

AUGUSTINE'S INFLUENCE ON THE PREACHING OF GISBERTUS VOETIUS

For many years the researchers of the Augustinian Historical Institute in Leuven and the contributors to its well-known journal *Augustiniana* have been studying Augustine as well as his influence, especially as manifested in the religious orders founded on his Rule and teachings. As nearly every issue of *Augustiniana* demonstrates, this 'Augustinianism' in particular is a field in which it is still possible to break new ground.

As far as I can see, this may also be said with respect to Augustine's influence on Reformational traditions. Whereas several studies have been written about the impact of Augustine's theology on sixteenth-century reformers such as Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, until now little attention has been paid to its impact on Protestant theologians of the following century. And yet they were, in general, also well-acquainted with the writings of the bishop of Hippo, and they also based their arguments on them.

It is a great pleasure for me to dedicate some results of an investigation into one of these theologians to Professor Tarsicius J. van Bavel. It may please him also to hear that during the century which is sometimes characterized as 'the age of Augustine'¹), the Church Father was held in high esteem not only by the Roman Catholics of the Low Countries but by their religious antagonists as well. That in the case of Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676) we can also speak of an important impetus from a Louvain professor to study Augustine may be seen in this context as more than merely coincidental. For the first, but certainly not for the last time, the Universitas Lovaniensis turned out to be — directly or indirectly — a *sedes sapientiae* for her much younger sister in Utrecht.

Before investigating Augustine's influence on Voetius' works, and especially on two of the small number of sermons that have come down

¹) Cf. Ph. SELLIER, «Le siècle de Saint Augustin. Introduction», *XVIIe siècle. Revue publiée par la Société du XVIIe siècle* 34 (1982) 99, with reference to a statement of Jean Dagens.

to us, let us look at the theologian himself²). Gisbertus Voetius was born on 3rd March 1589 in the small town of Heusden, a short distance from 's-Hertogenbosch (referred to in those days as *Roma belgica*); he studied at the University of Leyden (1604-1611), became pastor of the villages of Vlijmen and Engelen near 's-Hertogenbosch and, in 1617, at his native town of Heusden. He gained prominence in wider circles through his membership of the Synod of Dordrecht (1618-1619). But he attained greater renown through his controversy with Cornelius Jansenius, who was then Regius Professor in Louvain³); Jansenius had been asked by his ecclesiastical superiors to defend the Catholic faith against Voetius et al. following the capture of 's-Hertogenbosch (1629). In 1634 Voetius was appointed the first (and for sometime only) professor of theology and oriental languages at the newly founded *Schola illustris* in Utrecht. While there he became one of the most influential Calvinistic theologians of the Republic of the United Netherlands, and left his mark on the University of Utrecht (*Academia Voetiana*) and even on the Reformed Church there and the entire city (*Papa Ultrajectinus*). At the time of his death on 1st November 1676, he still held his university chair, and was still a part-time pastor, as he had been since 1637.

In an earlier study I endeavoured to show how in several of Voetius' early writings, e.g. in his famous inaugural address *De Pietate cum scientia conjungenda* of 1634, the influence of Augustine's writings is apparent⁴). Voetius was thoroughly acquainted with them, not only as a result of his study at Leyden, particularly under Franciscus Gomarus — Gomarus had studied at Oxford under Johannes Reinoldus who, in turn, was said to be thoroughly familiar with Augustine's works and able to quote extensive parts of them from memory — but also undoubtedly due to his vehement dispute with Jansenius. Generally speaking, Voetius made particular use of Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings in his controversies with the

²) Standard biography: A.C. DUKER, *Gisbertus Voetius*, I-III (separate index vol. IV), Leyden, 1897-1915 (repr. Leyden, 1989, with introduction by A. de Groot); most recent studies: J. VAN OORT, C. GRAAFLAND et alii (edd.), *De onbekende Voetius. Voordrachten wetenschappelijk symposium Utrecht 3 maart 1989*, Kampen, 1989.

³) On the controversy: DUKER, *Voetius*, I, 306-348; P. POLMAN, «Jansenius als polemist tegen de Calvinisten» (*Historisch Tijdschrift*, 1928-1929), repr. in *Adversaria Pontiani. Verspreide geschriften van P. Pontianus Polman*, Amsterdam s.a., 93-139; M. LAMBERIGTS, «Voetius versus Jansenius», in *De onbekende Voetius*, 148-167.

⁴) «Augustinus, Voetius und die Anfänge der Utrechter Universität», in A. ZUMKELLER OSA (Hrsg.), *Signum pietatis. Festgabe für Cornelius Petrus Mayer OSA...*, Würzburg, 1989, 565-578.

Remonstrants, while in his dispute with Jansenius he displayed his extensive knowledge of Augustine's writings against the Donatists. However, Augustine's name occurs throughout his works — in some more frequently than in others — and in general one may say that Voetius held Augustine in high esteem and that he felt that his own thinking concurred to a great extent with that of the Church Father⁵).

These last and rather general remarks will now be illustrated by means of an analysis of Voetius' preaching. Voetius preached regularly during more than half a century, but only four of his sermons have come down to us. The last one, delivered on Sunday, 16th November 1673 in the Utrecht Dom after the departure of the French army of occupation⁶), will not be included in this article; it does not contain, as far as I could tentatively determine (the only Utrecht copy is part of a museum exhibition), any quotations from or obvious traces of Augustine's writings. On the other hand, Voetius' extensive and scholarly *Sermon on the Benefits of Academies and Schools*⁷) deserves, in my opinion, a separate analysis. Therefore this investigation will be limited to two of his sermons. It should be noted, however, that these sermons are by no means short and simple discourses, but rather they are extensive and well thought-out treatises that reveal the theologian Voetius in a special way.

A consideration of the sermons in chronological order brings us first to Voetius' *Meditation on the True Practice of Godliness*⁸). This *Meditation* has survived in the form of a treatise, but in its plan and development it is clearly a sermon⁹). Although we should bear in mind

⁵) Cf. my «De jonge Voetius en Augustinus», in *De onbekende Voetius*, 181-190.

⁶) G. VOETIUS, *Eerste predicatie in de Dom-kercke tot Wtrecht te negen uren den 16. Novembris 1673...*, Utrecht-Amsterdam, 1674.

⁷) G. VOETIUS, *Sermoen Van de Nutticheydt der Academien ende Scholen mitsgaders der Wetenschappen ende Consten die in de selve gheleert werden...*, Utrecht, 1636. The sermon contains a considerable number of explicit references to Augustine; in particular, a study should be made of the extent to which Voetius' exposition was influenced by *De doctrina christiana*.

⁸) G. VOETIUS, *Meditatie van de Ware Practijcke der Godtsalicheydt of der goeder Wercken ... Voor ghestelt uyt Jac: 2. Vers. 12.*, Amstelredam, 1628.

⁹) Cf. T. BRIENEN, *De prediking van de Nadere Reformatie. Een onderzoek naar het gebruik van de klassifikatiemethode binnen de prediking van de Nadere Reformatie*, Amsterdam, 1974, 105 sqq., *idem*, «Voetius en Hoornbeeck over homiletiek», in *De onbekende Voetius*, 48-56. I have been unable to determine whether *Concio in Jesajam 1, vs. 16-18* which neither Brienens nor S. van der Linde («Gisbertus Voetius' gedachten over de prediking», *Theologia Reformata* 19 (1976) 256-267) mentions, was a sermon; Duker (III, p. CIX) names it, but apparently he was also unable to find it; in C. STEENBLOK, *Gisbertus Voetius. Zijn leven en werken*, Gouda, 1976², 233, it is categorized under the *dubia*, but without any further explanation.

that Voetius made alterations and additions to it for the final version¹⁰), we can still see the great appreciation for Augustine that he expressed to his regular congregation. Not only in his marginal notes does he refer to the Church Father more than to any other patristic, medieval or even Reformational writer, but also in the sermon itself, and often in great detail¹¹). Moreover, it is precisely at some decisive moments in his exposition that Voetius cites Augustine.

Voetius opens his sermon on James 2, 12), with a brief introduction containing the core of his message: the Christian religion does not only manifest itself in the outward consideration of the truth — i.e. in theorizing — but also in deeds. Words and deeds should never be separated from each other; in true faith they are inseparable. This, too, is emphasized in the Letter of James¹²).

Next Voetius analyzes his text and divides it into two parts. On the one hand it consists of a 'conclusion' in the form of an exhortation («Thus speak and thus act»), and on the other it gives the 'reasons' («as those who shall be judged by the law of liberty»). The first main part also has two components: «Thus speak and thus act». In the Letter of James these two charges are combined, as they are elsewhere in Scripture, but here they are based on a third element: true faith. Voetius substantiates his argument with biblical passages, but brings it to a close with a 'quotation' from Augustine: without faith «all things, even our so-called good works, are nothing but brightly shining sins»¹³). Immediately following this, Voetius states that what is pre-

¹⁰) In his introduction to «Afscheydt Predicatie» (cf. n. 42), Voetius says that in delivering his sermon he made use of a short outline in Latin. It is reasonable to assume that this was his usual practice.

¹¹) Some numerical data: Augustine is quoted 16 ×; Ambrose once (a statement occurring in Paulinus' *Vita*); Chrysostom, generally very highly esteemed in Protestant circles for his sermons, 3 ×; Cyprian once (a vague reference); Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa once each; Tertullian, with whose work Voetius was well acquainted, 3 ×. The only later writers quoted more than once are Bernardus (3 ×), Calvin (4 ×) and Lewis Bayly (3 × his *Practice of Piety*, which had been translated into Dutch by Everhardus Schuttenius; Voetius gave his edition with marginal notes and wrote a foreword to the work, so he was thoroughly familiar with it). The absence of Luther in this enumeration is more or less by accident: in other works Voetius cites him rather frequently, for example more than 25 × in *Proeve van de Cracht der Godtsalicheyt*..., Amsterdam, 1628.

¹²) *Med.* 3-4.

¹³) *Med.* 5: «... het ware gheloove ... sonder twelcke alle dinghen, ja selve onse goede wercken alsoo ghenamt, anders niet en zijn dan schoon blinckende zonden op dat ick soo met Augustino spreekte...». Although Voetius explicitly refers to Augustine, this 'quotation' does raise some questions. The words have generally been attributed to

eminent for James is faith: his teaching did not differ from Paul's. Nor do the teachings of those who now follow in James's footsteps and urge us to carry out works of godliness¹⁴).

Next Voetius explains the first part of the text in more detail. He does so in a way that is typical of him, namely by a scholastic-systematic analysis: he draws 'lessons' from the text and applies them as chastisement, admonition, defence or encouragement. The words «thus act» contain the admonition that deeds should be done *and* that they should be done *correctly*.

After explaining this¹⁵), Voetius arrives at his application (*usus*). He first defends Reformed teachings against those — particularly Remonstrants — who allege that such teachings do away with all good works¹⁷). But he emphasizes especially a second *usus*: the chastisement in the first place of pseudo-Christians, those who do not perform deeds of godliness, i.e. persons of words but not of deeds¹⁸). Besides a few passages from the letters of Paul and a short quotation from Hilary that is illustrative but not essential¹⁹), it is above all Augustine whose writings are referred to for substantiation. What is the difference between sham Christians and heretics? «The heretic argues against faith, the bad Christian lives in contradiction to faith»²⁰). Sham

Augustine, but they do not occur as such in his works; see, e.g., J. MAUSBACH, *Die Ethik des heiligen Augustinus*, II, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1929, 259; J. Wang TSCH'ANG-TSCHE, *Saint Augustin et les vertus des païens*, Paris, 1938, 100-101 and 128-129; C. MAYER, «'Pietas' und 'vera pietas quae caritas est'», in J. DEN BOEFT et J. VAN OORT (éd.), *Augustiniana Traiectina...*, Paris, 1987, 126 n. 33. The idea expressed in these words, however, could be derived from Augustine; for discussion and references (*De civ. Dei* XIX, 25; *C. Iul.* IV, 3, 17 etc.), see Wang TSCH'ANG-TSCHE, 128 sqq., and, for instance, A.C. DE VEER, «Rom. 14, 23^b dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin (*Omne quod non est ex fide, peccatum est*)», *Rech. Aug.* 8 (1972) 149-185.

¹⁴) *Med.* 5-6.

¹⁵) *Med.* 6-10.

¹⁶) *Med.* 10-12.

¹⁷) *Med.* 12.

¹⁸) *Med.* 12-14.

¹⁹) *Med.* 14: «... waerlyck (seyt eene) dat en is het gheloove des Evangeliums niet, maar des tijts»; in the margin: «Hilarius: fides, haec est non Evangeliorum sed temporum».

²⁰) *Med.* 13: «Tusschen dese menschen ende de ketters is alleenlijck dit verschil ende onderscheyt / dat daer sy alle beyde het gelove tegenstaen / dese disputeeren tegen het gelooove, ghene leven teghen het gelooove, ...»; in the margin: «August. Heretius [sic] disputat. contra fidem: malus christianus vivit contra fidem». Although, as far as I can see, the saying given in the margin does not occur in exactly this form in Augustine's works, it could rather easily be derived from them; see, e.g., *De bapt.* IV, 27 (CSEL 51, 254): «propositis itaque duobus, uno catholico cum his omnibus uitiis [= malus christianus!], alio haeretico sine his quae possunt non esse in haeretico, quamvis contra fidem non uterque disputet et tamen contra fidem uterque uiuat...».

Christians are those who pretend to be Christians, but do this only to please men. About them Augustine says: «Now that the name Christian had attained a certain dignity, hypocrisy had increased of those who through the name Christian would rather please men than God»²¹). From this second *usus*, finally, a second chastisement emerges, directed in particular to discourses («discourseers») on religion: they only speak, but do not live accordingly²²). It is in this context that, in addition to some biblical passages and a saying by Seneca, once again Augustine's words are quoted. In his *Confessiones* the Church Father says, that «the unlearned rise up and take heaven, and we, with all our disputations, see how we wallow in flesh and blood»²³). Elsewhere he writes that these talkers «are not servants of Christ, but mockers when they call themselves servants of Christ and dissimulate before Him whom they serve»²⁴).

Then Voetius discusses how these good works should be performed, namely «thus», i.e. according to the prescript of God's Word²⁵). He refers to Eph. 4, 20 and to Augustine: «learn from the precept what you ought to do»²⁶). The 'lesson' to be drawn from this is

²¹) *Med.* 13: «... ghelijck Augustinus tot desen propooste seght / naer dat den naeme der Christenen begonde in eenighe aensienlijckheydt te sijn, soo waste de gheveynstheydt der ghener aen, die met den Christelijcken name liever de menschen dan God sochten te behaeghen»; in the margin: «Augustin. Postquam in aliquo culmine caepit esse [sic] nomen Christianum, crevit hypocrisis eorum qui nomine christiano maluerunt hominibus placere quam Deo». This appears to be an almost verbatim quotation from *En. in Ps.* 7, 9 (CCL 38, 42). For the same quotation see *Proeve* (n. 11), 9, which also appeared in 1628.

²²) *Med.* 14-15.

²³) *Med.* 14-15: «... ende Augustinus / siet (seght hy) de onghelerde staen op, ende nemen den Hemel in, onder-en-tusschen wy met onse disputatien, wentelen in vleesch ende bloet»; 15 in the margin: «Augustin. in confes. ecce indoctigunt [sic] caelum napiunt [sic] & nos cum nostris disputationibus in carne & sanguine volutamur». For this quotation (sc. *Conf.* VIII, 19), see also G. VOETIUS, *Oratio inavgyralis de Pietate cum scientia conjungenda*, Ultrajecti, 1634, (11), and G. VOETIUS, *Desperata causa Papatus, novissime prodita a Cornelio Jansenio Theologiae Doctore et Professore in Acad. Lovaniensi...*, Amstelodami, 1635, 94.

²⁴) *Med.* 15: «so dat sy / na het segghen Augustini / Christi dienaers niet en sijn, maer bespotters, wanneer sy haer selven Christi dienaers noemen, ende dien sy dienen, dissimuleren». As far as I have been able to determine, this is not a word for word passage from Augustine. For the idea expressed in these lines, however, see for instance *En. in Ps.* 25, en. 2, 14; 47, 10; 101, s. 2, 6; 133, 2; *De civ. Dei* XVIII, 51; s. 376, 3 (olim s. 160 de temp.), all works and sermons with which Voetius was well-acquainted. This 'quotation' is related to those in n. 31 and n. 29.

²⁵) *Med.* 15-16.

²⁶) *Med.* 16: «... int ghebodt erkent wat ghy schuldig sijt seght Augustinus»; in the margin: «Augustin. in precepto agnos. quid debeas». This turns out to be a somewhat revised passage from *De corr. et gratia* I, 5 (MPL 44, 918): «... in praeceptione cognosce quid debeas habere...». For the same quotation see *Proeve* (n. 11), 74 and 171, but here,

that God's Word demands absolute preciseness (*praecisitas*)²⁷). This teaching brings Voetius to his chastisement of those who are 'muddlers' (= moderates) and 'neutrals' in respect to acts of faith²⁸). It is against such men that Augustine speaks most aptly: «He who does not love Christ and Christ alone is not worthy of loving Christ»²⁹).

Next Voetius discusses these 'muddlers', these neutral persons, hypocrites, slack Christians etc., and contrasts their practice and objections to true *praecisitas*³⁰). Particularly in this part of the sermon do we find his dispute with the Remonstrants. A number of writers are referred to, including Augustine, who is again cited in a special way. If God's children are mockingly called sham Christians, we should most certainly realize who the sham Christians really are: those who — as Augustine says — «pretend to serve Christ for some occasion or due to some opinion, although they nonetheless say that they serve Him»³¹). There are also bad forms of *praecisitas*, for example when persons are so precise that they conduct their lives in an almost perfect manner, being at the same time of the opinion that they are superior to all others; they are on the lookout to see if they can find reason to tarnish the image of anyone who makes a profession of truth and godliness. Voetius makes apt use of a passage, which he gives in full in the margin, from *Ep.* 137 (now *Ep.* 78, 6): «*Cum de aliquibus, qui sanctum nomen profitentur, aliquid criminis vel falsitatis sonuerit, vel veri patuerit, instant, satagunt, ambiunt, ut de omnibus hoc credatur*»³²). But he cites Augustine especially when he is dealing with his central purpose: expounding the true *praecisitas* and *singularitas*, in short, the true works of godliness³³). In this connection he first refers extensively

too, there is no further indication of its source. I thank Mr. J. van Sint Feijth of the Thesaurus Linguae Augustinianae (Eindhoven) for his help.

²⁷) *Med.* 16-17.

²⁸) *Med.* 17.

²⁹) *Med.* 17: «Teghen welcke menschen Augustinus seer treffelijck spreekt / Hy en is niet weert dat hy Christum lief heeft die Christum niet alleene lief en heeft»; in the margin: «*Augustin. non est dignus amare Christum, qui Christum solum non amat*». See above, n. 24.

³⁰) *Med.* 17-35.

³¹) *Med.* 19: «... die dissimuleren Christo te dienen, om dese of die geleghentheden of insichten, die sy nochtans seggen dat sy dienen, so August. spreekt». Voetius does not name his source here either, but the quotation is related to that on p. 15 (see n. 24).

³²) *Med.* 24. There are some printing errors in the text, but otherwise the quotation is very accurate; it is introduced as follows: «*Vide eximium Augustini responsum Epist. 137. ubi inter alia haec scribit*».

³³) *Med.* 27-35.

and approvingly to the Roman Catholic mystic Lanspergius³⁴); next he discusses several passages from the Bible — giving references to commentators in the margin —, mentions Chrysostom in passing, and quotes at length from the «Doctrine and Order of our Churches»³⁵). But to back up his conviction that Christians are different, special, outstanding, that they do not follow the crowd and must grow in faith, Voetius refers *especially* to no less than five passages from Augustine. The first is from *sermo* 164 *de tempore*³⁶), the next a rather extensive quotation from *En. in Ps.* 47³⁷), the following a reference in which Augustine is simply named³⁸), and finally there are two successive quotations from the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*³⁹). It is in this exhortation

³⁴) *Med.* 27-28; in the margin of 28: «Lansperg. in pharetra, divin. amor. epistola Christi ad animam fidelem p. 220». For Lanspergius (1489/90-1539), see for instance *DS IX*, 230-238. In his other works, too, Voetius repeatedly cites this mystic (one of who's sources was Augustine), esp. his *Pharetra divini amoris*.

³⁵) *Med.* 28-30; the same quotation from «Leere ende order onser kercken» (p. 30) in *Afsch. Pred.* (n. 42), 7.

³⁶) *Med.* 30: «Willet ghy de menichte / seyt Augustinus / nae volghen / soo en sult ghy onder die weynighe niet sijn / die den engen wech bewandelen»; in the margin: «*De temp. ser.* 64». This is an almost verbatim quotation from s. 224, 1 (olim s. 164 - and not 64 — *de temp.*): «Nam si turbam imitari volueritis, inter paucos angustam viam ambulantes non eritis» (*MPL* 39, 1094).

³⁷) *Med.* 30: «Wy en connen niet ontkennen datter meer quade sijn, ende soo veel meer dat onder die, geen cooren met allen op den dorschvloer ghesien kan worden. Want die den dorschvloer siet, soude connen meynen, datter alleen *caf* is»; in the margin: «*Augustin. in Ps. 47.*». In *En. in Ps.* 47, 9, (*CCL* 38, 546) we read: «Non possumus enim negare plures esse malos, et tam plures, ut inter eos prorsus boni non appareant, quomodo non apparent grana in area. Nam quisquis aream uidet, potest putare quod palea sola sit».

³⁸) *Med.* 31: «Soo oock de herboorene mishaecht hem selven altijs in t'gheene dat hy is, op dat hy mochte geraecken tot dat gene dat hy niet en is want daer ghy u behaecht hebt daer sijt ghy gheleven. Maer soo ghy seght het is ghenoech: soo sijt ghy oock verlooren, ghelijck Augustinus seyt ...». Similar words are to be found in the works of Bernard of Clairvaux — Voetius held him in high esteem; in his famous *Oratio de Pietate* (see n. 23), (48) he speaks of «mellitus Bernardus» — and in those of Luther; cf. Theo BELL, *Bernardus dixit. Bernardus van Clairvaux in Martin Luthers werken* (Diss. Amsterdam), Delft, 1989, 66-67. But here it certainly is Augustine who is quoted; see s. 169, 18 (olim s. 15, 15 *de verbis apost.*): «Semper tibi displiceat quod es, si vis pervenire ad id quod nondum es. Nam ubi tibi placuisti, ibi remansisti. Si autem dixeris, Sufficit; et peristi...» (*MPL* 38, 926). See also *Afscheydt Pred.*, 10 (below, n. 53).

³⁹) *Med.* 31: «Want daer sijn veele Christenen die qualijck leven, onder de welcke soo yemant wel wil leven, ende onder den dronckaerts sober sijn & c. ende onder de kijkers van comedien nerghens en wil gaen dan nae de Kercke, soo moet hy lijden dat hem de Christenen selve beschimpen, hy moet lijden bittere woorden, dat sy segghen: Ghy sijt groot, ghy sijt rechtveerdich, ghy sijt Helias, ghy sijt Petrus, ghy sijt van den Hemel ghecomen: sy beschimpen hem, waer hy hem keert of went, hy hoort van hier ende van daer een spijlich woort. So moetent de geloovige so keurlijck maecken / datmen tot haer seyt: Waerom leeft ghy soo? sijt ghy alleen een Christen? Waerom doet ghy niet dat andere oock doen. Ende als

to pay heed to true *praecisitas* that Voetius quotes once more — besides some other writers — Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*⁴⁰). He ends his sermon with a short explanation of the second part of his text⁴¹).

Before drawing any conclusions from our analysis of the *Meditation on the True Practice of Godliness*, we will first look at Voetius' *Farewell Sermon*⁴²). He delivered it on the day before he gave his well-known inaugural address *De Pietate*⁴³), and it is similar in its plan and, to a certain degree, in its content to the sermon on true godliness. Here, too, Voetius begins with a brief introduction⁴⁴), then he divides and analyzes his text⁴⁵), next he discusses it part by part each time giving his 'lesson', 'refutation', 'chastisement', 'admonition' and/or 'exhortation'⁴⁶).

His text is from Paul's Letter to the Philippians 1, 27: «Only let your conversation be worthy of the gospel of Christ, so that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of you that you stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel». First Voetius examines the word «gospel»⁴⁷). Gospel actually means «good tidings», i.e. the doctrine of redemption and salvation through Christ. This gospel was preached especially in the days of the New Testament, but it also existed in Old Testament times. The teachings of the Old Testament and the New Testament are essentially the same; that is why «the ancient teachers were absolutely correct in saying and demonstrating that, although the Old Testament patriarchs were not Christians in name, they were Christians in belief and

de partije noch verder dringhet met het exempel der Christenen smoorende den Christen»; in the margin: «Augustin. in Psa. 90» and «Augustin. in Psa. 93». Here we actually read almost word for word quotations from *En. in Ps. 90*, s. 1, 4 (CCL 39, 1257) and *En. in Ps. 93*, 20 (CCL 39, 1321-1322) resp.

⁴⁰) *Med. 34*: «... wy sullen ons troosten / nae den raet Augustini / ende seggen: Wat woorden hoore ick sondige knecht? mijnen Heere heeft ghehoort, ghy hebt den duyvel in»; in the margin: «In Psa. 90». See *En. in Ps. 90*, s. 1, 4 (CCL 39, 1258): «Dicat: qualia uerba audio, seruus peccator? Dominus meus audiuit: *Daemonium habes*».

⁴¹) *Med. 35-40*.

⁴²) G. VOETIUS, *Afscheydt Predicatie uyt Philipp. 1. vers. 27. Ghedaen in de Ghemeynte tot Heusden. Den 20. Augusti 1634...*, Utrecht, 1636.

⁴³) See above, n. 23; new edition of the Latin text, with Dutch translation, introduction and annotations by Aart DE GROOT, *Gisbertus Voetius, Inaugurele rede over Godzaligheid te verbinden met wetenschap...*, Kampen, 1978.

⁴⁴) *Afscheydt Pred. 1-2*.

⁴⁵) *Afscheydt Pred. 2-5*; 15-16; 22-23; 26 resp.

⁴⁶) *Afscheydt Pred. 5-15*; 16-22; 23-26; 26-38.

⁴⁷) *Afscheydt Pred. 2-3*.

profession of faith»⁴⁸). In a marginal note Voetius refers to Irenaeus, Eusebius and Augustine⁴⁹).

Next Voetius deals at length with the word πολιτεύεσθε and the phrase «worthy of the gospel of Christ»⁵⁰). Just as in his *Meditation*, he stresses the importance of the practice of godliness and attacks 'muddlers', hypocrites and idle talkers. A few times in this context he refers to patristic, medieval or contemporary theologians⁵¹). But for the central concept of his text (the πολιτεύεσθαι) it is particularly Augustine whom he quotes. When Voetius wants to stress the inner power of godliness and to emphasize that *progress* should be made on the way of faith, he refers extensively to one of Augustine's *sermones*, a sermon as a matter of fact on *Phil.* 3, 3-16⁵²).

A next significant quotation is on p. 26. Voetius has discussed the word «only» of the first part of his text⁵³) and has just started his explanation of the second part of *Phil.* 1, 27⁵⁴). For him the first important 'lesson' from this second part is the need for peace, unity and

⁴⁸) *Afscheydt Pred.* 3.

⁴⁹) «Irenaeus lib. 4. c. 13. Euseb. histor. lib. I. c. 4. Augustinus contra Faust lib. 19. c. 13. 16. 17.». What Voetius says in his sermon can be found especially in Eusebius (*HE* I, 4) and Augustine (*C. Faust.* XIX, 13 and also 16-17).

⁵⁰) *Afscheydt Pred.* 3-15.

⁵¹) E.g. Jerome (*Afsch. Pred.* 5), Tertullian (6 and 7), Eusebius of Caesarea (9), Bernardus (12) and rather frequently the *Church History* of Sozomen (6, 12, 13). The latter's work was, along with the works on church history by Eusebius, Socrates and Theodoret, well known in Protestant circles, and even translated into German by Caspar Hedio, 'the first Protestant church historian'.

⁵²) *Afscheydt Pred.* 10: «Om niet laeu te worden of te verflauwen is een souverain remedie / dat wy arbeyden daechelijcks ons gebreck te bekennen ende dan van nieuw wat op te leggen ende daer by te doen. Want dat brengt dit wandelen mede. Wat is, seyt Augustinus / wandelen, ick segge met een woort, het is toenemen: op dat ghy het mogelijk niet qualijck en verstaet, ende te trager wandelt. Mishaecht u selven altijt in t'gheene dat ghy sijt, indien ghy komen wilt tot t'gheene ghy noch niet en sijt. Want daer ghy u selven behaecht hebt, daer sijt ghy blijven staen. Maer soo ghy segt het is genoeg, soo sijt ghy verloren. Doeter altijt wat toe, wandelt altijt, vordert altijt. Wilt onder wegen niet blyven, wilt niet te rugge keeren, wilt niet uyt den wegen gaen & c.». A marginal note reads: «*Serm. 15 de verbis apost.*». This is now classified as s. 169; Voetius quotes almost verbatim from 169, 18: «Dicitis, Quid est ambulare? Breviter dico, Proficere; ne forte non intelligatis, et pigrius ambuletis. (...) Semper tibi displiceat quod es, si vis pervenire ad id quod nondum es. Nam ubi tibi placuisti, ibi remansisti. Si autem dixeris, Sufficit; et peristi: Semper adde, semper ambula, semper profice: noli in via remanere, noli retro redire, noli deviare...» (*MPL* 38, 926). Cf. *Med.* 31 (above, n. 38). That Voetius was thoroughly familiar with this sermon is also apparent from *Proeve* (n. 11), 180, in which he quotes (without further reference) «a saying of Augustine»: «Die u geschaepen heeft sonder u, en sal u niet rechtveerdigen sonder u». It comes from s. 169, 13: «Qui ergo fecit te sine te, non te justificat sine te».

⁵³) *Afscheydt Pred.* 15-22.

⁵⁴) *Afscheydt Pred.* 22-38.

harmony in order to maintain and expand true faith and the Christian congregations⁵⁵). Then in the *usus* of this lesson for the purpose of admonition, Voetius first cites Gregory of Nazianzus⁵⁶), after that he refers extensively to Bernardus on the expression of love⁵⁷), and finally he quotes a long passage from Augustine on the connection between justice and peace⁵⁸). Here, as before, we are impressed by both Voetius' exactness in quoting Augustine and the appropriateness of his reference. With it he closes his discussion of this part of the text.

On the following pages Voetius gives his explanation of the last words of *Phil.* 1, 27⁵⁹). In this part of the sermon he also describes in some detail his seventeen years as pastor of the Reformed congregation at Heusden and speaks about the Remonstrant opposition that had to be broken down. Is there any justification for praising his own life, his conduct, the work he has done? The minister of the gospel says there is not. In this connection he quotes some biblical passages and then — without specific references — Augustine and Ambrose. As to the latter, it is a statement handed down by Paulinus in his *Vita Ambrosii*⁶⁰); the quotation from Augustine's is a sentence from the *Confessiones* which Voetius appreciated very much⁶¹). When, subsequently, he says that as

⁵⁵) *Afscheydt Pred.* 23-24.

⁵⁶) *Afscheydt Pred.* 25; in the margin: «*Orat. 3. de pace*».

⁵⁷) *Afscheydt Pred.* 25; in the margin: «*Bernardus Epistol. 252*».

⁵⁸) *Afscheydt Pred.* 26: «Tot welcken propooste Augustinus over den 85. Psalm seer wel seyt: *Doet rechtveerdicheyt ende ghy sult den vrede hebben, op dat vrede ende gherechticheyt malcanderen cussen. &c. Het sijn twee vriendinnen. Ghy wilt moghelijk de eene, ende d'andere en doet gy niet. Daer is niemant of hy begheert den vrede wel, maer sy willen al te mael de gherechticheyt niet wercken. Wilt ghy dan den vrede, doet gherechticheyt, want het sijn twee vriendinnen &c. daerom seyt eenen anderen Psalm laet af van den quade ende doet het goede, soeckt den vrede en jaecht hem nae. Maer nu en sult ghysse niet lange soecken, want sy sal u selve ontmoeten ende de gherechticheyt cussen*». Cf. *En. in Ps. 84, 12 (CCL 39, 1172-1173)*: «*Fac iustitiam, et habebis pacem; ut osculentur se iustitia et pax. (...) Duae amicae sunt; tu forte unam uis, et alteram non facis; nemo est enim qui non uult pacem; sed non omnes uolunt operari iustitiam. (...) Vis ergo uenire ad pacem? Fac iustitiam. Ideo alius psalmus dicit tibi: Declina a malo et fac bonum (...) quaere pacem et persequere eam. Iam enim non diu illam quaeres, quia et ipsa occurrit tibi, ut osculetur iustitiam*».

⁵⁹) *Afscheydt Pred.* 26-38.

⁶⁰) *Afscheydt Pred.* 35: «... ende met den ouden Leeraer Ambrosius op sijn dootbedde: *Ick en hebbe onder u soo niet geleef, dat ick my schamen soude langer te leven*». See Paulinus, *Vita S. Ambrosii*, 45. Voetius also quotes from this chapter in *Med.* 38: «*Quia bonum habemus dominum*». It is possible that he was acquainted with Paulinus' *Vita* at first hand; however, he could have found these sayings also in W. BAUDARTIUS, *Apophthegmata Christiana...*, Leyden, 1632°, 145.

⁶¹) *Afscheydt Pred.* 35: «*Wee het pryselijcke of loffelijcke leven der Menschen, soo het sonder barmherticheyt werde geoordeelt, ghelijck Augustinus spreekt*». This is from *Conf. IX, 34*: «*Vae etiam laudabili uitae hominum, si remota misericordia excutias eam*».

a minister of the Word he too was remiss, he characteristically makes reference to the following writers: Bernardus⁶²), Augustine⁶³), Aristotle⁶⁴) and again Augustine⁶⁵). Finally, at the end of his sermon, Voetius makes once more reference to Hippo's bishop⁶⁶).

On the basis of this analysis we are able to make the following conclusions. First of all that it is, more than any other, Augustine who is named in these sermons for the common church-goer. Even though Voetius refers to other theologians from the past, and we have to keep in mind that he reworked his sermons somewhat before they were published, this fact should be mentioned specifically. Also in the pulpit, in sermons preached to the regular Christian congregation — which apparently knew who Augustine was — the Church Father was the one Voetius named more than anyone else. This fact is even more remarkable when we realize that in his *Politica ecclesiastica* Voetius stated that it was better not to mention — or to do so only sparingly — the names of (highly esteemed) theologians in one's sermons⁶⁷).

It is said that Voetius even recited this saying on his deathbed; see C. GENTMAN, *Allon Bachuth, of Lyck-predikatie over de Dood van den Hoog-beroemden Heere Gisbertus Voetius...*, Utrecht, 1677, 30; A. ESSENIUS, *Gisbertus Voetius: sive Oratio funebris...*, Ultrajecti, 1677, 41-42. See also his *Thersites heautontimorumenos...*, Ultrajecti, 1635, 103.

⁶²) *Afscheydt Pred.* 36. As we can see over and over, not only Augustine but also Bernardus was very highly esteemed by Voetius. The influence of Bernardus on Voetius merits further investigation; for the importance to Voetius of Bernardus' *Sermones super Cantica canticorum*, see I. BOOR, *De allegorische uitleg van het Hooglied voornamelijk in Nederland* (Diss. Utrecht), Woerden, 1971, 155-163.

⁶³) *Afscheydt Pred.* 36: «Het is wel noodich dat wij altyts van nu aen ten eynde toe insonderheyt oock in ons dootbedde (ghelijck Augustinus dede) de penitentie-psalmen lesen». Cf. Possidius, *Vita S. Augustini*, 31.

⁶⁴) The scholastic and logician Voetius was very well-acquainted with Aristotle; as a student at Leyden University he gave already private lessons in logic. Cf. DUKER, I, 112.

⁶⁵) *Afscheydt Pred.* 36: «Ick sal bidden t'gene Augustinus bidt aengaende seecker schrift of boeck van hem geschreven: O Heere, soo ick yet wel geseyt (gedaen) hebbe, wilt ghy het erkennen ende de uwe; soo ick yet qualijck geseyt (gedaen) hebbe, dat ghy het doch vergevet ende de uwe»; cf. *De trin.* XV, 28, 51 (CCL 50A, 535): «Domine deus une, deus trinitas, quaecumque dixi in his libris de tuo agnoscant et tui; si qua de meo, et tu ignosce et tui».

⁶⁶) *Afscheydt Pred.* 37: «Ende dewyle dese mijne vermaninge dit mijn afgescheyt neffens / soo veler Jaeren vermaningen niet vorderen en sullen onder Godes segghen ende genade / ten sy datter een is die van binnen Leert, soo arbeyt de tonge des Leeraers te vergeefs, (gelijck Augustinus seyt)...». A marginal note gives «*Sermo 181. de Temp.*» (now classified as Pseudo-Augustine, *De Symbolo*, MPL 40, 1189-1202), but this reference is incorrect. It is almost certain that Voetius is quoting *Ep. Ioh. tr.* 3, 13 (MPL 35, 2004): «... si non sit intus qui doceat, inanis fit strepitus noster». For more on this, see «Augustinus, Voetius und die Anfänge...» (above, n. 4), 574.

⁶⁷) Cf. G. VOETIUS, *Politica ecclesiastica...*, I, 2, Amstelodami, 1663, 598-631 (= «De publica Verbi Divini Tractatione»).

A more important result of this analysis concerns the content and purport of Voetius' references. Whereas in earlier studies we were able to conclude that for his quarrel with the Remonstrants he especially made use of Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings, and in his debate with Jansenius he referred to the anti-Donatist ones⁶⁸), we can now say that Voetius also esteemed Augustine highly as a practical theologian. In these sermons it is pre-eminently *Augustinus practicus* who is called as a witness to exhort Christians who are lax and lukewarm⁶⁹). Whether other theologians of the Dutch 'Second Reformation' or international Pietism also made use of Augustine's writings — and if so, in what way and to what extent — should be investigated in future studies⁷⁰). As for Voetius, one of the leading figures of the 'Second Reformation', it is clear that he held the Church Father in high esteem and even in his sermons demonstrated this.

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⁶⁸) See the articles mentioned in n. 4 and n. 5.

⁶⁹) As is wellknown, this exhortation to *praecisitas* c.a. was one of the central themes of the Dutch 'Second Reformation' and of international Pietism. For Voetius and his plea for *praecisitas*, see e.g. W. VAN 'T SPIJKER, «Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676)», in T. BRIENEN et alii, *De Nadere Reformatie. Beschrijving van haar voornaamste vertegenwoordigers*, 's-Gravenhage, 1986, 49-84, esp. 65-67; cf. *idem*, «Voetius practicus», in *De onbekende Voetius* (n. 2), 242-256.

⁷⁰) Cf. W.J. OP 'T HOF, *Engelse piëtistische geschriften in het Nederlands, 1598-1622* (Diss. Utrecht), Rotterdam, 1987, 601.