? Surely the Lord God / [A2<sup>r</sup>] will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets.<sup>1</sup> Now for what causes such Commotions are raised both in publick and private affairs, the same Prophet does declare: Publish in the palaces at Ashdod, and in the palaces in the land of Egypt, and say, Assemble yourselves upon the mountains of Samaria, and behold the great tumults in the midst thereof.<sup>2</sup> For they know not to do right, saith the Lord, who store up violence and robbery in their palaces. Therefore thus saith the Lord; an adversary there shall be even round about the land; and he shall bring down thy strength from thee, and thy palaces shall be spoiled.<sup>3</sup>*

*To me, truly, the visible cause of the divine Judgement against us / [A2<sup>v</sup>] appears to be our publick and common sins; whilst I see the greatest part of Christians rent into several Sects, not only seduced and led away by many errors, but also proud and puffed up in them; and others who live in the Communion of the Church,<sup>4</sup> and profess the true Doctrine, neglecting the duties of the same, and almost wholly perverting it. And so, whilst I reflect upon the depraved minds of some, and the corrupt and dissolute lives of others, and the Dissentions, Jars, Oppositions, Enmities and perverse courses of both, I often think with myself upon this. The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, and seek*

1 *Amos 3 i.t.: Am. 3:3–7.*

2 At variance with *DC*, and perhaps due to a compositorial mistake, the last part of this quote, 'and the oppressed in the midst thereof', *Am. 3:9*, is missing in *PR*.

3 *Am. 3:9–11.*

4 In *DC*, 2.4–5: 'quae catholicae fidei communionem & veritatis disciplinam profitetur'. Lovell omits the reference to the Catholic faith, substituting 'catholicae fidei communionem' for Communion of the Church.

God. They are all gone aside, they are altogether become filthy: there is none that doth good, no, not one.<sup>5</sup>

*I [A3<sup>r</sup>] Tho I neither be a Prophet, nor the Son of a Prophet,<sup>6</sup> yet I dare be bold to foretell greater Storms hanging over our heads, unless they be prevented. It is enough to me, to make me affirm this; that I see those crimes in the Earth, which God Almighty<sup>7</sup> by infallible Oracles has threatened not to let go unpunished. For if the Lion roar, who will not be afraid? If the Lord hath spoken, who shall not prophesy?<sup>8</sup> Therefore he may very lawfully predict future evils, who sees the manifest causes from which God Almighty,<sup>9</sup> calling Heaven and Earth to witness, has foretold that difficult and sad times will arise.<sup>10</sup> Now the causes which I observe, I think are obvious to all Men, to wit,<sup>11</sup> our contumacy and insolence, our hardened obstinacy in wicked I [A3<sup>v</sup>] courses, and a kind of contending with God that punishes us, which the Prophet Isaiah takes notice of in the Jews:<sup>12</sup> Why should ye be stricken any more? ye will revolt more and more: the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head, there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrefying sores: they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment.<sup>13</sup>*

*And, would to God! That in this tossing and agitation of the World there were no other loss but of the wealth, dignities, splendour and honours of the age, which tho they be highly valued, yet it might justly be born with, nay and perhaps to be wished, seeing such heavy loads and burdens are many times I [A4<sup>r</sup>] hindrance to the prosperity of our course. But, which is most sad and grievous, when the danger of the loss of one poor soul ought, in right, to be prevented by the throwing over-board*

5 Ps. 14:2–3.

6 Am. 7:14.

7 Epithet ‘almighty’ is not used in *DC*, 3.3–4: ‘ea in terris videre exempla quae se Deus non absque ultione laturum certissimis oraculis est’.

8 Am. 3:8. Literally in *KJV*: ‘The lion hath roared, who will not fear? The Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesy?’ At variance with the other Bible quotes used in the preface to the reader—not written in italics to distinguish them from the rest of the text—, this paragraph does not follow the editorial style. Contrariwise, in *DC* the quotation is marked with inverted commas. The use of italics and the use of the conditional ‘if’ indicate either a compositorial mistake or that Lovell probably translated here from Montano’s original without noticing the reference to the Bible passage. In *DC*, 3.5–6: ‘Nam si lego rugit, quis non timebit? Si Dominus locutus est, quis non prophetabit?’ In this edition the typographical style of the 1685 text is maintained.

9 Epithet ‘almighty’ is again used freely by Lovell. It is not used in *DC*, 3.7–9: ‘ex quibus temporum calamitates atque difficultates ortum iri Deus ipse caelum atque terram obtestatus praedixit’.

10 Isa. 1 *i.t.*

11 Deut. 32 *i.t.*

12 There is no reference to ‘the Jews’ in *DC*, 3.12: ‘quam Isaias in populo notandam indicabat’. The reason for substituting *populo* for ‘Jews’ may be explained by the nature of the book of Isaiah itself, since his prophecies were about Judah and Jerusalem.

13 *Isai. 1 i.t.*: Isa. 1:5–6.

*of all the goods and Cargo of the Ship; yet in such doleful Ship-wrecks, innumerable numbers of souls are observed to perish, and be swallowed up in the deep; which is the greatest of all humane miseries. Now seeing it is the duty and office of the Masters and Pilots, to bestir themselves for the safety of the beaten Vessel; and that I observe many of those who are concerned diligently labouring for that purpose; tho I want both authority and skill to act amongst those who rule the Ship; yet as being of the number of those who, in common danger, ought not to be idle spectators but busy in lending a hand, or at l [A4<sup>v</sup>] least assistant with fervent prayers, I thought it my duty, according to the mean and low station that I stand in, in the Church of God, with all humility and modesty to propose what I have judged proper for remedying of the evils, whereof the causes are so obvious to be known; especially since we bend our care to the admonishing and helping of those who, when they are unable to understand higher and greater matters, are not, perhaps, frequently taught those things which are more useful and necessary to be known of all Men in general; and which, if they be ignorant of, they can never attain to salvation, nor to the knowledge of those Points which are reckoned more noble and sublime truths. Nor do we fear that these our endeavours will seem unseasonable or superfluous to those l [A5<sup>r</sup>] great Men, who are more learned and skilful in the art of instructing and teaching the way of living. We are rather confident that the considerate will approve of our design, hoping that if we have given any hints that may serve for forwarding their duty, they will take it kindly and in good part. For in great Storms, the chief Masters and Pilots receive sometimes good advice from the Passengers, when they are pleased to hear them. In how much then we have learned from the Doctrine and Word of God, for the obtaining of God the salvation of our souls in the next World, and publick Peace and Tranquillity in this, we conceive two things are to be done: the one is that we persevere in the pure and holy Faith of the Catholick Church; and the other that we endeavour the amendment [A5<sup>v</sup>] of our lives and manners, according to the Rules and Precepts of our Lord and Master, constantly praying against sin that endangers our souls, and for eternal life, which is their happiness and bliss. If these things be purely, religiously and holily set about, they will procure us the grace and mercy of God through Jesus Christ, as the Holy Ghost by the mouth of his Prophet does assure us: Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!<sup>14</sup> They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters; These see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep. For he commandeth, and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof. They mount up to / [A6<sup>r</sup>] the heaven, they go down again to the depths: their soul is melted because of trouble. They reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wit's end. Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distresses. He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof*

<sup>14</sup> *Psal.* 107 *i.t.*: *Ps.* 107:21. The quote is not typographically marked in *DC*.

are still. Then are they glad because they be quiet; so he bringeth them unto their desired haven. Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men! Let them exalt him also in the congregation of the people, and praise him in the assembly of the elders.<sup>15</sup> / [A6<sup>v</sup>] *Whoso is wise, and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord.*<sup>16</sup>

15 *P*. 107:23–32.

16 *P*. 107:43. This Bible quote is not typographically distinguished in *DC*, and as such is reproduced in *PR*.

/[1] [B1<sup>r</sup>] THE PRACTICAL RULE OF CHRISTIAN PIETYTHE FIRST PART<sup>17</sup>

The scope and design of all Philosophers who have treated of the Nature and Actions of Man, and have given precepts and rules for the conduct of humane life, seems to have been to find out and demonstrate a supreme Perfection, to which / [2] [B1<sup>v</sup>] when Man had once attained, he had no further desires to disturb him, but rested content in an entire peaceable enjoyment of the chief and most desirable good:<sup>18</sup> And this they called a state of Happiness or Bliss. Constant and daily experience made it manifest that the way of living,<sup>19</sup> which most part of mankind followed, being obnoxious to care and anxiety, labour and pain, trouble and perturbation of thoughts, came far short of that perfection of humane Nature, that rest and tranquillity of mind that Mankind aspired to. And that the various states and conditions of Men made no difference in the case; seeing Kings, Princes, Magistrates, and / [3] [B2<sup>r</sup>] common People, the Rich and the Poor, the Whole and the Sick, all were dissatisfied and uneasy in their own condition. Wherefore many have made it their business to search out and discover several means how they might attain to that chief good, which might produce a solid and universal repose in the minds of all Men. But the different bias of passions and inclination so divided and distracted the thoughts of the undertakers, that they were wide of the Mark, and erred in the way of finding true happiness. For some placed *chief good* in the delights and pleasures of the Body; others in the affluence of Riches; others again in *indolence* or exemption from grief and pain; and some in a freedom from all Passions and Affections. / [4] [B2<sup>v</sup>] Every one in their several Studies and Actions pursued the end they had proposed to themselves, and laid down Maxims and Rules for others to do the like, whom by large promises and exhortations they invited to the same course of life.

However, the Opinion of those who placed the chief end and happiness of Man in bodily delights, pleasures and sensual lusts, in the judgement of the wiser, hath been totally exploded; and<sup>20</sup> not only in the act and enjoyments of delights and pleasure, but also in the manner of attaining to them, rendering the nature of Man inferior and more unhappy than that of Beasts.

But the opinion of those who made the perfection of life chiefly to consist in the soundness of the / [5] [B3<sup>r</sup>] mind and in virtue, tho in general it was approved, yet the determination of the things that they<sup>21</sup> constitute, and the

17 'CAP. 1' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. A7<sup>r</sup>.

18 Humane Felicity *mg.* 'Beatitudo humana' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. A7<sup>r</sup>.

19 The common condition of life *mg.* 'Vulgaris vivendi conditio' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. A7<sup>v</sup>.

20 as *ante corr.*

21 did *ante corr.*

method prescribed for arriving at that felicity, were found liable to so many errors and difficulties, that being measured by, and compared with the standard of true happiness, they were at length condemned and rejected as ineffectual. For some being ignorant of the true Origin<sup>22</sup> of the Souls of Men, and not acknowledging God for the author of them, they fancied to themselves a certain perfection of Virtue, which they were so far from attaining to, that neither they nor their Disciples could ever reach within the view thereof. Some again, tho they knew God to be the Supreme and true Author of Humane / [6] [B3<sup>v</sup>] Nature, yet they owned him not to be the chief end and happiness of Man; and tho, indeed, they might acknowledge that, yet without the revealed will of God himself, they could not rightly understand how they ought to seek, and by what means come to the enjoyment of him; nay and that also being known, they could not without the assistance of divine Grace set about the performance of the duties required therein. God was, therefore, in the first place to be known and applied to by Faith, and that supreme Master to be consulted, who might shew and declare himself and his Doctrine unto them, by those secret and divine ways whereby he can, and is wont to do it: *for without faith it is impossible to please God.*<sup>23</sup> But the / [7] [B4<sup>r</sup>] quite contrary course was taken by those who attributed so much to the industry and sharpness of humane understanding that they thought that there was nothing to be sought from God, judging it unseemingly<sup>24</sup> [of] a quaint and accurate Philosopher to have recourse to the will of God, as being the act rather of a slothful Soul than of a prying and inquisitive Mind that searched into the nature of things. That Man might and ought of himself find out the excellent nature of Virtue, carefully and industriously pursue after, and labour to obtain it and, having obtained it, preserve and improve the same; which tho they promised to themselves and endeavoured to accomplish, yet seeing they were neither rooted in Faith, nor had / [8] [B4<sup>v</sup>] begged and desired the aid of divine Grace, their search was in vain, so that no where finding what they looked for, they fatally misled themselves and those that followed them. And losing all hopes of attaining to the happiness they proposed, they at length degenerated into the basest and most corrupt kind of life. This the Holy Ghost takes notice of, and thus condemns, *This I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as other Gentiles walk, in the vanity of their mind, Having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart: Who being past feeling have given themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all un/cleanness* [9] [B5<sup>r</sup>] *with greediness.*<sup>25</sup> They again who

<sup>22</sup> original *ante corr.*

<sup>23</sup> *Heb.* 11:6.

<sup>24</sup> 'unseemingly': unbecoming, unseemly.

<sup>25</sup> *Eph.* 4 *i. t.*: *Eph.* 4:17–19.

were not without a sense and knowledge of God, but would not conform to a steady and sure rule of Conduct, studying rather to follow their own humour, than to comply with the simplicity of truth, have broached most idle Notions of the excellence of the divine Nature, and erroneous and most dangerous Perswasions of the way of imitating the same; leading most part of Mankind first into error and a snare, and then into utter destruction; as it is written: *The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness; Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath / [10] [B5<sup>v</sup>] shewed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even the eternal power and Godhead; for that they are without excuse: Because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves: Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped / [11] [B6<sup>r</sup>] and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for evermore.*<sup>26</sup> The Doctrine therefore of Men that had no conformity to the Faith of God, or that fell off from the knowledge of God unto Vanity, false and foolish imaginations, could neither rightly define, nor exhibit and declare the true happiness of Mankind. That only Doctrine which the revealed Will of God doth teach is capable, through the power and goodness of its author, to perform what it hath promised to those who truly and sincerely become its Disciples. For the Scripture saith, *The proud have digged pits for me, which are not after thy law. All thy commandments are righteousness.*<sup>27</sup>

/ [12] [B6<sup>v</sup>] There are many instances which manifestly prove that the Doctrine of the word of God hath fulfilled and made good what it promised and foretold to the true Disciples and followers thereof; and that it can and daily does perform the same to those who are guided thereby. Now this Doctrine hath promised Salvation, eternal happiness and the inheritance of the kingdom of Heaven, in and through the Son of God, who was to be sent into the World, and the descent of the Holy Ghost into the minds of Believers, which, as a sure pledge and earnest of the celestial inheritance, might by his inspirations teach them the true and saving use of the Heavenly gifts and Graces. Of this the Disciples of our Lord had experience, as the Holy / [13] [B7<sup>r</sup>] Ghost himself bears witness. *Simon*

<sup>26</sup> *Rom. 1 i.t.: Rom. 1:18–25.*

<sup>27</sup> *Psal. 119 i.t.: Ps. 119:85–86.* Either Lovell or the editor confused verse 86 with verse 172 of this psalm. Literally verse 86 says 'all thy commandments are faithful', whereas verse 172 reads 'all thy commandments are righteousness'.

*Peter, a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ, to them that have obtained the like precious faith with us through the righteousness of God and our saviour Jesus Christ: Grace and peace be multiplied unto you through the knowledge of God, and of Jesus our Lord, According as his divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and virtue: Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises: that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.*<sup>28</sup> The Apostle St. Paul, treating of the vanity of the Doctrine of the Gentiles, and of the truth and benefits [14] [B7<sup>v</sup>] of the Christian Discipline, says to the same purpose, *But ye have not so learned Christ; If so be that ye have heard him, and have been taught by him, as the truth is in Jesus: That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; And be renewed in the spirit of your mind; And that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.*<sup>29</sup> *Ye are the children of the prophets, and of the covenant which God made with our fathers, saying unto Abraham, And in thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed. Unto you first God, having raised up his son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities.*<sup>30</sup>

/ [15] [B8<sup>r</sup>] Now that state and condition, to which the true Disciples and Followers of the Christian Doctrine are by the grace and goodness of God advanced, does in honor, dignity, and amplitude of glory and bliss far exceed all that the natural Man, the Wit of Philosophers, and the pains and study of mortal Man can conceive, define or comprehend, without the special favour and assistance of divine grace: *For, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.*<sup>31</sup> *But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knows the things of a man, save the I [16] [B8<sup>v</sup>] the spirit of man that is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.*<sup>32</sup> This state and condition may in some measure, indeed, be delineated and described, which by the help of God, in time and place convenient we shall attempt. But that will be but a faint emblem and adumbration, rather than a true and lively representation of the same, for the fullness of this solid and excellent happiness is not to be expressed in the common way of speech, nor conceived by the thoughts of men, unless of those who, by the influence and operation of the Holy Ghost, are rendered capable of so great mysteries. *For this cause, saith the Apostle, I bow my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Of*

28 2 Pet. 1 i.t.: 2 Pet. 1:1–4.

29 Eph. 4 i.t.: Eph. 4:20–24.

30 Acts 3 i.t.: Acts 3:25–26.

31 Isa. 64 i.t.: 1 Cor. 2:9. Cf. Isa. 64:4.

32 1 Cor. 2 i.t.: 1 Cor. 2:10–11.

*whom the whole family / [17] [B9<sup>r</sup>] in heaven and earth is named, That he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might, by his Spirit in the inner man; That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, May be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; And to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God.*<sup>33</sup>

Now, although a disciple of this Christian Doctrine may not at first comprehend the greatness and excellence of the state to which he is called, until by divine favour he hath attained to it, nevertheless the happiness is not therefore less, nor will it by any disappoint/ment [18] [B9<sup>v</sup>] be diminished. For the most Faithful Author of this doctrine will abundantly and to the full perform what he hath promised, tho in the beginning it be unknown to believers, seeing he, who freely and graciously hath promised, standeth not in need of the goodness of others, nor is made poor by conferring his own, but by how much the more he is liberal and bountiful, by so much the riches of his goodness and inexhaustible mercy does increase. *For the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him.*<sup>34</sup> Whether, then, the reward of the Discipline of Christ<sup>35</sup> be fully known to his followers, or but darkly shadowed out to them, yet it shall not be denied to those who with a pure and holy heart seek after it, nor / [19] [B10<sup>r</sup>] shall it want any thing of that amplitude and fullness, which the divine nature of the thing itself, and the Majesty, Authority and Bounty of him that promises it does require. *For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts. For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater: So shall my word be that goeth forth of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it. For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall / [20] [B10<sup>v</sup>] break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fig-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree: and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.*<sup>36</sup> A clear proof of this appears in Abraham, whom God heretofore, having selected and separated him from the Doctrine and Manners of the Gentiles, proposed as an excellent pattern to be imitated by those who would embrace and submit to this Discipline. However<sup>37</sup> he, having received and by firm Faith believed the promise of an earthly inheritance, did not

<sup>33</sup> *Eph. 3 i.t.: Eph. 3:14–19.*

<sup>34</sup> *Rom. 10 i.t.: Rom. 10:12.*

<sup>35</sup> 'divine disciplinae' in DC, 9.13.

<sup>36</sup> *Esa. 55 i.t.: Isa. 55:9–13.*

<sup>37</sup> how *ante corr.*

instantly know what extent of Land was assured to him referring to the Almighty who had made the Promise, but / [21] [B11<sup>r</sup>] thought it was enough for him to rely on the promises of the God of the whole Earth, who having freely spoken the word was best able and most willing to perform it. And no sooner was the Promise made, but he, trusting it, obeyed the command and submitted to the conditions enjoined him. *For the Lord said unto Abraham, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee: And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.*<sup>38</sup> So *Abraham* departed, as the Lord had commanded him, knowing / [22] [B11<sup>v</sup>] neither whither he went, nor how large the possession was that he was to have, which the Apostle observing saith: *By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went,*<sup>39</sup> wholly trusting to the word of him who could and would perform more than he was able either to ask or think, and looking upon it as his duty to obey the Master, whose Disciple he was, that had promised him large inheritance to be revealed and discovered unto him in due time; as the event made appear. For *Abraham*, having made a competent progress in the discipline he had embraced, being called by God to whose institution he had resigned himself, was fully instructed [23] [B12<sup>r</sup>] by him, not only in the extent of the Earthly inheritance, but of the Heavenly Blessings also, which were shadowed and typified thereby, as it is written: *And the Lord said unto Abraham, after that Lot was separated from him, Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward; For all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered. Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for I will give it unto thee.*<sup>40</sup> Wherefore, seeing no Man can doubt but that what things God / [24] [B12<sup>v</sup>] hath promised will more fully be accomplished than he who is to receive them can wish for, or think, it will be the duty of a true Believer and Disciple of Christ<sup>41</sup> to set diligently about the performance of the condition imposed upon him, and to leave the blessings and favours which he does expect to the arbitrement of him, to whose conduct and doctrine he hath resigned himself, even to God Almighty, the powerful and rich Father of all Mercies, who maketh it to rain upon the Just and the Unjust,

38 *Gen. 12 i.t.: Gen. 12:1–3.*

39 *Heb. 11:8. Heb. 12 mg. in DC, sig. C1<sup>r</sup>.*

40 *Gen. 13 i.t.: Gen. 13:14–17.*

41 'discipuli boni' in *DC*, 11.3.

and who by the mouth of his own Son, in whom he hath spoken and made the greatest of promises to us, hath promised to give his good spirit to those that seek him. For if he most graciously fulfilled what at sundry / [25] [C1<sup>r</sup>] times and in divers manners he spake and promised unto the Fathers by the Prophets,<sup>42</sup> and if the word spoken by Angels was stedfast, how can we be denied or disappointed of any thing that hath been promised to us by the Son of his Love,<sup>43</sup> the faithful interpreter of his Will and bountiful dispencer of his Grace and Mercies? This made a most approved Apostle, who by his own and the experience of others was convinced of that truth, break out in thankfulness to God: *What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not also with him freely give us all things?*<sup>44</sup> So that on the part of him that promises no doubt can be made nor any impediment / [26] [C1<sup>v</sup>] interpose why those things which have been promised should not superabundantly be fulfilled: *good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom.*<sup>45</sup> And the truth of this Christian Doctrine for ever stands firm and unshaken, *according to the faith of God's elect, and the acknowledging of the truth which is after godliness; In hope of external life, which God, who cannot lie, promised before the world began; But hath in due times manifested his word.*<sup>46</sup> *For when God made promise to Abraham, because he could swear by no greater, he swore by himself, Saying, surely blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee. And so, after he had patiently endured, he obtained the promise. For men verily swear by the / [27] [C2<sup>r</sup>] greater, and an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife. Wherein God, willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath: That by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us: Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast, and which entereth into that within the veil,*<sup>47</sup> *Whither the forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus, made an high priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.*<sup>48</sup>

It remains then, which is the design of this little Book, that we handle the Parts and Offices that are incumbent on Believers and the Scholars of Christ,<sup>49</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Heb.* 1 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. C2<sup>v</sup>. Cf. *Heb.* 1:1.

<sup>43</sup> 'Son of his love' is freely added by Lovell. The phrase is not used by Montano in *DC*, 11.12–14: 'quomodo nobis quidquam subducetur aut negabitur ex iis quae per hunc voluntatis suae interpretem et expeditorem atque misericordiae et gratiae dispensatorem benignissimum promissa sunt?'

<sup>44</sup> *Rom.* 8 *i.t.*: *Rom.* 8:31–32.

<sup>45</sup> *Luke* 6 *i.t.*: *Lk.* 6:38.

<sup>46</sup> *Tit.* 1 *i.t.*: *Tit.* 1:1–3.

<sup>47</sup> vail *ante corr.*

<sup>48</sup> *Heb.* 6 *i.t.*: *Heb.* 6:13–20. For the comparison between Jesus and the priest Melchisedek, see *Gen.* 14:18.

<sup>49</sup> 'believers and scholars of Christ' replaces 'discipulis' in *DC*, 12.1.

and<sup>50</sup> / [28] [C2<sup>v</sup>] especially those which indifferently concern all ranks, ages, and conditions of Men, and without which their learning will be in vain, and the Doctrine insignificant. Let every one then, whether King or Priest, Prince or States-man, private or publick, rich or poor, Bond or Free, Father or Son, Husband or Wife, Young or Old, Merchant or Artificer, Soldier or Peasant, Learned or Unlearned, provided he profess himself to be a Disciple and Follower of Christ<sup>51</sup> and Christian Doctrine, provided he be Baptized into the Faith of the Catholick Church, without which there is no Salvation; let every one, I say, learn in what Station soever he be how he ought to keep his Post, behave and carry himself in this World, and that from the Pre/cepts [29] [C3<sup>r</sup>] and Institutions of the Holy Ghost himself, who ought to be his Guide, and not from us, who do but, as Students in the same School, deliver to our fellow Scholars the Precepts and Doctrine of our great Master, who hath called us from Darkness to his marvellous Light,<sup>52</sup> and let him take it in good part, if perchance we inculcate some things which may<sup>53</sup> seem hard and uneasy to the Manners, Customs and Opinions of this present Age, not interpreting what we say as a reproof to any person in particular, but judging it the duty of a faithful Minister and Servant to declare and manifest to his fellow servants the Will of the Lord in his own words; whereby if any man out of Conscience, Ignorance or Fear shall think himself censured, he must / [30] [C3<sup>v</sup>] not be offended with the Doctrine and Precepts which are Just and Holy, nor with his fellow Servant who delivers them, but with himself, his faults and vices, who, having professed this Doctrine, hath not submitted himself to the Laws and Conditions thereof, which are Constant, Universal and Immutable, and not made and published that, according to the desire, humour, lust and counsels of every private man, they may be altered and changed; but which command Obedience by changing all those Desires, Passions, Lusts, and Counsels that may be a hindrance to the punctual observation of the same, our Lord himself having said, *Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, / [31] [C4<sup>r</sup>] but to fulfil.*<sup>54</sup> That is, to make those who believe in me, pure, holy, and faithful in observing and fulfilling the same. *For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and*

50 but *ante corr.*

51 'follower of Christ' is Lovell's translation. In *DC*, 12.9–10: 'modo discipulum sese profiteatur et esse velit doctrinae huius christianae'.

52 This relative clause is absent in *DC*.

53 way *ante corr.*

54 *Mat. 5 i.t.: Mt. 5:17–20.*

*Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.*<sup>55</sup> Now if the entry into the Kingdom of Heaven be denied to those whose righteousness and obedience to the Laws / [32] [C4<sup>v</sup>] of the God does not exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees, not of the wicked and hypocrites, but of the good Scribes and Pharisees, who seemed most to excell in the study of observing the Law, what will become of him who through hatred, or favour of Man, shall pervert, change, conceal, dissemble, or [in] any other ways make void the rules of righteousness that he is to deliver to his fellow Christians, and teach so? He shall, indeed, be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven, and deemed unworthy to be admitted into that Heavenly Communion and Society, into which all that are received are called Kings and great. Now, to be a King and to be the least are inconsistent. Hence it follows that in the Kingdom of / [33] [C5<sup>r</sup>] Heaven it is the same thing to be the least and to be none; for no man that breaketh the Commandments of God and teacheth others so to do shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but they only shall enter whose righteousness *exceeds the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees*, and who being *not only hearers, but doers of the law, shall be justified before God.*<sup>56</sup>

Wherefore if in the Precepts, Rules, and Instructions of the Doctrine that hath been delivered unto us, any thing may seem to any Man stricter than his own Will, Opinion, or predominant Affections can comply with, or submit unto, let him, if he intends to enter into life, be persuaded that neither the way which God hath once fenced in / [34] [C5<sup>v</sup>] is to be changed or enlarged, nor that strait and narrow Gate<sup>57</sup> made wider for the sake of any particular Person; and that he must become Humble, Lowly, and poor in Spirit,<sup>58</sup> striving to walk in the narrow way, and to enter at the strait Gate, which will not be difficult to those who truly love this Doctrine, and earnestly implore the assistance of Divine Grace, that will be denied to none who dutifully and carefully submit to the rules and dictates of this Discipline. For *the Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth. He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him: he also will hear their cry, and will save them.*<sup>59</sup> And so he shall understand that the ways of the Lord are broad and pleasant / [35] [C6<sup>r</sup>] to those who as Pilgrims and Strangers, abstaining from and renouncing the carnal desires that war against the Soul, and becoming poor in Spirit, undertake that holy Journey and enter into the right way, as the Royal Psalmist saith. *And I will walk at liberty: for I seek thy precepts. I will speak of thy testimonies also before kings, and will not be ashamed. And I will delight myself in thy commandments, which I have loved. My hands also will I lift up unto thy commandments which I have loved; and I will meditate in thy statutes.*<sup>60</sup>

<sup>55</sup> *Mt.* 5:18-20.

<sup>56</sup> *Rom.* 2:13.

<sup>57</sup> *Cf. Lk.* 13:24.

<sup>58</sup> *Cf. Mt.* 5:3.

<sup>59</sup> *Psal.* 145 *i.t.*: *Ps.* 145:18-19.

<sup>60</sup> *Psal.* 119 *i.t.*: *Ps.* 119:45-48.

I know that good and holy Men will willingly listen to their fellow Christian,<sup>61</sup> and not so much mind the language and learning of him that writes, as the sayings which proceed out of the / [36] [C6<sup>v</sup>] mouth of the living God, whose sacred and infallible Authority reaching all men, whether publick or private, the universal Church hath always owned and asserted, and that they will take in good part whatsoever may be said by us, which perhaps may tax the corrupt manners of your present times; being perswaded that Christian Simplicity, Virtue and Probity<sup>62</sup> are always in force, and beyond exception and reproach, not only upon their own account, but because of our purpose and design also, who heartily love all holy and good Men tho unknown, neither hate any who may have fallen from the truth, or degenerated from the Virtues of the Gospel,<sup>63</sup> but wish that all may repent and be saved through Jesus Christ our Lord, whom therefore / [37] [C7<sup>r</sup>] we would have rightly admonished of their Duty. As for the wiser, who stand not in need of our Admonition, we trust they will put a favourable construction on our care and endeavours for the common salvation of Mankind; who tho we be simple, and unable to contribute any thing to the information of the wise, yet to those who are weaker in knowledge ought to perform what service and good offices lye in our power. Now the sum of all our Admonition shall consist of plain Sentences from the Oracles both of the Old and New Testament, the weight of which is such that neither humane wisdom can resist, nor the craft and subtilty of our adversary evacuate the force of them; and by this means we may be helpful / [38] [C7<sup>v</sup>] both to those who admit of nothing in dispute, but what is taken from Holy Scripture, and to those also who rightly think that truth, wherever it be found, ought to be embraced; for to both these it is our design to do good, not alledging all that might be said, but only such things as we shall have reason to think may be profitable to all, and hurtful to no body.

The whole Christian Discipline then may be comprehended under two general Heads, which every true Disciple and follower of Christ ought to know and dutifully practise. The first is to believe the Word and Promises of God, the Authority whereof hath been confirmed by Signs, Miracles and manifest Testimonies. Now Signs and Miracles are neither at present necessary, nor are they, nor / [39] [C8<sup>r</sup>] indeed ought to be required; as being of old seen and approved, reiterated likewise, and confirmed, and received and believed by the

61 'condiscipulum' in *DC*, 14.1. Though already in used by 1554, as stated in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term condisciple is rarely used in English. Fellow disciple, fellow-scholar, or fellow Christian, as Lovell translates it, has been more commonly used. See also notes 41 and 51.

62 'pietatem, simplicitatemque christianam, virtutem et probitatem' in *DC*, 14.7–8. Lovell omits 'pietatem' (piety) in his translation, perhaps unintentionally.

63 Lovell includes a reference to the Gospels where Montano only refers to Christian truth and virtue, in *DC*, 14.11–12: 'veritate atque virtute christiana'.

Universal Church of God; for concerning these, it is written, *Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generation: ask thy father, and he will shew thee, thy elders; and they will tell thee.*<sup>64</sup> Wherefore it is not now to be doubted what it is, or how we ought to believe;<sup>65</sup> for that is reduced into certain Points, which are called Articles, and proposed by the Church to be learned, under the name of the Apostles Creed, briefly and plainly comprehending all the Points of our Faith,<sup>66</sup> which have been largely commented upon and explained in the many writings of holy and learned Men.<sup>67</sup> / [40] [C8<sup>v</sup>] Neither is our discourse directed to those that do not believe, but to such as believe, or at least, profess they believe the Word and Promises of God to their own Salvation, and confess that there is no necessity of Miracles, nor any doubt of the Salvation sent into the World, and wrought by Jesus Christ, *which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by those that heard him; God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will.*<sup>68</sup>

The second Head and Branch of Doctrine is the knowledge and practice of Piety, of which at present we are to treat. Now for illustration sake, we call Pie/ty [41] [C9<sup>r</sup>] all that which every faithful Disciple and Follower of Christ and the Christian doctrine, believing the Promises, ought to know, hold fast, and practise, no Man being excepted who having the right use of his Reason, can know and perform the same, seeing the assistance of the divine Gace that is necessary to that knowledge and practice will not be wanting nor denied to those who, as we said before, diligently and seasonably beg the same, but will rather be plentifully supplied by the Father of Light, *who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth,*<sup>69</sup> even those who are strangers to the knowledge of the Truth, and much more such as embrace the known Truth, and study to hold fast and improve / [42] [C9<sup>v</sup>] it. Now we say that it behoveth a Disciple of Christ<sup>70</sup> to know the chief Precepts and Institutions of the Doctrine of Piety which he professes; for tho to know the least Points be neither the duty, nor is it required of all, yet those things which belong to all

<sup>64</sup> *Deut. 32 i.t.: Deut. 32:7.*

<sup>65</sup> Lovell leaves out the phrase 'divinis effatis', in *DC*, 15.10, which could be translated as 'the words of God'.

<sup>66</sup> 'divina effata atque promissa', in *DC*, 15.13, is again ignored by Lovell. It would translate as 'the words and promises of God'.

<sup>67</sup> Here we find one the most relevant divergences of *PR* from *DC*. The reference to the Council of Trent (1545–1563) is completely disregarded in Lovell's version, which does not include the excerpt 'eorumque exposition Tridentini concilii auctoritate atque ecclesiasticorum ministrorum praestani opera in breve atque perspicuum compendium doctissime redacta est', in *DC*, 15.15–17.

<sup>68</sup> *Heb. 2 i.t.: Heb. 2:3–4.*

<sup>69</sup> *1 Tim. 2 i.t.: 1 Tim. 2:4.*

<sup>70</sup> 'discipulum doctrinae pietatis' in *DC*, 17.1.

in general, and every Disciple in particular, are not to be unknown. For how dare he profess and call himself a Disciple who knows not the Heads of that Discipline which he does and ought to follow? And by what right can he expect to be acknowledged a Scholar by the Master who knows not the Precepts and Institutions of his Teacher? And to that purpose is this, which by a Disciple is written to his fellow Scholars. *If any man think himself to be a / [43] [C10<sup>r</sup>] prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord. But if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant.*<sup>71</sup> If any Man knows<sup>72</sup> not the Commands of God, he shall not be known by our Lord and Master, who will say, *I know you not.*<sup>73</sup> And again, *to every one that hath shall be given: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.*<sup>74</sup> In another place making a difference betwixt those who believe and know the Will of God, and those who do not, the Lord saith, *and that servant, which knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of / [44] [C10<sup>v</sup>] stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes.*<sup>75</sup> Wherefore leaving those who know not the Will of the Lord, such as are they to whom the knowledge of the Gospel hath not as yet reached, our discourse is to those who have known, or at least have professed to know, the Will of the Lord, who ought to prepare themselves and do according to his Will, to whom the Apostle saith, *for ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus. For this is the will of God, even your sanctification,*<sup>76</sup> to which Men ought to prepare themselves. Now, no Man can be so prepared if he be ignorant by what means and actions that Preparation is to be set about and accomplished; for tho one may set about it with all imaginable care and study, yet unless / [45] [C11<sup>r</sup>] he square<sup>77</sup> the same according to the rules and the directions of the Divine Will, he will at length find it to be unprofitable. And this God Almighty himself<sup>78</sup> plainly declares to those who moved with a pious study and zeal, yet proposed to themselves other courses than were enjoined<sup>79</sup> them by his Counsel and Precepts. *Thus saith the Lord, thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel; I am the Lord thy God which teacheth thee to profit, which leadeth thee by the way that thou shouldest go. Oh that thou*

71 1 Cor. 14 i.t.: 1 Cor. 14:37–38. 1 Ti. 4 mg. in DC, sig. D2<sup>v</sup>. Lovell corrects here the marginal note misprinted in the Latin text.

72 know *ante corr.*

73 Mat. 25 i.t.: Mt. 25:12.

74 Mt. 25:29. Cf. Mt. 13:12. Matth. 13 mg. in DC, sig. D3<sup>v</sup>.

75 Luke 12 i.t.: Lk. 12:47–48.

76 1 Thes. 4 i.t.: 1 Th. 4:2–3.

77 'square': to adjust, to adapt.

78 'Deus ipse' in DC, 17.27. 'Almighty' is again Lovell's addition.

79 'enjoined': imposed, prescribed.

*hadst hearkened to my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea.*<sup>80</sup> From which holy Sentences, it follows that every Disciple ought at least to know the chief Heads of the Discipline that is profitable unto / [46] [C11<sup>v</sup>] him; those, I mean, which may be known, retained and practised by all, and require neither much Labour, great Study, a deep Wit, length of Time, nor far Travel for attaining to the knowledge of them; as it is written, *For this commandment which I command thee this day, [it] is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.*<sup>81</sup>

This Piety then, that is to be known and practised by us, is di/vided [47] [C12<sup>r</sup>] into three parts: to wit, *Fear, Repentance, and Charity*,<sup>82</sup> with the observation of the Laws of God; which whosoever being rightly taught shall keep and observe, [so that] they will, through the most bountiful Promise and Covenant of God, confirm and encrease to him the Grace and Mercy of the Lord, to his own Salvation, and at length bring him to the possession and enjoyment of the Kingdom of Heaven. For such is the efficacy that the Will and bounteous Liberality of God hath granted to these three Parts, or Virtues, if you had rather call them so, that he whose mind is filled and endowed with them, may thereby avoid the wrath and dreadful Judgment of God, and find Grace and Mercy in the Eyes of the Almighty.

/ [48] [C12<sup>v</sup>] In the first place then, they who would practice the Duties of Christian Piety<sup>83</sup> must have their minds filled with a divine Fear, that is, with an awe, reverence, and watchful observation of those things which are known to be either acceptable or displeasing to God, that they may wholly detest, flee<sup>84</sup> and abhor the last, and with all care and diligence pursue and seek after the first. For that disposition, whereby the mind so reverences God that it wills nothing which may offend that immense goodness, and rejects nothing which it knows to be conform<sup>85</sup> to the Will of God, that disposition of mind, I say, is called the fear of the Lord, and is said to be the beginning of all true Wisdom, which by another name also the Latins have called Reli/gion. [49] [D1<sup>r</sup>] Philosophers have divided this into a servile and filial fear, and the Christian School have admitted the same

80 *Isa* 48 *i. t.*: *Isa.* 48:17–18.

81 *Deut.* 30 *i. t.*: *Deut.* 30:11–14.

82 'Timorem, Poenitentiam et Charitatem' in *DC*, 18.2. Lovell systematically translates 'poenitentiam' (penance in English) as repentance.

83 Epithet 'Christian' is added by Lovell where only 'pietatem' is used by Montano in *DC*, 19.1.

84 *flee ante corr.* 'Flee': to eschew, to avoid; used as transitive.

85 'conform': consistent, accordant.

distinction, commending<sup>86</sup> the servile fear so far, as it was a forerunner to and made way for the filial. But we, whose design it is not so much to dispute nicely about these matters, as to accommodate them to vulgar capacities, and to square<sup>87</sup> our discourse according to the rule of sacred Oracles, following the definition given by the Holy Ghost, call this fear of the Lord Religion or Reverence, whereby the mind of an holy Man being affected observes and follows what he knows to be acceptable to God, and on the contrary rejects and shuns what is displeasing to him. Wherefore this pious disposition of mind is by Wisdom / [50] [D1<sup>v</sup>] so defined: *the fear of the Lord is the beginning* (or principal part) *of wisdom*,<sup>88</sup> that is to say, a Religious observation of those things which by Knowledge or Wisdom we know to be desired or shunned. Now by Wisdom in this place is to be understood the knowledge and notices of the divine Will, whether attained by word, writing, or tradition, or by revealed rules and rational intimations.<sup>89</sup>

Now this divine Fear puts him, in whose heart it is, upon the exercise of true repentance, inclines him to the Study and observation of the Laws of God, and stirs him up to a search and diligent enquiry into the nature of both. For when once a Man hath resolved with himself to reverence and practise all that / [51] [D2<sup>v</sup>] he knows to be acceptable to God, and to flie<sup>90</sup> and shun those things which do displease him, he makes it his chief care to learn what it is that God approves of, and what he condemns; and being so taught, he implores the assistance of the divine Grace, repents of the former sins of his misspent life, and proposes to himself the way of Gods commandments, wherein persisting in a stiddy and uninterrupted course, he is made partaker of the Heavenly Promises stipulated by the Covenant of Grace,<sup>91</sup> and enjoys the fellowship and communion of that blessing, which the Father of Love has promised, can, and will make good to them who believe in him, and which, in effect, he hath fulfilled to those who have obeyed his most Just and Holy Will. / [52] [D2<sup>v</sup>] Wherefore the Wisdom of God, knowing what extraordinary fruits spring from this root of divine fear, that it might dehort<sup>92</sup> Men from the violation of the Laws of God, and deter them

86 condemning *ante corr.* The Latin text ('commendavit' in *DC*, 19.10) and the meaning of the passage suggest that this seems to be a compositorial mistake by which 'commend' was confused and substituted for 'condemn'.

87 See note 77.

88 *Cf. Prov. 9:10, Ps. 111:10.*

89 'intimations': revelations, declarations.

90 See note 84.

91 'divino consilio et pacto' in *DC*, 20.10. Lovell's use of Covenant of Grace entails an Anglican reading of the Latin expression, as this was one of the three pacts which, according to the Reformed Covenant Theology—for the most part established at the Westminster Assembly (1643–1653)—, God implicitly made with mankind in the Bible. The Covenant of Grace promised eternal blessing to those who obeyed God and believed in salvation through Christ's sacrifice.

92 'dehort': to dissuade.

from<sup>93</sup> the danger of everlasting Wrath and indignation,<sup>94</sup> by the mouth of the Son of Sirach<sup>95</sup> calls *the fear of the Lord a crown of wisdom, honour, and glory, and gladness, and a crown of rejoicing*.<sup>96</sup> And to explain and commend it more effectually and plainly, saith *that the fear of the Lord is a fountain of life*.<sup>97</sup> The fear of God is therefore called the beginning and fountain of Life because, reclaiming Man from the violation of the Laws of God and inducing him to true repentance, it sets him upon the keeping and performance of the Com/mandments, [53] [D3<sup>v</sup>] that he may obtain Grace and Mercy in the sight of the Almighty, whereby he becomes the son of God and heir of eternal Life through the most gracious Promise and Covenant of that God, who freely and of his own accord takes upon himself the care, conduct, instruction and sanctification of all those who cleave unto him by Faith and true Obedience; and therefore the Royal Psalmist sings: *He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him: he also will hear their cry, and will save them*.<sup>98</sup> And in another place, *For as the heaven is high above the earth, so great is his mercy toward them that fear him. As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us. Like as a father pitieth I [54] [D3<sup>v</sup>] his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him*.<sup>99</sup> And again, *The mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him*.<sup>100</sup> By all which we are taught that

93 form *ante corr.*

94 The phrase 'ad gratiae ineundae conciliandaeque usum induceret' ('and to induce them to obtain grace') in *DC*, 21.3–4, is missing in Lovell's translation.

95 'Salomonis' in *DC*, 21.4. Shimon ben Yeshua ben Eliezer ben Sira of Jerusalem, also known as Sirach, or Jesus, son of Sirach, was the author of the *Book of the All-Virtuous Wisdom of Joshua ben Sira*, also known as the *Wisdom of Sirach* or the *Book of Ecclesiasticus* (ca. 190–170 BC). It seems that Lovell corrected what perhaps appears to be an error in the original text. Accepted by the Catholic Church but considered apocryphal by the Protestant creed —yet not excluded from the 1611 King James's version, for it was, in accordance with Luther, a good and profitable reading—, the *Ecclesiasticus* was regarded as one of the so-called wisdom books along others such as the *Proverbs*, *Psalms*, or *Wisdom of Solomon*. The latter has sometimes been confused with the *Ecclesiasticus* —or *Wisdom of Sirach*— and mistakenly attributed to King Solomon, whose Latin equivalent is Salomonis. This may justify Montano's allusion to Salomon —despite the use of a marginal note to indicate that the quotation is actually from the *Ecclesiasticus*, in *DC*, sig. D7<sup>v</sup>— and Lovell's later correction of the name of the author of the book. Another argument to suspect that this could have been Montano's lapse is the non-literal character of the citation, which he seems to be quoting by relying on memory, for the literal extract reads as 'timor Domine gloria, et gloriatio, et laetitia, et corona exultationis', and as such is, for example, reproduced in the Antwerp edition of the polyglot Bible (1568–1572) that Montano himself supervised, vols. 2–3, fol. B3<sup>v</sup>. At variance with Montano, in *PR* Lovell sticks to the literal Bible quote.

96 *Ecclus.* 1 *i.t.*: *Ecclus.* 1:11, 18.

97 *Prov.* 14:27.

98 *Psal* 145 *i.t.*: *Ps.* 145:19.

99 *Psal.* 103 *i.t.*: *Ps.* 103:11–13. *Ps.* Verse 12 of this psalm is freely added by Lovell. Only verses 11 and 13 are quoted by Montano.

100 *Ps.* 103:17.

the never failing Mercy of God is infinite & eternal to those who, filled and animated with divine Fear, follow the ways of Godliness;<sup>101</sup> which Fear, as we have said, is the beginning, or principal part of Knowledge, that is, it is a reverent care to avoid sin, obey the Will, and worship the Majesty of God. And therefore the holy Mother<sup>102</sup> of our Lord affirms, *That his mercy is on them that fear him, from generation to generation,*<sup>103</sup> thereby intimating that that divine and inexhaustible Mercy was in no Age ever wanting to those who Fear and religiously Serve / [55] [D4<sup>r</sup>] the Lord. And, indeed, divine Wisdom hath, by many and frequent Testimonies and Oracles out of the mouths of all the Prophets and Holy Men, asserted the Dignity and Excellence of the Fear of God; and amongst others by that of the Son of *Sirach*:<sup>104</sup> *Oh how great is he that findeth wisdom! yet there is none above him that feareth the Lord.*<sup>105</sup> For Knowledge and Wisdom do, indeed, illuminate and instruct the Mind; but that holy Fear of the Lord turns the heart effectually unto God, and inclines it to the Obedience and Observation of the Precepts of the divine Law. As the same Son of *Sirach* does expressly teach, saying, *My son, if thou come to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation. Set thy heart / [56] [D4<sup>v</sup>] aright, and constantly endure, and make not haste in time of trouble. Cleave unto him, and depart not away, that thou mayest be increased at thy last end. Whatsoever is brought unto thee take cheerfully, and be patient when thou art changed to a low estate. For gold is tried in the fire, and acceptable men in the furnace of adversity. Believe in him, and he will help thee; order thy way aright, and trust in him. Ye that fear the Lord, wait for his mercy; and go not aside, lest ye fall. Ye that fear the Lord, believe him; and your reward shall not fail. Ye that fear the Lord, hope for good, and for everlasting joy and mercy. Look at the generations of old, and see; did ever any trust in the Lord, and was confounded? or did any abide in his fear, and was forsaken? or / [57] [D5<sup>r</sup>] whom did he ever despise, that called upon him? For the Lord is full of compassion and mercy, longsuffering, and very pitiful, and forgiveth sins, and saveth in time of affliction. Woe be to fearful hearts, and faint hands, and the sinner that goeth two ways! Woe unto him that is faint-hearted! for he believeth not; therefore shall he not be defended. Woe unto you that have lost patience! and what will ye do when the Lord shall visit you? They that fear the Lord will not disobey his word, and they that love him, will keep his ways. They that fear the Lord, will seek that [which] is well pleasing unto him; and they that love him shall be filled with the*

101 'pietatis viam' in *DC*, 22.3. In English, godliness is synonymous with piety.

102 'sanctissima veritatis mater' in *DC*, 22.6. Lovell omits the substantive 'veritatis', which translates as truth. Again, this could be indicative of a possible Anglican interpretation of the text, given that Protestantism did not regard the Virgin Mary as a mediator between humanity and the truth of God.

103 *Luke 1 i.t.: Lk.* 1:50.

104 'Salomonen' in *DC*, 22.12. Again, Lovell corrects Solomon to Sirach. Cf. footnote 95.

105 *Ecclus. 25 i.t.: Ecclus.* 25:10.

*law. They that fear the Lord will prepare their hearts,<sup>106</sup> and humble their souls in his sight, Saying, We will fall into the hands of the Lord, and not into the hands of men: for as his majesty is, so is his mercy.<sup>107</sup> Nor do the Holy Scriptures affirm only that the Fear of God is an useful, proper and effectual means for working out our own Salvation; but also that it is absolutely necessary, and without which no Man can be saved; seeing he who is not endowed with this Religious and Godly Fear<sup>108</sup> can neither rightly set about, nor with a steady and constant purpose of mind, go through with the work of Repentance; nor yet faithfully keep the Laws of God, as they ought to do, who endeavour to approve themselves to God, and procure the blessing of Justification and Christian sanctification. And therefore it was the Decree and Purpose of Heaven that a messenger / [59] [D6<sup>r</sup>] of the Salvation which was coming into the World, should as a fore-runner be sent before, to Preach the Repentance and observation of the Divine Laws to Men, and by that means prepare the way for Christian Righteousness. For John the Baptist came preaching in the wilderness of Judea, And saying, Repent ye: For the kingdom of heaven is at hand. For this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.<sup>109</sup> For the same purpose the Apostles were sent out by Jesus Christ, the Author and High Priest of our Salvation, to Publish and Preach this necessary Duty of Repentance; for, as the Evangelist saith, They went out and preached [60] [D6<sup>v</sup>] that men should repent.<sup>110</sup> The Apostles excepted<sup>111</sup> none that heard them, and desired to be partakers of the Salvation which they Preached, from the Duty and Care of Repentance. The Apostle Paul affirms before King Agrippa, that he was enjoyed and had performed the same duty, both towards the Jews and Gentiles, without any distinction, Preaching throughout all the coasts<sup>112</sup> of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.<sup>113</sup> When the Jews and others at Jerusalem asked the question, what was to be done by those who desired to be saved, St. Peter answered: Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, / [61] [D7<sup>r</sup>] and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.<sup>114</sup> It might*

106 heart *ante corr.*

107 *Ecclus. 2 i.t.: Ecclus. 2:1–18.*

108 *Eccli. 1 mg. in DC, sig. E3<sup>r</sup>.*

109 *Mat. 3 i.t.: Mt. 3:1–3.*

110 *Mark 6 i.t.: Mk. 6:12.*

111 'except': exclude.

112 wastes *ante corr.*

113 *Acts 26:20. Acto. 26 mg. in DC, sig. E4<sup>r</sup>.*

114 *Acts 2. i.t.: Acts 2:38–39.*

be proved by above six hundred Testimonies from the Holy Scripture, that without the fear of the Lord and Repentance, which is the second Head of Doctrine we now treat of, and without the keeping and observation of the Laws of God, no Man that is come to Age, and that knows God and the nature of good and evil, can obtain remission of sins, and the inheritance and enjoyment of the Kingdom of Heaven. This, our Saviour himself, the best Interpreter of his Fathers will asserts, saying, *except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish*:<sup>115</sup> / [62] [D57<sup>v</sup>] *and except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven*.<sup>116</sup> Now seeing the word Repentance is often to be mentioned in this little Book, that it may clearly appear what we mean, we are to take notice that Repentance comprehends two things; a detestation and forsaking of our sins and ill life past, and an earnest and sincere practice and performance of those Virtues, Acts, and Deeds which are known to be acceptable to God. As to the first part, that is, the detestation and forsaking of sin and a sinful life, that Repentance chiefly relates to it, which is enjoyed and taught by the Christian Church;<sup>117</sup> of which the particulars are, the sorrow and contrition of heart, the confession [63] [D8<sup>r</sup>] of the mouth, and satisfaction in deed; to use the common phrase and expression of the learned: for knowing the nature whereof, we shall refer you to the Books of the Learned who have fully handled and discussed that Point; being resolved here only to treat of the Virtue and Grace of Repentance,<sup>118</sup> which is the end and complement of that other part: for it is not enough to lament and bewail what is past, as is commonly said, to confess our sins, and not commit the same again; unless they who can, do bring forth fruits worthy of repentance. And therefore this part, which consists in the amendment of life, and in the exercise and practice of Righteousness, otherwise called the Virtue and Grace of Repentance, is the subject [64] [D8<sup>v</sup>] whereof we shall treat at present.

Now the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures makes this *Repentance*<sup>119</sup> the Grace of Heavenly Wisdom, to consist chiefly in this: that Man should war against his own Lusts, subdue and overcome his natural affections, abstain from worldly and carnal works, and with all care and industry endeavour to perform what is commanded and approved of by God. For this Law was laid upon the first Parent of Mankind, by that Mysterious and Divine Oracle, delivered under the Name and Figure of

115 *Luke 13 i. t.: Lk 13:3.*

116 *Mat. 5 i. t.: Mt. 5:20.*

117 'Poenitentiae sacramentum' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. E5<sup>v</sup>. In his translation, Lovell omits the explicit reference to the sacraments of the Church: 'christianis et ecclesiasticis sacramentis' in *DC*, 24.8–9. He thus regards repentance as a principle of the Christian Church divested from any direct connection to the Catholic sacramental system.

118 'Poenitentia virtus' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. E5<sup>v</sup>.

119 'Poenitentia' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. E6<sup>f</sup>.

the Earth. *Cursed is the earth for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the* / [65] [D9<sup>r</sup>] *field; In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.*<sup>120</sup> God declared to Man that that humane Earth called *Adamah*,<sup>121</sup> from whence he himself had the name of *Adam*, was for his sake, that is, for his transgression of the Command of God, cursed and made disobedient, foretelling him that in sorrow and labour he should eat of the fruits of that earth, which was not, through the curse become altogether so barren, that it would bring forth no good fruit, but that the good and profitable fruit which it did bring forth, must be the effect of much labour and pain. For as the Earth was of it self to bring forth nothing but Thorns and Thistles, that is, various difficulties springing from Lust and Pride, which must be rooted out by him who desires to / [66] [D9<sup>v</sup>] feed on good and generous fruits; so there is need of indefatigable pains and labour, even to the sweat of the brow, that is, to the mastering and disciplining [of] the Will and Affections, that by so doing he may obtain that heavenly bread which God hath promised, fully to bestow upon those who in that manner work out their own Salvation. Many Oracles of divine Scripture confirm the truth of this. *To him that overcometh, and keepeth my works to the end, will I give to eat of the tree of life which is in the midst of the paradise of God, and a crown of life. And also I will give him to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it. And I will give him* / [67] [D10<sup>r</sup>] *the morning star,*<sup>122</sup> *and he shall be clothed in white robes, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life; but will make him a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is the new Jerusalem, and my new name.*<sup>123</sup> *He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son. But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death.*<sup>124</sup>

The gracious goodness of God to admonish us of these things, and of what concerns our Salva/tion, [68] [D10<sup>v</sup>] gives to all and every sinner this seasonable

120 *Gen. 3 i.t.: Gen. 3:17–19.*

121 Adam *ante corr.* On account of the lexical similitude, either the compositor or Lovell himself could have easily confused *Adamah* ('*Adama*' in *DC*, 25.10) with *Adam*. The Hebrew noun *Adamah* translates as land or ground and serves as the etymological basis for *Adam* in the *Book of the Genesis*. This lexical association is used to stress the creation of man from the earth. *Cf. Gen. 2:7.* See Ithamar Gruenwald, *Ritual and Ritual Theories in Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 60–62.

122 *Apoc. 2 mg.* in *DC*, sig. E7<sup>r</sup>.

123 *Rev. 2 & 3 i.t.: Rev. 2:26, 7, 10, 17, 28. Rev. 3:5, 12.* The verse 'will I give to eat of the tree of life which is in the midst of the paradise of God' is freely added by Lovell.

124 *Rev. 21 i.t.: Rev. 21:7–8.*

warning. *I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment that thou mayest be clothed, and that the same of thy nakedness do not appear; be zealous therefore and repent. Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him and he with me.*<sup>125</sup> Most graciously and freely then, does the Lord invite to the joys of his Supper all who, being decently clothed and prepared as they ought, pray and long for the gladness of that most excellent Feast, which being liberally offered by him that invites them, they shall at length fully enjoy, and rejoyce with him who hath made them partakers of the great/est [69] [D11<sup>r</sup>] Promises. But we have a clear Instance, that he who durst come to the Wedding-Feast not clothed with the Wedding Garment, which is Repentance and the observation of the Precepts of Christ, was rebuked by the angry King, and had this dreadful check<sup>126</sup> and sentence: *Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having the wedding garment? Then said the king to his servants, Bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast him into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.*<sup>127</sup> The Doctrine, therefore, of the Gospel requires not only Faith, but Obedience also, in him who desires to be an Heir of the promised Salvation; and this Obedience begins by a true and unfeigned Repentance, and shews it self in the / [70] [D11<sup>v</sup>] serious exercise thereof; heavy Judgments being denounced by God upon those who obey not the Law of the Gospel. Now by the Gospel Law, in this place, we mean the conditions required of them, who really and in effect desire to be made partakers of these glad tidings; for otherwise without Repentance and the observation of the Precepts of God, Men are so far from obtaining the divine Promises, that they must certainly expect the wrath and anger of God; *In flaming fire taking vengeance of them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power; When he shall come to be glorified in the / [71] [D12<sup>r</sup>] saints, and to be admired of all them that believe.*<sup>128</sup>

Now this Wedding-Garment,<sup>129</sup> which every one that is called to the Marriage, and desires to be admitted into that holy Feast, must and ought to be clothed with, is made up of Repentance, and the observation of the divine Precepts; and that it is so, we have the word of the King himself, the Lord and Master of the Feast for it, who commanded his Servants whom he sent to call the Guests, Saying: *Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I*

125 *Rev. 3 i.t.: Rev. 3:18–20.*

126 'check': reprimand, rebuke.

127 *Mat. 22 i.t.: Mt. 22:12, 13.*

128 *2 Thes. 1 i.t.: 2 Th. 1:8–10.*

129 'Nuptialis vestis' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. F1<sup>v</sup>.

*command you;*<sup>130</sup> that is to say, Repentance, and the study and observation of the Precepts and Commands of / [72] [D12<sup>v</sup>] God. For so the Lord himself<sup>131</sup> expounds it, who, when he went about performing the office of an Evangelist, taught publickly, saying: *The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye and believe the gospel.*<sup>132</sup>

A clear instance of this is to be seen in *Abraham*, whom God proposed as a pattern of his free and most gracious Election, exhibiting unto us under the type and figure of earthly and sensual things the whole and sum of this great mystery; for such was the counsel of God, that what things really and truly happened unto him, the same should shadow out and represent the spiritual blessings which belonged to us. As it is written, *All these things happened unto them for ensamples: / [73] [E1<sup>r</sup>] (or types) and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.*<sup>133</sup> *Abraham*, being first called, believed in God, who had called him and promised to make him a Father of many Nations,<sup>134</sup> in God I say, who calleth those things which be not as tho they were,<sup>135</sup> and [*Abraham*] trusted to the divine election, knowing that to be the most acceptable obedience to God, when one willingly and diligently complies with his call, and without doubting undergoes that saving discipline, as proceeding from him; who being the Fountain of all Goodness, freely bestows himself, his Graces and Blessings, upon those who believe and obey him. So that when he was commanded by him, from whom he had received the Promise, to leave his Country, his Kindred, and his Fa/thers [74] [E1<sup>v</sup>] House, he obeyed, and went out, leaving those advantages, which those who live after the manner of this world reap from their Country, Kindred, and Fathers House; for the native Country affordeth acquaintance and confidence, the Fathers house, Wealth and Riches, and Kindred, Means and Substance to those who lead their lives according to the dictates of Lust and Ambition. *Abraham*, therefore, departed, as the Lord had commanded him,<sup>136</sup> leaving his Country, Kindred, and Fathers House,<sup>137</sup> and chose to be a Stranger and Sojourner in a stranger Land, following the Command of God that called him. Now we know that Strangers and Sojourners have no mind, means, nor confidence to spend their time in delights, and pleasures, so long as they think of / [75] [E2<sup>r</sup>]

130 *Mat. 22 i.t.: Mt. 28:19–20.*

131 'ipsius magistri' in *DC*, 27.9.

132 *Mark 1 i.t.: Mk. 1:15.*

133 1 *Cor. 10 i.t.: 1 Cor. 10:11.*

134 *Rom. 4:17. Cf. Gen. 12:2.* 'Promised ... nations' is not in italics in *PR*, even though it is marked as a citation in *DC*.

135 *Rom. 4:17.* Again, 'who calleth ... they were' is not distinguished as a citation in *PR*, although it is marked as such in *DC*.

136 *Gen. 12:4.* At variance with *DC*, '*Abraham ... commanded him*' is not typologically marked in *PR*.

137 *Gen. 12:1.*

their condition, and behave themselves like Strangers and Sojourners<sup>138</sup> and propose to themselves that that is not their Country or place of rest, but an Inn or place of refreshment, which they must shortly leave, and go forward unto a place of more commodious habitation. So *Abraham*, being called and commanded to go out of his Country, into a Land that was to be shewn to him, not only believed, but obeyed and put it in execution: for he really and indeed forsook his Country, Kindred and Fathers House, and not in word and inclination alone. He said not, I will do it, or I desire to do it, and did it not; but actually performed what he was commanded; and in that manner *Abraham believed in God, and it was counted unto*<sup>139</sup> *him for righteousness,*<sup>140</sup> *not that he believed only, / [76] [E2<sup>v</sup>] but that believing he obeyed,*<sup>141</sup> *and went out unto a place which he was to receive for an inheritance, not knowing whither he went. And that by faith he sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise.*<sup>142</sup> According to this precedent, whoever is called to the gifts and blessings of the Heavenly Promises, believes in, and would please him that hath promised, desiring to have them made good unto him, must not only by Faith, Will, and Inclination, but also in Deed and in good Earnest, renounce the Pomp, Vanity, Corruption, Delights, Pleasures, Ambition and other Vices of this World, and perform what he obliged himself to and promised before the bles/sed [77] [E3<sup>r</sup>] Trinity (in which he professed his belief), in presence of his God-Fathers, God-Mothers and Witnesses in his Baptism,<sup>143</sup> through the grace and assistance of him that called him, to whose service he resigned himself, and in whose name he was Baptised, that is, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which grace and assistance will never be wanting to those, who from a pure and holy heart implore and beg the same, as we have already demonstrated: *I am come to send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled?*<sup>144</sup> Now he promised to renounce the Devil and all his Works, the Poms and Vanities of this wicked World. And what are the works of the Devil, and Vanities of the World, but Ambition, Lust, Avarice, and / [78] [E3<sup>v</sup>] the delights and pleasures of the Flesh? That is to say, the corrupt manners & customs of this World, which, according to the Doctrine of the Apostles, breed, cherish and encrease sin and wickedness, as it is written: *Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is*

138 Sojourn- *ante corr.*

139 accounted to *ante corr.*

140 *Rom.* 4:3.

141 'no that ... he obeyed' is in italics in *PR* but not in *DC*. It is not a Bible citation.

142 *Heb.* 11 *i.t.*: *Heb.* 11:8–9.

143 'et sacerdote, testibus ac fidei iussoribus praesentibus affirmavit' in *DC*, 29.6–7. Lovell omits the reference to *sacerdote*, or priest.

144 *Luke* 12 *i.t.*: *Lk.* 12:49.

*in the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world.*<sup>145</sup> And again, the Apostle S. James saith, *Ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not that the friendship of this world is enmity with God? whosoever therefore will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God. Do ye think that the scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in / [79] [E4<sup>r</sup>] us lusteth to envy?*<sup>146</sup> Wherefore we must not only by Faith and in words, but in our endeavours, acts, and deeds renounce all worldly Pleasures, Lusts and Ambition; for Virtue consists not in words, but in deeds. And therefore St. Paul saith, *If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every good work.*<sup>147</sup> And St. Peter alluding to Abraham thus admonisheth: *Dearly beloved, I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul; Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles, that whereas they speak against you as evil-doers, they may by your good works which they shall behold, glorify God in / [80] [E4<sup>v</sup>] the day of visitation.*<sup>148</sup> Wherefore that Faith which is commended<sup>149</sup> and praised in Abraham, was not an idle and dead, but a living Faith, quickened by Charity, and shewing it self in the practice and exercise of Obedience, and so it was imputed to him for Righteousness, because he really left his Country, Kindred, and his Fathers House, and obediently went unto the place appointed him; thereby setting before us a lively instance of true Obedience.<sup>150</sup> Which Moses, imitating when he was come to years, refused to be called the child of Pharaoh's daughter; Choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; Esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt: for he had a respect / [81] [E5<sup>r</sup>] unto the recompence of reward. By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king: for he endured, as seeing him who is invisible.<sup>151</sup> In deeds then and not in words alone, or an empty and idle boasting of Faith, must every one shew himself obedient to God, and bring forth the fruits of serious Repentance; as in his holy Baptism he promised. But how is that performed by those, who never depart from iniquity? or if they do, it is but for a time, upon occasion of Confessing, or taking the Sacrament,<sup>152</sup> that they may again fall into the same or more heinous crimes, when notwithstanding the conditions required of a Penitent that would worthily receive the Sacrament are

145 1 John 2 i.t.: 1 John. 2:15–16.

146 James 4 i.t.: Jm. 4:4–5.

147 2 Tim. 2 i.t.: 2 Tim. 2:21.

148 1 Pet. 2 i.t.: 1 Pet. 2:11–12.

149 'commended': recommended.

150 'poenitentiae vivum exemplum' in DC, 30.14.

151 Heb. 11 i.t.: Heb. 11:24–27.

152 'sacramentum poenitentiae' in DC, 31.6. The sacrament of confession, which is not mentioned in DC, replaces the Catholic sacrament of penance.

satisfaction and amendment of life; which, if sometime they set about it, they soon forsake, and / [82] [E5<sup>v</sup>] relapse into the accursed manners of a stubborn & inflexible nature; but not he that beginneth, *but he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.*<sup>153</sup> *Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; Learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now, and let us reason together saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.*<sup>154</sup> *Cease to do evil, learn to do well,*<sup>155</sup> saith God, who comparing the noble beginnings of Christian simplicity and Piety<sup>156</sup> with the subsequent corruption of manners, and defect of Repentance and Obedience in his ancient People, thus laments over them: / [83] [E6<sup>r</sup>] *How is the faithful city become an harlot! it was full of judgment: righteousness lodged in it, but now murderers. Thy silver is become dross; thy wine mixed with water: Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves are every one that loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards: they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them.*<sup>157</sup> That Faith then which is accompanied with Repentance and Obedience is the Faith whereby Men obtain the gracious promises of God. Not, I say, an idle and dead faith, but that which worketh by Charity, and believes and obeys the word of God, does what is commanded, and is deterred by no difficulties, but rather with heroick resolution and assurance performs whatever is / [84] [E6<sup>v</sup>] enjoined it, as it is written. *By Faith they passed through the Red sea, as by dry land: which the Egyptians assaying to do were drowned. By faith the walls of Jerico fell down, after they were compassed about seven days. By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with them that believed not, when she had received the spies with peace. And what shall I now say? for the time would fail me to tell of Gideon, and of Barak,<sup>158</sup> and of Samson, and of Jephtha, of David and also Samuel, and of the prophets: Who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, Quenched the violence of the fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens* [85] [E7<sup>r</sup>]. *Women received their dead raised to life again.*<sup>159</sup> So that the

153 *Matt. 24 i.t.: Mt.24:13.* Following this verse there is a citation in *DC*, 31.11, which is missing in *PR*: ‘Vae duplici corde, et ingredienti terram duabus viis!’ (‘Woe be to fearful harts, and faint hands, and the sinner that goeth two ways’), *Ecclus. 2:12.*

154 *Isa 1 i.t.: Isa. 1:16–18.*

155 This sentence is not typographically marked as quotation in *DC*.

156 ‘christianae simplicitatis et sanctitatis atque pietatis’ in *DC*, 31.18.

157 *Isa. 1:21–23.*

158 *Baruch ante. corr.* Either Lovell or the compositor confused Barac with Baruch. The latter was the sixth-century BC scribe and disciple of the prophet Jeremiah, whereas the former was a twelfth-century BC judge of Ancient Israel and military commander in the Book of Judges, who, with the aid of the prophetess Deborah, defeated the Canaanites.

159 *Heb. 11 i.t.: Heb. 11:29–35.*

Faith of all those shewed it self in great Works, it being their care and study to approve themselves to God not barely by the profession of an idle Faith, but by the obedience and practice of a lively and active Faith, and to omit nothing that for Godliness sake they were commanded to do, and on the contrary, to act nothing which Religion and Obedience taught them to shun and avoid, and rather to suffer all inconveniences and losses, even to death and reproach, than to violate those Precepts, which the will and word of God delivered to be observed by them. And therefore they also have left to Posterity patterns and examples of true Repentance, and Obedience, [86] [E7<sup>v</sup>] as it follows in the same place: *And others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection. Others had trials of cruel mocking and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment: They were stoned, they were sawn asunder,<sup>160</sup> were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented; (Of whom the world was not worthy:) they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth. And these all having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise: God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.<sup>161</sup>* The Apostle calls the works of those holy Men, and their practice of Obedience, the Testimony [87] [E8<sup>r</sup>] of Faith, as well in undergoing and acting what they were commanded to act and undergo, as in declining and shunning those things that were prohibited to be done. And yet they obtained not the Promise, that is, not the full enjoyment of the Kingdom of Heaven, which before the Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ was not as yet opened; that they might not be made perfect without us, who came at the eleventh hour,<sup>162</sup> tho they were severally at several hours before us, bore the heat and burden of the day, and wrought diligently in the vineyard. However, must the reward appointed<sup>163</sup> be paid first to those who were called at the eleventh hour, be given to the idle and negligent? By no means: for these / [88] [E8<sup>v</sup>] workmen were not called that they might be idle, but rather, they were rebuked that they spent almost the whole day in Sloth and Idleness. Why, saith the good Man of the House, stand ye here all day Idle?<sup>164</sup> Now they are call'd idle who have no work, no business to do; as the Greek word *ἀργοί* employed by the Evangelist does clearly import.

Therefore they who were called and sent into the Vineyard at the Eleventh hour were not called to an idle lazy Faith only, but to the exercise of a lively Faith in obedience to the Will and Commands of him that called them, and to labour in the Vineyard no less than they who were called before them, whose Faith hath

160 The phrase 'tentati sunt' ('were tempted') in *DC*, 32.26, is missing here in *PR*.

161 *Heb.* 11:35–40.

162 'at the eleventh hour': late in the night. *Cf. Mt.* 20:6.

163 to *del.*

164 *Mt.* 20:6. *Matth.* 20 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. G1<sup>v</sup>.

been proved and tried in divers works, much labour and pain. / [89] [E9<sup>v</sup>] This appears evidently by the Testimony of those who came first, delivered in that excellent Parable, who affirmed that the last wrought but one hour. They said not that they who were called at that hour were idle in the Vineyard, but that they wrought: it was favour and bounty enough shewn them by the good Man of the House, that having wrought less, and being excused from the heat and burden of the day, they first of all were rewarded by the gracious bounty of the Lord, who is willing to give to the last, as to the first.

From what hath been said then, it is manifest and clear that an imputative Faith, only laying hold of the Promises, and otherwise lazy and unactive, is not that Faith which God does require of / [90] [E9<sup>v</sup>] those whom he calls to the Communion of Saints,<sup>165</sup> and Inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven; but a lively faith, and such as exerciseth Believers in the Obedience and Observation of those things that are commanded by him that calleth them. For as it is not enough to lay hold on the Promises barely by Faith, unless we actually enjoy and possess the same; so it is not enough neither to answer the Call by Faith alone, unless we also pay Obedience to him that hath called us. What Man is he that will say that it is enough for him to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven by Faith, that is, by believing, tho he never attain to the actual fruition<sup>166</sup> and enjoyment of the Kingdom of God? Did God do so with the *Israelites* and the Seed of *Abraham* [91] [E10<sup>r</sup>], that the promises which they laid hold on by Faith were never made good unto them? No, from<sup>167</sup> the blessing of God, whom they believed and obeyed, they obtained the enjoyment and possession of the earthly Promises. Of *Abraham* a great Nation was really made, and from one *Isaac*, in whom God would have his Seed to be called, there sprang so great a people, that *Moses* confessed: *I am not able to bear you myself alone: The Lord your God hath multiplied you, and, behold, ye are this day as the stars of heaven for multitude. (The Lord God of your fathers make you a thousand times so many as ye are, and bless you, as he hath promised you!)*<sup>168</sup> The people that were brought out of Egypt, who continued in Faith and Holy Obedience, [92] [E10<sup>v</sup>] did actually obtain and possess the promised Land of *Canaan*; as it is written: *Arise, go over this Jordan, thou and all this people, unto the land which I do give to them, even to the children of Israel. Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have I given unto you, as I said unto Moses. From the wilderness and this Lebanon even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and unto the great sea toward*

165 Adding 'of saints' to communion is Lovell's choice. The phrase is not used in *DC*, 35.3–4: 'Deus exigit ab iis quos ad caelorum regni communionem atque promissae hereditatis possessionem vocat'.

166 'fruition': possession.

167 for *ante corr.*

168 *Deut.* 1 *i.t.*: *Deut.* 1:9–11.

*the going down of the sun, shall be your coast.*<sup>169</sup> God not long after confirmed the truth of all this. *I have given you a land for which ye did not labour, and cities which ye built not, and ye dwell in them; of the vineyards and oliveyards which ye planted not do ye eat.*<sup>170</sup> David also believing the promise / [93] [E11'] that he should obtain the Kingdom, endured and overcame the hardest of times and dangers, and having at length obtained the Kingdom, thus did sing: *I believed, therefore have I spoken: I was greatly afflicted: I said in my hast; All men are liars. What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me?*<sup>171</sup> &c. So that all these Ancients not only by Faith laid hold on the earthly Promises, but really obtained them, through the blessing of God that promised to fulfil them to those who believed and obeyed him. And therefore they obeyed the Law-giver not by Faith, and in words only, but with all care and dutifulness they also practised true Piety, and performed the Precepts and Commandments, nor did any of those / [94] [E11'] who expected the desired Promises, think or say it was enough for him that his fore-fathers, Predecessors, or Friends had obeyed the Commands and Precepts of God, unless he himself did his duty, in obeying and fulfilling the law. *Abraham* himself being called went out. *David* being anointed King, and having obtained a Promise of the Kingdom, believed, did, and suffered all those things which we read with admiration. So also, that we may return to our selves, if we desire, as we ought to do, to be truly and indeed made partakers of the Spiritual Promises; if we have a real love for our selves, and aspire to everlasting bliss, we must not only believe the Promises, but likewise in all sincerity practise Piety, and perform our several / [95] [E12'] duties in obeying those things that are enjoined and commanded us. Nor must we think it enough that Christ hath fulfilled for us the Law and all Righteousness; unless believing in Christ, we also submit to that part of the Law which belongs to us, to wit, the Precepts and Commands of the *Decalogue*, wherein is comprehended the summ of the Will of God, and Law of Nature, and to whatsoever may be lawfully deduced and inferred from thence; and so obey the Law, that we may not be called Hearers only or Readers, Interpreters or Expounders thereof, but rather Doers of the same, and become like to those, of whom it is written, *And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.*<sup>172</sup> / [96] [E12'] *For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified.*<sup>173</sup> Wherefore whosoever being called to the Marriage of the Son, desires [to] approve himself faithfully to him that calleth him; He is chiefly to mind that there is nothing hidden from him who

169 *Josh.* 1 *i.t.*: *Josh.* 1:2–4.

170 *Josh.* 24 *i.t.*: *Josh.* 24:13.

171 *Psal.* 116 *i.t.*: *Ps.* 116: 10–12.

172 *Luke* 1 *i.t.*: *Lk.* 1:16.

173 *Rom.* 2 *i.t.*: *Rom.* 2:13.

searcheth the secrets of the heart and reins, and knoweth the thoughts of Men afar off. And therefore let him seriously set about the duty of true and unfeigned Repentance, and being grieved for all the offences of his ill spent, wicked past life, let him with a contrite and humble heart, sincerely confess his sins,<sup>174</sup> and plead guilty in the presence of God, and his Church, that is, of the lawful ministers of the Church; Piously and Religiously / [97] [F1<sup>r</sup>] obey the Counsels, Admonitions and Instructions that are given him, and having received Ecclesiastical Absolution from the sins and wickedness, which he hath promised to God, and to his Minister as a Witness, and Judge upon earth, to forsake; let him turn with all his mind and might from that wicked life and filthy conversation, from all impure thoughts, all Guile, Malice and corrupt Manners; and then having shaken off and overcome the Temptations of Pride, Vanity, Covetousness, Lust, Earthly delights and Pleasures, and of whatsoever may, and is wont to turn Men from God, let him constantly persist in the right way, and by diligent and frequent Prayer call upon God, and beg his favourable and gracious assistance, whose / [98] [F1<sup>v</sup>] Mercy and provident care over him he will to his experience certainly find, if from a pure and holy heart he earnestly craves the same: For no less hath been offered and promised to all sinners by him who willeth not, nor desireth their death, but that rather they may repent and live. *Return, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings.*<sup>175</sup> *If thou wilt return, O Israel, saith the Lord, return unto me: and if thou wilt put away thine abominations out of my sight, then shalt thou not remove.*<sup>176</sup> *O Jerusalem, wash thine heart from wickedness, that thou mayest be saved. How long shall thy vain thoughts lodge within thee?*<sup>177</sup> *For I know the thoughts that I think towards you, saith the Lord, thoughts of peace, and not of evil, to give / [99] [F2<sup>r</sup>] you an expected end. Then shall ye call upon me, and ye shall go and pray unto me, and I will hearken unto you. And ye shall seek me, and find me, when ye shall search for me with all your heart. And I will be found of you, saith the Lord.*<sup>178</sup> And again, *Turn ye unto me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning: And rend*<sup>179</sup> *your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil.*<sup>180</sup> Nevertheless we must always be upon our guard, and take diligent heed, lest securely trusting to past Pardons and the confident expectation of Gods future mercy, we never cease to do evil, and learn to do good: that is not

174 'poenitentiae primum sacramentum' in DC, 37.6.

175 Jer. 3 i.t.: Jr. 3:22.

176 Jer. 4 i.t.: Jr. 4:1.

177 Jr. 4:14.

178 Jer. 29 i.t.: Jr. 29:11–14.

179 rent *ante corr.*

180 Joel. 2 i.t.: Joel: 2:12–13.

the use, but the / [100] [F2<sup>v</sup>] abuse of divine Clemency and Mercy. The Mercy of God is, indeed, from Generation to Generation; but upon those that fear him, and I will hear, saith the Psalmist, *what God the Lord will say: for he will speak peace unto the people, and to his saints: but let them not return again to folly.*<sup>181</sup> Again, *Isaias* saith, *Therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you.*<sup>182</sup> The Lord will wait that he may be gracious, saith he, not that they who are waited for should heap sin upon sin, and return unto the vomit; but because he hath promised mercy to them who with their whole heart so turn unto him, that they stand in awe, and greatly fear any more to offend him: otherwise, as the same Prophet saith, *Therefore / [101] [F3<sup>r</sup>] will the Lord be exalted, that he may have mercy upon you: for the Lord is a God of Judgment,*<sup>183</sup> who denies not his promised Mercy to any that rightly seek it, but withall does not for ever delay, but in due time inflict the punishments, which are appointed to those whose heart is not right and stedfast with him. There is no time with God void of Mercy towards those who hinder not their own Mercy; now they do hinder it who, after the hardness and impenitence of their heart, treasure up to themselves wrath against the day of wrath.<sup>184</sup> *To this man will I look,* saith the Lord, *even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word.*<sup>185</sup> But concerning those who are not truly poor, of a contrite spirit, and tremble at his word, / [102] [F3<sup>v</sup>] he hath pronounced this sentence: *He that killeth an ox is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's blood; he that burneth incense, as if he blessed an idol. They have chosen their own ways, and their soul delighteth in their abominations.*<sup>186</sup> They therefore that have committed sin (for, as *Solomon* saith, there is no Man that sinneth not)<sup>187</sup> must constantly keep in the way of Repentance, and denying themselves, hear and follow him, who hath said, *Not he that beginneth, but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.*<sup>188</sup> They must from their whole heart and Soul, Renounce the Devil and all his works, pomps, and vanities / [103] [F4<sup>r</sup>] of this wicked world, as they have promised and vowed in their Baptism;<sup>189</sup> otherwise, *thus saith the Lord; Shall they fall, and*

181 *Psal.* 85 *i.t.*: *Ps.* 85:8.

182 *Isa.* 30 *i.t.*: *Isa.* 30:18.

183 *Isa.* 30:18. The quotation is not marked as such in *DC*.

184 *Rom.* 2:5. *Rom.* 2 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. G8<sup>r</sup>: 'the hardness ... of wrath' is marked as quotation in *DC*, but not in *PR*.

185 *Isa.* 66 *i.t.*: *Isa.* 66:2.

186 1 *Kings* 8 *i.t.*: *Isa.* 66:3.

187 1 *Kings* 8:46. 3 *Reg.* 8 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. G8<sup>v</sup>.

188 *Mt.* 10:22, 24:13.

189 'as they ... baptism' is included by Lovell, perhaps because the phrase 'the pomps and vanities of this wicked world' is a traditional baptismal formula. See, for example, Church of England, *Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1662); William Nicholson, *A Plain, but Full Exposition of the Catechism*

*not arise? shall he turn away, and not return? Why then is this people of Jerusalem slidden back by a perpetual backsliding?*<sup>190</sup> The Lord calls it a perpetual backsliding, when men in their manners retain and follow that wicked course of life, which in word or thought they may have condemned, and, falsely professing and boasting of their Repentance, do not conscientiously perform the duty of it, but belying their own hearts, device themselves, and not God nor his Minister, to whom they promised a serious amendment of life. This the Lord finds fault with, by the same Prophet. *They hold fast deceit, they refuse to return. I / [104] [F4<sup>v</sup>] hearkened and heard, but they spoke not aright: no man repented him of his wickedness, saying, What have I done? every one turned to his course, as the horse rusheth into the battle.*<sup>191</sup> The Lord, indeed, waits that he may have mercy upon us, and uses patience, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to Repentance. Come to Repentance, saith that Apostle, who knew that Repentance was necessary to sinners, for appeasing the wrath, and obtaining the mercy of God. Now the Holy Spirit does plainly tell us that the long-suffering of God is not everlasting, tho we believe and confess his Mercy to be infinite. *God judgeth the righteous, and God is angry with the wicked every day. If he turn not, he will whet his sword; I [105] [F5<sup>r</sup>] he hath bent his bow, and made it ready. He hath also prepared for him the instruments of death; he ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors.*<sup>192</sup> When God Almighty<sup>193</sup> was about to destroy the old World, because of sin, he allotted them a certain time to repent in; as it is written, *And the Lord said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.*<sup>194</sup> At the end of which all Mankind perished in the Flood, save only the Family of *Noah*, who in that Age was found Righteous in the sight of God. The People of *Nineveh*, being warned by the Prophet that after forty days they should be destroyed, delayed not their Repentance until the last day, but set about it so soon as they heard / [106] [F5<sup>v</sup>] the denunciation; all that time, I say, was employed and spent in fasting and prayer, for averting the wrath of God, imploring divine mercy and amending their sinful lives; as it is written, *And Jonah began to enter into the city a day's journey, and he cried, and said, Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown. So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth from the greatest of them even to the least of them. Word came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered*

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*of the Church of England* (London: Nathanel Webb and William Grantham, 1661), sig. D1<sup>r</sup>; Richard Sherlock, *The Practical Christian divided into Four Parts* (London: E. Flesher, 1677), sig. B8<sup>r</sup>.

190 *Jer.* 8 *i.t.*: *Jr.* 8:4–5.

191 *Jr.* 8:5–6.

192 *Pasl.* 7 *i.t.*: *Ps.* 7: 11–13.

193 'almighty' is again added by Lovell.

194 *Gen.* 6 *i.t.*: *Gn.* 6:3.

*him with sackcloth, and sat<sup>195</sup> in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor / [107] [F6<sup>r</sup>] flock, taste any thing; let them not feed, nor drink water. But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from their evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not? And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil, that he had said, that he would do unto them; and he did it not.<sup>196</sup>*

The men of *Nineveh* will rise in Judgment<sup>197</sup> against those who having been warned not once, but often, yet have not turned from their evil ways; or who have delayed the duty of a serious Repentance, to the last day of their life, living in the mean time wick/edly, [108] [F6<sup>v</sup>] and following the Vanities, Lusts, Ambition, Pride, and Vices of the World; whereas no Man ought, or can say, that he is allowed to put off the exercise of Repentance to the extremity of life, since upon the first call and admonition, all Men are commanded to turn and be converted unto the Lord. *To day, saith the Holy Ghost, if you will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.<sup>198</sup> Let us therefore fear, saith the Apostle, lest, a promise being left us of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it. For unto us was the gospel preached, as well as unto them.<sup>199</sup> Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest.<sup>200</sup> Now he shall not enter, who obeyeth not the voice of him that calleth him, nor [shall] he be crowned,<sup>201</sup> who hath not lawfully striven.<sup>202</sup> / [109] [F7<sup>r</sup>] Know ye not, saith St. Paul, that they which run in a race run all, but one winneth the prize? So run, that you may obtain.<sup>203</sup> We are to run and not go back, to run and not to stand still, according to the Apostle. We are to run not slowly but lawfully; and with so much more the greater pains, diligence and care, by how much the Prize set before us is to be esteemed and preferred before a Crown of Olive, Smallege, or Oak-leaves. Now what pains and labour they were at to exercise themselves who were to run in the race, that neither Luxury might soften, nor Laziness dull them, they who have written on that Subject, inform us.*

195 sate *ante corr.*

196 *Jona* 3 *i.t.*: *Jon.* 3:4–10.

197 *Mt.* 12:41. *Lk.* 11:32.

198 *Heb.* 4:7.

199 *Heb.* 4 *i.t.*: *Heb.* 4:1–2.

200 *Heb.* 4:11.

201 owned *ante corr.* 'coronabitur' in *DC*, 41.12.

202 2 *Tim.* 2:5.

203 1 *Cor.* *i.t.*: 1 *Cor.* 9:24.

/ [110] [F7<sup>v</sup>] Qui cupit optatam cursu contingere metam,  
 Multa tulit, fecitque puer, sudavit & alsit,  
 Abstinit venere & vino, &c.

The Youth who strives the wish'd goal to obtain,  
 Much anxious toil endures, colds, heats, and pain,  
 And Wine, and Women shuns, &c.<sup>204</sup>

*And they, as St. Paul saith, are temperate in all things, that they may obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible.*<sup>205</sup> Now it is manifest that the long-suffering and patience of God for the repentance of all and every sinner, is limited within certain bounds; for after death there is no place / [111] [F8<sup>r</sup>] for repentance, so that we must (if ever) repent in this life. And therefore since experience it self convinceth us of the shortness of life, besides what divine wisdom teacheth us *that Man is of few days, and the number of his months is with thee;*<sup>206</sup> we ought to consider the extent and limits of divine patience and long-suffering, and not to trust to that dangerous hope, which hath deceived many, who have deferred the thoughts of serious repentance to the very last day of their life. For tho the use and improvement of life be left to the will and pleasure of Man, yet the time and manner of death is not in his option. Now as the way and manner of living is two-fold, the one large and broad, and the other strait and narrow, so it is / [112] [F8<sup>v</sup>] left to Man to choose which of the two he pleaseth; yet he is not only advised, but even commanded to choose that which is best and safest; as it is written, *See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil; In that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his commandments, and his statutes and his judgments, that thou mayest live, &c. Therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live: That thou mayest love the Lord thy God, and that thou mayest obey his voice, and that thou mayest cleave unto him: for he is thy life, and the length of thy days.*<sup>207</sup>

Now of the nine hundred and seven ways of death,<sup>208</sup> which are observed to happen unto Man, without violence; it is not left / [113] [F9<sup>r</sup>] to him to choose which of all he would submit unto, but that is reserved to the Providence and

<sup>204</sup> Horace, *Art of Poetry*, 412–414. This seems to be Lovell's own translation. Cf. *Horace's Art of Poetry*, trans. Earl of Roscommon (London: Henry Herringman, 1684), sig. E2<sup>r</sup> (p. 28); *The Poems of Horace, consisting of Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles Rendered in English and Paraphrased by Several Persons* (London: M. C. for H. Brome, 1680), sig. Dd3<sup>v</sup> (p. 406).

<sup>205</sup> 1 Cor. 9:25.

<sup>206</sup> Job. 14 i.t.: Job. 14:1, 5.

<sup>207</sup> Deut. 30 i.t.: Deut. 30:15-16, 19-20.

<sup>208</sup> 'Hic numerus observatur ex interpretatione versus in Psalmo / Et Domini Domini exitus mortis' mg. in DC, sigs. H5<sup>v</sup>–H6<sup>r</sup>. This translates as 'this number is inferred from the interpretation of the verse of the psalm "unto God the Lord belong the issues from death"'. Cf. Ps. 68. Lovell omits the allusion to the Psalm, which is nonetheless referred to in DC in a marginal note.

Will of God, in whose hands are the issues of death. It is great madness and folly then, and no less dangerous temerity, to neglect those things which are laid before us as safe, certain, present to our view, and but few in number; and to set our minds on things that are remote, foreign to our happiness, uncertain, many and various, and likewise most difficult. Again, who seeth not how wicked a thing it is, to expect and desire that the designed and affected loss of our whole life should be made up by the Prayer of a Minute<sup>209</sup> or less continuance at last? And that he should look for the honour and prize of the race or fight, who / [114] [F9<sup>v</sup>] hath neither run nor fought, when yet he might and ought to have done it? In a word, how is his judgment depraved who desires wickedly and carelessly to live, and die holily? Whatever others may think of this matter, I am little concerned, but am still of opinion, and do affirm that such opinions are full of danger, and that many have been thereby deceived. If the instance of that sinful woman,<sup>210</sup> or of the Thief in the Gospel<sup>211</sup> be objected to us, we shall willingly admit of it for confirmation of the truth, and retort it back again. For that woman who was a sinner in the City, when once she had come to Christ, and found him merciful; by a continued exercise of Repentance, and Sanctity of life for the future, she secured to her / [115] [F10<sup>r</sup>] self his favour and blessing: so far was she from estranging him from her, by new sins and offences. And the Thief, at the same time that he was instructed in the truth of Christ, began a serious Repentance which with a constant mind he continued till the last breath of his life, and would in all probability have continued it longer, if either he had escaped death that day, or hung longer alive upon the Cross: whom that common torment of the punishment made greater by the breaking of his legs, diverted not from the thoughts of his own Salvation, nor the contemplation of his Saviour. And we have reason to think that if he had known the grace and truth of Christ before, he would have forsaken his wicked courses, and / [116] [F10<sup>v</sup>] given himself wholly to the duties of a serious Repentance. In a word, whatever may be said, it is most certain that the Thief, to the knowledge of Christ, joyned an extraordinary faith, acknowledged his heinous offences, detested his past life, converted himself wholly to the author of his Salvation, enduring not only patiently but contentedly the bitterest torments of death, that he magnified the Justice of God, constantly implored his Mercy, which, being promised him, he embraced with a firm and steady Faith, and that at length he obtained salvation through the Mercy and

209 Minutes *ante corr.* The expression does not exist in English as such, but it is used to English the Latin 'unius horulae aut etiam breviori compendio' in *DC*, 43.10. With this expression, Lovell substitutes Montano's idea of temporal brevity for another kind of transience exemplified in a short prayer.

210 Mary Magdalene. *Cf. Lk.* 8:2, *Mk.* 16:9.

211 The Good Thief, or one of the two thieves crucified at the same time as Jesus. *Cf. Mt.* 27:38, *Jn.* 19:18, *Mk.* 15:27, *Lk.* 23:32–33.

Grace of Christ Jesus, who had promised it. Whosoever would make the right use of this instance of the Thief on the Cross, ought exactly to imitate [117] [F11<sup>r</sup>] it, that he may at length find the profit and advantage thereof. So soon therefore as he knows that the Son of God, the most innocent Jesus, that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the World, hath for the offences and wickednesses of the World suffered a most bitter and ignominious death, and that he for his own sins deserved to be in the same condemnation, and to be sentenced to Hell-fire; he ought to bewail and detest his past life, polluted with all sorts of sins and offences; and with a serious and hearty Repentance and sorrow, confess the same; implore divine mercy; so frame his thoughts and desires, as if he were to die the same minute he thinks of these things, that he may from him, who being truly called upon is / [118] [F11<sup>v</sup>] never wanting, hear those joyful tidings, *Verily I say unto thee, this day shalt thou be with me in paradise,*<sup>212</sup> and through the blessing and grace of God upon his good works make sure of this hope,<sup>213</sup> which he hath conceived by Faith. Is it to be thought that if the Thief, after that he received that promise, had lived and been cured, would have been so unmindful of so great a blessing, and of his own Salvation, as to have returned again to his accustomed robberies? Or that through an erroneous opinion of the extraordinary mercifulness of Christ, he would have again returned to his vomit, and put off his Repentance till the last hour of his life, when he should be again taken, condemned, and nailed to the Cross? Grant that Christ / [119] [F12<sup>r</sup>] is most easie to be entreated, as indeed he is (tho not to those who rather mock God with their Repentance,<sup>214</sup> than are seriously converted) so easie, I say, that seventy and seven times he pardons a sinner, who turns to him in truth; and who commanded his disciples to do the like.<sup>215</sup> Yet who dare affirm that as often as he sinneth, so often the long-suffering<sup>216</sup> of God will wait for his Repentance? Who dare be so bold as to desire of the Almighty<sup>217</sup> that he may lead a corrupt and wicked life, and not want an hours times to repent in when he is upon the brink of death? Nevertheless, what does he seem to desire else, who defers the serious duties of Repentance, that is, the true hatred and renunciation of his vices, with the firm / [120] [F12<sup>v</sup>] purpose of virtue and amendment, till the last day of his life? Is that to imitate the Thief, *Mary Magdalene*, or *St. Peter*? who coming to himself, acknowledged his sin and, avoiding that crowd by whose company and discourses he had been drawn, and almost forc'd into his offence, went forth and

<sup>212</sup> *Lk.* 23:43.

<sup>213</sup> *Cf.* 2 *Pet.* 1:10.

<sup>214</sup> 'non tamen iis qui illudunt magis quam serio convertantur' in *DC*, 46.1. There is no reference to God nor to repentance in this parenthetical phrase in the Latin text.

<sup>215</sup> *Cf.* *Mt.* 18:21–22.

<sup>216</sup> Epithet 'long-suffering' is Lovell's addition.

<sup>217</sup> 'Deo' in *DC*, 46.6.

wept bitterly, returning no more to those who had been the occasion of his Fall, but cleaving close to the society of the other Disciples, whom both by example and discourse he confirmed in the hope of their Master's Resurrection; doing as his Lord commanded him: *and thou, when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.*<sup>218</sup>

These are the instances of a Repentance most acceptable to God and profitable to Man, which / [121]<sup>219</sup> [G1<sup>r</sup>] whosoever will seriously imitate to his own Salvation, must renounce himself, that is, his concupiscences, the pomps and vanities of the World, reform the course of his life, walk carefully in the ways that God does approve of; and, having taken up his cross, with lively Faith and constant Obedience follow Christ, cast off all impediments that may divert him from, or hinder him in his Journey, and always have in his mind what the Lord hath recommended to our serious practice: *If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow<sup>220</sup> me.*<sup>221</sup> *And he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved,*<sup>222</sup> *and no man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom* [122] [G1<sup>v</sup>] *of God.*<sup>223</sup> *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear;*<sup>224</sup> *God deceiveth no man.*<sup>225</sup> Let every one take heed then, that he deceive not himself, nor suffer himself to be deceived by others. This is the plain, sure and safe way; that hath the promise of good success; Repentance, I mean, which every one ought carefully to set about, persist in, and prosecute to the end. This is the way that never deceived any Man, but will certainly bring those that walk therein to eternal Salvation at last. For it is written, *Your hearts shall live that seek God.*<sup>226</sup> *Seek the Lord, and his strength: seek his face evermore.*<sup>227</sup> He that seeketh his face always, in what manner soever he may end this mortal life, yet his soul shall live. *For thou, Lord, /* [123] [G2<sup>r</sup>] *hath not forsaken them that seek thee.*<sup>228</sup> The death of *Lazarus* was mean and obscure in the eyes of Men, but that of the rich Man conspicuous, and his Funeral pompous. *The rich man died and was buried;*<sup>229</sup> however the soul of the former was received into *Abraham's* bosom, when this Mans Soul was sent down into Hell. Wherefore let those who either never set about the work of Repentance aright, or put it off to the hour of

218 *Lk. 22:32. Mt. 16:24.*

219 Page 121 is misnumbered as 12.

220 folly *ante corr.*

221 *Luke 9 i.t.: Lk. 9:23.*

222 *Mat. 24 i.t.: Mt. 24:13, 10:22.*

223 *Lk. 9:62.*

224 *Mt. 11:15, 13:9, 13:43.*

225 This sentence is not a quotation nor is it marked as such in *DC. Cf. Ps. 130.*

226 *Psal. 69 i.t.: Ps. 69:32.*

227 *Psal. 105 i.t.: Ps. 105:4.*

228 *Psal. 9 i.t.: Ps. 9:10.*

229 'Christus testatur' ('Christ says') is missing in *PR. Cf. Lk. 16:22–23.*

death, or often in their life time begin it, and as often again leave it off, let them, I say, consider [on] what ground they have to do so, and what divine promise they can pretend to trust to; for it is not in our power to command our time when we would, and whether God will grant it to us according to our / [124] [G2<sup>v</sup>] wishes is much to be doubted. As 'tis written: *Thou hast trodden down all them that err from thy statutes: for their deceit is falsehood.*<sup>230</sup> No Doctor of the Christian Church<sup>231</sup> (for what I know) ever taught us to put off and delay Repentance and amendment of life till the last day of living; nor promised any happy success to those that did so; nay St. *Austin* doubts of the condition of those delayers of serious Repentance till the hour of death, and we have no reason but, with St. *Austin*, to doubt of the same. *Woe be to fearful hearts, and faint hands, and the sinner that goeth two ways!*<sup>232</sup> Woe will be unto many to whom opportunity and the advantages of amending their lives has been offered and granted, whilst they were alive and in / [125] [G3<sup>r</sup>] health, and whilst God waited for them, and who, still persisting in their wickedness, their too late desire of Repentance will through their own fault be unprofitable to them. Many instances of wicked Men, who die without Repentance happen daily; some snatcht away by sudden death, others killed, some cast away at Sea, others slain in Battel, or brought to their end by thunder, lightning, and many other ways, who, perhaps, if their lives had been longer, would have seriously set about the work of Repentance; but it hath seemed otherwise to the Judgment and Decree of God, who, seeing he does all that is necessary for reclaiming of sinners, is not always wont to superadd more than ought to be expected. / [126] [G3<sup>v</sup>] Had God done the *mighty works in Tyre and Sidon, which he did in Chorazin and Bethsaida*, he knew that *they would have repented in sackcloth and ashes.*<sup>233</sup> *And if the mighty works which were done in Capernaum, had been done in Sodom*, it also, upon the word of our Saviour, *would have remained until this day.*<sup>234</sup> But seeing the Almighty had done for those places what was enough, in his most righteous Judgment, he was not willing to add more than was sufficient. How many of those, who have led a wicked and sinful life, and still professed an inclination and desire to die well, have either had the death they wished for, or a blessed and happy end? How every Man shall end

230 *Ps.* 119:118. *Psal.* 118 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. I3<sup>v</sup>. The Bible quote 'Praevicantes reputavi omnes peccatores terrae' in *DC*, 48.7–8, is missing in *PR*. This is verse 119 of psalm 118 of the Latin Vulgate: 'All the sinners of the earth I have reputed prevaricators'. Gregory Martin, *The Holy Bible Faithfully Translated into English out of the Authentical Latin, Diligently Conferred with the Hebrew, Greek, & Other Editions in Divers Languages. By the English College of Dhouay*. Vol. 2 (London: John Covstriver, 1635), p. 225.

231 'doctor ... Church' is Lovell's expression for 'sacra disciplina' in *DC*, 48.8.

232 *Ecclus.* 2:12.

233 *Mat.* 11 *i. t.*: *Mt.* 11:21.

234 *Mt.* 11:23.

his days, depends not on himself, but on the Counsel and / [127] [G4<sup>r</sup>] Decree of God; as it is written, *He that is our God is the God of salvation; and unto God the Lord belong the issues from death. But God shall wound the head of his enemies, and the hairy scalp of such a one as goeth on still in his trespasses.*<sup>235</sup> Most terrible also, and yet most certain, is that Sentence pronounced by divine Oracle. *Evil shall slay the wicked: and they that hate the righteous shall be desolate.*<sup>236</sup> But great are the Promises and hopes that the Scripture gives to those who love piety, and are of a penitent and obedient heart, which we should always have before our eyes. *The Lord redeemeth the soul of his servants: and none of them that trust in him shall be desolate.*<sup>237</sup> Let us then a little consider what these Men do, who leaving off to / [128] [G4<sup>v</sup>] bring forth the fruits of Repentance, fall into the unmannerly vices of a corrupt and sinful Generation; and yet, wish, and desire a happy end. They do no less than change Gold, Jewels, and the most precious things, for most sordid and filthy trash, and prefer slavery before Liberty and a Kingdom. They choose pain and vexation before true pleasure, reject real and lasting honour for ignominy, dishonour, and contempt, true riches for sordid want, and in a word, truth it self for vanity. What Judgment will God make of men of such Principles? Sure<sup>238</sup> all wise Men deservedly reckon them the greatest of fools. Would it not be a better, and far wiser course, more certain of Gods blessing, and more easie and profitable to us, to endeavour / [129] [G5<sup>r</sup>] and study so to live, as we would expect and desire to die? It was the only answer I always made to those who have often asked me, what was the best way for one to die well, to wit, *To die well, we must live well.* Now they who desire to work out their own Salvation must learn to be wiser by the many instances, which they have heard and seen of those who have died without Repentance. Nay a wise and discreet Reflection on the nature of things will convince us that there is nothing more worthy a Man, as he is Man, endowed with Reason, and partaker of Heavenly knowledge, than probity, sanctity, and innocence of life; and on the contrary, that filthiness, luxury, pride, covetousness, ambition, and all corruptions of life and / [130] [G5<sup>v</sup>] manners are most unbecoming his nature. But of all Men Christians ought to be the most convinced of this whom God hath blessed with the knowledge of Heavenly and Earthly matters, and of the true happiness of Mankind, teaching and instructing them by the precepts and rules of his revealed will, so as he hath not done to every Nation, whose Judgments they have not known.<sup>239</sup> But if this strong and universal

<sup>235</sup> *Psal.* 68 *i.t.*: *Ps.* 68:20–21.

<sup>236</sup> *Psal.* 34 *i.t.*: *Ps.* 34:21.

<sup>237</sup> *Ps.* 34:22.

<sup>238</sup> Since *ante corr.* The textual amendment here is based on the Latin text: 'Certe apud sapientes homines stultissimi et corruptissimi iure abentur' in *DC*, 50.10–11. 'Sure' could have been easily confounded with 'since' at some point during the compositorial procedure.

<sup>239</sup> *Ps.* 147:20.

reason do not move them, at least they should be so far prevailed upon, as to learn wisdom from the dangers of others, and to consider that the many instances of those who have perished without Repentance belong<sup>240</sup> to them, whom our God, the Father of all Mercy, warns by such examples to have a care / [131] [G6<sup>r</sup>] of themselves; for it is written, *There were present at that season some that told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. And Jesus answering said unto them, Suppose ye that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered such things? I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish. Or those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you, Nay: but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.*<sup>241</sup>

If we will turn our eyes and thoughts to that pattern which God hath proposed to be imitated by all the Faithful, we shall plainly understand that *Abraham*, / [132] [G6<sup>v</sup>] after he had left his Country, Kindred, and Fathers House,<sup>242</sup> never returned again into *Chaldea* or *Mesopotamia*, but travelled and Sojourned in several places, according to the will and appointment of God, spending his whole life, even to death, in the obedience of Gods commands, and that he would not die, nor be buried any where, but there where he had received the Promises, nor move a foot from those places, wherein he was warned from Heaven to tarry and abide. Wherefore the Holy Scripture, admonishing those who are the true children of *Abraham*, that is, his spiritual Children, who is called the Father of many Nations, of their duty, in imitation of their fathers example, saith: / [133] [G7<sup>r</sup>] *Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord: look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit where you are digged. Look unto Abraham your father, and unto Sarah that bare you: for I called him alone, and blessed him, and increased him,*<sup>243</sup> as being a Man who firmly believed, and diligently obeyed God that called him. *So then they which be of the faith* (and imitate the example of *Abraham*) *are blessed with faithful Abraham.*<sup>244</sup>

Wherefore, my dear fellow Christians, being furnished with all these precepts and instructions of God the Father, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Master,<sup>245</sup> let us in the first place, take diligent heed that we sin not. For that indeed is best; but be/cause [134] [G7<sup>v</sup>] all the Sons of *Adam* are under sin,<sup>246</sup> the

240 belongs *ante corr.*

241 *Luke 13 i.t.: Lk. 13:1–5.*

242 The Example of *Abraham mg.* 'Abraha(m) exemplum' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. I7<sup>v</sup>.

243 *Isa. 51 i.t.: Isa. 51:1–2.*

244 *Col. 3 i.t.: Gal. 3:7, 9.*

245 'probatissimorumque discipulorum exempli instructi' ('with the exempla of the best disciples') in *DC*, 53.2–3, is missing here in *PR*.

246 'idque singulari Dei beneficio tribuitur si quis numquam peccaverit' ('if there is someone who never sinned it is thanks to God's distinctive goodness') in *DC*, 53.5–6, is also missing in *PR*.

wisest counsel and most acceptable to God that can be given in the next place is that he who hath sinned, would with all his heart and mind turn to God: *for we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: And he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.*<sup>247</sup> If he be sought of us with a contrite and humble heart, which the Lord himself declares: *To this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word.*<sup>248</sup> Wherefore the Apostle St. John<sup>249</sup> admonishes us, saying, *Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God. And whatsoever we ask, we receive of him, / [135] [G8<sup>r</sup>] because we keep his commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his sight.*<sup>250</sup> St. John expressly affirms that we shall obtain what we ask of God in order to our Salvation, who will give his good spirit to those that seek him, if our heart condemns<sup>251</sup> us not; which he saith may be proved by this, if we keep his commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his sight. Our Lord and Master commands the same: *If ye love me, keep my commandments. And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; Even the spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive;*<sup>252</sup> seeing that<sup>253</sup> Lust, and Pride, and Pomp and Vanity, with all the other Vices of this World are an abomination to him: / [136] [G8<sup>v</sup>] *But if a man purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every good work.*<sup>254</sup>

The sum then of all that hath been said, in short is this: whoever with a pure and holy heart believes the promises of God to his own salvation, let him sincerely renounce the pomps and vanities of this World, and the sinful Lusts and Desires of the Flesh, and make good his profession of Repentance, by a true and earnest forsaking of all sin and vice, and a following after Righteousness, and obedience to the commands of God with a zealous and constant care. Of this care we shall speak hereafter, having first laid down for a certain truth (which we cannot inculcate too / [137] [G9<sup>r</sup>] often) that the holy spirit cannot dwell in a heart polluted with the sinful lusts, pleasures, and other corruptions of the flesh, the spirit, I say, of sanctification, by which who are acted, are the sons of God. For this is the express sentence of God Almighty<sup>255</sup> himself, which hath been

247 1 *John* 2 *i.t.*: 1 *John*. 2:1–2.

248 *Isa.* 66:2.

249 'qui nobis certum in Iesu Christi tutela praesidium pollicebatur' ('who assured us that Jesus Christ is the safeguard of the promised protection') in *DC*, 58.13, is omitted in *PR*.

250 1 *John* 3 *i.t.*: 1 *John*. 3:21–22.

251 condemn *ante corr.*

252 *John* 14 *i.t.*: *Jn*. 14:15–17.

253 the *ante corr.*

254 2 *Tim.* 2 *i.t.*: 2 *Tim.* 2:21.

255 'Almighty' is again freely added by the translator.

alleged already, and ought often to be cited: *My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh,*<sup>256</sup> that is to say, so long as Man is flesh, and obeys the will and lusts of the flesh, he shall not be partaker of my spirit. And this sentence was pronounced by God, at that time when the Sons of God, coming in unto the Daughters of Men, perverted all the rules of Piety and Virtue, and turned Righteousness into Iniquity. Now they who believed the / [138] [G9<sup>v</sup>] Promises of God made unto *Adam*, the common Parent of Mankind, and being endowed with that Faith exercised themselves in the practice of Piety, are in holy Scripture called the Sons of God,<sup>257</sup> for amongst them was preserved the knowledge of the Redemption and Salvation of Mankind by the holy Seed of the Woman; and they being animated with the Faith and Hope of this promised Salvation, shunned all worldly ambition and corruption, leading a life neither magnificent nor splendid, nor attended with the glory and delights which Men admire, but low, modest, and mean living in the hurry<sup>258</sup> habitations of cottages, tents, caves and dens, and were satisfied with sober poverty, in imitation of their common Parents *Adam* [139] [G10<sup>r</sup>] and *Eve*, whom God, having cloathed them with coats made of Beasts skins,<sup>259</sup> commanded to live contented, willing that they who by their own fault had forfeited the sovereignty of the World, should live like strangers and sojourners in it. This example the Sons of God followed. But on the other hand, the Sons of Men, who either believed not the divine Promises, or lived in pomp and splendour, gave themselves over to delights and pleasures, courted glory and worldly greatness; and built to themselves stately Houses, Towns and Castles; being not a little incited to that course of life, by the humour and counsel of Women; by whose blandishments and conversation, the Sons of God also being first allured, / [140] [G10<sup>v</sup>] and then wholly overcome, *they took to themselves wives of all which they chose.*<sup>260</sup> That is to say, when the Sons of God perceived the delights and pleasures, the pomp and splendor that was amongst Men, which might tempt humane frailty to prefer them before the rigours of an austere frugality; but especially being enticed by the sight of Women, among whom Vanity and Luxury, both in diet and apparel, was most conspicuous, they forsook the hardships of an austere life, continence and poverty, that they might embrace riches, wealth, pleasures and luxury; and making Marriages with the Daughters of Men, they overturned Piety, and perverted the ancient discipline of primitive virtue and integrity. Whereupon that divine Sentence / [141] [G11<sup>r</sup>] was pronounced: *My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is*

256 *Gen. i.t.: Gn. 6:3.*

257 *Rom. 8:14.*

258 *forry ante corr.*

259 *Gn. 3:21.*

260 *Gn. 6:2.*

*flesh*.<sup>261</sup> because of the Sons of God, they not only became like unto the Sons of Men, but begat a race much more corrupt than themselves, more licentious in their lives, indulging themselves in all sorts of vice and voluptuousness, and prone to all kind of injustice, barbarity and cruelty. These are the *giants which were in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children unto them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown. And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil* / [142] [G11<sup>v</sup>] *continually. And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth*.<sup>262</sup> So much did the licentious wickedness of the dissolute life of Men offend God that, holy Oracles assure us, it repented him that he had made Man on the Earth; and that he resolved to destroy all Mankind, these only excepted who continued in the discipline and duty of the Sons of God, tho they were but very few in number; as it is written: But *Noah* found grace in the eyes of the Lord, because he was a Just Man,<sup>263</sup> being not only endowed with that Faith of the Sons of God, but through the exercise of true Repentance, and Obedience to the commandments of God, accepted also of the Lord as one who, having spent so many years in [the] building of an / [143] [G12<sup>r</sup>] Ark, and by frequent Sermons forewarning the Men of that age of the imminent wrath of God, endeavoured to perswade them to Repentance and amendment of life, for which he got the title and name of a *Preacher of Righteousness*.<sup>264</sup>

Now, this practice of Repentance which, as we have said, is necessary to all the Disciples and followers of Christ, must be accompanied with an endeavour of amendment of life, and of following after Righteousness and *Honesty*; which, for illustration sake, we shall call by the name of *Obedience*;<sup>265</sup> and define Obedience to be an *ordering and framing of all the actions of our life, according to the counsel and will of God*.<sup>266</sup> And this is performed by the knowledge / [144] [G12<sup>v</sup>] and diligent practice of the commands of God. For it is not enough to know the precepts and institutions of our Christian discipline, or to talk of, and commend them in quaint and elegant language, unless we also carefully and studiously practise and observe them. This is the express doctrine of our Lord and Master. *Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kindgom of heaven; but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then I will profess unto*

<sup>261</sup> *Gn.* 6:3.

<sup>262</sup> *Gen.* 6 *i.t.*: *Gn.* 6:4–6.

<sup>263</sup> *Gn.* 6:8–9.

<sup>264</sup> 2 *Pet.* 2:5. 2 *Pet.* 2 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. K5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>265</sup> *Obedience mg.* 'Obedientia' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. K5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>266</sup> *Cf. Eph.* 1:4, *Ps.* 119:1. This sentence is not marked as quotation in *DC*.

*them, I never knew you: depart from me ye that work iniquity. Therefore whosoever hearleth* [145] [H1<sup>r</sup>] *these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock: And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock.*<sup>267</sup> We must, therefore, take care that the structure of our salvation be founded upon this Rock of true Obedience, lest that after we have built much and long, some contrary gust beating upon it, it fall to the ground. Now this Obedience is performed in observing the will of our heavenly Father, according to the Doctrine of our Saviour, saying: *He that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven.*<sup>268</sup> And the Father himself hath declared that his will is that we should know, hold fast, and / [146] [H1<sup>v</sup>] *carefully practice the Doctrine of his dearest Son.*<sup>269</sup> *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.*<sup>270</sup> If then we would desire to know what we are to do for obtaining the salvation which this beloved Son hath brought into the World, let us seriously consult him, who was proposed, and confirmed to us by the Father in presence of most reverend witnesses, two of the Old and three of the New Testament, as the wise and infallible interpreter of his Will; and we shall hear him thus answering and teaching us: *If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love.*<sup>271</sup> *He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and /* [147] [H2<sup>r</sup>] *he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.*<sup>272</sup> And again, *Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.*<sup>273</sup> And elsewhere, *Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.*<sup>274</sup> By which words we are plainly taught that the desired rest of our souls cannot be found, but by those who do the Will of the Father. Now, for discovering of this Will, the Father himself referred us to the hearing of his Son; and the Son tells us that it is his Fathers Will that they who would find rest to their Souls, should take his yoke upon them, and that his yoke is neither hard nor heavy, but soft and easie, / [148] [H2<sup>v</sup>] and that his burden, that is, the sum of the Doctrine of the Law and Commandments, is a light burden. And indeed, the thing it self not only speaks it to be so, but the noble instances also of many who have submitted

267 *Mat. 7 i.t.: Mt. 7:21-25.*

268 *Mt. 7:21.*

269 'in filii sui gratissimi et sapientissimi' in *DC*, 58.6-7. Lovell does not translate the epithet 'sapientissimi'.

270 *Mat. 17 i.t.: Mt. 7:5.*

271 *John 15 i.t.: Jn. 15:10.*

272 *John 14. i.t.: Jn. 14:21.*

273 *John 15 i.t.: Jn. 15:14.*

274 *Mat. 11 i.t.: Mt. 11:29-30.*

to that yoke fully confirm it. For the yoke we speak of is no more but that sincere and brotherly love, which by another name is commonly called charity, as our Lord and Master does frequently inculcate. *This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you. These things I command you that ye love one another.*<sup>275</sup> And he affirms this constant and perpetual precept to be so properly and peculiarly his own, that he would have it to be the badge and mark of his Disciples and followers. / [149] [H3<sup>f</sup>] *A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.*<sup>276</sup> St. John the great Disciple and Witness of our Lord and Master, again and again confirms this: *Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God. And whatsoever we ask, we receive of him, because we keep his commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his sight. And this is his commandment, That we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as he gave us commandment.*<sup>277</sup> And of how great necessity the keeping of this commandment is, the same Apostle fully demonstrates unto us. *He that hateth his / [150] [H3<sup>v</sup>] brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes.*<sup>278</sup> This is so true and plain a Doctrine of Christian Religion, that that famous Expositor of the divine Oracles, made no scruple to prefer this love before all the other virtues, acts and endowments of the mind of Man. *Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophesy, and understand all the mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and / [151] [H4<sup>f</sup>] have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.*<sup>279</sup> And so far is Charity commended by this Apostle, that he calls it *the bond of perfectness.*<sup>280</sup>

Now if Charity be so necessary, that without it the Apostle affirms all things else to be unprofitable to salvation; how far is he from salvation, who not only loves not his brother, but even hates and persecutes him? If he who loves not, banishes from himself the love of God, in what condition is he, and how shall he be esteemed in the eyes of God, that hateth his brother? No less than a Murderer; and according to the sentence of the holy word of God he is guilty of that crime.

275 *John* 15 *i.t.*: *Jn.* 15:12, 17.

276 *John* 13 *i.t.*: *Jn.* 13:34–35.

277 1 *John* 3 *i.t.*: 1 *John* 3:21–23. 'And this is ... gave us commandment' is not typographically distinguished in *DC*.

278 1 *John* 2 *i.t.*: 1 *John* 2:11.

279 1 *Cor.* 13 *i.t.*: 1 *Cor.* 13:1–3.

280 *Col.* 3 *i.t.*: *Col.* 3:14.

*Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer*<sup>281</sup> in thought and affection, which God chiefly takes / [152] [H4<sup>v</sup>] notice of, he is accounted a Murderer who loveth not his brother; and ye know, saith he, *that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.*<sup>282</sup> As elsewhere: *He that hateth his brother, walketh in darkness.*<sup>283</sup> Wherefore St. James admonisheth Christians, lest being corrupted with this vice, which under some disguise or other usually<sup>284</sup> creep[s] and steal[s] into mens minds, they should make void the name and profession of Religion, and so deceive themselves or others.

*But if ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth* (calling and boasting yourselves to be Christians). *This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish. For where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work. But the wisdom that is from above, is / [153] [H5<sup>r</sup>] first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.*<sup>285</sup> We are also plainly and largely taught by our Lord and Master, how grievous a sin the sin of hatred is, and how great an impediment it lays in our way to salvation, not only when it appears outwardly in evil deeds, but even when<sup>286</sup> conceited inwardly in the heart. *I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca,*<sup>287</sup> *shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool* (to wit, moved with anger, and with design to hurt him), *shall be in danger of hell fire.*<sup>288</sup> Wherefore our Lord and Master in his divine wisdom, that he might shew how / [154] [H5<sup>v</sup>] expedient it is to be free from that vice and perturbation of mind, plainly tells his Disciples that he who hath not first satisfied this command of Charity, must not think to obtain the favour of God by any Sacrifice or other Religious performance. *Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there remembreth that thy brother hath ought against thee; Leave thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.*<sup>289</sup> In many other passages he confirms the same, saying, *Be ye merciful, as your Father also is merciful: forgive, and ye shall be forgiven: Give, and it shall be given unto you.*<sup>290</sup> *Blessed are the merciful: for they*

281 *John 3 i.t.*: 1 *John* 3:15. 1 *Ioan* 3 *mg.* in DC, sig. L2<sup>v</sup>.

282 1 *John* 3:15.

283 1 *John* 2:11. 1 *Ioan* 2 *mg.* in DC, sig. L2<sup>v</sup>.

284 uses to *ante corr.*

285 *James 3 i.t.*: *Jm.* 3:14–17.

286 but *del.*

287 'Raca', also 'Racha', is a term of Aramaic origin used to designate a person's emptiness, inferiority, or stupidity. In the Bible, it is only used in this verse.

288 *Mat.* 5 *i.t.*: *Mt.* 5:22.

289 *Mt.* 5:23–24.

290 *Luke* 6 *i.t.*: *Lk.* 6:36–38.

*shall obtain mercy.*<sup>291</sup> Now the charity which our Lord so much commendeth, is not a cold and / [155] [H6<sup>f</sup>] ordinary, but a burning and fervent charity, ready to do good, whereby he bids us to become like unto God, who makes his Sun to shine upon the good and the bad, and causeth it to rain upon the just, and the unjust.<sup>292</sup> And when our Saviour taught his Disciples to pray, he enlarged more upon the Subject of Charity, Mercy, and Beneficence, than upon any other; as being of all others the chief and most convincing argument of Piety, which by the Apostle also, is called the bond of perfection,<sup>293</sup> seeing all the commands and duties whatsoever of the Law are easily obeyed and performed by those who are so quickened by charity as not so much to seek their own, as the things of others; according as it is written. / [156] [H6<sup>v</sup>] *Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.*<sup>294</sup> Whereas, *He that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes.*<sup>295</sup>

The sum then of all that a Scholar of Christ ought to know,<sup>296</sup> hold, meditate upon, and practise, is briefly comprehended under these three Heads, to wit, the Fear of the Lord, Repentance, and Charity. Now charity is / [157] [H7<sup>r</sup>] not here considered only as it relates to God, whom we ought to love above all things, but also as it is to be practised towards Men. *Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. But whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue; but in deed and in truth. And hereby we know that we are the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him.*<sup>297</sup> *Let us love him, because he first loved us. If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he / [158] [H7<sup>v</sup>] hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him, That he who loveth God love his brother also.*<sup>298</sup> Whoever, therefore [that] shall carefully observe these three heads, will by experience find the mercy, goodness,

291 *Mt.* 5:7.

292 *Mt.* 5:45. 'who makes ... the unjust' is marked as quotation in *DC*, sig. L4<sup>v</sup>.

293 *Col.* 3:14.

294 1 *Cor.* 13 *i.t.*: 1 *Cor.* 13:4–7.

295 1 *John i.t.*: 1 *John* 2:11.

296 The sum of the rule common to all Men *mg.* 'Dictati omnibus communis summa' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. L5<sup>r</sup>.

297 1 *John* 3 *i.t.*: 1 *John* 3:16–19.

298 1 *John* 4 *i.t.*: 1 *John* 4:19–21.

and clemency of God towards him; the excellency whereof the thought of Man is not able to conceive, and far less his tongue to express. For the gracious God is always ready to fulfill the promises of salvation, which have been made and often confirmed to Believers; as it is written. *At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; If that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them.*<sup>299</sup> / [159] [H8<sup>r</sup>] *And if the wicked will turn from all his sins that he hath committed, and keep all my statutes, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, he shall not die. All his transgressions that he hath committed, they shall not be mentioned unto him: in his righteousness that he hath done, he shall live. Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die? saith the Lord: and not that he should return from his ways, and live?*<sup>300</sup> So that the Oracles of God do often confirm the Promises of life and salvation made even to wicked Men who turn from their ways; to those I say, who turning from the evil of their way, and following a course of true Repentance, make it their care and study to obey the commands of God, and to do Judgment and Justice; for whoever / [160] [H8<sup>v</sup>] do so, shall live; not by an idle, lazie and unactive Faith, which is also called a dead Faith; but through the righteousness which they have wrought, they shall, indeed, obtain life and salvation, from God the author and fountain of life, which he hath promised to all who believe in him, and obey his word, according to that infinite mercy of his, which the Scripture celebrates in many places. *The lord is gracious, and full of compassion; slow to anger, and of great mercy.*<sup>301</sup> The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works.<sup>302</sup> And therefore he bears with the sins of men, that he may bring them to Repentance. *For he loveth all the things that are, and abhorreth nothing that he hath made: for never [161] [H9<sup>r</sup>] would he have made any thing, if he had hated it.*<sup>303</sup> And therefore it is, that he freely offers and promises his mercy unto all, who with a true heart and purpose of mind desire to be converted, and to return to him, as it is written. *As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn<sup>304</sup> ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?*<sup>305</sup> For the Lord is most gracious, and desirous of our salvation, who, when he would have Men to turn to him with their whole heart and mind, and so obtain life, he patiently waits for their Repentance; and this the holy Scriptures clearly testifie. *Therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious*

299 *Jer.* 18 *i.t.*: *Jr.* 18:7–8.

300 *Ezek.* 18 *i.t.*: *Ezk.* 18:21–23.

301 *Psal.* 145 *i.t.*: *Ps.* 145:8.

302 *Ps.* 145:9. This verse is typographically marked as quotation in *DC*, sig. L7<sup>v</sup>, but not in *PR*.

303 *Wisdom* 11 *i.t.*: *Wis.* 11:24.

304 *turn del.*

305 *Ezek.* 33 *i.t.*: *Ezk.* 33:11.

[162] [H9<sup>v</sup>] *unto you, and therefore will he be exalted, that he may have mercy upon you.*<sup>306</sup> And the Apostle *St. Peter* saith: *The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but is longsuffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.*<sup>307</sup> Now that the Conversion and true Repentance of sinners is most acceptable and pleasing to God, his own Son shews us in that saving Sermon which he made in the three Parables of the prodigal Son, the lost sheep, and goate;<sup>308</sup> whereby he exhorted all Men, that they would endeavour by their conversion to please God, and cause joy in the whole Court of Heaven, that so they might taste of the wonderful goodness of God, who is rich in mercy towards / [163] [H10<sup>r</sup>] all that call upon him with a pure and single heart,<sup>309</sup> and upon whom, if they approve themselves by Faith, and the practice of true Repentance and Obedience, he bestows great mercies, and the spirit of sanctification with all his gifts and graces, which *St. Peter* affirms was given to all that obey him,<sup>310</sup> and our Saviour<sup>311</sup> promised to be given, saying: *If ye love me, keep my commandments, And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; Even the spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive.*<sup>312</sup> Now in the sence of *St. John*, the world are they who live according to the *lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, or the pride of life;*<sup>313</sup> that is, who are slaves to lust, delights, pleasures, or ambi/tion: [164] [H10<sup>v</sup>] for those shall not feel the power and virtue of that holy spirit abiding in them, as the Lord himself pronounces: *My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh.*<sup>314</sup> With Man who is flesh, and striveth not to mortifie the deeds of the Flesh, as the Apostle saith: *if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortifie the deeds of the body, ye shall live:*<sup>315</sup> to wit, through the spirit of God given and communicated unto you; for so it is written. *Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: where is the house that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest? For all those things hath mine hand made, and all those things have been, saith the Lord: but to this man will I look, even to / [165] [H11<sup>r</sup>] him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word.*<sup>316</sup>

306 *Isa.* 30 *i.t.*: *Isa.* 30:18.

307 2 *Pet.* 3:9. 2 *Pet.* 3 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. L8<sup>v</sup>.

308 *Cf. Mt.* 18:12–14, *Lk.* 15:8–32.

309 *Rom.* 10:12.

310 *Acts* 5:32. *Actor* 5 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. M1<sup>r</sup>.

311 'Christus' in *DC*, 18.

312 *John* 14 *i.t.*: *Jn.* 14:15–17.

313 1 *John* 2:16. 1 *Ioan* 2 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. M1<sup>r</sup>.

314 *Gen.* 6 *i.t.*: *Gn.* 6:3.

315 *Rom.* 8:13. *Rom.* 8 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. M1<sup>v</sup>.

316 *Isa.* 66 *i.t.*: *Isa.* 66:1–2. Lovell expands this quote, which in *DC* is shortened to 'Super quem requiescet Spiritus meus, nisi super humilem et contritum corde, et trementem sermones meos?', 66.29–31.

Those divine gifts and graces whereby Men upon Earth are changed into other creatures, and become almost celestial, avoiding the corruption that is in the World through lust, and having their conversation in heaven;<sup>317</sup> examples and instances of these gifts, I say, which were very frequent of old, are now rare to be found on the Earth, because we have neither that strong and lively faith in the Promises of God, nor purely and sincerely obey his Precepts; neither are we filled with the holy fear of the Lord; but by a double and deceitful heart, wicked and perverse thoughts and actions, we are wanting to our selves,<sup>318</sup> and to the grace and goodness of God; / [166] [H11<sup>v</sup>] of God, I say, *who trieth the heart and searcheth the reins*,<sup>319</sup> and sees us wholly given over to impure thoughts, the delights and pleasures of the flesh, and to pride and ambition, like adulterous Women dealing treacherously against their lawful husbands; which kind of hearts estranged from, or divided in their chief love, he neither loves nor approves of. The mind must be pure and single, and fervent in love, that aspires to the heavenly marriage of this bridegroom and would have it confirmed and made good to it. The wise Son of *Sirach*<sup>320</sup> advises us to endeavour that as much as we can, when he saith, *Distrust not the fear of the Lord: and come not unto him with a double heart*.<sup>321</sup> *Woe be to fearful hearts, and faint hands, / [167] [H12<sup>r</sup>] and the sinner that goeth two ways!*<sup>322</sup> And the word of God<sup>323</sup> by the mouth of his holy Prophets, does also in many places expressly admonish us heartily to renounce the vanities, sins and pollutions of this World, and make it our whole care to forsake them. *O Jerusalem, wash thine heart from wickedness, that thou mayest be saved. How long shall thy vain thoughts lodge within thee?*<sup>324</sup> Whosoever come so provided to seek the Lord, shall certainly find him to be loving, gracious and bountiful. *Ye shall seek me, and find me, when ye shall search for me with all your heart. And I will be found for you, saith the Lord*,<sup>325</sup> whose blessed Son hath also said: *Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God*.<sup>326</sup> God is to be seen by the pure in heart, / [168] [H12<sup>v</sup>] saith our Saviour; He is to be seen dwelling in them, whom he consecrates for a holy Temple to himself; as it is written. *For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of*

317 *Phil.* 3:20. *Philip* 3 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. M2<sup>r</sup>.

318 'wanting to ourselves': to fail to do justice to ourselves.

319 *Ps.* 7:9. *Psalm* 7 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. M2<sup>r</sup>.

320 'divinam sapientiam' in *DC*, 67.17. *Cf.* Footnote 95.

321 *Ecclus.* 1.2 *i.t.*: *Ecclus.* 1:28.

322 *Ecclus.* 2:12.

323 'Certissimis etiam et apertissimis Dei ipsius verbis' in *DC*, 67.20–21.

324 *Jer.* 4 *i.t.*: *Jr.* 4:14.

325 *Jer.* 29 *i.t.*: *Jr.* 29:13–14.

326 *Mat.* 5 *i.t.*: *Mt.* 5:8.

*the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones.*<sup>327</sup> *He healeth the broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds.*<sup>328</sup> This contrition of heart, so acceptable unto God, and so much commended in Scripture, doth not dwell nor abide with the anxious desire of worldly things, and of the pomp and glory of the age, which are hateful to the Lord. Nor let any Man persuade himself that he can serve two Masters, that is, that he can / [169] [I1<sup>r</sup>] please God, and at the same time fulfil the lusts of the flesh, pursue the vanities, pride and ambition of the World, and obey the dictates of carnal wisdom. The Apostle St. *James* declares it to be impossible. *Ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? whosoever therefore will be a friend to the world is the enemy of God. Do ye think that the scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy?*<sup>329</sup> And therefore we are earnestly warned by the Apostle St. *John*, that being deluded by vain arguments, or any idle and groundless hope and opinion, we should not retain the love of this World, but wholly reject it, if we would approve our selves to God, whom we ought to love / [170] [I1<sup>v</sup>] for our own salvation. *Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lusts thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.*<sup>330</sup> From all which divine sentences we may conclude, that they who have not carefully avoided the corruption and pollution of life and manners, and have not laboured to shun those things, that are to be shunned, will, with all their actions, works and oblations be displeasing and so enemies to the pure and holy spirit of God. Divine wisdom it self asserts this, and / [171] [I2<sup>r</sup>] therefore advises us not to lose the fruit of our good works, through our own fault and negligence. *The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination unto the Lord;*<sup>331</sup> *He that sacrificeth a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is ridiculous; and the gifts of unjust men are not accepted. The most High is not pleased with the offerings of the wicked; neither is he pacified for sin by the multitude of sacrifices.*<sup>332</sup> The Prophet expostulates the same thing, with those who by their perverse actions and deeds, both publick and private, polluted the sacrifices which they frequented. *Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons*<sup>333</sup>

327 *Isa. 57 i.t.: Isa. 57:15.*

328 *Psal. 147 i.t.: Ps. 147:3.*

329 *Jam. 4 i.t.: Jm. 4:4-5.*

330 *John 2 i.t.: 1 Johan 2:15-17.*

331 *Prov. 15 i.t.: Prov. 15:8.*

332 *Eccles. 34 i.t.: Eccles. 34:18-19.*

333 'Neomeniam' in DC, 69.15. Following KJV, Lovell translates 'neomenia' as 'new moon'. In ancient Greek and Jewish times, 'neomenia' referred to the beginning of the lunar month and was the occasion for offerings to the gods and for rituals in which incense was frequently used.

*and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new / [172] [I2<sup>v</sup>] moons<sup>334</sup> and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood. Wash ye, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.*<sup>335</sup> This / [173] [I3<sup>r</sup>] divine expostulation is made up both of promises and threatenings to those who either do, or will not obey: wherefore by the same spirit, the author of this expostulation, we are invited and stirred up, by strong and often repeated reasons, to seek to God for mercy and the accomplishment of his promises. *Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.*<sup>336</sup> Seeing therefore it hath been made out unto us by many clear and manifest testimonies and Texts of both the Old and New Testament, that these three heads, to wit, *the fear of the Lord, Repentance and brotherly Charity*, as the pure fountains and sources [174] [I3<sup>v</sup>] of all pious actions accompanied with Faith, are most acceptable to God, and through his gracious favour very instrumental, not only to make us escape the wrath and indignation of God, but also find grace and mercy in time of need; and are so necessary to salvation, that without them we cannot please God, nor obtain the accomplishment of his promises concerning our immortal state and the celestial inheritance purchased to us by the death and resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And seeing by the Covenant of Grace<sup>337</sup> all Believers are assured that, through the diligent study and practice of these three points, every one may attain their share of that Promise and Obligation, which God him/self [175] [I4<sup>r</sup>] hath graciously and freely proposed to us for our salvation; I thought it my duty, being moved with Christian zeal, and fervent charity, to admonish and exhort all my fellow Christians, not only by what we have hitherto alledged, but by all the oracles, sentences, precepts, admonitions and exhortations uttered by the holy spirit, and laid up in the Treasury of sacred Record, that they would carefully set about the

334 'Calendas' in *DC*, 69.16. Lovell again follows *KJV* and translates 'calendas' ('calends' in English) as 'new moons'. Calends was a term of the Roman calendar used to refer to the first day of any month and is thus also related to the Jewish festival of the new moon.

335 *Isa.* 1:13–20. *Isai.* 1 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. M5<sup>r</sup>.

336 *Isay.* 55 *i.t.*: *Isa.* 55:7.

337 'divinae liberalitatis pacto' in *DC*, 71.1–2. Cf. Footnote 91.

duties of Piety, and diligently prosecute the same, in the constant practice of these three principal Points, the Fear of the Lord, Repentance and Charity. *For no man putting his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God;*<sup>338</sup> *but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.*<sup>339</sup> Now that these things / [176] [I4<sup>v</sup>] may be religiously and rightly performed, we must put off all the carnal affections and lusts that war against the Soul; these, I say, which resist divine grace, and retard and keep back the effects of that love, whereby *God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.*<sup>340</sup> *If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every good work.*<sup>341</sup> And being enriched with the blessings of divine Grace, he shall even in this life begin to taste and see that the Lord is good to those that love and fear him.<sup>342</sup> That we may therefore briefly summ up all that hath been said of this rule of / [177] [I5<sup>v</sup>] Christian Piety, which hath been confirmed by the word of God, delivered in the oracles of the Prophets, and asserted in the sentences of the Apostles, and all Holy Writ; we affirm that these three heads of Religion<sup>343</sup> are not only of principal use, but even absolutely necessary to all ranks and conditions of Christians, for obtaining the salvation of their souls, and the inheritance and possession of the Kingdom of Heaven; and that this is a rule common to all Men, who would live according to the Doctrine, Precepts, and Instructions of our Lord. Now these Heads, which we have often mentioned, are the *Fear of the Lord, Repentance* and *Charity*, or Brotherly love; which all of us who profess the Doctrine of the Christian Religion must / [178] [I5<sup>v</sup>] not only know, but also carefully practise, through the assistance of the divine grace, which, as we have already show'd, will be denied to none that rightly seek it; as our Lord and Master himself does plainly assure us: *I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? or if he ask a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent? Or if he shall ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children: how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him.*<sup>344</sup>

338 *Lk.* 9:62. *Luc.* 9 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. M7<sup>v</sup>.

339 *Mt.* 10:22, 24:13. *Matth.* 10 & 24 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. M7<sup>v</sup>.

340 *Job.* 3 *i.t.*: *Jn.* 3:16.

341 2 *Tim.* 2 *i.t.*: 2 *Tim.* 2:21.

342 *Ps.* 34:8–9. *Psal.* 33 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. M8<sup>r</sup>.

343 'tria haec pietatis capita' in *DC*, 73.3–4.

344 *Luke* 11 *i.t.*: *Lk.* 11:9–13.

/ [179] [I6<sup>r</sup>] We also testifie<sup>345</sup> and, from the reading and observation of the holy Scriptures, do affirm and declare that the corruption, depravation and malignity of life and manners, which is to be found amongst Men of all conditions, proceed from the neglect of these three Parts of Christian discipline, which are as certain first Principles of practical Piety, known to all Men who are in their right senses. And the necessity of these three Principles, to wit, of the *Fear of the Lord*, *Repentance* and *Brotherly love*, is manifest not only to all Christians by the light and revealed will of God preached unto them, but also to the unlearned and those who know not the written Law, by the similitude and image / [180] [I6<sup>v</sup>] of the Deity stamped on their minds; tho, as we have said, they be not proved and confirmed to them by so many sentences and oracles of holy Scripture, which, perhaps, is their own fault, seeing they mind nothing less than the serious learning of those things which make for their own salvation, and whilst they heedlessly and negligently run over these, diligently study to know and practise the contrary. But though they have not at all learn'd, or neglect to be taught the Law, *yet they are a law to themselves: Which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another.*<sup>346</sup> Now if these three heads of a Christian life were well known / [181] [I7<sup>r</sup>] and carefully practised by all; we should experience another kind of efficacy of the grace of God in us, find another cheerfulness of mind, and other evidences of Faith also. Other proofs of our Religion would appear both in publick and private, nor would there so many detestable instances of vice and impiety so openly abound, in City and in Country, in Courts and private Families, and in all the societies of Christians, where monstrous and flagitious wickedness doth but too<sup>347</sup> much and too<sup>348</sup> often reign; and the divine Laws are despised and violated by bloody contentions, enmity, hatred, strife, calumnies, fraud, deceit, bitter and frequent quarrels, robberies, thefts, extortions, and defrauding of the poor, besides the innumerable / [182] [I7<sup>v</sup>] arts of violence and oppression, whoredom and uncleanness, adultery, fornication, incest, and many other heinous abominations not to be named. So many places of the Christian World would not abound in surfeiting and drunkenness, chambering and wantonness, sinful and sensual delights and pleasures, and corrupt luxury; nor would there be so much vanity and ostentation, so immoderate and useless expensiveness, so great emulation and pride, nor so vast a number of other sins, and monstrous wickednesses and impieties, as too<sup>349</sup> woful experience we daily see. But on the contrary, if the fear of the Lord, accompanied with Repentance and Charity dwelt in the hearts

345 The Use and Practice of this Rule *mg.* 'Dictati usus et exercitatio' *mg.* in DC, sig. N1<sup>r</sup>.

346 *Rom. 2 i.t.: Rom. 2:14-15.*

347 two *ante corr.*

348 two *ante corr.*

349 to *ante corr.*

of all Christians, the actions of their lives would be ordered a/right [183] [18<sup>r</sup>]. It would then be the chiefest care of every one first to stand in awe and fear, lest they fall into the hands of the living God; and next that they may obtain forgiveness and mercy from him; and so every one would endeavour to perform what they promised in the holy Sacrament of Baptism, having entered into Covenant, before a mortal Man,<sup>350</sup> indeed, yet with the immortal God, the Just Judge of all the World, the Lord of Hosts, and the avenger of all sin and wickedness. *Who is a God that hath not pleasure in wickedness: neither shall evil dwell with him. The foolish shall not stand in his sight: he hateth all workers of iniquity. He shall destroy them that speak leasing: the Lord will abhor the bloody and deceitful man.*<sup>351</sup> The / [184] [18<sup>v</sup>] summ of which promise was to renounce the devil<sup>352</sup> and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked World, and to lead his life according to the Laws of him whose Son he would be accounted;<sup>353</sup> and every one being endowed with divine fear, incited by the desire of amending his life by Repentance, and inflamed with Brotherly love and Charity, would direct all his works and actions to the advancement, not only of private and particular, but also of common and publick Peace, Faith, Justice, Righteousness, Mercy, Honesty, and, in a word, of the general virtue and sanctity of all Men, and carefully perform the duties incumbent upon him, that he may receive his reward from him who cannot lie.

350 'sacerdote' in *DC*, 75.24.

351 *Psal. 5 i.t.: Ps. 5:4–6.*

352 'Satanae' in *DC*, 75.29.

353 'who ... accounted'. Unclear sentence, probably meaning that God meant to justify or explain himself through his Son ('cui se filium adscribi voluit' in *DC*, 75.30).

/[185] [I9<sup>r</sup>] OF THE SEVERAL DUTIES AND OFFICES OF ALL RANKS  
AND CONDITIONS OF MEN, TO BE  
EXAMINED ACCORDING TO THIS RULETHE SECOND PART<sup>354</sup>

Now if these three heads of *pure Religion and undefiled before God the Father* were observed by all Men, we should see many lively instances and effects of that practice; whereof the summ is *to visit the* / [186] [I9<sup>v</sup>] *fatherless and widows, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.*<sup>355</sup> And from these fountains of all humane actions, that is the Fear of the Lord, the study of Repentance, and exercise of Charity, the offices and duties of all degrees, ranks and conditions of Men, might easily be drawn and deduced: so that the whole body of the Christian Commonwealth, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, would be more healthful and sound, than at present we see, and would in all its Members worthily perform its several functions. There would be no trouble nor discord amongst the various degrees of Men; but all would conspire for the mutual good and profit one of another. For the variety of degrees, or/ders [187] [I10<sup>r</sup>], Ministries and Offices, is not to be condemned, but rather approved of and commended amongst a Christian People, as being found to be of great use and advantage, when they are instituted and executed according to the Laws and Precepts of God, for as St. Paul tells us, *The body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him.* And a little after he subjoyns: / [188] [I10<sup>v</sup>] *That there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it. Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.*<sup>356</sup> When the several Members are once perswaded of this, and in the fear of the Lord, in the study of Repentance and practice of Brotherly love and Charity, they know their Duties and Offices, there is no doubt but that they will religiously set about the performance of the same. That we may then begin with the first and chief orders of the Christian state,<sup>357</sup> it is manifest that it is the duty of Rulers and Governours,

354 'PAR 2' *mg.* in DC, sig. N4<sup>r</sup>.

355 James 1 *i.t.*: Jm. 1:27.

356 1 Cor. 11 *i.t.*: 1 Cor. 12:14–18, 25–27. 1 Cor. 12 *mg.* in DC, sig. N5<sup>r</sup>.

357 The Duty of Pastors, Rulers and Governours *mg.* 'Pastorum et rectorum officium' *mg.* in DC, sig. N5<sup>r</sup>.

and of those who are / [189] [I11<sup>r</sup>] to guide and direct others, to take care to maintain the honour of God, and to provide what is necessary as well for the salvation of the souls, as for the honest and lawful concerns of the bodies of Christian People, and faithfully and diligently to discharge their part of the Office and Care, that they have severally taken upon them, not to give themselves over to sloth and idleness, to luxury, delights and pleasure, but by day and by night, though with hunger and thirst, colds and heats, losses and crosses, perils and dangers both of life and fortune; to behave themselves as becomes good, faithful and approved Ministers and Servants, and as that honest Keeper of another Mans cattle affirmed of himself in relation to the Flocks / [190] [I11<sup>v</sup>] committed to his care. *This twenty years have I been with thee; they ewes and thy she-goats have not cast their young, and the rams of thy flock have I not eaten. That which was torn of beasts I brought not unto thee; I bare the loss of it; of my hand didst thou require it, whether stolen by day, or stolen by night. Thus I was; in the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night; and my sleep departed from mine eyes.*<sup>358</sup> And as that excellent shepherd did, whose task was neither more easie nor less dangerous, as he himself intimates. *Thy servant kept his father's sheep, and there came a lion, and a bear, and took a lamb out of the flock: And I went out after him, and smote him, and delivered it out of his mouth: and when he arose against me, I / [191] [I12<sup>r</sup>] caught him by his beard, and smote him, and slew him.*<sup>359</sup> Since these holy Shepherds, then, shewed so much care and diligence, so much faithfulness and assiduity for sheep, goats, and brute beasts, that their owners might suffer no loss, what care, then, behoveth it them to take, who *feed Jacob the people of the Lord, and Israel his inheritance? that they may fed them according to the integrity of their heart; and guide them by the skilfulness of their hands,*<sup>360</sup> whom they know to be the Flocks not of an earthly and mortal, but of an eternal and immortal Lord and Master, *Not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot.*<sup>361</sup> Now they must be led out and / [192] [I12<sup>v</sup>] fed not in strange Pastures, but in the Meadows and Fields of the Lord; as it was the care of Jesus Christ himself, who enjoyed the same to the Pastors,<sup>362</sup> [and] who lawfully discharged that duty not once or twice, but a third time, saying: *Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these?* To which when he had answered, *yea Lord, thou knowest that I love thee: he saith unto him, feed my lambs.* He saith unto him again, *Simon son of Jonas lovest thou me?* And he answering, *Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee,* he saith unto him, *Feed my sheep.* And he said unto

358 *Gen. 30 i.t.: Gn. 31:38–40.*

359 *1 Sam. 17 i.t.: 1 Sm. 17:34–35. 1 Reg. 17 mg. in DC, sig. N6'.*

360 *Psal. 78 i.t.: Ps. 78:71–72.*

361 *1 Pet. 1 i.t.: 1 Pet. 1:18–19.*

362 'quorum munere hi legitime funguntur, curandum summo studio' ('those we deal here with and whose office is sanctioned [by Christ]') in *DC*, 77.29, is missing in *PR*.

him a third time, *Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou me?* And when he had answered the third time, *Lord thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee:* he saith unto him: / [193] [K1<sup>r</sup>] *feed my sheep.*<sup>363</sup> This care which Jesus Christ so earnestly and affectionately commended to Pastors, the Ancients religiously undertook, and gloried in the performance and discharge of the same; as particularly St. Paul: *In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep; In journeying often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, / [194] [K1<sup>v</sup>] in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches. Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not.*<sup>364</sup> The Apostle was not only satisfied that he had suffered these things for the sake of the souls committed to his charge, but also, as we have already observed, gloried and greatly rejoiced that by undergoing such troubles and care he might approve himself unto God; wherefore he subjoyned, *Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake.*<sup>365</sup> Of the like mind were the other holy Ministers of the Gospel also, *who departed from the presence [195] [K2<sup>r</sup>] of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name. And daily in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ.*<sup>366</sup> Such endeavours, and such instances of duty and faithful obedience God always expects of his Pastors and Ministers, and when they are needful requires [of] them. Now when are they not needful? What time is there, that affords not occasion and opportunity for a strenuous discharge of the Ministry? What reason, colour or pretext can be given for idleness, and neglecting of the Sheep? What if there be no dangers, but all things in peace and quietness? Yet opportunities and seasons of doing those things which concern the salvation of Souls are never wanting: / [196] [K2<sup>v</sup>] there is always occasion for procuring and encreasing the favour and love of God, and for avoiding such a complaint and reproof as this. *Woe be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! should not the shepherds feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool, ye kill them that are fed: but ye feed not the flock. The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven*

363 *John* 21 *i.t.*: *Jn.* 21:15–17.

364 *2 Cor.* 11 *i.t.*: *2 Cor.* 11:23–29.

365 *2 Cor.* 12 *i.t.*: *2 Cor.* 12:10.

366 *Acts.* 5 *i.t.*: *Acts.* 5:41–42.

*away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them. And they were scattered, because there is no shepherd: and they became meat to all the beasts of the field, when they were scattered. My sheep / [197] [K3<sup>f</sup>] wandered through all the mountains, and upon every high hill: yea, my flock was scattered upon all the face of the earth, and none did search or seek after them. Therefore, ye shepherds, hear the word of the Lord; As I live, saith the Lord God, surely because my flock became a prey, and my flock became meat to every beast of the field, because there was no shepherd, neither did my shepherds search for my flock, but the shepherds fed themselves, and not my flock; Therefore, O ye shepherds, hear the word of the Lord; Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I am against the shepherds; and I will require my flock at their hand, & c.<sup>367</sup> Consonant to these complaints, and dreadful threatenings of the Lord God, are the rebukes given by our Saviour to the Lazy, Ambitious [198] [K3<sup>v</sup>], Covetous and negligent Ministers and Pastors of his Flock. Woe unto you, ye lawyers! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burden with one of your fingers.<sup>368</sup> Woe unto you scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness.<sup>369</sup> Those Pastors and Ministers who dread such reproofs and threatenings of the Holy Ghost, will forsake other affairs which concern not, but rather obstruct their function, and with all diligence and pains, will set about the discharge of that duty which has been committed to them from above. Nor will they think it enough to en/trust [199] [K4<sup>f</sup>] others with the Government of their Churches, who seriously mind their profit but slightly their duty, or others, by whom Children are only taught to say a few Prayers by heart, whilst by age they are unable to do or understand any thing else. Nay, rather, themselves being neither tired out by labour, frightened by dangers, nor discouraged by difficulties, will never leave off to watch over, visit, and take account of the Flock of God, and to take care of, and instruct Christians<sup>370</sup> of all ages, ranks, and conditions in the necessary duties of true and solid Piety. This, indeed, is a heavy charge, and not to be performed without much labour and pain; but it is likewise most acceptable to the Lord and Master of the Flock, who / [200] [K4<sup>v</sup>] laid down his life for his sheep, and will never withdraw the help and assistance which he hath promised to those who study to discharge aright the office of their Ministry. And, lo, said he, I am with you to the end of the world.<sup>371</sup>*

Now it behoves every one with a Religious awe and fear to take heed and look to himself that by Ambition, Avarice, Bribes, Interest or other arts he aspire not

367 *Ezek. 34 i.t.: Ezk. 34:2–10.*

368 *Luke 11 i.t.: Lk. 11:46.*

369 *Mt. 23:27. Mat. 23 mg. in DC, p. 211.*

370 'Christians' is Lovell's own addition.

371 *Mt. 28:20.*

to that noble Ministry, nor be found so doing by that Just Judge from whom the secrets of the heart and actions of Men are not hidden, and who allows no Man for his own ends, by his own arts and industry, and without a lawful Call and Election, to canvass for, or step into that holy function, nor to undertake the duties of / [201] [K5<sup>r</sup>] the same, unless he be endowed with those virtues and qualities; which are set down and expressly described by the Holy Ghost, for *A bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God; not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker, nor given to filthy lucre; But a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate; Holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers.*<sup>372</sup> Happy is that Flock that has a Pastor so endowed and qualified, then would there be fewer diseases, less slothful idleness and fewer scabs and putrefying sores to be seen amongst the Sheep; so much error, ignorance, delusion and superstition would not be found amongst them. In a word,

/ [202] [K5<sup>v</sup>] *Non insueta graves tentabunt pabula foetas,  
Nec mala vicini pecoris contagia laedent.*

No novel food their teeming flocks would cloy,  
Nor no contagious neighbouring ills annoy.<sup>373</sup>

But on the contrary, at what time the sovereign Lord, should come to visit the Flock which he hath committed to the care of good Shepherds, he would find it pure and clean, free from all impious and false doctrines, without errors, nurtured and bred up in sound Discipline and solid Institution, healthy and plump, comely and beautiful, as being fed with the sound food of pure / [203] [K6<sup>r</sup>] and heavenly Doctrine; which will not only be most acceptable to their Lord and Master, but will also procure to the Pastors a most certain and excellent reward. And what, and how great that may be hoped to be, the chief of the Apostles, St. Peter, declares to his fellow-labourers in the Gospel. *The elders*<sup>374</sup> *which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed; Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but wilfully; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock. And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.*<sup>375</sup>

372 *Tit. 1 i.t.: Tit.1:7–9.*

373 Virgil, *Ecloques*, 1:49–50. This seems to be Lovell's own translation of the poem. Cf. Virgil, *Virgil's Eclogues Translated by Several Hands* (London, 1684), sig. A5<sup>r</sup>; Virgil, *Virgil's Eclogues Translated into English*, trans. W. L. Gent (London: William Jones, 1628), sig. A3<sup>r</sup>; Virgil, *Virgil's Eclogues, with His Book De Apibus* (London: Eliot Court's Press, 1633), sig. C2<sup>r</sup>. These lines are not marked as quotation in DC, sig. O4<sup>r</sup>.

374 Here, 'elders' may also refer to officials or ministers in the early Church.

375 1 *Pet. 5 i.t.: 1 Pet. 5:1–4.*

/ [204] [K6<sup>v</sup>] <sup>376</sup>And we make no doubt but that if the three Heads which have been already proposed, be carefully observed in the lives and manners of inferior Ministers, Priests and Deacons, and all that serve at the Altar,<sup>377</sup> it will be a most profitable and sure way to procure the grace and favour of God, not only to themselves, but to all those also who war under their conduct in the Church of Christ; for where the fear of Lord, the study of Repentance and the fervent virtue of brotherly love and Charity dwell abundantly, there, neither Pride nor Ambition, neither Hatred nor Injustice, neither Backbiting, Vanity, Pomp nor Ostentation, nor any of those vices, which are wont to war a/gainst [205] [K7<sup>r</sup>] the soul, and the honesty and integrity of life, have any place; but rather Honesty, Industry, Justice, Peace, Concord, Mildness, Mercifulness, Continance, Civility, Gravity, and all the other Virtues which accompany these, and spring from those three Heads, as from pure fountains of Christian Piety, will be eminent and conspicuous. Superiors will Rule, Govern and Correct their Inferiours, with paternal love and affection. Inferiours will submit unto, obey and love their superiours, as the Vicegerents and Vicars of Jesus Christ our Redeemer, the Lord, Master, and Head of his Church. And both will retain in their minds, and practice in their lives, what is enjoyed by our Saviour. *The kings of the Gentiles* [206] [K7<sup>v</sup>] *exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them, are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.*<sup>378</sup>

Now in all that we have already said, or shall hereafter say, it is not our intention to observe what the practice of all and every one is, but only to admonish and declare what they ought to do, as we premised in the beginning of this treatise. For it hath always been our design and constant purpose, not to give offence to any Man living, but only to propose to all what Christ our Supreme Lord and heavenly Master requires of us and of all that would be his Disciples and Followers.<sup>379</sup>

/ [207] [K8<sup>r</sup>] And therefore, that we may prosecute the Offices of the several ranks and qualities of Christians, as we have proposed in the beginning, how useful and advantageous the three chief Heads of our Christian Rule, to wit, the *Fear of the Lord*, *Repentance* and *Brotherly Love*, are to Kings, Princes and

<sup>376</sup> The Duty of Inferior Ministers *mg.* 'Ministorum ecclesiasticorum singulorum officium' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. O4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>377</sup> 'all that serve at the altar' condenses Montano's 'tam clericorum, quos saeculares vocant, quam monachorum et monialium, denique omnium huiusmodi ordinum moribus' ('of the clergyman they call layman, and of the monks and nuns, finally, of all kinds of orders') in *DC*, 82.2–3.

<sup>378</sup> *Luke 22 i.t.*: *Lk.* 22:25–26.

<sup>379</sup> 'of us ... followers' is Lovell's translation of 'a nobis et a fratibus nostris' in *DC*, 83.5–6.

Magistrates,<sup>380</sup> for ordering and carrying on their affairs with Prudence, Wisdom, Dexterity and Success, and thereby for the working out of their own Salvation, the very Offices and Charges which they bear, do declare. For such Ministers are appointed by God; not that they should only consult their own interests, and indulge and please their own humours, but that they should with / [208] [K8<sup>v</sup>] all care and industry provide for the people of God those things that are known to conduce to the promoting of true Christian Piety, publick honesty, peace and tranquillity, innocence and uprightness, according to the Precepts and directions of the divine wisdom. Now they who endeavour and study to do so, must shew themselves to be Princes indeed, not slaves to pride, ambition, strife, hatred, deceit, frauds and avarice; not approving, desiring, or admitting any thing that is not good, just and honest; not imitating crafty arts, the slyness of dissimulation and humane cunning; nor out of private revenge, or for fulfilling their own lusts, or ambitious desires, being the authors of the devastations, plundrings and ruine of / [209] [K9<sup>r</sup>] Countries, Cities, Towns and Villages; nor vexing and oppressing poor Christian people with heavy and insupportable Taxes and Impositions; but proposing themselves as patterns and examples to other Men, of publick equity, innocence and righteousness; and making their lives and conversations a rule to private Men, of continence, modesty and godliness; reckoning themselves no less than other Christians, bound and obliged by that covenant which they entered into in their Baptism, and diligently observing that necessary renunciation which they then made of the Devil and all his works. If these things were rightly observed, one Prince would not invade the Kingdoms, Cities, Towns and Rights of other Christians, nor detain what / [210] [K9<sup>v</sup>] he had unjustly usurped. By this means, mutual Charity and Peace would keep, not only Princes themselves, but also their Vassals and Subjects in their duty; honesty would command,<sup>381</sup> and Majesty and Authority adorn them; Justice would reign amongst People; the zeal of Gods honour every where appear, in exact obedience to the precepts and holy commandments of God; and lastly, in common and united desires, purposes, words and works, that promise would be fulfilled, which was made by all Christians, none excepted, in Baptism. For if the true nature of Regal, Imperial, and Princely Authority be considered, it will manifestly appear that these high and supreme dignities have for that end been instituted by God, that they who / [211] [K10<sup>r</sup>] are honoured with them should be the Guardians, asserters and avengers of the holy Laws of God, be and have the title of the fathers of their people; that they should rightly administer Justice, punish the guilty and transgressors of the Law, put to death open and incorrigible Malefactors, protect the poor and weak

<sup>380</sup> The Duties of Kings, Princes and Magistrates *mg.* 'Regum, principum et magistratum officia' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. O6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>381</sup> commend *ante corr.*

from the violence and oppression of the powerful and rich, defend the innocent against the attempts of the wicked, and maintain the fatherless and widows: In a word, that they should endeavour what in them lyes, to keep and preserve all the Members of the State, both high and low, great and small, rich and poor, in peace, concord, tranquillity and security. This, I say, is the true end, for which the dignity and autho/rity [212] [K10<sup>v</sup>] of Kings, Princes and chief Magistrates is appointed by God, from whence it follows that needless Pomp and ostentation with voluptuous greatness, the affectation of Arbitrary dominion, the designs of boundless ambition, and the consequents thereof, the dangers and losses of souls, bodies and estates, and the excessive harassing and overcharging Subjects, are both displeasing to God, and grievous to the people.

Nor is it only the Office of Kings and Princes to cause the rest of Mankind to be instructed and kept in the duties of Religion, Piety, Honesty, and in the fear of God, and to shew themselves the Ministers of the Will of God and Ecclesiastical Discipline, but it is their proper duty also as / [213] [K11<sup>r</sup>] they are Princes to know the Law of God, carefully attend to, and diligently practise and obey the same, being led by the fear of the Lord, in all the actions of their lives and administrations of their Government. As it is enjoined by this singular Precept: *It shall be, when the king sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests and the Levites: And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them: That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: Neither shall he / [214] [K11<sup>v</sup>] multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold,*<sup>382</sup> lest trusting therein he fall into avarice and covetousness, which the Apostle calls Idolatry, and the root of all evil.<sup>383</sup> They are not to respect persons in Judgement, nor to take bribes, *For presents and gifts blind the eyes of the wise,*<sup>384</sup> and make them liable to that dreadful Sentence pronounced against those that pervert Judgement: *Cursed be he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, fatherless, and widow.*<sup>385</sup> Of which execrable practice, these Judges and Magistrates are taxed, of whom it is written: *They turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment.*<sup>386</sup>

/ [215] [K12<sup>r</sup>] <sup>387</sup>But seeing it is impossible that so many Provinces, Cities and Towns as may happen to be in one Christian Kingdom, can be Governed

382 *Deut.* 17 *i.t.*: *Deut.* 17:18–20, 17.

383 1 *Tim.* 6:10.

384 *Eccles.* 20 *i.t.*: *Ecclus.* 20:29. *Deut.* 16:19.

385 *Deut.* 27 *i.t.*: *Deut.* 27:19.

386 1 *Sam.* 8 *i.t.*: 1 *Sm.* 8:3.

387 The Duty of inferior Magistrates *mg.* 'Magistratus partes' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. P2<sup>r</sup>.

by the pains and care of the Prince alone, divine Providence has appointed that Judges, Magistrates and other publick Ministers should be constituted, who may carefully and dutifully discharge the Offices and Trust that is reposed upon them. *As it is written, judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, throughout all thy tribes: and they shall judge the people with just judgment. Thou shalt not wrest judgment; thou shalt not respect persons, neither take a gift: for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the /* [216] [K12<sup>v</sup>] *words of the righteous. That which is altogether just shalt thou follow.*<sup>388</sup> And in another place:<sup>389</sup> *Provide out of all the people, able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens: And let them judge the people at all seasons, & c.*<sup>390</sup> Which kind of men when *Jehosaphat*<sup>391</sup> had chosen, he thus admonished them: *Take heed what ye do: for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment. Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be upon you; take heed and do it: for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts. Thus shall ye do in the fear of the Lord, faith/fully,* [217] [L1<sup>r</sup>] *and with a perfect heart.*<sup>392</sup> And that this course was followed by Princes and Magistrates who were approved of God, Holy History assures us.

Now so much holier ought Christian Princes and Magistrates to be, so much more versed in the study and knowledge of Law and Equity, by how much they have obtained a more perfect Testament than the Ancients did, not only because of the clear and plain exposition of the divine Precepts made by Christ and his Apostles, but also because of more abundant grace promised and prepared for Believers under the Gospel. It is very far from their duty then, either by commission or omission, to break the Law and violate the sacred Precepts; and that they who are / [218] [L1<sup>v</sup>] commanded always to read and meditate on the Law, and not to turn aside from the right, neither to the right hand nor to the left, should mind nothing but pleasures, pomp, ambition and avarice, and go astray after their own inventions, making and imposing Laws upon others, which make more for the appetites and desires, the greatness, State, Majesty and Glory (as they are pleased to call it) of the Governors, and for establishing many new titles of Authority, Prerogative and Superiority, which they daily invent, than for the true Worship of God, and good of the People. Besides, it is a sort of perverseness most odious to God, for Princes, or inferiour Magistrates, to covet to be rich, and to leave great Estates to their / [219] [L2<sup>r</sup>] Children, out of the publick Revenues; and not being satisfied with an honest reward for their labours, that is, with a

388 *Deut. 16 i.t.: Deut. 16:18–20.*

389 'inquit Spiritus Sanctus' (the Holy Ghost says') in *DC*, 87.10, is missing in *PR*.

390 *Exod. 18 i.t.: Ex. 18:21–22.*

391 As described in the Bible, *Jehosaphat* was one of the kings of Judah. Cf. *1 Kings* and *2 Chron.*

392 *2 Chron. 19 i.t.: 2 Chron. 19:6–7, 9.*

modest competency of subsistence according to their quality, to be insatiably set upon the getting of wealth and riches, either by the liberality of Princes, or defrauding the Publick, and to make it the whole desire of their Souls that they may raise great Houses and Families, whereby they may perpetuate their Names upon Earth, rather by a long Succession of heirs, than by the Monuments and Examples of Virtue, Innocence, Sanctity and real Honour.

*Samuel* born in *Ramah*, a little Town, and in a Mountainous Country, being from his childhood brought up in the sacred / [220] [L2<sup>v</sup>] Ministeries of the Temple, had a garment given him yearly by his Parents, suitable to the meanness of their fortune. When he was grown up to be a Man, by the command of God he took upon him the Government of the Common-wealth, and during the space of forty years, as Prince, Judge, and Ruler, in Peace and in War, Ruled the populous, rich, and flourishing State of the whole twelve Tribes of *Israel*,<sup>393</sup> being as painful and assiduous, as vigilant and active as any Governor, either before or since; and yet during that whole time, he neither encreased his Estate, nor changed his abode from his own mean native habitation to a more conspicuous City, at least in his own Tribe; nor for his pleasure made use of the delights and varieties / [221] [L3<sup>r</sup>] that other places did afford; but having in War recovered and re-established the State of the Israelites, and setled a firm Peace all over the Country, he kept Assemblies at certain times for administering Justice to the People, and when he had done so, that he might not be troublesome or chargeable to any Town or Family, he returned home to his own mean, but contentful<sup>394</sup> habitation, where he neither excused himself from business, nor omitted any opportunity of promoting the worship of God. As it is written: *And the hand of the Lord was against the Philistines all the days of Samuel. And the cities which the Philistines had taken from Israel were restored to Israel, from Ekron even unto Gath; and the coasts thereof / [222] [L3<sup>v</sup>] did Israel deliver out of the hands of the Philistines. And there was peace between Israel and the Amorites. And Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life. And he went from year to year in circuit to Bethel, and Gilgal, and Mizpeh, and judged Israel in all those places. And his return was to Ramah; for there was his house; and there he judged Israel, and there he built an altar unto the Lord.*<sup>395</sup> By the short description of this instance, the Holy Ghost manifestly shews us with how much care, diligence, innocence, piety, continence and abstinence, that great Man discharged the Offices of a valiant and expert General in War, and of an excellent Prince and Magistrate in Peace, who, when afterward he had dimitted<sup>396</sup> the Government, and / [223] [L4<sup>r</sup>] resigned up the Authority to a chosen King,

393 'duodecim tribum' in *DC*, 90.5.

394 'contentful': satisfying.

395 1 *Sam.* 7 *i.t.*: 1 *Sm.* 7:13–17.

396 'dimitted': abdicated.

was neither richer nor more wealthy, nor was his Family advanced to greater dignity or splendor; but he contentedly returned to the same state wherein he was born. For *Samuel* went to *Ramah*, where he spent the rest of his days; neither did he build Palaces or stately Houses, either in *Ramah*, or in any other more conspicuous place, nor erected for himself a magnificent Monument or burying place, on which, either at *Jerusalem*, or any other City taken in War, he might transmit to Posterity the Trophies of his Atchievements, or the Titles of his Fame. *But Samuel died; and all the Israelites were gathered together, and lamented him, and buried him in his house at Ramah.*<sup>397</sup>

/ [224] [L4<sup>v</sup>] For they who aim to be rich by their Magistracy must of necessity either cheat the King, or defraud the Publick; and apply that to their own private use which might far better and more profitably be expended on the Publick. Now the publick treasure being exhausted, the people must needs be harassed with new Taxes and Impositions; and so the Wealth and Riches of a few, must cause the want and poverty of many. But how much God is offended at these covetous desires, the Prophet plainly declares, *Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth! In mine ears said the Lord of hosts, Of a truth many houses shall be desolate, even great and / [225] [L5<sup>v</sup>] fair, without inhabitant.*<sup>398</sup> Now if it be unbecoming a Christian Magistrate to heap up riches from the Salaries or larger Perquisites of their Offices; how detestable and accursed must it be in the sight of God, to get Estates and Dignities by accepting of Persons, Injustice, Rapine, Fraud, Bribes, Oppression, Calumny and Cheating? God forbids Kings, Princes, and Magistrates to multiply to themselves Gold and Silver, for the greedy thirst after Gold and Riches sets the minds of those who are infected therewith, upon the committing of any Sin and Wickedness. It is the cause of the Oppression of People with grievous and heavy Impositions, of Quarrels, Strife and Wars amongst Princes themselves, of the slaughter and murdering / [226] [L5<sup>v</sup>] of Subjects, and other abominable and flagitious cruelties, that are committed by Soldiers; and, in a word, of the ruine and loss of many Souls, as the Holy Ghost himself assures us: *From whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members? Ye lust, and have not: ye kill, and desire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight and war, and ye have not, because ye ask not. Ye ask, and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume it upon your lusts.*<sup>399</sup> And whilst matters go thus amongst those who profess the Faith, and pretend to Piety and Religion, the Christian Commonwealth and true Piety are lessened and impaired; the barbarous and wicked Empires and / [227] [L6<sup>r</sup>]

397 1 *Sam.* 25 *i.t.*: 1 *Sm.* 25:1.

398 *Isa.* 5 *i.t.*: *Isa.* 5:8–9.

399 *Jam.* 4 *i.t.*: *Jm.* 4:1–3.

Kingdoms of Christs enemies encrease and are enlarged; Heresies and erroneous and accursed Sects spring up and daily grow greater and greater. God set before us an illustrious and noble pattern of Charity and Contenance in the persons of his own Princes, saying, He shall not multiply to himself many Wives, that may allure his mind.<sup>400</sup> That was not lawful to the ancient Kings of the people of *Israel*. And shall it therefore be lawful to Christian Princes to deflower Virgins, rob Women of their Honour and Reputation, and by their foul example tempt others to the desire or act of the same filthiness, till they know no more the number of them they have debauched and wronged? Kings and Princes who would approve themselves / [228] [L6<sup>v</sup>] to God, are forbidden in Scripture to lift up their hearts in pride above their brethren.<sup>401</sup> It would be horrid wickedness then to use Tyranny, Inhumanity, Pride, Ambition, Haughtiness, Arrogance, Insolence and Cruelty towards Christian Subjects; and so to treat them, as if they were Heathen Slaves bought with their Money, for the satisfaction of their Lusts and Pleasures, their Luxury, Vanity and Pride. God forbids any Man to aspire to Power and Supremacy, to arrogate it to himself or any way to invade it. He will not have any Man to be the Lord and Master of his People, except those who are appointed by his Favour and Authority, or are declared to be such by the just Right of Inheritance. And therefore we dare be / [229] [L7<sup>r</sup>] bold to affirm that it is not Lawful for any Man that professes himself to be a Disciple of Christ, and fears the Judgment of God, either by Favour, Interest or popular Faction, or by Force, Fraud or Deceit, by Money, Gifts or Promises, to invade the Rights and Places of others, or to detain them being unjustly invaded. It is a barbarous and inhumane thing to do so, altogether repugnant to the Christian Doctrine, and only to be practised by Heathenish Tyrants, and perverse Infidels, who are therefore liable to the severe and grievous punishments of a terrible Judgement.

Now seeing it is the command of God that the Ministers and Officers of Kings and Princes, should be chosen from among the / [230] [L7<sup>v</sup>] best and fittest of the Ppeople, who are far from Covetousness and Ambition, it would be a bad custom amongst Christians to appoint those for the administration of Ecclesiastical or Civil employments, who endeavour to screw themselves into Place by Bribes and Largesses, Arrogance or Ostentation, or other such arts and politick sights;<sup>402</sup> and it would be worst of all, if unworthy and unfit Persons, vitious, covetous and ambitious Men should be advanced to Magistracy, either by the sole favour of Princes, without any consideration of merit, or for a reward of other ignoble services, or upon the account of Money, solicitation

<sup>400</sup> *Deut.* 17:17.

<sup>401</sup> *Deut.* 17:20.

<sup>402</sup> slight *ante corr.* 'politick sights': contrived appearances.

of friends, recommendation of Ladies, or other worldly by-respects. But if / [231] [L8<sup>r</sup>] Princes and Magistrates, being endowed with the three above-mentioned Heads of Christian Piety, will carefully and diligently set about the performance of the duties of their several places and employments, they will omit no occasion of executing Justice and Judgment with all integrity, and they will give no place, either in City or Country, in publick or in private, to the saucy, disobedient, licentious, froward<sup>403</sup> and corrupt humors of wicked and perverse Men. The fruit whereof will be that delights and pleasures, luxury and uncleanness, pride and violence, brutishness and sensuality, and, in a word, the contempt and neglect of the Laws of God, reign and abound<sup>404</sup> no more in Christian Countries, Cities and / [232] [L8<sup>v</sup>] Towns; they will not be like unto those Cities which, St. *Paul* says, were for unrighteousness delivered up to a Reprobate sense;<sup>405</sup> or be by God, Judged worse than *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*,<sup>406</sup> nor be liable to that character, which the Prophet put upon those who neglected Righteousness and Judgment. *They be all adulterous, an assembly of treacherous men. And they bend their tongues like their bow for lies: but they are not valiant for the truth upon the earth; for they proceed from evil to evil, and they know not me, saith the Lord. Take ye heed every one of his neighbour, and trust ye not in any brother: for every brother will utterly supplant, and every neighbour will walk with slanders. And they will deceive every one his neighbour, and will / [233] [L9<sup>r</sup>] not speak the truth: they have taught their tongue to speak lies, and weary themselves to commit iniquity.*<sup>407</sup> *For from the least of them even unto the greatest of them every one is given to covetousness; and from the prophet even unto the priest, every one dealeth falsely.*<sup>408</sup> All these things happen where the fear of the Lord, true Piety and Justice are neglected by Princes and Magistrates, which is the cause that Thefts, Robberies, Murders, Adulteries, whoredom, Blasphemy, Perjury, Usury, Disobedience to Parents, Irreverence towards Superiours, in a word, the forgetting and contempt of the commandments of God, and all other horrid vices and impieties, are so frequent, and that besides the eternal destruction to which they hurry Men headlong, / [234] [L9<sup>v</sup>] they make Christ, and the most pure and holy Christian Religion, not only to be despised and contemned, but also reproached and evil spoken of by barbarous and unbelieving Nations, and perfidious Jews, when they see and observe Christian Countries<sup>409</sup> and Cities full of Murderers, Usurers, Deceivers, Cheats, Backbiters, Robbers, Thieves,

403 'froward': perverse.

404 reigning and abounding *ante corr.*

405 *Rom.* 1:28.

406 *Mt.* 10:15. *Rom.* 9:29.

407 *Jer.* 9 *i.t.*: *Jr.* 9:2–5. *Ierem.* 7 *mg.* in *DC*, sig. Q2<sup>r</sup>.

408 *Jer.* 6 *i.t.*: *Jr.* 6:13.

409 Countrys *ante corr.*

Bauds, Whores, Adulterers, and other flagitious Sinners; abounding in Hatred, Envy, Suspensions, Injuries and Offences; void of Peace, Sincerity and Honesty; and lastly, practising Carnal Licentiousness, and all the tricks and artifices of Fraud and Cunning. All which vices and wickednesses are banished from thence, where the decency of an honest Christian Conversation, and the Obedience [235] [L10<sup>r</sup>] and love of God's Commands are encouraged by Princes and Magistrates, where Injuries, Villainies, Revenge and Contentions are not reckoned Honourable, but Disgraceful to Persons and Families; where Virtue only is applauded, but Cruelty and Injustice, Immodesty, Inhumanity, Pride and Arrogance are discountenanced and hissed at. Now it is impossible that in those places where Rulers and Governors do their duty, and give good example to others, Murderers, Thieves, Robbers, Blasphemers, Adulterers, perjured Persons, Panders, Usurers, Cheats, Covetous and hurtful persons, Witches, Wizards, Sorcerers, or any despisers and transgressors of the Laws of Heaven should harbour and abide, but that all, / [236] [L10<sup>v</sup>] according to the direction of God, should, as much as may be, be entirely rooted out, not only lest by their crimes and wickedness they may hurt others, but lest they should by their filthy Conversation corrupting the whole Body of the State, and especially the tender Youth, allure them into the like Crimes, and render their Scholars worse than the Master, because we are all apt to learn and imitate wicked and bad examples; for as the divine oracle saith, *The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth.*<sup>410</sup>

Nor would any reason of State allow, if the fear of the Lord, Repentance and Brotherly love, dwelt as they ought, in the hearts of Princes, that open Malefactors, disturbers of the publick peace, / [237] [L11<sup>r</sup>] and those that hurt and corrupt the Innocent and Simple, who by the Authority of divine Law are utterly to be expelled and cast out of Christian Governments, should either be suffered to live in their own Country, or be received, protected and defended by other Princes; or secured by Pas-ports and safe conducts; lest thereby they might be continued alive to the ruine and destruction, either of the Princes and Magistrates from whom they have fled, or of those by whom they are received. If this were punctually observed, we should find greater reverence paid to the Law, less licentiousness and wanton and rash Factiousness amongst Christians.

For neither is divine Justice divided; nor is any wicked, im/pure [238] [L11<sup>v</sup>], or incorrigible person, tho transported to any place of the Earth, approved of, or accepted of God, nor ought good and godly Princes ever to admit such to any place in their favour or affairs; for it is written: *For thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness, neither shall evil dwell with thee. The foolish shall not stand in thy sight: thou hatest all workers of iniquity. Thou shalt destroy them that*

410 *Gen. 8 i.t.: Gen. 8:21.*

*speaking leasing: the Lord will abhor the bloody and deceitful man.*<sup>411</sup> Now that this Judgment and Counsel of God ought to be followed by those Princes, who study and endeavour to approve themselves to the Lord and Prince of Princes, that holy profession of the Prince according to Gods own heart plainly demonstrates. *I / [239] [L12<sup>v</sup>] will walk within my house with a perfect heart. I will set no wicked thing before mine eyes: I hate the work of them that turn aside; it shall not cleave to me. A froward heart shall depart from me: I will not know a wicked person. Whoso privily slandereth his neighbour, him will I cut off: him that hath a high look, and a proud heart will not I suffer. Mine eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land, that they may dwell with me: he that walketh in a perfect way, he shall serve me. He that worketh deceit shall not dwell within my house: he that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight. I will early destroy all the wicked of the land; that I may cut off all wicked doers from the city of the Lord.*<sup>412</sup> The authority of divine Justice is perpetual and unalterable, which ought equal/lly [240] [L12<sup>v</sup>] to be regarded by all Christian Princes, nor must they think it is divided, or to be executed by halves, but they must observe it wholly and entirely, squaring it by the Will and Precept of the King of Kings, and Lord of all the Earth, who when he had appointed Cities of Refuge or Sanctuaries amongst his People, where<sup>413</sup> they who had killed any one without malice or inveterate and confirmed hatred, might fly to escape revenge, concerning others who with a deliberate purpose of mind committed the fact, he thus enacts: *If any man hate his neighbour, and lie in wait for him, and rise up against him, and smite him mortally that he dies, and fleeth into one of these cities: Then the elders of his city shall send and fetch him thence, and / [241] [M1<sup>r</sup>] deliver him into the hand of the avenger of blood, that he may die. Thine eye shall not pity him, but thou shalt put away the guilt of innocent blood from Israel, that it may go well with thee.*<sup>414</sup> The same Justice he commands to be executed against Thieves, Robbers, Cheats, Ravishers, Adulterers, and other open Offenders, and publick violators of Justice, Truth and Honesty, all whom he will have taken out of the way, that the evil may be put away from Israel; and therefore to the several sentences he adds: *And so shalt thou put away the evil from among you.*<sup>415</sup>

And since the Christian Doctrine hath taught the rest of the Officers of Kingdoms and Com/mon-wealths [242] [M1<sup>v</sup>], all Judges, Lawyers, Advocates, Proctors, Clerks, and other subservient Ministers of Magistrates and Courts of Judicature, the fear of the Lord, Repentance, and Brotherly love; it will not allow them to Practise or get Estates by Fraud, Deceit, Cavilling, Petty-fogging, malicious interpretation of the Law, protracting of Suits, starting of litigious

<sup>411</sup> *Psal.* 5 *i.t.*: *Ps.* 5:4–6.

<sup>412</sup> *Psal.* 101 *i.t.*: *Ps.* 101:2–8.

<sup>413</sup> wither *ante corr.*

<sup>414</sup> *Deut.* 19 *i.t.*: *Deut.* 19:11–13.

<sup>415</sup> *Deut.* 17, 19, 22, 24 *i.t.*: *Deut.* 17:7, 19:19, 22:22, 24:7.

Processes, superfluous invention of Pleas, or by false information against the Innocent, or unjust defence of the Guilty. For this Doctrine condemns all haughtiness of mind, Luxury, Pride, and Ambition, and all vices that are fed and cherished by riches even innocently got; but much more severely condemns Men who get Estates and live splendidly of the sweat and / [243] [M2<sup>r</sup>] blood of their Christian Brethren, and by their Fraud, Craft, cunning and over-reaching, and such ways as exceed; the perverseness of which God, sadly complaining, thus threatens by the Prophet: *Among my people are found wicked men: they lay wait, as he that setteth snares; they set a trap, they catch men. As a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit: therefore they are become great, and waxen rich. They are waxen fat, they shine: yea, they overpass the deeds of the wicked: they judge not the cause, the cause of the fatherless, yet they prosper; and the right of the needy do they not judge. Shall I not visit<sup>416</sup> for these things? saith the Lord: shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?<sup>417</sup>* From such crimes must all the Officers / [244] [M2<sup>v</sup>] of a State flee, who in prospect of Salvation, endeavour to live Godly, Justly, and Honestly in this present wicked world; and they ought to make it their whole care and business, that Equity, Justice and Moderation may flourish, both in publick and private; and that the powerful, rich and crafty may not unjustly impose upon the weak, poor and simple, since that charge is seriously pressed upon them by God himself. *Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.*<sup>418</sup>

<sup>419</sup>Now as to the Rich, and such as endeavour to be so, if they would remember their promised made in holy Baptism, and confirmed by covenant with / [245] [M3<sup>r</sup>] the Lord, if they resolve to follow after, and practise holiness according to the rules of Christian Piety, they may easily and plainly learn from the Doctrine of our Lord and Master, contained in the three aforementioned Heads, how far otherwise they ought to behave themselves, both in getting and spending of Estates, than most part of Rich Men usually do. For the Unjust, Covetous and Insatiable Desire of Riches, and the vain, superfluous, ambitious, or selfish use of them, are not consistent with the fear of the Lord, the duty of Repentance, and Brotherly-love of Christians, which approve not those advantages that wealth abuses to pleasures and luxury, but rather condemn them. The Christian doctrine<sup>420</sup> advises / [246] [M3<sup>v</sup>] those who would be saved not to trust to Riches, commending Honesty, Modesty, Temperance, Innocence, Continenence, Mercy, Bounty, Liberality, and the other Duties of Piety and Religion; and on the contrary detesting and dissuading from the opposite vices, as Pride and

416 For the purpose of examination. Cf. *OED*, entry 3.b.

417 *Jer.* 5 *i.t.*: *Jr.* 5:26–29.

418 *Isa.* 1 *i.t.*: *Isa.* 1:17.

419 The Duty of the Rich *mg.* 'Divitum officium' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. Q8<sup>r</sup>.

420 that *del.*

Haughtiness, Delights and Pleasures, Injuries, Robberies and Oppression of the Poor, detaining or Cheating the Labourers Wages, Usury, Monopolies, Enhausing of prices, and every thing else that is either disgraceful to the doer, hurtful to our Christian Brethren, or inconsistent with the publick good, in the Judgement of God himself. For he who reckons all Christians his Brethren, and Children of one Common Father, the Just, / [247] [M4<sup>r</sup>] Merciful and Bountiful God, and shall know that they stand in need of his help, ought to assist them partly by giving, and partly by lending without any hope of profit, benefit or interest; and thereby magnifie God the Father, who hath enabled him to shew that kindness to his Brethren, which the liberal goodness of God hath promised to recompense with a sure and excellent reward. For so it is written, *Do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest: for he is kind to be unthankful and to the evil. Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful.*<sup>421</sup> To this duty of beneficence enjoyed by Christ to his Disciples, we may add that / [248] [M4<sup>v</sup>] strict command of God. *If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren within any of thy gates in thy land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother: But thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need, in that which he wanteth. Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought; and he cry unto the Lord against thee, and it be sin unto thee. Thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him: because that for that thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and / [249] [M5<sup>r</sup>] in all that thou putteth thine hand unto. For the poor shall never cease out of the land: therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy, in the land.*<sup>422</sup> The sincere Disciples of Christ ought to set before their eyes and think on that command of God, that is backed with so many reasons, commended by so many promises and armed with so many threatenings against the neglecters of it, and freely bestow and lend according to their abilities; avoiding what in them lies, that sentence pronounced by the Holy Ghost, against the rich Men of this World, and not in good works. *Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, [250] [M5<sup>v</sup>] and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold the hire of the labourers which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them*

<sup>421</sup> Luke 6 i.t.: Lk. 6:35–36.

<sup>422</sup> Deut. 15 i.t.: Deut. 15:7–11. Deut. 9 mg. in DC, sig. R2<sup>v</sup>.

*which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter.*<sup>423</sup>

Consonant to this sentence is that dreadful commination of Christ: *Woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation. Woe unto you that are full! for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you that laugh / [251] [M6<sup>r</sup>] now! for ye shall mourn and weep.*<sup>424</sup> And is it not a very terrible sentence that is pronounced, and with an asseveration confirmed by our Saviour against rich Men? *Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.*<sup>425</sup> The reason of this difficulty the Holy Ghost affirms to be, because the desire and love of riches deceives Men, and turns them often out of the streight road of Equity and Justice. For he that desires to be rich, hastens to be so; but then what respect is there to the Law? What fear or shame in him who sets his soul upon wealth? Nay plenty and opulence when once it is / [252] [M6<sup>v</sup>] acquired, debauches both Men and Women from an innocent, modest and honest way of living, into luxury, vanity and pomp, into pride and strife, and into other violations of the divine commandments, and contempt of Christian simplicity, setting off enormous vices with great and plausible names; so prone is the sinful appetite of Man to abuse even the advantages and blessings of earthly things; a fault carefully to be avoided, as the Apostle admonisheth: *But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of evil: which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves / [253] [M7<sup>r</sup>] through with many sorrows.*<sup>426</sup> And therefore, that good Men may be ware of that deceitfulness of riches, *The Holy Ghost by the mouth of the prophet, gives this admonition: If riches increase; set not your heart upon them.*<sup>427</sup>

<sup>428</sup>Nor is the holy Doctrine of our Lord and Master more remiss or obscure in informing all those who live, and endeavour to get Estates by Traffick and Trades. For such are taught by the fear of the Lord, the study of Repentance, and Brotherly Love, to deceive no Man; not to adulterate or change, diminish or increase their goods and commodities, nor to neglect any thing that relates to them, which the nature of the goods require; not to change and raise their / [254] [M7<sup>v</sup>] prices, nor to deal fraudulently in weights and measures; for the

<sup>423</sup> *Jam. 5 i.t.: Jm. 5:1–5.*

<sup>424</sup> *Luke 6 i.t.: Lk. 6:24–25.*

<sup>425</sup> *Mat. 19 i.t.: Mt. 19:23–24.*

<sup>426</sup> *1 Tim. 6 i.t.: 1 Tim. 6:9–10.*

<sup>427</sup> *Psal. 62 i.t.: Ps. 62:10.*

<sup>428</sup> The duty of Merchants and Tradesmen *mg.* 'Mercatorum et artificium officia' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. R4<sup>r</sup>.

holy Scriptures assure us, that all such frauds and cheats argue a contempt of divine Justice, Christian simplicity and uprightness, and are extremely offensive to the supreme Judge of all Men. *A false balance is abomination to the Lord: but a just weight is his delight.*<sup>429</sup> And again, *Divers weights, and divers measures, both of them are alike*<sup>430</sup> *abomination to the Lord.*<sup>431</sup> Nor is that custom of cheating and circumventing our brethren, by false prices and oaths, and a cunning wheedle of words, less abominable to God; as it is written. *Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, Saying, When will the new moon be / [255] [M8<sup>r</sup>] gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah<sup>432</sup> small, and the shekel<sup>433</sup> great, and falsifying the balances by deceit? That we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell the refuse of the wheat:*<sup>434</sup> *The Lord hath sworn by the excellence of Jacob, Surely I will never forget any of their works. Shall not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein?*<sup>435</sup> Whosoever are the true disciples and followers of Christ will fear and stand in awe to offend God, and to be liable to such threatening. Whatever art or profession they follow, they'l manage the same with all faithfulness and care, and behave themselves modestly and justly in the business they set about, neither / [256] [M8<sup>v</sup>] wronging their brethren in their work, nor exacting too much for their labour, nor overvaluing the goods they sell them; but proposing to themselves charity and the good of others, rather than covetousness, and abominating all filthy and sordid gain, they will be content with the lawful gettings of their callings, and shun and despise the pride of life, as a thing altogether inconsistent with the simplicity of their vocation.

But that we may now descend from the publick society and duties of Mankind, to the particular relations of private persons, and enter into the houses and families of Christians; we are to take notice what the mutual duties of private persons in a family are, and how they are to be per/formed [257] [M9<sup>r</sup>] by Christians, as in the presence of God, who is a Judge and witness of all their actions.

Christian Women and Wives<sup>436</sup> who desire to order their lives according to this short but universal rule of Christian Piety, must studiously avoid all Pride, Arrogance, Vain-glorious Boasting, Envy, Haughtiness, Back-biting, and evil speaking; shewing nothing in their conversation of Voluptuousness,

429 *Prov. 11 i.t.: Prov. 11:1.*

430 like *ante corr.*

431 *Prov. 20 i.t.: Prov. 20:10.*

432 'ephah': A Hebrew kind of measure.

433 'shekel': A unit of weight of Hebrews, Babylonians, and other ancient nations.

434 The residues and waste of wheat when it is sifted.

435 *Amos. 8 i.t.: Amos. 8:4-8.*

436 The duty of Women and Wives *mg.* 'Foeminarum officium' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. R5<sup>v</sup>.

Wantonness, Lustfulness, Idleness, or Curiosity, and giving no example of Anger, Hatred, Discord, Grudge nor Malice. Put on the contrary, they are in all things to approve themselves Modest, Peaceable, lovers of Truth, Charity and Simplicity, and Dutiful and Obedient to their Husbands and Yokefellows, / [258] [M9<sup>v</sup>] in all things that are lawful and honest. For these ornaments and certain proofs of true virtue are always conspicuous in those Christian Women, who fear the Lord, practice Repentance, and live holily in Brotherly-love and Charity with all Men. To which they are also enjoyed by the holy Precepts of the spirit of God, with assurances of his favour if they perform, and of his anger and indignation, if they omit and neglect their duty. *Wives, submit your selves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the saviour of the body. Therefore as the church is subject to Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing.*<sup>437</sup> Wives who sincere/ly [259] [M10<sup>r</sup>] and heartily study Piety will not mind gorgeous attire, rich, costly and gaudy apparel, which, by decking and setting off the body, Eclipses the beauty, gravity and modesty of the mind, but such as being prepared by virtue is an argument<sup>438</sup> of probity and chiefly designed to render them acceptable to God and beloved of their own Husbands. For that attire and dress is most commendable and graceful in a Wife, which adorns the mind, and makes her lovely in the sight of God and her own Husband, and venerable to all others; that being the ornament which the Holy Ghost prescribes and commends, as becoming a Christian Wife. *While they (the husbands) behold your chaste conversation coupled with fear. Whose adorning [260] [M10<sup>v</sup>] let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; But let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price. For after this manner in the old time the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves, being in subjection unto their own husbands.*<sup>439</sup> And though God would not have such to be ignorant or negligent of their own duty, yet he does not approve that they should be tattlers, or disputers, or that they should arrogate to themselves wisdom and knowledge, nor would he have them to be greedy of many teachers, or desirous of much learning; but, being satisfied with the know/ledge [261] [M11<sup>r</sup>] of true Piety, and Christian Candour and Simplicity, that they should busie themselves in the exercise and practice thereof. *Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted to them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at*

437 *Eph. 5 i.t.*: *Eph. 5:22–24.*

438 'argument': indication.

439 *1 Pet. 3 i.t.*: *1 Pet. 3:2–5.*

home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church.<sup>440</sup> And again in another place. *Let the women learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. Notwithstanding she shall be saved in child-bearing, / [262] [M11<sup>v</sup>] if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety.*<sup>441</sup>

<sup>442</sup>The same Doctrine and Discipline of Christian Piety comprehended under the three aforementioned Heads, the *fear of the Lord, Repentance, and Brotherly-love*, if it be rightly known and practised, will also keep Men in their duty, and to the performance of the chaste Vows and Promises of Marriage; for it enjoyns Husbands to love their Wives, and to have the same care of them as of themselves, but especially, as the most important concern of Marriage, to consult and provide for the eternal salvation of the Wife, not only by frequent and reiterated admonitions, but also by good and wholesome examples, and, if / [263] [M12<sup>r</sup>] it be needful, by undergoing all kinds of danger, and running the risk of life and fortune for accomplishing that end. The whole of this duty is by the Holy Ghost summ'd up in this Precept: *Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it; That he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, That he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish. So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself. For no man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the church: For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his / [264] [M12<sup>v</sup>] bones. For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the church. Nevertheless let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself; and the wife see that she reverence the husband.*<sup>443</sup>

<sup>444</sup>Now those houses and families are most acceptable to God, which are reared upon the Foundations of the fear of the Lord, Repentance, and Brotherly-love, where Children and Servants are both by institution and example instructed in the duties of Virtue and true Piety, and taught to discharge the several offices

<sup>440</sup> 1 *Cor.* 14 *i.t.*: 1 *Cor.* 14:34–35.

<sup>441</sup> 1 *Tim.* 2 *i.t.*: 1 *Tim.* 2:11–15.

<sup>442</sup> The duty of Husbands *mg.* 'Coniugum officia' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. R7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>443</sup> *Eph.* 5 *i.t.*: *Eph.* 5:25–33. Following this quote there is a paragraph in *DC*, 117.21–23, which is missing in *PR*: 'Qui vero ita diligit uxorem suam, ab omni alieno amore impudicoque continet atque ab adulteriis quae impurissime alias per viros coniugio infidos excitari et committi solent prosus abstinet' ('Who thus loves his wife rejects any other kind of alien and dishonest love, and completely moves away from the adulteries, vices, and sins committed by unfaithful husbands').

<sup>444</sup> Domestic Discipline *mg.* 'Domestica disciplina' *mg.* in *DC*, sig. R8<sup>v</sup>.

of their stations; to fear and reverence their Fathers and Masters, / [265] [N1<sup>r</sup>] and to submit to the Authority of the Master of the Family, as appointed and established by the Laws of God. Wherefore it ought to be the care and study both of Masters of Families, and of Children and Servants, that all should diligently discharge their several parts, the one in commanding, the others in obeying, and all in mutual helping and assisting of one another, in promoting the good of the Family, the practice of Piety, and the salvation of their Souls. For so are Families enjoyed by the Holy Ghost, to know and practise their duties. *Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right. Honour thy father and thy mother; (which is the first commandment with promise) That it may be well with thee, / [266] [N1<sup>v</sup>] and thou mayest live long on the earth. And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; Not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; With good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men: Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening: knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him.*<sup>445</sup>

/ [267] [N2<sup>r</sup>] Nor is it consistent with Christian Doctrine and Truth, that Children who ought to be educated by their Parents in the fear of the Lord, and in the knowledge and practice of Piety, should be bred up in the Principles of corrupt and perverse Doctrine, and led in the broad way that tends to destruction, being from their infancy indulged and pampered in Pomp and Pride; countenanced in Luxury, Worldly Delights, and Lustful Pleasures; taught all the lewd Songs, Sports, and Exercises of the Age; and made acquainted with the factious Principles, Feuds, and Animositities of their Parents, which from their Cradle upward they pursue and promote; seeing thereby it happens, that the Children of Christians who ought to / [268] [N2<sup>v</sup>] be holy and imitable examples to all the World of Religion, Honesty, Reverence and Piety towards God, become the scandalous patterns of Dishonesty, Uncleaness, Irreverence and Impiety both against God and their Parents. Servants and Domesticks also encouraged by the publick and private examples of wickedness, both in societies abroad and families at home, grow, through the neglect of those who should punish and correct them, proper instruments of Unfaithfulness, Disobedience, Robberies, Thefts, Oppressions, and the disgrace of Families; so that all those employments almost which in themselves are good and lawful, run out of course, and degenerate into corrupt Nuisances. Now it is manifest that this perverseness / [269] [N3<sup>r</sup>] and depravation of manners always happens when

<sup>445</sup> Eph. 6 i. t.: Eph. 6:1–9.

Christian People are not taught the pure, simple, true and severe Discipline of the Gospel; or if they be taught it, either through an inveterate habit of sinning, wholly slight<sup>446</sup> and neglect it, or if they commend and approve it, yet think it not so absolutely necessary, as they ought to prefer it before all other things that come in competition therewith, and so receive the word<sup>447</sup> that is sown by the Husband-man, in stony or thorny ground. But we ought greatly to fear and have a care that that complaint of the Lord may not seem to be uttered against us. *A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land; The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by / [270] [N3<sup>v</sup>] their means; and my people love to have it so: and what will ye do in the end thereof?*<sup>448</sup>

Now to conclude, what sinner soever, moved by the fear of the Lord, shall seriously consider upon the wrath and indignation of God that he hath deserved, and the severe and terrible Judgment to which he has made himself liable, and shall again meditate in his own thoughts that Grace, Mercy, and the blessing of Heaven is ready prepared for him, if he will but carefully and heartily endeavour to be clothed with the Wedding Garment, that is, to follow the rule of Piety above described? Unless he be more than impious, and given over to a reprobate sense, there is no doubt but that he will turn with full purpose of heart and / [271] [N4<sup>r</sup>] soul, from Vice to Virtue, from corruption to integrity, from madness and folly to a sound mind and, in a word, from the slavery of the Devil to that merciful Lord, who is so pleased with the serious and true Repentance of Sinners that with an Oath he has sworn he desires it, and has freely promised his blessings to those who hope in his Mercy, and turn to him with their heart. *As I live saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live.*<sup>449</sup> He that hath ears to hear let him hear,<sup>450</sup> and turn to Repentance, if he desires<sup>451</sup> to obtain mercy from the most High, who healeth the broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds,<sup>452</sup> by whose grace, assistance, good / [272] [N4<sup>v</sup>] will and pleasure, we have written this practical Rule of Christian Piety,<sup>453</sup> for the instruction of our fellow-Christians; hoping that the meditation and study thereof may be useful to them for obtaining salvation, through the goodness of God, to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever, Amen.

446 'slight': disregard, ignore.

447 'verbum Dei' in *DC*, 121.7.

448 *Jer. 5 i.t.: Jr. 5:30–31.*

449 *Ezk. 33:11.* The quotation is also typographically marked in *DC*, but there is no explicit reference for it.

450 *Mt. 11:15.* This verse is typographically distinguished in *DC*, yet lacks bibliographic details.

451 desire *ante corr.*

452 *Ps. 147:3.* Again, this line is marked as quotation in *DC*, but with no bibliographic reference.

453 'Christianum Dictatum' in *DC*, 123.4.

It hath not been our purpose to set off this Christian Institution with the ornaments and flourishes of exquisite Language and Rhetorick; but rather in few and plain words to accommodate this Doctrine of Piety to the capacities of all Christians, who might thereby more easily both learn and retain it; it being our desire rather to deliver and teach useful and good sense, than gay and painted words. Now the / [273] [N5<sup>r</sup>] sum of all that hath been said is shortly this: That extraordinary and supernatural gifts and graces are promised to all Men who will believe and accept the same, not only in this life, but also more especially in that which is to come; and the same [are] purchased and conveyed to them by the virtue and efficacy of that wonderful mystery of the conception, birth,<sup>454</sup> death and resurrection of Jesus Christ the Son of God, who is ready to bestow them on every one, who in the fear of the Lord obeys the holy dictates and precepts of the Law, and is diligent and sincere in the practice of Brotherly-love and Charity. For God requires that Men should fear, obey, worship and serve him, and upon these conditions gave us his promises; to the per/formance [274] [N5<sup>v</sup>] of which he obliged himself out of mere grace and bounty. And this is the duty which every Christian, whether high or low, learned or unlearned, ought to know and practise.

But for all other things which Men may desire to know and learn, relating either to their private capacities, or to the rank and quality which they bear amongst Men, and wherein they may be deceived, mistaken and err; since all Men are not competent Judges of such things, we have purposely omitted them, exhorting all and every one that, having diligently considered and observed the abovementioned three heads, they would keep that station, wherein by right and Law they are placed; not declining to the right or to the left / [275] [N6<sup>r</sup>] from their common duty which, being faithfully performed, God of his goodness will impart to all what is necessary to be known and practised by every one in the place and degree that he is called to in society. Now if any thing appear unseemly and not altogether justifiable in the actions and conduct of others, it is not the part of any private Man to Judge and Censure it, or to endeavour any change or alteration in the Duties and Offices of others; but to leave the care of that to the lawful Ministers and Magistrates, and to pray the Lord of the Vineyard that he would send fit Labourers into his Vineyard, and that he would advance, protect and defend his own Harvest. Without doubt, the Lord will have pity on his inheritance, / [276]<sup>455</sup> [N6<sup>v</sup>] and take care of the welfare and prosperity of his people; and will highly approve that no Man for the fault or error of another withdraw himself from the unity and concord of the established Church and

<sup>454</sup> The allusion to the conception and birth of Christ is Lovell's own addition to the text. There is no mention to any of these in *DC*.

<sup>455</sup> Page 276 is misnumbered as 244.

Government;<sup>456</sup> but that every Man mind, not what other people do, but what he ought to do and perform himself, and with heart and soul set about it.

FINIS.

<sup>456</sup> 'a publica societate et concordia Catholicaeque Ecclesiae Romanane comunione et obedientia discedat' in *DC*, 127.9–11. In *PR* Lovell omits the explicit reference to the Roman Catholic Church.

APPENDIX:  
ARCHIBALD LOVELL'S TRANSLATIONS

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APPENDIX: ARCHIBALD LOVELL'S TRANSLATIONS  
(IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

1.  
TITLE: *Conversations of the Mareschal of Clerambault and the Chevalier de Meré* (12°)  
AUTHOR: Antoine Gombaud  
YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1677  
PLACE: London  
PUBLISHER: Henry Brome

2.  
TITLE: *A Treatise Concerning the Motion of the Seas and Winds* (8°)  
AUTHOR: Isaac Vossius  
YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1677  
PLACE: London  
PUBLISHER: H. C. for Henry Brome

3.  
TITLE: *The Woman as Good as the Man, or, The Equallity of Both Sexes* (12°)  
AUTHOR: François Poullain de la Barre  
YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1677  
PLACE: London  
PUBLISHER: T. M. for N. Brooks

4.  
TITLE: *Reflexions upon Ancient and Modern Philosophy* (8°)  
AUTHOR: René Rapin  
YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1678  
PLACE: London  
PUBLISHER: R. E. for William Cademan  
Note: Two editions were issued in 1678. A third edition was published by William Whitwood in 1686 (see the Bodleian Library Catalogue).

5.

TITLE: *The Military Duties of the Officers of Cavalry* (8°)

AUTHOR: Sieur de La Foutaine

YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1678

PLACE: London

PUBLISHER: Robert Harford

6.

TITLE: *Indiculus Universalis, or The Universe in Epitome* (8°)

AUTHOR: François Antoine Pomey

YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1679

PLACE: London

PUBLISHER: John Macock for Robert Harford

7.

TITLE: *The Count of Gabalis, or Conferences about Secret Sciences* (12°)

AUTHOR: Nicholas Montfaucon de Villars

YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1680

PLACE: London

PUBLISHER: Robert Harford

Note: Two editions were published in 1680; one of these editions, printed by T. James for Robert Harford, lacks 'The Translator's Advice to the Reader'.

8.

TITLE: *A Treatise of Lithotomy: Or, Of the Extraction of the Stone out of the Bladder* (8°)

AUTHOR: François Tolet

YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1683

PLACE: London

PUBLISHER: W. W. for William Cademan

Note: A second edition, printed by William Whitwood, was issued in 1689.

9.

TITLE: *The Practical Rule of Christian Piety: Containing the Sum of the Whole Duty of a True Disciple of Christ* (12°)

AUTHOR: Benito Arias Montano

YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1685

PLACE: London

PUBLISHER: Joseph Hindmarsh

10.

TITLE: *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia, or A Short Historical Account of The Rise and Progress of the Late Troubles in England* (8°)

AUTHOR: George Bate and Thomas Skinner

YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1685

PLACE: London

PUBLISHER: Abel Swalle

Note: A second edition was published in 1688.

11.

TITLE: *The Critical History of the Religions and Customs of the Eastern Nations* (8°)

AUTHOR: Richard Simon

YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1685

PLACE: London

PUBLISHER: J. Heptinstall for Henry Faithorne and John Kersey

12.

TITLE: *An Historical Treatise of the Foundation and Prerogatives of the Church of Rome and of Her Bishops* (8°)

AUTHOR: Louis Maimbourg

YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1685

PLACE: London

PUBLISHER: Joseph Hindmarsh

Note: The first edition was printed under Hindmarsh's Black Bull press, and in 1688 a second edition was published at his Golden Ball press.

13.

TITLE: *The Travels of Monsieur Thévenot into the Levant* (4°)

AUTHOR: Jean de Thévenot

YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1687

PLACE: London

PUBLISHER: Henry Clark for John Taylor

Note: Two editions were published in 1687.

14.

TITLE: *The Comical History of the States and Empires of the Worlds of the Moon and Sun* (8°)

AUTHOR: Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac

YEAR OF PUBLICATION: 1687

PLACE: London

PUBLISHER: Henry Rhodes



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