

AN HOMILY OF THE STATE OF MATRIMONY.

The word¹ of Almighty God doth testify and declare whence the original beginning of matrimony cometh, and why it is ordained. It is instituted of God, to the intent that man and woman should live lawfully in a perpetual friendly fellowship,^a to bring forth fruit, and to avoid fornication: by which means^b a good conscience might be preserved on both parties in bridling the corrupt inclinations of the flesh within the limits of honesty; for God hath straitly forbidden all whoredom and uncleanness, and hath from time to time taken grievous punishments^c of this inordinate lust, as all stories and ages hath^d declared. Furthermore, it is also ordained, that the Church of God and his kingdom might by this kind of life be conserved and enlarged, not only in that God giveth children by his blessing, but also in that they be brought up by the parents godly in the knowledge of God's word; that thus^e the knowledge of God and true religion² might be delivered by succession from one to another, that finally many might enjoy that everlasting immortality.

Wherefore, forasmuch as matrimony serveth as^f well to avoid sin and offence as to encrease the kingdom of God, you, as all other which enter that state,^g must acknowledge this benefit of God with pure and thankful minds, for that he hath so ruled

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^a friendly fellowship] friendship 1623. ^b means] mean *from* 1582. ^c punishments] punishment *from* 1582. ^d ages hath] ages have *from* 1582. ^e thus] this *till* 1571. ^f serveth as] serveth us as *from* 1582. ^g that state] the state *from* 1582.

¹ As much as half of this Homily, namely, all from the beginning of it to the end of the quotation from *Psalm* 128 on page 506, and the concluding paragraph from "Whereupon do your best endeavour" on page 514, is translated with very little alteration from an Address of Veit Dietrich or Theodor, a preacher of great celebrity at Nuremberg; of which there is a Latin Version under the title. *Adhortatio ad Pios Conjuges Germanice scripta a M. Vito Theodoro piae memoriae*, on signn. Cc 3–7 of Selneccer's work upon the Epistles of St. Peter, *In Divi Petri Apostoli Epistolas Carmen Paraphrasticum et Homiliae, seu Conciones, Authore M. Nicolao Selneccero, cum Indice praecipuorum locorum*, an octavo volume printed at *Jena* in 1567. But the Address in German has not been found, nor any earlier copy of a Latin Version of it.

For the better understanding of the Homily, a few passages from Selneccer's translation are given in footnotes.

² Dei agnitio et verus Dei cultus. *Seln.*

your hearts^{h3} that ye follow not the example of the wicked world, who set their delight in filthiness of sin, where bothⁱ of you stand in the fear of God, and abhor all filthiness. For that is surely the singular gift of God, where the common example of the world declareth how the devil hath their hearts bound and entangled in divers snares, so that they in their wifeless state run into open abominations without any grudge of their conscience. Which sort of men that liveth^k so desperately and filthily,^l what damnation tarrieth for them St. Paul describeth it to them, [1 Cor. 6:[9–10].] saying, *Neither whoremongers^m neither adulterers shall inherit the kingdom of God.* This horrible judgment of God ye be escaped thoroughⁿ his mercy,⁴ if so be that ye live inseparately according to God's ordinance.

But yet I would not have you careless, without watching. For the devil will assay to attempt all things to interrupt and hinder your hearts and godly purpose, if ye will give him any entry. For he will either labour to break this godly knot once begun betwixt you, or else at the least he will labour to encomber it with divers griefs and displeasures. And this is his^o principal craft, to work dissension of hearts of the one from the other; that, whereas now there is pleasant and sweet love betwixt you, he will in the stead thereof bring in most bitter and unpleasant discord. And surely that same adversary of ours doth, as it were from above, assault man's nature and condition. For this folly is ever from our tender age grown up with us, to have a desire to rule, to think highly by ourself,^p so that none thinketh it meet to give place to another. That wicked vice of stubborn will and self love is more meet to break and to dissever the love of heart, than to preserve concord. Wherefore married persons must apply their minds in most earnest wise to concord, and must crave continually of God the help of his Holy Spirit, so to rule their hearts and to knit their minds together, that they be not dissevered by any division of discord.

This necessity of prayer must be oft in the occupying^q and using of married persons, that ofttime^r the one should pray for the other, lest hate and debate do arise betwixt them. And because few do consider this thing, but more few do perform it,

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^h your hearts] our hearts 1571–1595. ⁱ where both] but both 1623. ^k liveth] live *from* 1582. ^l filthily] filthy 1623. ^m whoremongers] whoremonger *from* 1582. ⁿ thorough] through *from* 1563 B. ^o is his] is the 1623. ^p by ourself] of ourself 1623. ^q occupying] practice 1623. ^r ofttime] oftentimes *from* 1570.

³ Agere gratias pro hoc beneficio, quod animum ejusmodi vobis dedit. *Seln.*

⁴ Dei beneficio. *Seln.* See note 3.

(I say, to pray diligently,) we see how wonderfully^s the devil deludeth and scorneth this state, how few matrimonies there be without chidings, brawlings, tauntings, repentings, bitter cursings, and fightings. Which things whosoever doth commit,^t they do not consider that it is the instigation of the ghostly enemy, who taketh great delight therein: for else they would with all earnest endeavour strive against these mischiefs, not only with prayer, but also with all possible diligence; yea, they would not give place to the provocation of wrath, which stirreth them either to such rough and sharp words or stripes, which is surely compassed by the devil: whose temptation, if it be followed, must needs begin and weave the web of all miseries and sorrows. For this is most certainly true, that of such beginnings must needs ensue the breach of true concord in heart, whereby all love must needs shortly be banished. Then cannot it^u be but a miserable thing to behold, that yet they are of necessity compelled to live together, which yet cannot be in quiet together. And this is most customably every where to be seen. But what is the cause^x thereof? Forsooth, because they will not consider the crafty trains of the devil, and therefore giveth^y not themselves to pray to God, that he would vouchsafe to repress his power. Moreover, they do not consider how they promote the purpose of the devil, in that they follow the wrath of their hearts, while they threat one another, while they in their folly turn all upside down, while they will never give over their right, as they esteem it, yea while many times they will not give over the wrong part indeed. Learn thou therefore, if thou desirest to be void of all these miseries, if thou desirest to live peaceably and comfortably in wedlock, how to make thy earnest prayer to God, that he would govern both your hearts by his^z Holy Spirit, to restrain the devil's power, whereby your concord may remain perpetually.

But to this prayer must be joined a singular diligence, whereof St. Peter giveth his precept,^a saying [1 Pet. 3:[7].], *You husbands, deal^b with your wives according to knowledge,⁵ giving honour to the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as unto them that are heirs also of the grace of life, that your prayers be not hindered.* This precept

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^s wonderfully] wonderful *from* 1563 G. ^t doth commit] do commit 1567–1574. ^u cannot it] can it not 1563 F, *and from* 1570. ^x the cause] he cause 1623. ^y giveth] give *from* 1582. ^z by his] by the 1623. ^a his precept] this precept *from* 1571. ^b deal] *so in all. But no doubt the Homilist wrote dwel. See note 5 below.*

⁵ Οἱ ἄνδρες ὁμοίως, συνοικοῦντες κατὰ γινώσιν. Viri, cohabitare uxoribus cum ratione: *Seln.*

doth peculiarly^c pertain to the husband: for he ought to be the leader and author of love in cherishing and encreasing concord; which then shall take place, if he will use measureableness^d and not tyranny, and if he yield some things to^e the woman. For the woman is a weak creature, not endued with like strength and constancy of mind: therefore they be the sooner disquieted, and they be the more prone to all weak affections and dispositions of mind, more than men be; and lighter they be and more vain in their fantasies and opinions. These things must be considered of the man, that he be not too stiff; so that he ought to wink at some things, and must gently expound all things, and to forbear.

Howbeit, the common sort of men doth judge that such moderation should not become a man: for they say that it is a token of a womanish^f cowardness; and therefore they think that it is a man's part to fume in anger, to fight with fist and staff. Howbeit, howsoever they imagine, undoubtedly St. Peter doth better judge what should be seeming to a man, and what he should most reasonably perform. For he saith reasoning should be used,^g and not fighting. Yea, he saith more, that the woman ought to have a certain *honour* attributed to her; that is to say, she must be spared and borne with, the rather for that she is *the weaker vessel*, of a frail heart, inconstant, and with a word soon stirred to wrath. And therefore, considering these her frailties, she is to be the rather spared. By this means thou shalt not only nourish concord, but shalt have her heart in thy power and will; for honest natures will sooner be retained to do their duty^g rather by gentle words than by stripes. But he which will do all things with extremity and severity, and doth use always rigour in words and stripes, what will that avail in the conclusion? Verily nothing but that he thereby setteth forward the devil's work; he banisheth away concord, charity, and sweet amity, and bringeth in dissension, hatred, and irksomeness, the greatest griefs that can be in the mutual love and fellowship of man's life. Beyond all this, it bringeth another evil therewith; for it is the destruction and interruption of prayer. For in the time that the mind is occupied with dissension and discord there can be no true prayer used. For the Lord's Prayer hath not only a respect to particular persons, but

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^c peculiarly] particularly *from* 1563 C. ^d measureableness] moderation 1623. ^e things to] thing to *from* 1582. ^f of a womanish] of womanish *from* 1567. ^g their duty] their duties 1623.

⁶ Utere, inquit, ratione. *Seln.* See note 5.

to the whole universal; in the which we openly pronounce that we will forgive them which hath^h offended against us, even as we ask forgiveness of our sins of God. Which thing how can it be done rightly, when their hearts be at dissension? How can they pray each for other, when they be at hate betwixt themselves? Now, if the aid of prayer be taken away, by what means can they sustain themselves in any comfort? For they cannot otherwise either resist the devil, or yet have their hearts stayed in stable comfort in all perils and necessities, but by prayer. Thus all discommodities, as well worldly as ghostly, follow this froward testiness and comberous fierceness in manners; which be more meet for brute beasts than for reasonable creatures. St. Peter doth not allow these things, but the devil desireth them gladly. Wherefore take the more heed. And yet a man may be a man, although he doth not use such extremity, yea, thoughⁱ he should dissemble some things in his wife's manners. And this is the part of a Christian man, which both pleaseth God, and serveth also in good use to the comfort of their marriage state.

Now as concerning the wife's duty. What shall become her? Shall she abuse the gentleness and humanity of her husband, and at her pleasure turn all things upside down? No surely; for that is far repugnant against God's commandment. For thus doth St. Peter preach to them [1 Pet. 3:[1].]: *Ye wives, be ye in subjection to obey your own husbands*.^k To obey is another thing than to control or command; which yet they may do to their children and to their family; but as for their husbands, them must they obey, and cease from commanding, and perform subjection. For this surely doth nourish concord very much, when the wife is ready at hand at her husband's commandment, when she will apply herself to his will, when she endeavoureth herself to seek his contentation and to do him pleasure, when she will eschew all things that might offend him. For thus will most truly be verified the saying of the poet, "A good wife by obeying her husband shall bear the rule":⁷ so that he shall have a delight

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^h which hath] which have *from* 1582. ⁱ though] although 1582, 1623. ^k husbands] husband *till* 1582.

⁷ *Casta ad virum matrona parendo imperat.*

From the *Sententiae* of *Publius Syrus*.

It does not appear that Dietrich quoted Syrus or any other poet here: at least Selneccer's Latin version is merely this; *Sic enim cor ipsius [sc. mariti] lucrifacit, ut laetetur quoties domum sibi ad uxorem redeundum est*. And perhaps our English Homilist made his quotation from the *Christiani Matrimonii Institutio* of *Erasmus*, who, although he gave the line correctly in his own edition of the *Sententiae*, (the first in which they were assigned to Syrus, whereas before they were printed among the Works of Seneca), yet in that treatise cites it thus:

Bona mulier parendo apud virum imperat.

Erasm. Opp. V, 573, *ed.* 1540.

and a gladness the sooner at all times to return home to her. But on the contrary part, when the wives be stubborn, froward, and malapert, their husbands are compelled thereby to abhor and flee from their own houses, even as they should have battle with their enemies.

Howbeit, it can scantily be but that some offences shall sometime chance betwixt them: for no man doth live without fault; specially for that the woman is the more frail part.^l Therefore let them beware that they stand not in their faults and wilfulness; but rather let them acknowledge their follies, and say, My husband, so it is, that by my anger I was compelled to do this or that: forgive it me, and hereafter I will take better heed. Thus ought women^m the moreⁿ readily to do, the more they be ready to offend. And they shall not do this only to avoid strife and debate, but rather in the respect of the commandment of God, as St. Paul expresseth it in this form of words [Eph. 5:[22–23].]: *Let women be subject to their husbands, as to the Lord: for the husband is the head of the woman, as Christ is the Head of the Church.* Here you understand that God hath commanded that ye should acknowledge the authority of the husband, and refer to him the honour of obedience. And St. Peter saith in that same place^o afore^p rehearsed [1 Pet. 3:[3–6], that *holy matrons did sometimes^q deck themselves*, not with gold and silver, but in *putting their whole hope in God*, and in *obeying their husbands; as Sara obeyed Abraham, calling him lord: whose daughters ye be*, saith he, if ye follow her example. This sentence is very meet for women to print in their remembrance. Truth it is, that they must specially feel the griefs^r and pains of their matrimony, in that they relinquish the liberty of their own rule, in the pain of their travailing, in the bringing up of their children; in which offices they be in great perils, and be grieved with great afflictions, which they might be without, if they lived out of matrimony. But St. Peter saith that this is the chief ornament of *holy matrons*, in that they *set their hope* and trust *in God*; that

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^l frail part] frail parte 1567–1570, frail partie *from* 1571. ^m ought women] ought the women 1571, ought the woman *from* 1574. ⁿ women the more] woman more 1623. ^o that same place] that place *from* 1563 G. ^p afore] before *from* 1571. ^q sometimes] sometime 1570–1595, in former time 1623. ^r feel the griefs] feel the grief *from* 1567.

is to say, in that they refused not from marriage for the business thereof, for the griefs^s and perils thereof, but committed all such adventures to God, in most sure trust of help, after that they have called upon his aid. O woman, do thou the like, and so shalt thou be most excellently beautified before God and all his angels and saints. And thou needest not to seek further for doing any better works. For, obey thy husband, take regard of his requests, and give heed unto him to perceive what he requireth of thee; and so shalt thou honour God, and live peaceably in thy house. And, beyond this,^t God shall follow thee with his benediction, that all things shall well prosper both to thee and to thy husband, as the Psalm saith. [Ps. 128:1–4.] *Blessed is the man which feareth God, and walketh in his ways. Thou shalt have the fruit of thine own hands: happy shalt thou be, and well shall it^u go with thee. Thy wife shall be as a vine plentifully spreading about thy house. Thy children shall be as the young springs of the olives about thy table. Lo, thus shall that man be blessed*, saith David, *that feareth the Lord*.

This let the wife have ever in mind, the rather admonished thereto by the apparel of her head, whereby is signified that she is under covert and^v obedience of her husband. And, as that apparel is of nature so appointed to declare her subjection, so biddeth St. Paul [1 Tim. 2:9.] that all other of her raiment should express both *shamefastness and sobriety*. For, if it be not lawful⁸ for the woman to have her head bare, but to bear thereon [1 Cor 11:10.] the sign of her power,⁹ wheresoever she goeth, more is it required that she declare the thing that is meant thereby. And therefore

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^s for the griefs] for the gifts 1623. ^t beyond this] beyond all this *from* 1571. ^u shall it] it shall *from* 1571. ^v covert and] covert or *from* 1574.

⁸ So much of this Homily as is comprised within these words, “For, if it be not lawful,” and these in p. 514, line 6, “in one concord of heart and mind,” is translated, with some abridgment here and there, from the latter part of Chrysost. in Epist 1 ad Cor. Homil. XXVI, Εἰ γὰρ γυμνὴν οὐ δεῖ κ. τ. λ., Opp. X, 235–240. In the sentence next before Chrysostom cites the text from 1 Tim. which our Homilist also quotes; and a little further back he argues that as the long hair of a woman is a natural sign, so her veil is a conventional sign, of her subjection and obedience to the man.

But the translation was made from the Latin version of his works put forth at Basle in 1530 by Erasmus, in which all the Homilies on 1 Cor. after the first twenty were done by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. This passage, beginning *Nam si nudum caput*, is in Tom. 1, pp. 284–286, of that edition. Between the two translations the sense of Chrysostom has suffered; and a few passages both of his Greek and of Bishop Fisher’s Latin are therefore given in footnotes, where it seemed needful, either to elucidate the sense, or to justify our own Homilist.

⁹ Τῆς ὑποταγῆς τὸ σύμβολον. Potestatis signum: *Erasm.* Potestatem is the word in the *Vulgate* for ἐξουσίαν in 1 Cor. 11:10.

these ancient women of the old world called their husbands lords, and shewed them reverence in obeying them.

But peradventure she will say that those men loved their wives indeed. I know that well enough, and bear it well in mind. But, when I do admonish you of your duties, then call not to consideration what their duties be. For, when we ourselves do teach our children to obey us as their parents, or when we reform our servants, and tell them that they should obey [Eph. 6:5–7.] their masters, not only at the eye, but as to the^w Lord; if they should tell us again our duties, we would^x not think it well done. For, when we be admonished of our duties and faults, we ought not then to seek what other men's duties be. For, though a man had a companion in his fault, yet should not he^y thereby be without his fault. But this must be only looked on, by what means thou mayest make thyself without blame. For Adam [Gen. 3:12–19.] did lay the blame upon the woman, and she turned it unto the serpent; but yet neither of them was thus excused. And therefore bring not such excuses to me at this time, but apply all thy diligence to hear^z thine obedience¹⁰ to thy^a husband. For, when I take in hand to admonish thy husband to love thee and to cherish thee, yet will I not cease to set out the law that is appointed for the woman,¹¹ as well as I would require of the man what is written for his law. Go thou therefore about such things as becometh thee only, and shew thyself tractable to thy husband. Or rather, if thou wilt obey thy husband for God's precept, then allege¹² such^b things as be in his duty to do, but perform thou diligently those things which the Lawmaker hath charged thee to do: for thus is it most reasonable to obey God, if thou wilt not suffer thyself to transgress his law.¹³ He that loveth his friend seemeth to do no great thing; but he that honoureth him that^c is hurtful and hateful to him, this man is worthy much^d commendation. Even so think thou,^e if thou canst suffer an extreme husband, thou shalt

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^w as to the] as the 1623. ^x would] should 1623. ^y not he] he not 1623. ^z hear] so in all. Perhaps the Homilist wrote bear. See note 10. ^a to thy] to thine from 1582. ^b allege such] so in all. Perhaps the Homilist wrote allege not such. See note 12. ^c honoureth him that] honoureth that from 1582. ^d much] most from 1574. ^e think thou] think you from 1582.

¹⁰ Παρέχειν ἅπερ ὀφείλεις. Debitum exhibere: *Erasm.*

¹¹ Οὐκ ἀφίημι αὐτὸν προενεγκεῖν εἰς μέσον τὸν τῇ γυναικὶ κείμενον νόμον. Non omitto quin legem mulieri positam in medium adducam: *Erasm.*

¹² Καὶ γὰρ εἰ διὰ τὸν Θεὸν πείθη τῷ ἀνδρὶ, μὴ μοι πρόφερε κ. τ. λ. Vel potius si propter Deum viro parueris, noli mihi proponere &c.: *Erasm.*

¹³ Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ μάλιστα Θεῷ πείθεσθαι, τὸ καὶ ἐναντία πάσχουσιν μὴ παροκινεῖν τὸν νόμον. Hoc enim maxime est Deo parere, si legem praevaricari non patieris: *Erasm.*

have a great reward therefore; but, if thou lovest him only because he is gentle and curtes^f,¹⁴ what reward will God give therefore? Yet I speak not these things that I would wish the husbands to be sharp towards their wives; but I exhort the women, that they would patiently bear the sharpness *of their husbands. For, when either parts do their best to perform* their duties the one to the other, then followeth thereon great profit to their neighbours for their example's sake.¹⁵ For when the woman is ready to suffer a sharp husband, and the man will not extremely entreat his stubborn and troublesome wife, then be all things in quiet, as in a most sure haven.

Even thus was it done in old time, that every one did their own duty and office, and was not busy to require the duty of their neighbours. Consider, I pray thee, that Abraham took [Gen. 12:4–5.] to him his brother's son: his wife did not blame him therefore. He commanded him^g to go with him a long journey:¹⁶ she did not gainsay it, but obeyed his precept. Again, after all those great miseries, labours, and pains of that journey, when Abraham was made as lord over all, yet did he give place [Gen. 13:8–11.] to Lot of his superiority. Which matter Sara took so little to grief, that she never once suffered her tongue to speak such words as the common manner of women is wont to do in these days: when they see their husbands in such rooms to be made underlings, and to be put under their younger, then they upbraid them with comberous talk, and call them fools, dastards, and cowards for so doing. But Sara was so far from speaking any such thing, that it never came into her mind and thought so to say, but allowed the wisdom and will of her husband. Yea, beside^h all this, after the said Lot had thus his will, and left to his uncle the lesserⁱ portion of land, he chanced^j to fall into [Gen. 14:12–14.] extreme peril: which chance when it came to the knowledge of this said Patriarch, he incontinently put all his men in harness,¹⁷ and prepared himself with all his family and friends against the host of the Persians.¹⁸ In which case Sara did not counsel him to

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former line 6

^f curtes] courteous *from* 1582. ^g commanded him] *so in all*. See note 16. ^h beside] besides *from* 1567. ⁱ lesser] less *from* 1574. ^j chanced] chanceth 1563 G–1574.

¹⁴ curtes: curteis in *Chaucer, Cant. Tales, Prol. The Squier*, 99; and in *Wycliffe, Wisd.* 7:23, and *Prol. to Isai.*; from Fr. *courtois*, courteous.

¹⁵ Ταχέως καὶ τὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἔψεται· οἶον, ὅταν ἡ γυνὴ κ. τ. λ. Etiam proximi utilitas sequitur, ut exempli gratia. Quando mulier &c.: *Erasm.*

¹⁶ Ἐκελευσεν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ὁδεῦσαι μακράν. Jussit ut longum iter faceret: *Erasm.*

¹⁷ harness: armour; as in 1 *Kings* 20:11; 22:34.

¹⁸ *Persae* apud Nostrum audiunt Assyrii, Babylonii, et Orientales fere omnes, etiam q̄ ante diluvium vixerunt. Quin et ipse Abrahamus *Persa* dicitur Tom. V, p. 301 D, et *ex Persis* Tom. IX, p. 120 E. *Field in loc. Chrysost.*

the contrary, nor did say, as then might have been said, My husband, whither goest thou so unadvisedly? Why runnest thou thus on head? Why dost thou offer thyself to so great perils, and art thus ready to jeopard thine own life, and to peril the lives of all thine, for such a man as hath done thee such wrong? At least^k way, if thou regardest not thyself, yet have compassion on me, which for thy love have forsaken my kinred and my country, and have the want both of my friends and kinsfolks, and am thus come into so far countries with thee. Have pity on me, and make me not here a widow, to cast me to such^l cares and troubles. Thus might she have said: but Sara neither said nor thought such words, but she kept herself in silence in all things. Furthermore, all that time when she was barren, and took no pain,^m as other women did, by bringing forth fruit in his house, what did he? He complained not to his wife, but [Gen 15:2–3, 16:1–2.] to Almighty God.¹⁹ And consider how either of them did their duties as became them; for neither did he despise Sara because she was barren, nor never did cast it in her teeth. Consider again how Abraham expelled [Gen. 21:9–14.] the handmaid out of his house,ⁿ when she required it: so that by this I may truly prove that the one was pleased and contented with the other in all things. But yet set not your eyes only in this^o matter, but look further what was done before this, that Agar [Gen. 16:4–6.] used her mistress despitefully, and that Abraham himself was somewhat provoked against her;²⁰ which must needs be an intolerable matter and a painful to a freehearted woman and a chaste. Let not therefore the woman be too busy to call for the duty of her husband, where she should be ready to perform her own;²¹ for that is not worthy any great commendation.^p And even so again let not the man only consider what longeth^q to the woman, and to stand

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^k At least] At the least *from* 1563 G. ^l to such] into such *from* 1582. ^m pain] pains *from* 1567. ⁿ his house] the house *from* 1563 G. ^o in this] on this *from* 1563 G. ^p commendation] commendations 1623. ^q longeth] belongeth *from* 1582.

¹⁹ Μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς γαστρὸς ἀγόνου μενούσης αὕτη μὲν οὐ πάσχει τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, οὐδὲ ἀποδύρεται· ἐκεῖνος δὲ θρηνεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Praeterea, cum sterilis esset, minime mulierum labores perpesa, neque partu distracta, ille flet, non ad uxorem, sed ad Deum: *Erasm.*

²⁰ Τὰ πρότερα ἐξέταζε, ὅτι ὕβριζεν αὐτὴν, ὅτι κατηλαζονεύετο τῆς κυρίας. Priora inquire, quod contumelia eam affecit, quod in uxorem est irritatus: *Erasm.*

²¹ Μὴ τοίνυν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀναμενέτω ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ τότε τὴν ἑαυτῆς παρεχέτω. Ne igitur viri virtutem expectet mulier, inde suam exhibeat: *Erasm.*

too earnestly gazing thereon;²² for that is not his part or duty. But, as I have said, let either parts^r be ready and willing to perform that which belongeth specially^s to themselves.^t For, if we be bound to hold out [Matt. 5:39.] our left cheek to strangers which will smite us on the right cheek, how much more ought we to suffer an extreme and unkind husband!

But yet I mean not that a man should beat his wife. God forbid that; for that is the greatest shame that can be, not so much to her that is beaten, as to him that doeth the deed. But, if by such fortune^u ²³ thou chancest upon such an husband, take it not too heavily; but suppose thou that thereby is laid up no small reward hereafter, and in this lifetime no small commendation to thee, if thou canst be quiet. But yet to you that be men thus I speak: let there be none so grievous fault to compel you to beat your wives. But what say I your wives? No, it is not to be borne with that an honest man should lay hands on his maidservant to beat her. Wherefore, if it be a great shame for a man to beat his bondservant, much more rebuke it is to lay violent hands upon his freewoman. And this thing may we^v well understand^w by the laws which the paynims hath made,^x which doth discharge her any longer to dwell with such an husband, as unworthy to have any further company with her, that doth smite her.²⁴ For it is an extreme point thus so vilely to entreat her like a slave, that is fellow to thee of thy life, and so conjoined^y unto thee beforetime in the necessary matters of thy living. And therefore a man may well liken such a man, if he may be called a man rather than a wild beast, to a killer of his father or his mother. And, whereas we be commanded [Gen. 2:24; Matt. 19:5.] to forsake our father and mother for our wife's sake, and yet thereby do work them none injury, but do fulfil the law of God, how can it not appear then to be a point of extreme madness to intreat her despitefully for whose sake God

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^r parts] partes 1563 A–F, parties 1563 G–1567, partie 1570–1574; party from 1582. See before, page 508, line 6. ^s specially] especially from 1582. ^t themselves] themselves from 1582. ^u such fortune] so in all. Perhaps the Homilist wrote some fortune. See note 23. ^v may we] may be from 1571. ^w understand] understood 1623. ^x hath made] have made from 1582. ^y conjoined] joined from 1567.

²² Καὶ τότε φιλοσοφείτω. Et inde philosophetur: *Erasm.*

²³ Ἀπὸ περιστάσεως τινος. Casu aliquo: *Erasm.*

²⁴ Καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἄν τις ἴδοι νομοθετῶν, οἱ τὴν τὰ τοιαῦτα παθοῦσαν οὐκέτι ἀναγκάζουσι συνοικεῖν τῷ τυπτήσαντι, ἅτε ἀναξίῳ ὄντι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁμιλίας. It does not appear who were the heathen lawgivers here intended by St. Chrysostom. In the year 449, more than forty years after his death, such relief was granted to the outraged wife by a law of the Emperor Theodosius II; but it was afterwards withdrawn by Justinian. See *Cod. Justin.* V, xvii, 8.

hath commanded thee to leave parents? Yea, who can suffer such despite? Who can worthily express the inconvenience that is, to see what weepings and wailings be made in the open streets, when neighbours run together to the house of so unruly an husband, as to a Bedlem^x man who goeth about to overturn all that he hath at home? Who would not think that it were better for such a man to wish the ground to open and to swallow^a him in, than once ever after to be seen in the market.

But peradventure thou wilt object that the woman provoketh thee to this point. But consider thou again that the woman is a frail vessel, and thou art therefore made the ruler and head over her, to bear the weakness of her in this her subjection. And therefore study thou to declare the honest commendation of thine authority; which thou canst no ways^b better do than to forbear to utter^c her in her weakness and subjection.²⁵ For, even as the king appeareth so much the more noble, the more excellent and noble he maketh his officers and lieutenants, whom if he should dishonour, and despise the authority of their dignity, he should deprive himself of a great part of his own honour; even so, if thou dost despise her that is set in the next room beside thee, thou dost much derogate and decay the excellency and virtue of thine own authority. Recount all these things in thy mind, and be gentle and quiet. Understand that God hath given thee children with her, and art made a father, and by such reason appease thyself. Dost not thou^d see the husbandmen, what diligence they use to till that ground which once they have taken to farm, though it be never so full of faults? As for an example, though it be dry, though it bringeth forth weeds, though the soil cannot bear too much wet, yet he tilleth it,²⁶ and so winneth fruit thereof. Even in like manner, if thou wouldest use like diligence to instruct and order the mind of thy spouse, if thou wouldest diligently apply thyself to

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^x Bedlem] bedlime 1563 A–E, Bedlym 1563 F, bedlem *or* Bedlem *from* 1563 G. ^a and to swallow] and swallow *from* 1582. ^b no ways] no way *from* 1563 G. ^c utter] urge 1623. ^d not thou] thou not *from* 1574.

²⁵ "Ὅταν τὸ ἀρχόμενον μὴ ἀτιμάζῃς. Si subditae non insultaveris: *Erasm.*

The verb *to utter* has not been found elsewhere in this sense. It seems to be from the French *outrer*, which is thus explained in the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*: "Piquer au vif, faire un cruel affront, offenser grièvement, pousser la patience à bout: asperioribus verbis vellicare, inurere; graviter offendere, vellicare." Jamieson, in the *Supplement* to his *Scottish Dictionary*, says *to outray* means *to treat outrageously*. The remote source is clearly the Latin *ultra*.

²⁶ Τοῦτο καὶ σὺ ποιεῖ. Colit tamen: *Erasm.*

weed out by little and little the noisome weeds of uncomely manners out of her mind with wholesome precepts, it could not be but in time thou shouldest feel the pleasant fruit thereof to both your comforts. Therefore, that this thing chance not so, perform this thing that I do here counsel thee. Whensoever any displeasing matter riseth at home, if thy wife hath done aught amiss, comfort her, and increase not the heaviness. For, though thou shouldest be grieved with never so many things, yet thou shalt^f find nothing more grievous than to want the benevolence of thy wife at home; what offence soever thou canst name, yet shalt thou find none more intolerable than to be at debate with thy wife. And for this cause most of all oughtest thou to have this love²⁷ in reverence. And, if reason moveth thee to bear any burden at any other men's hands, much more at thy^g wife's.²⁸ For, if she be poor, upbraid her not; if she be simple, taunt her not, but be the more courteous:²⁹ for she is thy body, and made *one flesh* with thee. [Gen. 2:24; Eph. 5:28, 31.]

But thou peradventure wilt say, that she is a wrathful woman, a drunkard, a beastly,^h without wit and reason. For this cause bewail her the more. Chafe not in anger, but pray toⁱ Almighty God. Let her be admonished and holpen^j with good counsel, and do thou thy best endeavour that she may be delivered of all these affections. But, if thou shouldest beat her, thou shalt increase her evil affections; for frowardness and sharpness is not amended with frowardness, but with softness and gentleness. Furthermore, consider what reward thou shalt have at God's hand: for, where thou mightest beat her, and yet for the respect of the fear of God thou wilt abstain and bear patiently her great offences, the rather in respect of that law which forbiddeth that a man should cast out his wife, what fault soever she be combred with, thou shalt have a very great reward. And before the receipt of that reward thou shalt feel many commodities; for by this means she shall be made the more obedient, and thou for her sake^k shalt be made the more meek. It is written in a story of a certain strange philosopher, which had a

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^e Whensoever] Whatsoever 1563, 1567; Whansoever 1570. ^f yet thou shalt] yet shalt thou *from* 1563 D *except* E.

^g at thy] of thy *till* 1563 G. ^h a beastly] and beastly *from* 1563 G. ⁱ pray to] pray unto *from* 1582. ^j holpen] helped *from* 1582. ^k her sake] his sake *till* 1563 G.

²⁷ Ἡ ταύτης ἀγαπή. Hujusmodi dilectio: *Erasm.*

²⁸ Εἰ γὰρ ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη δεῖ βαστᾶζειν (Gal. 6:2), πολλῶ μᾶλλον τῆς γυναικός. Quod si invicem onera ferenda sunt, multo magis uxoris: *Erasm.*

²⁹ Ἀλλὰ ῥύθμισον μᾶλλον. Sed esto modestior: *Erasm.* On the word "courteous," which all the editions have here, see note 14.

cursed³⁰ wife, a froward, and a drunkard; when he was asked for what consideration he did so bear her evil manners, he made answer, “By this means,” said he, “I have at home a school-master, and an example how I should behave myself abroad: for I shall,” saith he, “be the more quiet with other,¹ being thus daily exercised and taught in the forbearing of her.” Surely it is a shame that paynims should be wiser than we; we, I say, that be commanded to counterfeit^m angels, or rather God himself thoroughⁿ meekness.³¹ And for the love of virtue^o this said philosopher Socrates³² would not expel his wife out of his house; *yea, some say that he did therefore marry his wife, to learn this* virtue by that occasion. Wherefore, seeing many men be far behind the wisdom of this man, my counsel is, that first and before all things, that man^p do his best endeavour to get him a good wife, indued with all honesty and virtue; but, if it so chance that he is deceived, that he hath chosen such a wife as is neither good nor tolerable, then let the husband follow this philosopher, and let him instruct his wife in every condition, and never lay these matters to sight. For the merchant man, except he first be at composition with his factor to use his interaffairs^q quietly,³³ he will neither stir his ship to sail, nor yet will lay hands upon his merchandise.³⁴ Even so let us do all things that we may have the fellowship of our wives, which is the factor of all our doings at home, in great quiet and rest. And by these means all things shall prosper quietly,³⁵ and so shall we pass through the dangers of the troublous sea of this

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former line 11

¹ with other] with others *from* 1582. ^m counterfeit] resemble 1623. ⁿ thorough] through *from* 1563 C. ^o of virtue] *so in all. Perhaps the Homilist wrote of this virtue, as below in line 11.* ^p that man] a man 1623. ^q interaffairs] interfairs *from* 1582.

³⁰ cursed: spiteful, mischievous, ill tempered, perverse; specially said of a woman, but usually written *curst* in this sense.

“They [bears] are never curst but when they are hungry. *Shakespeare, Winter’s Tale* III, 3.

I was never curst,

I have no gift at all in shrewishness. *Midsummer Night’s Dream* III, 2.

As curst and shrewd

As Socrates’ Xanthippe. *Taming of the Shrew* I, 2.

³¹ Αὐτὸν τὸν Θεὸν ζηλοῦν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐπιεικείας λόγον (Luc. 6:36; Eph. 5:10). Imitari ... ipsum Deum per mansuetudinem: *Erasm.*

³² Chrysostom does not name Socrates, but see *Xenoph. Sympos.* II, 10, or *Aul. Gell.* I, 17.

³³ Πρὶν ἢ πρὸς τὸν κοινωνὸν συνθήκας θέσθαι τὰς δυναμένας εἰρήνην πρυτανεύειν. Nisi cum socio pacta faciat quibus pacifice inter se vivant: *Erasm.* The word “interaffairs” has not been found elsewhere.

³⁴ Οὐδὲ τῆς ἄλλης ἄψεται ἐμπορίας. Neque alias tangit merces: *Erasm.*

³⁵ Πάντα ἡμῖν ἔσται γαληνά. Omnia tranquilla succedent: *Erasm.*

world. For this state of life will be more honourable and comfortable than our houses, than servants, than money, than lands and possessions, than all things that can be told.³⁶ As all these, with sedition and discord, can never work us any comfort; so shall all things turn to our commodity and pleasure, if *we draw this yoke in one concord of heart and mind.*

Whereupon do your best endeavour that after this sort ye use your matrimony, and so shall ye be armed on every side. Ye have escaped the snares of the devil and the unlawful lusts of the flesh, ye have the quietness of conscience, by this institution of matrimony ordained by God: therefore use oft prayer to him, that he would be present by you, that he would continue concord and charity betwixt you. Do the best ye can of your parts to custom yourselves to softness and meekness, and bear well in worth such oversights as chance;³⁷ and thus shall your conversation be most pleasant and comfortable. And although (which can no otherwise be) some adversities shall follow, and otherwhiles now one discommodity, now another, shall appear, yet in this common trouble and adversity lift up both your hands unto heaven; call upon the help and assistance of God, the Author of your marriage; and surely the promise of relief is at hand. For Christ affirmeth in his Gospel [Matt. 18:19–20.], *Where two or three be gathered together in my Name, and be agreed, what matter soever they pray for, it shall be granted them of my heavenly Father*. Why therefore shouldest thou be afeard^r of the danger, where thou hast so ready a promise and so nigh an help? Furthermore, you must understand how necessary it is for Christian folk to bear Christ's cross; for else we shall never feel how comfortable God's help is unto us.

Therefore give thanks to God for his great benefit, in that ye have taken upon you this state of wedlock; and pray you instantly that Almighty God may luckily defend and maintain you therein, that neither ye be overcome^s with any temptation nor with any adversity. But before all things take good heed that ye give no occasion to the devil to let and hinder your prayers by discord and dissension. For there is no stronger defence and stay in all our life than is prayer: in the which we may call for the help of God, and obtain it; whereby we may win his blessing, his grace, his defence, and protection, so to continue therein to a better life to come. Which grant us he that died for us all: to whom be all honour and praise for ever and ever. Amen.

former line 6

^r afeard] afraid *from* 1563 G. ^s overcome] overcome 1623. ^t temptation] temptations 1623.

³⁶ Τοῦτο καὶ πρὸ οἰκίας καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ἀγρῶν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἄγωμεν· καὶ πάντων ἡμῖν προτιμότερον ἔστω τὸ τὴν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν οἴκων (but οἰάκων in Field's edition from the *Codex Monacensis*) καθημένην μὴ στασιάζειν μηδὲ διχοστατεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Haec nobis domo, servis, pecuniis, agris, civilibus, et omnibus denique rebus honorabilior sit, neve ipsa nobiscum domi in seditione et discordia vivat: *Erasm*.

³⁷ Vobismetipsis invicem condonetis. *Seln*. See before, p. 483, note 6. "I trust in God's grace I shall bear all personal injuries and slanders well in worth, as hitherto I have done." *Abp. Parker to Dr. Stokes circ. 1539, Correspondence, No. X, p. 13, ed. Park. Soc.*