

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
Princeton, N. J.
From the Rev. W. B. SPRAGUE, D.D. Sept. 1839.

Case, Division S.C.C.
Shelf, Section 1200
Book, No. _____



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12-5

TOUCHING

THE FULL REDEMPTION

of mankind by the death and bloud of
CHRIST JESVS:

WHEREIN

*Besides the merite of Christs suffering, the manner
of his offering, the power of his death, the comfort
of his Croffe, the glorie of his resurreccion,*

Are handled,

What paines *Christ* suffered in his soule on the Croffe:

Together,

With the place and purpose of his descent to hel after death:

*Preached at Pauls Croffe and else where in London,
by the right Reuerend Father Thomas Bilson
Bishop of Winchester.*

With a conclusion to the Reader for the clearing of cer-
taine objections made against the said doctrine.

1. Corinth. 3.

It becometh not to knowe any thinge save Christe Iesus, and him crucified.

Athanasius de Incarnatione verbi dei.

*Therefore the soule of God: to be to him a deitie that might die, that, enter-
ing it into a reasonable soule, it might suffice for a full satisfaction to
Death for all.*

Printed at London by Peter Short for Walter
Barre, and are to be sold in Pauls Churchyard at
the signe of the Flower de luce. 1599.





To the Christian Reader.



It is some time since (good Christian Reader) that lying in London, and preaching at Pauls Crosse, as the feast of Easter drawing neer did admonish mee, I made choice to speake of the redemption of mankinde by the death and blood of

Christ Iesus. And because that Citie then had, and yet hath, as manie learned and religious preachers; so long conceited and too much addicted to nouelties; who spared not in their Catechisings and readings, to vrge the suffering of the *verie paines of hell* in the soul of Christ on the crosse, as the chiefeest part, and maine ground of our Redemption by Christ: I, finding how fast that opinion had increased, since it was first deuised, and doubting whete it would end, thought it my dutie publikelie to warne them that were forward in defending this fansie, to take heed how farre they waded in that late sprong speculation. For as these words of *David*, *The sorrowes of hell besieged me*, and these of *Ionas*, *Out of the belly of hel I cried, & thou heardest my voice*, may be tolerable applied to Christ, if they be metaphorically interpreted of Christ, as the scriptures meane them in *David* and *Ionas*; so if wee grow from the figuratiue vse of the worde *HELL*, to the proper signification thereof, and rise from the degrees of sor-

^a Psa. 18. & 116
^b Ionas. 2.

To the Christian Reader.

rowes and feares, which pursue the Saints in this life, to the highest sense and suffering of ALL, and THE VERIE SAME paines and punishments which the damned do and shall endure for euer; freeing Christ from nothing but from the place and continuance of hell: vve make not a curious and superfluous, but an erroneous and daungerous addition to the mysterie of our Salvation.

The better to slacke their inconsiderate heate, I laboured to prooue these foure pointes vnto them. First that, it was nowhere recorded in the holie Scriptures; nor iustlie to bee concluded by the Scriptures, that Christ suffered the true paines of hell; and so the Consciences of the faythfull coulde not iustlie be pressed to the necessarie beleeuing of anie such strange assertion. Secondlie, that as the Scriptures describe to vs the paines of the damned and of hell; there are manie terrors and torments, which, without euident impietie, cannot be ascribed to the Sonne of God, as namely *extreame Darkenesse, Desperation, Confusion, utter separation, reiection and exclusion from the grace, fauour, and kingdome of God; remembrance of sinne gnawing the conscience, horroure of Diuels tormented and tormenting; and flame of fire intolerable burning both bodie and soule.* Thirdlie, that the death and bloud of Christ Iesus were euidentlie; frequentlie; constantlie set downe in the writings of the Apostles as the sufficient price of our Redemption; and true meane of our reconciliation to God; and the verie same proposed in the

figure

To the Christian Reader.

figures, resembled in the *sacrifices* of the Lawe, and sealed with the *Sacraments* of the new Testament as the verie grounde worke of our saluation by Christ; and so haue bene receaued and beleueed in the Church of God fourteene hundred yeares, before anie man euer made mention of hell paines to bee suffered in the soule of Christ. Lastlie, where the Scriptures are plaine and pregnant, that Christ ^c DIED for our sinnes, and by his ^d DEATH, destroyed him that had power of death, euen the Diuell, and reconciled vs, when we were strangers and enemies, IN THE ^e BODIE OF HIS FLESH THROUGH DEATH, (for wee are reconciled to God, by the ^f DEATH of his soune, and sanctified by THE OFFERING OF THE ^g BODIE of Iesus Christ once, who ^h himselfe bare our sinnes in his BODIE on the Tree; where hee was put to death concerning the FLESH;). Besides that the holie Ghost in these places by expresse wordes nameth the bodilie death of Christ as the meane of our redemption and reconciliation to God: no considerate diuine might affirme or imagine Christ suffered the Death of the soule; for so much as the Death of the soule must exclude Christ from the *grace, spirit,* and *life* of God; and leaue in him neither *faith, hope,* nor *loue*; *sanctitie,* nor *innocencie*; which God forbid anie Christian man shoulde so much as dreame. Wee shoulde therefore do well to reuerence the manifest wordes of Gods Spirit in so high a pointe of Religion, and suffer our selues as schollers to bee taught by the leader into all truely, what to beleue and confesse in the mystery of our redemption; and not to controle or correct the doctrine so

4

^c 1. Corin. 15.

^d Hebre. 2

^e Colof. 1

^f Rom 5.

^g Hebr. 10.

^h 1. Pet. 2.

To the Christian Reader.

cleerlie deliuered in the Scriptures, so consonantie retained of all learned and vnlearned in the Church of Christ, for so many hundred yeares: And if anie man to maintaine his deuise woulde inuent a newe hell and another death of the soule, then either scriptures or fathers euer heard or spake of, they shoulde keepe their inuentions to themselues; it sufficed me to beleue what I read, and consequently not to beleue what I did not read in the word of God, which is and ought to be the foundation of our faith.

Thus faire I purposed, when I first entered, by Gods grace to proceede in this cause, according to y^e simple vnderstanding wherewith god hath endued me for the good of his Church. The article of the Creed, Christ DESCENDED INTO HELL I meant not to meddle with; choosing rather to leaue y^e vntouched, then to presse any sense as a point of faith, for vvhich I had not so full and faire warrant, as for the redemption of man by the death and blood of Christ Iesus; but the vehemencie of some contradicting that I taught, and the importunitie of others requesting to knowe what they might safelie beleue of that article, made mee to alter my minde. For whē some vrged, others doubted, that if Christ did not suffer the paines of hell whiles he hung on the Crosse, that part of the Creed was added in vaine; and the wordes of *Dauid*, *Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell*, applied by ^k *Peter* vnto Christ in the second of the *Acts*, could hardiy haue any good construction: (because it seemed farre fet, and altogether repugnant to the proper signification of the wordes, to take the *soule* for the *bodye*, and *hell* for the *grauē*; and as for the locall descent of Christ

¹ P^sal. 16.
^k Acts 2.

To the Christian Reader.

to hell after death; they counted that but a fable:) I was forced to promise that I would openlie deliuer, which I thought was the likeliest and safest sense, as well of that article in the Crede, as of those wordes of *David*, fulfilled in the person of our Sauour. This occasion drew mee to the next question of Christes descent to hell. VVherin I resolved as by perusing the later part of this treatise will better appeare, that Christs descent to the verie place of hell after his death, did best concord both with the Creede, and with the truth of Christian religion, so we tooke care not to swarue frō the Scriptures, in setting downe the cause why he went thither: which was to ouerthrow & destroy the kingdom & might of Satan in the place of his greatest strength, euen in hel, and as our head to free all his members from daunger and feare of coming thither; the sorrowes and terrors whereof hee loosed vvith his presence, treading them vnder his feete, and rose againe into a blessed and immortall life, leading captiuitie captiue, and taking from hell and Satan all pover to preuaile against his elect.

Both these resolutions that Christ suffered *not the true paines of hell in his soule on the crosse*; and that hee *personallie conquered* and disarmed the *powers and terrours thereof before his resurrection*; some (as in such cases is common) misremembred, some misconstrued, and some misliked: vvhereupon I vvas both aduised and intreated by men of greater place then I vvill name, to put the effect of that vvchich I had deliuered in vvriting, that by mine ovne vvords, and not by other mens conceits or reports, the learned might iudge of the doctrine. Which I did that verie

Summer

To the Christian Reader.

in the pulpit, which the time shut me from; and some objections I haue answered here more largelie, then the course of Sermons would permit: but here is the selfe same in effect, which then I vttered and purposed, if the time woulde haue suffered. The manner of handling this question, I alwaies wished might bee temperate and sober, as best became christian professors and teachers; least by catching aduantages besides the cause, wee increased quarrels, and so much regarded our credits that wee neglected the truth. I haue therefore in the Treatise it selfe touched no mans name, oppugned no mans wordes, traduced no mans judgement; but admitting and retaining as much as I thought might stande with the truth, I haue pared off certaine extremities, and reiected certaine additions, which the first inuentors did refraine; for that Christ suffered the death of the soule, or all the same tormentes, which the damned do and shall, are positions lately coined, and deriued from the proportion of Gods iustice as they call it, but as I thinke from presumption of mans reason intruding into Gods secrets. The doctrine which I defend, that we are sufficientlie redeemed by the death and bloud of Christ Iesus, (without adding of hell paines to bee suffered in the soule of Christ) hath the constant, full, and expresse warrant of the Scriptures, and the like approbation from al the fathers without exception. And therefore howsoeuer some men may despise all ancient writers, and frustrate the scriptures with their figures; al sober and wise christians will, I doubt not, beware how they admit this strange and late found nouelty into their Creede or consciences. The second point I presse not

To the Christian Reader.

with like vehemencie, because it hath not like certaintie. So long as we confesse (which the Scriptures do confirme) that Christs humane nature after his extreame humiliation on the Crosse, & before his resurrection, conquered & spoyled not death only, but hell & Satan also, of al their power & right ouer y^e faithfull, & ascending on hie *lead captiuitie captiue*, & tooke the *keyes of death and of hell* into his owne hands; with the precise maner and hower I will not burden anie mans conscience, that cannot be perswaded by reading the latter part of this treatise; though I my selfe, after long & diligent search, find no sense so agreeable to y^e words of the Creede, so answerable to the rules of the sacred Scriptures, and so fullie followed by all the Fathers, as Christs descent to the verie place of hell for the purposes aforesaid.

Hauiug premonished thee (Christian reader) of thus much, I am not willing to detayne thee anie longer from vewing and examining the booke it selfe, but onelie to tell thee that whiles I stayed the printing hereof, till others did like it, as wel as my self, one more hastie then either aduised or learned, calling himselfe H. I. would needes traduce it and confute it before he saw it, resting belike on such notes, as his angry mind and brickle memorie tooke at the time when I preached of these points. Wherein though others condemne his follie, yet I commend his pollicie, that least hee should trouble himselfe with more thē he could answer, he thought it y^e best way to come into the field alone, and like a stout Champion fighting with his owne shadow, to say no more thē he would be sure to deny or decline with one shift.

To the Christian Reader.

shift, or other. To make the easier conquest of that I preached, hee cleane changeth the state of the first Question, hee offereth to prooue that which I neuer denied; hee confuteth that which I neuer affirmed, hee runneth at Random no man can tell whither, hee peruerteth my wordes, hee maymeth my reasons, hee skippeth all my authorities; hee scornefullie reiecteth the iudgement of the Fathers when I alleage them, the Scriptures hee turneth and windeth at his pleasure, he wadeth desperately through thicke and thinne in matters of most importance, his best reason is euerie where his own opinion, outfacing the world with his ignorance; in summe, he sheweth vs by his example what it is for a man in matters of faith to despise both 'authoritie and antiquity, and trust onely to his own fancie. Such an opponent the wiser sort will thinke I were better neglect then encounter; which resolution I my selfe do retayne; onely lest my silence should augment his boldnes, I thought it not amisse in the conclusion seuered from the treatise, to giue thee a tast of the rashnes and weaknes of his enterprife, intreating thee in the meane time to reade aduisedly and iudge indifferently, for that the cause is weighty and toucheth thee as neere as mee. For if we suffer the mayne foundation of our faith and hope in Christ to be wrenched neuer so little awrie; the whole building is more endangered then wee are ware of. In Gods causes, let Gods booke teach vs what to belecue, and what to professe. If thou thinke it thy duetie in matters of faith to beware of vnwritten verities, in the greatest point of all, which is our redemption by Christ; take heede


To the Christian Reader.

thou easilie admit not vnwritten absurdities . This matter began in more generall and more tolerable tearmes, if they might bee rather soberly mitigated, then too vehemently pressed; but as when we runne downe an hill we can hardly staie; so in matters of religion when we fal to inuenting beyond the scriptures we quickly misse and seldome recouer the truth. Farewell (gentle Reader) and pray that our thoughts and wits may be subiected to the truth of Gods word, and that wee'loath not the simplicitie which is in Christ.

Thomas Wilson

London 1599

From till page



THE FULL REDEMPTION
of mankind, by the death
and blood of Christ.

GALATH. 6. - verse. 14.

Be it far from me to reioice but in the Crosse
of Christ.



As the naturall man no where li-
keth nor alloweth the thinges of
God, because they seeme foolish-
nes vnto him: so of all the waies
and workes of God there is
none, that more displeaseth and
offendeth the unbelieuer, then
the Crosse of Christ. Wee
preach Christ crucified (saith the
Apostle) to the Iewes a stumbling
blocke, to the Grecians foolihnesse. The Grecians sauing
nothing but worldlye wisdom, and fleshlye reason, coun-
ted it a more folly for the honne of God, to leaue his Throne
of glorie in the heauens, and as a man amongst men, to
take of manie miseries; and to suffer a cruell and shamefull
death at the handes of his enemies. The price of our Re-
demption, for whose sakes hee died, and the power of his re-
surrection, by which hee raised vs to the limitation and ex-
pectation of a better life; they did neither conceiue, nor be-
lieue; and therefore they reiected his birth, and specially his
death, as a dycame of simple and vnlearned men, such as

1. Corinth 1.
The crosse of
Christ despised
both of Iewes
and Gentiles.

2 The full redemption of mankind,

they take the Apostles to be. The Jewes hating their cares full of those excellent promises, which God made by his prophets, concerning the kingdome of the Messias, and referring them to an earthlie king, that should sit on the throne of David, bruising his enemies with a rod of Iron, and ruling the world with iustice and equitie: when they sawe the weake and base condition of our Saviour, in outward shew promising nothing but reproch and perurie; they so disdain- ed and detested him, that they could not bee quiet, till they had crucified him; being then, and ever since ashamed, and grieved that anie should saie, or thinke, he was the Messias, so much spoken of in the prophets. Was the Jewes looking for wonders, and the Grecians for Wisedome; did both con- demne the crosse of Christ: the one of weaknesse, the other of foolishnesse: and so that cause fell at the stone of offence: but such as were called both Jewes and Gentiles to bee heires of the promise, did plainelie perceave, and fullie con- fesse Christ crucified to be the mightie power, and manifold wisdome of God for their enerlasting ioye and blisse; and were so far from being ashamed of Christs sufferings, that they were willing partakers and open reioicers in the crosse of Christ, as the Apostle here saith of himselfe. ^b Be it farre from mee to reioice, but in the Crosse of Christ, by which the world is crucified to me, and I to the world. And indeede if we beholde Christ crucified with carnall eyes, as did the Jewes, wee shall see nothing in him but earthlie weaknesse, and deadlie weundes, as they sawe: but if we bende the eyes of our faith to the truth of his person, and to the force and fruite of his death, as must all his saints; we shall finde the power and wisdome, iustice and mercie of God so tempered in the crosse of Christ for our good; that by his paines we are eased, by his stripes we are healed, his weaknesse is our strength, his shame is our glorie, and his death our life: wo: thely there- fore doth the Apostle professe, that he did, and we should not reioice but in the crosse of Christ.

And where hee saith, he did reioyce in nothing but in the crosse of Christ; hee thereby teacheth vs to repose all our faith and

What it is to
the beleeuers.

Galath. 6

and hope, as well as our joy, in the favour of God, which Christ hath purchased for vs, by his death and blood. ^c Reioice in hope, saith the Apostle; that is in the expectation, not in the present fruition of heauenlie thinges, which God hath prepared for all that loue him. Now hope without faith there can bee none. ^d Faith is the ground worke of that wee hope, for howe can we with patience looke for that, which we doe not beleue wee shall receiue? The doubting of Gods promises is the plaine distrusting of them; and breedeth rather a feare we shall misse them, then an hope to enioie them: and in feare there is ^e PAIN, as saint Iohn saith, and no IOIE. Then as there is no perfect ioie, but in hope assured by faith; so if we must not reioice but in the crosse of Christ, our faith and hope must wholie depende on that peace and attonement, which Christ hath made betwixt God and vs, by the shedding of his precious blood for our sakes; that is by his crosse. Since therefore Christ crucified is the wisdom and power of God to saue all that beleue, and the crosse of Christ is the ful support of all our faith, hope and ioie, there is no one point in christian religion, that more mainelie concerneth, and neerelie toucheth the saluation of our soules, then the right vnderstanding and only relying on the crosse of Christ; least we misse the truth or distrust the force thereof, to the dishonour of Christ, and danger of our owne soules.

Rom. 12

Hebr. 11

1. Iohn. 4

The methode of this treatise.

To prevent this perill, I thinke best to obserue this order in that which shall be saide, to shewe first what the Crosse of Christ CONTAINETH, next what the crosse of Christ PERFORMETH: that knowing the contents and effectes of Christs crosse, I meane the paines which he suffered; and the worke which he accomplished by dying on the crosse; we may be settled and assured, how far it extended; and what it effected for vs.

To begin with the CONTENTS of Christs crosse: The crosse is sometimes taken in the Scripture for all manner of afflictions, ^f He that will come after me, let him denie himselfe, and dailie take vp his crosse and follow me. ^g He that doth

Luke. 9

Math. 10.

4 The full redemption of mankind;

De passidom.
cap. 5.
The crosse taken for all kind of affliction.

not take vp his Crosse and follow me; is not worthy of me. In this sence, saith Bernarde; ^hThe whole life of Christ was a crosse and a martyrdom. The reason whie Christ so vsed the worde (for he first vsed it) was, for that he saw before hande, that going to his crosse he should taste all kindes of calamities: and so came it to passe. For betwene his last supper, and his death, hee was betrayed of Iudas, abused of Peter, forsaken of all his followers; hee was wrongfullie imprisoned, falselie accused, vniustlie condemned; he was buffeted, whipped, scozned, reuiled; he endured colde, nakednes, thirst, wounding, hanging, shame, reproch, and all sortes of deadiue paines; besides heauinesse of heart, and agonte of mind, which oppressed him in the garden. Rightlie then maie the crosse note all maner of miseries, soasmuch as our Saviour going from the garden to the grane, suffered all sortes of afflictions: howbeit this is no different signification, but rather a participation of the crosse of Christ.

The church of Rome honoreth the crosse and dishonoreth the death of Christ.

The Church of Rome hath wedded a great part of her deuotion to the crosse of Christ, but vnder that name she adoreth the matter and forme of the crosse; as for the force and effects of Christs death, which is remission of our sinnes, satisfaction of Gods wrath, and donation of eternal life, the prodigallie imparteth that to her pilgrimages, pardons, a purgatorie, yea to the works and prayers of quicke and dead; and so magnifieng the signe and wood of the crosse, she dishonoreth the merite and fruit of Christ crucified. But of her painted and carued crosses, the scripture maketh no mention, and therefore I skipt it, rather as a manifest illusion, then any signification of the crosse of Christ.

What the scriptures meane by the crosse of Christ.

Most commonlie in the Scriptures by the crosse of Christ, the holie Ghost meaneth the person suffering, and the paine suffered on the crosse, that is, the punishments and torments which the sonne of God suffered for our sinnes; after he was fastened to the tree: the rest which went before not being excluded as superfluous, but continued and increased by that sharpe and extreme martyrdom which hee endured on the crosse.

crosse. And so Christ crucified as the scriptures describe him,
 had from top to toe no part free from paine and griefe; but
 hung on the wood, hauing his fleshy tozine with whippes, his
 cheekes swolne with buffets, his face defiled with spittle, his
 head stuck full with thornes, his eyes delected for shame, his
 eares burning with taunts, his mouth sozored with vineger,
 his hands and feet wounded with Iron spikes, his bones
 vntoyned, his sinewes pricked and strained, his whole body
 hanging by the sozenesse of his hands and feet, and lastlie
 (though he were first dead) his heart pierced with a Speare,
 thence issued blood and water. His bodie thus wounded
 and tortured vnto death, his blood thus shed, and as it were
 powdered on the earth, are said in the scriptures to be the ran-
 some of our sinnes, and price of our redemption. ⁱ Hee bare
 our sinnes in his body vpon the Crosse (saith Peter:) and again,
^k You are redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, as of a
 lambe vnspotted and vndefiled. I do not amplifie the bodilie
 paines which Christ suffered, of purpose to make them seeme
 greater then they were; I find my selfe rather vnable to ex-
 presse them; but least wee should too much diminish them;
 and aske, What great matter it was for him to go securely;
 and as it were sportingly to his death, I thought good thortlie
 to touch them, and leaue the fuller and further consideration
 of them to the goodlie at their priuate leysure.

ⁱ 1 Peter. 2.
^k 1 Peter. 1

In the meane time I may not omit in his Stripes, Thornes,
 Crucifying and Death, to obserue that which the Reader will
 happilie ouerskippe in the historie of his passion, vnlesse hee
 be both aduised and learned. In his STRIPES I note, that
 Pilate hauing a purpose to saue the life of Christ, and not
 neglecting to satisfie the people that were incensed against
 him, caused him extreamly to be whipped, and shewed to the
 people in that plight with these words, ^l Ecce homo, Behold
 man; to let them see that Christ had receiued very sufficient
 correction, no crime being proued against him, and so to
 withholde them from seeing his death. In CROWNING
 him with thornes, the souldiers did not onelic wreath him

The paines of
 Christs crosse.

^l Ioha. 7

a thicke crowne of thornes, to strike his head full of the m: but after the putting it on, to fasten it, they did strike him on the heade with their Canes; as ^m Matthew and Marke do plainlie testifie. In NAILING him to the Crosse, be sides the greatnesse and sozenesse of his wounds, which were worthe to be marked, they so strained his bodie least hee should stirre hand or foote, that all his bones might be numbred. The greatnesse of his woundes Dauid foresheved by these wordes: ⁿ *Foderunt manus meas, & pedes meos*; they digged my handes and my feete; noting howe wide woundes they made in both, which were rather digged than pierced; and so bigge were the nailes, as the Ecclesiasticall historie reporteth, that Constantine made of them (when his mother had found them in the mount where Christ was crucified) ^o A bridle, and an helmet for his owne vse. How tender and sensible the hands & feet are about other partes of the bodie, and what paine and anguish the pricking, straining and tearing of the sinewes, ligaments and ioynts in either (which are verie thicke, and full of sence in both those places) did breede and kindle in the whole bodie, nature can teach vs without anye further prooffe. Of RACKING his ioynts, Bernard maketh this collection out of Dauid: ^p *Tantum assensus sum, ut corpore nudo in modum Tympanicae pellis distento, facile possint omnia ossa mea dinumerari.* I am so strained (saith he in the person of Christ) that my bodie naked beeing stretched like the head of a timbrell (or drum) all my bones may be numbred. If this prooffe reach not home, Dauid hath plainer and expreßer wordes, in the 14. verse of the same Psalm, which cannot be contradicted. *HITH PAREDV. i. Separauerunt se omnia ossa mea.* All my bones are out of ioint, or pulled one from the other. In this horrible torment of Stripes, Thornes, Wounds, Sinewes and ioynts, our Saviour hong on the crosse about thre houres, in most perfect sence, with most extreame paine, till the vortie instant that hee breathed out his soule. A violenter death by fyre, or other wise, our Saviour might happilie haue suffered; but a more painfull, with perfection

^m Matth. 27.
Marke. 15.

ⁿ Psa. 12.

^o Socrates lib. 1.
cap. 17

^p De pass. dom.
cap. 7.

of patience, neuer martyrs, much lesse malefactor, did or could endure.

The torments of others when they are violent, do either haue death, or ouerwhelme the sense, and so the paine when it is most grieuous, is least perceived. In Christ there was no such thing. He died not by degrees as we do; his senses did not decay, no pangs of death took hold of him, but in perfect sense, and perfect patience both of bodie and soule, he did voluntarily and miraculously resigne his spirit (as hee was praying) into his fathers handes. Longer tortures others haue endured, but neuer greater for the time, nor with like patience. For in all men (Christ excepted) though the spirit be neuer so willing, & the measure of faith neuer so strong, yet viles it please God to shorten or lighten the rage of their paine, the flesh repineth at the present anguish, howsoever grace support the soule, that it sink not vnder the burthen.

But He which shortneth and lighteneth the force of torments in his saints when they be grieuous, in his owne would doe neither. He spared not himselfe, that knoweth how to spare his; but suffered and indured all to the bittermost, with so exact obedience and patience, that he did not thinke at the paine, nor strine with death, but yielded so voluntarie a sacrifice to god, that in the sharpest torments he made no shew of sense; nor suffered his flesh so much as to tremble or struggle with paine or death. The manner of rending by his soule the

Scriptures and Fathers do carefulie obserue. Saint Iohn thus describeth it. When Iesus had tasted of the vinegar, hee said (all) is finished, & bowed his head, and gaue vp the Ghost.

Whersupon Bernard saith; It is a great infirmity to die, but so to die, doth plainlie proue an infinite power. S. Luke reporteth that Iesus cried with a loud voice (to shew himselfe to be free from any touch of death) and saide, Father into thy handes I commend my spirit.

Whersupon Hierom obserueth, that the Centurion hearing his prayer, and seeing him *Statim spiritum sponte dimisisse*, presently of his owne accord to sende forth his spirit, *Commotus signi magnitudine*, mooued with the greatnesse

Christ had no pangs of death but perfect sense of paine vnto the end.

Bernard de pass. dom. ca. 41.

He died voluntarily. Iohn. 19.

Serm. 4. Hebdomade pasche. Luk. 23.

Statim. quest. 8. ad Hedibim.

8 The full redemption of mankind,

greatnesse of the wonder, saide; Truly this man was the sonne of God. Augustine largely handling the maner of his death saith; Who can so sleepe when he wil, as Christ died when he would? Who can so laie aside his garment at his pleasure, as Christ laid aside his flesh? Who can so leaue his place, as Christ left his life? with how great power shall he come to iudge, that shewed so great power when he died? Christ himselfe ratifieth these obseruations with his owne mouth in the Gospell of saint Iohn? None taketh my soule from mee, but I laie it downe of my selfe. By this we may perceiue, the confutation of the Humane nature with the Diuine in the person of Christ was so fast and sure, that neither sinne, death, nor hell assaulting our Sauiour, could make any separation, no not of his bodie; but he himselfe of his owne accord must put off his earthlie tabernacle, that dying for a season he might conquer death for euer; and so the laying downe of his life was no imposed punishment, nor forceable intiation of death by him, but a voluntary sacrifice for sinne tendered vnto God for our sakes; to appease the wrath and satisfie the curse, which our manifold wickednes had most iustlie deserued.

Thus farre without feare we maie frelie extend the crosse of Christ by the warrant of the holie scriptures. Some men in our daies stretch it a great deale farther, to the death both of bodie and soule, and to the **WHOLE PAINES OF THE DAMNED IN HELL**; but upon how iust grounds, when you heare, you may iudge as you see cause. This opinion hath growen by degrees; and euerie daie taketh newe increase. At the first, men contented themselves to thinke Christ suffered the paines of hel, that is great and intolerable paines; which metaphoricall kind of speech the Scriptures will beare; if we conclude no worse meaning within those words; Out of the bellie of **HELL**, (saith Ionas) I cried and thou heardest my voice. The sorrowes of **HELL** compassed me about (saith Dauid) and the griefes of **HELL** tooke hold of me. Some others affirme, that Christ, in sustaining the wrath of God due to vs, wrestled with the vertie powers of hell that sought to

* Tract. 119. in Iohan.

7 Iohn. 10.

How the opinion of Christs suffering hell paines hath growen by degrees.

Ionas. 2.
Psal. 18.
Psal. 116.

to fasten on him, and howsoever beholding the terror of Gods vengeance prouoked by our sinnes, he did sometimes tremble, yet by firme faith alwaies fixed on God, he repelled and repressed those assaults of Satan, and so saued not himselfe onely, but vs also. This might be indured if men could stay here; & it were to be wished, that in matters of so great weight and danger, we would rather try where we are, then hasten to go onward. But as water breaking her bankes still runneth and neuer stayeth; so some lighting on other mens inuentions neuer leaue adding till they marre all. In the case which we haue in hand, the name of Hell paines being once admitted into the worke of our redemption, some in our daies will no nay, but that Christ on the crosse suffered the selfe same paines in soule, which the damned do in hell, and endured euen the death of the soule; yea others auouch that hee sustained farre greater torments then anie are in hell, to wit, as much paine in 15. houres, as all the faithfull should haue suffered euerlastingly, and that as well in body as in soule. To these dangerous deuises are some men slipt in our time. And because I knowe not when or where they will make an ende, I thinke it needfull for discharge of my dutie, and direction of your faith, as well to set downe certaine limits beyond which you may not go, as also to reiect such extremitie as by no meanes may be closed in the crosse of Christ, without apparant impietie.

The paines of hell (if I be not deceiued) make a fourefold impression in the soules of men; a carefull feare, which declineth them; a doubtfull feare, which conflicteth with them; a desperate feare which sinketh vnder them, and a damned feare which suffereth them. The first is and must be in all the godlie; and this lie in Christ himselfe: For the more we loue God, the more wee detest and shunne all separation from God. Hell therefore which is an vtter exclusion from the kingdome of God, is most iustlie abhorred of all his saints, and spectallie of his owne Son: who not onelie by will, but by nature is one with his Father. A conflict with Hell

How many impressions the paines of hell make in the soule of man.

if it come not from the inward motion of the mind, is but a temptation to trie the heart, or shew the strength of the godlie. So was Adam tempted in Paradise by Eue, and Eue by the Serpent, to proue howe mindfull they were, and thankfull they would be for the blessings of God bestowed vpon them. So was Christ tempted in the wilderness by Satan, and all his life long by the wicked, which were to him but occasions to declare the innocencie and integritie of his humane nature. But the inward temptation of the heart and conscience, though it bee in all the children of Adam, (the clea themselves not excepted,) by reason of their flesh lusting agaynst the spirite, their conscience accusing them for sinne, and their fayth sometimes fainting; yet in Christ wee must graunt no such thing, because in him there was neither corruption of flesh, nor remoyse of sinne, nor weakenesse of fayth; that shoulde anie kinde of waite byede or yeelde to the woyme; that gnaweth at our consciences. A desperate feare is when the wrath of God awaketh the wicked to knowe and acknowledge, what vengeance is prepared for them, in this life to come, and so hauing lost both fayth and hope, they fall to an horrible expectation of iudgement, and flaming fyre, which shall deuoure the aduersarie. But yet euen these men; whose case is most despaited, are not while they liue heere on earth, in the true paines of Hell, but are as farre from that, as expecting is from suffering. The last I knowe not howe to call, but by the name of a damned, rather paine, then feare; which the wicked departed this life doe presentlie feels. For paine that is present, inflicteth rather torment, then feare; since feare is properlie the trembling at euill, before it come, and not the grieuing at it, when it is come. Of these foure impressions, yee see which I attribute vnto Christ, and which not. Despairing, or so much as doubting of his saluatiou, we cannot ascribe to him without euident impletie. And as for Christs suffering the
same

same paines which the damned soules in Hell doe, to my simple vnderstanding, it is rather a dycame then a doctrine to bee taught in the Church of Christ. Did they descende as great sense and anguish of paine to haue beene in Christs bodie or soule, as hell fire doth inflict to the damned, though that were a verie presumptuous and audacious position, yet is it not so impious, as when they affirme he suffered the selfsame which the damned do. For the damned haue many sorts of paines in hel, which by no means could fasten on Christs person; and since there be degrees of paine in hell euen for the damned; these curious teachers must shewe vs which of these degrees Christ suffered, & by what warrant of gods word, they aduantage the very paines of hell to the crosse of Christ.

To perswade them to hold fast the forme of wholsom words, which the holy ghost obserueth throughout the scriptures, I feare is but lost labor; hauing lighted on a strange doctrine, they are forced to vse strange speeches, such as no where are found in the word of truth, expressing mans redemption by the death and bloud of Christ; yet somewhat to rebate the heat of such as despise all other sufferings of Christ in respect of their hell-paines, I think it not amisse to examine the weight of those allegations and reasons that are brought to support their assertion. The proofs that are pretended for this opinion may be recalled to three principal heads, which are these, PREDICTIONS that Christ should suffer the paines of hell in soul; CAUSES, why he must suffer them; SIGNES, that he did suffer them. Predictions, that Christ should suffer the paines of hel are cited these, ^aThou wilt not leaue my soule in hell: and againe, ^bThe sorowes or streights of hell haue found me out, & beset me round. The causes why he must suffer them are enlarged by some into many branches, but may bee contracted into these two; THE PART that chiefly sinned in man; & the VVAGES due to man for sin. The WORKE of sin appeared first & most in the soul of Adam, & therfore in his satisfaction for sin, the soul of Christ, as they say, must properly & principally

The proofes which are brought that Christ suffered the paines of hell.

^a Psal. 16.

^b Psal. 18.

12 The full redemption of mankind,

suffer. The VVAGES of sin is expressely death both of soule and bodie, and therefore Christ, as our suretie and for our sinnes, must taste of both, (as they affirm) befoze he can discharge vs from both. Signs that he did suffer, were his AGONIE in the garden, when he sweat blood; which for a corporall death he would neuer haue don: & his COMPLAINT on the crosse, that he was forsaken of God, which (as they thinke) pꝛoueth he felt in soule a most fearefull iudgement of God, pꝛonounced against our sinnes. To euerie of these I will speake in order, that finding the weaknesse of their foundation, we maie the sooner see the lamenesse of their conclusion.

Predictions
that Christ
should suffer y
paines of hel.
August. epi. 99

To the first I might answer with Saint Austen; these wordes of Dauid specifie not anie suffering of hell paines on the crosse, but rather a descent to the place of hell. ^c That the Lord after his bodie was dead came to hell is certaine enough; for neither can the prophecie be contradicted, which said, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell; (which least anie man shoulde dare otherwise to interpret, *Peter* in the ACTS of the Apostles so expoundeth;) nor the wordes of *Peter* bee auoided, where hee saith that Christ brake the sorrowes of hell, the which could not possible take hold on him; who then but an infidell will denie that Christ was in hell? But wth antiquitie I will not vze them; if the text doe not refuse their exposition, I will release them this authoritie. That this saying of Dauid doth not import anie paines suffered while Christ liued, but some honour done to his soule after his death, maie thre waies be pꝛoued; by the wordes next pꝛæcedent, by the words next adioyned, and by the application which *Peter* maketh, when he cisteth this place. The wordes next befoze, (which are these, ^d My flesh shall rest in hope) note Christs buriall: and this is brought as a reason why Christs bodie should rest in hope, not on the crosse where it had no rest, but in the graue after he was dead; because thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell. If this respected any thing endured on the crosse, the holy ghost must haue saide in the person of Christ, because THOU HAST NOT LEFT MY SOVLE IN HEL: the paines, and
time

^e Psal. 16.

time were both past; but he speaketh in the future tence, & of future things, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell. And this was the hope in which Christ died. Now hope neuer tendeth to things past and known, but to that which is to come. This therefore toucheth something consequent after Christs death, which he hoped for when he died, and not anie paines suffered on the crosse, or in the garden, while he liued. The words answered infer the same. ^d Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, nor suffer thine holie one to see corruption. ^d Psal. 16. Both these being iointlie spoken of Christ, must both bee iointlie verified in Christ; therefore Christs soule must then not bee left in hell, when his flesh lying in the earth sawe no corruption. They may not bee seuered in performance, which the holie ghost knitte together in coherence. Lastlie Peter in plaine words saies, ^e David spake (this) of Christs resurrection. If this concerned his resurrection, then not his passion on the crosse; but after death, and before he rose, as his flesh sawe no corruption; So his soule was not left in hell. ^f Yes, God raised him vp (as Peter saith) breaking the sorrowes of death (or hell before him) of which it was impossible he should be held; ^g not that hee was euer in them, and so loosed them, as a man doth chaines, wherewith hee was once bound: but as the snares of hunters (saith Austen) are broken, *Ne teneant, non quia tenuerunt*: before they take hold, not after they haue taken holde. ^{99.}

For Christ was to rise againe, not as others before him were restozed to this present life; but as the full and first conquerour of death and hell, hee was to rise both in bodie and soule to eternall & celestiall glory; and therefore he brake, when he rose, the paines and powers of death and hell; that they should not preuaile for euer against him or his.

The other places of the Psalmes, haue as manie answers as they haue wordes; for euerie word is an answer. First David speaketh of himselfe, not of Christ; and Davids words to Christs person we may not refer at our pleasures, without farther and better warrant. Againe, David doth not ^h saie, the TORMENTS, but the SNARES, or STREIGHTS ^h Psal. 18. &

14 The full redemption of mankind,

of DEATH, as well as of HELL (for the worde Sheol in differētie signifieth both, if there bee none other circumstance to limite it to either; and David by the rules of divinitie was neuer here on earth in the true paines of the damned,) haue FOUND me out, or BESET, and besieged mee, but not oppressed, nor ouerwhelmed me. And if we take the name of HELL neuer so properlie, it is no inconuenience, that the gates of hell, I meane the craft and power of Satan, should hunt after the godlie hoere on earth, and seeke to entrap, euen Christ himselfe; but the true paines of hell, the wicked and desperate do not suffer in this life, much lesse the elect, least of all Christ. It is a iudgement following death, and maie no more be defended to bee here on earth, then the soies of heauen may be possessed in this life.

The causes
why Christ
must suffer the
paines of hel.

In the causes, why Christ should suffer the paines of hell, we may do well not to be too forward with the rules of reason: as well for that there is no proportion betwixt the person of Christ and vs, as also for that wee may not sit iudges with God, and prescribe when or howe his iustice should be satisfied. It is requisite in our selues to confesse that as both parts of man sinned in Adam, so the wages of sinne, which is euerlasting death, is due to both: and as the soule shoulde haue principallie entoled God, which is her life, if shee had persisted in obedience; so in falling from God, her losse, and smart, must of the twaine bee farre the greater; though the bodie shall not wante both grieuance and vengeance intolerable: but if wee stretch these rules to Christ, and subiect his person, as our suretie, to the verie SAME WAGES of sinne, which we should haue suffered, I knowe not howe in fewer wordes a man maie couch more grosse and open impiety. For we should haue bene WHOLLY SEVERED, IUSTLY HATED, and VITTERLY REIECTED from God, yea ETERNALLY CONDEMNED BODIE AND SOVLE to hell fire. May anye of these thinges be affirmed or imagined of Christ without hainous and horrible blasphemie? This was the wages of our sinne; must be

he endure THE SAME, befoze wee can bee redēted, or Gods iustice be satisfied: I hope no sound diuine will so conclude.

They will release eternall death to the dignitie of Christs person, but he was (as they saie) for the time to take the verie same death both in soule and bodie which wee should haue done; and which in vs should haue bene euerlasting. It is by their leaues, hell in the scriptures is an euerlasting torment; and therefore if the excellencie of Christs person exempt him from euerlasting miserie, that cleaerly quiteth him in bodie and soule from suffering hell. Againe, as sinne is the voluntarie defection of the soule from God, so hell is the TOTAL, if not FINAL EXCLUSION of the soule from all fellowship with God; lesse then the death of soule it cannot be. It is the wages of sinne, and therefore it must bee the death as well of the soule, as of the bodie; and this felie of the soule, because the soule of man is the principall agent in sinne. S. Iohn calleth hell the ⁱ second death. If then the soule of Christ suffered either hell, or the wages of our sinne; of necessitie for the time it must be dead. The ^k wages of sinne is death. If for the time Christs soule were dead, it had no communication with God, nor God with it, no more then death hath with life, or darkenes with light: It loſt for that time all faith and loue of God. For by faith the iust doe ^l liue: and he that ^m abideth in loue abideth in God. And since God is the life of the soule, Christ could not suffer the death of the soule, which is the wages of our sinne, no not for a day, or an houre, but he must be seuered from God, & forsaken of God. ⁿ *Mors anima fit cum eam deserit deus*, the death of the soule is when God forsaketh it. ^o *Mors est spiritus a deo deseri*, it is the death of the spirit to bee forsaken of God. ^p *Mors anima deus amissus*: the losse of God is the death of the soule. To lose God, or to be forsaken of God, is to haue no continuation, nor fellowship with God; the soule then that is dead, is excluded from the fauour, and grace; truth, and spirit of God; and if a nite bee so irreligious or impious, as once to affirme these things

Christ could not suffer the death of the soule, which was the chiefe wages of our sinne.

ⁱ Apocal. 2.

^k Rom. 6.

^l Galat. 3

^m 1. Iohn. 4.

^o August. de ciuitate dei lib. 13. cap. 2.

^p Idem de Trinitate lib. 4. c. 14

^p Idem de verbis domini super Mattheum. serm. 6.

16 The full redemption of mankind,

things of Christ, he may auouch, that Christs soule suffered the true wages of our sin; but if we abhorre these things as sacrilegious and monstrous absurdities, as I doubt not but we do; then certaineilie the soule of Christ could not bee dead, no not for an instant, and consequentlie the true wages of our sinne the soule of Christ could not receaue, no; suffer on the crosse, or in the garden: but wee must rather giue care to Peter, which saith, ⁹ Christ bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree; where he was quickened in spirite, though mortified in flesh, and strengthened in the inward man by the ioy proposed, for which hee sustained the crosse, and despised the shame thereof. Christ then took the burden of our sinnes from vs, and laied it on his owne shoulders, yea the Lorde ^r Laid vpon him the iniquity of vs all; but when it came to light vpon him, the verie iustice of God found great difference betwixt his person and ours; and so great, that what should haue condemned vs bodie and soule for euer, that could take no hold on him; but so far forth, as he did voluntarilie yeld himselfe to bee obedient vnto the death of the crosse, and in our flesh to quench the curse of the lawe pronounced against our sinnes; insomuch that neither sinne no; death were able to lease on his bodie, till he did of his owne accord resigne it into their handes. If we thinke it strange to see so much difference betwixt him and vs, we must remember, wee were sinnefull, he was innocent; we were defiled, hee was holle; we were hatefull, he was beloued; we were the seruants of sinne, and enemies vnto God, he was the Lord of life and of glorie; we were seuered and estranged from God both in bodie and soule, his verie flesh was personallie vnted and inseparablie ioined vnto God; besides that himselfe was the true and euersuing sonne of God. What maruell then if sinne, which should haue wrought in vs an eternall destruction both of body and soule, could not farther preuaile in him, but to the wounding of his flesh, and shedding of his blood for the full and full satisfaction of all our sinnes, even in the righteous and sincere iudgement of God? Though therefore

9 1. Pet. 2

5 Esay. 53.

THE SAME PART might, and did suffer in Christ, which sinned in man, I meane the soule; yet by no meanes could it receaue THE SAME WAGES which we should haue receiued. And since hell is the greatest vengeance, that God inflicteth for sinne, if Christs soule were free from anie, it must needs be cleared and acquitted from that, which is greatest, and most repugnant to the fulnesse of grace, truth and spirit; that dwelt in the humane soule of Christ: but hereof I shall haue occasion to speake after ward againe.

The signes that Christ suffered the paines of hell are left: and those are his agonie in the garden, and his complaint on the crosse, that he was forsaken. Of Christs agonie, since the scriptures haue not reuealed the right cause, it is curiositie to examen, presumption to determine, impossibilitie to conclude certaintie what was the true cause thereof. Howbest if we will needs coniecture at causes, wee must take heed, that with our obscure and private guesse, we do not contradict such plaine and euident places, as testifie the perfection and continuation of Christs humane nature with his diuine, and so wrong the person of our Saviour. This rule remembred (though I bee most willing to refraine the searching of that, which is concealed from vs) yet since they make this the most aduantage of their cause, that there can not be anie other reason assigned of Christs sorrow, besides his suffering the paines of hell: I will let you vnderstand how manie there might be besides that which they bring; and that theirs of all others, is least probable, if not altogether intolerable. I will offer you sixe causes, that might be, of Christs agonie; euerie one of them more likelie, and more godlie then this deuill of hell paines; others at their leasures maie thinke on moe, which I shall be content to heare. Those sixe are these.

CHRISTS SUBMISSION to the maiestie of God sitting in iudgement; The REJECTION of the Iewes; The DISPERSION of his Church; The LAMENTATION of mans sinne; The DEPRECATION of Gods wrath; The VOLUNTARY DEDICATION of his bloud to be shed for the sinnes of the world,

The signes of Christ did suffer the paines of hell, are his agonie in the garden, and his complaint on the crosse.

Sixe causes that might be of Christs agonie in his garden.

18 The full redemption of mankind;

and sanctificatiō of his person to offer his true & eternal sacrifice.

So great is the MAIESTY OF GOD, euerie where and at all times, but speciallie sitting in iudgment, and so farre excellling the capacitie of all his creatures, that no flesh liuing is able to appeare befoze him without feare and trembling, ¹The day of the Lord (whensoever hee riseth to iudge) is great and fearefull, and who shall indure it? When God gaue his lawe, which was but the rule of his iudgement, so terrible was the sight, that *Moses* said, I feare and tremble. ² My flesh (saith *Dauid* to God) trembleth for feare of thee, and I am afraide of thy iudgements. Since then it is a point not onelie confessed but byged, by the defenders of this new deuise, that *Christ* appeared here befoze the tribunall of God, to submit himselfe to his fathers pleasure; and the wordes of *Christ* in the twelfth of *Iohn* tend to that effect, where he saith, ³ Nowe (euen at hand) is the iudgement of the world. Now (euen shortly) shall the prince of this world be cast out, and if I were lift vp from the earth, I will draw all vnto me: whye might not the humane nature of *Christ* tremble befoze the maiestie of that iudge, whose glorie the Seraphins in heauen doe not behold without yealing their faces? whereby *Christ* teacheth vs not to presse into Gods presence, whiles wee are loden with sin, but in much feare and trembling; since he would not appeare befoze God to take our sinnes on him, but in this agonie.

The REJECTION OF THE IEVVES might be another cause of his agonie. ⁴ He wept ouer their cittie, when he beheld it, and remembred the subuersion of it; how woulde he then be grieued when he foresawe the finall refection of y^e whole nation; and his blood to be laid on them and their children for euer: for their sakes *Moses* desired ⁵ To bee wiped out of Gods booke, and *Paule* ⁶ could haue wished himselfe to be separated from *Christ* for his brethren the Israelites. If the seruants of *Christ* had so great heauinesse and sorrow in their hearts for their kinsmen according to the flesh; what agonie must it needes byede in their king, and *Messias*, in whome were the bowels of mercie and pittie, to see the wicked rage

¹ *Isa. 2*

² *Hebre. 12*
³ *Psalm. 119*

⁴ *Iohn. 12*

⁵ *Esay. 6*

The reprobati
on of y^e Iewes,
⁶ *Luke. 19*

⁷ *Exod. 32*
⁸ *Rom. 9*

of the people kindling Gods fearefull vengeance against themselves, and their offpying by putting him to a most cruell and shamefull death, that came to redēcie them from sin and death? This cause is obserued by Ambrose, Hierom, Augustine and Bede. *Nec illud distat à vero, si tristis erat pro persecutoribus*: neither is that dissonant from truth (saith Ambrose) if he were heauy (in soule) for his persecutors, whom hee knewe should dearelie pay for their sacrilegious putting him to death. Hee was not then afraide to die, but hee was loath to haue them though they were euill, to perish; least his passion should bee their destruction, which hee meant for the saluation of all. Christ's soule was not heauie (saith Ierom and Bede) for any feare of his passio, but for that most vnhappy Judas, for the scandall of all his Apostles, for the reiection of the Iewes, and subuersion of wretched Ierusalem. And Austen, If wee saie the Lorde was sorrowfull (for the Iewes) when his passion dre we neere, where they would commit so haynous a sinne, *non incongruè nos dicere existimo*, I think we speake not without reason.

c Ambros. in *Lucam. lib. 10. de tristitia & dolore Christi.*

d Hieron. in *Matth. cap. 26*
d Beda in *Matth. cap. 26.*

e August. in *Psal. 87.*

If respect of his persecutors could thus agonize him, what could the regard of his own followers doe? how did the weaknesse of his owne disciples afflicke him, when the wilfulnesse of his enemies did so prepaile with him? Hee warned his disciples of the danger, and they vaunted of their strength; he willed them to praie, and they slept; and when he was apprehended they did euerie one forsake him; yea the stoutest of them did plainelie forsweare him: Hee might therefore suste be griued with their infirmitie, and earnestlie praie for their securitie. His tender care of them, and earnest praier for them appeareth in the 17. of Iohn, euen as hee entered into the garden; hee called vpon them to watch and praie, that they entred not into temptation. *Dormiunt* (saith Ambrose) *& nesciunt dolere pro quibus Christus dolebat*: the Disciples slept, and cannot tel how to sorrow, for whom Christ sorrowed. *Tristis erat non pro sua passione, sed pro nostra dispersione. Tristis erat, quia nos paruos relinquebat.* Hee was sorrowfull

The dispersion of his church.

f Luke. 22

g *Ibidem.*
h Ambros. in *Lucam. lib. 10. de tristitia & dolore Christi.*

not for his owne suffering, but for our dispersing. He was grieved because hee left vs yong and weak. Hilarie in his tenth booke *de Trinitate*, largely pursueth this occasion of Christs agonie; & concludeth: *Non ergo sibi tristis erat, neq; sibi orat, sed illis, quos monet orare per vigiles*: Christ is not sorrowfull for himself, nor praieth for himself; but for those who he warneth to watch and pray. And for their sakes he saith, the Angell was sent to comfort Christ, that hee should take no longer griefe and feare for his Disciples. The Angell being sent to protect the Apostles, and the Lord receiuing comfort thereby *Nepro his tristis esset; iam sine tristitia metu ait, dormite & requiescite*: That he should no longer grieue for them, beginneth nowe to be without griefe and feare, and saith to them, sleepe now, and take your rest. *Nam qui nobis tristis est, id est, propter nos tristis est, necesse est ut propter nos sit comfortatus; & nobis*; for he that was sorrowfull for our sakes, and in our behalfe, must of force be comforted for vs, and to our vse.

¹ Hilarius de
Trinitate, lib 10.

² Ibidem.

³ Ibidem.

His sorrow for
our sinne.

The desire and care Christ had to see his kept safe from the rage of Satan, leadeth me to the fourth cause of Christs agonie. For if Christ were so sad for our infirmitie, how sorrowfull then was he for our iniquitie, whereby we doe not onely laie our selues open to danger, but euen wound our selues to death and destruction: Well saith Ambrose of this matter: *Mihi compatitur, mihi tristis est, mihi dolet. Ergo pro me, & in me doluit, qui pro se nihil habuit, quod doleret. Doleat igitur domine Iesu, non tua, sed mea vulnera, non tuam mortem, sed nostram infirmitatem*. Christ is affected for mee, sadde for mee, and greeued for mee. Hee sorroweth for mee, and in mee, who had nothing in himselfe to bee sorowed for. Thou grieuest Lord Iesu, not at thine owne wounds, but at mine; not for thy death, but for my weaknesse. Inward sorrow for sinne is preciselie requisite in all remission of sinnes. To sinne and not to be soyle for it, is first to displease; and then to despise God. Whetherefore it is not possible to appease Gods wrath once prouoked, but with earnest and heartie sorrowe that euer we offended. When as corruption is the mother, and
plea

¹ Ambrose de fide
lib. 2. cap. 3.

pleasure is the life of sinne: so the inward affliction and contrition of the soule in all the godlie, is the death of sinne. And since we are neither willing, nor able to sorrow sufficientlie for our sinnes, why might not the son of God, when hee tooke vpon him the purgation of our sins in his own person, take likewise vnto him that inward & earnest sorrow for our sins, which neuer creature befoze him, or besides him did, or could expresse: ^m Godly sorrow causeth (in vs) repentance vnto saluation; and a ⁿ troubled spirit is a sacrifice vnto God. Of this kind of sorrow to supplie the weaknes and want of true repentance in vs all, and to teach vs heartilie to lament our sins, the more wee attribute vnto the soule of our Saviour, the more sufficient euerie way we make his satisfaction for sin, that did not onelic render recompence by his life, and suffer vengeance by his death for our sins, but so depelie sorrowed for them that in his agonie, aboue nature, he sweate blood after a strange and marueilous maner.

D
2. Cor. 7.
Psal. 51.

The first cause of Christs agonie, might be the cup of gods wrath, tempered and made readie for the sinnes of men. In the hand of the Lorde is a cuppe (saith Dauid) it is mixed full, the wine thereof is redde; all the wicked of the earth shall wring and drinke the dregges thereof. In this cuppe are all manner of plagues and punishments for sinne, as well spirituall; as corporall; eternall, as temporall. The mixture of which cuppe Christ perfectlie knowing; and carefullie shunning the dregges thereof, earnestlie prayed this cuppe might passe from him. I knowe diuers men haue diuerslie expounded these wordes of Christ, some there by collecting two willes shewed in Christ, a diuine and humane, the one submitting it selfe to the other: some noting a difference betwixt the unwillingnesse of our flesh, and readinesse of the spirit, euen in the manhoode of Christ: some also thinking that Christ corrected and reuoked his petition; suddenly slip from him, by the vehemencie of griefe, which tooke from him the present remembrance of gods heauenly decree. In this varietie of iudgements, to refuse

The deprecation of Gods wrath.
Psal. 75

22 The full redemption of man kind,

none that agreeth any way with the rules of truth, Christ might behold thre things in the cuppe of Gods wrath, and by his praier accordingly decline them; to wit, eternal malediction, corporall castigation aboue his strength, and the separation of his bodie by death from the frustration of God.

Christ might pray against the eternal malediction of our sinnes.

¶ Heb. 5.

¶ Theodoret in c. 5. epist. ad Heb.

What was due to our sinnes Christ could not be ignorant; and as he became man to quicken our souls that were dead, not to kill his owne; and to bring vs to God, not to seuer himselfe from God: so knowing what our sinnes deserued, he might intentuelie pray to haue That cup passe from him; which was prepared for vs; & was heard in that he declined or feared. ¶ Christ (saith Paule) in the dayes of his flesh did offer vp praier and supplications to him, that was able to saue him from death, and was heard ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνλαλείας, for the reuerence had of him; so; so Chrysostome, Theodoret, Oecumenius and others not vnlearned (as I thinke) in the Greeke tongue doe interpret the worde; or as others delight rather to say: He was heard in that he feared; ἐνλαλεία signifying feare and care, as wel as reuerence. ¶ Paule meaneth that praier (saith Theodoret) which CHRIST made before his passion, when he said, Father if it be possible let this cup passe from me. And indeed but in the garden, Christ neuer prayed with strong cries and teares to be saued from death, that we read in the scriptures: and He was heard (saith the Apostle) in that he feared or shunned. From the death of the crosse hee was not saued, that therfore was not the effect of his praier; for he was heard in that hee asked. He desired therfore to be saued from ETERNALL death, and that tye cup of Gods euerlasting malediction might passe from him, and in that he was heard.

[At least then (wil they say) Christ feared euerlasting death, against which he instantlie prayed with strōg cries & tears.] The number of our sinnes, and power of Gods wrath hee coulde not chuse but see, being ordained the sauiour of the world, to beare the one, and appeale the other; and therefore if we grant that the sight of both, did for the time somewhat astonish the humane nature of Christ, aduisedly considering the

the waight of both, I see no great inconuenience therein, so long as they impressed nothing in the soule of Christ, but a religious feare to sorrow for the one, and to pray against the other. But distrust of his owne saluation, or doubt of Gods displeasure against himselfe, we cannot so much as imagine in Christ, without euident want of grace, and losse of Faith; which we may not attribute to Christs person, no not for an instant. It is weakenesse of faith in vs to feare, or forget the promises of God, when the conscience of sinne accuseth vs. What then will it be for the soule of Christ, after so manie promises and oathes made by God, to annoint and send the Saviour of the world, after so manie cleere and full assurances of Gods loue and fauour towards his person, to stagger at the certaintie of Gods counsell, at the light of his owne knowledge, and at the truth of his fathers voice so often denounced, and confirmed with thunder from heauen? I re-
fraine to speake what wrong it is, to put either doubtfulness, or forgetfulnesse of these things in any part of Christs humane nature.

[Why then did hee praye that the cup might passe from him? he had no need to pray for himself, but onely for vs, who then suffered with him, and in him. On vs it might haue traied being seuered from him, as the full wages of our sin: against him it could not preuaile, because nothing could befall him either against his will, or vnsit for the sonne of God. Therefore the force and effect of his praier chiefly concerned vs, Being then comprised in his bodie, in which wee were crucified, buried, and raised, together with him. And touching himselfe, albeit the innocencie of his cause, the holinesse of his life, the merit of his obedience, the aboundance of his spirit, the loue of his father, and brittle of his person, did most sufficientlie gard him from all danger, and doubt of eternal death; yet to thew the perfection of his humilitie, he woulde not suffer his humane nature to requyre it of right, but prostrate on the earth besought his Father, That cuppe might
passe.

Christ praied
as the heade of
his bodie, and
so one person
with his mem-
bers.

Galath. 2.
Rom. 6.
Colof. 3.

passe from him, and was heard in that he shunned, or auoided. For though God were long before resolved to accept the death and blood of his sonne for the sinnes of the world; yet by this meanes Christ did see howe deere God loued him, that for his sake, and at his request releas'd the iust vengeance of mans sinne, & took the cup of eternall malediction not from him onlie, but from vs all at his mediation: howbeit to the w^{ch} the confidence he had in his father, and to bying his obedience to the highest degree that might be; hee did after his religious dislike of that cup, which wee had deseru'd, simplie and wholie submit himselfe to his fathers pleasure, without ante condition or exception, in saying to his father;

Matth. 26

Not as I will, but as thou wilt: Not thereby striking any terror of hell into the sence of his flesh, as some would haue it; but fully resting on his fathers will and godnesse towardes him, as in the surest haue of his hope, and our helpe, against all the power of death and hell.

Christ might desire the punishment of our sinnes to be proportioned to the strength of his humane flesh.

A second thing which Christ might iustlie feare, and earnestly praye against, (though his soule were neuer so safe,) was the power of Gods wrath to be executed on his bodie, vlesse it pleased God to lighten the burden of mans sinne. For God was armed with infinite vengeance to afflict and punish the bodie, aboue that the humane flesh of Christ was able to endure. Since therefore Christ was not or elie with mekenesse to beare, but with al willingnes to offer to abide the hand of God laid vpon him, by what meanes soeuer; hee might pray that the cup of his passion might be proportioned to the strength of his flesh, which was but weake in respect of Gods power; and therein also he was heard. For the cup which his father gaue him to drinke by the hands of the wicked, did passe from him, without oppressing his patience, or shaking his obedience.

Christ might pray against death, not as weaker but as perfecter then others,

Thirdlie Christ might feare his verie passion; not as weaker in courage then martyrs or malefactors, but as perfecter in nature then either of them. The more we enioie the presence

presence of God in soule or in bodie; the greater grieffe it will be, and must be to lacke the sense he reof, euen for a short time. The flesh of Christ then, which had not onely a personall coniunction, but also a wonderfull fruition of God above all men living, might well be loath to leaue the same; and yeld to death, not as timorous through infirmity, but as desirous in pietie to haue that sente and feeling of Gods presence, which not onely the soules, but also the bodies of his Saintes shall hereafter entere; and which Christ had here on earth in greater measure, then we can expresse; as being personallie vniuersed to the diuine nature, though as yet not glorified with immortalitye.

And where some say, it had bene in Christ a shamefull nicenesse to be so afflicted with the feare of his passion; albeit S. Augustine saie well: *Non est ullo modo dubitandum, non eum animi infirmitate, sed potestate turbatum*; We may by no meanes doubt that Christ was troubled not for any weakenesse of hart, but through (his owne) power; yet Cyril granteth that Christ as a man abhorred and feared death, and addeth that except he had voluntarily shewed our feare in himselfe, and quenched it, we had neuer bene freed from it. *Omnia Christus perpessus est, ut nos ab omnibus liberaret. Sicut igitur nisi mortuus esset, mors non exstingueretur. sic nisi tenuisset, non essetis nos à metu liberati: nisi tenuisset non cessasset dolores nostri.* Christ suffered all, that he might free vs from al. As therefore except he had died, death had not bene conquered; so vnlesse he had feared, we had not bene deliuered from feare; and if he had not sorrowed, our sorrowes could not haue ceased. And in like manner shalt thou finde all the passions of (our) flesh, to haue bene stirred in Christ, but without sinne, that being stirred they might be repressed, by the power of the godheade dwelling in him; and our nature by that meanes reduced to a better temper.

Ambrose in other wordes saie th, as much. *Sequestrata delectatione diuinitatis aeternae, et ad hunc meae infirmitatis afficitur. Suscepit enim tristitiam meam, ut mihi suam letitiam largiretur.*

August. tra. 7. 60. in Iohannem.
Christ cured our infirmities in his owne person.

Cyrl. thesam. lib. 10. cap. 3.

Ambrosius in Lucam lib. 10. de tristitia dolere & iudicio

vestigis nostris descendit. usque admortis arumnam, ut nos suis vestigijs renouaret ad vitam. Debit ergo & dolorem suscipere, ut vinceret tristitiam, non excluderet; & nos disceremus in Christo, quemadmodum futurae mortis aestitiam vinceremus. And so he concludeth. Hic alto operatur effectu, ut quia in carne sua, peccata nostra perimebat, merorem quoque animae nostrae, siue anima merore aboleret. Laying aside the delight of his æternall deitie, (Christ) is affected with the tediousnesse of my infirmity, and dejected himselfe to feele the grieffe of death as we doe, that by following his steps he might reduce vs to life: hee was therefore to admit sorrowe that he might conquer sorrowe, and not keepe it off; and wee to learne in Christ howe we should overcome the feare of death approaching. (In his agonie) hee wrought with a deepe effect, that because in his flesh hee killed our sinnes, he might also with the sorrow of his soule extinguish the sorrowe of our soules. So the sorrowe and feare of death, which it pleased our sauour to feele in our nature came not for want of strength; but of purpose to quench and abolish those affections and passions in vs, that the faithfull for ever might bee freed from them, through his grace working in their hearts: And therefore we haue no cause to excuse, much lesse to reproch Christs weakenesse, but rather to admire his power, and praise his mercie, that would submit himselfe to these infirmities of our nature, thereby to cure them in vs, and to strengthen vs against them; and to make vs partakers of his wonderfull courage, and patience, the steps whereof we may daile find, not in martyrs onelie, but in all his members, when they are tried with anie kinde of outward or inward affliction.

We must prefer Christs suffering before all martyrs, not for his paines, but for his patience.

Howbeit, I may not omit, how great an oversight it is to conclude, that Christ, if he feared death in his agony, was far feebler then martyrs which tofullie die; yea, then malefactors which oftentimes go to their death verie resolutely. The desperation of the wicked which haue neither feare nor care of God, till they feele the force of his wrath in hell fire, is no fit comparison.

comparison for the sonne of God, no more then the sinke of Anne is to sweeten the fountaine of grace; I will therefore skippe that over with silence. But if death bee not fearefull to the seruants of Christ, as indeede it is not, they are the more bound to their Lord and master, who in his owne person to make the waie easie for them, with the losse of his life disarmed death for euer, and brake the chaines in sunder wherewith death and hell were coupled together. For Christ was the first that by seuering death from the terror and power of hell, made the stroke of death contemptible to all the godlie; which otherwise was and would haue bene the harbinger of hell. So that when death presented it selfe to the sight of our sauiour purposing to redeeme the world, it came so fast clasped with hell; that none but the sonne of God could dissolve the band, wherewith they were linked. And therefore Christ had far greater cause then anie of his members, to feare; and with earnest praier to decline the taile of death, which did wound both bodie and soule with euerlasting destruction, if he did not take awaie the sting thereof; and by his sundring the one from the other, (which was the hope of all his saints, before he died, and faith of al the godlie since) death was and is to all beleeuers no cause of feare, but rest from their labors, and passage to a better life. The feare then which Christ had and shewed of death, was either the curing of our infirmities in his flesh; or the breaking the knot betwixt death and hell, which none but he was able to doe; or the mitigating of Gods anger, which might be executed on his bodie, or lastlie the desire hee had to continue the feeling and enioying of Gods presence, and coherence with bodie and soule, in the vnitie of his person: and if in anie of these wee charge Christ with nicenesse, wee knowe not what we saie, except we will bee guiltie in a worse issue, which I perswade my selfe was no part of their meaning, that first broched this matter.

The last cause of Christs agony might be the sanctifying of himselfe to praie for transgressors, and the voluntarie dedicating

Christ might by his agony voluntarie dedicate his

28 The full redemption of mankind,

bloud to mans
redemption.

* Hilari, lib. 10
de trinitate.

† August. in
Psalm. 93.

* Prosper sen-
sent. ex August.
sent. 68.

† Bede in Luc.
cap. 22.

cating of his bloud to bee shed for the redemption of man-
kind: for where some contecture Christ did sweate bloud
for feare, Hilarie plainelie denieth it; and saith, * *Sudo-
rem nemo audebit infirmitati deputare; quia & contra naturam
est sudare sanguinem, nec infirmitas est, quod potestas, non secun-
dam nature consuetudinem, gessit.* No man should dare attri-
bute (Christ's bloud) sweate to infirmitie, because it is against
nature to sweate bloud, and can bee no weakenes; which power
did aboue the course of nature. Austen maketh it a significati-
on of the martyrs bloud, that should willingly bee shedde
throughout the church for the testimonie of the truth. † *Ideo
totocorpore sanguine sudavit, quasi in corpore suo, id est Ecclesia,
Martyrum sanguinem ostendit.* Christ sweate bloud along all his
bodie, to this ende, that he might shew the bloud of martyrs in
his bodie, which is the church. Prosper agreeth with S. Augu-
stine in iudgement and saith. † *Orans cum sudore sanguineo do-
minus Iesus, significabat de toto corpore, quod est Ecclesia, ema-
naturas martyrum passiones.* The Lords Iesus, praying with a
bloody sweate, signified the sufferings of the martyrs that should
be in his whole body which is the church. Bede thereby noteth
that Christs prayer made for his Apostles was heard; and
that by his bloud he should not onely redreffe the faultie of
his disciples, but quicken the whole earth being dead in these
sinnes. † *Nemo sudorem hunc infirmitati deputet, sed intelligat
per irrigatam sacratamque eius sanguine terram, non sibi, qui no-
uerat, sed nobis aperti declaratum, quod effectum sue precis iam
obtineret, ut fidem discipulorum, quam terrena adhuc fragilitas
arguebat, suo sanguine purgaret, & quocquidilla scandali de eius
morte pertulisset, hoc totum ipse moriens deleteret, immo uniuersum
late terrarum orbem peccatis mortuum suam innoxia morte cale-
stem resuscitaret ad vitam.* Let no man attribute Christs bloudie
sweate to infirmitie; but rather learue that by sprinkling and hal-
lowing the earth with his bloud, it was declared, not to him who
knewe it, but vnto vs, that he had obtained the effect of his pray-
er, with his bloud to purge the faith of his Disciples, which earth

lie frailtie did weaken, and whatsoeuer offence (the earth) had taken at his death, al that he dying should abolish, yea with his innocent death he should raise vnto an heauenlie life the whole world then dead in their finnes. Bernard taketh hold on S. Pauls wordes, where hee calleth Chyffes sweate by the name of teares: and saith, *Ventum est adorationem, & vsque tertio factus in Agonia orabat; ubi quidem non solis oculis, sed quasi palmarum ser omnibus membris flevisse videtur, vt toti corporis eius, quod est ecclesia, totius corporis lacrymis purgaretur.* Christ came to praier, and being in an agony he praied thrise: where he seemed to weepe, not onelie with his eies, but with all the parts of his body; that the whole body of his Churcli might bee purged with the teares of his whole body.

S. Paul alleageth the cries and teares of Chyff in the garden as a prooffe of his priesthoo, & saith, that not onlie ^b He offered praier & supplications, which was one part of hy priests office, where in hee was heard for the reuerence had of him: But also *τελειωθείς*, being sanctified, to offer sacrifice, (so, so the word doth often signifie,) or else consummated by the offering of himselfe on the crosse, (which was the other part of his priestlie function) was made authour of eternall saluation to all that obey him, being thus called and allowed of God to bee an high priest after the order of Melchizedec. Chyff ready to enter the garden saith, *Pro eis sanctifico meipsum*, for their sakes I sanctifie my selfe: and sanctification properly belonged to the priestes person, before hee might appeare in Gods presence to offer for the sinnes of the people; and by the rite of Moses lawe, the priestes, when they were sanctified vnto God, had their bodies ^d sprinkled with the bloud of their sacrifice from top to toe. Chyff then being the trash of all their figures as well in the sanctification, as oblation of himselfe; might miracoulisly sprinkle his whole bodie with his own bloud; (so it was aboue nature as Hilarie noteth) ^e to consecrate his person, as approved of God, to be the true priest after the order of Melchizedec, and voluntarisly dedicate his bloud to

Bernard in ramis
mon. 3.

^b Hebe. 5;

Or sanctifie his
person to offer
the true sacri-
fice for sinne,

^c John. 17

^d Exod. 29;

be shed for the remission of our sinnes, which hee did of his owne accord yecld, to be disposed of at his fathers pleasure, before the Jewes or Gentiles wounded his bodie, that his whole passion which followed, might bee a willing sacrifice, and no forced violence by the handes or weapons of the wicked. Christes agonie then being alleaged by the Apostle to demonstrate Christes priesthoo, must not rise from the terror of his own death, but rather from the vehemencie of his prayer for vs, that it might bee aswell an intercession for sinners, as a sanctification of himselfe, to offer the sacrifice auailable for the sinnes of the world. To which if anie will adde the signification of the martyrs blood, which Austen speaketh of, as if Christ in the garden did not onelic present his owne blood to be the true propitiation of our sinnes, but also the blood of his martyrs, to make their death acceptable to God, that willingly laide downe their liues for the witness of his truth; I can be well content to admit that exposition, considering Christ must offer both the liues and deathes of all his saintes to God his father, before they can be holie or precious in his sight.

The suffering
of hell paines
not y cause of
Christes agony.

^cHebre. 10

¹⁰Ioh. 11.

But since Christes feare (as they expound the Apostles words Hebre. 5.) is made the groundworke of this concept, let vs see whether their owne foundation will not ouerthrowe their owne building. The paines of hell, did Christ when hee prayed in the garden, feare them or no? if hee did not feare them, hee did not feele them; for they are fearefull: yea the verie expectation of them is verie dreadful, as the Apostle saith Hebre. 10; and if he feared them not, howe could they bee the cause of his agonie, which these men so stidie maintaine? If he feared them, he was freed from them, as they themselues interpret the worde *εὐλαβεία*, for hee was heard in that he feared. His prayer was to haue that cup passe from him, and God neuer denied what soeuer he asked. ^f I know (saith Christ to his father) that thou hearest me alwaies. Whence they conclude, he feared hell paines, thence I infer
be

hee suffered them not. for being deliuered from the feare of hell approaching, he could not be left vnder the burden of hell abiding. Again, if the suffering of hell were the cause of Christs agony, the cause continuing, the effect could not cease. But his agonie ended in the garden; how then could the paines of hell endure on the crosse, and be lengthened almost to the end of his life? Ierome saith vpon these wordes of Christ to his disciples, [Arise let vs go:] & least they finde vs, as though we were fearefull, and drawing backe, let vs of our owne accorde goe towards them; *ut confidentiam, & gaudium passuri videant*; that they may see the confidence and gladnesse (of Christ) going to his passion.

⁸ Hieron. in
Matth. ca. 26.

The continuance of Christs agonie they proue by his complaint on the crosse, where not long before he yielded vpon his spirit, he cried; ^h My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? and these words, they saie, do plainelie conuince, that Christ felt himselfe forsaken of God, and that this was the true cause of his agonie, what soeuer pretences are inuented by others to excuse, or colour his feare. Indeeede this place must beare the burden of the whole frame; for the rest are onlie signes of sorrowe and zeale; the scriptures not expressing the cause; but here are manifest wordes if wee misseke not their reference. ⁱ My father is greater then I am, were words as cleare as daie light: but the referring that to the diuine which hee spake of his humane nature, by the Arrian heresse. My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken mee; are not so plaine. for the saints of God haue often complained vnto God that they were forsaken of him, when he withdrew netther his fauour, grace, nor spirit from them; but onlie withheld his helpe or comfozt for the time, to make them more earnest to seeke and lie to him. But were they neuer so pregnant, if we applie them to the wrong part, which God neuer forsooke, we may incurre as grosse an error as euer did Arius. And yet if we frame them to the bittermost, they will neuer proue that Christ on the crosse suffered the paines of

^h Matth. 27.

What is meant by Christs complaint on the crosse that he was forsaken.

ⁱ Iohn. 14.

hell.

hell. For if we should grant, which were diuinely impietie to thinke, that God forsooke Chyffes soule as hereticke, as euer hee did anie of the wicked heere on earth, Cain, Saul, Judas not excepted; yet that doth not conclude he suffered the true paines of hell. For those in this life did not suffer as much, as their soules doe now in hell, make their case neuer so desperate. And therefore I maruaile howe wise men were bewitched with the sound of these wordes, which hence resolved that out of all question, Christ suffered the paines of the damned in hell, where as the wordes inferre no such thing, though we stretch them neuer so farre. For in spite of our hearts, before we can bring that conclusion to follow, this must be the iointure of our reason. All men any way forsaken of God in this life are in the true paines of hell: Christ was forsaken of God, ergo he was in the true paines of hell. Now howe fond, false, and absurd the generall assertion is, that all anie way forsaken of God, are in the true paines of hell, to men of learning and religion needeth no long discourse. Cain was a^k runnagate and accursed by Gods mouth; Esau was a^l prophane person, and^m hated of God; Saul was verie desperate when he sought to the witch, for God wasⁿ departed from him; and become his enemy; Judas was the^o sonne of perdition, and a^p diuell: yea manie were starke mad, and possessed with diuels; and yet none of them in those verie tormentes, which are reserued for the damned in hell. The^q Gentiles as Paul saith, were strangers from the life of God, and had^r no hope, and were without God in the world, yet were they not in the paines of hell, here on earth. But I hope we be not so far drowned in the depth of hell, that wee will for our fanstie range the sonne of God, and sauiour of the world, in this rabble of wicked and desperate castaways; and yet though men could be so dangerouslie deuoted to their dreames, this proueth not their purpose. Desperation they may stumble at, if they will presse the words without anie difference between the dereliction of Gods saintes and his enemies; but toleration

The wicked are here forsaken, and yet not in hell.

^k Genes. 4

^l Hebre. 12

^m Rom. 9.

ⁿ 1 Samuel 28

^o Iohn. 17

^p Iohn. 6

^q Ephes. 4. 18

^r Ephes. 2. 12.

tion of hell paines these words will never conclude, vnlesse we make hell to be no iudgement, noꝝ punishment after this life, but onelie a terroꝝ and horroꝝ of conscience, such as pur- saeth the wicked here in reuenge of their sinnes.

When the godlie complaine, as often they do in the scrip- tures, that they were forsaken of God, it is not onlie a plaine absurditie, but a grosse impletie to conclude of their words, that they then suffered the verie paines of the damned in hell. For example, Sion, which is the whole church of God, saith in the prophet Esay, ^f the Lorde hath forsaken me: and God himselfe assureth her words to be true, ^e For a while I forsooke thee, for a moment in mine anger, I hid my face from thee: Was the whole church for that time in the true paines of hell: David saith of himselfe, ^h Thou hast reiected and abhorred, thou hast beene angrie with thine annointed. Was David then in the verie paines of the damned: of his whole realme he saith; ⁱ O God thou hast cast vs off, and beene angry with vs. Did all the people then suffer the torments of hell: reiecting and abhorring are wordes of greater dislike, and moze detestation, then forsaking; and yet they infer not the paines of hell. While then doe wee so fondlie misconster the one, when we well inough vnderstande the other? Why stumble we at a strawe, when we canne step over a blocke? To be forsaken of God as the wicked are, is to be deuiued of his fauour, grace, and spirit: and yet they are not forth- with in hell. To be forsaken, as the godlie complaine they are, is to be boide of comfort, oꝝ destitute of helpe, when these enemies assault oꝝ afflict them, which is nothing nere the state of the damned. For as God is said to be present by his gifts and graces: so he hideth his face, oꝝ forsaketh vs, when he restraineth his eye from watching, his eare from hearing, oꝝ his hand from helping vs in the miseries and aduersities of this life.

How the godly are forsaken.

^f Esay 49.
^e Esay 54

^h Psalm 89

ⁱ Psalm 60

If I be thought partiall, let vs heare what the ancient and learned fathers purpofelie wꝛite of our sauiours complaine

34 The full redemption of mankind,

on the crosse; in whome I finde sundrie, and all godlie expostions, according with the truth of the scriptures, and no way bending or inclining to this late deasse of hell paines.

1. Diuers expofitions of the fathers, how Christ was forsaken on the crosse.

² Auguft. epifto-
la. 120.

² Idem in Psal-
mum 21.

^b Leo de passio.
ferm. 16.

^c Athanasius de
incarnat. Christi.

The first; that as Christ is our heade, and we his members in such sort toynd in one bodie with him, that hee suffereth in vs, and we in him; so were we not onlie crucified and buried, but also raised, and glorified in him, and with him; and therefore hee shewed and vttered manie things in his passion, which ought to be referred direalie to vs, and not to him, but as bearing our person, and speaking in our names.

My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken mee? ² *Hanc in se vocem transfigurauit Iesus, vocem corporis sui, hac est ecclesia.* This speech Christ transferred to himselfe, (saith *Austen*) being the speech of his body, which is the church. The church suffered then in him, when he suffered for the church, euen as hee suffered in the church, when the church suffered for him. And as we heard the voice of the church suffering in Christ, when he saide; my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me: so haue we heard the voice of Christ suffering in his church, when hee saide; *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou mee? And againe;* ² *quid voluit dicere dominus? non enim dereliquerat illū deus, cum ipse esset deus, atque filius dei. Quare dicitur, nisi quia nos ibieramus, nisi quia corpus Christi ecclesia?* Why would the Lord saie, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? God had not forsaken him, for so much as he was God, and the son of God. Why then was it said, but because we were there in him, & the church which was his bodie? ^b *Sub redemptorum suorum voce clamabat, deus meus, quare me dereliquisti,* In the name of his redeemed Christ saide, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me: ^c *Ex nostra persona verba illa proloquitur, non enim ipse à deo destitutus fuit, sed nos.* In our person Christ speaketh these wordes, for he was not forsaken of God, but we.

The second exposition of these words is, that Christes humane nature was not protected from the rage of the Jewes, but left without helpe in the power of his enemies, to bee
bled

used at their pleasures, which he calleth a kind of forsaking.

For God then seemeth to leaue vs, whē he doth not defend vs from the furte of our foes, which seeke our ouerthrow. ^d *Erat aliqua causa, eaque non parua, quare Christum de manibus Iudeorum non liberaret deus, eumque in potestate saeuientium; usque ad mortis exitum dereliqueret.* There was a cause, saith Augustine, and that no small cause, why God did not deliuer Christ out of the handes of the Iewes, but let him alone in the power of his pursuers, vntill he died. ^e *Vi homo loquitur meos circumferens metus, quod in periculis positi a domino descri nos putamus.* Christ speaketh as a man (saith Ambrose) bearing about him my feares, for y^e we, when we are in danger, think our selues forsaken of God. ^f *Ne mireris querimonias derelicti; cum scandalum crucis videas.* Maruaile not at Christes complaint that he was forsaken, when as thou seest how he was vsed on the crosse. ^g *Derelictus est Christus pro parte carnis.* Christ was forsaken in his passion as touching his flesh.

A third is, that Christes godhead together with his humane soule were then departing from his bodie, and leauing it vnto death. Tertullian, (*Deus*) *Filium dereliquit, cum hominem eius tradidit in mortē. Ita relinqui a patre, fuit mori filio.* God forsooke his sonne, in that he deliuered his humanity vnto death. So for the sonne to die, was to be forsaken of his father. Hilarie, ⁱ *Habes conquerentem se esse relictum ad mortem, quia homo est: ut intelligentia nostra sit, & homo mortuus, & deus regnans.* Thou heardest Christ complaine that hee was left vnto death, that we should conceiue he died as a man, he reigned as a God. And againe; ^k *Clamor ad deum, corporis vox est, recedentis a se verbi dei contestata dissidium: relinquitur, quia erat homo etiam morte peragendus.* Christes complaint vnto God, that hee was forsaken, is the voice of his body, testifying the separation of the diuine nature from it for a time. He is forsaken, because he was a man to be consummated by his death. Epiphanius saith, hee spake these words; ^l When he saw his deitie with his soule ready to depart from the person of his humanity & to forsake his body.

36 The full redemption of mankind,

4

A fourth is, that where God for sin had refused and forsaken man, euen from the fall of Adam, Christ now exalted on the tree, reconciled mankind vnto God, and slue hatred, making peace by his prayer betwixt God & man. *Cyrl: m* where Adam transgressed the diuine commaundement, mans nature was after a sort forsaken of God, and thereby subiected to a curse and death. These words of Christ therfore, *Erant soluentis manifeste derelictionem qua nobis acciderat, & quasi placantis in hoc patre; &c.* Were the manifest remouing of that derelictiō, which fel on vs, and as it were an appeasing his father, and procuring his fauor towards vs, as towards himself. *Basil: n* *Dicit hac doninus, primitia humana nature pro vniuersa.* The lord speaketh these words for all mankind, as being the first fruits of māns nature. **W**heretofore of his own person it is true that Athanasius saith, *o* *Neq; enim a patre derelinqui potuit, quia semper est in patre. & antequam hanc vocem ederet & postquam edidisset. Ecce enim dicente, cur me dereliquisti: ostendit pater se ut semper antea, ita tum quoq; in filio fuisse.* He could not be forsaken of his father, who was alwaies in his father, both before and after he spake these words. Behold as hee vttered these words (why hast thou forsaken me) the father shewed himselfe to be euen then in his sonne, as he was at all times before. For the earth feeling the weight of her Lord, straight wayes trembled, the vaile rent, the Sunne darkened, the stones claue, the dead rose.

m *Cyrl de reela*
scilicet ad reginas.

n *Basil. in Psal.*
31.

o *Athan. contra*
Arrianos. serm. 4.

5

The fifth, that Christ putteth vs in mind by these wordes to acknowledge the cause, why God doth often not heare our prayers, but in refusing our desires prouideth better for vs, then if we had our wils. *P* *Vox ista, quare me dereliquisti, doctrina est, nō querela. Nam cum in Christo dei & hominis una sit persona, nec ab eo potuerit relinqui, a quo non poterat separari, pro nobis trepidis & infirmis interrogat, cur caro pati metuens exaudita non fuerit.* This speach (saith Leo) My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, is an instruction, and no complaint: For where in Christ there is but one person of God and man, and he could not be forsaken of God, from whom he could not bee separated,

p *Leo de Psal.*
serm. 16.

pared, he asketh the question for vs that are fearefull & weak, why flesh fearing to suffer is not heard. ⁹ *Vnde ipsa vox non exauditi, magni est expositio sacramenti: quod nihil humano generi conferret redemptoris potestas, si quod petebat nostra obtineret infirmitas.* The verie wordes of him, that was not heard, open to vs a great mysterie, to witte, that the power of the redeemer could doe mankinde no good, if our infirmitie might obtaine what it woulde aske: Origen sayth: ¹ In respect of that, in which consisted the inuisible forme of God, Christ was forsaken of his father, where hee tooke the shape of a seruant, and came to the death of the Crosse, which amongst men was most shamefull. So that for Christ to become man, and to suffer on the Crosse, was to bee forsaken of God, in comparison of that glorie, which hee had with his Father before all worldes.

The last exposition is, that when the Jewes reproched Christ on the Crosse, as reiected of God, he with a loud voice, that all might hear, sang or cited the beginning of the 21. Psalm, wherein it was by the Prophet Dauid foretold, that the true Messias and sauour of the worlde should suffer all those wronges, and shames, which they had heaped on him: and thereby taught them; that they had gathered themselues together to do whatsoeuer the hand and counsaile of God had determined before to be done. ² The Lord (saith Ierom) hanging on the Crosse, vseth this verse, My God my God, why hast thou forsaken me; by which wee perceiue, that in the Crosse he sang the whole Psalm, as directly pertaining to his passio. ³ Christ spake these words (saith Chrysostom) that the Jewes might know hee honoured his father to the last breath, and that God was not hisemie (as they obiected:) for which cause he vsed the Prophet *Dauids* words, to verifie or fulfill the scripture of the old testament.

All these interpretations are sound, and stand well with the rules of christian pietie, without dishonouring the person, or disturbing the faith of Christ; therefore I cannot but maruel

If Christs soule
were forsaken,
he had neither
faith, hope, nor
loue.

What reason our late writers had to refuse them all, and de-
uise another exposition of their owne which imploteth not
onlie desperation in Christs soule, if wee presse the wordes,
and the dissolution of Christs person, but an evident con-
tradiction to all that Christ did, or saide on the crosse, or in
iudgement after the Iewes had once laide handes on him.
For if these wordes be referred to the soule of Christ, and im-
port a generall and true dereliction, which must be supposed,
before the paines of hell can thence be concluded; Christ for-
ling and confessing himselfe to bee forsaken of God, could
haue neither faith, nor hope. For he that beloueth, and hopeth
in God, cannot trulie saie, that God hath forsaken his soule;
he may complaine that God doth not deliuer him from dan-
gers and troubles assaulting him; which the weakenesse of
man thinketh a kinde of forsaking. * Mine enemies (saith
David) take counsell, saying, God hath forsaken him, pursue
him, there is none to deliuer him. But this is no forsaking of
the soule, so long as that part of man trusteth in God, which
is created chiefelie to enioie God. For we by faith, hope, and
loue, the soule of man enioieth God in this life; and hee that
enioieth God is not forsaken of God. Yea whosoener hopeth
in him, neither is nor euer shall be forsaken. † For hope doth
not confound, ‡ was there euer any confounded, that put his
trust in the Lorde? or who hath continued in his feare, and hath
beene forsaken? or whome did he euer despise that called vpon
him? Then if out of these wordes we will infer, that Christs
soule was truelie forsaken of God, it cannot bee auoided,
but this inwarde perswasion in Christ (that his soule was
forsaken) during from the time of his agonie in the garden,
till his complaint on the crosse (which was about 18. houres)
was manifest desperation: vnlesse wee saie Christ was de-
ceiued in so thinking, which is as great an errour on the o-
ther side. For if his faith, hope, and loue were still fixed on
God, and no waie decayed, he could with no trust saie, that
his soule was vtterlie forsaken.

† Psal. 71.

† Rom. 8.
‡ Ecclesi. 2

Againe, the soule that is forsaken of God must needs be separated from God. For he that cleaueth vnto the Lorde, is one spirit with him, & so not forsaken of him. If then Christs soule were seuered from God, it could haue no mutuall congruence, much lesse naturall coherence with God. There must bee a spirituall communion in grace, or else there can be no personall vntion in nature. As the soule doth communicate her effects to the bodie, with which shee is coupled: so must the deitie make the humane nature of Christ partaker of those graces and gifts, which mate come from the godhead, before we can trulye saie, that the one is personallie ioynd with the other. The participation and fruition of God is not in words or thoughtes, but in deedes and effects. In whom then the spirit of God dwelleth not, with his force and fruites, let him neuer deceiue his hart, that he hath any fellowship with God. Nowe in Christ was the fulnesse of Gods spirit and grace. God becaused not his spirit to him, but of his fulnesse we all haue receiued. So that if the fulnesse of grace failed in the soule of Christ, the vnitie of his person was vtterly dissolued. For without a communion, there can be no coniunctio of two natures in Christ. If there were an effectuall and full communion, there could be no reall nor generall dereliction. Inso much that the vertie flesh of Christ, though it were left vnto death; yet was it not vtterlie forsaken of the deitie, but preserved euen in the graue from corruption, and raised againe with greater perfection then before; besides the wonderfull conquest it had over death. Which plainelie proueth the Godheade was neuer separated from the bodie of Christ, though the soule for a time departed, that death and hell might bee destroyed. If the deitie did neuer forsake the bodie, no not in death, much lesse did it euer forsake the soule, which alwaies had an vnseparable coniunction, and vnseasable communion with the godhead of Christ.

• 1. Cor. 6.
If Christs soule were forsaken the vniõ of his two natures was dissolved.

^b Iohan. 16.

Lastlie, no sence could bee denied, moze repugnant and opposite

40 The full redemption of mankind;

Christ's words
& deeds proue
his soule was
not forsaken
of God.
c Mark. 14.

opposite to all that Christ saide or did after his agonie, then
this last found exposition, or rather dep:uation of his words.
To the high priest asking him whether he were Christ the son
of y blessed (God,) he answered 'I am; and ye shall see the son
of man sit at the right hande of the power of God, and come in
the cloudes of heauen. Christ was and must be farre from dis-
trusting or doubting that, which he resolutelie affirmeth shal
come to passe euen in the eyes of his enemies. When they
fastened him to the crosse hee saith, ^d Father, forgive them, they
know not what they do. Could he intreate and obtaine par-
don for others, that found him selfe to be forsaken of God?
To the thiefe that hung by him, and desired to be remembered
when he came to his kingdom, he answered, ^e Verilie, I saie
to thee, thou shalt this day bee with me in paradise. Could hee
giue paradise to others, with so great confidence, that couide
not then assure himselfe of Gods fauour, yea, as these men
will haue it, that was abandoned and forsaken of God? The
Centurion that had the charge to see him put to death, and
heard him speake these words, neuer conceiued that he was
relected or estranged from God, but contrariwise confessed;
^f Truelie this man was the sonne of God. Christ himselfe
& knowing all thinges that should come vnto him, saide to his
disciples; ^h Behold the houre is come, that ye shall be scattered,
and leaue me alone, but I am not alone, for the father is with me.
How if God were with him, when his disciples left him, as
he himselfe witnesseth, howe could his soule be forsaken of
God? of Christ crucified David saith (as Peter expoundeth
his wordes) ⁱ I alwaies beheld the Lord before me, euen at my
right hand, that I should not bee shaken. If Christ had all the
time of his passion the fauour of God so constant, and the
power of God so present, that hee couide not be so much as
moued or swaied to and fro, for so the wordes *ἵνα μὴ σα-
λευθῶ* doe; signifie, that I should not waue vp and downe, but
stand fixed and assured; howe could that parte of Christ, which
enioied so manifestlie the sight of Gods countenance, and
strength

^d Luke. 23.

^e Luke. 23.

^f Matth. 27.

^g Iohn. 18

^h Iohn. 16

ⁱ Acts. 2.

strength of Gods assistance, be forsaken or refused of God: And out of this complaint, that he was forsaken, if we inferre the paines of hell, wee conclude directlie against Christs wordes in the 16. psalme, *Non derelinques animam meam in inferno*, Thou wilt not forsake my soule in hell. Christs soule was not forsaken in hell; if then it were forsaken on the crosse, it is euident that there it suffered not hell, for in hell it was neuer forsaken. And therefore turne and winde the wordes of Christ which way they will or can, this exposition, which they fasten vnto them, is a manifest contradiction to all that Christ did or saide on the crosse, and namelie to that assertion of David, in the person of Christ, Thou wilt not forsake my soule in hell.

Then are there in the sacred scriptures neither anie predictions that Christ shoulde suffer the paines of hell in his soule here on earth; nor causes why he must suffer them; nor signes that he did suffer them; and consequentlie, what soeuer is pretended, no prooue that these sufferings must be added to the crosse of Christ, before the worke of our saluation can be perfect. And for my part, which moderation I wish in you all, What I reade in the word of God that I beleue, what I do not reade that I doe not beleue. In Gods causes wee make not easily leaue Gods words, and with a new kind of speach make way for a new kinde of faith. Wee must learne from God what to beleue, and not by correcting or inuerting his words teach him how to speake. Since therefore redemption and remission of sinnes are euerie where in the scriptures referred to the death and bloud of Christ, I dare not so much as thinke the wordes of the holie ghost in one of the greatest mysteries of our christian faith to be improper, or imperfect. And that you may the better perceaue how plainelie and fullie this doctrine is deliuered in the propheticall & apostolicall scriptures, I thinke it good to go forwardes with the effects of Christs crosse; by which it shall appeare howe sufficient the price of our redemption is, in the bloud of Christ, without

42 The full redemption of mankind,

and supple of hell paines to be suffered in y^e soule of Christ.

The effects of
Christ's crosse.

The effectes of Christs crosse though I might reckon manie, yet to keep my selfe within some compasse, I restraine to five chiefe bzanches: the MERITE of his suffering, which was INFINITE; the MANER of his offering, which was BLOVDY; The POWER of his DEATH, which was mighty; the COMFORT of his CROSSE which was NECESSARIE, & the GLORY of his RESVRRECTION which was heauenly. These five will direct vs not onely what to beleue, but what to refuse in the person and passion of our Saviour. I will therefore take them as they lie in order.

The merite of
Christ's passion
must be infinite
in two respects

The merite of Christs suffering must be simply infinite, that it may worke two things for vs; to wit, redceme vs from Sathan, and reconcile vs vnto God: cleere vs from hell, and bring vs to heauen; & in either respect it must be infinite. The wages of sinne is death, both of bodie and soule, here and for euer. With the Judge of the world is no vnrighteousnesse. He therefore punisheth no man, without cause, or aboue desert. Since the reuenge of each mans sinne is eternall, y^e is infinite in time; the waight of each mans sinne must needs be infinite, as being rewarded with euerlasting death. It may seeme much to carnal men, that God should requite sin with euer during reuenge; but if we set our selues bethinke our selues, what it is for earth and ashes to ware proud against God, & after so manifold & abundant blessings to cast off his yoke, & readily, yea greedily to prefer euerie vanitie and fanisie before his heauenlie truth, & glory; we shall presently perceiue how iust cause God hath infinitely to hate our vncleannes, & eternally to pursue the pride, contempt, & rebellion of wicked and willfull men against his diuine maiestie; howsoeuer we digest it, it is a thing determined with God, and no doubt balaced in his vpight and sincere iudgment. ^kThe soule that sinneth, that soule shal die. Death & life are both eternall, y^e is infinite in length, though not in weight; in durance, though not in degræ and sence of joy, or paine. Then in either respect

^aEzech. 18.

to counteruaile our deliuerance from hell, & our inheritance in heauen, the merit of Christs suffering must be infinite. An infinite purchase cannot be made, but with an infinite price.

For this infinite price whither shall we seeke: to the paines of hell, or to the powers of heauen? paines of hel are neither meritorious nor infinite. What thanks with God to be separated from God? and the soule being alienated from God, what other part of man can merite his fauor? If any man fall away, my soule shall haue no pleasure in him. Hel paines therefore are accursed, not accepted of God; and hee that suffereth them is hated, and no way beloved. Depart from me ye cursed into euerlasting fire. As they are not meritorious, no more are they infinite; I meane in waight; but they must euerlastingly be suffered, before they can be infinite. For not only diuels, but men of all sorts that suffer them, who cannot endure any infinite sence of paine. All creatures are finite both in force to do, & strength to suffer. Infinite is as much as God himself hath, & therefore God alone is infinite. So that neither hel, fire is of infinite force to punish, nor men nor angels of infinite strength to suffer, but the vengeance of sinne continueth for euer, by reason no creature is able to beare an infinite waight of punishment. Since then the paines of hel haue neither worth nor waight sufficient in themselves to satisfie the anger; & procure the fauor of God, we must seeke to heauen, euen to God himselfe, for the true ransom for our finnes, and redemption of our soules, which we nowhere find, but in the person of Christ Iesus, who being true God took our nature vnto him, and by the infinite price of his blood bought vs from the power of hel, & brought vs vnto God. For neither the vertues of Christs humane soule, though they were many; nor the sufferings of his flesh, though they were painful, are simply infinite, til we looke to his person, & then shall we find that God vouchsafed with his own blood to purchase his Church, & that we were reconciled to God by the death of his sonne when we were his enemies. Bernarde expressing the

Hell is not infinite, but onlie in time.

Hebre. 10.

Matth. 25.

Nothing infinite but only God.

The merite of Christ is infinite in respect of his person.

Acts. 20

Roman. 5.

44 The full redemption of mankind,

infinite merite of Chyestes death and passion saith. *P Incomprehensibilis (deus voluit) comprehendi; summus humiliari; potentissimus despicitur; pulcherrimus deformari; sapientissimus ut inuentum fieri; immortalis mori; ut compendio absoluam, deus fieri (voluit) vermiculus; quid excelsus deo? quid inferius vermiculo?*
 The incomprehensible (God would) be comprehended, the highest humbled, the most mighty despised, the most beautifull deformed, the most wise bee like a beatt; the inmortall (would) suffer death; to speake all in fewe wordes, God would become a Worme: what is higher then God? what is baser then a Worme? If betwene the Creator and the best of his creatures there be an infinite distance; what thinke yee then was there betwixt the throne of God in heauen, and the crosse of Chyest on earth: not an infinite distance: and so infinite that neither men nor Angels can comprehend it? The ground of our saluation then is the obedience, humility and charitie of the sonne of God, yeelding himselfe not onely to serue in our stead, but to die for our sinnes. For when he was equall with God in nature, power, and glory, hee refused not to take the shape of a seruant vpon him, and to humble himselfe to the death of the crosse, not onely obeying his fathers will, which we had despised; but abiding his hand for the chastisement of our peace. The Apostle noteth these three vertues in the person of Chyest; ¶ Let the SAME AFFECTION (of loue) bee in you, which was in Christ Iesus, vwho being in the forme of God, emptied and humbled himselfe and became obedient to the death, euen to the death of the crosse. By his humilitie, obedience, and charity, hee purged the pride, rebellion, and selfeloue, which our first father shewed when he fell, and we all expresse in our sinnes; and therefore as wee all died in Adams transgression, so we are all iustified, that is absolved from our sinnes, and receaued into fauour, by the obedience of Chyest.

¶ Because the obedience of Chyest did in farre higher degree please God the Father, then the rebellion of Adam did displease.

Bernard de
passione cap. 17

Philip. 2

please him. For there the vassall rebelled, here the equall obeyed: there earth presumed to be like vnto God, here God vouchsafed to bee the lowest amongst men: there the creature neglected his maker, here the creator so loued his enemies, euen his persecutors, that hee took the burthen from their shoulders, and laid it on his owne, contentedly giuing his life for them, who cruellie took his life from him: to conclude, those were the sinnes of men; these are the vertues of God, which doe infinitelie counteruaile the other, and for that cause the iustice of God is farre better satisfied with the obedience of Christ, then with the vengeance it might iustlie haue executed on the sinnes of men. For God hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked, neither doth hee delight in mans destruction; but with the obedience of his sonne he is well pleased, and therein euen his soule delighteth. This is my beloued sonne in whom I am well pleased. Doe my chosen, my soule taketh pleasure in him. In which words God doth not onlie note the naturall loue betwixt his sonne and himselfe; but he giueth full approbation of his obedience, as being thereby thzoughlie satisfied for the sinne of man. By Christs obedience I doe not meane the holinesse of his life, or performance of the lawe, but the obedience of the person vnto death, euen the death of the Crosse; which was voluntarilie offered by him, not necessarily imposed on him, aboue and besides the lawe, and no way required in the lawe. For it could be no dutie to God or man, but onelie mercede and pitie towardes vs, that caused the sonne of God to take our mortall and weake flesh vnto him; and therein, and thereby to pay the ranfome of our sinnes, and to purchase eternall life for vs. He must be a Saviour, no debtor; a redeemer, no prisoner; Lord of all, euen when hee humbled himselfe to be the seruant of all; his diuine glorie, power and maiestie make his sufferings to be of infinite force and value. And from this dignitie, and vntie of his person, which is the maine pillar of our redemption, if we cast our eyes on any

Christs obedience doth more then counteruaile Adams disobedience.

Ezech. 33.

Mat. 3.

Elay. 42.

46 The full redemption of mankind,

other cause, or devise any new help to strengthen the merits of Christ, wee dishonour and disable his diuinitie, as if the sonne of God were not a full and sufficient price, to ransome the bodies and soules of all mankind.

On this foundation doe the scriptures build the whole frame of mans redemption. ^aGod purchased his church (saith Paule) WITH HIS OVVNE BLOVD; GOD, noting the dignitie; HIS OVVNE, the vnitie of his person, and both imposing a price far worthier then the thing purchased. * God spared not his owne sonne, but gaue him for vs all. In that he was the sonne of God, al nations are counted vnto him (or in bal-
^bance with him) lesse the nothing, and vanitie; in that he was giuen for vs, the ransome excelleth the prisoner, as much as God doth man. We are reconciled to God by the death of his sonne. Maruell we to see Christs death of that power & price with God, that it appealed his wrath, when he was angrie with vs, as with his enemies; when as his owne son being equall with him in the forme of God, humbled himselfe to the death of the crosse for our sakes? Fairer or fuller causes of our redemption we neede not aske, the holie Ghost doth not expresse, God cannot haue. If the son of God be not able with his blond to redeeme vs, wee must giue ouer all hope; and despaire. For heauen cannot yeeld vs a greater value; and the earth hath none like. Wherefore if any man be disposed to seale his own condemnation, with his own heart, let him distrust the merits of Christs death; but all that will be saued must acknowledge the infinite price of his death, and blond aboue our worth, and we must learne being sinfull and wretched creatures, not to amend the wordes of God, in the mysterie of our redemption, but suffer him that is truely to be the gaider of our faith, and not by figures to frustrate all that is written in the word of God touching our saluation, purchased by the death and blond of Christ Iesus.

I am not the first that obserued or urged this doctrine, it is auncent and Catholike. ^a *Cum super omnes esset Dei verbum*

And so do the fathers,

^b Acts. 20
The scriptures
ground our
saluation on
the dignitie of
Christs person
^a Rom. 8.
^b Elay. 40.

^a Rom. 5.

verbum, merito suum ipsius templum & corporale instrumen-
 tum pro omnium animis pretium offerens, id quod morti debebatur
 persoluit. Where as the word (or Iohanne) of God, (saith) Athana-
 sius) was aboute al, worthily then by offering his owne temple &
 bodily instrument, as a price for the soules of all men, did he pay
 that was due vnto death. Cyril, ^b Si non esset deus quomodo ipse
 & solus sufficeret ad hoc, vt sit pretiū? Sed sufficit solus pro omni-
 bus mortuus, quia super omnes est deus igitur est, morte sua car-
 nis à mundo mortē depellens. If Christ were not God, how could
 he alone suffice to be the ransome (for al?) but he alone dead suf-
 ficeth for all, because he is aboute all; he is therefore God, by the
 death of his flesh, driuing away death from the worlde. And
 againe; ^c Redempti sumus Christo proprium corpus dante pro no-
 bis. Sed si vt communis homo intelligeretur Christus, quomodo
 corpus eius ad rependendam omnium vitam sufficeret? At si deus
 fuit in carne, qui dignissimus, sufficiens ad redemptionem totius
 mundi per suum sanguinē merito fuit. We are redeemed, Christ
 giuing his own body for vs. But if Christ be taken to be no more
 then a man, how should his body be sufficient to restore life to al
 men; but if he were God in our flesh, worthily the did he suffice
 to redeem the whole world with his blond. August. ^d Si propter
 hominē mortuus est deus, nō est victurus homo cum deo? quomodo
 mortuus est deus? accepit ex te vnde moreretur pro te; nō posset
 mori nisi caro nō posset mori nisi mortale corpus. If god died for mā
 shall not mā liue with god? but how died god? he took of thine
 wherin to die for thee. There could nothing die but flesh, there
 could die nothing but a mortall body. And else where an ancient
 writer vnder his name, if not himselfe. Indubitanter creda-
 mus quod totum mundum redemit, qui plus dedit quā totus mun-
 dus valeret: inter redimentē & redemptum dispensatio, non com-
 pensatio fuit. Let vs vndoubtedly beleeuē that hee redeemed
 the whole worlde, which gaue more then the whole world was
 worth. Betweene the redeemer and the redeemed there was a
 dispensation (of hūmilitie) no compensation (of equality.) And
 to thewe the truth of his speech he addeth; ^e Innocency was
 arraigned for the guiltie, mercie was buffeted for the cruell; piety

^a Athanasius de incarnatione ci-
 tarus a Theodo-
 reso dialogo 3.

^b Cyril de recta
 fide ad reginas in
 I. Timothei. 2.
 dedit semetipsum
 pretium pro
 nobis.

^c Cyril ibidem
 in I. Petri. 1.
 pretioso sanguine
 Christi redempti
 sumus.

^d August in psal.
 148.

^e August. de
 tempore. 11. 4.

^f Ibidem

48 The full redemption of mankind,

was whipped for the vngodlie, wisdom was mocked for the foolish, righteousness was condēned for the ynrighteous, truth was slaine for the liar, life died for him that was dead. And doe wee yet, remembryng who he was, and what we were, stagger to confesse with these Christian and Catholike Fathers, that his blood was a most sufficient price for all the world: or wonder we to see death ouerthrowne by his death, who was the fountaine of life, and could no more bee swallowed vp of death, then God himselfe could be conquered by the power of darkenesse.

The mightier
Christs person
the fitter to
conquer, but
not to suffer
hel.

[The mightier Christs person, the more able he was (some will say) to suffer death & hell.] he would be partaker of our moztall infirmitie, that by suffering death for the time he might conquer the force thereof for euer; but the gates of hel could not preuaile against him, because the Prince of this world had nothing in him. The inward man may be strongest when the outward man is weakest; and when the flesh is nearest vnto death, the spirit may cleave fastest vnto God. Christ therefore in dying for our sakes shewed a most excellent, and eminent example of his obedience, loue, and patience; but in suffering hel there is no signe of grace, nor shew of vertue. Voluntarily to forsake God, or willinglie to be forsaken of God, is the greatest impietie that can bee committed. And against his will Christ neuer did, nor might suffer any thing: for that had bene violence, not obedience; vengeance, not patience; force, not loue. But all constraint was farre from Christ, that his sufferings might be a voluntary sacrifice to witnesse his loue, and declare his merits, which in compulsion could be none. Since then the sonne of God neither willinglie would, nor forcible could be forsaken of his Father; it is a dangerous denisse to subject his soule to hell, which is the totall and finall separation of the wicked from God, and his kingdome.

Eight things
in hel paines,
which by no
means Christs

And that wee may a little the better bethinke our selues, before we growe to resolute in this assertion, that Christs soule suffered the verie paines of hell; I will obserue some things,

things, which the scriptures affirme of hell; & may not be applied to Christ without apparant insurie. First hel is outward and inward darkenesse; nowe Christ was light, and in him was no darknesse of the soule. s As long as I am in the worlde I am (sayth hee) the light of the worlde. Then as the h light hath no fellowshipe with darkenesse, no more had Christ with hell; which is the i power of darkenesse, from whence hee hath deliuered vs. Secondlie, hell is destruction both of bodie and soule. k Feare not them (sayth Christ) which kill the bodie, but cannot kill the soule; feare him rather which is able to destroie both soule and bodie in hell. In the Sautour of both, wee maie not admitte the destruction of both: howe shall he saue vs, that could hardlie, and as some write, MAXIMA CVM DIFFICULTATE, with much a do saue himselfe? But! God sent his soane to bee the Sautiour of the worlde. Wee must not therefore wappè him within the destruction of bodie and soule; no not for an hower, or an instant. Thirdlie, hell is the second death. The first is of the bodie for a time, the second is of the soule for euer. m The lake burning with fire and brimstone, this is the second death (sayth Saint Iohn.) Of this death Austen saith, n *De prima corporis mortē dici potest quod bonis bona sit & malis mala; secunda vero sine dubio sicut nullorum est bonorum; ita nulli bona. Ideo vero secunda, quia post illam prima est.* The first death of the bodie is good to the good, and euill to the euill; but the seconde death without doubt, as no good man suffereth it, so is it good to none: and therefore it is called the seconde death, because it followeth after the first. Before the first death; no man suffereth hell, which is the seconde death, and before wee maie auouch it of Christ, wee must take all goodnesse from him; for doubtlesse (sayeth Austen) no good man dooth suffer it. And indeede howe pernicious it is to make the soule of Christ lyable to the death of the soule; I shall afterwarde haue occasion to speake. In the meane time S. Iohn affirmeth, that hell goeth not before

soule might suffer.

I

s Iohn. 9.

h 2. Cor. 6.

i Celos. 1.

3

k Mat. 10.

l I Iohn. 4.

3.

m Apoc. 20.

n August. de ciui. dei. lib. 13 cap. 2

• Apoc. 6.

4.
• Mark 9.

• Hebr. 7.

• Hebr. 2.

• Mat. 25.

death, but followeth after death. I looked (saith he) and beheld a pale horse, and his name that sat on him, was death, and HELL FOLLOWED AFTER HIM: and therefore it cannot stand with truth to subject the soule of Christ yet living on earth, to the very paines of the damned. Fourthly, their P W O R M E in hell neuer dieth, for so much as the remembrance of their finnes committed against God euerlastingly biteth and afflicteth the conscience. Now in Christ as there was no taste of Sinne, so could there bee no touch of conscience accusing, nor remors of any transgression against God. With compassion of our finnes he might be moued and troubled; but worne of conscience hee could haue none, who was pure to his owne heart, that he was a holie, harmlesse, vndefiled, and separated from sinners, and therefore needed no sacrifice for his owne finnes; but as a faythfull and mercifull high Priest by the offering of him selfe once, made an attonement for the finnes of the people.

But what the paines of the damned are, the sentence of the Judge will best declare. *Discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum*; Depart from mee ye cursed into euerlasting fire, prepared for the diuell and his Angels. In which wordes there are foure things, which by no meanes can agree vnto Christ; R E I E C T I O N, M A L E D I C T I O N, V E N G E A N C E O F F I R E, & C O N T I N V A N C E T H E R I N F O R E V E R. As sin is a voluntary separation of man from god, so hell is a totall and finall exclusion of the sinner from enjoying the presence or patience of God any longer. The time of this life is the respite of Gods patience towards all the wicked; wilsthe ende thereof, beginneth his eternall vengeance, which wholie and for euer debarreth the workers of wickednesse from the kingdome of God. This reiection the soule of Christ could not suffer, beeing inseparably ioyned to the Godhead of Christ. We must not in stead of a naturall and mutuall coniunction, beleue or teach a reall & effectuall separation betwixt God and man; in the person of Christ, no not a perswa-

perswasion thereof in the soule of our Saviour; which is all one with Desperation, and sheweth the condition rather of the Reprobate, then of the children of God, much lesse of him that was God and man. As the Sonne of God coulde not bee REJECTED; no more coulde hee bee ACCURSED. He that is ioyned with God, must needs bee partaker of Gods goodnesse. God is the fountaine of all blisse; hee therefore flesh with his blessing all that are united vnto him. And if we, when we cleave vnto him by faith and loue, must needs derive from him ioy and blisse; coulde the soule of Christ bee personallie ioyned with him, and not be perpetuallie blessed by him? Though then it pleased our Saviour to suffer a cursed kinde of death for our sinnes, and by receyuing that curse in his flesh to quench the spirituall and eternall curse that hung ouer our heades; yet his soule was neuer accursed, since hee was alwaies beloved; and the curse of God compriseth not onelie the anger and hatred, but the intolerable and unceasable vengeance of God, which purtueth the soules and bodies of the wicked with flaming fire for ever. For how coulde al nations of the earth be blessed in him; if he himselfe were accursed: but God: ^{Gen. 22.} sent him to blese vs: hee must therefore be stozed with faltes of blessing, first for himselfe, then for vs all.

^{Acts 3.}

And could we frame one tongues, which I hope all Christians with heart detest, so much to dishonour the person of Christ as to auouch him to be trulie reiected and accursed of his Father, for the time hee is neuer so short; yet we must not shew our selues so void of al sense, as to say that Christs soule suffered HEL FIRE; which is the perpetuall and essentiaall punishment of all the damned. Let vs not come within that danger of so desperate follie; not to knowe, or not to care, what we defend or affirme. It should haue some prooue, it should haue some truth, whatsoeuer is held for matter of faith. That Christs soule was tormented with hell fire I aske not what prooue, or truth, but what we can bee pretended?

7.

pretended: The fire of hell, they will say is metaphoricall; they that go thither shall find it no metaphore. It is no god dallying with Gods eternall, and terrible iudgements. The Scriptures are so platine, and so full of the parts and effects of fire in hell, that I dare not allegorize them. Christ maketh the rich mans soule in hell to saie, I am tormented in this flame. Saint Iohn saith it is a lake burning with fire and brimstone. Daniel saith, a fire streame issued from before Christ sitting in iudgement. Paul saith, it is a violent fire which shall deuoure the aduersaries. God himselfe saith, a fire is kindled in my wrath, and shall burne to the botome of hell, and shall enflame the foundations of the hills. If therefore the paines of the damned come in question, it is not safe to measure them by our imaginations, but to giue eare to the holie ghost, who can best expresse them; and by him wee learne, that if anie man worshippeth the beast and his image, he shall drinke of the wine of the wrath of God, and shall bee tormented in fire and brimstone before the holie Angels, and before the lambe. And the smoke of their torment shall ascende euermore; and they shall haue no rest night nor daie. Into this fire if we cast Christs soule, we must take heede our proofes bee sound and sure; least our presumption exclude vs from the place where Christ is; and leaue vs in the lake where hee neuer was: there to learne what it is rashlie to conclude the thinges that are not confirmed by the word of God. But I perswade my self, few men of learning or religion, will venter on this desperate resolution, that Christs soule here on earth suffered hell fire, and therefore to propose it, is inough to confute it.

The last thing in hell fire, is that it is eternal. For as there is no remission of paine, so thence is no redemption; but once adiudged thither is euertlastingly fastened to that place of torment. And this is cause inough to staie all men, that bee soberlie minded, from defending that Christs soule suffered the paines of hell, which the holie Ghost saith

^aLuke 16.

^bReuel. 21.

^cDan. 7.

^dHeb. 10.

^eDeut. 32.

^fReuel. 14.

saith are endles. ^d They which knowe not God; and obey not the gospell shall suffer paines, euen euerlasting perdition, from the presence of the Lord; saith the Apostle to the Thessalonians. And so Peter, ^e to whom the myst of darkenesse is referued for euer. And Jude, ^f Sodome and Gomorthe are set for an example, which suffer the punishment of euerlasting fire. **Yea Christ** himselfe pronounced that fire to be **vnquenchable**. Wherefore vnlesse we can shew a later and better warrant then I yet see, we shall do well not to enterprize to quench hell fire; but to let it burne eternallie, and to confesse wth Peter that God raised Christ breaking the paines of death and hell, of which it was ^h impossible he should be held. For since he was and is the ⁱ Sauour of his body, the paines of hell, which are eternall, could not take hold on him. He was mightier then hell, that saued vs from hell; hee could not free vs from the chaines of darkenesse, but he must first breake them in sunder. His deliuering vs from the power of Satan, proueth him to be stronger then Satan; and the stronger could neuer be bound by the weaker; but contrariwise he entred into Satans ^k house, where his chiefe strength was, and bound him and so spoiled him. This comparison Christ maketh betwixt Satan & himselfe; by which he concludeth that he was stronger then Satan; and consequentlie could not himselfe bee bound by death or hell, but ^l overcame satan, and tooke all his armour from him wherein he trusted, and deuided the spoiles.

And where some men begin to doubt, whether eternal continuance be of the nature & substance of hell or no; they shall doe well to leaue these dangerous and fruitelesse speculations. For whether they looke to the persons for whom; or the crimes for which; or the Iudge, by vvhom it was prepared; they shall euerie waie find it must be eternall. It was ^m prepared for the diuell and his Angels, and to them coulde no punishment be allotted but euerlasting, except we will giue possibiltie of grace, and hope of repentance vnto diuels. It is the wages of sinne; which being an infinite contempt of the diuine

^d 2. Thef. 1.

^e 2. Peter. 2.
^f Iud. eplst.

^g Mark. 9.

^h Acts. 2.
ⁱ Ephel 5.

^k Marth 12.

^l Luke. 11

The paines of
hell are eternal

^m Marth. 25.

54 The full redemption of mankind,

distaine maiestie, must by the balance of iustice haue infinite vengeance in waight, or in length. And since no creature is able to beare an infinite burden and sence of paine, of force all sinnefull creatures must bee condemned to an infinite length of punishment; which is hell fire. Lastlie, as God is eternall and cannot change; no more can his iustice, or iudgement alter with time; but as his truly abideth for euer, so his iudgment being iust and good is irrenocable; & consequently the vengeance of sinne can neuer cease, as proceeding from the righteous iudge of the world, in whom is "no shadowing, nor varying. And therefore Paul calleth the iudgement "eternal, whereby God shall rewarde euerie man according to his works; & our sator forwarneeth vs not in vaine, that hel fier is PVNISHMENT, & EVERLASTING. Since then neither the remorse, reiection, imalediction, nor desperation of the damned; nor the darkenes, destruction, death, & fire of hel can without eident impiety be attributed to the soule of Christ; I am farre from admitting into anie part of the Creed this ambiguous, if not dangerous assertion, that Christ in his soule on the crosse felt the vertie paines, and torments of the damned: but I preferre the simple and plaine doctrine of the holie Ghost, which teacheth vs that Christ died for our finnes according to the scriptures, and that he was buried, and that hee rose againe the thirde daie according to the scriptures; and by Christs so doing, death was swallowed vp into victory; and we may so fully saie, O death where is thy sting? O hell where is thy victory? thanking God which hath giuen this victorie through our Lorde Iesus Christ, as it was forespoken by the prophet Esay: The Lorde will destroy death for euer; and by Osee; O death I will bee thy death, O hell I will bee thy destruction.

The manner of Christs offering is the second effect of Christs crosse. which must be bloudie; before it can be propitiatorie. In this part I will deliuer you three things worthy to be obserued; with what Sacrifice God was pleased for our finnes,

James. 1.

Heb. 6.

Mark. 9.

1. Corinth. 15

ibidem.

Esay. 25.

Osc. 13.

The sacrifice for sinne must be bloudy, before it could be propitiatorie.

sinnes, with what price the Diuell was concluded for our ransome; with what Scale the newe conuenant of grace and mercie was confirmed vnto vs for our safetic. These three depend eache on other. God, as the Iudge offended, was to haue a sacrifice for our sinne, that might content him; the Diuell as the Iailour, was to haue a ransome for vs; that were by Gods Justice deliuered into his handes; Our selues as prisoners were to bee restozed by Gods pardon, and to be assured of his protecton; that the like miserie might not the second time pzeuaile against vs; which is performed by the newe Testament of mercie forgiuing, and grace repressing sinne, that wee relapse not into the pit of perdition whence wee were deliuered.

What was the true propitiatorie sacrifice which God accepted for the sinnes of the world, if the new testament did not plaine lie declare, the olde testament would sufficientlie witness vnto vs. For as well Patriarks as Prophets, yea all the goodlie from Abel to Christ did by their sacrifices and seruite of God professe and confirme their faith to be this, that they looked for the Seede of the woman, who by his death and bloud should purge their sinnes, and make peace betwene God and them. This was the promise of grace which God made in Paradise to our first parents, threatening the serpent with the seede of the woman in these words; He shall crush thine heade, and thou shalt bruisse his heele. As the heele of man is the basest part of his bodie, and nearest the earth; so the Serpent should bruisse the weakest and earthliest part of Christ; but euen that bruzed heele should be of force enough to crush the Serpentes head. For by the flesh of Christ wounded, and bloud shed, the power & pride of satan should be conquered and confounded: This sence of Gods promise made to his parents, Abell the first martyr by faith accepted, by sacrifice adored; and in that respect his bodilie and bloudie offering was preferred before his by others.

The true sacrifice for sinne was shadowed in the figures and sacrifices of the former testament.

Genes. 3:

Genes. 3:
Genes. 3:
Genes. 3:
Genes. 3:

56 The full redemption of mankind,

brothers. This faith did all the Patriarkes testifie by their bloudie sacrifices; that they expected the bodie of the Messiah to be bruized, and his blood to be shed for the remission of their sinnes. And as they receiued it from their fathers, so they deliuered it to their children for the stout anchor of all their hope. This God did ratifie by his lawe written, suffering his people to haue no sacrifices for sinne, but such as represented the bloudie offering of Christ on the crosse. So that all the sacrifices and sacraments of Moses lawe were nothing else but figures and ^u examples of better thinges, as the Apostle calleth them, namelie of Christs bodie once to bee offered, and his blood once to bee shed for the abolishing of sinne. The FIGVRES of Christ before and vnder the lawe, what else doe they point, but to the death, blood, and crosse of Christ to be the redemption and saluation of all mankind: Abrahams readinesse to offer vp Isaac, for which the blessing was anniered to him with an othe, what doth it import but the loue of God ^x Not sparing his owne sonne, but giuing him for vs all? The blood of the passeouer sprinkled on the postes of the Israelites to auert the destroyer; doth it not represent the blood of that immaculate lambe, which saueth vs from the fiercenesse of Gods wrath? The lifting vp the brazen serpent to cure the people that were stung with fierie Serpents, doth it not foreshewe Christ hanging on the crosse to cure our soules from the poison of sinne, which is the sting of that deadlie serpent? The strength of Sampson pulling the house on his owne and his enemies heades, doth it not declare the voluntarie death of Christ, to be the destruction of death and hell, which insulted at him on the crosse?

When the truth came exprested by all these sacrifices, and resembled in all these figures, what offering made he on the altar of the crosse? Did he yeelde his soule to the paines of hell, or his bodie to be crucified of the Iewes: both they will saie; for so they must saie, except they will haue their supposal of hell paines cleane excluded from the sacrifice for sin.

But

^uHebre 9

^xRom, 8

The Patriarks and prophets did not mistake the true sacrifice for sinne.

But which of these two was beleueed of the Patriarkes, witnessed by the sacrifices, shadowed in the figures of the law, expected of the faithfull from the foundation of the worlde? The bloodie sacrifice of Christs bodie is so plainelie proclaimed by them all, that there can bee no question of their faith and expectation. And were they deceiued in the object of their faith, and hope? Did they all mistake the true sacrifice for their sinnes? and did God by his lawe confirme them in that errour? And doeth the Apostle falselie conclude from the sacrifices of the lawe, that Christs offering before it coulde take awaie sinne, must of force bee bloodie? These were verie strange positions in Christian religion, and yet I see not howe wee shall auoide them, if we stillie maintaine the suffering of hell paines to bee the chiefe and principaller part of our redemption, without which the rest is nothing. If their faith fastened on the death and blood of Christ for the remission of their sinnes did saue them, then was the death of Christ of force enough, without the paines of Hell to release them from their sinnes; and bring them vnto God. And if it wrought that effect in them, it is still of the same power and strength to worke the like in vs. If it were insaficient to release them from the rigour of GODS wrath, then are the Patriarkes perished in their sinnes, by mistaking the true price of their redemption. For that they kneue anie thing of Christs suffering Hell paynes, I thinke will hardlie bee prooued. But out of question their faith was right which was settled on the blood of Christ to bee shedde for the redẽming of their sinnes; and themselves are Saintes in Gods kingdome: Wee must therefore take heede that wee doe not rashlie varie from the foundation of their faith and hope; which must likewise be ours, with this onelie difference, that they beleueed in him, which should take away the sins of the worlde by his death and crosse, and we in him that hath taken them away.

38 The full redemption of mankind,

Reuel. 13

The time doth differ; but the meanes are still the same. The Lamb was slaine from the beginning of the world; not actually, but in the counsaile of God, which did purpose it; and in the truth of God, which did promise it; as likewise in the faith of all his saints, which did rest & reioyce in it; frō whose steps if we swarue, we may not looke to be Abraham's children, y^e refuse Abraham's faith as erroneous, & chalēge our father for misbeliefe.

Three properties of the true sacrifice for sinne, vrged by the Apostle.

1.

2.

Hebre. 9.

3.

Hebre. 10.

Hebre. 9.

If the offerings and faith of the Patriarks were not pregnant enough to lead vs to the true sacrifice for sinne; the Apostle to the Hebrewes doth so purpose lie and possitiuely handle it, that I much muse how any man of iudgement or learning can mistake it. For if we marke but thre conclusions, which the Apostle maketh; we cannot erre from the truth in this behalfe. The true sacrifice for sinne must be but ONE, and ONCE OFFERED, not often, nor iterated, by reason it is perfect and able to cleanse vs from all sinne. It must be BLOVDY, for so were all the offerings of the lawe, and without shedding of blood is no remission. It must bee CONFIRMED BY DEATH, that redemption purchased might neuer bee reuoked, nor altered. These thre positions are mainelie and mightilie vrged by the holie ghost, the 9. and 10. to the Hebrues; and for this faith, are all the fathers of the old Testament from Abel to Samuel praised in the 11. chapter of that Epistle. This ^a man (saith Paul meaning Christ) after he had offered ONE SACRIFICE FOR SINNE, sitteth for euer at the right hand of God. For with ONE OFFERING had he made perfite for euer those which are sanctified. Now where remission (of sinne) is, there is no more offering for sinne. Christ then making but one offering for sinne, we must not make two; but rather learne what that one was, which we may do without any difficultie, since the Apostle so plainly teacheth vs, that we are sanctified by THE OFFERING OF THE BODY OF IESVS ONCE; that ^b BY HIS OWNE BLOVD CHRIST ENTERED in Once into the holy place, and FOVND ETERNALL REDEMPTION. Almost all things are by the

the law purged with blood, and without shedding of blood is no remission. It was then necessary that the similitudes of heauenlie things (in the law) should be purified with such things (as the blood of bulles and goates) but heauenly things themselves with better sacrifices then these; even with the blood of Christ. For if the blood of bulles and goates sanctifieth as touching the purifying of the flesh; howe much more shall THE BLOOD OF CHRIST, who through the eternall spirit offered himselfe without spot to God, PURGE YOVR CONSCIENCES FROM DEAD WORKS to serue the liuing God? And for this cause is he the Mediator of the newe Testament, that THROUGH DEATH which was for THE REDEMPTION OF THE TRANSGRESSIONS IN THE FORMER TESTAMENT, they which were called might receiue the promise of eternal inheritance. For where a testament is, there must be THE DEATH OF HIM THAT MADE THE TESTAMENT. For it is of no force, so long as he that made it, is aliue; wherefore neither was the first testament ordained without blood. Iesus then suffered without the gate, that hee might SANCTIFIE the people WITH HIS OWNE BLOOD; and this is the blood of the euertlasting Testament, through which God brought againe from the dead our Lorde Iesus. Christ confirmeth the same when hee saith. This is MY BLOOD of the new testament WHICH IS SHED for many for THE REMISSION OF SINNES.

Hebre. 9

1^a Ioh. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Hebre. 13

Matth. 26

The words be plainer then that they neede anie commentarie. There was but ONE sacrifice that coulede abolish sinne; even THE OBLATION OF THE BODIE OF IESVS ONCE, whose BLOOD purged our consciences from deade works, and purchased eternal inheritance, by the TESTATORS DEATH, FOR THE REDEMPTION of those sinnes, which we committed against the former Testament. What thist haue we to shun the force of these woordes, or to bring in the paines of hell in Christs soule, as a part of the propitiatory sacrifice for sinne? Christ made but one oblation of himselfe for sinne, and that was the suffering of death in his body

The sacrifice for sinne was bodily, bloody, and deadly.

60 The full redemption of mankind,

for the redemption of our transgressions, and shedding of his blood for the remission of our finnes. More then one, hee needed not make; for that one obtained eternall redemption: and other then this, he did not make, for his offering was both **BODILY AND BLOVDIE.** This is my body, which is giuen, (and)^h broken for you; this isⁱ my blood, which is shed for manie. **THE ORLATION OF THE BODY OF Iesus ONCE & THE SHEDDING OF HIS BLOVD** are of strength & force enough to cleanse vs from our sins, & to procure vs the promise of euerlasting inheritance, which beeing confirmed by the death of the testator standeth irrenocable. How canne wee then bying in another sacrifice of Christs soule suffering the paines of hell, which could be neither bodily nor bloody, but wee must increase the number, and confounde the differences of Christs offerings; and weaken the force of his eternall & copozal sacrifice, which was the truth that answered & accomplished al the signes of the law? For the insufferible paines of hel are no where prefigured in the sacrifices of the law, that I find; nor so much as once mentioned in the Apostles discourse, of Christs sacrifice for sinne, that I reade; & therfore if we adde them as a necessary part of our redemption, we derogate from the blood of Christ, as insufficient without those torments to cleanse vs from our sins, & pacifie the wrath of God, that was kindled against vs.

What danger it is to depart from y^e manifest words of the holy ghost in so high a point of faith, & by things unwritten to discredit things written, I neede not admonish such as be learned, let the simple take heed, that they suffer not reason to ouerrule religion, & obscure and doubtful places in the scriptures to wrest from them the perspicuous and perpetuall doctrine of the holy ghost. Howe ful and perfect the redemption is, which wee haue by the blood of Christ, if you search the Scriptures you shall easilie see; if you doe but hearken you shall presentlie learne. **THE BLOOD OF CHRIST DOETH REDEEME, CLENSE, WASH, IYSTIFIE, & SANCTIFY the elect**

1 Luke. 22
2 1. Corinth. 11
3 Mark. 14

The force of
Christs blood
expressed in
the scriptures.

elect; It doth **PACIFIE** and **PROPITIATE** the Judge; It doth **SEALE** THE **COVENANT** of mercie, grace & glorie, betwixt God & man; It doth **CONCLVDE** and bind the diuell; What more can be required I verily cannot cōiecture. If the blood of Christ performe al these things for vs, & more we cannot ask; or expect; why shrinke we from it as unable to saue vs, except it be supplied with the paines of hell? Whether I affirme any thing of mine owne, or deliuer you that which is plainly taught in **h** scriptures, iudge you. ^kYe were **REDEEMED** (saith Peter) by the pretious blood of Christ as of a Lambe vnspotted, and vndefiled. ^lChrist by his own blood (saith Paul) entered once into the holy place **OBTAINING** eternall **REDEMPTION**. ^mThe blood of Iesus Christ **CLENSETH** vs frō all our sinnes. ⁿHe **WASHED** vs from our sinnes in his blood. ^oBeing now **IUSTIFIED** by his blood, we shall bee saued from wrath through him. ^pIesus suffered that hee might sanctifie the people with his blood. **By Christ then** we haue redemption through his blood, euen the remission of sinnes, and ^rnowe in Christ Iesus yee which once were farre off, are made neere by the blood of Christ. ^sFor it hath pleased (the Father) by him to reconcile all things vnto himselfe. And to pacifie through the blood of his Crosse both things in earth, and things in heauen: ^tWhome God hath purposed to bee a Reconciliation through fayth in his blood.

And therefore the new testament is sealed with **Christes** blood. This is (saith hee) my blood of the new Testament, which is shed for manie for the remission of sinnes. ^xYee are come to Iesus the mediatur of the newe Testament (saith Paul) & to the blood of sprinkling which speaketh better things then that of *Abell*. For *Abels* blood cried for vengeance: but **Christes** blood speaketh for mercie and grace. And for that cause Paul calleth it, ^yThe blood of the euerlasting Testament; For ^zthis is the Testament, that I will make with the house of Israel; after those dayes sayeth the Lorde, I will

62 The full redemption of mankind;

put my lawes in their minde, and in their heart I will write them, and I will bee their God, and they shall bee my people; I will be mercifull to their vnrightheousnesse,^z and I will remember their finnes and iniquities no more. This testament of mercede, grace and glorie is confirmed by the death of Christ, and sealed with his blood, which if we weaken or frustrate with our inuentions, or additions, wee must loke for that fearefull iudgement which the Apostle threatneth. ^a He that despiseth *Moses* lawe dieth without mercie vnder two or three witnesses: Of how much sorer punishment suppose ye shall he be worthie, which treadeth vnder foote the sonne of God, and counteth vnholie the blood of the Testament, wherewith he was sanctified, and reprocheth the spirite of grace? The wrong that is offered to the blood of the newe Testament, treadeth vnder foote the sonne of God, and reprocheth the spirit of grace. Now howe can we more vn-sanctifie the blood of the Testament, then to make it so vnprecious, that it cannot redeeme vs without the paines of hell, or to set vp another price, for which we haue no expresse record, against, or about the blood of Christ, by which we are cleansed from our finnes, and reconciled to God?

I knowe they will and must answere, the paines of hell are contained in the blood of Christ; for so much as he suffered the one in their imagination, when hee shed the other. Could they proue by expresse and infallible testimonies (which they cannot do) that Christ suffered in soul the paines of the damned, they had some reason to comprisse the one within the other; but no such thing being warranted, or witnessed in the scriptures, they must take heed, that they do not elude, rather then expound the words of the holie ghost with a perpetuall Synecdoche, which shall frustrate the very force of all those euident and vehement speeches. For it is strange to mee, first, that without iust proufe any such thing should be ioined to the blood of Christ, to helpe the price thereof. Next that the holie ghost should alwayes vrgē the one, and

as

^a Heb. 8.

^a Heb. 10.

Whether the
paines of hell
be comprised
in the blood
of Christ.

as it were continually forget the other. Thirdlie, the things which are named in the Scriptures, as they were the last, so are they the chiefest parts of Christs sufferings, the rest being vnderstood as antecedent to them, and not eminent aboue them. Nowe the CROSSE, BLOOD, and DEATH of Christ are euerie where mentioned in the scriptures, as the verie groundworke and pillars of our redemption. Lastlie the bodie of Christ wounded, and his blood shed for the remission of sinnes, are the scales that confirme and ratifie the new testament; and therefore they glue chiefest power and strength to the whole couenant; as appeareth by the Sacraments: which import vnto vs not the paines of hell, but the death and blood of Christ, as the right and true meanes of our redemption. ^b Know ye not (saith Paule) that all we which haue bene baptised into Iesus Christ, haue bene baptised into his death? Wee are buried then with him by baptisme into his death. And speaking of the Lords Supper he saith: ^c As often as ye shall eate this bread, and drinke this cuppe, ye shewe the Lords death vntill he come. ^d The cuppe of blessing which wee blesse, is it not the communion of Christes blood? The bread which we breake, is it not the communion of Christs bodie? By these we are grafted into Christ, by these wee are quickned, & nourished into life euerlasting: And these propose vnto vs no inuisible paines of hell, but the bodie of Christ wounded, and his blood shed for the remitting of our sinnes, and vnting vs vnto Christ, that we may be ^e members of his bodie, of his flesh, and of his bones.

^b Rom. 6.

^c 1. Cor. 11.

^d 1. Cor. 10.

^e Ephes. 5.

Yea what an vnthankfull part were it for the captiues that are enlarged, to challenge the ransome, which was payde for their freedome, as defectiue; when the aduersarie from whom we were bought, receyued it by the rule of Gods iustice, as a price most sufficient for vs all that were deliuered: ^f I will redeeme them from the power of hell; I will ransome them from death (saith God by his Prophet:) you were bought with a PRICE (saith Paul.) The price then which Christ

Christes blood
the verie price
of our redemption.

payde:

64 The full redemption of mankind,

paid must be fully worth the thing redeemed. For since it pleased God, not by force to take vs from Satan, but with a price to buye vs out of his hands, it were dishonour to God, and a kinde of reproch to giue lesse for vs, then might counteruaile vs. And therefore let vs rest assured that the price which Christ payed for vs, was of farre greater value then we were, not onelie in the vpright iudgement of God, but euen in the malicious and furious desire of Satan, who thirsted after the blood of the sonne of God, with greedier salues, then after all the worlde besydes, and triumphed more in bringing him to a shamefull death, then in the destruction of all the saythfull. Wherefore the wisdom and iustice of God, suffered him to thewe his rage on the flesh of Christ, and as it were to trample in his blood, which hee spilt like water on the earth; and left him that, which hee so eagerly pursued, and in his mallice against Gods glorie preferred before all the worlde, as a full payment for all those that shoulde be deliuered by the death of Christ. And for this cause the blood of Christ is called by the holie ghost the PRICE of our REDEMPTION.

Ye were REDEEMED (saith Peter) WITH THE PRECIOUS BLOOD of Christ as of a lambe vnspotted and vndefiled. Hea the song which the Saints in heauen do sing vnto the lambe is this, Thou wast killed, and HAST REDEEMED VS TO GOD BY THY BLOOD.

^h 1 Pct. 1.

ⁱ Reuel. 5.

How the price of our redemption was paid.

When I say the blood of Christ was the price, wherewith God redeemed vs out of Satans power, I doe not meane that God made anie contract with Satan, or toke his consent to exchange; much lesse, that Christ did offer his blood to the diuell, to set vs free: it were an iniurie to Christ for vs to thinke his blood was shed to ^k satisfie the diuell as Gregory Nazianzene wel obserueth in his oration *de Paschate*; but Christ offered his blood as a sacrifice to god his father to verifie the iudgement pronounced against vs, ^l Thou shalt die the death, and to satisfie the iustice of God prouoked with

^k Nazianzen.
orat. 4. 2. in
Pascha: 2.
^l Gene. 2.

with

with our finnes; yet in coming to his death, since his life might not be ended, neither with his owne hand, nor by the hand of his Father; the wisdom of God^m deliuered him into the handes of sinners, by whose blinde zeale and bloudie rage the diuell, that worketh in the children of disobedience, conspired and compassed his death, and with all maner of contumelie and crueltie abused his body, and spilt his blood, insulting at him by the mouthes of the wicked, and rejoycing in the conquest he gate ouer Christ in bringing him to a reprochfull death. But this extreame rage of Satans against the person of Christ, turned to the utter ruine of his owne kingdome. For God did not onely raise againe the Word Iesus from death, as dying an innocent without all desert, but in recompence of the wrong, which he received at Satans hands, to the which he willingly submitted himselfe; God gaue him power to spyle the kingdome of the diuell; and to deliuer all that euer did or should beleene in his death and passion. And in this sort Christ bought vs with his precious blood from the daunger of sinne and hell; not offering, but suffering Satan by the hands of the Iewes to take his life from him; neither compounding with his aduersarie, but repressing him in the middelt of his malice, who assaulting Christ Iesus our head, as he had done all the members was overthrowne by him, and vanquished with an euertlasting victorie.

^m *Mortuus est volens, vt. involuntarie mortuos exsuscitaret. Deuorauit ipsum mors ignorans, ubi deuorasset, cognouit quem non deuorauit. Deuorauit unum cum omnibus; perdidit omnes propter unum. Rapuit vt leo; confracti sunt dentes ipsius.* Christ died willingly (saith Basil) that hee might raise those which died against their wils. Death ignorantly deuoured him; which when hee had done; hee knewe whom he had not deuoured. Hee swallowed vp one as he did all; and for that one; hee lost all. Hee seized on him as a Lion; but his teeth were cher with broken. The croce extant vnder the name of Ruffinus;

^m Basil. oration, in sine epistolatum.

81, 100

Mark. 14.

• Symbolus
Russini tomo
Hieronymi. 4.

◦ *Sacramentum carnis suscepta hanc habet causam, ut diuina filij dei virtus velut hamus quidam, habitu humanae carnis obtectus principem mundi insutare posset ad Agonem, cui ipse carnem suam velut escam tradens, hamo enim diuinitatis intrinsecus teneret insertus ex profusione immaculati sanguinis.* The mysterie of Christes taking flesh was to this end, that the diuine power of the Sonne of GOD couered—as a hooke vnder the shewe of mans flesh, might prouoke the Prince of this worlde to assault him; to WHOM (CHRIST) DELIVERING HIS FLESH AS A BAITE helde fast (the diuell) with the hooke of his diuinitie sticking in him, through the shedding of his immaculate blood.

† Gregor. Moralium lib. 3. ca. 11

† *Conditionem omnium Satanae manui traditum, quis vel desipiens credat? sed tamen edoctus veritate quis nesciat; cum se pro nostra redemptione Dominus membrorum Satanae manibus tradidit, (quod) eiusdem Satanae manum in se seuire permittit, ut inde ipse exterius occumberet, inde nos exterius interiusque liberaret?* That the maker of all was deliuered into the hande of Satan, who is so foolish as to beleeue? And yet who taught by the trueth is ignorant, that when the Lorde for our redemption yeilded himselfe into their handes that were the members of Satan, hee suffered the hande of Satan to rage agaynst him, that whence he outwardlie dyed (in body) thence he might both outwardlie and inwardlie deliuer vs? And therefore hee concludeth, *¶ Cum corpus eius ad passionem accipit; electos eius a iure sua potestatis amittit.* When (Satan) receyued the bodie (of Christ) to crucifie it; hee lost the elect of Christ from subiection to his power.

† *Idem.*

† August. de trinitate li. 13 cap. 13.

Saint Austen shewing howe Christ conquered the Diuell first by iustice, and then by power, sayeth, *¶ Placuit Deo, ut propter erudendum hominem de Diaboli potestate, non potentia Diabolus, sed iustitia vinceretur.* It pleased God for the deliuering of man out of the Diuels power, that the diuell should be conquered by iustice, and not by might

might. *Quae est igitur iustitia, qua victus est Diabolus? Quae nisi iustitia Iesu Christi? Et quomodo victus est? Quia cum in eo nihil morte dignum inuenit, occidit eum tamen: & utique iustum est, ut debitores quos tenebat, liberi dimittantur, in eum credentes, quem sine ullo debito occidit, Hoc est quod iustificari dicimur in sanguine Christi.* What then is the iustice whereby the Diuell was conquered? What but the iustice of Iesu Christ? And howe? Because that when the Diuell founde in Christ nothing woorthie of death, hee killed him notwithstanding: and surelie iustice requi-
 reth that the debtours, which Satan helde shoulde bee sette free, beleeuing in him whome Satan slue without any debt, This is it that wee are sayde to bee iustified in the blood of Christ. *Sanguis enim ille quoniam eius erat qui nullum habuit omnino peccatum, ad remissionem nostrorum fusus est peccatorum; ut quia eos Diabolus merito tenebat, quos peccati reos conditione mortis obstrinxit, hos per eum merito dimitteret, quem nullius peccati reum immerito poena mortis affecit: hac iustitia victus, & hoc vinculo victus est fortis, ut vasa eius eriperentur.* For that blood because it was his, who was viterlie voyde of sinne, was shedde for the remission of our sinnes; that whom the Diuell iustlie held as guiltie of sinne, and obnoxious to death, those hee might woorthilie loose through him, whome hee wrongfullie slue beeing guiltie of no sinne: with this iustice the Diuell was conquered, and with this band was hee bound, that his goods might bee spoyled. And so Saint Austen concludeth in expresse wordes, that THE BLOOD OF CHRIST, which the Diuell was permitted to shedde by the handes of the wicked, VVAS GIVEN AS A PRICE IN OVR REDEMPTION, which when the Diuell had spilt, it was reckoned to him as a ransom for vs since Christ owed none for himselfe; so were we dismissed out of his power. *In hac redemptione tanquam pretium pro nobis datus est Christi sanguis, quo*

Ibidem.

Ibidem. cap. 1.

Ibidem. cap. 2.

68 The full redemption of mankind,

accepto diabolus non ditatus, sed ligatus est, ut nos ab eius nexibus solueremur. In this redemption the blood of Christ was giuen as a ransome for vs, which being receiued, the diuell was not enriched, but concluded: that wee might bee loosed from his snares.

o Ambros. lib. 9
Epist. 77.

o S. Ambrose affirmeth as much. *Si redempti sumus non corruptibilibus argento, & auro, sed precioso sanguine domini nostri Iesu Christi (quo utiq; vendente NISI E O qui nostrum iam peccatricis successionis are questitum seruitium possidebat) Sine dubio IPSE flagitabat pretium ut seruitio exueret quos tenebat obstrictos. Pretium autem nostrae liberationis erat sanguis domini Iesu, quod necessaria soluendum erat EI, C V I peccatis nostris venditueramus.* If we bee redeemed not with corruptible things as siluer and golde, but with the precious blood of our Lorde Iesus Christ (who selling vs, B V T H E that possessed vs as his seruants by reason of our sinfull succession) doubtlesse euen H E required a ransome to dismiss vs from the seruitude which he had ouer vs. Now the price of our deliuerance was the blood of the Lord Iesus, which (price) was necessarie to bee payde to H I M, T O W H O M we were sold through our finnes: They which traduce this doctrine, as inclinings to Manicheisme, had more neede of Elleborus to purge their braines, then of authorities to perswade their hearts. For since Christ paid no ransome for himselfe, but for vs, and his innocent blood could not be shed but by the hands of the wicked, what touch of vntruth can it haue, that God accounted the blood of Christ to be of more value, then all the finnes of men; and consequentlie, that, which the diuell eagerly thirsted, and wrongfullie shed, to be reputed as mans ransome; and a price most sufficient for all the world? Hea the scripture, which is the word of truth, doth not onely teache vs, who redeemed vs, and with what price, as;

x Acts. 20.
y Colof. 1.

z Osee. 13.
a Luke 1.

x God bought his Church with his owne blood: but in mannesse words from whom we were redeemed, euen from the power of DARKNES, DEATH and HELL; that being deliuered out of the hands of our enemies, wee should serue God without feare in holines and righteousness all the daies of our life.

Whether

Whither three foie wee resemble the bodie and blood of Christ to a P R A Y that brake the teeth of the deuourer; to a B A I T E that held fast the swallower; to a P R I C E that concluded the challenger; to a R A N S O M E that freed the prisoner; or to a C O N Q U E S T that ouerthrew the insulter; in effect it is all one; Satan by killing him, that was the authour of life, lost both him and all his members; the Lorde rasing againe by his owne power, and raising them all; that could not bee seuered from him; by the might and merite of his death and suffering. And so the godlie, which now liue on the earth, are not their O W N E, but his that bought them with a price; being before sold vnder sinne; whose seruants they were till Christ with his blood redeemed them: *ergo* G O D, and made them kinges and priestes to God his father. *Verum redemptor & dedit pretium, fudit sanguinem suum, emit orbem terrarum. Videte quid dederit, & in nonne quid emerit. Sanguis Christi pretium est, nunguid ualeat, quid nisi totus orbis? quid nisi omnes gentes?* The redeemer came. (saith Auſten) and paid the price: hee shed his blood; and purchased the worlde. Consider what he gaue, and marke what he bought. The blood of Christ was y^e price: what was valued at so great a price? What but the whole worlde? what but all the nations of the earth? *Hic sanguis effusus dominem terrarum orbem abluuit, hic sanguis antea semper presignabat in sacrificijs, in iustorum cadibus. Hic orbis terrarum est pretium. Hoc Christus emit ecclesiam. Hoc eam omnem adorabat.* This blood (saith Chrysostom) being shed washed the whole worlde. This blood was euer before figured in the sacrifices; and martyrdomes of the righteous. This blood is the price of the worlde; with this Christ bought his Church; with this he wholly adorned it. *Christus non esset condignum pretium totius creaturae redimendae, neque sufficeret ad bene redimendam mundum omnem, etiamsi suam deponeret animam ut pretium pro nobis; nec etiam pretiosum sanguinem, nisi uere esset filius, & tanquam ex deo deus.* Christ had not benee a iust price (saith Cyril) to redeeme all creatures; nor sufficient to purchase the life of the

2. Cor. 1. 11

1. Cor. 6. 11

1. Cor. 6.
Rom 7.
Rom. 6.
Reuelat. 5.
Aug. in
Psal. 95.

Chrysost. ad pop.
Antioch
homil. 61.
Iudo. 4

Cyrl. dialog.
de trinitate lib. 4.

2. Cor. 1. 11

158

70 The full redemption of mankind,

world, though he would haue laid down his life and his precious blood as a ranfome for vs, if he had not beene the true sonne of God, & as it were, God of God. *Where as now* *Unus dignitate vniuersos superans, pro omnibus mortuus est, & quacunq; sub caelo sunt sanguine suo redemit, deoq; & patri vniuersa terra habitatores acquisiuit.* He alone exceeding al other in worth & valew died for al, & by his blood redeemed all things vnder heauen, & purchased to God his father the inhabitants of the whole earth.

ⁱ Cyril. tom. 2
ep: stol. 1.

^{*} Matth. 20.

¹ Esay. 53.

Howe Christ gaue his soule a ranfome for many.

[But our sauior saith the son of man came ^k *dare animā suā redemptionem pro multis*, to giue his soule a ranfome for many. And Esay fozetold as much, that he should make his soule an offering for sin] It is no great matterie to cite places of scripture in thew repugnant one to the other; howbeit in trueth these are not contrarieties, but cōsequents to the former authorities. For where the soule of man is the life of his bodie; Christ could not die for our sinnes, but he must laie down his soule to death, that it might be seperated from his bodie & so giue HIS SOVLE, that is, his LIFE a ranfome for many, & an offering for sin. And so the very trāslators, & other wise saior

^{*} Matth. 20.

this optinon of hel paines, do interpret those words. ^m The son of man came not to be serued but to serue, & to giue HIS LIFE a ranfome for many. And the like else where: ⁿ *Bonus pastor dat animā pro ouibus.* The good shepheard giueth HIS LIFE for his sheep. ⁿ *Animā meā pono pro ouibus meis;* I lay down my LIFE for my sheep. ⁿ *Diligit me pater quia pono animā meā, ut iterū sumā eam.* My father loueth me because I lay downe my life to take it againe. And indeed that phrase PONERE ANIMAM in the Scriptures doth alwaies note a voluntary yeelding of the life, which

^{*} Iohn. 10

^{*} Iohn. 13.

^P I. Iohn. 3.

is A LAYING ASIDE OF THE SOVLE, for y loue of others; as where Peter saith, ^o *Ponam animam meā pro te;* he did not meane he would go to hel for his māster, there was no cause nor neede thereof; but I will lay down MY LIFE for thee. And when S. Iohn telleth vs, ^p *Quoniam ille animā suā posuit pro nobis, & nos debemus animas ponere pro fratribus;* wee doth not charge vs to hazard our soules by sin or hel for others; but insomuch as Christ gaue

gaue HIS LIFE for vs; wee ought to GIVE OVR LIVES for our brethren. So that for Christ to LAY ASIDE HIS SOVLE, or to DO VRE IT OVT VNTO DEATH; was not to suffer hell paines for our sakes, but to die for our sins; & al those places are rather coherent, the dissident to the rest of h scriptures, which I alleaged.

And yet because the ancient fathers some times saie that Christ gaue his soule for our soules, as hee did his flesh for our flesh, & the scriptures often affirme hee gaue himselfe; I will come to the third effect of Christs crosse, which is the MIGHTY POWVER OF HIS DEATH; and there examine what part of Christ died for our sinnes, and howe by his death the guilt of sinne, the curse of the lawe, the sting of death, and the strength of Satan are not onelie weakened, and wast ed, but extinguished and abolished, that they shal neuer preuaile against him, or his elect.

The power of Christs death.

That the Sonne of God loued vs & gaue I himselfe for vs, making the purgatio of our sinnes in his own person, by the sacrifice of himselfe to put away sinne; is a case so cleere, that it need not to be prooued, much lesse may be doubted without apparent sabuerſion of the Christian faith: but whether Christ suffered the death of the whole man, his soule taking for the time an inwarde and spirituall death in satisfaction of our sinnes; as his flesh did an externall & corporall dissolution of nature, this by some men is questioned in our daies. That for our sakes he humbled himselfe, & was obedient vnto death euen the death of h crosse, is out of al doubt; the Euangelists describe the manner of his death, the apostles the cause; to wit the REDEMPTION of our sins, the CONFIRMATION of the new testament, the RECONCILIATION of man to God, the DESTRUCTION of him that was ruler of death, & the IMITATION of his obedience, who suffered for vs leauing an example that we should follow his steps. Al this he performed with h death of his flesh, the scriptures nowhere mentioning any other kinde of death, that I can read. Where a testament is, there must be the death of him that made the testament. For the testamēt is confirmed

Galat. 2
Hebre. 1
Hebre. 9
By Christs death the scriptures meane the death of his body.

1. Peter. 2.

72 The full redemption of mankind,

confirmed when men are dead. Christ is the mediator of the new Testament; that through death which was for the redemption of the trespasses in the former Testament; they which are called might receive the promise of eternall inheritance. This plainelie expresseth the death of the bodie: For God forbid mens Testaments should be frustrate, till their soules haue tasted the second death: but from the death of the bodie all testaments take their force. Wherefore the new testament is confirmed by the bodilie death of Christ; and there neede no paines of hell befoze it can be good. You y^e in times past were strangers and enemies in mind by euill works; hath he nowe reconciled in the body of his flesh through death to make you holie, vndefiled, and faultlesse before him. Paul thought it not enough to saie, Wee were reconciled vnto God by the death of his sonne; but that death, he addeth, was IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH, to exclude all supposals of the death of the soule; since THE BLOVD OF CHRIST'S CROSSE did PACIFY thinges in earth and in heauen. For so much as the children were partakers of flesh and blood, hee also did therein partake with them; that through death hee might destroy him that had power of death euen the deuil. The death of the spirit maie bee without flesh and blood; as we see in the Devils who are dead in spirite. But Christ took flesh and blood; that by the death of his flesh hee might destroy the deuil; that insulted and raigned over the weaknesse of mans flesh. Wee are buried (with Christ) by baptism into his death; and if we bee grafted with him into the similitude of his death; we shalbe likewise into his resurrection: knowing this that our old man is crucified with him that the body of sinne might bee destroyed, that henceforth wee shoulde not serue sinne, for hee that is dead is freed from sinne. So manie wordes, so manie reasons to pzooue that Christ died not for vs the death of the soule; but quietlie of the bodie. Wee are buried with him by Baptisme; his bodie not his soule was buried. Wee are grafted into the similitude of his death; not the soule but sinne dieth in

vs, when we are grafted into Christ; for he quickeneth our spirits. Our olde man was crucified with him; his soule was not crucified but his flesh; that the body of sinne might be destroyed; by the death of the soule the body of sinne is strengthened and increased: That henceforth we should not serue sinne; they must needs serue sinne; whose soules are deade with sinne. He that is dead is freed from sinne; but he that is deade in spirit, is subiected to the force & furie of sinne. The death of Christ then is mentioned no where in the Scriptures, but the verie words or circumstances, doe cleerely confirme that they speake of the death which he suffered for vs on the crosse, IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH.

That Christ did or could suffer the death of the soule, is a position far from the words, but farther from the groundes of the sacred scriptures. For in God there is no death, and without God there is no life of the soule. So that it is neither possible for the soule ioyned with God to die, nor for the soule separated from God to liue. Then if Christs soule were at any time deade, it lost all conjunction and communion with God; and consequentlie the personall vnion of God and man in Christ was for that time dissolved; and the grace and presence of Gods spirit were utterly taken from him; and so during that space, there could be in Christ neither obedience, humility, patience, holines nor loue; which are the fruits of Gods spirit; yea the soule of Christ, if it were but for an houre deprived of Gods grace and spirit, must needs for that time be subiected to all sinne and wickednesse; which the diuel himselfe dare not touch of the soule of Christ. Men maie doe well therefore to beware how they venture vniadvisedlie to saie, that Christ suffered the death of the soule; for howsoever they may frame vnto theiues a new kind of death in the soule of Christ; as they thinke far from these absurdities and blasphemies; yet both scriptures & fathers mightilie contradict that loose, if not lewde assertion. With thee is the fountain of life; saith Dauid to God. When if the soule of Christ

Christ could not die the death of the soule.

• Psal. 36:

74 The full redemption of mankind,

were alwaies ioined with God, or so much as in Gods fauour, it must needs haue life; for ^d in (Gods) fauour there is life. ^e *Pea* the presence of Gods spirit giueth life. ^f *Spiritus est qui uiuificat*; it is the spirit y quickneeth, saith our Saviour; and Paul ^g *testeth* the same words. Where then THE SPIRIT OF GOD is, there is LIFE, and consequently the soule y is dead is deuyed of Gods spirit. Now from whom the spirit of God is departed; in him must needs want al the fruits of Gods spirit; and so the soule, that is dead, is excluded from all godlinesse and vertue. For these are not onelie signes, but effectes of Gods spirit working in the soule of man. And since between righteousnes and vnrigheteousnes there is no middle, the soule of man wanting light, truth, and sanctitie; of force must be filled with darkenes, error, & iniquity; which to surmise in the soule of Christ, is the bight of all impietie. ^h As manie as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sonnes of God. If Christes soule wanted at anie time the spirit of God, he was not the sonne of God. If he euer and alwaies had the spirit of life dwelling in him, his soule coulde at no time be dead. For the ⁱ spirit is life through righteousnesse. But whie seeke we proofes that Christes soule could not die; since he himselfe is the AVTHOR AND GIVER OF LIFE? I am the waie, the truth, and THE LIFE saith our Saviour. ^k He that beleeueth in me hath euerlasting life. ^l I am the resurrection and the life: hee that beleeueth in mee, though hee were dead, he shall liue. And hee that liueth, and beleeueth in me; shal neuer die. If the soule of him that beleeueth in Christ shal neuer die, how could Christ himselfe at anie time die in soules? ^m Christ is our life; howe then shall we be sure neuer to die, if the fountasne of our life in Christes person might for the time bee dyed vp with death. Shall we haue fuller or perfiter fruition of life then Christ Iesus our heade, who ⁿ giueth life to all his sheepe? but he had so plentifull, perpetuall, and personall possession of life, not onelie for himselfe, but for vs all; that the Apostle saith, the first Adam was made a liuing soule,

^d Psal. 30.

^e Iohn. 6

^f 2. Corinth. 3.

^g Rom. 8

^h Rom. 8.

ⁱ Iohn. 14

^j Iohn. 6.

^k Iohn. 11

^l Colof. 3.

^m Iohn. 10

ⁿ 1. Cor. 15

Soule, the last *Adam* was made a quickening spirit; that is not only to haue life in himself, but to giue life to others. Could hee then at anye time be a deade soule, whome the holy ghost affirmeth to be made a QUICKENING SPIRIT? could he giue that to others, which himselfe did lacke? or loose that which he once had? I know to giue life is proper to God, and so; that cause the soule of Christ could not haue that power by creation, but by coniunction with his godhead; and in that respect was the receptacle whereby the life and grace of his diuine nature was deriued into his humane, with such abundance, and assurance, that of his fulnes we al haue receaued; insonmuch that the words which he spake, were spirit and life; and the flesh which he tooke, was the bread of life; yea the body of Christ dying did not only resist and repress the force of death; but rising againe destroyed death, & restored life to the world. If the temple of his bodie were stronger then death, what was the sanctuarie of his soule?

I with therfore all men, that professe themselves christians, to be soberly minded; and with the learned and auncient fathers to acknowledge; that there is not mentioned in the scriptures anye death of the soule, besides SINNE, & eternall DAMNATION; neither of the which with anye moderation or mitigation can be attributed to Christ without shamefull blasphemie. *Anima peccans ipsa morietur.* The soule that sinneth, that soule shall die. In these wordes are both deaths of the soule exprest; the first voluntarie when for the delights of sinne wee refuse the preceptes of God: the other necessarie, when God by his iustice withdraweth his presence from vs, and executeth his VENGEANCE on vs, that neuer shall haue end. That sinne is a death of the soule, cannot be denied. Let the dead bury their dead, saith Christ to one of his disciples, follow thou me; which must needs be meant of such as are liuing in body, & dead in soule, as Paule speaketh of wanton widowes, the which liueth in pleasure, is dead whiles shee liueth. These the scripture calleth DEAD

1. Corinth. 15

^m Iohn. 1
^a Iohn. 6

The death of the soule is either sinne, or damnation.

^o Ezech. 18

^r Matth. 8

¹¹ Timoth. 5

76 The full redemption of mankind!

Ephes. 2. 1.
Colos. 2.

IN SINNE. When we were dead by sinnes, God quickened vs together with Christ. And again, You, which were dead in sinnes, hath he quickened together with Christ, forgiuing you all your trespasses: From this death I make no doubt but all chistian men with heart and voice will cleerlie discharge the **VNSPOTTED** and **VNDEFILED** Lambe of God, who did ^{no} sinne; neither was there any guile found in his mouth.

1. Pet. 1.
1. Peter. 2.

The other kinde of the death of the soule, which is damnation, must be farther from Christ then euer was sinne. For not onelie Christes innocency should bee vnjustlie condemned, which were altogether repugnant to Gods rightednesse; but the sonne of God wronged, and mans saluation wholly subuerted. Nothing might befall the humane nature of Christ, which was vnfitting for his diuine; both being ioined in one person. And if our Saviour were condemned to hell; which way shall we thinke to scape the iust and fearefull iudgement of God for our manifold and grievous sinnes? he was indeede condemned by man, that gaue wrongfull sentence of death against him; but hee was acquitted of God.

Philip. 2.

Plal. 16.

And because hee humbled himselfe to the death of the crosse, God highly ^x exalted him, and gaue him a name above all names, as well in witnesse of his innocencie, as in reward of his humility. Hea the holie ghost, which evidently recordeth Christes assurance, confidence, and reioicing in God, as hee hung on the crosse, cleane excludeth all suspition that hee suffered the death of the soule. For the soule in this life can haue no fuller, nor faster coherence with God, then Christ had. And since God is the true life of the soule; the inseparable coniunction of Christes soule with God proueth a continuall perswasion, and fruition of eternal life; which by no meanes admitteth anie danger or doubt, much lesse anie sence or sufferance of the second death being the iust wages of sinne, whereby the wicked are euertlastinglie punished. ² Certe anima Christi non solum immortalis secundum carerariū naturam;

August. epi.

sed

sed etiam nullo mortificata peccato, vel damnatione punita est: quibus duabus causis mors animæ intelligi potest. Surely the soule of Christ (saith Austen) was not only immortall in nature as the rest; but was NEITHER DEAD WITH ANY SIN, nor PUNISHED WITH DAMNATION: which two wayes the death of the soule may be vnderstood. If then neither transgression, nor damnation may be ascribed to the soul of Christ, it is evident he suffered not the death of the soule; yea to subiect the soule of Christ to either of these two deaths, which onelie are the deaths of the soule, were more horrible blasphemie, then I hope anie Christian man meaneth to incurre.

[But I mistake the death of the soule.] I must confesse I therein followe the sacred Scriptures, and ancient fathers; other kinde of death of the soule I know none, because I reade none iustlie proued. These two are manifest in the scriptures. That sinne killeth the soule, besides manie other places before cited, Saint Paule shortly sheweth in these words. ^a SIN REVIVED, BUT I DIED; for sinne deceiued me, and slae me. And likewise our sauiour, except you beleue, you shall ^b die in your sinnes. That euerlasting death is the wages of sinne, I take it to be as cleare a case, as the former. These shal go into ^c euerlasting punishment, saith Christ to the wicked. They shall be ^d punished with euerlasting perdition, saith Paule of the ignorant and disobedient. The yoke of their tormentes shal ascend euermore, saith John in his Reuelation. The lake burning with fire and brimstone, this is the second death. Howe the ancient fathers define the death of the soule, is some scene by their writings. *Dicam audacter fratres sed tamen verum. Dua vitæ sunt, vna corporis, altera animæ, sicut vitæ corporis animæ, sic vitæ animæ deus. Quomodo si animæ deserat, moritur corpus; sic moritur animæ si deserat Deus.* I wil speake boldlie (saith Austen) but trulie. There are two sortes of life, one of the bodie, another of the soule. As the soule is the life of the body, so God is the life of the soule; & as if

The death of the soule is a separation from God.

^a Rom. 7.
^b Iohn. 8.

^c Mat. 25.
^d 2 The. 1.

^e Reuel. 14.
^f Reuel. 20.

^g Augusti. 320
Psal. 70.

78 The full redemption of mankind,

the soule depart the body dieth; so dieth the soule, if God forsake it. ^h *Mors propria non est ea, que animam à corpore, sed que animam à Deo separat. Deus vita est, qui a Deo separatur, mortuus est.* That is not properly death (saith Cyrill) which seuereth the soule from the bodie, but that which seuereth the soule from God. God is life; and therefore hee that is separated from God, is dead. ⁱ *Anima qua peccat moritur, non vique aliqua sui dissolutione, sed merito moritur Deo, quia vivit peccato. Ergo qua non peccat, non moritur.* The soule

^h Cyril, homil.
10. de exitu
animæ.

ⁱ Ambros. de
bono mortis ca 9

which sinneth dieth, (saith Ambrose) not by anie dissolution of her substance, but worthilie dieth thee vnto God, because shee liueth vnto sinne. The soule then which sinneth not, dieth not. ^k *Anima in corpore vita est carnis; Deus vero qui viuificat omnia, vita est animarum.* ^l *Sicut mors exterior ab anima diuidit carnem, ita mors interior à Deo separat animam.*

^k Gregor. in
Ezech. homil. 17

The soule in the bodie (saith Gregorie) is the life of the flesh, but God that quickeneth all things is the life of the soule; as the outward death diuideth the bodye from the soule, so the inward death diuideth the soule from God. ^m *Sicut anima vita est corporis, ita Deus vita est animæ.* ⁿ *Mors animæ separatio à Deo; mors corporis separatio animæ à corpore.* As the soule is the life of the bodie, so God is the life of the soule; saith Bernard. The death of the soule is to be separated from God; the death of the bodie is the departure of the soule from the bodie.

^l Idem moralis
lib. 9. Cap. 38.

^m Bernard. serm.
par. 3. & alius
ser. par. num. 7

Neither doe I see howe this definition of the death of the soule can be auoyded or amended. For can there be life from any other, but onelie from God? If it bee good, it must come from the fountaine of all goodnesse; and ^o none is good but onelie God. Then the soule which is partaker of God, is partaker of life; and to be seuered from God, is to be seuered from life which is the true description of death.

^o Luc. 3.

The fathers
mainely teach
that christ died
the death of y
flesh ONLY.

Rightly therefore do the auncient fathers teach, that
Christ dying for our sinnes, suffered ONLY THE DEATH
OF THE BODIE, but not of the soule; and the scriptures
wheresoener they mention the death of Christ, must haue
the

the like construction. For the soule of Christ could not die, so long as it had the presence and assistance of Gods Spirit; yea we leaue him neither faith noz hope, loue noz ioy, obedience noz patience, noz any other merites or vertues, if wee subiect him to the death of the soule; for these are the buds and fruits of life. From which if we cannot exclude the soule of Christ, no not for a moment, without sacrilegious impleite, it remaineth that Christ neither suffered noz tasted the death of the soule, but onelie the death of the bodie.

In his bodie he bare our sinnes on the tree; and Reconciled vs vnto God, in the BODY OF HIS FLESH THROUGH DEATH, when we were straungers and enemyes in heart; by reason of our euill workes.

Quid est enim quod uiuificatus est spiritu, nisi quod eadem caro. QVA SOLA FVERAT MORTIFICATVS uiuificante spiritu resurrexit? Nam QVOD ANIMA FVERAT MORTIFICATVS IESVS, hoc est eo spiritu qui hominis est, QVIS AVDEAT DICERE, cum mors, anima non sit nisi peccatum; a quo ille omnino immunitis fuit? Mortificatus ergo carne dictus est, quia secundum SOLAM CARNEM mortuus est.

What is meant by this; that Christ was quickened in spirit, but that the same flesh, IN WHICH ONELIE HE DIED, rose againe quickened by the spirit? For that Iesus was DEAD IN SPIRIT WHO DEARE AVOUCH, I meane in his humane spirit, since as the death of the soule is nothing but sinne, from which hee was altogether free? And least wee should thinke this slipte his penne, else where hee largelie and learnedlie handleth the same matter.

(Diabolus) per impietatem MORTVVS EST IN SPIRITV, carne vtiqve mortuus non est: nobis autem & impietatem persuasit, & per hanc vs in mortem carnis venire mereremur effecit. Quod ergo nos Mediator mortis transmisit, & ipse NON VENIT, hoc est ad MORTEM CARNIS: ibi nobis Dominus Deus noster medicinam emendationis inferuit quam ille non meruit.

By sinne the Diuell

DIED

o 1 Pet. 2.

p Colof. 1.

2 August. epist. 99.

Idem de trinitate lib. 4 ca. 13.

80 The full redeimption of mankind,

DIED IN SPIRIT; in flesh he died not: but to vs hee perswaded sinne, and thereby brought vs to deserue the death of the flesh. Whicher then the mediator of death cast vs, and came not himselfe, that is to the death of the bodie; euen there the Lord our God appointed a medicine to cure vs, which the Diuell neuer obtained. And noting the remedie prouided for vs in the bodilie death of Christ, he saith, *Vita mediator ostendens, quam non sit mors timenda, quae per humanam conditionem iam euadi non potest, sed potius impietas quae per fidem cauari potest occurrit nobis* AD FINEM QVO VENIMUS, sed NON QVA VENIMVS. Nos enim ad mortem per peccatum venimus, ille per iustitiam; & ideo cum sit mors nostra poena peccati, mors illius facta est hostia pro peccato. The Mediatour of life (Christ Iesus) to shewe vs that death is not to bee feared; which by humane condition can nowe not bee escaped, but rather impietie, which by sayth may be auoyded; mette vs in the ende whicher wee were come, but not in the way by which we came. For we came by sinne to death; but hee by righteousnesse: and so where our death is the punishment of sinne; his death is the sacrifice for sinne. And therefore the death which Christ suffered in his bodie on the Crosse, did purge, abolish, and extinguish all our sinnes; wheteby the power of satan iustly detained vs to abide the punishment of our transgressions. *Quia viuum spiritu mortuus spiritu non inuasit, quo modo auidus mortis humane conuertit se ad faciendam mortem quam potuit;* & PERMISSVS EST IN ILLVD, QVOD EX NOBIS MORTALE viuus mediator acceperat. Et ubi posuit aliquid facere, ibi omni ex parte deuictus est, & unde accepit exterius potestatem dominica carnis occidenda, inde interior eius potestas, quam nos tenebat, occisa est. Factum est enim, ut vincula peccatorum multorum IN MVLTIS MORTIBVS PER VNVS VNAM MORTEM, quam peccatum nullum precesserat, soluerentur. Ita Diabolus hominem in ipsa morte CARNIS amisit. Because (the Diuell) deade in spirite could not inuade (Christ) liuing in spirite; as most desirous

Ibidem.

Ibidem. cap. 13

to kill man, hee fastened on that death which hee could
 compasse and was suffered to kill that mortall (bodie) which the
 liuing Mediatour tooke from mankinde; and where he could
 doe anie thing; euen there was hee cucrie waie conquered;
 and whence hee receyued outwardlie power to kill the Lords
 bodie; thence was his inwarde power, whereby hee helde
 vs, ouerthrowne. By which it came to passe, that the
 chaines of manie sinnes deseruing manie deaths were loosed
 by the one death of one, in whome was no sinne. So the Diuell
 lost man BY THE VERIE DEATH OF (CHRISTS) FLESH.

¶ For the death of Christ should leade vs patientlie to suffer
 the same death for him which hee suffered for vs. ⁿ *Hactenus*

*morentur ad Christi gratiam pertinentes, quatenus pro illis
 ipse mortuus est Christus.* CARNIS TAN TUM MORTE
 NON SPIRITVS. So farre shoulde they, which belong to
 the grace of Christ, die as Christ died for them; that is, the
 DEATH OF THE BODIE ONELIE, AND NOT OF
 THE SPIRIT. And by that death of his bodie he freed vs
 from both. ^s *SOLVS CORPORIS MORTEM Dei filius*

*pro nobis accepit, per quam a nobis & dominationem peccati, &
 poenam eterna punitiois exclusit.* The death OF THE BO-
 DIE ONLIE THE SONNE OF GOD SUFFERED FOR
 VS, by which he deliuered vs both from the dominion of sin,
 and from eternall damnation.

¶ *Cyrillus teacheth the same doctrine.* ^y *Si intelligatur*
Deus incarnatus, & propria carne passus, parua est erga ipsum
omnis creatura; & sufficit ad redemptionem mundi VNI VS
 CARNIS MORS. If wee vnderstand (Christ) to bee
 God incarnate, and to haue suffered in his owne flesh; of
 small value in respect of him are all creatures, and sufficient
 to redeeme the worlde is the DEATH OF HIS ONELY
 FLESH. And likewise Gregorie. ^z *Nos quia mente a Deo*

recessimus; & carne ad puluerem redimus, poena dupla mortis
astringimur. Sed venit ad nos qui SOLA CARNE PRO
 NOBIS MORERETVR, ET SIMPLIAM SVAM DV-

ⁿ August. de Trinitate lib. II cap. 15.

^x Idem de tempore. Serm. 162.

^y Cyril. de recta fide ad reginas lib. 2.

^z Greg. moral. lib. 9. cap. 15.

82 The full redemption of mankind,

PLAE NOSTRAE iungeret & nos AB VTRAQUE MORTE liberaret. Because in heart wee were departed from God, and in flesh returning to dust; wee are tied to the punishment OF A DOUBLE DEATH. But (Christ) came vnto vs, which DIED IN THE FLESH ONLY FOR VS, and ioyning HIS ONE KINDE OF DEATH TO BOTH OVRS, DELIVERED VS FROM BOTH. And more at large; the same father debating the same matter; ^a *Vmbra mortis mors carnis accipitur quia sicut vera mors est; qua anima separatur à Deo, ita vmbra mortis est, qua caro separatur ab anima. Quos enim constat NON SPIRITV SED SOLA CARNE MORI, ne-*

ergo quod beatus Iob postulat vmbra[m] mortis nisi quod ad delenda[m] peccata ante Dei oculos, Dei & hominum Mediatorem requirit, qui SOLAM PRO NOBIS MORTEM CARNIS susciperet, & veram mortem delinquentium, per vmbra[m] sue mortis deleret? Ad nos quippe venit qui IN MORTE SPIRITVS CARNISQUE TENEBAMVR VNAM ad nos suam mortem detulit, & DVAS NOSTRAS, quas reperit soluit. SI ENIM IPSE VTRAMQUE SVSCIPERET NOS A NULLA LIBERARET: sed VNAM misericorditer accepit, & IVSTE VTRAMQUE damnavit SIMPLAM SVAM DVPLAE NOSTRAE contulit & DVPLAM NOSTRAM MORIENS SVBEGIT. Qui ergo SOLAM PRO NOBIS MORTEM CARNIS SVSCEPIT vmbra[m] mortis pertulit, & à dei oculis culpam quam fecimus; abscondit. The shadow of death is take[n] for the death of the bodie, for that as it is the true death, whereby the soule is separated from God; so it is but the shadow of death, whereby the bodie is separated from the soule. For they which assuredly die NOT THE DEATH OF THE SPIRIT, BUT ONLY OF THE FLESH, they doe not say they are covered with the true death; but with the shadow of death. To what end then doth blessed Iob aske for the shadow of death, but that to wipe away sinne out of Gods sight, hee seeketh for the Mediator of God & man, who should yndertake FOR VS THE DEATH

^a Idem moralium
lib. 4. cap. 17.

OF THE BODIE ONLY, and by the shadow of his death might extinguish the true death of sinners? Hee came to vs that WERE SVBIECT BOTH TO THE DEATH OF THE SPIRIT AND OF THE FLESH, and by HIS SINGLE DEATH HE LOOSED BOTH OVR DEATHS. If he should haue SVFFERED BOTH, HE COULD HAVE DELIVERED VS FROM NEITHER. But he mercifully VNDERTOOKE ONE OF THEM and iustlie CONDEMNED BOTH. He ioyned HIS SINGLE DEATH TO OVR DOVBLE DEATH, and dying CONQVERED BOTH OVR DEATHS. He then which for vs TOOKE VPON HIM ONLY THE DEATH OF THE BODY suffered the shadow of death, and hid from Gods eies, the sinne which we had committed. Bernard *l. 1. c. 1. Cum gemina morte secundum utramq; naturam homo damnatus fuisset, altera quidem spiritali & voluntaria, altera corporali & necessaria; vtriq; deus homo, VNA SVA CORPORALI ac voluntaria benigne & potenter occurrit, ILLAQVE SVA VNA NOSTRAM VTRAMQVE DAMNAVIT.* Where man was condemned vnto a double death, to witte, in either part of his nature; the one death spirituall and voluntarie; the other corporall and necessarie; God being made man did mightilie and mercifullie release both our Deaths, with his ONE CORPORALL and voluntarie Death; and with THAT ONE DEATH OF HIS DESTROYED BOTH OVS. And so concludeth; *Dum sponte, & tantum in corpore moritur, & vitam nobis & iustitiam promeretur.* VWhiles Christ dyed willinglie and ONELY in his BODY he merited for vs both righteousness and life.

Bernard.
ad milie. scrip-
pli. cap. 1. 1.

I hope to all men learned, or well aduised it will seeme no Iesuiticall phrensie, but rather christian & catholike doctrine, that the son of God dying for our sinnes, suffered NOT THE DEATH OF THE SOVLE, but ONLIE OF THE BODIE by the hands of the Iewes; and by the bodily & bloudie sacrifice of himself, did not only redeme & cleanse both our souls & bodies, but destroyed sin & death, purging our transgressions by the merit of his obedience, & swallowing by death by power of his life

How Christ
gaue himselfe
wholy for vs.

84 The full redemption of mankind,

^b 1. Tim. 2

And howsoever the scriptures sometimes affirme that hee gaue ^b himselfe a ranfome for all men, and the Fathers likewise teach, that hee gaue his flesh for our flesh, and his soule for our soules: yet neither Scriptures nor Fathers haue anye meaning either to subiect Christ to the death of the soule, which assertion they abhorre as wicked; or to diminish the force or fruit of his bodily death, which they extoll as most sufficient; but to expresse that in the death of his flesh on the crosse his soule did suffer the sense of paine; and smart of death which parted the bodie and soule in sunder; and so toyntlie with the bodie, and seuerallie by it selfe, the soule of Christ had not onely temptations, afflictions and passions, but euen endured the naturall sting and sharpenesse of death, to which he submitted his soule, that he might haue the feeling of our infirmities, and in all things bee tempted as wee are: but still without sinne. How Christ gaue himselfe wholly for vs, we maie learne out of Bernard. ^d *Sicut TOTUM HOMINEM saluum fecit, sic DE TOTO SE HOSTIAM fecit salutarem; corpus exponens tantis supplicijs & iniurijs, animam vero gemine cuiusdam humanissima compassionis affectus; inde super merore inconsolabili sanctorum feminarum; inde super desperatione & dispersione discipulorum. In his quatuor crisi domina fuit.* As Christ saued the VVHOLE MANY, so of HIMSELFE WHOLIE hee made a wholesome sacrifice: yeelding his bodie to so great torments and wrongs, and his soule to the feeling of a double most tender compassion; on the one side for the vncomfortable grieffe of the holie women; on the other side for the desperation and dispersion of his disciples. In these foure consisted the crosse of Christ: Since then the death of Christ did both affect and afflict his soule and his bodie; Iustlie might Irenaeus say, ^e The Lord bought vs with his owne blood, and gaue his soule for our soules, and his flesh for our flesh. For in dying hee layde downe his soule not onelie to sorrowe, grieffe and paine, but euen to the bitter disioyce of death, that brake the communion of bodie

and

^c Heb. 4.

^d Bernard in
ramis palma-
riens. Sermon. 3.

^e Irenaeus lib. 5
cap. 1.

and soule: [¶] *Sicut TOTVS SEMETIPSV M. tradidit, & TOTVS HOMO SEMETIPSV M. OBTVLIT, ita totus homo ANI-* [¶] *Fulgentius ad*
MAM SVAM POSVIT, cū anima, in cruce moriente carne, dis- [¶] *Traſimundanus*
ceſſit. As WHOLE Christ gaue HIM SELFE (saith Fulgen- ^{lib 3.}
 tius) and the WHOLE MAN OFFERED HIMSELFE, so the
 whole man LAYD DOWNE HIS SOVLE, whē, the flesh dying
 on the crosse, the soule departed. So that Christ yelded his
 soule for our soules to the suscepcion of sorrow, prepsion of
 paine, and dissolution of nature; but vnto the death of the
 soule he did neither offer, nor yelde himselfe: since that is a
 separation from God, and exclusion from grace, from which it
 was vtterlie impossible the soule of Christ could either wil-
 lingly, or forceable for an houre be removed: yea where you
 find the suffering of his soule witnessed, there shall you see
 the DEATH OF HIS FLESH ONELIE to be aouched.

¶ *Quia TOTIVM HOMINEM deus ille suscepit, ideo TOTIVS*
HOMINIS in se passiones in veritate monstravit, & animam qui- [¶] *Fulgentius ad*
dem rationalem habens, quicquid fuit infirmitatis anima sine [¶] *Traſimundanus*
peccato suscepit & perulit; ut dum humana anima passiones, in ^{lib 3.}
anima quam accepit vinceret, nostras quoque animas ab infirmi-
tatibus liberaret. Carnem quoque humanam accipiens, in eiusdem
veritate carnis, veritatem voluntariae habuit passionis, ut IN
CARNE MORTVVS TOTAM in se HOMINIS OCCI-
DERET MORTEM. Because (the soule of God) tooke vnto
 him the WHOLE NATURE of man, therefore he shewed in
 himselfe the sufferings OF THE VVHOLE MAN; and hauing
 a reasonable soule, he tooke vpon him and endured all the infir-
 mities of the soule, but without sinne; that whiles in the soule,
 which he tooke, hee conquered the passions of mans soule; he
 might free our soules also from infirmities. Taking likewise mans
 flesh, in the truth of the same flesh he suffered a true and volun-
 tary passion, that DYING IN THE FLESH; hee might kill
 in his person the WHOLE DEATH dew to man. Christ en-
 dured the passions of the whole man; hauing neither bodie
 nor soule free from suffering; but yet he died ONLY in the
 FLESH,

86 The full redemption of mankind,

FLESH, and thereby he killed the WHOLE DEATH inflicted on the body and soule of man. ^h *Quis ignorat Christum IN SOLO CORPORE MORTVVM & sepultum?* Who is ignorant that Christ in BODY ONLY DIED, and was buried? And againe, ⁱ *Sicut in MORTE SOLIVS CARNIS immortalis fuit, sic in passionibus totius hominis impassibilis omnino permansit.* The godheade of Christ was immortall when ONELY HIS BODY DIED, and impassible, when the whole man suffered. ^k *Moriente carne, non solum deitas sed NEC ANIMA CHRISTI POTEST OSTENDI COMMORTVA.* When Christs bodie died, not onelie his deitie, but his SOVLE CANNOT BE SHEWED TO HAVE BEEN PARTAKER OF DEATH. Wherefore I canstie admitte the wordes of Nazianzene to be true, that euerte part in man is ^l sanctified by the like in Christ, our condemned flesh by his flesh, our soule by his soule, our vnderstanding by his vnderstanding; yea I dislike not the wordes of Cyril; ^m *Carnem suam in redemptionis pretium pro omnium carne dependit; & animam suam similiter pro omnium anima redemptionis pretium constituit, quamuis iterum renixerit; vita secundum naturam existens.* Christ yeilded his flesh, as a rancome for the flesh of all men, and made his soule likewise a price to redeeme the soules of all, though he were restored againe to life, as beeing life by nature: so long as we abuse not his wordes to maintaine our fauless impugning his generall and settled doctrine; that ⁿ sufficient for the redēption of the world, is the DEATH OF HIS FLESH ONLY: nor thereby take occasion to defend that his blood is not able to iustifie, or sanctifie the beleeuers. ^o *Sanguine suo; hoc est SVAE CARNIS SANGVINE iustificat omnes in se credentes.* With his blood, that is with THE BLOVD OF HIS FLESH he iustifieth all that belecue in him. P *SINON ALIO MODO SALVANDVS ERAT mundus: nisi in SANGVINE ET CORPORE morti VUTILITER derelicto, quo pacto non necessarius verbo incarnationis modus ut iustificet in sanguine suo credetes in se, & conciliet patri per mortē sui corporis?* If the world MIGHT

NONE

^h *Ibidem.*

ⁱ *Ibidem.*

^k *Ibidem.*

^l *Nazianzen in tract. 49. ad Cledonium.*

^m *Cyri. de recta fide ad Theodosium.*

ⁿ *Cyri. de recta fide ad reginas lib. 2.*

^o *Idem de recta fide ad reginas lib. 1.*

^p *Ibidem.*

NONE OTHER WAY BE SAVED but by Christes leauing his BODIE AND BLOVD VNTO DEATH for our good, howe was not the taking of flesh necessarie for the sonne of God, that by his blood hee might iustifie such as beleued in him, and BY THE DEATH OF HIS BODIE reconcile them to God his father? *Quomodo sanguis communis hominis nos sanctos efficeret? sed sanctificauit sanguis Christi. Deus igitur & non simpliciter homo; deus enim erat. in carne, SVO SANGVINE nos purificans.* How could the bloud of a common man make vs holic? BYT THE BLOVD OF CHRIST DID SANCTIFIE vs. He was therefore God and not simplie a man. For he was God in FLESH THAT CLENSED vs VVITH HIS BLOVD.

When the ancient fathers affirme, that Christ died for vs THE DEATH OF THE BODY ONLY, and that the BLOVD OF HIS FLESH doth saue and sanctifie the beleuers; we must not like chlozen imagine they speake of insensible flesh; or that in those wordes they exclude the vnion, operation or passion of the soule, whiles Christes bodie suffered and died: that were to make Christ a stocke, not a man, and to glue him carrion, and not humane flesh quickened and coupled with life and soule; but in the death of his bodie & shedding of his blood, they include all those afflictions and passions of the soule, which naturally & necessarily follow paine & accompany death. For these sufferings of Christes soule confirme his obedience, & witness his patience; only their intent is by all meanes to free Christ from THE DEATH OF THE SOVLE, and then to propose the death which hee suffered in the bodie of his flesh on the crosse, with all painfull, but no sinnesal concomitants and consequents, as the propitiation for our sinnes, redemption of our soules, and reconciliation vnto God; by which al haduer saries of our saluation the law, sinne, death and Satan are vtterlie conquered and abolished. And thus saue forth they haue the scriptures expresselie concurring:

The death of Christes flesh redeemeth as well soule as bodie.

88 The full redemption of mankind,

1. Iohn. 1

Hebre. 9

Reuelat. 5.

August. epist.
120.

The bodilie death of christ ouerthrew all the enemies of our saluation,
 Rom. 7.
 Ephes. 2.
 2. Timoth. 3

concurring with them. The blood of Iesus Christ his sonne clenseth vs from all sinne. It must clense then our soules, as well as our bodies; for they are the chiefe agents in sin. Much more shall the blood of Christ purge your consciences from dead works. Conscience is a part of the soule; not of the body. Thou hast redeemed vs to God by thy blood, saie the saintes in heauen, whose bodies lie in the dust of the earth. Redemption, remission of sinnes, iustification, sanctification, and such like effectes of the blood of Christ are PRINCIPALLY AND PRIMARILY in the soule; and by consequent in the bodie. And therefore there can be no question, but the bodilie death of Christ is the redemption of our soules, as well as of our bodies, in as much as the whole man in Christ died the death of the crosse, to redeme the whole man in vs; both partes in him toyntlie feeling; but with admirable patience enduring, the bitter and sharpe paines antecedent, and annered to the death of his bodie. *Cum caro in doloribus est, & in pœnis, profecto anima tunc habet maximum agonem patientie.* When the flesh is in anguish and paine, (saith Austen) then the soule certainly hath the greatest triall of patience. For the soule is so created and ordained that shee seeleth the pleasure and paine of her bodie; and howsoeuer she fleshy bee subjected to violence, the sence and grieuance thereof is in the soule; both in this life, and in the next.

As the bodilie death of Christ paicth the price of our redemption: so it remoueth all the impediments of our saluation, which are manie and mightilie linked together. For by the CORRUPTION of nature descending from our parents, and dwelling within vs; wee are ^x solde vnder sinne, ^y fulfilling the will of the flesh, and louing ^z pleasures more then God: whereby we neglect and breake the LAW of God, and so incurre the CURSE pronounced against the transgressours of the law; and by that obligation are liable to ETERNAL DEATH. This is the chaine of original infection, a ctuall transgression, legall malediction, and eternal damnation, which

which doth aweth vs from God, and bindeth vs as prisoners and captiues to death, and hell. If then the DEATH of Christ suffered ^a IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH loosed euery linke of this chaine, and not onelie cleared vs from all these enemies and exactors, but reconciled vs to God, and made peace for vs ^b by the blood of his crosse; it is a wrong to the death & blood of Christ either to disable the as not sufficient to redēem vs; or to supplie them with anie better or other addition, which the holie ghost doth not mention. Examine these particularlie, and see whether the power of Christs death doe not perfectlie dissolue them all. ^c Our olde man is crucified with him, that the bodie of sinne might bee destroyed, that henceforth we should not serue sinne. Let not sinne raigne therefore in your mortall bodie, (saith the Apostle) that you should obey it in the lustes thereof. The force and strength of originall sinne and corruption in all the faithfull is crucified and dead with Christ, except they reuiue it by voluntarie obeying the lustes thereof. ^d For they which are Christes, haue crucified the flesh with the affections and lustes; by reason not onelie the guilt, but also the life and power of sinne died in Christs flesh, when it was crucified. So that ^e sinne now hath no dominion ouer them, because they are not vnder the lawe, but vnder grace. And likewise for actuall sinne, (by Christ) ^f we haue redemption, through his blood, that is the forgiuenes of sinnes. For God hath ^g proposed him to be a reconciliation through faith in his blood by the forgiuenesse of the sinnes that are passed, through the patience of God. ^h The blood (therefore) of Christ Iesus his sonne cleanseth vs from all sinne, since he is the ⁱ mediator of the new Testament, (whose) death was for the redemption of the transgressions, that were in the former testament.

^a Colof. 2.

^b Ibidem.

^c Rom. 6.

^d Galat. 5

^e Rom. 6.

^f Ephes. 1.

Colof. 1.

^g Rom. 3.

^h 1. Iohn. 1

ⁱ Hebre. 9

If the death of Christ on the crosse, and the shedding of his blood were the full and full redemption of all our sinnes, then apparentlie it eased and ended the curse which the lawe inflicted for sinne. For where he is ^k accursed, that continueth

The death of Christ on the crosse quen- cheth y^e curse of the law.

90 The full redemption of mankind,

not in al things written in the book OF THE LAVV, to do the; the remitting of sinne, is the releasing of the curse that is consequent to sinne. The curse importeth vengeance due to sinne. When where sinne is pardoned the curse is determined. But wee haue redemption, euen remission of sinnes through his blood. Ergo the blood of Christ doth quench the curse of the law. The maner, how the curse of the law lighted & sealed on the person of Christ, is thus exprested by S. Paule, ^m Christ redeemed vs from the curse of the lawe, being made a curse for vs. For it is written, accursed is euery one that hangeth on the tree: As by his stripes we are healed: so by his curse we are blessed. In as much as he submitted himselfe to the curse of the law for our sinnes, not only our transgressions are pardoned, for which Christ suffered; but the law stinging him to death, lost his force for ever. For the vengeance of the law once executed on our suertie, can no more in Gods iustice be eracted of vs. But Christ receiued the sentence of the lawe in himselfe, when he bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree: wee therefore are quitted for ever from the power of the lawe. Since then by his receiuing and suffering the curse of the lawe in his owne person, wee are freed and blessed; it remaineth wee search howe farre the curse preuailed against him. Wherein we must take hede that wee step not an hazzards breadth from the Apostles words. For if we stretch the curse farther on Christ, then in truth it did, or could take place, wee arrogantly and impiouly pronounce that cursed, which indeede was blessed; and falsifie the promise of God, made to Abraham, that in his seede, which was Christ, ⁿ All the nations of the earth should be blessed. For howe could the blessing of Abraham be deriued from Christ to vs, if euery part of his humane nature were accursed? Wherefore Christ must receiue the curse of the lawe in one part of himselfe, which was his flesh, and in the other which was his soule, retaine the blessing of God, as well for his flesh to be raised againe, as for his members to be vnitied vnto him.

Ephes. 1

Galat. 3

Genes. 22

him. If this bee not the doctrine of the holie Ghost, I bidge no man to beléue it; if it bee, let such as will wante **G O D S** curse, beware howe they refuse it. It is no small aduenture to extende the curse of God vpon the soule of Christ Iesus, without clére, sound, and sure testimonte of the holie scriptures.

To shew that Christ sustained the curse of the lawe; and by his enduring it, acquitted vs; Saint Paul in effect bleth this reason. ° **CURSED** saith Moses is euerie one that is hanged on the tree. But Christ was content for our sinnes to be hanged on the tree of the crosse. He therfore submitted himselfe to the curse of the lawe to redeeme vs from it. That this is Saint Pauls argument, the thirde to the Galathians, to pzoone Christ vnder the curse of the lawe, I hope the simplest amongst you, will soone perceiue, the learnedest dare not denie. By which it is euident, that part of Christ which hung on the crosse was subiected to the curse: but the soule of Christ was not crucified: Ergo the soule of Christ was not made a curse; but onelie his bodie. And by suffering this curse, that is by hanging on the tree, hee redeemed vs from the curse of the lawe, which wee had deserued both in bodie and soule. Which of these thinges canne we contradict? Shall wee saie the Apostle mist his marke, in that hee cleareth vs from the spirituall and perpetuall curse of the lawe, by Christes suffering a corporall and tempozall parte thereof? or shall wee chalenge him to be so simple that he knew not the difference betwixt the one & the other? I am far from any such thought; I loue to follow and not to leade the holie ghost. In matters of so great depth I dare not wade, without, or before my guide. That Christ died hanging on a tree, the P Euangelistes are plaine. ^p Marth 27
 That hanging on a tree is a cursed kinde of death in the ^{Morke.} 15
 a lawe of Moses, is as manifest. That by hanging on the ^{Luke} 23.
 tree hee was made a curse for vs, and thereby redeemed ^{Deutero,} 21
 vs from the curse of the lawe, the ^{Galat.} 3.
 Apostle is resolute.

92 The full redemption of mankind,

Christ was not
accursed in
soule.

If any man will offer farther, I must leaue him. To fasten the internall or eternall curse of the lawe, on the soule of Christ, is to my vnderstanding verie desperate diuinitie. For men might nasse his bodie to the tree, as did the Iewes; but none coulde inflict the curse on his soule, but onelie God. Since then the innocencie, obedience, patience, humilitie, and sanctitie of his soule were so perfect euen in the sight of God, that it could not iustlie be but blessed, howe shoulde the righteousnesse of God immediatelie, and vniustlie laie the curse, which bringeth inwarde and enetlasting death, on the soule of Christ: Againe, God spirituallie curseth none, but whome hee first deseruedlie hateth; as all vn-cleane and wicked persons. If then the soule of Christ could not worthilie be hated of God, it coulde not truelie be cursed of God; for the hatred and curse of God cannot be seuered.

4 August. contra
Faustum Mani-
cheis. lib. 1. 4. ca. 4.

Christ was in
that part ac-
cursed in which
he died.

This doctrine is ancient and catholicke. Saint Austen ripping this matter to the quicke, saith. *Securus Aposto-
lus ait de Christo, factus est pro nobis maledictum, sicut non ti-
muit dicere, pro omnibus mortuus est; hoc est enim mortuus, quod
maledictus; quoniam mors ipsa ex maledicto est: & maledictum
est omne peccatum, sine ipsum quod fit, ut sequatur supplicium,
sine ipsum supplicium, quod alio modo vocatur peccatum, quia fit
ex peccato. Suscepit autem Christus sine reatu supplicium no-
strum, ut inde solueret reatum nostrum, & finiret etiam suppli-
cium nostrum.* Securely the Apostle saith of Christ that he was
made a curse for vs, euen as he feared not to say, Christ DIED
FOR ALL. For, HE DIED, IS ALL ONE WITH
HE VVAS ACCVRSED, BECAUSE DEATH CAME
FROM THE CURSE; and all sinne is accursed, as well that
which is committed and deserueth punishment, as THE PV-
NISHMENT IT SELFE, which in a sort is called sinne, be-
cause it is consequent to sinne. Nowe Christ bare our punish-
ment without any desert, that thereby hee might acquite our
guiltinesse, and ende our punishment. And againe. *Male-
dictus.*

dictus omnis qui pendet in ligno, non hic aut ille, sed omnis omnino. Etiamne & filius dei? etiam prorsus. DISPLICET VOBIS MALEDICTVS PRO NOBIS, QVIA DISPLICET MORTVVS PRO NOBIS. Tunc extra maledictum illius Adam, si extra illius mortem. Cum vero ex homine, & pro homine mortem suscepit, ex illo & pro illo etiam maledictum quod mortem comitatur suscipere non dedignatus est etiam ille, prorsus etiam ille filius Dei, semper viuus in sua iustitia, mortuus autem propter delicta nostra in carne suscepta ex poena nostra. Sic & semper benedictus in sua iustitia, maledictus autem propter delicta nostra, in morte suscepta ex poena nostra; ac per hoc additum est, OMNIS: ne Christus ad veram mortem non pertinere diceretur, si à maledicto, quod morti coniunctum est, insipienti honorificentia separaretur. Cursed is euerie one that hangeth on the wood: not this or that man, but euerie man without exception. What the sonne of God himselve? yea in anie case. You (Manichees) mislike Christ should be accursed for vs; because you beleeue not hee died for vs. Then is Christ without the curse of Adam, when he is without the death of Adam. But for so much as from man, and for man he did admit death; euen from man, and for man he vouchsafed to admit the curse, which accompanyeth death; I meane euen that verie son of God, alwayes liuing in his owne righteousnesse, but dying for our sinnes in the flesh which he tooke from our punishment. So alwayes blessed in his owne righteousnesse, he was accursed for our sinnes in the death which hee suffered by reason of our punishment; and therefore the Scripture sayth, EVERIE ONE; least Christ should be thought not truly to haue died, if by an intent of foolish honour he should be excepted from the curse, which is vntied vnto death. And answering Faustus objection; if a king commaund anie Christian to worship the Sunne & Moone, or to be hanged on a tree; hee must either way of necessitie be accursed: Austen saith. Christianus videt vnum maledictum pertinere ad corpus mortale, quod ligno suspenditur; al-

Ibid, in cap. 6.

Ibid, cap. 13.

94 The full redemption of mankind,

ligno pendere, ita mors est animi solem adorare. Eligendum est igitur maledictum in corporis morte, quo maledicto & ipsum corpus in resurrectione liberabitur: deuitandum autem maledictum in animi morte, ne cum suo corpore in aeterno igne damnetur. Nolite timere maledictum corporalis mortis, quod temporaliter soluitur; sed timete maledictum mortis spiritalis, per quod anima in aeternum cum suo corpore cruciatur.

A Christian perceiueh the one curse to belong to the mortall bodie, that hangeth on the woodde; the other whereby the Sonne is worshipped, to pertaine to the soule. Hee must therefore choose the curse of the corporall death, from which curse euen his verie bodie shall be deliuered in the resurrection; and shunne the curse of the spirituall death, least together with the bodie the soule bee damned in euerlasting fire. Feare not the curse of the corporall death, which is dissolued with time; but feare the curse of the spirituall death, by which the soule is euerlastingly tormented with her bodie. This doctrine is so sounde, it cannot bee confuted; and so cleare, it neede not bee explained. The temporall death of the bodie came first from sinne, as a part of the curse and punishment of sinne; and so to this daie doth it continue. Christ therefore in that hee yeelded his bodie to die on the Crosse, subiected himselfe to the curse of our sinne, and by suffering a part of the curse, abolished the whole: but the curse of the soule, which is the spirituall death, Christ coulde not taste; because that damneih bodie and soule for euer.

The rest of the ancient fathers tredd the same path.* The people (saith Chrysostome) were subiect to the curse, which saith, accursed is euery one, y abideth not in thosethings which are written in the booke of the law. For none of them had continued therein, neither had any man fulfilled the whole lawe, but Christ exchanged the curse with another, which saith, accursed is euerie one that hangeth on the tree. Where then he that hangeth on the tree is accursed, and he that transgresseth the law is likewise

* Chrysost. in cap. 3. epist. ad Galatas.

The kinde of Christs death was accursed, & so the force of the lawe dissolved.

likewise accursed, he that shall dissolue this curse, must not bee subiect to the same; but must admit an other in steede of that; which Christ did, and so by the one loosed the other. The crosse therefore tooke away the curse. **Can we with plainer words,** ^{1 Ibidem.} then that Christ by suffering the CURSE OF SVSPENSION on the crosse, tooke away THE CURSE OF TRANSGRESSION, to which the people were subiect? *Theodorete:*
 2 When all were subiect to the curse of the lawe, Christ suffered. ^{2 Theodorete. in} that kinde of death, which is accursed in the lawe, that hee: ^{cap. 3. epist. ad} might deliuer all men from the curse. *Cyril.* ^{Galat.} *a Factus est pro*
nobis maledictum, crucem ferens & pendens in ligno ut sol- ^{3 Cyril. de relecta}
uat peccatum mundi. Christ was made a curse for vs; when ^{sede ad reginas,} *lib. 1.* hee endured the Crosse, and hung on the tree, that hee might releaseth the sinne of the worlde. *Ambrose.* ^{b Quare} ^{b Ambros. epist.}
maledictum dicatur Apostolus te. docet dicens, quia scriptum. ^{lib. 5. oration.}
est: maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno. Hoc est qui in carne ^{in Auxensiana}
sua nostram carnem, in suo corpore nostras infirmitates, & nostra ^{de basilic}
maledicta suscepit, ut cruci figeret. Why Christ is called a curse, ^{iradendis,} the Apostle teacheth thee, when hee sayth, because it is written; accursed is euerie one that hangeth on the tree, that is, which in his flesh bare our flesh, AND IN HIS BODIE TOOKE OVR INFIRMITIES, AND OVR CURSES, that he might fasten them to his Crosse. *Hierom.* ^{c It ought to trouble no} man that Christ was made a curse for vs; because God, who is ^{c Hierom. in cap.} saide to make him a curse, did also make him sinne for vs, though ^{3. epist. ad Galat.} he knew no sinne; yea, being life he died, and being the wisdom of God, he is called foolishnes: but he died, that we might liue; he was made foolishnes that we should be made wisdom; hee hung on the tree, that being fastened to the tree, hee might wipe out the sin, which we had committed in y^e tree of the knowledge of good and euil. *Oecumenius.* ^{d We were vnder the curse,} because wee had not kept the lawe; Christ was free from that ^{d Oecumenius} because he had fulfilled the law; and yet hee suffered a curse not ^{in cap. 3. epist.} due to him, when he was hanged on the tree, that he might dis- ^{ad Galatas.} solue the curse pronounced against vs.

96 The full redemption of mankind,

Other expositions if anie man seeke, hee shall find euen in the learned and ancient writers. ^c *Non maledictum, vel peccatum factum, est (verbum) sed cum iniquis reputatus est iustus existens, ut aboleat peccatum: & appellatus est maledictus, qui benedixit creaturam, ut soluat nostrum maledictum, & liberet à pœnâ credentes in ipsum. Igitur non est factus secundum veritatem maledictum & peccatum, appellatus autem illorum nominibus, ut aboleat maledictum & peccatum.* Christ was not made indeede a curse, or sinne (sayth Cyril) but hee was reputed amongst the wicked, beeing iust, that hee might put awaie sinne; and he who did blesse the creature, was called a curse, that he might dissolue our curse, and free from vengeance such as beleueed in him. Therefore he was not in truth made a curse and sin; but he was called by those names, that he might abolish both the curse and sinne. Christ was no more a curse, then hee was sinne; who indeede, and with God was neither; but with men he was reputed both wicked and accursed, by reason God suffered him to endure that vilde and shamefull kinde of death, which hee did to saue vs from the curse of sinne. Epiphanius saith he was **A CURSE VNTO THE CURSE**, that is, a dissoluer and finisher of the curse. ^f *Ignorat omnino miser ille, quod neq, Christus maledictio factus sit; absit: sed maledictionem, que propter peccata nostra fuit, abstulit se ipsum cruci dedens; & factus est mors morti propter peccata nostra, & MALEDICTIO MALEDICTIONI. Quapropter non est Christus maledictum, sed maledicti solutio; benedictio autem omnibus verè in ipsum credentibus.* That wretch (*Marcion*) is vterly ignorant, that Christ was not accursed; God forbid: but he tooke away the curse that lay on our sinnes, in yeelding himselfe to the crosse, and was made death vnto death for our sinnes, and **A CURSE VNTO THE CURSE**. Wherefore Christ was **NOT A CURSE**, but **THE DISSOLVER OF THE CURSE**, and **A BLESSING** to all that trulie beleue in him.

These, though they diuerſlie applie the Apostles speech,
Factus

^c Cyril. defens.
 in Anathematiz-
 mum primum.

^f Epiphanius
 contra Marcion
 nis hæres. 42.

Factus pro nobis maledictum, Christ was made a curse for vs, some to the toleration of death, some to the opinion of men, and some to the depulsiō of the curse from vs; yet in this they all agrēe, that by giuing his bodie to die on the Crosse, Christ receiued, sustained, and abollished the curse due to vs for transgressing the law of God. And to iustifie their assertion they haue not onelie the plaine text of s Paule and s Moses, Cursed is he that hangeth on the tree; but the manifest wordes of Peter, ^h He bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree. To proue the death which Christ suffered to be a cursed kinde of death, the place of Moses is verie pregnant; to proue the person to be accursed in soule; if hath neither cause, nor truth. For innocents maie suffer that wrong to be hanged on trees; and shall they then be accursed in soule? And be they malefactors, they may repent as did the theefe on the crosse; and shall they notwithstanding their repentance be accursed? Shall we close both penitent and innocent within the true curse of the soule, rather then we will suffer Pauls words to be referred to the death of the bodie? For he saith, Cursed is EVERIE ONE that hangeth on the tree; excusing none; and if anie might be excepted out of the generall rule, Christ Iesus most of all. But euerie one that hangeth on the tree, hath a cursed kinde of death; though a blessed soule. Paule therefore expresselie teacheth, that Christ subiected himselfe to a cursed kind of death; and in so dying, he deliuered vs from the curse of the Lawe. ⁱ *Ex parte quippe mortali pependit: in ligno, mortalitas autem unde sit, notum est credentibus. Ex poena quippe est, & maledictio peccati primi hominis, quam Dominus suscepit, & peccata nostra pertulit in corpore suo super lignum.* That part, (sayth Augusten) which was mortall (in Christ) hung on the Crosse; and whence mortalitie came the saythfull knowe. It came from the punishment of sinne, and is the malediction of the sinne of the first man; which the Lorde tooke vnto him and bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree. . . . **P**ea when

These three wayes Christ is said to be accursed for vs.

^s Galat. 3.
^s Deut. 21.
^h 1. Peter, 2.

ⁱ August. in exposition. epist. ad Galas.

D

Christ

Christ tooke the curse, hee tooke the sinne of the olde man into his flesh, and fastened it together with his flesh vnto the Crosse. ^k *Quid pependit in ligno, nisi peccatum veteris hominis, quod Dominus pro nobis in ipsa carnis mortalitate suscepit? Vnde nec erubuit nec timuit Apostolus dicere, peccatum eum fecisse pro nobis; addens vt de peccato condemnaret peccatum. Non enim & vetus homo noster simul crucifigeretur, sicut Apostolus alibi dicit, nisi in illa morte Domini, peccati nostri figura penderet.* What hung on the tree but the sinne of the olde man, which (sinne) the Lorde tooke vpon him for vs in the verie mortalitie of his flesh? Wherefore the Apostle was neither ashamed, nor afraid to say, that (God) made him sinne for vs, that by sinne he might condemne sin. For our olde man could not be crucified together with Christ, as the Apostle else where writeth, except the figure of our sinne did hang on the Crosse in that death which the Lord died. And if Peters words be true, (which can not be false) Christ bare our sinnes, that is, the malediction and punishment of our sinnes, in his body on the tree, and thereby saved vs from the eternall malediction, which is, Go you cursed into euclasting fire.

By resolution then is, which I hope will be receyued, because it is the Apostles; ¹WE ARE DEAD TO THE LAW BY THE BODIE OF CHRIST, that we should be to another, euen to him that is raised from the dead. We are quit from the feare, from the yoke, from the curse, from the vengeance of the law; in one word, WE ARE DEAD to the lawe; which hath no more chalenge to vs now, then a man hath to his wife that is long since dead. And if you aske when, and how we became dead to the lawe, Saint Paul answereth; BY THE BODIE OF CHRIST, when hee suffered on the Crosse for our sinnes. And as ^m he that is dead is freed from sinne; so we dying in, and with the bodie of Christ, are ⁿ LOOSED FROM THE LAWVE OF SINNE, AND DEATH; Sinne being condemned, and death conquered

^l *Ibidem*

¹ Rom. 7.
We are dead
to the law in
the bodie of
Christ.

² Rom. 6.

³ Rom. 8.

red in the flesh of Christ, WHICH IS OVR FLESH, not onelie because it was taken of vs, but also for that it is vnited vnto vs, as the heade to the members; and communicateth with vs both in life and death, as appeareth by that we died and rose againe in him; and to this daie he suffereth in vs, then which no consumption can be surer, or neerer. Since then the corruption of our flesh, the guilt of our sinne, the curse of the lawe, the sting of death were all closed and crucified in the bodie of Christ on the Crosse, and his death hath discharged vs from their dominion; Iustlie doth the Apostle saie of Christ, that hee did ^o partake with flesh, and bloud, that through death hee might destroy him that had power of death, euen the diuell. For in that wee bee freed from the curse of the lawe, which brought and bound sinners by death to hell: the chaynes of darkenesse are broken, and Satans force wholie frustrate; and he himselfe nowe left to beholde the ruine of his kingdome, to grieue at the spoyle of his goodes, and to feare the vengeance prouided for him, howsoeuer for a season hee bee suffered to pursue the members of Christ here on earth, to his owne shame, and their greater comfort, in trying the mightie power and steadfast fauour of God for their perpetuall defence, and eternall recompence. So that in all thinges ^p wee are more then conquerours through him that loued vs, ^q and gaue himselfe for vs, ^r who will tread downe Satan vnder our feete, ⁱ that God may bee all in all. Wertie mightie then is the power of Christs death, by whose BLOVD the Saintes ^t OVERCOME the greate Dragon, that olde Serpent called the Diuell; and his ouerthrow prooueth all the enemies of mans saluation to bee vanquished, and impediments remoued; since he was the first perswader and procurer, and is the Prince and ruler of them all.

We haue scene the power of Christs death in subduing sin and Satan, as likewise in ending & abolishing the curse

^o Hebr. 2.

^r Rom. 8.

^q Galat. 2.

^r Rom. 16.

ⁱ 1. Cor. 15.

^t Reuel. 12.

The bodilie death of christ doth more

expresse Gods
mercies and
Christs merits,
then if the
paines of hell
were ioyned
with it,

of the lawe, which obliged man for his uncleannesse and unrighteousnesse to everlasting condemnation; and find that hee, which bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree, did in that most fall part which hee tooke of vs, crucifie as well the flesh, and sinne of man, as the curse and death, that raigned ouer man: and so much hee perfozmed in the bodie, of his flesh through death, by which hee reconciled vs vnto God, to make vs holie and blainelesse in his sight: let vs nowe see whether the death of the spirite, and the curse of the soule will anie thing helpe the woozke of our redemption, oz whether the death of Chrisses bodie, doe not more fullie demonstrate the mercies of God, and merits of Christ, then if the paines of hell had beene ioyned with it. And where some men thinke it woulde much comende the TRVTH, POUVER, and IUSTICE of God, and moze ampie declare the OBEDIENCE, PATIENCE, and LOVE of Christ, if hee refused not the verie tormentes of hell for our sakes, thunning no part of the burthen that pressed vs, I must confesse I am rather of a contrarie minde; that the bodilie death of Christ on the crosse doth moze plainlie expresse the vertues of God, and Christ his sonne, then if the terroz and hozroz of hell were there, with coupled.

1

Gen. 2.

As namely the
truth of God

2

The power
God.

And first for the TRVTH of god, his threating Adam in his wife, "Thou shalt die the death, oz thou shalt certainly die, was truelie perfozmed in the bodie of Christ; in the soule of Christ it could not without sinne oz damnation; neither of which with anie truth can be ascribed vnto Christ. That the mouth of God lied, oz the soule of Christ died, is a choisse so hard, that I wish all men that haue anie care of Christian religion to refraine either. Next, touching the POUVER of God; the weaker the instrument which God vseth to overthrow his enemies, the greater is both his glory and their shame. Then, for flesh which was the feeblest part of Christ, after it was deade, and boide of all hope in thew, to rise a-
again

gaine into a blessed and heauenlie life, and to soile both death and Satan by recouering it selfe into the full possession, and all his members into the toyfull expectation of euerlasting glorie, was farre a mightier conquest, then for his soule with much adoe at length to escape, and resist the assaults of hell. From the depth of hell here on earth manie sinnefull soules haue by grace struggeled, and cleared themselves; from the graue neuer rose none into an immortall, & incorruptible life, befoze the flesh of Christ. Deeper in desperation, and al other temptations of hel haue others been, that yet were saued, then anie man dare affirme of Christ: deeper in death without corruption, then the bodie of Christ, neuer was, nor ever shall be anse of the sonnes of men. It was therefore an harder thing for the bodie of Christ, past all sence, to rise from death, to immortallitie, then for his soule boide of sinne, and full of grace to repell the force of Satan; and yet to repell it, theweth greater power then to suffer it; to conquere it, theweth greatest of all.

[But to beare the burden of Gods wꝛath due to our sinnes, and to free vs from it, needed greater strength, (they will saie) then Christes flesh could haue.] To support and auert Gods iust indignation from vs, the humane bodie of soule of Christ of themselves were not able; but the **DIGNITY** and **VNITIE** of his person must be placed in the gap to quench the flame of Gods iust vengeance against our sinnes, which was euerlasting destruction both of bodie and soule; yet for so much as the sincerity and sanctiue of Christes soule, personallie ioyned, quickened, and blessed with the perpetual vnion, communion, and fruition of his delte, could feele no want of grace, no lacke of spirit, no losse of fauour with God (in which thinges consist the inwarde death, and curse of the soule:) the wꝛath of God was executed on the flesh of his sonne, which hee tooke of purpose from Adam, that there in he might beare the sinne, and curse of Adam; and so by his death might satisfie the sentence, and pacifie the displeasure of

To auert Gods wꝛath from vs, the dignity of Christs person was necessary.

God against our vnrightheousnesse.

^{3.}
The iustice of
God,

² 1. Pct. 3

⁷ Matth. 27
² Actes. 3.

The death of
Christs soule
could neither
proceed from
God, nor be
acceptable vn-
to God.

And this is more agréable to Gods iustice, then if Christs soule had suffered the death and curse of the soule. For to take life from the soule, must be Gods proper and peculiar action. No creature can giue the grace or spirit of God to the soule of man, which is the life of the soule, but onelie God. Therefore no creature can take it from the soule, but God alone that GIVETH it, must TAKE IT AVVAY. Since then Christs soule might suffer nothing iustlie, but as the ² iust for the vniust, that is willinglie, but vnustlie; his death must come by the handes of the wicked, who might wrongfullie take his life from him, but not touch his soule; and not by the immediate hande of GOD, who will doe no wrong, and can kill the soule. ⁷ I haue sinned, saith Iudas, in betraying the INNOCENT blood. ² You denied the HOLIE AND IUST, and killed the Lorde of life, saith Peter to the Jewes, warning them howe great a sinne they had committed in putting Christs soule to death. If hee were an INNOCENT, and deserued no punishment; if hee were HOLIE and IUST, and could not bee persecuted or put to death without haynous impietic and iniurie, wee may doe well to remember that the death of his soule had beene a farre greater wrong, then the death of his bodie was. And therefore if the iustice of God would not farther interpose it selfe in killing his bodie, then by deliuering him into the handes of the wicked, permitting them to shed his blood, which hee would accept for the sinnes of the worlde; much lesse would God with his owne mouth accurse; or with his owne hande slea the soule of his sonne, whome hee sent to restore and quicken those that were accursed, and dead in their sinnes. Againe, corporallie or temporallie God punisheth ore for anothers fault, because he can recompence them eternally, that thereby repent and turne from their sinnes; but eternally or spirituallie he punisheth no man, but for his owne vncleannes, either naturally sticking in him, or voluntarily committed by him.

hly. Christ then being free from all sinne, might not suffer the inward or euermlasting death of the soule, but corporall and temporall reproch, and paine, which God might and did recompence with eternall ioye, and glorie. Thirdlye that soule which sinneth, that soule shall die. This is the settled rule of Gods iustice; and therefore Christs soule which sinned not, could by no iustice die the death of the soule. To laie down his life for vs was loue and thankes with God: but willinglie to separate himselfe from God for vs, was no waie to reconcile God to vs, or to bring vs to God. He must therefore cleave fast to God in soule, whose death shall be pretious in Gods sight, as was Christs. If the soule be severed from God, the death of the bodie is detestable in his eyes, as being the wages of sinne; and therefore no more acceptable to God then sinne it selfe, but where the soule, hating the infection of sinne, and loathing the infirmittie of the flesh, resigneth it vnto death for Gods glorie, and the good of others. And in this respect the death of the bodie maie bee a sacrifice vnto God, but not except the soule doe liue, and cleave to God, without separation. Then hatefull to God was the death of Christ, if his soule were first hated or accursed; if that were beloued and blessed of God, it coulde not choose but liue; for God is not the ^b God of the deade, but of the liuing. So that the death of Christs bodie on the Crosse, was by no iustice an acceptable sacrifice vnto God, if his soule were first deade. But his death was so pretious in Gods sight, that in ^c the bodie of his flesh through death, he reconciled vs vnto God: his soule was therefore allue and in fauour with God, yea so abundantly blessed, and highly accepted, for the holines, humilitie, and obedience thereof, that God was pacified, and pleased, and we all sanctified with THE OBLATION OF THE BODY OF Iesus on the altar of the crosse.

Lastly; the flesh of Christ by Gods iustice must bee as able to purge vs from sinne, as Adams was to poyson vs.

^aEzechiel. 18

^bMatth. 22.

^cColos. 1.

104 The full redemption of mankind,

Christes flesh
must be as a-
ble to quicken
vs, as Adams
flesh was to
kill vs.

^d 1. Corin. 15

^e Rom. 5.

^f Philip. 2
Rom. 3. verse
^g 25, & ^h 24.

ⁱ Psal. 5 1.

^k Job. 14.

^l Ephes. 1.
^m Ephes. 3
ⁿ Rom. 7.
^o Rom. 7

^p Galat. 5
^q Rom. 8

φρόνημα.

^r Rom. 1
^s Rom. 7
^t Rom. 6

vs with sinne. But the flesh of Adam infected all his posteritie with sinne, and death; ergo the flesh of Christ must haue as much force, to cleanse and quicken the faithfull both in this life, and the next. Of this iustice Paul speaketh, when he saith, since by man came death, by man must come the resurrection of the dead: For as in Adam all die, euen so in Christ shal al be made aliue. The first Adam WAS THE FIGURE of the second Adam, that where ^e sinne abounded, there grace might abound much more. ^e As then by one mans disobedience manie were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many bee made righteous. The obedience of Christ which here Paule mentioneth, is his ^f obedience vnto death, euen to the death of the crosse; and the ^g righteousnesse of the faithfull is the forgiuenes of their sinnes, ^h through the redemption that is in Christ Iesus. I wil not here dispute whether the soule be created, and infunded; or else traduced from Adam, as well as the flesh: I meane not with curious or superfluous questions to busie mens heades; that which the scriptures deliuer touching the deriuation of sinne and death from our first parents, I may safelie teach, and you must necessarily beleue. That we were ⁱ fashioned in iniquitie, and conceaued in sinne, the words of Dauid bee exactlie witnesse, and no maruaile. For ^k who can make that to bee cleane, which commeth from the vncleane? yea sinne cleaueth so fast vnto our flesh, that when the ^l eies of our heart are lightened, and the ^m spirit of our minde is renewed, so that the ⁿ inwarde man delighteth in the law of God; EVEN THEN haue we an ^o other law in our members rebelling against the lawe of our minde, and leading vs captiue vnto the lawe of sinne; the ^p one so contrarie to the other, that we cannot doe the things which we would; by reason the affection or ^q liking of the flesh cannot be subiect to the lawe of God. This fight betwixt the flesh and the spirit is so durable, that it cannot bee dissolved but onelie by death. Though ^r Christ bee in vs, and the spirit liue for righteousnesse sake; yet ^s sinne so dwelleth in vs, (that is) in our ^t mortall bodies,

dies, that whyles we liue, ^u in minde we serue the law of God, ^u Rom. 7. but in our flesh the lawe of sinne. From Adams flesh wee de-
 riue this infection of sinne, that sticketh so fast vnto vs after
 we are regenerate, and new bozne againe of water and the
 holie ghost, and this is the roote and nurse of all sinne, and the
 cause of death to al men. * If Christ be in you, the bodie is dead ^u Rom. 8.
 because of sinne. From Christes flesh then we must receiue
 the purgation of sinne both inherent in vs, and committed by
 vs; or else Adams flesh is stronger to wound vs, then Christes
 is to heale vs; which is repugnant to the iustice of God; by
 which the grace of God must bee farre mightier vnto saluation
 in the bodie of Christ, then the force of sinne was vnto con-
 demnation in the bodie of Adam; vnlesse wee make sinne of
 moze power to kill, then God is to quicken; which is to ex-
 alt the diuell aboue God, and his sonne. For y God was in ^u 2-Corinth. 5
 Christ, reconciling the worlde to himselfe; by whose blood the
^z partition wal is broken down, and hatred abrogated ^z through ^z Ephes. 2
 his flesh; that wee might bee reconciled vnto God in one bodie
 by his crosse.

[But the death of the bodie, they will saie, hath no propo-
 tion to the death of the soule; and therefore the one cannot in
 iustice excuse the other.] There is farre greater distance be-
 twixt the sonne of God, and the sonnes of men, then betwixt
 the bodie and soules of men. These differ as creatures, and
 both inferiour vnto the angels; but there is the excellencie
 of the Creator aboue the creature, which is simplic infinite.
 What soeuer therefore it pleased the sonne of God to suffer
 for our sakes, it was mozt sufficient for our redemption;
 howbeit to deimonstrate his loue, hee would be partaker of
 our infirmities and mortality; least we should loath our condi-
 tion, or grudge at the chastisement of our sinnes; but if we set
 a side the dignitie and vnicie of his person, then is no waie the
 death of the soule or the paines of hell, which they imagine
 Christ suffered, proportionable in exact iustice to the true wa-
 ges of our sinne. For what equiualence hath one soule with

why the death
 of Christs bo-
 dy doth coun-
 teruaile all the
 bodie & soules
 of men.

all the soules of the Saints? or one daies anguish which Christ felt in soule, as they suppose, with that everlasting fire which wee shoulde haue suffered in bodie and soule for ever? let aside I saie the respect of the person, which suffered for vs; and in the rest they shall neuer bee able to prooue any proportion of iustice diuine or humane. But as I haue fullie shewed before, the worthinesse of the person is the surest ground of our saluation, and chiefest weight of our redemption; and therefore his death is of infinite force, and his bloude of infinite price, euen as his person is. For since all mens actions are and ought to bee esteemed according to the gites which they haue, and place which they holde from G D D; why shoulde not the death and bloud of Christ bee valued in Gods iustice according to the height and worth of his person? and if in all thinges wee receaue honour not due to our flesh wherein wee partake with Beastes, but fitte for the soule wherein wee communicate with Angels; howe seemeth it strange in our eyes, that the dooinges and sufferinges of Christ Iesus, which hath the natures of God and man in a surer and nearer coniunction, then wee haue our soules and bodies, shoulde not bee reckned and accepted in G D D S iustice, as the ACTIONS AND PASSIONS of HIS OVVNE SONNE; and haue thei value from the diuiner and worthier parte of Christ?

The bodilie death of christ doth more commend the merits of Christ then if y paines of hell were ioyned with it.

As the death of Christs flesh ONEEIE doth more expresse the TRVETH, POVER, AND IUSTICE of God, then if the death of the soule had bene ioyned with it; so the same setteth forth Christs merites, namelie his OBEDIENCE, PATIENCE, and LOVE in farre better sorte, then if wee adde vnto it the death of the spirite, which is the rewarde of all the reprobate and damned. For what a man vnwillinglie suffereth, that sheweth neither obedience, nor patience. Obedience hath readinesse; and patience, if it bee perfect, hath gladnesse; both haue willingnesse.

willingnesse. If then wee bee forced against our willes to endure that which wee woulde gladly auoide, it is violence; it is neither obedience nor patience; and consequentlie it hath neither merite nor thanks wth God. The death then of the soule; which is a separation from the fauour and grace of God, did Christ suffer it willingly, or unwillingly? if willingly; there could be no greater neglect of God, then to bee willing to bee separated from God. It were disobedience and insolence in the highest degree, to be glad and forwarde to forsake God, or to bee forsaken of him. Christ therefore must not bee willing to suffer the death of the soule, least wee byrap him wth in the compasse of contemning and reiecting the grace and fauour of God, which are sinnefull enormities. Was hee unwilling to suffer it? then could hee bee neither obedient, nor patient in suffering it. All vertue is voluntarie, compulsion hath no merite. ^{2.} God loueth a cheerefull giuer, and sufferer. Hee that murmureth, in heart rebelleth, though hee holde still his tongue. So likewise I must aske, if Christ suffered the death of the soule, did hee suffer it iustlie or vniustlie? if vniustlie: God could not be the sole and immediat agent in imposing it; and besides God, no creature canne bereaue the soule of life. Did hee suffer it iustlie? then must hee be bolde of all vertue; for nothing but sinne deserueth the death of the soule. Obedience and patience, merite thanks wth God; and cannot wante the blessing of God: where the death of the soule is the greatest curse, that God inflicteth here on earth.

In the death of the soule there could neither be obedience nor patience.

^{2.} Corinth. 9.

And where they thinke it woulde greatelie increase the loue of Christ towardes vs if hee vouchsafed to taste the death of the soule for our sakes; I reple, that supposition woulde make Christ a sinner, if not a lyar; which God forbid shoulde once enter our thoughtes. For first Christ saith, ^b Greater loue then this hath no man, ^c that

It is no loue to renounce God for mans sake ^b Iohn. 15

Rom. 5

that one should laie downe his life for his friendes. But God commendeth his loue towards vs; that whiles we were yet sinners Christ died for vs. If it be loue for a man to loose his soule for his friend, then is there found a greater loue, then Christ euer knew: for he saith, there is no greater loue then for a man to laie downe his life. And the Apostle applying it to Christ saith, The height of Gods loue was this, that Christ died for sinners: that is, for his enemies, not for his friendes; sinne being enmitie to God, and sinners enemies to the holinesse of his will, and glory of his kingdome. This loue of Christ by which he died for vs, we relect as little worth, vnlesse hee endured the losse of Gods fauour for vs; which I take to be sinne and not loue. For loue is due first and aboue all to God, then to men; this order of loue if we breake, it is no charitie, it is iniquitie. What doe all wicked ones, but preferre the loue of themselues, or of others, before the loue of God: to loue men so well, that wee waxe willing to forsake the fauour and fellowship of God, is transgression against God, and not compassion towards men; and therefore wee make not bring the sonne of God within the listes of this loue, no not for an houre; by reason the loue of God afore all others may not faile in the hart of Christ, not for a moment, bee it neuer so short.

Christ's loue
towards vs in
dying for vs.

For our loue then he tooke flesh, when he was God; which was infinite humilitie; and gaue his life for his enemies, which was exceeding charitie; and in the course thereof referred himself wholie to the will and pleasure of God, which was exact obedience; willingste, but wrongfullste suffering, what soeuer the malice of Satan, and rage of the wicked contriued against him: the wise and gracious counsell of God so turning the mischiese of the duell and his members to the generall good of mankind, that Christes innocent and righteous blood, being furiously and vniustly shed by the hands of his enemies, became the true sacrifice for sinne, and the full price

price of mans redemption. Farther then this, if we will force the sonne of God with our fancies, as namelic to the death or curse of the soule, wee doe not onelic diminish the strength of his loue towards God, but we debase the price of his blood; and make it rather detestable, then acceptable in Gods sight. For nothing can please God, but that which is **RIGHTEOUS, INNOCENT, HOLIE, & UNDEFILED.** And in a dead or cursed soule what place leaue we for the giftes and graces of the holie Ghost? Since then our high Priest must be ^dholie, harmelesse, vndefiled, and separate from sinners, before his sacrifice could be accepted; the soule of ^dChrist must necessarilie be replenished with all goodnesse, and embraced with all fauour, before the death of his bodie could be an ^e offering of a sweete fauour vnto God: and so the power of Christs death is no whitte encreased, but also ^e Epheſ. 7. gither weakened, if wee conioyne it with the death of the soule.

The death of the soule then doth not encrease the obedience, patience, and loue of Christ towards vs, but doth rather decrease and endanger all the vertues of our Sauiour. For if Christ suffered the death of the soule, which is Gods immediate action; since God will offer his owne sonne neither violence nor wrong; wee must confesse that Christ deserued the death of the soule, and admitted it as due vnto him; to which absurdities if wee come; wee leaue nothing sound in our saluation. Call we him iust that deserueth, or holie that desireth to be forsaken of God? I thinke not. When all Christs sufferings must be **INIVRIOUS**, before hee can be **IUST**; and **VOLUNTARIE**, before they can be a **SACRIFICE** vnto God. Both which are witnessed by the worde of God, as likewise by the ancient fathers. **THIS IS** ^f **THANKWORTHIE** (saith Peter) if a man for conscience towards God endure grief, **SUFFERING VVRONGFVLLY.** For what praise is it, if when ye be **BVFFETED** for your **FAVLT'S**, ye take it **PATIENTLIE**? But if, when ye doe well, ye suffer patientlie,

All Christs sufferings were **INIVRIOUS** in respect of the doers, and **VOLUNTARIE** in respect of himselfe. ^f 1. Peter. 2.

110 The full redemption of mankind,

this is acceptable vnto God, For hereunto are ye called: for so CHRIST SVFFERED FOR VS, leauing vs an example that we should follow his steppes. *Christ therefore suffered as well VVRONGFVLLY AS PATIENTLY. Malefactors may be patient, but that is no merit wth God. He must be both innocent and patient that will haue thanks from God. So was* Christ. *He did no sin, and so was innocent; when he was reuiled, he reuiled not a gaine: when he suffered, he threatned not, which proueth his patience. This vertie testimonie, the theepe on the crosse giueth him. We receiue punishment worthie of that we haue done; but this mā hath done nothing amisse. Quod iuste debebat Adam, Christus iniuste mortem suscipiendopersoluit. What Adam iustly owed (saith Austen) that Christ vniustlie paid by suffering death. Pergit ad passionem, vt pro debitoribus nobis quod ipse nō debebat, exsolueret. Christ goeth to his passion to pay that for vs debtors, which hee did not owe. De humanitate suscepta tantum beneficij collatum est hominibus, vt. à dei sempiterno filio, eodemque hominis filio mors temporalis indebita redderetur, quae eos a sempiternā morte debita liberaret. Peccata nostra Diabolus tenebat, & per illanos merito figebat in morte. Demisit ea ille, qui sua non habebat, & ab illo immerito est perductus ad mortem: Tantum valuit sanguis ille, vt neminem Christo induturum in aeterna morte debita detinere debuerit, qui Christum morte indebita vel ad tempus occidit.* By Christ taking mans nature, this benefite men get, that the eternall Sonne of God, and the same also the sonne of man, suffered a temporall death not due, to deliuer them from an euerlasting death due. The Diuell laide sure holde on our sinnes; and by them helde vs deseruedlie in death. Those hee remitted; that had no sinnes of his owne; and was without anie desert brought by the Diuell vnto death. But such was the force of Christes blood, that the Diuell had no right to detain anie man (that put on Christ) in eternall death due, for so much as hee slue Christ with death for the time, which was no way due. *Mediator noster puniri pro se ipso*

¹ 1. Pet. 2.

^h Luke 23.

¹ August. de tempore. serm. 101.

^k Idem de trinitate li. 13. ca. 14

^l Ibid. cap. 16

^m Greg. moralium. li. 3. ca. 11.

ipso non debuit: quia nullum culpæ contagium perpetravit. Sed si ipse debitam mortem non susciperet, nunquam nos à debita morte liberaret. Our Mediatour for himselfe ought not to bee punished, because hee neuer sinned. But if hee had not suffered a death not due, hee coulde neuer haue freed vs from the death that was due. If the temporall death of the bodie were not due to our Saviour, much lesse was the death of the soule due vnto him. And if no death were due; that which hee suffered was wrongfull. Then might God bee the permitter, directer, orderer, and accepter of Christs death on the Crosse; but hee coulde not bee the immediate inflictor of it, because it was wrongfull and vnderferued: much lesse might GOD in iustice forsake his soule; that with so great obedience, patience and innocencie humbled himselfe to the will of his heauenlic father.

That likewise hee suffered nothing agaynst his owne liking, his owne mouth testified when he said. ⁿ *Nemo tollit animam meam à me, sed pono eam à meipso.* No man taketh my life from mee, but I lay it downe of my selfe. And else where. ^o The sonne of God loued mee, and gaue himselfe for mee. ^p Loue your wiues as Christ loued the Church, and gaue himselfe for it. If it were loue; then was it no constraint, nor violence, that forced him thereto. If hee gaue himselfe for vs; it must needes bee voluntarte what soeuer hee suffered. ^q *Demonstrauit spiritus mediatoris quàm nulla pœna peccati vsque ad mortem carnis accesserit, quia non eam deseruit inuitus, sed* ^q *QUIA VOLVIT, QUANDO VOLVIT, QUOMODO VOLVIT.* The spirit of the Mediator shewed that without anie punishment of sinne it came euen to the death of the flesh, which hee did not leaue agaynst his will, but BECAUSE HE VVOULDE, VWHEN HE VVOULDE, AND HOVVE HE VVOULDE.

Et natus, & passus, & mortuus est, nulla sua necessitate, sed voluntate, & potestate. Christ was borne, and suffered and

ⁿ *John. 10.*
^o *Galat. 2.*
^p *Ephes. 5.*
^q *August. de trinitat. li. 4. ca. 13.*
^r *August. de fide contra Max. cheros. cap. 26.*

and died, not for anie necessitie that vrged him, but of his owne will, and hauing it in his owne power. If Christ might suffer nothing but what hee would, and as hee would; the death of the soule hee did neuer suffer; for thereto hee coulde not be willing without sinne, by reason it is a separation from God, and a losse both of his heauenlie fauour, and holie spirite, from which Christ willinglie would neuer be excluded.

The recapitulation of manner and merit of Christs death.

Gen. 2.
John. 3.

The somme is, since the TRUTH and IUSTICE of God might not release the sin of man, without fulfilling the sentence of the Judge, ^THOV SHALT DIE THE DEATH, and that by man; for so much as man was the trespasser: God so loued the world, when none of the sonnes of Adam was able to restore his owne soule, much lesse to ransom others; that hee sent his owne sonne to become man; and as by the dignitie and puritie of his person to counteruaile and ouerweigh the soules of all men; so by his paines and death on the Crosse, to verifie and satisfie the iudgement of God pronounced against man, and to quit him from all danger following death. And to trie the obedience, shew the patience, and augment the merits of the Redeemer, the wisdom of God decreed, that his sonne in our substance should violentlie and wrongfullie bee put to death euen by their hands, for whose sakes hee laid downe his life; that his loue might so much the more excede in praying for his persecutours, and dying for his tormentors. The shame and sharpenesse of the crosse, so inturbaulie imposed on the holinesse, and worthinesse of Christs person, and yet so obedientlie and patientlie endured by him, God so highlie esteemed, and recompenced; that hee made his death the ransom of all mankinde, and his blood to bee the purgation and propitiation of our sinnes: his obedience wypping alwaie our disobedience; his fauour quenching the displeasure; his blessednesse altering the curse; his death finishing the vengeance that was due to our iniquities. This is the manner and merit of Christs suffering

suffering death on the crosse, to saue vs from the wrath of God, that was kindled against our transgressions. And since the scriptures mention none other meanes of our redemption but the DEATH AND BLOOD of the SONNE of God, I hold them wisest, that leaue depending any better or other help for our saluation then God himselfe hath reuealed. And as for the death of the soule; I take that to be the greatest hinderance that may be to the worke of our redemption, and to shake the verie foundation of our faith and hope in the crosse of Christ. Which least I should seeme to say, & no way to proue: let vs high the COMFORT of Christes crosse, and thereby see howe his soule was affected towarde God, euen whiles his bodie suffered that grieuous, and opprobrious death of the crosse.

I haue often mused what made men of great learning and iudgement otherwise, to swaue so much from the plain tenor of the scriptures; and to imagine in the soule of our saviour, such doubt and feare of Gods fauour, such horrors and torments of hell, that they sticke not to match them with the paines of the damned; considering there is no manifest ground, nor euident prooue of so dangerous doctrine in the word of God: but contrariwise, when the scriptures describe Christ on the crosse, they propose his bodie martyred with all kinde of crueltie, but his soule cleauiing to God, with all perfection of constancie. Read the xvi. and xxii. Psalme. who will, which purposeth to treat of Christes passion; and tell mee whether there bee so much as a worde imposing anie distrust of Gods fauour, or anie suspencion of the paines of hell suffered in the soule of Christ: [The first entraince of the xxii. Psalme, you will say is, "My God, my God, whie hast thou forsaken me?"] This is that Helen, that hath bewitched the world; I meane the misconstruing of these words. Of which though I haue spoken before, as much as may content any man that is not fastned to his fancies; more then to the truth; yet let vs shortly see whether the rest of the

The comfort of
Christes crosse
taken out of
the 22. Psalme.

"Psalm. 22.

114 The full redemption of mankind,

Psalme admit their new found exposition, or no. It followeth in the same place. * Thou didst bring me out of my mothers wombe; thou gauest mee confidence at my mothers breasts.

^aVerf. 9.

^y 10

^z 11

^a 19

^b 22

^c 24

Y On thee was I cast from my birth. THOU ART MY GOD FROM MY MOTHERS BELLIE. ^z Bee not farre from mee, for trouble is neere, and there is none to helpe. ^a Bee not farre, O Lord my strength: hasten to helpe me. ^b I will declare thy name vnto my brethren, in the midst of the congregation, I will praise thee, ^c for HE HATH NOT DESPISED; nor abhorred the weakenesse, or basenesse of the poore: neither HATH HE HID HIS FACE FROM HIM; but when he called vnto him HE HEARD HIM. As this the prayer of a man whose soule is forsaken of God: Did he doubt of Gods fauour, that with such confidence pronounced, Thou gauest me assurance at my mothers breasts, thou art my God from my mothers belly?

Was he perswaded that god had refused and left him when as he saith, God hath not DESPISED y weaknes of the poore: he hath not hid his face from him; when he called, God heard him? If these be flat contradictions to their imaginations, why wrest they the first verse to evert all the rest: Christ therefore in the beginning of the Psalm might well complain that god had for the time of his passion withheld his PROTECTION, or diminished his CONSOLATION; but in no wise that God had decreased his loue, or shut vp his fauor towards the humane soule of his sonne. Yea the next words are an explication of the former. Why hast thou forsaken me, ^d and art so farre from mine helpe? Not to helpe in trouble is to forsake, though God bee not angrie with the soules of such as suffer affliction. The very words agree, to GO FARRE OFF, fro a man, is to FORSAKE HIM; & so he that desireth God not to be far off, prayeth not to be forsaken; but rather to receiue helpe in time of need. Tertlie S. Ambroses iudgement and reason both sa-

^dVerf. 1.

tiffie me, what soeuer it doth others. ^c Ille nunquam derelictus

^o Ambros. in

Psalm. 118. ser. 1.

est a patre, cum quo pater semper erat. Sed secundum corpus, in quo traditus est passioni vox ista processit; quoniam derelinquit nobis

nobis videmur, quando sumus in periculis constituti. Christ was neuer forsaken of his Father, with whom the father alwayes was; but this complaint came from his bodie, which was left to suffer death, for so much as wee thinke our selues forsaken when wee are oppressed with anie troubles.

If the xxii. Psalme content vs not, let vs examine the sixteenth, and there marke what the holie Ghost doth attribute to the soule of Christ in the middes of his sufferings on the Crosse; and then iudge which opinion draweth nearest to the truth of the sacred Scriptures. I haue alwayes SET THE LORD BEFORE ME; for hee IS AT MY RIGHT HAND THAT I SHOULD NOT BE SHAKEN, therefore my heart is glad, & my tongue reioiceth; my flesh also shall REST IN HOPE. Because thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, nor suffer thine holie one to see corruptio. Thou wilt SHEVV ME THE VVAY OF LIFE; THE FVLNES OF IOY IS IN THY PRESENCE, and delectation at thy right hand for euer. Thre plentifull and wonderfull graces of the holie Ghost are here described in our Saviour, as he hung on the crosse, in the middes of his miseries; abundance of FAITH, assurance of HOPE, persistance in IOY. The ground of our faith is the truth of Gods word, sealed in our hearts, by the working of his spirite. The faith of Christ had a farre stronger foundation, and clearer reuelation, then ours can possible haue. He was hoped for by the Patriarhs, searched after by the Prophets; he was the end of all the lawe, and truth of all the former testament. He was serued by Angels, acknowledged by starres, seas, windes, beasts, fishes, and trees; hee was obeyed by diseases, death and diuels, the holie Ghost visiblie descended on him when hee was baptised, the father by thunder from heauen often proclaimed him to be his welbeloued sonne, and commaunded all men to heare him; he knewe the thoughts of mens hearts, yea the secrets of heauen; he was transfigured in the Mount, and tasted of that heauenlie gloie prepared for him. The confessing him

The same out
of the 16.
Psalme.
Psal. 16.

The ground of
Christs faith.

to bee the sonne of God, openeth heauen, preuaileth agaynst hell, supporteth his Church, and obtaineth blessednes. This he heard with his eares; sawe with his eyes, and wrought with his hands: yea, he spake with his mouth, & knew in his heart that God had sanctified him, and sent him to saue the world. Aske now a meane dſuine; was it possible that Christ Iesus after all this intelligence, euidence and experience both of his owne person who he was, and of his fathers loue and purpose, how settled, determined; and euerlasting it was, should feare or doubt, least he should be forsaken, or want the fauor and help of god in those afflictions, which he willingly suffered for our safetie: For vs to distrust or doubt Gods promise confirmed by his word, & perswaded to our spirits by his spirit, is diffidence and incredulitie. What hainous and horrible sinne then were it for the soule of Christ, after so cleare perspicuitie, so full certaintie, so firme stabilitie of GODS COUNSEL AND PROMISE, OATH & PERFORMANCE, that in him all nations of the earth should be blessed: to haue so much as a feare, doubt, or thought, that God would faile him, or forsake him? Let me fatherlie aduisse, and bzootherly intreate you all in the bowels of Christ Iesus, that you take good heed how you venter on any such doctrine. Joine rather with S. Peter, and stedfastly beleaue, that David spake concerning Christ, when he said: I sawe the Lord alwayes before me, for he is at my right hande, that I should not be mooued. If ALVAIES, then was there no intermission: If BEFORE HIS FACE, then was there no obscuration: If AT HIS RIGHT HAND, then God was neuer absent: If hee COULD NOT BE MOOVED, then could he not be forsaken.

[But Christ himselfe sayth, he was forsaken?] hee doth not say he was forsaken, either in soule, or else of Gods fauour and grace, as some in our dayes woulde faine make him speake: but he saith, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? And his words stand true, if any kind of dereliction be confessed. ^h *Quasi quaedam ibi derelictio fuit, ubi nulla fuit in*

^h Bernard de
verbis Esaiæ
sem. 5.

tanta necessitate virtutis exhibitio, nulla maiestatis ostensio.
 There was on the crosse a kind of forsaking; inas much as there was in so great necessitie, no declaring of his power; no shewing of his maiestie. Diuers other kindes of forsaking may bee verie well allowed and beleued in the sufferings of our Sauiour; but that he should be destitute of FAITH, HOPE, LOVE, or IOY, or forsaken of GODS FAVOUR, GRACE, or SPIRIT, that is so dangerous to the office, and pernicious to the person of Christ, that it may in no wise bee admitted.

Whatsoeuer is not of faith is sinne. Then howe much we decrease faith in Christ, so much wee increase sinne in Christ.

VVAVERING, STICKING, DOUBTING are all rebatements of faith, and degrees of diffidence, and greater finnes in Christ, then in any other man, because of his infallible REVELATION FROM GOD; vnspeakeable FRUITION OF GOD; and inseparable COMMVNION WITH GOD. *Modica fidei, quare dubitasti?* O thou of LITTLE

faith, why diddest thou DOUBT? Faithy Christ to Peter. Then doubting is the diminishing of faith. Abraham (saith the Apostle) did not DOUBT of the promise of God THROUGH

YNBELIEFE; but was strengthened in faith, and gaue the glorie vnto God; being fullie assured; that hee which had promised, was able to performe it; Then doubting, by the expresse rule of the holie ghost, is YNBELIEFE, and a DISHONOR VNTO GOD, as if he were not able to make good his promise.

So that wee must in spite of our heartes either CLEERE CHRIST FROM DOUBTING, or CHARGE HIM WITH YNBELIEVING, and DISHONOURING GOD.^m If any

man lacke wisdom (saith Iames) let him aske of God; and it shall be giuen him: but let him aske in faith; and not doubt, (or dispute wih himselfe;) for he that doubteth, is like a waue of the Sea, tost with the winde; neither let that man thinke he shall receaue any thing of the Lorde; Doubtfulnesse differeth from incredulitie in this, that the incredulous as yet beleueth not: the doubtful wauereth betwixt faith and infidelitie; as

ⁱ Rom. 14

Doubting of Gods fauour is sinne in Christ

^l Matth. 14.

ⁱ Rom. 4.

^m Iacob. 1.

a waue of the sea doth, that is tossed with the winde, enclining sometimes one way, sometimes another way. But this man for his inconstancie, shall obtaine nothing at Gods haides, whose truth when we but DOVBT wee DENIE; and whose promise when wee DISPVTE wee DISBELEEVE. The soule of Christ then maie not bee touched VVITH ANIE DOVBT, much lesse distrust of Gods fauour and loue towards him, and to imagine or affirme so much of Christs person, is to drawe him within the compasse of inconstancie, infidelitie, and Apostasie from G O D; which I assure my selfe, no Christian Diuine will attempt or endure.

Feare is more intolerable in Christ then doubting.

If the humane soule of Christ must be so settled and resolved in faith, that it might not doubt of Gods fauour; much lesse might it be perplexed or amazed with the feare, terror, or sense of Gods displeasure against himselfe, as our surety. For to that ende did it please the sonne of God to take our nature into the vnicle of his person, that it shoulde vtterlie bee impossible for sinne, death, or hell to separate vs from him, or him from God. Whereof because hee was infallible assured, hee must needs be throughlie perswaded; and in that perfect perswasion, knowledge; and assurance of Gods cuerlasting purpose, fauour, and loue towards him; that he shoulde be the Saviour of the world, if doubting bee not tolerable, howe mercurseable is feare and terror, as if hee were forsaken of God? which could not bee; except God would breake his promise; and othe giuen to Abraham and David, and falsifie his truth expressed with his own voice from heauen; yea, and reuerse his eternall counsell and decree, for spoken by the mouthes of so many Prophets, confirmed with so manie miracles, and executed and accomplished so euidentlie in the birth of our Saviour. The soule of Christ must therefore bee farre from fearing or doubting, least God would change his minde, recall his worde; frustrate his promise, and violate his oath; for these are blasphemies against God

God in the highest degree; wee must rather receave Saint Peters assertion out of Dauid, that Christ did ⁿ ALWAIES see God on HIS RIGHT HANDE that hee shoulde NOT BEE MOOVED; And therefore his heart was gladde, and his tongue ioyfull: yea, wee must not onely leaue him faith, but so perpetuall, constant, and strong, that nothing might shake it, or abate it. For if wee giue vnto men faith that shal withstand, and conquere all temptations, much more must we allow the Santos of the world faith, as farre aboue ours, in validitie, stability, and certainty, as the rest of his virtues and graces exceede the measure of our gifts. As therefore in wisdome and holines, power and prudence, counsell and strength, righteousnesse and faithfulnessse, no creature might exceed the humane soule of Christ; so in patience and assurance, hope and loue, courage and confidence no earthly wight might come nere him. For hee had the ^o fulnesse of Gods spirit, as much as the creature was capable of; we haue but a portion according to the ^p measure of the giste of Christ. Since then ^g God did not giue him the spirit by measure, it is an euident absurditie, if not impietie, to diminish his faith with doubting, his loue with feare, his hope with horrour of reiection, alienation, or separation from G D D; but as constant faith STAGGERETH NOT, perfect loue FEARETH NOT, assured hope TREMBLETH NOT; so the faith, hope, and loue of Christ must not stumble at anie of these stones, much lesse make such a shipwacke of faith and hope, as if hee DID ALMOST PERSVADE HIMSELFE that hee was DROVNE D, and PERISHED in the gulse of perdition.

ⁿ Actes. 3.

^o Iohn. 1.

^p Ephes. 4

^g Iohn 3.

[But the vehemencie of paine (some thinke) might for the time wrest fro Christ the remembrance of Gods eternal decree & promise, & so shake y^e persuasion otherwise settled in his hart y^e God had sworne he would not falsse Dauid.] I had rather confesse mine ignozance in not vnderstanding, then shew any
Skill

Christ was not amazed on the Crosse.

skill in refelling this answere. It is true that a mightie feare may so affect a man for the tynie, that it shall hinder the senses from recovering themselves, and stop the faculties from informing one the other. But this must bee some suddaine object affrighting the heart; and so terrible that it suffereth vs not presentlie to gather our wits together, and to consider of it. But what is this to our purpose? was Christ in a traunce on the crosse? and so continued eighteen houres, from his entering into the garden after supper, to the ending of his life the next daie at thre of the clocke after noone? and all this while so affrighted and amazed that hee could not remember he was the sonne of God, and sent to redeeme the world? his words and doedes at his apprehension, at his examination before the chiefe Priestes and Elders, at his condemnation by Pilate, at his crucifixion and expiration doe they make anie prooffe, or giue any signe of a man in a maze? when hee boldly professed himselfe before the high Priest ¹TO BE THE SONNE OF GOD; when he tolde Pilate as well the cause why ²HE VVAS BORNÉ, as the place thence he had ³POWVER OVER HIM; when hee warned the women of Jerusalem ⁴TO ⁵VVEEPE FOR THEMSELVES and their children; when hee prayed for his persecutors, as ⁶NOT KNOWVING VWHAT THEY DID, and promised PARADISE to the penitent thiefe that hung by him; when he bequeathed the care of his ⁷MOTHER to the fidelitie of his DISCIPLE, and ⁸COMMENDED HIS SPIRIT into the handes of his father; was his memorie or vnderstanding taken from him by feare in anie of these actions? or doe we not rather see his death answerable to his life, that is full of constancie, clemencie, fidelitie and pietie? If anie be otherwise minded, God graunt they be not in a deepe traunce of selfe-liking: that will rather challenge Christes memorie, then suspect their owne fanisie. Coude he forget himselfe to be the sonne of God, that so often and openly called God his FATHER? that in the heate of his

agony

¹ Mark. 14.² Iohn. 18³ Iohn. 19⁴ Luke. 23⁵ Luke. 23.⁶ Iohn. 19⁷ Luke. 23

agony praying vsed none other stile, but ^a O MY FATHER? ^a Matth. 26
 that in the counsell of the Scribes and Elders woulde not
 conceale himselfe to be ^b THE SONNE OF GOD, no not to ^b Marke. 14
 saue his life, but said ^b I AM the sonne of the blessed? that
 dying committed his spirit to his ^c FATHERS HANDS? he ^c Luke 23.
 remembred to call for drinke, that the ^d scripture might bee ^d Iohn. 19
 fulfilled; and ^d knew that all things touching him were perfor-
 med; and had he forgotten who he was, or why he came into
 the world, euen ^e to saue that which was lost? ^e Matth. 18

And in all good sort to admonish them that are learned,
 to looke a little better, before they resolute on so strange a con-
 clusion in diuinitie; if wee put Christ in such a maze on the
 crosse, that for feare he forgate his fathers counsell, purpose,
 promise, voice, and oath, yea his own function, vnion and per-
 son: what obedience or patience, what humility or charitie do
 we leaue him, in suffering the death of the crosse: what vertue
 find we, where remembrance faileth? or what merite is it for
 a man to be amazed: how hangeth this with their owne po-
 sition, that the sense and suffering of Gods wrath in the soule
 of Christ is the chiefest and principallest part of our redemp-
 tion: is it so matterall for mans saluation, as they affirmie,
 and can it not be maintained but by taking from Christ both
 iudgement and memorie: is this that great myserie of de-
 uotion, which true religion may not endure, except wee sup-
 pose the sonne of God to be for feare besides himselfe: haue
 they not spun a faire thread, to be so zealous for Christs suf-
 fering the verie paines of hell, here on earth, and when all
 is done their assertion cannot bee saued from impletie, but
 by casting Christ into a fit of a Lethargie: for that God was
 in deede angrie, and offended with his owne sonne, is odious
 and enormous blasphemie. That Christ so concealed, and
 perswaded himselfe, or so dissembled, when there was no such
 cause; chargeth the sonne of God not onelie with falsitie, but
 with infidelitie. To decline both these mischiefes there is no
 meane left, but to saie, that the verie force of paine made

The sufferings
 of Christ are
 no way meri-
 torious, if he
 were in a trace
 all the while he
 hung on the
 crosse.

John. 2. 1

John. 2. 1
 John. 2. 1
 John. 2. 1

John. 2. 1
 John. 2. 1

Christ forget both his owne person, and his Fathers eternall counsell and loue towards him; which is to ste one absurditie with an other. For though by this maze they excuse Christ from sinne, as being neither aduised, nor suffered by feare to be master of himselfe; yet by the same they exclude him from all the graces and vertues of his passion, on which our salustion is grounded; and leaue him as without memorie, so without merite; since the faculties of the mind, ouerwhelmed and astonished with feare or paine, haue no full apprehension, much lesse iust deliberation, and least of all free election of good and euil. In which case if we suppose our Saviour to haue bin during his suffering on the crosse we thew our selues to be void of all vnderstanding, in that we cleaue to our owne fantasies against the witnes both of nature & scripture. Read who list the maner of Christs praying, answering & suffering, before & at his death; & tel me therein he shewed any defect of iudgment, or want of rememb'ing? Peter saith, Christ suffered for vs, leauing vs an example, that we should follow his steps. If he were stroken with feare besides himselfe, it is a had example for vs to follow. But in deede he neither did, nor spake anie thing, no not in the mids of his paines, but he re aduisedly, quietly, religiously, & obediently; such as might well be seene the Saviour of the world, humbled in our flesh, and chastised for our finnes, but no way partner of our impatient and sinnefull affections.

[1. Peter. 2.]

Christ wauered
not in his prai-
ers in y garden

[He wauered (some thinke) in his prayers; and corrected himselfe as ouer hot, in that he asked at his fathers hands:] such boldfast they take of his wordes, that saue would haue his wittes amazed with their imagined feares and horrour of hell fire. But by their patience, their expositions must not looke to be canonicall in the church of God. If they take anie thing well, wee take it with their prayse; if other wise as men, they misse their marke, wee refuse it with their leanes. God hath called vs vnto libertie, not to be seruantes of men; and to serue erroneous constructions, is

[Galat. 5
2. Corinth. 7]

woyse

worse than to beare tyrannous exactions. Was Christ vn-
 advised in his prayers in the garden? and did hee reuoke that
 which suddainly slip from him? All prayer without faith is sin
 in Gods sight. What then was Christs prayer, if it were dis-
 reallie bent against the determined purpose, and reuealed
 will of God, but euident sinne? His thise repeatingⁱ the selfe
 same words with good distance of time betwene, and advised
 and vehement zeale, what was it, if it still needed to bee re-
 uoked and amended, but a voluntary spurning at the steadfast
 decree and eternall counsell of God for mans redemption?
 But god forbid, we should so conceiue of our sauiour, as if there
 were in his words, words or thoughts the least inclination to
 contradict his fathers resolution. He was not onely patient
 without refusing, but obedient without misliking his fathers
 will, Esay saith of him.^k He was oppressed and afflicted, yet did
 hee not open his mouth. Hee was brought as a sheepe to the
 slaughter, and as a Lambe is dumbe before his shearer, so open-
 ed hee not his mouth. Doth the holie ghost giue him this
 testimonie, that hee mildelie and silentie bare all the
 oppressions and afflictions, that were laide on him, and
 shall we dare auouch, that hee vchementlie and often strug-
 gled, and strued in his prayers against the knowne will of
 his Father; and sought by all meanes to decline the
 worke for which hee came into the worlde? [His flesh
 (they will saie,) feared death, though his spirit submit-
 ted it selfe to the will of his heauenly Father.] As if
 his flesh did praye, and not his spirite? if then his prayers
 were passionate and vnadvised, his spirit cannot bee ex-
 cused from consenting and yeelding thereto. And where do
 we learne that Christs flesh refused the lawe of his minde,
 and so preuailed against the spirite, that it wrested from
 him inconsiderate and disobedient thoughtes, and wordes?
 or when wee thus saie, doe wee not plainelie bring the
 sonne of G O D within the communion of our sinnefull
 corruption?

ⁱ Math. 26.
 verse 44.

^k Esay. 53

Christ praised
often and ear-
nestly but with
full assurance
to be heard,
Hebre 5.

[But his spirit was amazed with feare, and so hee kine we
not what he praised.] We take too much by vs to put Christ
besides himselfe, when it pleaseth vs. His praises in the gar-
den were zealous, but religious; vehement, but reuerent;
mourneful, but faithful. He offered by ¹ strong cries and teares,
but HE WAS HEARD in that he asked; and so long as God
performed, what Christ desired, it is more then presumption
to challenge his praises as inconstant and wauering. For
my part though I could not conceiue the sense of Christs
praiser in the garden, yet do I fully resolve he was most as-
sured in faith, his praiser should take effect. His oft repeating
y^e same words, noteth how great a thing hee requested at his
fathers hands, which yet he obtained, though it were neuer so
great. That which you call a reuocation, I take to be a limi-
tation, wherby Christ declared, he neuer ment to aske or haue
any thing against his fathers liking; nor in any sort to prefer
his owne choise or ease, before his fathers will. If this be a
trance, then faith and obedience are no fruits of Gods spirit,
but fits of a dissempered humor, and in the end we shall con-
clude godlines to be madness. For greater submissioⁿ or more
deuotioⁿ, then Christ vttered in that agony, can no man shew.
If therefore we condemne this as a maze in Christ, when shall
zealous and deuout persons be in their wits:

[But the scripture saith, he was ^MAFRIGHTED, & ^ASTO-
NISHED.] The liuely beholding of Gods maiesty, or mans
misery might both affright & astonish his humane nature on
the suddaine, but presently, recollecting himselfe, he fell to be-
hement and intentiue praiser, and therein continued almost
an houre, not warbling in his wordes, nor wauering in his
petitions or affections; but persevering in the same minde, &
in the same matter, till he obtained his desire. Howe to be
abashed at Gods presence, declared his pietie: and to be
stricken at the heart with the feeling of vengeance prouided
for vs, commended his charitie. Lay these two, deuotion to
God, and compassion towards men, as the grounds & causes

Mark. 14.
verse: 33.
Christ might
at the first be
abashed with
Gods maiesty,
or mans misfe-
ry; but he reco-
uered himselfe
before he en-
tered into his
praisers.

of his Agonic, and you shall easily cleare this soule heape of absurdities and impieties, that now pursueth the contrarie position. It is humilitie for mans infirmitie to shake and tremble at the appearance of Gods glorie. It is mercie, to stand defixed and euen astonish'd with the sense and grieffe of mans finall iudgement and eternall punishment. From this fountaine, that is from the meditation of the diuine Maies- tie, and commiseration of humane miserie; if we deriue the HEAVINES of heart; FEARE AND ASTONISHMENT, which Christ suffered or heu'd, in his agony, we can do him no wrong; because the more violent, the more eminent signes they were of submission to God, and compassion on man: his faith and loue not being oppressed with stupiditie, but inflamed with such vehemencie, that the weaknesse of mans flesh not able to followe the readinesse of his spirit, raiused with a wonderfull seruencie to giue himselfe to saue the worlde, might for the time faile in the extertour actions; and offices of the bodie. But we must beware that we continue not this astonishment, when he came to his prayers. For in prayer the heart must be, not onelie prepared and aduised; but sincerelie affected and wholie deuoted to aske nothing, but that which tendereth to Gods glorie, and agreeth with Gods will. He that other wise aske th' any thing at Gods hands, prayeth not, but presumptuously tempteth God, and seeketh to make the wisdome and power of God seruiceable to his corrupt appetites. You knowe not what you aske; said Christ to the sonnes of Zebedee, when he refused their petition; and repro- ued their follie. How shall we be loue; wee shall receiue, if we aske we knowe not what: Faith must be rightlie direc- ted, and throughlie perswaded, before it can obtaine. Christs prayers then in the garden were neither abrupt without sense, nor wauering without faith, that they needed bee excus- sed or corrected; but his deuotion was instant, and perswa- sion constant that he should preuaile; and therefore hee ceased not to aske the selfe same thing thise, till hee was heard, and

How and why
Christ might
be raiused.

Mat. 26.

Strengthened by an Angel from heaven.

[He asked that, they will say, which was not granted.]
 I am resolute of another minde. My reasons are,
 first the Apostle sayeth, **HE WAS HEARD** offering
 vp strong cries and teares. **Secondly**, Christ himselfe
 sayeth; **FATHER I thanke thee**, because thou hast heard me.
 I knowe **THOU HEAREST ME ALWAYES**. And howe
 coulde it be otherwise? For if he prayed according to the
 will of God, he must needes bee heard; and agaynst the
 will of God hee neither did, nor woulde praye. For that
 were sinne in him; that was not ignorant of Gods will,
 both determined and revealed. And God forbid, we should
 bee so wicked, as to say or thinke, that Christ would chuse in
 most earnest prayer; **inipugne his fathers will so well**
knowne, and so often fozetolde by his owne mouth. Hee
 leene rather his owne report of himselfe; for hee coulde
 not lie. **I doe nothing** (sayde hee) **of my selfe**, but as my
 father hath taught mee; so speake I these things. For hee
 that sent mee is with mee: the Father hath not left mee a-
 lone, because **I DOE ALWAYES** the thinges, **THAT**
PLEASE HIM. Though I beare recorde of my selfe, my
 recorde is true; **FOR I KNOWE VVHENCE I CAME,**
AND VVHITHER I GOE. As hee coulde not bee ig-
 norant, so coulde hee not bee forgetfull of his Fathers
 counsell and decree. The glorie of God might appall
 him at the entrance into his prayers; but his constant
 continuing one and the same request to his Father
 thre severall turnes; with intermission of time, and ad-
 monition to his Disciples to watch and praye, prooveth
 hee had not forgotten himselfe, that still persisted in his
 purpose; nor yet strued agaynst his Fathers will,
 in that his prayer was accepted, and assured from hea-
 ven.

[Did then the cup passe from him; which was the summie
 of his prayer.] No doubt it did in that sense which he desired.

The

Christ's praier
 could not be
 reiected.
 ° Heb. 5.
 † John 11.

† John 8:

The cup mingled by Gods iust iudgment for the sin of man, did passe both from him, and vs, by force of his prayer; not that hee did not taste of it, but in that yeelding himselfe to the temporall and corporall chastisement thereof, hee quenched the spirituall and eternall vengeance, that was consequent after death: the abolishing whereof was a worke worthe of the soune of God; and a memorable effect of that earnest and instant prayer, which our Saviour made in the Garden, thereby shutting vp hell, and opening heauen to all his members. And for that cause the Prophet Esay toymeth his patient suffering and vehement praying, as needfull groundes of our redemption; hee bare the sinne of manie, and PRAYED for the TRESPASSERS: and the Apostle reckoneth Christs PRAYERS OFFERED WITH TEARES, and his paines suffered through obedience as principall parts of his Priesthood, and effectuall sacrifices for the signes of the people.

As praying in the garden Christ must be free from feare, getting either his fathers will or loue, so suffering on the crosse he must haue not onely patience and obedience, but intelligence & assurance that the bloody sacrifice which he offered, should be accepted as the propitiation for our sinnes, and himselfe exalted from the shame and paine of the crosse to euerlasting honour, joy, and glorie. He did not offer himselfe on the skias, the crosse, supposing or presuming it might please God thereby to be favourable vnto man; but as hee came into the world, appointed and sent of purpose to saue his people from their sinnes, so did hee humble himselfe to the death of the Crosse, heeing thereto appointed by his benigne father; and therefore most assured that God was immutable determined to accept his sacrifice for the sin of the world, and by the bloud of his crosse to set at peace things both in heauen and in earth; and to reconcile vs that were strangers and enemies, in euill woorkes, through death in the bodie of his flesh, to make vs holie and without faul

The cup did passe from Christ in the sense in which he prayed it might.

Esay. 53

Hebr. 5.

Christ on the crosse must be assured his sacrifice should be accepted.

Matt. 1.

Phil. 2.

Colof. 1.

128 The full redemption of mankind,

in the sight of God. This Saint Paule saith was Gods
 Y GOOD PLEASURE, to which Christ was ² OBEIENT, &
 therefore neither ignorant of it, nor doubtfull in it; but assured-
 lie resolu'd with fullnesse of faith and hope, that he which had
 decreed it, could not be changed; and that God which had
 sent him, would not deceiue him. And for that cause the Apo-
 stle maketh the death of Christ to be a SACRIFICE OF
 A SWEET SMELLING SAVOVR VNTO GOD; and
 saith, that ^b Iesus the authour & finisher of our faith, FOR THE
 IOY VVHICH WAS SET BEFORE HIM, endured the
 crosse, and despised the shame (thereof) and is placed on the
 right hand of the throne of God. So that howsoeuer late wri-
 ters haue found out the terior of Gods wrath, and horror of
 eternall death in the soule of Christ suffering; the Apostle tea-
 cheth vs; that Christ hanging in the shame and paine of the
 crosse, had not onelie peace and fauour with god, as offering a
 sweet smelling sacrifice, but also ioy before his eyes of euerla-
 sting glory at the right hand of y throne of God. And with him
 agree both Peter & Dauid, when they bare witness of Christ,
 that his HEART WAS GLAD, & HIS TONGVE IOIIFVL,
 and that euen ^c HIS FLESH SHOULD REST IN HOPE, not
 withstanding the anguish of death, force of the graue, and fury
 of hell. For God would neither forsake his soule in hell, nor
 suffer his flesh to see corruption.

Dare any man doubt of this doctrine, which is so cleare,
 lie and fullie deliuered vs in the Scriptures? Or make
 wee a pastime of it, in fauour of our families to ouer-
 turne the vertic principles of truth? ^d Christ suffered
 for vs, leauing vs an example, that wee shoulde followe his
 steppes. For if ^e wee suffer with him, wee shall bee glorified
 with him. Must we suffer the paines of the damned, afore we
 may hope to be partakers of his glorie? The gaine which
 we haue in Christ, when wee haue refused all thinges
 as vile for his sake, is to knowe the fellowshippe of his
 afflictions; and to bee conformed vnto his death; if by
 any

^a Colos. 1.
 vers. 19. & 20
^b Phil. 2, ver. 8

^c Eph. 5.

^d Heb. 12.

^e Acts. 2.
^f Psal. 16.

We must suffer
 as Christ did;
 which I hope
 is not the
 paines of hell.
^g 1. Pet. 2.
^h Rom. 8.

ⁱ Phil. 3.

anic meanes wee may attaine to the resurrection of the dead. Shall the communion of Christes sufferings bring vs to the true torments of hell, and must we perswade our selves that wee are forsaken of God, afore wee can bee conformed to his death? **R**eioyce (sayth Peter,) when yee doe communicate with Christes sufferings. **M**ust we then REIOYCE in the horror of hell, and bee glad of Gods displeasure towards vs? I thinke not. Howe farre fuller of comfort is the Apostles doctrine, where he saith; **A**s the sufferings of Christ abound in vs; so our consolation aboundeth through Christ. And our hope is stedfast concerning you, that as you are partakers of the sufferings; so shall you bee of the comforts. What comfort these men can finde in the paines of the damned, I knowe not; they else where seeme to say, that all feares and grieues, all terrours and torments are trifles; unto the sense and feeling of Gods displeasure and iust indignation; but the holte Ghost I am sure proposeth to vs the Crosse of Christ as the waie to perfection, that neuer wanteth consolation. For therein though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is daylie renewed; and when our bodie die to sinne, as did Christes, our soules liue to God, as did his. Excellentlie doth the Apostle describe the comfort of Christes Crosse in all the saythfull; when hee sayeth. **W**e are afflicted on euerie side, but not ouerpressed; wanting, but not vterlie destitute; persecuted; but not forsaken; falling, but not perishing; alwayes bearing about in our bodie the dying of the Lorde Iesu, that the life of Iesu might bee manifest in our bodyes. For wee, whiles wee liue, are still deliuered vnto death for Iesus sake, that the life of Iesu might bee manifest in our mortall flesh. **C**hrist then in the mortification of his bodie on the Crosse, was neither **O**VERPRESSED, **F**ORSAKEN, nor **P**ERISHING; but relieved & supported inwardly by the powder of gods spirit, in which he reioiced, whiles his flesh indured bitter and sharpe torments.

¹ 1 Peter. 4.

² 2. Cor. 1.

Christ's affliction on y^e crosse was full of consolation,

³ 2. Cor. 4.

⁴ Ibidem.

130 The full redemption of mankind,

12. Cor. 12.

^m *Ibidem.*

^o Heb. 12.

^o Luke. 4.

^o Heb. 2.

12. Cor. 12.

1. Pet. 4.

And this rule, ¹ When I am weak, then am I strong, was true in Christ, and after his example shall be in all his members. For Gods ^m power is perfected in infirmities. ^m Very gladly therefore must all the godlie reioice and take pleasure in their infirmities, that the power of Christ may dwell in them. How can this be called Christs power, if he wanted it in his infirmities and afflictions? And if we haue it from him, why presume we to take it from him in the time of his sufferings? Shall the scholler be aboue his maister? or the seruant more perfect then his Lord? Yea, then God manifested in the flesh? But I hope men learned will take good heede howe they diminish the comfort of Christs crosse; we must ⁿ looke to Iesus the authour and finisher of our faith. If he were amazed, perplexed, and forsaken in his afflictions, who shall rasse and comfort vs in our extremities? Hee that himselfe was affronted and overwhelmed, with his sufferings on the crosse? It may then be said vnto him, ^o Phisition heale thy selfe. Shall hee comfort vs, that could NOT COMFORT himselfe? Can wee REIOICE AND TAKE PLEASURE in following his steppes, when hee sanke vnder the burthen, and suffered both his fayth and hope for the time to faile? But farre be from vs these vnfauorite thoughts, and vnseemlie speeches. It was fit that hee from whom, and by whom are all things, should CONSUMMATE BY AFFLICTIONS THE PRINCE OF OUR SALVATION, that should bring many sons vnto glorie; the selfe same way that he went before them. Which cannot be by doubting & distrusting the fauor and help of god, much lesse by suffering & induring the paines of the damned; but by desiring through loue, and reioicing vnder hope to take vp Christs crosse and follow him; delighting in reproches, necessities, persecutions and anguish for Christs sake, that when his glorie shall appeare, we may be glad and reioice with fulnesse of euerlasting ioy.

Do we then exempt the Lord Christ from all sense of his fathers wrath against our sins; whyles we defend in him peace and

and ioy of the holie ghost, as he hung on the crosse: There is a feeling of gods wrath which may stand with the pacification & consolation of the inward man; and there is a sence of Gods wrath which ouerthroweth both, and breedeth a fearful apprehension of Gods displeasure towards vs; in which is neither peace nor comfort. All the miseries of mans life, whatsoeuer they be, came first frō the force of gods wrath reuenging sin; and therefore not only death & damnation, but all kinds of troubles, paines & griefs, in our states, bodies and minds, which shorten or sower this present life, are degrees of gods wrath, & chastisements of our transgression and corruption. When the plague was kindled amongst the people for murmuring against Moses & Aarō, Moses said to Aarō, take y^e censur & put fire & incense therein, & go quickly vnto the congregation, and make an atonemēt for the: for there is VVRATH GONE QVT FROM THE LORD; the plague is begun. When the prophet Iehu reproued Iehosaphat for aiding Achab the king of Israel; he said wouldst thou help the wicked; and loue them that hate the lord? euen for this cause was THE VVRATH OF THE LORD VPON THEE. The prophet Esay comforting the church, saith Awake, awake and stand vp o Jerusalem, which hast drunke at the hand of the Lord, THE CUP OF HIS VVRATH. By the prophet Micheas the Church humbleth her selfe vnder the hande of God in these wordes. I will BEARE THE VVRATH of the Lord, because I haue sinned against him, vntill he plead my cause, and execute iudgement for me. Euerie where the like is vsed in the scriptures. I VVAS VVROTH with my people, and gaue them into thine hand, (saith God to Babylon) and thou didst shewe them no mercie; but didst lay a verie heauie yoke vpon the auncient. So Ieremie complaineth to God, Thou hast vtterly reiected vs, thou art EXCEEDINGLY ANGRY WITH VS. These, and many such places more, mention the wrath of God, which the saints & seruants of god tasted and felt for their sinnes; but they do not import that Gods eternali fauour and loue towards his children in heauenlie things, was vanished or changed. The foundation of God standeth sure; yea the gifts and calling of

All miseries are the effects of gods wrath.

Num. 16.

2. Chro. 19

Esay. 51.

Mich. 7.

Esay. 47.

Lament. 5.

2. Tim. 2.

Rom. 11.

132 The full redemption of mankind,

God are without repentance. And therefore it is vtterly im-
 possible, that Gods election should alter, or that hee should
 not loue his owne vnto the end; but iudgement beginning
 at the house of God, wee are chastened of the Lord, that wee
 should not be cōdemned with the world. And albeit h bitternes
 of affliction some time bite so neere, that the conscience of our
 sinnes accusing vs as vnworthie to bee the sonnes of God; feare
 calleth Gods saour in question for the time; yet that
 temptation riseth from the guiltines of our hearts, and weak-
 nesse of our faith, which giueth way to the diuel: othertolse as
 we ought to beleue god will be merciful to our iniquities, &
 remember our sinnes no more; for his covenant made wistly
 vs in the blood of his sonne; so should we bee fullie perswa-
 ded, that when we endure chastening, bee it neuer so sharpe,
 Gods offereth himselfe vnto vs, as vnto sonnes; for what sonne is
 it, whome the father chasteneth not? So that if wee bee with-
 out correction, whereof all are partakers, wee are bastards and
 not sonnes, since God chasteneth vs for our profite, that wee
 might be partakers of his holines.

This correction and chastisement of God, because it h seemeth
 greuous for the present, and not ioyous; is called in the
 scriptures the rodde and wrath of God; not that Gods loue
 ceaseth when he correcteth his children; (for whom the Lord
 loueth he chasteneth, and he scourgeth euery sonne, that hee re-
 ceiueth;) But as the blessings which he abundantly bestowed
 on vs, do manifest his gracious and undeserued mercy; so the
 plagues, with which he visiteth our sinnes, do witness his righte-
 ous and prouoked iudgement. And in that sense must we re-
 kon them to be the signes and effects of Gods wrath. For as
 he is iustly offended with our iniquities because they resist
 his will, dishonour his name, and grieue his holie spirit; by who
 we are sealed vnto the day of redemption; so when hee cha-
 steneth our transgressions, the scourge which we feele is tru-
 lie said to be the wrath of God; not that God is touched with
 anie perturbation or alteration in himselfe; but his iustice
 leadeth

John, 13.

1 Peter, 4.

1 Cor. 11.

Heb. 8.

Heb. 12.

Heb. 12.

Heb. 13.

Rom. 2.

Ephc. 4.

teadeth him to inflict that punishment on vs, as well to bring vs to hate that we haue done; by godlie sorrow; as to make vs more warie how we attempt the like, which is religious feare restraining vs from often and easie offending the maiesty and sanctitie of God. But this vengeance of our sinnes because it is temporall, when it should iustlie be eternall; and afflicteth the bodie, where it might worchilie kill the soule; it is rather the chastisement of a father, then the rigour of a Iudge. And yet the scriptures call it wrath; because God neuer proceedeth to punish, but when he is prouoked and despised, in such sort, that were it not for smart of correction, wee would fall to the rage of open rebellion.

Gods wrath towards his is mixed with mercy and iustice.

Wherefore the displeasure of God against our sinnes was verie great, that pursued our suertie, being innocent and obedient, and euen his owne and only sonne, with all manner of corporall and temporall scourges vnto death, before it could bee pacified; but that Gods fauour towards his sonne was altered or diminished, or that Christ in feare and terror apprehended ante such change in his father, or so much as doubted the constant and eternall counsell, and decreæ of God; to make him the Saviour of the worlde, and by the bloud of his crosse to make peace in heauen and earth; these are so dangerous doctrines, that I thinke no learned diuine will vnder take them. ^m Though he were the sonne, yet learned he obedience, by that which he suffered, saith the Apostle: Now obedience could not breed diffidence but confidence; and was the vertue; that so highlie pleased God in Christ, that hee was ^p made the authour of eternall saluation vnto all that OBEY HIM. A double sense then of Gods wrath Christ Iesus had. The first that pursued his bodie vnto death on the tree; where ^o hee bare our sinnes; that is the ^p chastisement of our peace; the ^s TRIPES of our iniquities, and ^v VOVNDES of our transgressions. The next was the serious contemplation of that eternall and intolerable vengeance; which the iustice of God had in store for vs, by reason of our manifold sinnes;

The wrath of God against our sinnes was very great in the crosse of Christ.

^m Hebre. 5

^o Ibidem.

^p 1. Peter. 2.
^s Efay. 53.

whose danger and destruction touched him as nere, though the tendernesse of his loue and pietie, as if it had beene imminent ouer his owne heade. And therefore euen sicke with sorrowe for vs, & trembling at the terror of Gods wrath prepared to reuēge our vnrightheousnes, he neuer left SVEATING, VVEEPING and CRYING to God for vs, that his stripes might heale vs, his anguish excuse vs, his death quicken vs, and his per son sustaine and suffer for vs, what soeuer the iustice of God would late on him, till he was heard, and allowed of God to offer the sacrifice, that should propitiate the sinnes of the worlde. In these paines and feares, whyles hee felt the arrowes of God sticking in his flesh, and sawe the terrōr of eternall death ready to swallow by all his members; we maie grant, that the CONSOLATION and IOIE, which the humane soule of Christ before had of his Fathers continuall presence and assistance; was for the time somewhat diminished; his heart being oppressed with sorrow, his bodie afflicted with sharpe and bitter paine, his soule besieged with feare and care for vs; that neither the dreadful wrath of God overwhelmed vs, nor the deceitefull fraude of Satan undermined vs: but by no meanes we maie admit in Christ either feare or doubt of his owne saluation; nor forgetfulnes of his person or function; but the harder the worke he undertooke, the stronger his faith, that performed it; the more terrible our danger, the more stedfast his loue, that shynke not from vs in so great extremitie.

[Might not yet the soule of Christ in this constant and full assurance of Gods loue towarde him, and mercie towarde vs, feele the torments of hell for the time without ante distrusting or doubting of his saluation, or our redemption:] The essentiall tormentes of hell, are the absolute losse of Gods kingdome, without recouerie, and exquisite sense of hell fire euerlastingly without release. Neither of these without horrible blasphemie can be imagined in the soule of Christ: the rest that are consequents to these, as desperation, murmuration,

tion, darkenesse, horriour and such other impressions are like to these; and coulde no more haue place in Christs person, then the antecedentes might. And since it is no where witnessed in the Scriptures; nor anie waie prooued, that Christ suffered the paines of hell; whie shal we to establish a more conceite of men; neuer witten or spoken of, before our age? heare wee so small regarde to the Church of Christ, and to all the learned fathers and teachers in the same, that for thirtie hundred yeeres no man euer knew or heard the right waie, and true meane of our redemption and reconcillatton to God, till the paines of hell were lately deuised? Abuses and errors did by little and little creepe into the church by the willnesse of Satan, and wilfulnesse of men; but that the gates of hell shoulde so much preuaile against it, as from the Apostles time to this present age, no Christian should euer trulie teach or rightlie beleue how we are saued by the crosse of Christ, is to me so strange; that I will be ten times aduised, before I will once admit it. Let vs giue thanks to God, for dispelling the mist of darkenes and ignorance, that quersped the world vnder Antichrist: but let vs neuer glozte that we first inuented a newe faith; neither testified in the scriptures, no; mentioned in anie ancient writers, no; euer heard of amongst Christians before our time. It is no corne but cockle that springeth so late in the Lordes field; it is no faich, but fanie that neuer before was in the foundation of Christs church. The simplicitie therfore of the scriptures continually pressing the DEATH and BLOVD of Christ, as the TRVE CAUSES of our saluation & redemption; and the consonancy of all antiquity according therewith, do so challenge my faith, and establish my hart, that I will see this new deuise of hel paines suffered in the soule of Christ, better warranted, before I wish it to be beleued.

And as for the doctrine of the church of England, which some men would faine infect with this late fanie; giue mee leave, men and brethren to admonish you shortly but trulie;

It should some what moue vs, y hell paines were neuer added to Christs crosse for 1300 yeeres since the Apostles time,

1300 yeeres since the Apostles time,

The doctrine here deliuered is authorized by the lawes of this realme.

9 Num. 3.

10 Num. 13.

trulie; that who so will reade the sermon of the saluation of al mankinde, in the first volume of Homilies; and like wise the two Homilies, concerning the death and passion of our Saviour Iesus Christ, contained in the second tome of Homilies; shall finde that the doctrine which I haue deliuered you, hath the publike approbation of Prince and Parliament, the consent and agreement of all the Bishops, and the subscription of all the clergie of this kingdome, to bee taught as truth in all the churches of this realme, and so hath had, as well in the daies of king Edwarde the first, as all the time of her maiesties most happie raigne, what soeuer some forward nouices haue told you to the contrarie. And thus much let me speake in the Honor of her maiestie, and this realme; I see no cause, why the doctrine of the church of England so plainelie warranted by the Scriptures, so folke confessed by all the Fathers, so long continued in Christs church without contradiction, so sufficiently authorized, so generally acknowledged, should bee controlled or corrected, either by the dangerous deuises of some late wrixers, or by the vnsetled humours of some late teachers. Hold therefore in Gods name close to the rules of the holie ghost, close to the words of the christian & catholike Fathers, close to the lawes of this realme: they all concur and consoine together, howsoeuer some giddie spirits haue lately buzzed in your eares that I impugned the doctrine of the church of England.

The first effect
of Christes
croffe; which
is the glory of
his resurrection.

I Haue deliuered you foure effectes of Christes croffe; the merite of his suffering which was infinite; the maner of his offering, which was bloudie; the power of his death, which was mightie; the comfort of his croffe, which was and is necessary for vs all; there remaineth the glorie of his resurrection, which was heauenlic, of which I did not purpose to speake, when I first entred this matter; but the ignorance of some, imagining I denied the Article of the Crede, HE DESCENDED INTO HEL (for descent but on the croffe they admit none) and

and the zeale of others importuning me to knowe what they might safelie beleue touching that article, hath made me to change my mind; and in this last part to shewe, that I nei-ther frustrate the faith, nor alter the Creede by anie thing that I affirme, or refuse. Where to let you see the multipl-
citic of mens wits and conceites; there are foure severall opinions that take holde euerie one of this Article of our Creede, and chalenge the true meaning thereof as their pe-
culiar and vndoubted right. The FIRST applieth it to the soule of Christ suffering on the crosse; the SECOND to the bodie of Christ buried; the THIRD to the state of Christs soule seuered by death from the bodie; the LAST to the conquest and triumph which the humane soule of Christ had ouer hell by the glorie of his resarreacion, as his bodie had ouer death. Which of these hath the best right, and fittest sense to be an article of our creede, wil appeare by comparison in the end and vpsHOT of all; in the meane while, I will shortly list them, that you maie see the substance of them, and so be able the better to iudge of them.

Foure opinions touching the article of the Creede he descended into hell.

The first is the verie same, which I haue already handled, and refused as not consonant to the christian faith; but rather repugnant to the dignitie, certainty, sanctity of Christs person, consanction, & communion with God. The scriptures ad-
uouch, that Christs SOULE WAS IN HELL, but not whiles he liued here on earth: it was a consequent to his death, and no part of his suffering on the crosse, as I shewed before. And since the times do so much varie, there can be no truth in ta-
king the one for the other. In this life God sometimes suf-
fereth the sorowes and feares of hell to bessege his seruantes, and bringeth them euen vnto hell; but his saints descend not
into hell: feare may humble them, that would other wise pre-
sume of themselves, or make triall howe fast they stande on
that foundation against the which the gates of hell shall not
preuaile: but this conflict of conscience must resolue on the
assurance of Gods fauour, except they yelde themselves vn-

1. Samuel. 2.

The feare of hell may fall on vs, but need on Christ.

to despaire. In Christ as there was no vse, so was there no place for anye such temptation. There was in him no danger of pride to exalt him; and therefore no neede of feare to depresse him: no slacknesse or coldnesse coude take holde of him; and so no terroz requisite to awake him from sleepe, or inflame his zeale: generallie there was in him no corruption of nature, no infection of sinne, no wauering of faith, no want of grace, no doubt of Gods fauour; and so those dreadfull thoughts and feares of hell, which amaze other, could not arise within his heart; but all the paines and griefes, which the sonne of God felt in his pretious bodie, or righteous soule, as they were VOLUNTARY for our example; and SATISFACTORIE for our sinne; and not MEDICINABLE for anye infirmitie of his, nor PROFITABLE to bring him to perfection of holinesse, as they are in vs: so were they proportioned to his person; that was most assured of Gods euermourning loue; and to his gifts, that could endure no inward decrease; and therefore hee must in this point differ from all the saints of God, that euer were or euer shall be on earth. For they may be tossed with the waues of temptation, rising from the remembrance of sinne, & remorse of conscience; but our Saviour; as he was free from all touch of sinne; so was hee from all feare of heart, that hee should or might bee reiected from Gods fauour, or adiudged to euermourning death. Smart, paine and grieffe of bodie or minde; be it neuer so great, will commend his obedience and patience; but the SENSE of damnation or separation from God, or the FEARE or DOUBT thereof in Christ, as they quench faith, and abolish grace; so they dissolue the vnion and communion of both his natures; or else breede a false perswasion, and sinnefull temptation in the soule of Christ. In vs that haue iustitickie prouoked the iustice of God; it is the true beholding that wee haue deserued, if God be not pleased for Christs sake to pardon and forgiue vs; In Christ, that was perfectlie righteous, and personallie ioyned with God, there could

bee no apprehension of hell paines as due vnto him, or determined for him, without renouncing his innocencie, and leaving the vnitie of his person; and consequentlie hee must find or feare, that God would be inconstant, and vniust; which are more then hatnous impieties. For Christ coulde not

FEARE OR DOUBT his owne saluation, but he must feare or doubt, that either his humane nature should bee separated from his diuine, or his diuine together with his humane bee cast into hell fier; from which the Lord blesse the tongues and thoughts of al christian men. As for Christs not remēbing in a maze, that he was the son of God, & savior of the world; is a seely shift to shun these inconueniencies; I had rather simply deny, then any way beleue this kind of descending into hel.

Do I charge then anie man with vpholding these impieties? God forbid. I see by their own words they purpose and professe by al means to decline them; & no doubt detest them; but I confesse my dulnes, that I see not how to auoide the one,

if I anouch the other. If we take hell paines METAPHORICALLY for great and intolerable paines; in which sense the word maie bee vsed; then it is no daunger to saie, Christ suffered on the crosse the paines of hell: because there canne bee no doubt, but HIS PAYNES were exceeding

GREATE, and more SHARPE, then wee canne conceiue or vtter. But this is not the meaning of the

How Christ in some sense may be said to haue suffered the paines of hel on y^e crosse

Crede in that Article hee descended into Hell; by reason there are wordes before inferring the paynes, which hee SUFFERED, when hee was CRUCIFIED. If wee attribute the sense of Gods wrath, and feeling of hell paynes vnto Christ by waie of COGNITION, and COMPASSION towards vs, for so much as the soule hath her sight, and pittie hath her inwarde feeling of other mens miseries, as if they were our owne; it is no wrong to the person or function of our Saviour for vs to confesse, that hee considered and grieued to see the hart

then of Gods euerlasting wrath due to our sinnes, none

otherwise then if himselfe had bene subiect thereto: so long as we leane him certaintie and securitie of his owne saluation & our redemption; that his bowels of mercie maie bee moued and affected for our danger, and not for his owne. It is farre more religious to presse the soule of Christ with violent panges of grieffe and sorrowe for our iniquities and miseries; then to touch him with anie feare or doubt of his owne innocencie or safetie. Charitie is a fitter Agonie for the sense of God in our flesh, then either timiditie or stupiditie; and yet I do not thinke this to be the sense of the Creede, when it saith hee descended into hell; for that it were somewhat strange to expresse the vertues of Christs suffering, by his descending into hell.

Papists were the first broachers of this opinion, that Christ suffered hell paines on the crosse.

And least the insolent sect of Iesuites should take such pleasure as they doe; in misconstruing other mens words; and blazing them vnto the worlde as erroneous and impious; let them remember, that some of their owne side, and those not of the meaneest both for learning and religion amongst them, haue not onelie waded as farre as anie other newe wyters in this position; but for ought that I reade, haue gone farther; howsoeuer they will defende it or excuse it. Nicholaus Cusanus a Cardinall of their church, and a great aduiser of the councell of Basill, 50. yeres before Luther appeared, first broched this assertion: *Passio Christi; (qua maior nulla potest esse) fuit ut damnatorum, qui magis damnari nequeunt; scilicet VSQVE AD PŒNAM INFERNALEM.* The suffering of Christ, (then the which there can be no greater,) was as of the damned, which cannot bee more condemned, **EVEN VNTO THE PAINES OF HELL.**

^o Nicholaus de Cusa Excitacionum lib. 10. ex sermone: qui per spiritum sanctum semetipsum obtulit.

^o Ibidem.

And againe. *Illam pœnã sensus conformem damnatis in inferno, pati voluit in gloriam dei patris sui.* That paine of feeling agreeable to the damned in hell, Christ would suffer for the glory of God his father. Augustinus Iustinianus, that set out the Psalter in Hebrew with fire translations and obseruations, the same yere, that Luther beganne to

write;

write; in his scholies vpon the 30 Psalme, mentioⁿeth this opinion of Cusanus, and saith, *x* *Se huius eruditissimi viri, & in omni scientia eminentissimi opinionem, nec amplecti, nec aspernari;* He neither embraceth nor reiecteth the opinion of that most learned man and excelling in all kinde of knowledge. *Iohannes Ferus* a Franciscane and preacher at *Mogunce*, about the same time that Caluine wrote, goeth further then anie other writer, that I haue read. Commenting vpon these wordes of Christ, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, he saith, *Exiit Christus hac hora DEVM, non abiiciendo, sed non SENTIENDO: seposuit patrem ut hominem ageret. Sic & Deus pater, nunc non patrem, sed TYRANNVM AGIT, quamuis interim amicissimo in Christum sit animo. Illa Christi derelictio maior est conscientia nostra ob admissa peccata, quae iudicium dei & iram aeternam experitur: & sic afficitur, quasi in perpetuum derelicta & reiecta a facie Dei esset.* That verie hower Christ put off GOD; not casting him away, but not FEELING him; he laid aside his father, that he might shew himselfe to be a man. So also God the father now taketh vnto him the PERSON not of a father, but OF A TYRANT; though in heart hee were most louing vnto Christ. That forsaking of Christ is the feare of our conscience for sinne committed, which seeleth the iudgment and eternall wrath of God; & is so affected, as if it were forsaken and reiected from the face of God for euer. AND as if this were not inough to say, that Christ put off his diuine nature, as having no feeling of it, and God the father played the PART OF A TYRANT; he goeth on and addeth. *Non solum supplicium a nobis meritum, verum etiam DESPERATIONEM NOSTRAM in se transtulit. Itaque Christus ut peccatores liberaret constituit seipsum in locum omnium peccatorum, non quidem fuxans, adulterans, occidens, &c: sed stipendium, poenam & meritum peccatorum, quae sunt frigus, calor, esuries, sitis, timor, tremor, horror mortis, horror inferni, DESPERATIO, mors, INFERNVS IPSE in se transferens, ut famem fame, timorem timore, horrorem horrore, DESPERATIONEM DESPERATIONE,*

1 August. Iustitiam in scholis O Stapli in Psal. 30.

1 Ferus, lib. 4. in Mat. cap. 27. in illa verba Deus meus, deus meus.

1 Ibidem.

TIONE, *mortem morte*, INFERNUM IN FERNO, *breuiter SATANAM SATANA, vinceret*. Christ did transerre to himselfe not onelie the punishment which wee had deserued, but euen OVR DESPERATION And therefore Christ, that hee might deliuer sinners, set himselfe in the place of all sinners, not by stealing, adultering, killing, but by transferring vnto himselfe, the wages, punishment, and desert of sinners, which are heate and colde, hunger and thirst, feare and trembling, horror of death, HORROR OF HELL DESPERATION, death, HELL IT SELFE: that he might ouercome hunger with hunger, feare with feare, horror with horror, DESPERATION WITH DESPERATION, death with death, HELL WITH HELL, and lastlie, SATAN WITH SATAN. Trulie I knowe no man that so plainlie auoucheth, Christ admitted and receyued vnto himselfe DESPERATION, as this Frier doth. For where other men warilte decline to say that CHRIST DESPAIRED, this Franciscane boldlie saith; Christ transferred vnto himselfe DESPERATION, HELL, yea, THE DIVELL and all; and was so affected so; the time, as if he had FELT THE ETERNAL WRATH OF GOD, and were REJECTED FOR EVER. Could those quarrellers haue gotten the like aduantage against anie of our writers, they would haue filled the world with their tragick exclamations of HERESIE, BLASPHEMIE, TURCISME, PAGANISME, and I knowe not what; and therefore let them goe and washe their owne faces from these spottes, before they declaine so violentlie agaynst our deformities.

Charitie sup-
poseth the best

And albeit I like not these speeches either in theirs or ours, yet I cleare them both from anie purpose of wilfull blasphemie. They might be deceiued in the sequelle of their assertion, but sure they were neuer so vnadvised, as to fasten either DESPERATION OR DAMNATION on the soule of Christ. Perhappes they thought hee was besieged and assaulted with these temptations, and that the humane

humane nature of Christ, being left to it selfe, could not presentlie & easilie stand cleare from the vengeance due to our finnes: but with some conflict and feare, wrestled from vnder the weight of our iniquities, and in this fight did sweate blood, and spake as if he were forsaken: yea Ferus seemeth to mean that Christ did voluntarilie take the burthen of desperation and damnation from vs, and laid it on himselfe; against whom it could not preuaile; that by transferring those dangers from our persons to his, & suffering them for the time, he might breake them, and dissolue them for ever.

Naturall infirmities, which are outragions in vs by reason of our corruption, Christ might suffer to arise within him, and there temper them, as Cyrill & other ancient fathers do teach; but sinfull extremities, as desperation, confusion, reiection, damnation, Christ must conquere by repelling, not by suffering: least the fellowship of our finnes be more hainous in him, then in vs: For as his faith, hope and loue must by many degrees exceed ours in perfection; so the quenching or slaking of these graces in him, is greater sinne then in vs. Doubt and distrust is farre more impious in Angels, by reason of their excellent knowledge and strength, then in men; and most impious in the soule of Christ, who by his personall vnion with God, deriued clearer intelligence in knowing Gods will, and greater assurance to persist therein, then either man or Angel. For the verie Angels haue but the condition of their creation, from which some fell; and confirmation of grace, in which the rest stand: but no creature euer had so fast conjunction, and full communion with the godhead, as the soule of Christ. And therefore DUBITATION, DESPERATION, TREPIDATION in his soule are more hainous finnes, then in any other creature; for so much as they beleue not y^e truth, trust not the promise, rest not secured in the VOICE and OATH of God, which all are immutable and impossible to be false; and feare least Gods goodnesse and loue will faile; and in fine doe deprive him of his diuine nature, since

Sinful infirmities are more hainous in Christ then in vs.

without

Without veritie, bonitie, and constancie, there can be no God. If then Christs soule could not be infected with sinne, nor haue anie societie with euill, no not for an instant; these doubts and feares of Gods fauour, and his saluation must be farre from him; and in the full perswasion, and steadfast expectation of eternall ioy and blisse, howe desperation should lodge, I yet vnderstand not.

God might reueale, and the soule of Christ in this life be holde, as all ours shall when we appeare before the face of God after this life, what cup was prepared for the wicked to drinke, and the sight thereof as it is most fearefull, so might it make him tremble, though he were neuer so free from it; but moze then the VISION of Gods wrath, and COMMISERATION of mans danger, if wee attribute to the soule of Christ; we must either grant he was tempted as well with our iniquities, through lacke of grace, as with our infirmities through want of strength; or else cast him into a traunce at the time of his passion, as some doe, to excuse him from sinne. For that in the fulnesse of Gods fauour, grace and spirite, the soule of Christ shoulde feele the flames of hell fire; can neither bee pꝛoued, nor defended by the worde of God. The pꝛoofe I leaue to them that like the position; which if anie man affirme, he were best bee sure of his footing. It is no small arrogancie, and blasphemie to sit Iudge in Gods place, and to condemne Christs soule to hell fire, without a sounde and cleare commission, to warrant that assertion. Besides hell fire in the Scriptures being ETERNALL; by what authoritie will they quench it at their pleasure, and make it temporarie? And if Christs soule being personallie ioyned to the Deitie, notwithstanding might feele the surie of hell fire; when shall the Saints of God, that can neuer bee so vnited vnto his glorie, nor assured of his societie, nor so endued with his sanctitie, bee free from the flames of hell? If that vniou and communion which Christ had with God, coulde not
exclude

Christs soule
freer from hel-
then either
saints or
angels.

exclde hell fire; what shall hinder but that the Angels in heauen mate for the time likewise seele the flames thereof? Can they haue faster coherence, or fuller presence of God, then hee which was toynd with God in vnitie of person? They come not neere the fauour and grace, knowledge and truth, power & stedfastnes of the manhoode of Christ, which here on earth they did serue and adore. But none of these things can be intended in the Creede; for there the articles are placed in ORDER AND TIME, as they were performed. And therfore when Christ was DEAD AND BURIED, he then DESCENDED INTO HELL.

The second opinion is, that Christs descent to hell is all one with his burfall, for that SHEOL in the olde testament doth most commonlie, if not continuallie signifie the graue. But this is nothing to the Creede, whose authoritie and antiquitie if wee reuerence, it is soone concluded, that hell there doth not signifie the graue. For first it is absurde, that in a short rehearfall of the faith made for the simplest to conceiue, one article shoalde bee twice repeated; and after a plaine and knowne worde, hee was buried which no man could doubt of; a darke and enigmaticall phrase of speech, HE DESCENDED INTO HELL, which fewe men did vnderstande, should bee added, rather to obscure then to expound the former. Againe, HE DESCENDED, signifieth a voluntarie motion, where as the bodie dead hath neither WILL nor MOTION. Thirdlie, HELL in the new testament, is so vnusuall for the graue; that I thinke no example can be shewed thereof. Though therefore this exposition cannot be charged with falsitie, for Christ was trulie buried; yet may it not bee endured by reason of the idle repetition, and strange circumloquution, which troubleth and confoundeth the hearer; besides the improprietie and incoherence of the worde, that a deade corps should descend, and speciallie vnto hell.

The third opinion doth neither mistake the TIME nor the PART which descended: for they referre the words of the

This opinion is not false, but impertinent and idle.

The third opinion can hardly avoid *Limbus patrum*, which they would seeme most to shun.

Creede to *Chythes* some what after DEATH, but they change the name of hell into the state of the dead; and so confesse that *Chythes* soule after separation from the bodie endured THE STATE OF THE DEAD. To this a number of learned men incline, because they would auoyde *Limbus patrum*; disliking by all meanes that the soules of the righteous and faithfull before *Chythes*, suffering should be kept in a region or part of hell; and thence deliuered by his descent. I see well enough that they woulde faine decline; but what if by their farre set exposition they fall into that errour which they seeke to shun? Doe they not fauorlie profer, and quite besides the marke? Let vs take a little into their conceite. *Christ* descended into hell, that is, saie they; his soule after death conuersed among the soules of the iust, that were dead before him. But where were the soules of the iust? In a place, or no? Without a place can nothing be, but onely God. All creatures be they soules or angels are defined with place, though they doe not replenish the places as bodies do; yea what soeuer is not circumscribed within a place, is infinite; which no creature can be. The soules then of the righteous must of necessity bee in a place. And what call you that place by your opinion? For so theuen HERESIES For *Christ*s descending into hell, as you expound it, was his conuersing among the soules of the dead. Those soules then were in a place, and that place by your construction the Creed calleth Hell. What that you will say, is called hell, but not their place. A wittie difference I assure you. The place for soules after this life, is answerable to their state. If their state bee hell; their place can neither bee Heauen, nor Paradise. As is their receptacle; so is their rest; the place doth bring either ioy, or paine, which is their state. So that if *Christ* descending into hell conuersed with the soules of the righteous; or force the soules of the righteous were in hell, which is the selfe same errour, that you woulde seeme by your newe founde

interpre-

interpretation to prevent.

[But the state of the dead, is in Hebrew noted by the word Sheol; and thither Christ descended.] And the state or place whither Christ descended, is in the Creede named hell; and so Sheol is that which the Creede calleth hell. In deede some say, that Sheol doth neuer in the olde testament, signifie the place of the damned; but I must be borne with, if I bee not of their minde. Danielien saie, that the ynderproue; and some speake they know not what. As both partes of man sinned in the first transgression; so was there a pit of perdition provided for either part; the graue for the bodie, which there should rot; and hell for the soule, which there should bee tormented with euerlasting fire. Both these pits, because they alwayes expect and expect as their due, the bodies and soules of mortall and sinfull men; and neuer are satisfied, are contained in the word Sheol; and are not distinguished by the nature of the worde, which is common to both; but by the circumstances added, which are proper to either. For example, when the word Sheol is qualified with an OPPOSITION to heauen with a difference of SCITATION, as the LOWER PIT; with an ADDITION of the soule there suffering, or of the pain there suffered; all these are prooves that the word Sheol, which is otherwise in different, must there be taken not for the burfall of the body; nor for the change from this life, but for the state of destruction, and place of damnation. ^a Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flie from thy presence? If I ascend into heauen, thou art there; If I lodge BENEATH IN HEL, thou art there. Opposite to heauen, is not the graue, where the bodies of all gods saints do lie, but hell, as being the farthest from it, and most repugnãt to it; since from hel to heauen there is no passage for man; but from the graue to heauen is the assured hope of all the faithfull. ^b This opposition our Saviour expressing in the new testament, saith, ^c And thou Capernaum ^d Mat. 11. ye. 23. which art exalted to heauen, shalt bee thrust downe to hell.

Sheol as well
hell as the
graue.

11. 10. 11

being the same
Aristotle
said of
hell.

^a Psal. 139.

^b Mat. 11. ye. 23.

Christ doth not threaten the contemners of his doctrine, and myracles with the graue, which is common to all the godlie; but with perpetuall destruction and punishment proportionable to the height of their pride, which must needs be hell. And so much followeth in plaine wordes in the next verse.

^c *Ibid.* ver. 24. I say to you, it shall be easier for them of the land of Sodome in the day of iudgement, then for thee. In the daie of iudgement as death, so the graue are at an ende, for the bodies of the wicked shall then liue for euer; and then shall Capernaum be cast downe to hell for the contempt of Christs preaching.

As hel is the farthest place from heauen, that can be named, so it is the lowest, and therefore by the lower pit, is ment not the graue, but hell, which in scituation is far lower then the outside of the earth where men are buried. ^d Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the perfection of the al-

^d Job. 11

The lowest place
and farthest
from heauen
is hell.

mightie? to the height of heauen what canst thou do? it is deeper then hell; how canst thou know it? Gods perfection is higher then the highest place, which is heauen; & deeper then the deepest place, which is hel. To compare his power or iustice with the depth of the graue, which is not foure yeards deepe at the most, were a very slender comparison for the incomprehensible greatnes of god; but since in height & depth it excēdeth all things; there can be no doubt, but it is compared with the highest & deepest places that are; which are heauen and hel. In

^e Psal. 85.

like sort, ^e Thou hast deliuered my soule from the lowest pit, can not be ment of the graue. For mens soules are not inclosed in graues with their bodies, but as the pit provided for the body is the higher of the twaine, and the pit prepared for the soule is the lower; so the lowest pit out of question is hell, where the soules of such as are relected from God are detained against the day of vengeance. And albeit some of these speeches may perchance admit an allegoricall sense, and so signifie the greatest and extreamest dangers that might be; yet the ground of the allegorie dependeth on the nature of hell, and not of the graue, because of the two sortes of pittes,
hell

hell is the lowest; and made to receive the soules of men, which the graue doth not. A fire, (saith God by Moses) is kindled in my wrath, and shall burne to the bottome of hell, and set on fire the foundations of the mountaines. Fire in the graue there is none, in hell there is; neither can the sepulcher, where mens bodies lie buried, be the bottome of hell. For so shall we make the place of hell higher then the earth, which the scripture euerie where crosseeth, when it calleth hell the deepe, or lowest pit. A fire then burning to the bottome of hell, and inflaming the verie foundations of the hills, can haue no resemblance to the graue, nor performance in the graue; but Sheol in that scripture, as in manie others, must signifie the verie place of the damned, which we call hell.

The wordes then of the Crede, hee descended into hell; since the defenders of this thirde opinion doe not referre to the bodie of Christ buried, but to the soule of Christ after death; it is euident by their position; that not onelie Christs soule after this life descended to hell, but all the soules of the iust and righteous leauing this worlde before Christs coming, descended likewise into hell. And this euasion of theirs, that Sheol in Hebrew signifieth the state of the deade after this life, be it good or bad, standeth them in little stead. For first they doe not auoid that obscure and idle repetition, wherewith the second opinion was charged; that, after a plaine and easie article, hee was deade, the selve same thing should bee iterated againe with a verie darke and doubtfull kind of hebraisme, he descended into Sheol. By this former, he was dead, euerie man must needes conceaue, not onelie the separation of the soule from the bodie, but also the subtection of either part to the state of the deade. What needed then an vnknowne hebrew phrase hee descended into Sheol, to expresse the verie same point, which before was fullie and faitelie deliuered? Againe, though Sheol be common to the bodie of the faithfull and infidels, yet may it bee verie well doubted, whether the soules of the righteous departed

The Scripture
maketh a de-
scend to Sheol,

¶ Luke. 16

¶ Genes. 37

¶ Genes. 42.

¶ Numb. 16

¶ Psal. 9.

The soules of
y wicked were
in Sheol before
Christs com-
ming, but not
of the godly.

¶ Esay. 38

¶ Prouerb, 15

this life be in Sheol, or no. And vnder correction I take it to bee moze; then the Scripture anie where dooth positiuelie affirme. My reason is; that Abrahams bosome is by our Sauour placed ^{AS ABOVE}; FARRE OFF from the place, wher the wicked after this life are tormented. Now to Sheol the Scripture maketh a ^{DESCENT}; not an ^{ASCENT}; as when Iacob saith; ^{AND I WILL GOE DOWNE} vnto my sonne; mourning. And againe; you will bring my gray hairs with sorrow ^{DOWNE} TO SHEOL. And least wee shoulde dicaine of a metaphoricall kinde of descent; in the rebellion of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram; the scripture saith; ^{THE GROUND} claue a-sunder, that was ^{VNDER THEIR}; (and the earth opened her mouth; and swallowed them vp; with their families. So they, and all that were with them) ^{DESCENDED} downe into Sheol; and the earth ^{COVERED} them. To Sheol then the scripture maketh a locall descent; which is either of the bodie to the graue, (so Iacobs words must be vnderstood; when he saith; I will descende to Sheol vnto my sonne;) or of the soule after death, to the place of torment, which is the rewarde of all the wicked. The wicked (saith Dauid) shall be turned into Sheol; and all nations that forget God. Where he doth not meane; they shall die as well as the godly; which is likewise the lot of all the iust & righteous; but they shall haue the due wages of sinne; both body and soule descending to Sheol; that is, the one to corruption in the earth; the other to damnation in hell. For Sheol containeth both; and importeth both to the forgetters and despisers of God; albeit it fasten no farther on the godly; then to bring their bodies to the graue, which is the gate of hel. Ezechiah mentioning in his prayer; how he was killed by the prophet to prepare himselfe to die; thus expresse that I said in the cutting off of my daies; I shall goe to the gates of Sheol, I am deprived of the residue of my yeeres; but y wicked go to THE DEPTH OF SHEOL, which is the place of everlasting punishment. The way of life (saith Salomon) is ON HIGH, to him

him that vnderstande it to decline fro SHEOL DENEATH. So that
 after this life, the soules that liue, are about, for the way to life
 is on high; the soules that die, go to the depth of Sheol, euen to
 the bottomles pit of perdition. Of him that haunteth harlots
 Salomon saith, ° He knoweth not y her ghests, are in the depth
 of Sheol; that is, so wrapped in their sinnes, that they can not
 prevent ouerlasting damnation. And againe, I Thou shalt
 smite the child with the rock, and shalt deliuer his soule fro Sheol.
 Correction will not saue a childe that hee shall not see death,
 but it will bow him to obedience, and so saue his soule from
 destruction: And how should Dauid so often confesse to God
 that his soule was freed from Sheol, if by Sheol he meant the
 state after death: for thence it was impossible his soule shuld
 be deliuered. What man liueth, & shall not see death? Ho pre-
 tious is the redēption of the soule (frō death) that it must cease for
 euer. And yet comparing himself with the wicked, & his state
 with theirs, he saith, Like sheepe shall they lie in Sheol; death
 shall deuoure thē, and the righteous shall haue dominio ouer thē,
 in the day spring; But God wil deliuer my soule from the power
 of Sheol, for he will receiue me. Doth Dauid meane he shall ne-
 uer die, or that his soule shall be deliuered from Sheol, that is
 from the state of such as were departed this life? y imagination
 were both false & absurd; but he meaneth, that death shal
 deuoure the wicked wth his, as well soule as bodie; whereas
 he did firmly believe, y God would deliuer his soule from the
 power of Sheol, & would rescaue him after death, though his
 body must of force by the condition of nature waie olde as a
 garment; and rot in the graue, til the day of resurrection.

And if aite man thinke good in some such places, as these
 are, to interpret the **SOVEREIGN** for **LIFE**, because it is the spring
 and cause of life in the bodie; and **SHEOL** for the **GRAVE**
 where life endeth; I will not utterlie condemne his opi-
 nion, so long as he beareth a different power of Sheol, euer
 yust & vntill, fro which Dauid saith, God will deliuer his soule;
 and do not make the soules of the righteous **DESCEND TO**

Sheol.

SHEOL

1. Iudith 9. 7

1. Iudith 9. 7

° Prouerb. 9

P Prouerb. 23

1. Iudith 9. 7

1. Iudith 9. 7

9 Psal. 89.

1 Psal. 49

1 Psal. 49.

Abrahams bo-
 some is no part
 of Sheol, or hel.

¹ Prouerb. 13

² Luke. 16.

³ August. epist.
99.

SHEOL after death. For that directlie impugneth the doctrine, as well of the olde testament, which saith the way of life is on high; as of our Saviour, who placeth Abrahams bosome V P V V A R D A F A R O F F from hell; when he saith of the rich man; that being in hell in torment, hee L I F T V P his eies and saw Abraham A F A R O F F, and Lazarus in his bosome. Upon which place, S. Augusten learnedly and trulie inferreth, ** Ne ipsos quidem INFEROS VSPIAM scripturarum locis IN BONO APPELLATOS potui reperire. Quod si nusquam in diuinis autoritatibus legitur, non utique sinus ille Abrahæ, id est, secreta cuiusdam quietis habitatio ALIQUA PARS INFERORVM esse credenda est: quanquam in ijs ipsis tanti magistri verbis, ubi ait dixisse Abraham, Inter nos et vos chaos magnum firmatum est; SATIS VT OPINOR APPARET, NON ESSE QVANDAM PARTEM, ET QVASI MEMBRVM INFERORVM, tanta illius felicitatis sinum. Chaos enim magnum, quid est nisi quidam hiatus multum ea separans, inter qua non solum est, verum etiam firmatus est? The name of Inferi I could no where finde in anie place of scripture vsed IN ANY GOOD SENSE: which if wee doe no where reade in the authorities of the scripture, surely Abrahams bosome, which is an habitation of secret rest, may not be thought to bee ANY PEECE OF THE LOWER PARTS albeit in the words of so sufficient a maister (as our Saviour) where he maketh Abraham say, betwixt vs and you there is a GREAT GULFE ESTABLISHED, it is EVIDENT ENOUGH, as I take it; that the bosome of so great felicitie, is NO PART NOR MEMBER of hell, For what is a great gulfe, but a great distance separating those places, betweene which it lieth? Inferi are the lower parts where the drade remaine, which the Hebrews calleth Sheol; and touching Inferi, which are the places, or spirits beneath, we maie with S. Austen conclude two thinges out of the manifest wordes of our Saviour. First that Abrahams bosome is V P V V A R D towards heaven, and therfoze the soules of the righteous befoze the death of Christ ascended*

ascended rather, then descended. Pert, that neither paradise, nor Abrahams bosome, (which was the receptacle for y^e soules of all the sonnes of Abraham, that held the faith, and did the works of Abraham,) was anie part or member of hell. So that CHRISTES DESCENDING INTO HELL cannot be expounded of his conuersing with the spirites of the iust and perfect men after his death; nor of his enduring the state of the deade; since the place, where their soules doe rest after death, is no where in the scriptures called HELL or SHEOL, or, as S. Austen speaketh, INFERI. And this I take to be so clære, that neither Jewish Rabbines with their grammaticall observations, nor Græke poets with their fantastick imaginations may be suffered to contradict it. W^ho we easie it is to wrangle with the words, NEPHESH, SHEOL, and HADES a meane scholar mate soon perceiue; but I hold it no sound course to fetch the explication of the mysterie of Christsian religion, either from such impudent impugners of it, as were the Rabbines, or from such ignorant deluders of it, as were the prophane poets, who talke enerie where of heauen and hell, according to the false and lewde perswasion of their own hearts. And therefore they may spare their paines, that promise vs so manye thousand deponentes both Jewish and heathen, that Sheol and Hades do not signifie hell. It will trouble them more then they thinke, to bring vs but one godd proofe out of the scripture, that the soules of the righteous before Christs comming, were in Sheol or Hades; and till they doe, I rest on Saint Austens collection out of the wordes of Christ; that Abrahams bosome is no pæce nor part of Hades, or Inferi, which the hebrew calleth Sheol, as being deuided from it with a mightie distance; and that the soules of the iust departing this life before Christs death, were **CRUCIFIED V^P BY THE ANGELS, INTO ABRAHAMS BOSOME.**

So that as yet wee haue not the true meaning of these words of our creed, he was CRUCIFIED, DEAD, & BVRIED;

How y words
of the Creed
are best ex-
pounded.

HE DESCENDED INTO HEL; neither doeth any of the precedent opinions come nêre the plaine and true exposition the reof. For in my iudgement they must haue a sense both DIFFERENT in matter, and CONSEQUENT in order, euen as they lie, before we can rightlie vnderstand the. First he must be DEAD; then BURYED in body, which was laid in the earth: lastlie the soule after it was seuered by death from the bodie, DESCENDED INTO HEL; & this thirde point, he descended into hell, must neither be ALLEGORIZED, which in matters of faith is verie dangerous, so long as the proper sense containeth a truth; nor CONFOUNDED VVITH THE FORMER: for so the Creed shal not shortly touch mysteries of religion, but darkly trouble vs with phrases of variation. And therefore for my part, I retaine in expounding this Article, 3 things, DISTINCTION of matter, CONSEQUENCE of order, & PROPRIETY of words; and those thre considered, the sense of the Article made & must be, that Christ, after his BODY WAS BURYED, IN SOVLE DESCENDED VNTO that place, which the scripture properly calleth HEL; & this sense I find to be so far from any falsity or absurdity, that it is more honorable to Christ, and more comfortable to christians; then any of the rest, that we haue yet examined. Which that you may the better perceiue, giue me leaue somewhat farther to repeat the fruit and force of his glorious resurrection.

Christ is called the first fruits of them that slept; not that neuer none before Christ was restored from the deade, to liue here on earth; but though many were so reuiued againe, yet from the foundation of the worlde not one was euer raised vnto a blessed and immortall life before Christ. Elias raised the ^a widow of Sareptas sonne; Elizeus the ^b Sunamites; Christ himself restored to life the ^c daughter of Iairus, the ^d widowes onlie sonne of Naim, and ^e Lazarus; yet all these after their returne to life were still subiect to sinne and death, as they were before; but he whom the scripture nameth ^f the first begotten of the dead, was in deede the first, that euer rose from the

¹ 1. Corinth. 15

¹ 1. Regum. 17.

² 2. Regum. 4

³ Marci. 5.

⁴ Luke. 7

⁵ John. 11

⁶ Reuelat. 1.

the

the deade into an happy and heavenly life? For where man here on earth is beset with three dangers, with SINNE deterring life; with DEATH thornning life, with HELL tormenting after life; (the iust vengeance of sinne deliuering the body to death, the soale to hel;) the resarrection of Christ, being the full conquest of all his & our enemies, that impugne either his glory or our safety, must ouerthrowe, sinne, death & hel; not in his own person onlie, to whom no such thing was due; but in our stead, & for our good; & we might bee likewise freed from the power of those foes; and as members be ioyned vnto our head, wholly without any hinderance, euerlastingly without any disturbance, and ioyfully without any greuance. Wherefore Christ rising into a SPIRITUAL, IMMORTAL, & CELESTIAL life, freed vs from the dominion of sinne, feare of death, and fury of Satan; and by quickening vs, raising vs vp, and setting vs together with himselfe, in heavenly places, hath not only giuen vs the victorie against sinne, and death; but euen trodden down Satan vnder our feet.

Christ the first that euer rose, conqueror of sinne, death and hell.

¹ Ephel. 2.

Of Christs conquest against sinne & death, I shall not need to say much; things not impugned require lesse paines to be defended; his conquest ouer hel, as in himselfe it thewed most power, & purchaseth most honor; so from vs it deserueth greatest thanks; as bringing vs greatest comfort; that though sinne remaine, & death preuaile against our bodies; there is yet no cause to feare or doubt the faultrie and surenesse of our redemption, since the strength of hell is altogether conquered & abolished from the faithfull; which before was the very King of sinne and death. As the foze Christ was^b deliuered to death for our sinnes; and is risen againe for our iustification; so by MERCY REMITTING, and GRACE REPRESSING, he pareth the branches, and dieth the roote of sinne; till the bodie of sinne and death turning to dust, & withering in the graue, be restored againe after Christs example to perpetuall & celestial life and blisse. Inso much that by lamencing sinne past, and resisting sinne to come, sin daily dieth in vs; and the inward man

The conquest of Christ ouer sinne & death.

^b Rom. 4.

lib. 2. cap. 1. 7
col. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

of the heart being lightened and renewed by grace doth daily more and more, by desire and delight of heavenly things, aspire to the imitation and participation of Christs resurrection. The force of sinne then being quenched by Christs dying vnto sinne, and his rising againe vnto righteousness, the power of death is abolished by the pardoning and decreasing of our sinnes; that being nowe the passage to glorie for all repenters; which before was the gate to hell for all transgressors. In his owne person Christ thewed his conquest ouer death; not by keeping his flesh from death, which he could easily haue done; but by sauing it from rotting in the sepulchre, and by raising it againe into an immortall and glorious state: that death being swallowed by by the power of his life, hee might take from vs the feare of death, whiles here we liue: and change the curse of death, making it nowe a rest from all labours, which before was an entrance into perpetuall paine. This enemy, because he doth least harme, shall be last destroyed: euen at the date of the generall resurrection, and not before; and serueth now rather to repress sinne, then to reuenge sinne; the godlie being by death deliuered from the committing, louing, or feare of sinne; and the wisdome of God providing, that as sinne brought death into the world; so death should abolish sinne out of the worlde. This is by the victorie, that Christ obtained against sinne and death, by his dying and rising from the dead. His conquest ouer hell; as it is more questioned, and more expected, so will I not refuse to shew you, that I thinke maie be safely beleued, and must not rashly be reuicied of any christian.

The conquest of Christ ouer hell and Satan may bee no way doubted by any diuine, that rightly handleth the myste-
rie of our saluation. In vaine do we speake of releasing sinne, or despising death, if the right of hell to vs, and power of hell ouer vs doe still remaine. And therefore the verie ground of Christs conquering sinne and death, is his subduing of hell and Satan, that they should lay no challenge to, nor haue no

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In vaine is all
that christ did
for vs, if hel be
not cōquered.

force against the faithfull. It is then on all sides accorded, that hell and Satan must be fullie conquered by Christ; before the worke of our redemption can be perfectlie settled or assured; but as well the time when, as the manner, how, are somewhat questioned, and that maketh the whole matter the more needfull to be discussed. To refute euerie mans fansie that speaketh hereof, were an infinite labour; to search out a truth in this case, that maie safelie be received, and comfortably embraced, if not necessarilie byged, is the summe of mine intencion, and should bee the ende of your expectation; with this prouiso, that no man carpe before hee rightlie conceiue; nor pronounce before hee well examine that which shall be spoken; least hee checke the Scriptures before he be ware, and condemne the whole Church of God without a nie cause.

In expressing Chrites conquest ouer hell and Satan, I thinke best to obserue these thre things: **VVHAT** hee did vnto Satan and his kingdome; **VVHEN**; and **VVHICH PART OF HIMSELFE** hee did execute this triumph. **VVHAT HE DID** vnto Satan, wee shall learne, by seeing what he suffered at Satans hands. **Propositiona- ble** to Chrites humiliation was his exaltation; and for the violence which he endured, he receiued full satisfaction. As then on the crosse Christ suffered at Satans hands; and by Satans meanes **REPROCHED** **RAGE**, & **VVRONG**; so in his resurrection he reaped a triple recompence from Satan: **SUBMISSION**, whereby his pride was subiected vnder Christ; **CAPTIVATION**, whereby his rage was restrained, and himselfe chained by Christ; **RESTITVTION**, whereby his spoiles were diuided, and deliuered vnto Christ. When I say that Satan was **SVEDDED**, **TIED**, and **SPOILED** by Christ rising from the dead, let no vnsettled braine imagine, this is superstitious and popish; as I mean them, and as the Scriptures deliuer them, they are propheticall and Apostolicall. And least you should thinke I delude

The methode of handling Christs descent.

Christs conquest ouer Satan had these three effects.

The proofe of
these three by
the scriptures

¹Mat. 12.

Mark. 3.

you with wordes, I will shewe you whence I take them; first joynlie all in one sentence, then sever allie from sundrie places of the holie scriptures. Our Saviour in the Gospell doth purpose to make this comparison, by vtter this parable concerning himselfe and the Kingdome of Satan. How can a man ENTER into a strong mans house, and spoile his goods, except he first WINDE the strong man, and then SPOILE his house? Christ then ENTERED vpon Satans house as a CONQUERER; TIED him as the STRONGER; SPOILED him as the right OWNER of that, which Satan vniuallie detained from him. And albeit it maye not bee denied, but Christ whiles hee liued on earth, made some proofe, of his right and power; to dissolue the workes, and displace the force of Satan, from the bodies and soules of men; yet it is euident that the full demonstration of his victorie, and perfection of his glorie were reserued to the time of his resurrection, when he brake the chaines and sorroiwes of death and hell, and ascended to his father; not onelie clothed with honour, and immortalitie, but armed with power and principallitie; all knees bowing vnto him, in heauen; earth and hell, and all tongues confessing that Iesus was the Lord, to the glorie of God. These verie parts of Christs conquest ouer Satan, the Apostle doth comprise in one sentence to the Colossians, saying: Christ ^{is} SPOILED powers and principalities, and made ASHEVV of them openlie, TRIVMPHING ouer them in his owne person. What powers and principalities in this place doe signifie: wicked and sinfull spirites there can bee no question; those names in the scriptures are proper to Angels; bee they good or badde; as Roman. 8. vers. 38. Ephes. 3. vers. 10. & 6. vers. 12. Colos. 1. vers. 16 1. Peter. 3. vers. 22. And heere must needs import euill Angels, because Christ had no cause to conquere or spoile the elect Angels, which serued him; and ministred vnto him; but the badde that impugned his truely, and enuied his glorie. Ouer those then Christ TRIVMPHED

¹1 Cor. 15. 55

¹1 Cor. 15. 55

¹1 Cor. 15. 55

¹Phil. 2.

¹Colos. 2.

as a conquerer; those hee **OPENLIE SHEVED** as captiues bounde with chains; those he **STRIPT OR SPOILED** of the goodes which they had vnlawfullie gotten. And this the Apostle saith he did execute in his owne person, as a triumph fit for the sonne of God, all things being subiected vnder his feete, yea, Angels, powers, and mightes subdued vnto him, when he ascended into heauen.

1. Cor. 15.
1. Peter. 3.

And though some late translators, to decline the descent of Christ to hell after death, doe imagine that the wicked Angels were **CONQUERED, SHEVED, AND SPOILED** by Christ in his suffering the paines of hell on the crosse; and to that ende doe alter the ancient and constant reading of the text, putting in steade of *ev autē* in his owne person, *ev autē* in the same crosse; yet since both scriptures and fathers with one consent, doe contradict that dangerous speculation, I maie not admitte it as consonant, either to the faith or truth of the Scriptures. For the conquest which Christ had ouer Satan and his Kingdome, was not by **RESISTING**, much lesse by **SUFFERING** the assaults of hell. He is no conquerer that with much adoe saueh himselfe and his from the furie of his enemies; but hee that subdueth and treadeth his aduersaries vnder his feete, and so murthereth them, that hee may dispose of them at his will, he is truly called a conquerer. And since the Apostle saith, Christ **SPOILED** the powers of darkness, and made **AN OPEN SHEVV** of them, and **TRIVMPHED** ouer them, it is an euident wrong to Christ to thinke that all the conquest hee had ouer them, was at length to **REPELL** them; with mightie feares and cries **TO SCAPE** their force. Yea the redemption of mankind is altogether vncertain and insufficient, if our head being God and man, could doe no more, but by long struggling wind himselfe out of Satans clauies. We must confesse an other kind of conquest, before the kingdome of Christ can ouerrule all as it must; and his Church be secure from the gates of hell;

On the crosse
Christ obtained
his triumph, but he
executed it at
his resurrection

1. Cor. 15.
1. Peter. 3.
1. Cor. 15.
1. Peter. 3.
1. Cor. 15.
1. Peter. 3.
1. Cor. 15.
1. Peter. 3.

1. Cor. 15.
1. Peter. 3.

Mat. 28.
Philip. 2.
Reuel. 1.

Psal. 2.
Heq. 2.

to wit, that **P**ALL POWER in heauen and earth was giuen vnto him; that **E**VERIE KNEE in heauen, and earth, and hell bowed vnto him; that he had and hath **T**HE **K**EYES OF DEATH and **O**F **H**ELL; and could **R**VLE his enemies with a rodde of yron, and breake them like a potters vessell; that by his death, hee **D**ESTROYED him, that was the ruler of death, euen the diuell. This conquest Christ purchased by his passion, but he did not execute it till his resurrection; otherwise he could not haue died, if death on the crosse had beene throughlie conquered. But hee was humbled and crinanted on the crosse, euen vnto death, that he might after in his resurrection bee exalted, and replenished with all honour, power, and principallite, in heauen, earth and hell. Howbeit of the time **V**VHEN hee triumphed, wee shall afterwarde speake; we nowe obserue **V**VHAT hee did in his triumph ouer hell and Satan; and by the Scriptures wee finde that Christ **E**NTERED Satans house, **T**IED him, and **S**POILED his godes; or as the Apostle expresth it, hee **S**POILED **P**OWERS & **P**RINCIPALITIES, MADE AN **O**PEN **S**HENV of them, and **T**RIVMPHED **O**VER THEM IN HIS **O**VVNE **P**ERSON.

And least I be thought to pretend an ancient and vniforme reading of Pauls wordes in this place without iust profe, let vs see what ancient fathers haue followed the same. The Siriack translation of the newe Testament, which is of no small antiquitie, readeth "IN SEMETIPSO, IN HIS OVVNE PERSON, as I doe. So do Origen, in *Epistola ad Romanos, lib. 5. cap. 8.* Epiphanius in *Anchorato, & contra Pneumatomacheos heres. 74.* Chrylosome homil. 6. in 2. ca. ad *Colof.* and Theodoret likewise in 2. cap. ad *Colof.* Of the Latine fathers, in whome it maye better bee distinguished, the booke *de Trinitate* vnder Tertullians name, Augustine *contra Faustum: lib. 16. cap. 29.* & *Epistola 59.* Hilarius *de Trinitate. lib. 1. & lib. 9.* Fulgentius *ad Thrasimundum. lib. 3.* Hieronymus in *cap. 2. ad Colof.* Ambrose vpon the same place, Rufinus

Colof. 2.
The fathers read in *semetipso* in his own person, and those y reade *ev autō* applie it to Christ, & not to the crosse, saue onelic Occumenius.

Ruffious in *Symbolum Apostolicum*, and so throughout the Latine Church without any dissenting. Onelic the Greeke collections vnder Oecumenius name, referre that triumph which saint Paul here speaketh of, to the Crosse, saying that Christ shamed and confounded the diuell on the crosse, in that he was openlie crucified in the eyes of all the people. And although I condemne not the sense as false, that Christ wrestled with Satan on the crosse, and euen there ouermasted his power, yet that Christ had no further or greater triumph ouer hell and Satan, then by dying on the crosse in the sight of men, doth vtterlie abolish the glorie of his resurrection, and contradicteth the whole course of the scriptures. By his suffering and dying on the crosse; hee deserued and purchased the exaltation, and triumph which he had after wards, when he rose from the dead; and euen before he died, he was falslie assured, that neither his soule should be left in hell, nor his flesh see corruption; but that God would raise him again, and giue him all power in heauen and earth; and make all knees in heauen, earth, and hell to bow vnto him, and place him at his right hand in the brightnesse of eternall gloise. It may therefore be confessed & beleued, that Christ ouerthrew Satan on the crosse; and so triumphed in spirit against him, or had a spirituall triumph ouer him, as David soe tolde, when he said in the person of Christ; Mine heart was glad, and my tongue ioyfull, yea my flesh shall rest in hope; but that the glorie of his resurrection did not farre excell the shame of his passion, and that his rising from the deade was no moze victorious and triumphant, then his yeelding himselfe vnto death, is direclie repugnant to the truth of the scriptures. Though he were * CRUCIFIED THROUGH IN FIRMITIE, yet lieth he (saith Paul) through THE POWER of God. So that to die, euen in Christ, was infirmitie, though voluntarie; to liue againe as hee lieth in the height of celestfall gloise, was a cleare demonstration of the power of God in him. He was declared to be the son of God, ⁊ Rom. 1.

Oecumenius in
2. cap. ad Colos.

Christs resurrection was a far more glorious triumph ouer Satan, then his passion was.

* 2. Cor. 13.

166 The power of hell destroyed,

in power by the resurrection from the dead: Inſomuch that if Chriſt had died, and not riſen againe, his conqueſt had not bene worth the ſpeaking of. ^z If Chriſt bee not raiſed, your faith is in vaine, ſaith Paule; and ye are yet in your finnes. Chriſtes death then without his reſurrection had bene a full conqueſt of Satan ouer Chriſt, and all his members. That which Paule ſayeth, is true, as well in Chriſt as in vs; ^a It is ſowen in diſhonour, it is raiſed in glorie; it is ſowen in **WEAKENESSE**, it is raiſed in power. Since then in the death and croſſe of Chriſt the holie ghōſt noteth ^b reproach, ^c ſhame and weakenesse; wee do ſoulie erre, if wee aſcribe no greater, nor other triumph to Chriſt ouer death and hell, then his croſſe and paſſion. ^d Theſe things Chriſt was to ſuffer, and (ſo) to enter into his glorie; but we muſt make as great difference betwixt his dying, and his riſing againe, as wee woulde betwixt his weakenesse and his power; his conflict, and his conqueſt; his depreſſion, and his exaltation; his ſuffering in reproch, and his raigning in gloſte.

For the better euidence whereof, you ſhall ſee the holie ſcriptures at large expreſſe the verie ſame parts, and the verie ſame time, which I obſerued vnto you. ^e Chriſt humbled himſelfe, and became obedient vnto the death, euen the death of the croſſe. **WHEREFORE** God alſo highly **EXALTED** him, and gaue him a name aboue euery name, that at the name of Ieſus euery **KNEE SHOULD BOWV**, of things **IN HEAVEN IN EARTH, AND BENEATH THE EARTH**. Under the earth are no reaſonable creatures to kneele to Chriſts perſon and ſcepter, but the damned ſpirits and ſoules in hell, except we take holde of Purgatorie, or Limbus patrum; the elect in heauen doe willingly ſerue him; ſuch as live on earth, doe endure his juſtice or loue his mercie; the ſpirits beneath doe finde his truth, and feele his hand; the moſt aduerſe acknowledge his name, and feare his force. This exaltation of Chriſt to raigne ouer heauen, earth and hell,

same

^z 1. Cor. 15.

^a Ibidem.

^b Heb. 13.

^c Heb. 12.

^d Luke, 24.

^e Phil. 2.

The cauſe and time of Chriſts triumph.

came after his death, as being the reward and effect of his obedience vnto death. So saith the Apostle. He humbled himselfe, and became obedient to the death, euen the death of the Crosse. WHEREFORE (or for which cause) God highly exalted him, that in the name of Iesus all knees in heauen, earth and hell should bowe. Then on the crosse, or afore his death the time was not yet come, that Christ should be thus exalted; but there rather was the time and place of his humiliation; and when he rose againe, ^f all power in heauen and earth was giuen vnto him. & I was dead (saith hee himselfe) and behold I am aliue for euermore; and I HAVE THE KEIES OF HELL AND OF DEATH; that is all powler ouer death and hell, to^h shut and no man may open; to open, and no man may shut. The Prophet Esay pointeth to the vertie same CAUSE AND TIME of Christs exaltation. ⁱ BECAUSE he hath powred out his soule vnto death: THEREFORE will I giue him his portion with the great, and hee shall diuide the spoiles with the mightie. If FOR THAT CAUSE; then AFTER THAT TIME, Christ diuided the spoyles of the mightie; or (as the Apostle speaketh) hee spoyled powers and principalities. And noting exalitie the TIME of Christs triumph, the Apostle saith ἀναβας εις υψος, ASCENDING ON HIGH, HE LED CAPTIVITYE CAPTIVE. This that hee ascended, what meaneth it, but that hee first descended into the lower partes of the earth? Christ did not leade captiuitie captiue, when hee descended into the lower partes of the earth, but when hee ascended from thence. The Diuels then which helde vs in captiuitie, were themselves leade captiue, when Christ ascended from the lower partes of the earth; and then were powlers and principalities SPOILED, and openlie SHEVED, Christ TRIUMPHING OVER THEM, not on the Crosse at the time of his passion; but IN HIS OVNE PERSON, at the time of his resurrection and ascension.

^f Math. 28.
^g Reuel. 1.

^h Reuel. 3.

ⁱ Esay. 53.

^k Ephes. 4.

Reuel. 20.

An effect of this triumph is this, that an Angell was sent (in the Reuelation of Saint Iohn) from heauen hauing the key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chaine in his hand. And hee tooke the Dragon that olde Serpent, which is the diuel & Satan, and bound him a thousand yeares. And cast him into the bottomlesse pit, and shut him vp, and sealed vpō him, that he should deceiue the people no more. If a messenger from Christ had this power ouer Satan, to binde him, and shut him vp, what commaund then had Christ himselfe ouer hell and Satan? And how wholesome and glad some a thing is it for vs to beleue and confesse, that Christ Iesus our Lord and sauiour hath Satan, and all the powers of hell chained at his will, and by his conquest ouer them so ruleth and restraineth them that they can not stirre but by his leaue and appointment; and thus shall he hold them captiue, till hee deliuer the kingdome to God his father, and thoroughly tread both death and Satan vnder our feete. This doctrine I trust maintaineth no superstition, but sound and true religion, as well touching the partes, as the time of Christs conquest and triumph ouer death and hell.

Christs manhood must triumph and not his Godhead.

Gen. 3.

It resteth now to search what part of Christ had this triumph ouer hell; for so much as Christ consisted of two natures, diuine, and humane; his manhood by death was then diuided into two places, the bodie being separate from the soule, and lying in the dust of the earth, but without corruption. And first, we must not referre this triumph to his diuine nature; by reason it was no maiestie for god to conquer his vassall. The seede of the woman must bruize the serpens heade, and not the maker of heauen and earth with his almightie power & maiestie. Besides the godhead of Christ coulde neither truly DESCEND, nor ASCEND; as being euery where present; nor be EXALTED as being equall with the highest, nor RECEIVE GIFT, as hauing all fulnes in it: but that nature which led captiuitie captiue, did first DESCEND into y^e lower parts of the earth, & after ASCENDED, & was EXALTED

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TED, and RECEAVED this power and honour as a GIFT from God, in respect of his obedience, patience, and humilitie. The places are before alleaged, there is no neede to repeat them. It was then Christs humane nature, which God so highlie EXALTED for his former obedience vnto death, and to which all power was giuen in heauen and earth; his diuine was euer in euen degree with his father, full of maiestie, power and glorie. It is not to be neglected, that Ireneus saith. *Si homo non vicisset inimicum hominis, non iuste victus esset inimicus*. If a man had not overcome the enemy of man, the enemy had not lawfully bene overcome. Which position of iustice the Apostle bigeth, when he saith; as by a man came death, so by a man came the resurrection of the dead. Since then the humane nature of Christ by condition might, and by desert must bee exalted above all creatures; and by the rule of iustice had the conquest of satan and his kingdome; it is no harde matter to discern, which part of Christs manhood must overthrow death, and which must triumph ouer hell. The bodie of man, whyles the first death lasteth, is not due to hell; it must lie dead and senselesse in the earth; and so can neither liue, nor feele the paines of hell. Christs bodie then lying in the graue without SENSE, MOTION, OR LIFE, could haue no conquest ouer hell; ouer death it had, being preserved in the graue without all corruption; and raised from the deade to a blessed and immortall state without all imperfection: Ouer hel it had none, because that part of Christ which did conquere hel, must haue as well MOTION TO DESCEND thither, and POWER TO REPRESSE there the rage of satan; as also LIFE AND SENSE TO SPOILE powers and principalties, and by leading them captiue to make an open shewe of them; from al which, the first death kept the bodie of Christ; till the time that his soule ascending with triumph from hell, took his body from death, and so made a perfect conquest ouer hell and death, not onlie for his owne person, to whome all power was giuen

Ireneus, lib. 3. cap. 10.

1. Corinth. 15

And in his manhood the soule, not the bodie, which lay dead in earth.

in heauen and earth, but for his members also, for whose safety he took from Satan the keyes of hell, and of death, that he himselfe might be Lord of the dead & the liuing. So that now the power of hell is destroyed, and Satan restrained, and the faithfull freed from all feare, & assured that the gates of hel shall not preuaile against them. And this is that victorie, which God threatened to death and hell by his prophet, saying: I will redeeme them from THE POWER OF HEL; I will deliuer them from death. O death I will be thy death: O HEL I WILL BE THY DESTRUCTION; repentance is hid from mine eyes.

Rom. 14

Math. 16.

Osec. 13

Whether
Christs descēt
to hel be writ-
ten in the scrip-
tures, or no.

So agreeable is this doctrine to the christian faith, & so comfortable to all the godly, that few would refuse it, except such as are waspslike wedded to their owne fantasies; if it might appeare where this is written in the scriptures. The which desire of religious mindes, whyles I laboꝝ to satisfie, I must forwarne them, how easie it is for contentions spirits to frustrate the strength of all that God saith, if they may be suffered with diuerse significations, & figuratiue interpretations, to elude when they list, the words of the holie ghost, & decline the literall & proper sense of the diuine oracles at their pleasures. This rule therefore must be helde throughout the scriptures, & in mysteries of religion, we diuert not from the nature & proper significations of the wordes, but when the letter impugneth the grounds of christian faith & charity. Otherwise we shall leaue nothing sound & sure in the word of God; if we may auoid all things by figures: that please not our humoꝝ.

August. de
doctr. Christiana.
lib. 3. cap. 10.

To this lesson, (saith Austen) whereby wee take heede not to interpret a figuratiue speech, as if it were proper; we must adde another, that wee take not a proper speech, as if it were figuratiue. First then we must shewe the meane, how to finde out whether the speech bee figuratiue or proper. And this is the way to discern the in; *ut quicquid in sermone diuino, neque ad morum honestatem, neque ad fidei veritatem proprie referri potest, figuratum esse cognoscas*; that whatsoever in the diuine
scripture

ibidem.

Scripture CANNOT PROPERLY be referred to the honestie of maners, or to the verity of faith, thou maist be sure it is FIGURATIVE. So long then as the proper sense of the scriptures may stand with the Analogy of faith, and direction of charity; we offer violence to the word of God, if wee wrest it to a figurative understanding.

From this rule, (which must be obserued throughtout the body of the scripture,) if we do not rashly slide; it is no hard matter to shew where Christs descent to hell is expresse recorded in the scriptures. The words are well known, & often alleaged, if men were not disposed to peruert, or elude them with their enigmaticall & allegoricall constructions. "Thou WILT NOT FORSAKE MY SOVLE IN HELL, nor suffer thine holy one to see corruptio. If Christs soule in hel were assisted with the glorious power and presence of God; ergo Christs soule VVAS in hel. And THERE if could not be, without DESCENDING THITHER. The descent then of Christs soule into hell, when it was seuered from the bodie, is apparantly witnessed in the scriptures, howsoeuer the diuers conceits of men doe diuersly expound it. To take the SOVLE for the CARCAS; & HEL for the GRAVE, (as some do) if it be not a wrested exposition, I am sure it is not the proper interpretation of the words; and therefore in mysteries of faith by no meanes to be admitted. To let the soule retain her true signification, and by hell to meane paradise (where others defend the soule of Christ was all the time, that his bodie lay in the graue;) if it be not a misconstruction, it is no literall exposition of the place, and in my judgement a verie strange kind of figure it is, to expresse Christs ascent into Paradise, by his descent into hell; & so to expound the words of the Creed, that we draw them to a cleane contrary sense. If therefore we leaue forcing & wresting the words of the holy ghost, & let their proper & true signification stand, as wel h words, as the circumstances will exactly proue that h soule of Christ after death DESCENDED INTO HEL. That this was perfozmed after Christ was dead, and consequently

when

"Psal. 16.

Actes, 2

The words are plaine enough if we wrest the nor from their proper sense.

When his soule was severed from his bodie, there can bee no question, as I haue shewed before; for that Christ saith, his flesh ^x SHAL LIE DOWN (or take rest in the tabernacle of his graue) IN HOPE that God VWIL NOT FORSAKE HIS SOVLE IN HEL; and in this hope Christ died: this assistance was therefore giuen him after death. That his soule must be taken properly for that part, which after death saue the power and presence of God not forsaking him, as well the separation of the bodie, as fruition of Gods assistance do plainelie proue. Whiles we liue, the bodie or soule may rightlie impose the whole man; but after death it is more then absurd to take the soule for the bodie, or the bodie for the soule: yea in men here liuing, wee must take hēde that in matters of doctrine we mistake not the one for the other. In matters of fact, to note the person by either part, can be no danger; but in their attributes and properties, to confounde them, is to leaue nothing certaine in christian religion. Tertullian saith truly. *Y Certe peruersissimū, ut carnem nominantes animā intelligamus; & animam significantes, carnē interpretemur. Omnia periclitabuntur aliter accipi, quam sunt; & amittere quod sunt, dum aliter accipiuntur: si aliter, quam sunt, cognominantur. Fides nominum salus est proprietatum.* It is most peruerse, that the flesh being named, wee should vnderstande the soule, or the soule being signified, wee should interpret it for the flesh. All things shall be in danger to bee otherwise taken then they are, and to loose that they are, while they are mistaken, if wee call them by other names then their owne. The distinction of their names is the preservation of their properties. And yet in these words the case is clearer. For heere are both partes expressed and distinguished as well by their NATVRES, and PLACES, as by their NAMES. Christs soule was not forsaken in hell, but enjoyed the glorious assistance of God, euen there, where God forsaketh all others: Christs flesh lying dead without sense in the graue, was there preserved from all corruption. For Daudi, saith Peter, ^z spake of

Christ

^y Psal. 16.

The soule must not be taken for the bodie, though man may be signified by either.

^y Tertullian. de carne Christi. cap. 13.

^z Act. 2.

Christs resurrection, that his **S O U L E** was not forsaken, (nor left) in hel, nor his **F L E S H** saw corruption. ^a *Quum diuidit species, carnem & animam, duo ostendit*, saith Tertullian. When (the scripture) deuideth the kindes, as the soule and the flesh, it noteth two distinct things. Since then Peter doth not onlie so reposit, but so interpret Dauids wordes, that hee spake of Christs soule and Christs flesh; it is euident they must be two distinct and different things, both in Dauids prediction, and in Peters application.

Again in these wordes is not comprised the generall state of the dead common to Christ with all other, but a speciall prerogative verified in none, but in the true Messias and Saviour of the world. For neither of these was euer accomplished in anie, but in Christ. Then as no flesh in the sepulchre was euer free from corruption, but onlie Christs; so no soule in hell was euer supported and assisted by God, and not forsaken, but onely Christs. If by hell, wee vnderstand Paradise; it was no priuledge to be there not forsaken, but rather a childish absurditie to thinke that any soule might there be forsaken; and so no cause for Christ so strongly to hope, and so greatly to reioice, that his **S O U L E** should not be forsaken; where it was impossible, that anie soule should be forsaken: but this is rather a iust grounde of excoeding toie, if there all soules were forsaken of God, as in hell they are; there Christs soule should not be forsaken, but assisted with the might and maiestie of God, to breake the force, and tread the power of hell vnder his feet. And this procureth Christs resurrection more strongly, (for which cause Dauid spake it) then if wee applie the name of hell to the state of Paradise. For if Christ did rise againe without corruption, because his soule was not forsaken of God in Paradise; then all the soules that rise not in like maner, are forsaken of God; though they still remaine in the rest and comfort of Paradise; which is a palpable falsity, if not impietie. But if neither the graue could corrupt his flesh, nor hell detain his soule; what better assurance could be brought of his

^a Tertullian. de carne Christi. cap. 13

The circumstances proueth the words must be properly taken.

Actes. 2.

resurrection, then that neither death could dissolue his bodie into dust, nor hell preuaile against his soule. And this I take to be S. Peters reason when hee saith to the Jewes: ^b Iesus of Nazareth haue ye taken by the handes of the wicked, & crucified, and slaine: whom God raised againe, BREAKING THE SORROVVES OF DEATH, in as much as it was IMPOSSIBLE he should BE HELD THER OF. God made way for Christ to rise againe by BREAKING THE SORROVVES OF DEATH before him, that they should not hinder him. Christs bodie lying dead in the graue, & lacking sense could haue no sorrow. In Paradise a place of rest & iote, if his soule were there, much lesse may we imagine any sorrow. Since then the sepulchre hath no SENSE where Christs fleshy lay; & Paradise hath NO SORROVV; the SORROVVES OF DEATH must needs be referred to the paines of hel, which were all loosed and dissolued before Christ, because IT VVAS IMPOSSIBLE THEY SHOULD TAKE HOLD OF HIM.

Apoc. 2.

20.

21.

Death is either the first or the second

Actes. 2

[But Peter, the y will say, nameth the SORROVVES OF DEATH, and not of hell:] as if the name of death did not extende, as well to the ^c SECOND DEATH, which is hell, as to the first, which is the dissolution of nature: and THE SORROVVES OF THE FIRST DEATH Christ apparantly suffered, as much as any man; and they ended with death, they dured not after death. But in Peters words the sorrows of death were broken at Christs resurrection. God ^d raised him vp, loosing the sorrowes (or paines) of death. Wherefore the SORROVVES OF THE SECOND DEATH must necessarilye be vnderstande; & those were all broken and dissolued before Christ, by reason his soule was not forsake in hell, but vnited vnto God, & aided by the mighty hand of God, to tread vpon al the powor of ^e aduersary, & in his own person to triumph ouer Satan, and al the strength of the kingdom of darknes.

The word *ἀδύς* by which S. Luke expreteth *David's* meaning

Lastly howsoever some presumeres on their Hebrew may wrangle with the word *Sheol* in Davids speech, thou wilt not forsake my soule in hel: yet the worde *ἀδύς*, by which S. Luke expreteth Davids meaning, doth properly import in the new

testa-

testament the place of the damned. I remit poets & Pagans ^d orth alwaies
 sing that word after the ir prophane imagination, to the allea ^{note hel in the}
 gers; in what sense the Evangelists and Apostles take it, wil ^{new testament}
 soon appere by their writings. ° Vpō this Rock (saith Ch:ist) ^{° Matth. 16}
 wil I build my church, & the gates & δα (of hel) shal not preuaile
 against it. The church doth not assure the godly, that they shal
 not die; but, that the gates of the ^f second death shal not hurt
 thē. When the merciles rich man died & was buried, as wee
 read in the gospel of S. Luke, ^h scripture saith εν γλ εν τω δα, ^h Luke. 16
 & being in hel, in TORMENTS, he list vp his eies, and saw *Abrahā*
 a far off, & Lazarus in his bosome. I hope the soule of this rich
 man, was netther in the graue, nor in paradise, but plainelie
 IN HEL, enen in the ^h PLACE OF TORMENTS, where no mercy ^h *Ibidem*. ver. 23
 can be shewed, nor release hoped for; and that place & state of
 the damned S. Luke calleth δα, and our Saviour expressing
 it, maketh the rich man most truly to saie; ⁱ I AM TORMEN- ⁱ *Ibidem*. ver. 24
 TED IN THIS FLAME; S. Iohn in his Reuelation noting the co-
 herence of death and hell in the destruction of the wicked,
 saith. ^k Behold, a pale horse, and his name, that saie thereon was
 death, & (δα) HEL FOLLOVED AFTER HIM, and power was ^h *Reuel. 6.*
 giuen THEM ouer the fourth part of y earth. After death follow-
 eth none other death, but HEL, which is the second death, and y
 as it cometh AFTER the death of the body; so is it distingui-
 shed from the death of the bodie, because it killeth the soule for-
 euer; and that S. Iohn calleth δα. He doth the like in the 20.
 chap. of the same booke. The ^l sea (saith he) gaue vp her dead, ^h *Reuelat. 20*
 which were in her, & death & (δα) HEL deliuered vp her dead,
 that were in them, and death & (δα) HEL were cast into y lake
 of fire; this is the second death. When our saviour then saith, I
 haue y keies of death, ^m (εν γλ τω δα) & of hel, he doth not onlie ^h *Reuel. 1*
 mean the graues of dead bodies are subiected to his power,
 but the place and paines of damned soules are likewise at
 his disposition. And when Paule saith; O death, where is thy ⁿ *1. Corinth. 15*
 sting (δα) o hel where is thy victory? he teacheth vs that God
 hath giuen vs the victory ouer DEATH AND HEL, through
 our Lord Iesus Christ. That victorie Christ could not make

vs partakers of, except hee had first triumphed over them both in his owne person. And that victorie Christ did foresee and foresaw, when he said to God, thou wilt not forsake my soule (εις ᾗδης) in hell; (or leaue it to the power of hell;) but assist me there, and bring me thence with safetie and victory.

The church from the beginning hath confessed Christs descent to hell,

If my collections were not allowed by the scriptures; the generall faith and confession of all the fathers in all ages and countreies, since the first foundation of Christs church, should moue men that are modest, not hastelie to leape from the vniuersall consent of all places, and persons grounding themselves on the manifest words of the sacred scriptures. To quote them all, were to increase another volume; I will therefore content my selfe with shewing you, how soone it began, and how long it continued in the church of Christ, to be receaued and believed as a matter of faith. Thaddæus one of the 70. disciples, mentioned in the tenth of Luke, taught the citizens of Edessa, within ten yeares after Christs death, amongst other points of faith, as Eusebius reporteth, *Quomodo* (Christus) *crucifixus fuerit, & ad inferos descenderit, sepeque illam antea nunquam disruptam sciderit; resurrexit etiam, ac mortuos qui à seculo dormierant, vnà excitauerit; & quomodo solus quidem descenderit, multà vero turbà comitatus ad patrem ipsius ascenderit.* Howe Christ was crucified, and descended into hell, and ouerthrew the wall, which was neuer before that time broken; and rose againe, and raised vp with him those v̄ had bin dead long before; & how he descended alone, but ascended vp to his father with a great multitude. This report by some men is counted fabulous, for v̄ the letters sent to Christ and receaued from him by the ruler of that city, are no where remembred in the Euangelists: but by their leaues that reason is rather friuolous: for so much as S. Iohn saith; P There are also many other things, which Iesus did, the which if they should be writtē euery one, I suppose the world could not containe the bookes, that should be written. Since then this is no sure ground to reject a storie, for that it is not contained in

° Euseb. ecclesi-
ast. histor. lib. 3
cap. 13.

John. 21

the

the scriptures, I see no cause either to preiudice the publike and ancient records of the citie of Edessa, remaining at that verie time when this report was made; or to mistrust the credite of Eusebius, as if he had impudentlie forged the olde monuments of that citie, where he might so easilie bee reproued. His words are. *Habes harum rerum testimonium scriptis comprehensum, & ex Grammatophylacio urbis Edessæ tunc regie desumptum. Nam in ipsis publicis chartis, quæ res priuatas continent, ista ad hunc usq; diem ex eo tempore seruata reperiuntur. Nihil autem impedit, quo minus literas ipsas, quæ nobis ex Archiuis desumptæ, & e Syrorum lingua his verbis translatae sunt, audiamus.* Thou hast the testimonie of these things comprised in writing, and taken out of the chamber of Edessa, that then was a princely Citie. For in the publike recordes, of things aunciently past, thus much is there extant TO THIS VERIE DAY, preserued from the time wherein these things were done. And I thinke it best to set downe the letters, which I my selfe COPIED out of the Authentick records, and TRANSLATED from the Syrian tongue in these wordes. Now the report of a wryter, y is not canonical, should haue more credite then this hath, I know not. The records were auncient and publike, and then extant to be viewed by euerie man, when Eusebius did exemplifie them. If wee discredite all antiquitie and testimonie which wee see not with our owne eyes; wee must looke to receiue the like rewarde from our posteritie. Ignatius that liued with; and after the Apostles, in his Epistle to the Church of Trallis, confesseth the same Article, almost in the same words. *ὁ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν εἰς ἄδην μόνος*. Christ descended into Hell alone, and returned (or rose againe) with a greate number, and brake downe the rampiere that had stood from the beginning, and ouerthrewe the mid-wall thereof. Athanasius present at the great councill of Nice as a Cleargie man, though not then a Bishop, in his short recapitulation of the Catholike faith, addeth this Article, as necessarie to be be-

*Ignatius ad
Trallianos.*

leaved of all Christians. ¹ *Passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis: hæc est fides Catholica quam nisi quis firmiter fideliterque crediderit, saluus esse non poterit.* Christ suffered for our saluation, descended into hell, rose againe the third day from the dead. This is the Catholike faith, which except a man doe firmelie and fastlie beleue he cannot bee saued. Saint Austen doth so presse it, that hee pronounceth it infidelitie to denie it. ² *Secundum animam (Christum) apud inferos fuisse aperte scriptura declarat, & per Prophetam promissa, & per Apostolicum intellectum satis exposita, quæ dictum est, non derelinques animam meam in inferno.* That Christ according to his soule was in hell, the Scripture plainelie declareth, forespoken by the Prophet (*David*) and sufficientlie expounded by the Apostles application, where it was saide, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell. ³ *Quis ergo nisi infidelis negauerit fuisse apud inferos Christum?* Who then but an infidell will demie, that Christ was in Hell? Hilarius maketh it a necessarie cause of our redemption, ⁴ *Cruce, mors, inferi, salus nostra est.* Christes Crosse, death, and beeing in Hell, are the meanes of our saluation. For as hee died that wee might liue, so hee went to hell by Hilaries assertion, that wee might goe to heauen. ⁵ *Christus Dei filius moritur, sed omnis caro uiuificatur in Christo. Dei filius in inferis est, sed homo refertur ad cælum.* Christ the sonne of God dieth, but all flesh is quickened in Christ. The sonne of God is in Hell, but man is restored to Heauen. And least wee shoulde thinke that Hilarie dreamed of Christes suffering hell paines on the Crosse, as some haue alledged him; his wordes are plaine else where, that Christes soule after death descended into hell. ⁶ *Humana ista lex necessitatis est, ut sepultis corporibus ad inferos animæ descendant. Quam descensionem, Dominus ad consummationem veri hominis non recusauit.* This is the lawe of mans miserie, that their bodies goe to the graue, their soules to hell: WHICH DESCENT the Lorde did not refuse, to prooue

¹ Athanas. in Symbolo.

² August. epist. 99.

³ Ibidem.¹

⁴ Hilarius de trinitas. lib. 2.

⁵ Ibid. lib 3.

⁶ Hilarius in Psal. 138.

prooue himselfe in euerie point to bee a true man. This necessitie was the wages of mans sinne; the strength whereof coude none abolish but onely Christ. *Hic vnus est, aduerfantes nobis inimicaeque virtutes ligno passionis affigens, mortem in inferno perimens, spei noſtrae fidem resurrectione confirmans, corruptionem humanae carnis gloria corporis ſui perimens.* Christ alone was hee that fastened to the wood of his passion the powers which were aduerfaries and enemies to vs; that vanquished death euen in hell; that confirmed the stedfastnesse of our hope with his resurrection, and abolished the corruption of mans flesh with the glorie of his bodie. Leo likewise. *Resurrectio ſaluatoris, nec animam in inferno, nec carnem diu morataeſt in ſepulchro; quoniam deitas, quae ab utraque ſuſcepti hominis ſubſtantia non reſceſſit, quod poſteſtate diuiſit, poſteſtate coniunxit.* The resurrection of our Sauiour neither stayed his soule long in hell, nor his flesh in the graue; because his Godhead which did not depart from either part of his manhoode, mightilie conioyned, what it mightilie seuered.

Idem de trinitate lib. 4.

Leo de festo domini serm. 1.

But no man hath more pittie; or more soundlie deliuered the full course, and cause of Christs descent to Hell; then Fulgentius; which I muste repeate at large, because euerie worde is woorth the marking. *Restabat ad plenum noſtrae redemptionis effectum; ut illic vsque homo sine peccato à Deo ſuſceptus deſcenderet, quo usque homo ſeparatus à Deo peccati merito cecidiſſet: id eſt ad infernum; ubi ſolebat peccatoris anima torqueri, & ad ſepulchrum; ubi conſueuerat peccatoris caro corrumpi: ſic tamen, ut nec Chriſti caro in ſepulchro corrumperetur, nec inferni doloribus anima torqueretur. Quoniam anima immunis à peccato non erat ſubdenda ſupplicio, & carnem sine peccato non debuſt vitare corruptio. Nam quia peccans homo meruit in ſeipſo per ſupplicium diuidi, quia maluit à Deo prauaricationis reatu diſiungi, propterea factum eſt, ut peccatoris mors carnem peccati ad ſepulchrum corrupendam perduceret, animans*

Fulgentius de poſſione domini ad Treſim. lib. 3

mani inferno torquendam protinus manciparet. Ut autem peccator fuisset gratuito munere liberatus, factum est, ut mortem corporis, quam à Deo iusto peccator homo pertulerat iuste, Dei filius a peccatore pateretur iniuste: & ad sepulchrum perveniret caro iusti, quousque fuerat caro denoluta peccati: & usq; ad infernum descenderet anima saluatoris, ubi peccati merito torquebatur anima peccatoris. Hoc autem ideo factum est, ut per morientem temporaliter carnem iusti, donaretur vita aeterna carni: & per descendentem ad infernum animam iusti, dolores soluerentur inferni. It remained for the full effecting of our redemption, that man assumed of God without sinne, should descend, whither man severed from God fell by desert of sinne: that is, vnto hell, where the soule of the sinner was wont to bee tormented; and to the graue, where the flesh of the sinner was wont to bee corrupted; yet so, that neither Christes flesh should bee corrupted in the graue; nor his soule bee tormented with the paines of hell; because the soule free from sinne was not to be subjected to that punishment; nor flesh cleane from the contagion of sinne should suffer corruption. In so much as man sinning deserued by punishment to bee severed from himselfe; who by his transgression would needes bee severed from God, therefore it was appointed that the death of the sinner should bring his sinfull flesh to the graue, there to rotte; and presentlie should send his soule to hell, there to bee tormented. But when the sinner by the gift of (Gods) grace, was to bee deliuered; it was provided, that the sonne of God should vniustlie suffer at the hands of sinners the death of the bodie, which sinfull man had iustlie beene wrapped in by the iustice of God; and the flesh of the iust should come to the graue, whither sinfull flesh was tumbled: and that the soule of our saviour should descend to hell, where the sinfull soule was tormented for the reward of sinne. This was therefore done, that by the flesh of the iust temporally dying, eternall life might be giuen to (our) flesh, and by the soule

of the iust descending to hell, the torments of hell might be abolished.

Out of Fulgentius I obserue two things; which if it please men to marke, they shall cleare themselves from all absurdities touching Christs descent to hell. The first is, THE PLACE, VVHITHER he descended; the next is, THE CAUSE, VVHY he descended. The place whither hee descended was hell; whither the soule of man sinning against God was adjudged for the wages of his transgression. The cause of his descent, was to free all the faithfull from the beginning of the world to the ende thereof from comming thither. And in both these, the Scriptures and fathers doe fullie concurre; though some auncient wryters doe swarue, and strue about Christs deliuering some from hell, that were there at the time of his descent, as they suppose. Which varietie and vncertaintie of opinions concerning the state of the deade before Christs comming hath verie much entangled this question, and induced manie men of learning and iudgement other wise, to reiect Christs descent to hell as a fable, or to wryest it to an other sense, with newe founde expositions. Whobeyt I see no cause, but the doctrine of the Scriptures confessed by all the fathers may stande verie cleare, whatsoeuer we resolve of this other assertion, touching the state of the righteous departed this life before Christs death. I will therefore shortly discusse both the place and the cause, and so draw to an end.

As for the place whither Christ descended, the Church of Rome greedily hunteth after it, to heare of her Purgatorie; hoping, whence the soules of the righteous were by Christ deliuered, there to make a stand for soules, not perfectlie confessed and absolved in this life; that they maie set to sale her prayers and pardons. But if thee follow Christ descending, her deuotion must reach to the place and paines of the damned, for thither Christ descended. And so by their leaues both Scriptures and fathers auouch, First the

Christ descended to y place of the damned

Act. 2.

Symbol. Apost.

wordes are plaine, and must bee proper, as well in the ^cCa-
non as in the ^dCreed. Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell: and
^dhe descended into hell. Againe the kingdome of Satan con-
sisteth of these three; SINNE, DEATH, and HELL: SINNE
RAIGNING, whiles the bodie and soule are ioined together;
DEATH SEVERING them both, and TURNING the
bodie to earth; HELL RECEIVING and TORMEN-
TING the soule, till the daie of iudgement, when bodie
and soule shall for ever bee cast into hell fire. If these
three bee not abolished by Christ, Satans kingdome is
not destroyed by Christ; and speciallie if hell bee not
vanquished; no part of our saluation is performed. The
woyke of sinne is sweete, if the wages were not sower,
which is hell fire. To raise our bodies from death, is
no fauour, if Hell bee not ouerthrowen; it were moze
easie for them to lie in dust, then to burne in hell. Hoise
hath Christ restored vs to Heauen, if hee haue not yet
freed vs from Hell? Or brought vs to God, if he haue
not yet taken vs from Satan? Wherefore either Hell
must bee destroyed, or wee are no waie redeemed,
And in all these, when I speake of Hell, I speake of
the place of the damned. For if the feare of damna-
tion continue, what hope of saluation can wee con-
ceiue? But the Apostle saith plainlie, that Christ
through death ^eDESTROYED HIM, that had power of
death, euen the ^dDIVELL; and DELIVERED ALL
them which for feare of death were all their life time subiect
to seruitude. If the ^dDIVELL bee DESTROYED, then
Hell is fallie conquered; for whiles that retaineth force
against the faithfull, the Diuell is in the height of his
kingdome. Neither is death to bee feared at all, but
in respect of hell following after death. If then all the
Saintes heere on earth be ^fDELIVERED FROM THE
FEARE OF DEATH, and ^gfrom the handes of all that
hate (them) to serue (God) without feare all the dayes of their
life,

^eHeb. 2.To destroy the
diuell, and to
deliuer man.^fHeb. 2.^gLuke 1.

life, in holinesse and righteousnesse before him; it is euident that hell is spoyled of all right and claime to the members of Christ, by reason our heads beeing there in our names, and for our finnes, brake the strength of hell, abolished the power, and loosed the sorrowes and paines thereof; that they shoulde not take holde on him, noꝛ euer after on anie of his. For as hee suffered and died, not for his owne sake, but for ours; so hee descended and loosed the sorrowes of death and hell, not as prouided for him, but for vs. And since to our finnes was due damnation, and no lesser or easer punishment; it was requisite that Christ shoulde thither descende, and by dissolving the wages of our sinne in his owne person, thence deliuer vs; though not there tormented, yet thither adjudged, and so release vs, not as beeing there, but from comming thither.

Touching the place, Thaddaus one of the seuentie taught, as wee heard out of Eusebius, that Christ descended into hell; and brake the wall that was neuer before broken. From the deade manie rose before Christs death, and therefore the partition betwixt death and life was often broken by others; before Christs resurrection; but from hell neuer returned anie, but onely Christ; by reason that wall was neuer broken, but by the Sonne of GOD. Athanasius in like sorte. *In sua*

Whither christ descended after death.

Ad Athanasius de salutari aduentu Christi.

ad nostri similitudinem forma, nostram inibi depingens mortem, ut in ea resurrectionem pro nobis concinnaret, ex sepulchro quidē corpus, animam vero ex ORCO reducem faceret, ut in morte mortem dissolueret per exhibitionem animæ, & per sepulchrum corporis in sepulchro, corruptionem aboleret; ex orco verò & sepulchro immortalitatem & incorruptionem ostendit, in forma nobis consimili viam nostram emerfus, nostramque detentionem relaxans, & hoc ipsum eximij miraculi fuit: In his likenesse to our nature (Christe) accomplishing our death, that in the same hee might performe his

resurrection for vs, brought his BODIE OVT OF THE GRAVE, & his SOVLE OVT OF HEL; that in death he might dissolue death by presenting his soule there, and by the buriall of his bodie, he might abolish corruption in the graue. So that euen from hell, and from the graue, hee shewed immortalitie (of the soule) and incorruption (of the body) treading the verie way that we should haue trod, in the likenesse of our nature, and releasing of our detention. And this was a marueilous wonder. When Athanasius saith, that Christ in his humane nature trod the verie same way of death that wee should haue done; his bodie and soule going to those very places whither ours should haue gone; he doth not mean the place of rest, where $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ soules of the righteous were before Christs comming; but the place whither the soules of men were condemned for the sin of their first father; which is not Paradise, nor Abrahams bosome, but the place of the damned, where the true death of the soule and wages of sin are by Gods iustice inflicted. Heare his owne words. *Vbi corruptum fuerat humanum corpus, eo suum corpus proicit Iesus; & ubi tenebatur anima humana in morte, ibi exhibuit humanam suam animam, ut ipse inuitus à morte, tanquam hominem se presentem ostenderet, & solueret catenas mortis ut Deus; ut ubi seminata fuerat corruptio, inde exoriretur incorruptibilitas; & VBI REGNAVERAT MORS IN FORMA HUMANA ANIMAE, ibi ipse ille mortalis praesens, immortalitatem exhiberet, atq; ita NOS PARTICIPES redderet suae incorruptibilitatis, & immortalitatis per spem resurrectionis ex mortuis.* Where the bodie of man vsed to rot, thither Iesus cast his body: and VVHERE THE SOVLE OF MAN VVAS HELD IN DEATH, there did he exhibite his humane soule; that hee being in no wise to bee conquered by death, might both shewe himselfe there present as man; and yet break the chaines of death as God; that where corruption was sowed, thence incorruption might rise (euen from the graue;) & where death raigned ouer mens soules (which must needes be in hell) there he being present as a mortall man, might demonstrate his immortalitie, and

i Athanas. de incarnatione Christi.

to make vs partakers, of his incorruption (in flesh,) and immortallitie (in soule) by the hope of resurrection from the dead.

And because Hilarius and Fulgentius doe so fullie concurre with Athanasius, that if we trulie conceiue the one, we shall easilie vnderstand the other; you shall see the same doctrine, which the other two follow, more fullie deliuered by Athanasius. ^k *Quide Ade inobedientia quaestionem habuit, iudicioque peraslo duplicem panam in sententia sua complexus erat, dum rei terrestri ita loquitur, Terra es, & in terram reuerteris, (atque ita pro decreto, domini corpus in terram abscedit;) anima dixit, morte morieris; atq; hinc est, quod homo in duas partes discernitur, et vt ad duo loca discedat, condemnatur. Ac proinde opus fuit illo ipso iudice, qui hoc decretum tulerat, vt ipse per se sententiam solueret sub specie condēnati, incondēnatum se sincerūque a peccatis ostēdens, vt hominem deo reconciliaret, hominemque totum in libertatem vindicaret. Iam si mihi alium locum condemnationis præter hos duos ostendere potestis, merito hominem dixeritis tripliciter diuidi. Quod si tertium aliquem locum ostendere non potestis, PRÆTER SEPVLCHRVM ET INFERNVN, ex quibus plane erectus est homo Christo assertore, per suam speciem cum nostri similitudine congruentem, cur igitur dicitis, deum nondum propitiatum esse? Hec that examined Adams disobedience, and in the ende of his iudgement comprised in his sentence (against Adam) a double punishment; speaking thus to the terrestriall part (of man,) earth thou art, and to earth shalt thou returne; and according to this decree, the Lords body was laid in earth; euen he said to the soule, thou shalt die the death; and thereupon man (dying) is distracted in two partes, and condemned to two places. In somuch that it was requisite, the verie same iudge, which pronounced this decree, should by himselfe dissolue this sentence in the shew of a man condemned, but yet prouing himselfe to be vncondemned, and cleere from sinne, that he might reconcile man to God, and reduce the whole man to libertie. Nowe if ybu can name me any other place, whereto man was condemned besides these two, rightly may you thinke man*

Athanasius agreeeth in this point with Hilary and Fulgentius.

Athanas. ibidē.

(after death) is to be deuided into three (places;) but if you can shewe me no third place, besides the graue, (for the bodie) and hell, (for the soule;) from both which man is fullie freed, Christ deliuering him with like parts of himselfe answerable to our nature, how say you then, that God is not yet satisfied? The whole man in Adam was in such sort condemned for sinne, that his bodie returned to corruption in the earth, and his soule departed to tormentes in hell; which is the death of the soule after this life. To the verie same places whither man was condemned, & in the same partes of our nature, the sonne of GOD vouchsafed to descende, that by the lying of his bodie in the earth, our bodie might at the last daie bee raised out of the earth; and by the presence of his soule in hell, on which the force of hell coulde not fasten, our soules might for euer be deliuered from coming thither.

¹Hilar. in Psal.
138.

This condemnation of the bodie to the graue, and of the soule to hell for sinne, is that ¹ law of humane necessity, which Hilary speaketh of, wher to the Lord Iesus submitted himselfe; not that his flesh should see corruption, or his soule tast of damnatio, but y^e by the presence of his body in the graue, & of his soule in hell he might shew himselfe intvincible to both, and so deliuer vs from both. ^m The archangels, powers, and principalities (in heauen) doe with vnceasing and euerlasting voices glorifie the sonne of God (saith Hilary) *quia homo natus sit, mortem vicerit, portas Inferni fregerit, coherede sibi plebe acquisuerit, carnem in aeternitatis gloriam ex corruptione transfulerit*; because he became man, vanquished death, brake the gates of hell, purchased vnto himselfe a people to inherit with him, and translated his flesh frō corruptio to eternal glory. These two places the graue & hel, wher to sinners were adiudged to haue their bodie in the one to be corrupted, their soules in the other to be tormented, Fulgentius doth expressly pursue; as his wordes before do plainly testifie; and resolutelie concludeth, that Christs manhood for the full effecting of our redemption must
SO FAR DESCEND, ⁿ *quousque homo separatus a deo peccati merito*

^mHilar. de trinitat. lib. 3

ⁿFulgenc. 22
supra.

merito cecidisset; HOW FAR MAN SEVERED FROM GOD, FEL BY THE DESERT OF SINNE; THAT IS, TO HELL, VVHERE THE SOVLE OF THE SINNER VSED TO BE TORMENTED, and to the graue where the FLESH OF THE SINNER vsed to putrifie. Nowe if anie man thinke the soule of man seuered from God, did not for the wages of sinne deserue the place and paines of the damned, he had moze neede bee catechised then confuted. For since without repentance men ° perish in their sinnes; and the soule that sinneth, that soule shall die; the death of the soule after this life is no where but in hell, where bodie & soule do perish euerlastingly. With these toineth Saint Austen as touching the place. *Si in illum Abrahæ sinum Christum mortuum venisse sancta scriptura duxisset, non nomina-* ° Luke 13.
p Ezech. 18
to inferno eiusque doloribus; miror si quisquam ad inferos eum descendisse asserere auderet. Sed quia evidentia testimonia & infernum commemorant & dolores, nulla causa occurrit, cur illò credatur venisse saluator, nisi ut ab eius doloribus saluos faceret. If the holie Scripture had saide, that Christ after his death came to Abrahams bosome, and not mentioned hell and the paynes thereof, I maruaile if anie woulde haue beene so bolde, as to haue auouched that Christ descended into hel. But for that euident testimonies do name hel, and the paines (of hel) I yet see no cause, why our Saviour should bee beleued to haue come thither, but to deliuer fro the paines thereof. Whert fore when the scriptures teach vs, y Christs soule was in hell; wee must not by hel mean Abrahams bosome, or Paradise, but y very place of the damned, where the soules of sinners are torme-
 mented. For Christ to redeme man that was condemned for sinne, descended as lowe, as man fell by the punishment of sinne in this life or the nexte, and set vs backe from the sentence of death pronounced against vs, by presenting himselfe in our stede to the verie places, that were prepared to reuenge our transgressions: his flesh resisting the power of the graue, and his soule repressing and breaking the
 paines

¶ August. epi. 99

paines of hell, that neither shoulde be able to hinder the spæde of his resurrection, or weaken the worke of our redemption.

As the place whither Christ descended, is expressly named in the scriptures to be hell, and *Ἅδης*, where the wicked are everlastingly tormented; so the purpose of his descent, is plainely professed in the same, to bee the spoiling of Satan, and deliivering of man from the power of hell. And these two are so linked together, that the one is alwayes included in the other; Christ entering Satans house to this ende, that he might disvide the spoiles. First then let vs see, what the scriptures say of mans deliiverance from the hande of Satan; and afterward heare what some of the ancient writers haue there to added, or therein doubted. The promise made in the prophet Esay, that God ^r will destroye death for ever, and likewise in the prophet Osee; ^r I will redeeme them from the power of hell; I will deliuer them from death: *ô* death I will be thy death, *ô* hell I will bee thy destruction: was not peculiar to this or that age, nor proper to those that were already dead, or then bozne when this was spoken; but generall to all the faithfull from the beginning to the ende; whereby God assureth them, that ^r hell shall bee destroyed, and ^u Satan troden vnder feete, and ^x death swallowed vp in victorie. Zachary John Baptistes father is the best expositor of all these promises, when he saith. *γ* Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, because he hath visited, and redeemed his people. And hath raised vp an horne of saluation for vs, in the house of his seruant *Dauid*, (as he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which were from the beginning) euen saluation from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate vs. (Which was) the othe, that hee sware to our father *Abraham*, that he would cause vs; being deliuered out of the hande of our enemies; to serue him without feare in holinesse and righteousnesse before him all the daies of our life. The saluation which God hath wrought for vs in Christ, doth not free vs from afflictions and troubles, since ^z all that will

The ende of
Christs descent
to hell, was the
destruction of
Satan, and de-
liuerance of
man.

^r Esay. 25
^r Osee. 13

^r Osee. 13
^u Rom. 16
^r 1. Corin. 15
^γ Luke. 1

^z 2. Tim. 3

liue godly in Christ Iesus shall suffer persecution; but it bringeth vs DELIVERANCE FROM OVR (ghostly) ENEMIES; & saueth vs from the hand of al that hate (our soules); that being quicted from their power and feare, we should serue God in holines all the time of our life. And albeit in this life, our eyes^a are opened, that we may turne from darkenesse to light, and from the power of Satan, to God; and receaue forgiueneſſe of finnes, and inheritance amongst them, which are sanctified by faith in Christ: yet the feare of death is not taken from vs, till we be assured, that hell is conquered; and no cause lesse why we should tremble at death, that now is an entrance to a better life.

^a Actes. 26

DELIVERANCE then, FROM THE HAND OF ALL that hate vs, (which Christ hath purchased for vs,) hath in it not onely remission of finnes, and resurrection from death, but also the destruction of Satan: whereby God acquiteth vs from the power of darkenesse, that is, from the feare of hell in this life, and from the danger thereof in the next, and fully tranſlateth vs into the kingdome of his deere sonne; and this deliuerance belongeth to all the members of Christ without exception, as well liuing, as yet vnborne. Christ (saith the Apostle) through death^b destroyed him; that had power of death, euen the diuell, and DELIVERED ALL THEM, which for feare of death were al their life long ſubiect to bondage. If ALL BE DELIVERED; that were oppressed with the feare of death, then ſatelie the liuing muſt needs be diſcharged from the bondage of Satan; and redemption from the power of hell, which God promised vnto his ſeruantes, was not proper to anie that were in hell at the time of Chriſtes deſcent, but it was, and is extended to all the faithfull before and after Chriſts comming; that in this life they ſhould be ſecured; & in the next ſaued from him, that had the power of death; and from the gates of hell. Fulgenius teacheth this doctrine as

Deliueraunce was performed as well to the liuing and vnborne, as to the deade.

^b Hcbrs. 2

Catholike: *Sicut mortuus pro nobis, omnes nos sibi commor fecit; sic soluitur doloribus inferni, omnes fideles ab isdem doloribus*

^c Fulgent. ad Trasimundum. lib. 3.

liberavit. As (*Christ*) dying for vs, made vs all to die with him; so dissolving the paines of hell, he DELIVERED ALL THE FAITHFULL from the same. As all the godly, that euer were, are, or shall be, died in *Christes* flesh vnto sinne; so all the faithfull from the beginning of the world to the end thereof were deliuered from the paines of hell, by the presence and power of *Christis* soule breaking the strength, and losing the sorowes of death euen in hell. And therefore hee saith, *Christ* called himselfe free among the dead, *ut ostenderet animam suam a peccato liberam, in infernum pro nobis peccatoribus descendisse*, to shew that his soule cleere fro sinne descended into hel FOR VS SINNERS. So that *Christ* descended to hell FOR ALL THE FAITHFULL, AND FOR VS SINNERS, to deliuer them and vs from the sorowes of the second death; and not for certaine whom he found in hell, when he came thither.

ibidem.

De trinitate l. 4

Hilarius sayeth in the same confession, that *Christ* killing death in hell, confirmed the faith OF OUR HOPE with his resurrection; and breaking the gates of hell, purchased a people that shoulde inherite with him.

ibidem lib. 3

Athanasius euerie where treadeth the same steppes; teaching vs that *Christ* perfected his resurrection FOR VS, and out of hell and the graue brought immortalitie and incorruption, releasing OUR DETENTION.

Athanas. de falsariis aduentu Christi.

Idem de incarnatione Christi.

And againe, *Christ* brake the chaines of death as God, that where death raigned ouer mens soules, there he being present as a man might demonstrate immortalitie (in his soule) and so MAKE VS PARTAKERS of his incorruption. And lastly, where death both of soule and bodie was inflicted on man for sinne, the one in the graue, the other in hell; hee that gaue the iudgement, dissolved the sentence in his owne person, vnder the shewe of a man condemned; but in deede vncondemned, and free from shame, that hee might reconcile MANKIND to God, and bring THE WHOLE MAN into libertie. FROM THE GRAVE THEN, AND FROM HEL MAN WAS FREED CHRIST DELIVERING HIM.

And

And least it should seeme strange, that our soules were deliuered from hel by Christs descent thither, where they neuer were; S. Austen expounding Davids words, ^k Thou hast deliuered my soule frō the nethermost hell, sheweth that men may bee deliuered as well from DANGERS CONSEQUENT as PRESENT; and as well from that which is DESERVED, as from that which is INFLICTED. And first y^e Christ deliuered OVR SOULES from hell by his comming thither (though we were not there) his words are plaine. *Est aliud (infernum) inferius, quō erunt mortui: unde voluit deus eruere ANIMAS NOSTRAS, etiam illuc mittendo filium suum. Propterea vox eius est in illo psalmo, non quoquam homine conijciente, sed Apostolo exponente, vbi ait: quoniā non dereliquisti animam meā in inferno. Ergo aut ipsius vox est hic, et eruisi animā meam ab inferno inferiori, aut nostra vox est per ipsum christū dominū nostrū, quia idco ille peruenit vsq; ad infernū, ne NOS REMANEREMVS in inferno.* There is a lower hel, whither y^e dead go; whēce it pleased God to deliuer OVR SOULES, by sending his son thither. Therefore those are Christs words in y^e psalme, not by māns coniecture, but by the Apostles exposition, where he saith; y^e hast not left my soule in hel. So y^e this verse, *Thou hast deliuered my soule frō the nethermost hel,* is either the voice of Christ in this psalm, or it is our voice in the person of Christ our Lord, because he therefore went to hell, LEAST VVE SHOULD ABIDE (for euer) IN HELL. And to proue this speech to be vsuall y^e we are deliuered from the dangers & places in which we neuer were, but should haue bin, if wee had not bin saued thence; hec addeth. *Recte dicit medico, liberaisti me ab agritudine, non in qua iā eras, sed in qua futurus eras. Mittendus erat (quis) in carcerem: venit alius defendit eum; gratias agens, quid dicit? eruisi animam meam de carcere. Suspendendus erat debitor; solutum est debitum pro eo; liberatus dicitur de suspendio. In his omnibus non erant, sed quia talibus meritis agebantur, ut, nisi subuentum esset, ibi essent, inde se recte dicunt liberari, quō per liberatores suos non sunt permissi perduci.* Thou sayest rightlie to

We are deliuered, not from being in hell but from coming thither. ¹ Psal. 85.

¹ August. in Psal. 85.

² Ibidem.

thy physitiā, you have deliuered me frō this sicknes, not in which thou wast, but into which thou wast like to fall. A man is about to be cast into prison; another commeth and rescueth him, What saith he when he giueth thanks? you deliuered me out of prison. A debtor was in danger to be hanged; the debt is paid for him, he is said to be deliuered from hanging. In all these things, they were not; but because such were their desertes, that vnlesse they had beene holpen, they had fallen into them, **THEY RIGHTLY MAY SAY THEY VVERE DELIVERED thence, VVHITHER THEY VVERE NOT SVFFERED TO COME,** by those that deliuered them. Tertullian declining to Montanisme in his booke de anima, and defending the soules of al the faithfull after Christs comming to be kept, apud Inferos, in the region of hell till the date of iudgement, saue of martyrs, to whome onely he opened Paradise, confesseth the other side, which in deed were true christians; made this obiection agāst him. *ⁿ Sed in hoc, inquit, Christus inferos adiit, ne nos adiremus. Caterum quod discrimen ethnicorum & christianorum, si carcer mortuis idem?* But to this end, they say, Christ went to hell, that we should not come thither. For what difference between the Ethnicks and Christians; if after death they be both in one prison? So that in all ages this doctrine was preserved in the church, which the scriptures doe warrant; that Christ by his death destroyed the devil, and deliuered all the godlie from the feare, not of the first death, which they cannot auoide, and need not to feare; but of the second death in hell, which is iustlie to be feared, and can no way be prevented, but by the power of that redemption, which we haue in Christ Iesus.

• Tertullian. de anima, cap. 55

Where the soules of the righteous were before Christs comming, is nothing to this question.

[But all the fathers with one consent affirme, that Christ deliuered the soules of the patriarks & prophets out of hel, at his comming thither; and so spoiled Satan of those, y^e were in his present possession.] The doctrine of Christs descending into hel to saue al his mēbers from cōming thither, must not be confounded with this disputation, whether y^e soules of the prophets

prophets and Patriarks were before Christs resurrection in hell or no; but whatsoeuer we determine or imagine of this later question, the other position standeth vncontrolled, both by Scriptures and fathers: yet for the it sakes, that happilie maie stumble at this blocke, I will not reframe to speake what I thinke of this assertion; so as I bee first allowed to say with saint Austen. *Quod dicimus fratres, hoc si non vobis tanquam certus expofuero, ne succenseatis. Homo enim sum, & quantum conceditur de scripturis sanctis, tantum audeo dicere, nihil ex me. Infernum nec ego expertus sum adhuc, nec vos; & fortassis alia via erit, & non per infernum erit. Incerta sunt enim haec.* That which (in this question) I say brethren, if I can not auouch it as certaine, you must not bee offended. I am but a man, and what I am assured by the Scriptures, that I dare affirme, and of my selfe nothing. Hell neither I haue yet experience of, neither you; and perchance there shall bee another way, and by hell it shall not bee. For these things are altogether vncertaine. The things after this life God will not haue particularlie knowne vnto vs, whiles here we liue; and therefore to make sodaine resolutions of them, can haue neither certaintie nor safetie; yet so much as the scriptures reueale, we must necessarilie beleue, and may holdlie professe without anie danger.

August. in psal.
85.

Touching the state of the dead in the olde Testament, I see a number of auncient writers incline to this conclusion, that the soules of the righteous before Christs death and descent were in hell; but as the foundation of their opinion is verie weake, so the consequents are plainlie contradicted, both by Scriptures and fathers. This assertion first grewe from the confession of the Patriarkes and Prophets, that they must after this life, DESCEND TO SHEOL; which the Septuagint doe alwayes expresse by the worde *ΕΙΝΑΙ*, and the Latine interpreter, by *Infernus*; whereupon the fathers both Greeke and Latin supposed the saints in the old Testament departing hence DESCENDED TO

The reason
why the fathers
thought they
were in hell.

B. b. 3.

HELL;

HELL; But the signification of the worde Sheol is so manifestlic mistaken, that it is nowe no great masterie to finde the soile. When Iacob saith, ¹I will go downe to SHEOL mourning to my sonne; and againe; ² You will bring my gray haire with sorrow vnto Sheol; and likewise Iob; ³ Sheol is my house; oh that thou wouldest hide me ⁴ in Sheol till thine anger were past; as also Dauid, ⁵ what man lieth, that shall deliuer his soule from the hand of Sheol? And lastly ⁶ Ezechias, I shal go to the gates of Sheol: It by Sheol in these places wee vnderstand hell, as some Greeke and Latine interpreters and writers haue done; we must needes confesse the faithfull dying in the former Testament descended into hell; but if wee take Sheol for the graue, where life endeth and the bodie lieth; then make they no kind of p^{ro}se, that the soules of the godly before Christs comming, were in hel, but only that their bodies were in the graue; of which there was neuer any question amongst christians or pagans.

Nowe that Sheol in the Scriptures noteth as well the graue where mens bodies putrifie, as the place where the soules of the wicked are after this life detained and punished, to him that considereth the circumstances of these and other such places, will soon appeare. The words of king Ezechiah at large are these. * I said in the cutting off of my daies, I shall goe to the gates of Sheol, I am deprived of the residue of my yeares. I saide, I shall not see the Lord in the land of the liuing; I shall see man no more amongst the inhabitants of the worlde. I haue cutte my life in sunder like a weauer. Here is a full description of death, not of hell; and least wee shoulde dreame, that both are linked together, in the end hee saith; ⁷ Sheol can not confesse vnto thee, neither can death praise thee, nor they that descende into the pitte, trust in my trueth; but the liuing, the liuing, hee shall confesse thee, as I doe this day. It is manifest impietie to saie that the soules of the Saints departed did neither CONFESSE, NOR PRAISE GOD, NO; TRVST

¹ Gen. 37.

² Gen. 42.

³ Iob. 17.

⁴ Iob. 14.

⁵ Psal. 89.

⁶ Esai. 38.

Sheol signifieth as well the graue as hell.

⁷ Esay. 38.

⁸ Ibid. ver. 18.

& 19.

IN HIS TRUTH: but in the graue where the bodie wanteth sense and life, this is most true, which Ezechias deliuereth, and confirmed by the holie Ghost in diuerse places of the Scriptures. ² In death there is no remembrance of thee (saith David to God) and in Sheôl who shall confesse (or praise) thee? The soules of iust and perfect men did then most praise G O D, when they were loosed from the warfare of this life; therefore they were not in Sheôl; for in Sheôl none shall confesse vnto God, nor trust in his truth. ³ The deade praise not the Lord, nor all that goe downe into silence. **DEATH, SILENCE, and SHEOL, are taken for one and the same thing; and in none of these is God praised, or confessed. And what can bee plainer then that David saith in the 141. Psalm?** ⁴ Our bones lie scattered at the mouth of Sheôl, as chippes hewed on the earth. **Their bones I trust lay not scattered at the mouth of hell, but at the mouth of their graues, where their bodies were buried. Job in like maner; ⁵ though I hope, yet Sheôl must bee mine house, I shall take vp my bedde in darkenesse. I shall say to corruption, thou art my father, and to the worme, thou art my mother, and my sister. Darkenesse, corruption, and the worme are the partes of Sheol; and these consume the bodie, they waste not the soule. Salomon shall seale by this uiquisition, where hee saith; ⁶ All that thine hande is able to doe, dispatch it in thy strength; for there is neither VVORKE, NO: THOUGHT, NO: KNOWLEDGE, NO: VVISEDOME in SHEOL whither thou goest. If the soules of the righteous nether DOE, NO: THINKE, NO: KNOWE a ny thing, they bee sarelie a sleepe, and nether in soy nor paine; but if this bee absurde and wicked to affirme either of hell, heauen, paradise, or of Abrahams bosome, then certaintlie SHEOL, where none of these things are, is THE GRAVE; and there it is eident, all these thinges are wanting. Since then without question Sheol signifieth as well the graue,**

² Psa. 6.

³ Psa. 115.

⁴ Psa. 141.

⁵ Job. 17.

⁶ Eccles. 9.

graue, where the bodie lieth dead and rotten, as the place where the soules of vnjust and sinfull men are kept and tormented; if in the wordes of the Patriarkes and Prophets, confessing they must go to Sheól, we vnderstand the graue, which indeede they ment; there is no Sheol in the scriptures, that the faithfull before Christs death went to hell, as some fathers haue collected out of these and such like sayings of the godlie before Christs birth; but rather the places that mention their state after death, do euidently impose the contrarie.

The Church of the Iewes thought the soules of the righteous to be in peace. *° Sapient, ca. 3.*

The booke of Wisedome, though it be not Canonically; yet doth it shew what opinion the Church of the Iewes had of the soules of the righteous departed this life; and how much some ancient writers were deceiued in this their persuasion, that the spirites of the Patriarkes and Prophets were in hell at the time of Christs descent thither. *°* The soules of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them. They seemed in the eyes of the vnwise to die, and their ende was counted miserie, and their departure hence destruction; but they are in peace. For though in the sight of men they were punished, yet their hope is full of immortalitye. They were nourished in some fewe thinges, but they shall bee rewarded in greate thinges, for God tried them, and founde them meete for himselfe. Hee prooued them as gold in the fornace; and receiued them, as the fruites of a perfect offering. In the time of their visitation, they shall shine, and iudge the Nations, and raigne ouer peoples, and he that is Lord ouer them shall raigne for euer. They that trusted in him, shall vnderstande the truth, and the faithfull shall remaine in his fauour; for grace and mercie is with his Saints, and a due regard had of his elect. The soules of the righteous, before Christs comming were in peace, enen in Gods hande, receiued as a perfect offering. Grace and mercie was with them, and a speciall fauour towardes them, no torments did touch them. If this were hell, what greater

greater joy and blisse coulde they haue in Paradise? And this is in effect the vertie same, that Dauid hoped for, when hee saide, God shal deliuer my soule from the power of Sheol; for he will receiue me. Selah.

¹ Psal. 119.

And if this bee not plaine enough, our Saviour in his life time described Abraham to be so farre aboute the place of torment, and Lazarus in his bosome; and so huge a distaunce betwixt, that there was no passing from the one to the other; yea the thiefe was the same daie that Christ died in Paradise; and yet our Saviour raysed no; reduced none from Hell; by their owne confession, till the thirde daie, that hee rose from the dead. If Abraham were not in hell, no; Lazarus, that late in his bosome; if the riche man would haue his five brethren warned, least they came into that place of torment; how can it bee true, that the Prophets, and Patriarkes were in hell; when Christ descended, and not thence deliuered, but by his resurrection?

¹ Luke 16.
Christ himselfe placed 5 soules of the righteous far aboute hell in cōfort.

Saint Austens collection upon Abrahams bosome, is woorth the hearing.

¹ August. epi. 99

*Ad-
dunt quidam hoc beneficium antiquis etiam Sanctis fuisse concessum, Abel, Seth, Noe, & domui eius; Abraham, Isaac, & Iacob, atisque Patriarchis & Prophetis, ut cum Dominus in infernum venisset, illis doloribus soluerentur. Sed quoniam modo intelligatur Abraham, in cuius sinum pius ille pauper susceptus est, in illis doloribus fuisse; EGO QUIDEM NON VIDEO: explicant fortasse qui possunt. Solos autem duos, id est Abraham & Lazarum in illo memorabilis quietis sinu fuisse, antequam Dominum in inferna descenderet; & de ipsis tantum duobus dictum fuisse illi diviti; Inter vos & nos chaos magnum firmatum est, ut qui volunt hinc transire ad vos non possint, neque inde huc transire; nescio. utrum QVIS QUAM SIT, CUI NON VIDEATUR ABSVRDUM. Porro si plures quam duo ibierant, QVIS AUDEAT DICERE non ibi fuisse Patriarchas & Prophetas, quibus in Scripturis Dei iustitia pietatisque tam insigne testimonium perhibetur?*

Quid ergo is praestiterit, qui dolores soluit inferni, in quibus illi non fuerunt, nondum intelligo; praesertim quia ne ipsos quidem inferos usquam Scripturarum locis in bono appellatos potui reperire. Quod si nusquam legitur, non utique sius ille Abrahæ, id est secretæ cuiusdam quietis habitatio, aliqua pars inferorum esse credenda est; quanquam in his ipsis tanti magistri verbis, ubi ait dixisse Abraham, Inter nos & vos chaos magnum firmatum est, SATIS UT OPINOR APPARET, non esse quandam partem & quasi membrum inferorum tantæ felicitatis finium.

Some adde that this benefite was yeilded vnto the Saintes of the olde Testament, *Abel, Seth, Noe* and his familie, *Abraham, Isaac,* and *Incob,* and to the rest of the Patriarkes and Prophets, that when Christ came to hell, they were deliuered from those paines there. But how *Abraham*; into whose bosome that godlic poore *Lazarus* was receiued, can bee imagined to haue beene in these paines, I for my part doe not see, let them DECLARE IT THAT CAN. But that onely two, *Abraham* and *Lazarus*, were in that bosome of memorable rest, before the Lorde descended to hell; and that it was said of these two onelic; *betwixt you and vs is a mightie gulf settled;* (so that such as would goe from hence to you, can not; nor anie that would come from you to vs,) I knowe not whether there be anie man, to whom IT SEEMETH NOT ABSVRD. And if there were mo then two; *VWHO DARE SAY,* the Patriarkes and Prophets were not there, to whom the worde of God giueth so great testimonie of righteousness and godlinesse? What benefite hee did them, by loosing the paines of hell; in which they were not, I yet vnderstande not; speciallie since I cannot finde the name of *Inferi* (or hell) in any place of scripture vsed for any good. The which if it bee no where in the diuine authoritie to be read, then surely the bosome of *Abraham* which is an habitation of secret rest, is not to be thought any part of hell; albeit in the verie wordes of so great a teacher (as *Christ* is) where he maketh *Abraham* say, betwixt you and vs there is a mightie distance established, it is euident enough, as I thinke, that

that the bosome of so great happines is no part nor member of hel.

Saint Austen examineth the opinion of some auncient writers, that Christ descended to hell to deliuer his patriarchs, prophets, and the righteous of the old testament thence, & not onely refuteth, but after his maner mildly refuteth that fassie, which had possessed many of the fathers before him. Out of Christs words in the 16. of Luke he deriueth two conclusions; one that Abrahams bosom was a place OF REST AND HAPPINES, or as the scripture speaketh, OF COMFORT; and consequently not of paine. or torment, as was hell; the other, that BETVVIXT THEM IS AN HVGE DISTANCE, so that by no meanes Abrahams bosome can be taken to be ANY PART OR MEMBER OF HELL. Out of the principles of diuinitie he draweth two other positions, the first, that Abrahams bosome was not made for Lazarus onely; which is so absurd, that he thinketh no man will be so foolish as to embrace it. Abrahams bosome must be open to the rest of his children, which did the workes of their father Abraham, as well as to Lazarus; with God is no respect of persons; and From the East and West shall come manie, and sit downe with Abraham, Isaac and Iacob, in the kingdome of heauen, saith our Saviour. The second is, that if moze besides Abraham and Lazarus were in that bosome of rest, the Prophets and Patriarks, must needs be there, who for fidelitie and pietie are commended by the witnessse of Gods spirit, and placed in the foundation of the Church with the Apostles next the heade corner stone, as ^k HOLIE MEN OF ^k GOD, inspired and moued by the holie ghost. These deductions being sound and sure, whereof there can bee no doubt, it is certaine, Christ went not to hell to fetch the Patriarkes and Prophets thence, for they were not there; but in Abrahams bosome, which was an habitation of REST, COMFORT AND BLISSE; so farre distant from the place of torment, that by no meanes it coulde bee a PART OR MEMBER THERE OF.

The summe of S. Austens collections out of the 16. of saint Luke.

Mat. 8.

2. Pet. I.

S. Austens conjecture that some were deliuered out of hell is verie weake.

[But Austen himselfe saith, hee doubteth not, but Christ deliuered some from the paines of hell at his descent; together.] Saint Austen refelleth the receiued opinion of others before him, that Christ descended to hell, to deliuer thence the Patriarkes and Prophets that were there detained; and addeth, that because he then presentlie sawe no cause why Christ should descend, but to saue from the paines of hell; he doth not doubt, but Christ deliuered some frō thence. But when he commeth to make proof for this his opinion; he saith, and saith; the words of Peter, that Christ loosed the paines of hell, may bee taken in that sense; and that Adam was then loosed, ALM O ST the whole church consented. Howbeit both these proofs are no more then probable, & scant so much; and therefore they compell no man to receiue S. Austens conjecturall inclination; but leaue vs at libertie, as wel to examine his reasons; as to suspend our iudgemēts, till we see stronger & better motives to induce our consent. For touching Peters wordes, himselfe confesseth they may bee referred to Christ.

1 August. epist.

92.

1 Quod scriptū est in morte Christi factū, solutis doloribus inferni, vel ad ipsum potest intelligi pertinere, quod eos hactenus soluerit, hoc est irritos fecerit, ne ab eis ipse teneretur, praesertim quia sequitur, in quibus impossibile erat teneri. E V M: vel si causa queritur cur venire voluerit in infernum; ubi dolores illi essent, quibus omnino teneri non poterat; hac quod scriptum est, solutis doloribus inferni, non in omnibus, sed IN QUIBUSDAM ACCIPI POTEST, quos ille dignos ista liberatione iudicabat. What the Scripture saith was performed in the death of Christ,

THE PAINES OF HELL BEING LOOSED, may either bee vnderstoode to pertaine to Christ himselfe; that hee loosed, that is, frustrated those paines: from taking any holde of him; speciallie whereas it followeth (in the Text) OF VVHICH PAINES IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE HEE SHOVLDE BE HELDE; or if wee aske for the cause; why he woulde come to hell; where those paines were which coulde take no holde of him; these words (loosing the paines of hell) may

bee

bee taken not of all, but of some, whome he thought worthy to be deliuered. Either way these wordes make nothing to S. Austens supposition; that some were in the paines of hell, when Christ did thence deliuer them. For if we applie them to Christs person, which in deede S. Peter doth, they note that Christ brake before him the strength of hell; when he approached to his resurrection. If wee refer them to mans deliuerance thence, that Christ in our names and for our safetie losed the sorowes of hell; this will proue; wee should haue gone to hell, if Christ had not saued vs thence; but that wee were there, it no way proueth. For hee deliuered all his, as wel liuing, and not then bozne, as dead, from all the right and claime that hell had to them; and as we were deliuered, not from being there, but from comming thither; so the dead might bee acquitted and assured from the chalenge that hell had to them; though they were then in rest, and in hope of Christs comming to performe their expectation; and perfit their redemption from the power of hell.

As for the consent of the whole church ALMOST; since Austen himselfe leadeth vs to dislike the opinion of all the fathers ALMOST, that the soules of the righteous were in hell before Christs descent thither; hee openeth the waie for vs to aske how the church came, by that persuasion; whether by scripture; or by Tradition: Scripture there is none extant for Adam, more then for all other men. Tradition for things done in hell, where no man liuing was present, can none bee pretended. The testimonte, which Austen alleageth out of the booke of Wisedome, maketh rather against that position, then for it. (Wisedome) kept the first man that was alone created, euen the father of the world; and BROUGHT HIM OUT OF HIS SINNE, and gaue him power to gouerne all things. That wisedome brought Adam out of his sinne, is here affirmed; but whether by chastisement and repentance in this life, or by deliuerance out of hell after this life, since neither is specified, the first is rather to bee receaued. For God

How y church might beleue Adams bandes were loosed in hell by Christs descent.

How y church might beleue Adams bandes were loosed in hell by Christs descent.

"Sapient. 10

both by punishing Adams offence, and by offering him grace in the promised Seede, did make way for repentance; yea the whole life of Adam was nothing else but the meritacion of his fall; but that Christ set him from hell, when hee descended thither, canne by no rules of religion bee warranted. Indeede Christ went to hell to loose the bandes of Adams sinne; and so the church might well belæue and professe. For the guilt of Adams transgression, and roote of Adams corruption, brought vs all to be iustlie condemned to hell, but that the death of Christ reconciled vs againe to God by the remission of our finnes; and the personall descent of our Sauiour loosed all the bandes, and brake all the chaines of darkenesse that were prouided for vs; and so freed Adam and his offspring from the power and paines of hell. In this the whole church might consent, that Adams sinne was released, and Adams bandes loosed by Christs descent to hell; but other tradition, what soules were in hell, and thence deliuered at Christs comming, as it was altogether vnknowne to men on earth, and consequentlie most vncertaine, so is it rather presumptuous to define, then religious to belæue.

From hel was
no release, by
the doctrine of
our Sauiour.

And least I shoulde seeme to be led with the spirit of contradiction, to refuse both the tradition of the church, and opinion of the fathers, I will plainelie shew, what causeth me to consent to neither. First in these secret and vnknowne things, no mans assertion is to be trusted without the witness of the scriptures; and forsomuch as is expressed vnto vs in the word of God, it rather crosseth, then fauoreth this assertion of the fathers. Pert the ancient writers heere in doe not onelic varie, one from another, but euen from themselves; to manifest that they had no settled truth, but some conjectures, and those verie slender in these hidden matters: Touching the soules of the righteous departed this life before Christs death, to omit the place of the booke of Wisdome already recited, which expresselie gainesayeth this supposall
of

of the fathers; that the soules of the iust were both in hell and in torment: there is nothing exactlie revealed vnto vs in the scriptures that are canonicall; till we come to the xvi. of S. Lukes gospell, where our Sauour by the parabollicall historie of the wicked rich man and the godlie Lazarus teacheth vs, what became of them both after their deathes; and consequentlie what was the state of all the deade befoze his time; to wit, that they were either CARRIED BY ANGELS TO ABRAHAMS BOSOME, OR PUNISHED IN THE FLAMES OF HELL: These two places, as they bee farre distant the one from the other, both in SITUATION AND CONDITION, the one beeing full of comfort, the other of torment; so in this they agree, that there coulde bee no ALTERATION in either. The rich man in hell coulde neither obtaine ante meanes to bee refreshed, no not a drop of water to cole his heate; noz expect ante time to bee released. Our Sauour maketh Abraham to say to the rich man, which must needes be true, "between you and vs there is settled a great gulfe, (or mightie distance,) so that they which would go from hence to you cannot, NEITHER CAN THEY COME FROM THENCE TO vs. After this life there was no changing of places, and namelie from hell there was no release. This our Sauour taught for a resolute truth in his life time; howe then coulde the soules of the iust bee released and reduced from hell by his descent? If Abraham and Lazarus were not in hell; but in a place of rest and comfozte farre distant from hell; howe then were all the righteous befoze Chriſtes time not onlie in hell, but in the sorowes and paines of hell? yea the son of God with his stone mouth so often in the new testament expelling the fire of hel to be ° vnquenchable, and the worme there neuer to die, how dare we without any warrant of the word of God, first to bring al y soules of the righteous befoze Christ, from Abrahams bosome to hell, and then to deliuer them thence without ante witnesse of the holie scriptures?

^aLuke. 16

^oMark. 9

Scriptures: With one breath our Saviour doth thise pronounce in the gospell of Marke that in hell, neither the fire quençeth, nor the worme dieth; and presume wee to quençh the one, and kill the other without any scruple?

[But the scripture saith, the soules of the Patriarkes and Prophets were in hell; and there to leaue them after Christs descent, were euerlastingly to condemne them.] The translators mistooke the word Sheól, calling that hel, which indeed was the graue, where the bodie of all the iust both before and after Christ were laid; but the teacher of all truth, whose doctrine wee by no meanes may distrust, placeth Abraham in rest, and maketh his bosome a receptacle for the soules of the righteous; and the refoze we may strue about words if we list, but we must leaue the spirits of iust and perfit men before Christs coming, that place, which Christ, teaching here on earth, assured vs, was assigned the m of God. And since by the doctrine of our saviour they were not in hell, it is moze then manifest, he did not fetch them thence by his descending thither.

As for the supposall of the fathers, that Abraham, Iacob, Samuel, and David, with the rest of the Patriarks and prophets were in hell; it were easie to shew their varieties, & contrarieties, if I toke pleasure to discover their weakenesse. S. Austen in his 99. Epistle to Euodius, and his 12. booke *de genere ad literam. cap. 33.* exactly contradicteth the opinion of Tertullian, Basil, Hierom, & Ambrose, that Abraham & the rest of the Patriarks and Prophets were in hell; & proneth that Abrahams bosome must not be thought to be any part or member of hell. In his 57. Epistle to Dardanus he saith, *non facile dixerim*; I cannot readily pronouñce. In his 20. booke *de ciuitate dei. cap. 15.* he saith, *non absurde credi videtur, antiquos etiam sanctos, apud inferos fuisse*, it seemeth no absurdity to beleue, that the Saints of the olde testament were in hell, vntill the bloud of Christ and his descent to those places did deliuer them. And thus he either some times spared the credites of those

¶ Mark. 9.

The fathers varie touching the place of the soules departed before Christs coming.

¶ *De anima. ca.*

55.

¶ In *Psal. 48.*

concio. 13.

¶ In *Eccle. cap. 9.*

¶ In *Epistol. ad*

Rom. cap. 5.

those that were before him, or else by willing hee so profited, that where at first he doubted or yielded to others; at last he resolved the contrarie upon the dewe examining the wordes of our Saviour. Tertullian likewise in his booke de anima saith. *Habes de paradiso à nobis libellum, quo consistit nimis, omnem animam apud inferos sequestrari in diem iudicij.* We haue written a booke touching paradise, where wee defende that all soules are kept in hell vntill the day of iudgement. And speaking namelie of Abrahams bosome; ** Omnes ergo anime penes inferos, inquis? velis ac volis; & supplicia iam illic & refrigeria, habes pauperem, & diuitem. Cur enim non putes animam & pini & foueri in inferis?* Are al soules then in hell, you wil aske? will you, nill you; you shall finde there punishments, and refreshments; as in *Lazarus*, and the rich man. And why shoulde you not thinke that the soule may bee both tormented, and comforted in hell? and yet in his fourth booke against Marcion, hee contradicteth that false position, and commeth soundlie to the truth. *Aliud inferi, ut patet, aliud quoque sinus Abrahæ. Nam & magnum ait intercedere regiones istas profundum, & transitum utrinque prohibere. Sed nec allenasset diues oculos, & quidem de longinquo, nisi in superiora, & de altitudinis longinquo, per immensam illam distantiam sublimitatis & profunditatis. Eam itaque regionem sinum dico Abrahæ, etsi non celestem, sublimiorem tamen Inferis.* He is one thing, as I thinke; and *Abrahams bosome* is another. For (*Abrahams*) sayeth a great depth is betweene these two regions, and suffereth none to passe to and fro. Neither coulde the rich man haue lift vp his eyes; but vnto places aboute him; and far aboute him, by reason of the infinite distance betwixt that heighth, and that depth. That region then, I call *Abrahams bosome*, which though it bee not heauen, yet is it higher then hell. Ambrose after the same manner, sometimes saith, that *Abraham* was; (*apud Inferos*) in hell; sometimes againe, that *Lazarus* in *Abrahæ sinu* recumbens, *vitam carpebat eternam.* *Lazarus* lying in *Abrahams bosome*, enioied euertlasting life; and hard it is, that eter-

Abrahæ, & 201

Cap. 55.

Idem, cap. 58

Idem contra Marcion, lib. 4

Innocentius ad Galatas, c. 6

1 Cor. 13, 12

1 Cor. 13, 12

In Epistol. ad Rom. cap. 5

In Psalm. 118. serm. 3

all life should be in hell. In the one and the same chapter he alloweth the persuasion of the heathen; ^b *quod anima liberata de corporibus dei non peterent, id est, locum qui non videtur, quod locum Latine Infernum dicimus*: that soules departed from their bodies did go to *dei locus*, that is, to an invisable place, which in latine is called hell; and also the assertion of true religion, & the ^b graue was the receptacle of the body only; ^b *animarum autem superiora esse habitacula, scripturae testimonis valde probatur*; But y^e mansions of the soules are aboue, as may easily be proued by y^e testimonies of scripture. These are the habitations of which Christ said, there are ^c many mansions with his father. But I take no delight in rehering their ouersights, it will suffice that with one consent, they make Abrahams bosome a receptacle for all the iust; and the place of tormente where the rich man was; a prison for the wicked; calling the one hell, and confessing the other to be the fruition of rest and happinesse after this life.

[John. 14

The soules of the righteous were in Abrahams bosome by the confession of the fathers.

^d Orig. πειλ. ἀρχ. αὐ.

• Hieron in, E. say, cap. 65.

^e Ambrosin Psal. 38

^f Idem de bono mortis cap. 12.

^g Hilar. in Psal. 51.

They that depart this world by death are according to their deeds & deserts bestowed (saith Origen) *alij in locum, qui dicitur Infernus, alij in sinu Abrahae*, some to y^e place which is called hel, others to Abrahams bosome. ^c *Omnes qui patrem habent Abraham, & virtutum eius similes esse meruerunt, requiescunt in sinu eius*. All that haue Abraham for their father, and obtained to be like him in virtues, rest in his bosome, saith Jerom. ^f *Iusti in Abrahae sinu requiescere leguntur, quod in eius gratia, in eius requie, in eius placiditate requiescunt, qui conformem ei fidem induerunt, et eandem in bonis operibus fecerunt voluntatem*. The iust (saith Ambrose,) are said to rest in Abrahams bosome, because they rest in like fauor, in like ease, in like contentation; which put on like faith to Abraham, and followed his example in wel doing. And therefore he speaketh else where to Abraham: ^g *Expande sinus tuos, ut plures suscipias, quia plurimi in deum crediderunt*. Open wide thy bosome to receaue me, because many haue beleueed in God. ^h *Extendit David spes suas ad infinitam perennitatis et aetate, nec concluditur mortis oculus, quoniam sciat sibi in Abrahae sinibus, exemplo pauperis Lazari*

Lazari

Lazarus esse uiuentiu. Dauid stretcheth out his hope to infinite eternity, & endeth it not with y fal of death, knowing y he should liue in Abrahams bosome, as did that poore *Lazarus*, saith Hilary. Neither Dauid onely, but all the faithfull were, and still are kept in Abrahams bosome, as Hilary thinketh, untill the day of iudgement. *Exeuntes de corpore ad introitum illu regni caelestis, per custodia domini fideles omnes reseruantur: in sinu scilicet interim Abrahæ collocati, quò adire impios interiectum chaos inhihet, quousque intracundi rursus in regnum calorum tempus adueniat;* All the faithfull departing this life, shall be reserued in the Lords keeping, for that entrance into the kingdom of heauen; placed the meane while in *Abrahams* bosome, whether the gulfe betweene will not suffer the wicked to come, till the time approch that (the godly) shal enter into the kingdom of heauen. This time of entring into the kingdom of heauen, he maketh to be the day of iudgement. *Excipit (impios) statim ultor infernus: & decedentes de corpore, si ita vixerunt, confestim de via iusta peribunt. Testes nobis sunt Euangelij diues et pauper, quorum unum angeli IN SEDIBYS BEATORVM, & in Abrahæ sinu locauerunt, alium statim regio pena suscepit. Nihil illic dilationis aut mora est: Iudicij enim dies, vel, beatitudinis retributio est æternæ, vel pena: Tempus vero mortis habet interim unūquemq; suis legibus, dū ad iudiciū unūquemq; aut Abrahæ reseruat aut pena.* Hel, as a reuenger, presently taketh the wicked, and they leauing this body, according to their liues, do forthwith perish frō the right way. The rich and poore man in the gospel, do serue vs for witnesses, wherof the one was caried by the Angels, INTO THE SEATES OF THE BLESSED, & placed in *Abrahams* bosome; the other the region of punishment did straightway sease on: No delaie or stay may there be looked for. The day of iudgment bringeth with it the reward of eternal blisse, or paine: but the verie time of death in the meane season subiecteth all men to these lawes; that either *Abrahams* or hell paines detaineth euerie soule vnto iudgement. These *Fathers* confesse, that all the iust, as well before Christs

Idem in Psal. 120.

Idem in Psal. 120.

DD 200 of resurrection

resurrection as after, were and are still in Abrahams bosome; and there shall continue till the date of iudgement. How then could either Abrahams bosome be in hell, or the Saintes of the olde testament be thence deliuered by Christes descent, since they remaine still in Abrahams bosome, as these fathers write; and so shall do, to the end of the world. If Abrahams bosome were in hell; being deliuered from hell, they must needes bee deliuered likewise from Abrahams bosome. If they be still in Abrahams bosome; then were they neuer deliuered thence; and that being in hell, as some fathers would haue it; the iust of both testaments are still in hell; and so none were deliuered thence by Christes descending thither.

[But the calling vp of Samuel by the Witch at Endor, proueth y^e Samuel & so the rest of the prophets were in hell. For she saw him ascending vp out of the earth, & he saide to Saul
 17. Samuel. 18. To morrow shalt thou and thy sonnes be with me. Now that Saul being a reprobate, and killing himselfe, should bee in Abrahams bosome, it was not possible. Since then Samuel and Saul after death were both in one place, and that place was beneath in the earth, it is likelier that Samuel was in hell with Saul, till he were deliuered thence, then that Saul was in Abrahams bosome with Samuel.] The raising vp of Samuel after his death by the Witch, hath moued much question in the church of God, whether it were Samuel in deede that rose and spake, or whether it were the diuell transforming himselfe into the likenesse of Samuel, to drawe Saul into dispaire. And albeit the matter may be largelie disputed on either side, yet neither opinion will infer that Samuels soule was in hell; which is the point we haue in hand. That it was not Samuel himselfe which appeared, but the Witches familiar spirit in his likenesse; these reasons preuaile with mee. First; neither by Witches nor Diuels could the soules of the saintes bee commanded; or disquieted from their places, where they are in rest and peace. Secondlie, we are assured, by the doctrine of our Saviour, that God will sende none
 from the dead to instruct the liuing: yea all such conference

17. Samuel. 18.
 Whether the
 soule of Samuel
 were in hell,
 or no.

Reasons to
 proue it was
 an illusion of
 the Diuel.

* Luke 16.

is prohibited & pronounced abominable by the law of God; ^aDeut. 18. not that the dead can arise or advise the living, but because the diuell under that colour should not delude and abuse the people of God. Thirdlie, that which appeared receiued adoration at Saules hands; which the ^o Angel refused at S. Johns; and the soule of Samuel neither might, nor would haue accepted. Fourthlie, Saul forsaken & reiected of God, could not after death rest in the same place with Samuel the elect and approved seruant of God. Lastlie, the fathers doe for the most part resolue, it was an illusion of Satan to strike Saul into desperation.

^o Tertullian disputing against it vertie learnedlie, safely. ^pTertul. de anima. cap 57. *Et ecce hodie (Simonis hereticos) tanta presumptio artis extollit, ut etiam Prophetarum animas ab inferis mouere se spondeant. Et credo, quia mandacio possunt: nec enim pythorico tunc spiritui minus licuit animam Samuelis effingere, post deum mortuos consultare Saule. Absit alioquin ut animam cuiuslibet sancti nedum Prophetæ ad demonio credamus extractam, edocti, quod ipse Satanas transfigureretur in Angelum lucis, nedum in hominem lucis. Dubitauit, si forte tunc Prophetam se Dei assenerare, & utique Sauli, in quo ipse morabatur: ne putes alium fuisse qui phantasma administrabat, alium qui commendabat, sed eundem spiritum & in pseudopropheta & in Apostata facile metiri, quod fecerat credi: & ideo per quem visurum se credidit, vidit: quia per quem vidit, & credidit. ¶ Nulli autem anima omnino inferos pateret, satis dominus in argumento illo pauperis requiescentis, & diuitis ingemiscantis ex persona Abraham sanxit, non posse relegari renunciatorem dispositionis inferna, quod vel tunc licere potuisset, ut Moysi & Prophetis crederetur.* ^aibid.
 Etien at this day the followers of Simon (Magus) are so puffed vp with the presumption of their art, that they promise to raise from hell the soules of the Prophets. And I thinke they can easily belie themselves; for so did the familiar spirit (of the witch at Endor) resemble the soule of Samuel, when Saul reiected of God, consulted the dead. Otherwise, GOD FORBID VVE SHOVL D BELIE VE, that the soule

soule of any Saint, much lesse of a Prophet, could bee raised by
 the Diuell; since wee are taught that Satan is often transfigu-
 red into an Angell of light, much more into a man of light. Per-
 chauce (the Diuell) did doubt to ayotich himselfe to bee the
 Prophet of God, and that to *Saul*, whom hee already posses-
 sed; least you should thinke it was anie other which commen-
 ded the apparition, then hee that procured it; but euen the
 same spirite both in the false Prophetesse; and to the Apostata
 (*Saul*) easily belied that which he had made to be beleued. And
 therefore by whome (*Saul*) beleued hee should see (the ghost
 of *Samuel*) by him he saw it; because by whom he saw it, to him
 he gaue credite. And to teach vs that no soule may rise from the
 dead, the lord doth sufficiently determine by the person of *Abra-
 ham* in that argument of the poore man in rest, & the rich man
 in torment, that none can returne to report the state of things in
 hell, which then might haue beene done, to get the more
 authoritie to *Moses* and the Prophetes. The booke of ques-
 tions vnder the name of Iustine Martyr being of god an-
 tiquitie, if it bee not his; saith . . . *Cetera omnia ab ipsa
 Pythonissa facta sunt, Demonis opera, prastigijs eorum oculis
 deludentis, qui videbant eum qui Samuel non erat. Ver-
 ritas autem dictorum a Deo fuit, qui permisit Dæmoni, ut
 in forma Samuelis Pythonissa appareret, & res futuras pra-
 monstraret. Et quoniam Samuelem Saul non audierat,
 dum amissionem regni prediceret illi, sed post diuinam sen-
 tentiam ei regnum adimentem, per hariolos imperium re-
 tinere satagebat, indignum eum duxit Deus, ut ei ventu-
 ra significaret per homines sibi adhaerentes.* All the rest the
 witch did by the operation of the Diuell, deluding their
 eies, which sawe one that was not *Samuel*. But the truth
 of that which was spoken, was of God, who permitted the
 Diuell both to appeare to the witch in the shape of *Samuel*,
 and to foretell the euent of thinges to come. For in that *Saul*
 would not giue care to *Samuel*, prophecyng vnto him the
 losse of his kingdome, but sought to retaine it by the helpe
 of

* Respons. ad
 quest. 52.

of witches. God counted him vnworthie to vnderstande what should come to passe by anie seruants of his. Theodoret in his questions vpon the first booke of Kings, both reiect this opinion, that the witch raised vp Samuel, not as false only, but as impious also. His words are. *Quomodo oportet intelligere de ventriloqua? Nonnulli dicunt eam vere retulisse Samuellem. Nonnulli autem hoc refellerunt. Ego quidem PRIMVM EXISTIMO ESSE IMPIVM. Existimo enim mulieres necromanticas ne quamlibet quidem reducere animam, tantum abest, ut propheta, & tanti propheta. Est enim perspicuum, quod in aliquo alio loco deguat anima expectantes resurrectionem corporum. EST ERGO VALDE IMPIVM credere ventriloquam habere vim tantam.* What shall we say concerning the witch? Some thinke shee truly raised vp Samuel; Some others refell it. I think the first to be a **VVICKED** imagination. For I resolue that witches can raise no mans soule, much lesse the soule of a prophet, and of so great a prophet. It is euident that the soules (of the dead) are in a place besides this world, expecting y^e resurrectiō of their bodies. It is therefore **VERY** **IMPIOVS** to beleeuē y^e a witch hath so great power. And where Theodoret allegeth a place of the Chronicles to proue, *Quod ipse deus vnuerforum, efformat a ut voluit specie Samuelis, protulit sententiam, & minime per aduersarios protulit sententiā;* That God himselfe framing the shape of Samuel as pleased him, pronounced the sentence, and did not giue that iudgement by his aduersaries: there are no such wordes in the Text as he quoteth. For he citeth them thus: *Et mortuus est Saul in suis iniquitatibus, in quibus peccauit domino super eloquium domini, propterea quod ipsa summo custodiuit, & quod interrogauit Saul in ventriloqua, ut exquireret, ET RESPONDIT SAMVEL PROPHETA, & non exquisiuit in domino, & occidit eum.* Saul died in his finnes, in which he sinned against the Lord, as touching the word of y^e lord which he performed not, & also in that Saul consulted the witch, to know what successe he should haue. And Samuel the prophet answered him, & Saul sought not the lord, & he slue him. These wordes, AND SAMVEL THE PROPHET ANSVVERED HIM,

Theodoret. questionum. in lib. 1. Regum quest. 62

Ibidem

Idem. quest. 62

**Vide lib. 1. Paralip. cap. 10. ver. 13. & 14.*

are not in the booke of ^{*}Chronicles; and therefore Theodorets foundation being false, his conclusion that God spake these wordes, and not the diuel, is no way iustificable. Besides, if God had saide, that Saul and his sonnes after death should bee with (God;) as hee that spake to Saule saide they should be with him; God had promised vnto Saul ETERNAL LIFE after his departure hence; which is a plaine contrarietie to the wordes of the Scripture, that saith; ⁷SAUL DIED IN HIS SINNES. The first part then of Theodorets resolution, that a witch could not raise the soule of Samuel, is sound and true diuinitie; the second, that God made a shape of Samuel, and thereby answered Saul, is not proued by any scripture, though it be so supposed by Theodoret.

71. Paral. ca. 10. vers. 13.

S. Austen disputing the matter on both sides, though he no way yeeld that the witch was able to raise vp soules; yet hee saith, *²Non est absurdum credere, ex aliqua dispensatione diuina voluntatis permissum fuisse, ut non inuitus, nec dominante aut subiugante magica potentia, sed volens & obreperans occulte a dispensationi dei, qua & pythorissam illam, & Saulem latebat, cōsentret spiritus Prophetæ sancti, se ostendi aspectibus regis, diuina eum sententia percussurus.* It is no absurditie to thinke, that by some dispensation of the diuine pleasure it was permitted, that the soule of the holie Prophet, not against his will, nor ouerruled or forced by anie magicall power, but willing and obeying the secrete will of God, which was hidde both from the witch, and from Saul, should shewe it selfe to the kings sight, to the end it might the more astonish him with the iudgement of God. And albeit he make this possible, yet he inclineth rather to this opinton as the easier, and likelier, that the whole was but the deceite and woꝝke of Satan.

²Ad Simplician. lib. 2. quest. 3.

¹Ibidem

Quaquam in hoc facto, potest esse alius FACILIOR intellectus & EXPEDITIOR exitus, et non vere spiritum Samuelis excitatum a sua requie credamus, sed aliquod phantasma, et imaginariam illusionem diaboli machinationibus factam, quam propterea scriptura nomine Samuelis appellat, quia solent imagines, rerum earum nominibus

uominibus appellari, quarum imagines sunt. Although in this fact, there may bee another more calier vnderstanding, and freer from (all) difficulties, if wee beleue that the soule of *Samuel* indeede was not raised from his rest, but that it was a phantasme, and illusion wrought by the craft of Satan; which the scripture therefore calleth by the name of *Samuel*, because resemblances are woont to bee called by the names of those things which they resemble. The selfe same word for word hee repeateth in his answer to the questions which *Dulcinius* proposed vnto him; and albeit in these places he sway indifferently betwixt both, or incline faintly to the one; yet in his booke *De doctrina Christiana* he calleth it a Sacrilegious representation of *Samuels* image. *Non enim quia imago Samuelis mortui Sauli regi vera prauunciavit; propterea talia sacrilegia, quibus imago illa presentata est, minus execranda sunt.* Neither, because the image of dead *Samuel* foretold truth to king *Saul*, are such SACRILEGIES, BY VVHICH THAT IMAGE VVAS SHEVVED, the lesse to be DETESTED.

But if it were the soule of *Samuel* that appeared, and no illusion of the diuell presenting himself in the habit of *Samuel*, the storie no way conuinceth that *Samuel* was in hell. The witch said, I saw gods ascending out of the earth; but her sight is no good prooffe, where the soules of the iust are, or whence they come, the diuell might easily delude her, and make her beleue, hee came out of the earth, that came from another place. Againe if the bodie of *Samuel* were taken vp for his soule to appeare in; that was raised out of the earth, though the soule of *Samuel* came from *Abrahams* bosome; & so hee necessarily must rise out of the earth, if his bodie rose withall, as we all shall at the generall resurrection. And where the image of *Samuel* saide to *Saul*, ^d To morrow thou and thy sonnes shall be with vs; he did not meane their soules should be in the same receptacles after death, but as *Austen* saith:

Mortuus mortem viuò prauunciabat. He that was dead, fore-
shewed the death of him that liued; *ut non ad aequalitatem felicitatis*

^b *Ad octo Dulciii questiones quest. 6*

^c *De doctr. Christiana. li. 2. ca. 23*

Neither opinion
proueth that
Samuels soule
was in hell.

^d *1. Sam. 18.*

^e *Ad Simplex lib. 2. quest. 3*

citatis, sed ad parem conditionem mortis referatur: That it should be referred to the like condition of death, & not to the fruition of the same felicitie: For if we so take the words, Thou shalt be to morrow with mee, *utiq;* falsum est; it is certainly false, saith Austen, *Magno quippe intervallo post mortem separari bonos a malis in Evangelio legimus, cum dominus inter superbum illum diuitem, cum iam apud inferos tormenta pateretur, & illum, qui ad eius ianuam ulcerosus iacebat, iam in requie constitutum, magnum chaos interiectum testetur.* That the good are after death separated from the bad by a mightie distance, we read in the Gospel, where the Lord witnesseth, that there is a great gulfe interiected, betweene the prouder ioliman, whom hee was tormented in hell, and the poore Lazare now in rest, which lay full of sores at the rich mans gate. And so whether we take it to be the soule of Samuel that spake to Saul, or a Magicall illusion of Satan transforming himselfe into the shape of Samuel, neither way proueth that Samuel was in hell, howbeit I rather embrace the reasons that are extant in the questions of the olde testament vnder the name of S. Austen, cited in the Canon law, which though they be not Austens, are verie ancient. *Indignum facinus estimo, si secundum verba historie commodetur assensus. Quomodo enim fieri poterat, ut arte magica attraheretur vir & natiuitate sanctus, & vitæ operibus iustus? Aut si non attractus est, consentit: quod utrumq; de viro iusto credere absurdum est. Porro hac est prestigiū Satanae, qua, ut plurimos fallit, etiam bonos in p̄testatē se habere constringit. Historicus mentem Saul, & habitum Samuelis descripsit, ea quæ dicta & visa sunt exponens, prætermittens si vera an falsa sint. Quid enim ait? Audiens in quo habitu esset excitatus, intellexit, hunc esse Samuellem. Quid intellexerit retulit, & quia non bene intellexit, contra scripturā, alium adorauit quam deum, & putans Samuellem adorauit diabolū, ut fructum fallaciæ suæ haberet Satanas. Si enim vere Samuel illi apparuisset, non utiq; vir iustus permisisset se adorari, qui predicauerat deū solum adorandū. Et quomodo homo dei, qui cū Abraham in refrigerio erat dicebat ad virum pestilentia; dignum ardore gehennæ,*

*Quest. ex ver.
scr. testamento.
quest. 27.
Caus. 26. quest.
§. 14. nec mirū.*

gehenna, or as mecum eris? His duobus titulis subtilitate fallacie suaprodidit improvidus Satan, quia & adorari se permisit sub habitu & nomine Samuelis contra legem; & virum peccatis presensum, cum magna distantia peccatorum & iustorum sit; cum Samuele iustissimo futurum mentitus est. Ad eum enim transmigravit (Sath) quem adoravit. I take it to be a wicked act, if we acknowledge the storie according to the words. For how could it be that a man holie in birth, and iust in life should bee drawne (from the place of his rest) by the power of a witch? If he were not drawne (against his will) hee consented (to come); both which are absurd to beleeuue of so iust a person. And this is the sleight of Satan, that to deceiue the more, hee maketh as if the iust were in his hands. The storie doth describe the mind of *Saul*, and the shew of *Samuel*, expressing what was seene and said, but pretermittting how true or false either was. For what saith it? *Saul* hearing in what habite (the spirite) was raised, vnderstoode it to be *Samuel*. It reporteth what (*Saul*) conceiued, and because hee conceiued amisse, hee adored another then God, against the scripture; and thinking it to bee *Samuel*, worshipped the Diuell, that *Satan* might reape the fruite of his fallacie. For if *Samuel* had indeede appeared vnto him, the iust person woulde neuer haue suffered himselfe to bee worshipped, which preached God alone to be worshipped. And how did the man of god, that was with *Abraham* in rest, say to that pestilent man, worthie of hell fire, to morrowe thou shalt bee with me? By these two wayes *Satan* afore he was ware betraied his fraudulent subiltie, because he suffered himselfe to be worshipped vnder the habite and name of *Samuel*, against (Gods) lawe; and lied, that *Saul* loden with sinne should after death be with righteous *Samuel*, wher as there is a great distance betwixt the iust and vniust (after this life;) and *Saul* went hence to him, whom he worshipped.

[If the fathers so much varie, and dissent from themselves, and from others, whie do I presse their testimonie touching Christs descent to hell:] I presse them no further then they

accord with the words of the scripture, and with the grounds of faith, wherein they all concur with one consent. When they swarue aside, or part asunder, I dissemble it not; wishing the reader, as not to regarde their private opinions without god p^rose, so not to reiea their general confession in matters of faith agreeing with the scriptures, without better demonstration then I yet see made for the contrarie. That the diuell was destroyed, and man deliuered by Christs death from the feare of death, is no supposall of mine or theirs, but the manifest conclusion of the holy ghost. That Christ in his owne person spoiled powers and principalities, and openly triumphed over them, that death and hell might bee swallowed vp in victorie, is not mans imagination, but the Apostles resolution. That Christs soule was in hell, and there not forsaken, if Dauids prediction, and Peters application were not plaine inough, S. Lukes interpretation is so p^regnant; that without wrong to the word, it can not bee p^reed. Lay these together, and see what they lacke of Christs soule descending into hell. His being there must needs inferre his descending thither. And yet least some scrupulous person should stick at the phrase of Christs DESCENDING INTO HELL, I think S. Paul hath words equiualent to them. Ascending on high he led captiuitie captiue. That he ascended, what is it, but that he FIRST DESCENDED into the lower partes of the earth? He that descended, is euen the same that ascended aboue al the heauens; that he might fill al. If hell be any where, there can be no doubt but it must be in the lower parts of the earth. From the earth upward is heauen, where hell can not be. Christ then DESCENDED into the lower partes of the earth, and thence ledde captiuitie captiue, that hee might fill all (places) with his presence. Christs sepulchre was in the higher partes of the earth, hewen out in a rock, and thence he might lead the death of the bodie captiue, but not the diuell, that was ruler ouer death, and had a chalenge to the soules of men that came not neare their graues. Since then ascending from the lower partes of the

I urge not the fathers but agreeing with the scriptures and with themselves.

¹ Heb. 2.
^A Colof. 2.

1. Cor. 15.

^m Acts 2.

^o Ephes. 4.

^o Mat. 17.

the earth, he lead captiue, all his powers, that held man in bondage; and those chiefelie were the powers of hell, which had interest into the soule of man by reason of sinne; it must needs bee that Christ descended to those partes of the earth, where mans captiuitie was strongest, which is in hell: and thence freed him by his presence, and led those captiues, that ruled ouer him, as conquerour of all the power of the deuill and darkenesse, whose prisoner man was, before hee was redeemed. Again, hee first descended to the lowest; and then ascended to the highest; that he might fill all places with his presence. If hee descended not to hell; howe filled hee that place, where hee neuer was, except with the brightnesse of his diuine glorie, which is euerie where present without descending or ascending. But the Apostle saith he descended to the lowest; and ascended to the highest; that he might fill all (places) with the presence of his manhoode; all knees in heauen, earth, and hell bowing vnto the exaltation of his humane nature.

And if the lower partes of the earth, whither Christ descended to leade captiuitie captiue, bee not lowe enough to shewe the situation of hell; Saint Paul hath plainer wordes of Chykses descending as lowe as might bee; when he writeth to the Romanes in this wise: Say not in thine heart, who shall ascende into heauen? (that is, to bring Christ downe from aboue,) or who shal DESCEND INTO THE DEEPES (that is, to bring Christ backe from the deade.) Christ dying DESCENDED INTO THE DEEPES; as rising from the deade, hee ascended into heauen. Howe the deepe is so lowe, that no place canne be lower; yea hell it selfe, and the prison of Daniels is knowne by that name in the newe Testament. When the spirits, that possessed the mad man amongst the Gadarens, were to bee cast out by Christ, they besought him, that hee would not commaund them εις την ἀβυσσον ἀπελθεῖν, to depart into the deepe. In the Reue-

Christs descen-
ding into the
deep, and into
hell are al one.
Rom. 10

1 Luke. 8
2 Reuelat. 9.
verse 1. & 2.

*Ibidem, ver. 11

Reuel. 20.
κλεισθαι.Christ descen-
ded into the
bottomlesse
deepe.

the pit of the deepe, and the Diuell is there named the An-
gell, τῆς ἀβύσσος, of the deepe: yea the verie place, where the
Diuell is shut vp, is exprest by that word; I sawe an An-
gell (saith Saint Iohn) come downe from heauen, hauing τὴν
κλεῖν τῆς ἀβύσσος, the key of the deepe, and a great chainel
in his hand. And he took the dragon that olde serpēt, which is
called the diuell, and bounde him, and cast him εἰς τὴν ἀβύσσον
into the deep, & shut him vp. Ἐἰς ἀβύσσον be a bottomles deep,
then which can nothing be deeper; if in the scriptures it pro-
perly signifie the verie dungeon of hel, where the diuels are
kept; the Apostle then auidching that Christ, when hee died,
DESCENDED εἰς τὴν ἀβύσσον, INTO THE BOTTOMLES
DEEP, doth clearly confirme that he descended into hell. As
therefore, if we aske who can descend into the deep, or ascend
into heauen, we reuerse Christs being among the dead and
his sitting at the right hand of God in the heauens, so if we
confesse the both to be verified in Christ (& but in Christ they
neuer were nor euer shalbe verified of any man) we must no
more deny he descended into the bottomles pit, which is hell,
then he ascended into heauens; both are necessary partes
of our redemption, & euident pzoofs of his mighty operatō.
We must be freed frō hel, before we can be placed in heauen;
and if Christ haue omitted either, he hath performed neither.

What marraile then, if the ancient fathrs with one con-
sent, make Christs descent to hel, a material point of our re-
demption, and pzele it as an appendix to faith; since it hath
so good ground, and iust pzoofe in the scriptures, howsoeuer
they or we doubt, where the soules of the righteous were be-
fore Christs suffering. *Cruis, mors, inferi, salus nostra est*, saith
Hilary; The crosse, death, and descent (of Christ) to hell are our
saluation. *Disiuncta neque corpus in monumento, neq; animā in
inferno destituit. hic est enim, quod dictū est per prophetā. non re-
linques animā meā apud inferos; neq; dabis sanctū tuū videre cor-
ruptionem. Quocirca in ANIMADQUIDE CHRISTI MORS DEVICTA
EST, resurrectio, ab inferis de prompta, & spiritibus annunciatā*

est

The descent
to hell after
death, a part of
our redēption.*De Trinitas,
lib. 2*Athanas. de sa-
lutari aduentu
Christi.

est: in corpore vero dei corruptio abolita est, et incorruptibilitas eius sepulchro emicuit. (Christs) deity neither forsooke his body in the sepulchre, nor his soule in hel. For y is y meaning of the Prophet, whē he saith; Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hel, nor suffer thine holy one to see corruptio; Wherefore in THE SOVLE OF CHRIST DEATH WAS CONQVERED, and the resurrection from hell performed, and signified to the spirits; (that rose with him.) In the body of (him that was) God, corruption was abolished; & incorruption shined out of the graue. Yea Austen himself putteth great difference betwixt the certainty of Christs descent to hell, and the vn certainty of deliuering of some soules thence, which he found there, as he imagineth. *Teneamus firmissime Quod fides habet fundatissima auctoritate firmata; quia Christus mortuus est secundum scripturas, et cetera quae de illo restante veritate conscripta sunt: in quibus etiam hoc est, quod apud Inferos fuit solutus eorum doloribus, quibus eū erat impossibile teneri.* Let vs hold most firmly, y which y faith containeth; confirmed with most assured authority, that Christ died according to the scriptures; & the rest y is written of him by the testimony of the truth, amongst y which this is also to be nūbred, y he was in hel, dissoluing y pains therof. Of which it was impossible he should be held. Thus far doth Austen v̄ge the very articles of our faith confirmed by the scriptures, & that maketh him infer, who then but an infidel wil deny that Christ was in hell. But when he cometh to the second point of deliuering soue from hel, that were in the paines thereof, he tempereth his stile and saith, *à quibus recte intelligitur soluisse & liberasse, quos voluit,* from which paines Christ may well be conceaued, to haue loosed and deliuered whom he would; that which Peter saith, loosing the sorrowes of hel, *accipipotest in quibusdā,* may be vnderstood of some, whom he thought worthy to be deliuered. For which since there can bee no sure p̄ofe brought out of the worde of truth; we shall doe best to giue eare to his owne aduise in the like case. *Ergo fratres sine illud sine istud sit; hic me scripsit orēm verbi dei, non temerarium affirmatorem teneatis.*

Therefore

1155. 11110
11111. 11111
11111. 11111
11111. 11111
11111. 11111
11111. 11111

** August. epist.*
99. et y f
e. ad b. l.

** Ibidem.*

** Ibidem.*

** Ibidem.*

** August. in
Psalmum. 35.*

216 The power of hell destroyed,

Therefore brethren whether this or that bee it, heere take me as a searcher of the word of God, and not as a rash affirmer.

Christ deliue-
red the bodies
of some saines,
from the pow-
er of hel; that
is, he raised the
from death.

¶ Matth. 27

¶ Esay. 38

¶ Hebre. 2

¶ 1. Corinth. 15

¶ Reuelat. 20

¶ Reuel. 1.

¶ 1. Corinth. 15

All the defence that may be made out of the Scriptures, that Christ deliuered some of the saines out of the present possession and power of hell; is that which is written in the gospel of Saint Matthew, touching the bodies of the saines rising from death. When Jesus yielded up the ghost; Behold the vaile of the temple rent in twaine, and the earth did quake, and the stones did cleaue; and the graues did open themselves, and many bodies of the Saines, which slept, arose; and came out of the graues after his resurrection, and went into the holy cirtie and appeared to many. The death of the bodie, as it is parte of the wages of sinne; so is it the ^d gate of hell; and the ^d well is saide in the scriptures to haue the ^c power thereof. So that howsoeuer the soules of the iust were in the handes of God, and at rest in Abrahams bosom, their bodies lying dead in the graue, & rotten with corruption were within Satans walke; and when Christ raised them out of their sepulchers to an happte life, he toke them from the power of darknes; and translated them into the kingdome of light. Death is an enemy; though the last that shall be destroyed; and death, as well as hell, shall be cast into the lake of fire; and therefore Christ toke the keyes both of ^h death, and of hell; and by his rising from the dead insulted against both; O death, where is thy sting? O hell, where is thy victory? It is the force of sinne that killeth the bodie; and likewise the force of sinne that roetech the bodie; sinne being the strength of hell against bodie and soule. As then our soules are freed from the power of hell, when our sinnes are remitted; so our bodies are deliuered from the handfast of hel, when corruption, the consequent of sinne; is abolished. In this sense it may bee saide, that Christ deliuered some from the power of hell, that is, their bodies from the sepulchers where they late turned into dust. For by death and corruption the sinnefull flesh of man is till the resurrection subiected to the range of Satan, hee being the

the ^k Prince of the ayre, and ^l gouernour of darknesse, and ^m ruler of death;

Saint Austen doubteth, whether those bodies of the saints were wholie freed from corruption; or late down againe in death after they had giuen witnesse to Christs resurrection.

Scio quibusdam videri, morte domini Christi iam talem resurrectionem praestitā iustis, qualis nobis in fine promittitur; Qui utique si non iterum repositis corporibus dormierunt, videndum est quemadmodum Christus intelligatur primogenitus a mortuis sicut in illa resurrectione tot praecesserunt.

I know (saith Austen) some thinke, that at the death of the Lord Christ the same kind of resurrection was performed to the iust, which is promised to vs in the ende of the worlde: but if they slept not againe, by laying downe their bodies, we must looke howe Christ can be vnderstood to be the first borne of the dead, if so many went before him in that resurrection. But his reasons are of no such force, as to perswade, that the bodies of the saintes, which rose with Christ, slept againe in their graues, and returned to corruption; yea that would somewhat impeach the power of Christs resurrection, if it were able to raise them to life, but not preserue them in life; and the whole fact will seeme rather an apparition, then a true resurrection. His first objection is answered in the text it selfe. For the saints did not rise before Christ, but after Christ; and so still Christ was the first borne from the dead. The wordes of the text are;

bodies of the saintes, which slept arose; and came out of the graues AFTER HIS RESURRECTION. Nowe to thinke that they rose presentlie vpo his death, & staid aloue in their graues till he was risen, is a vaine imagination, and a waite rather to punish them with a wearisome life, then to prefer them to a comfortable resurrection. His second reason hath some more shew, but it is not sufficient to conclude his intention. It seemeth hard (saith he) that *Dauid* should not be in that resurrection of the iust, if it were eternall, of whose seede

Christ is so often commended to vs with so great honor and eu-

^l Ephel. 2
^l Ephel. 6
^m Hebre. 2

Whether the bodies of the saints, that rose with christ slept againe or no.
^m August. epist. 99.

• Matth. 27.

• August. 7. E-
pistola. 99.

dence. And if David rose with them, Peters' p^roofe vnto the
 Jewes is verie weak, when he saith, ^{Actes, 2, 24} David is dead and
 buried; and his sepulchre remaineth with vs vnto this daie. For
 if Davids body were risen before the speaking of those wordes,
 his sepulchre was emptie; and concluded nothing for Pe-
 ters purpose. For aunswere here to, the holie Ghost had
 no meaning by Peters menth to p^roove that David lay therein
 in his graue, when those wordes were spoken, but onelie
 that David saw corruption, as his sepulchre remaining to that
 daie couinced; wherein his bodie was buried aboue a thou-
 sand yeares before Christs coming, and consequente-
 ly must needs be turned into dust many hundreds before Peter
 spake the wordes. His prediction therfore, that God would not
 suffer his holy one to see corruption, could no waie pertaine
 to himselfe, but must bee verified in some other, which was
 Christ; and so Peters argument was herie sound and clere;
 whether Davids ashes were then in his sepulchre or no. Peters
 other allegation, that David is not ascended into heaven, doth
 not hinder, but David might be translated into Paradise,
 with the rest of the saints, & rose from the dead, when Christ
 did; but it is a iust probation, that Davids body was not then
 ascended, when Christ sat in his humane flesh at the right
 hand of God, which expresseth the power and glorie, whereun-
 to the bodie of Christ was exalted by his ascension into hea-
 uen. So that here Austen hath some hold to p^roove, that David
 did not ascende in body, when Christ did; or at least not to
 heaven, whither Christ ascended; because in plaine wordes
 Peter saith, David is not ascended into heaven; but either the
 bodiees of y^e saints slept againe, when they had giuen testimo-
 ny to Christs resurrection; or they were placed in Paradise;
 and there expect the number of their brethren, which shall bee
 raised out of the dust; or lastlie David was none of those,
 that were raised to beare witnesse of Christs resurrection;
 but onelie such were chosen, as were knowne to the persons
 then liuing in Hierusalem. What soeuer it was, *melius est
 dubitare*

Abbitare de occultis, quam ligare de incertis. It is better (as Austen saith) to doubt of things (unknown and) hid; then to strive about things vncertain. The last reason of S. Austen, that God so provided for vs, that the fathers of the olde testament without vs; should not be perfect; proueth not, that al the saints in Paradise lacke their bodies; for then we must deny that Henoch was translated, not to see death; and that Elias was taken vp by a white wind into heaue; as also that he was seene on the mount talking with Christ, which are directlie affirmed by the scriptures; but it wil make some profe, that they haue not the same perfection of ioye and blisse, which they shall haue, when all the members of Christ are receaued into gloze.

nesi ad literam lo.
8. cap. 5.
Hebre. II.

There remaineth one objection, which must be eased, before I ende. And that is, Christ saide to the theefe which confessed him on the crosse: This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise; how then could Christ be thre dates in hell, except we grant it might be in manie places at once? S. Austen laboreth in his 57. epistle to remoue this stumbling blocke; and after some turnes and wryethes, he thus concludeth. *Est autem sensus multo expeditior, et ab his omnibus ambiguitatibus liber, si non secundum id quod homo erat, sed secundum id quod deus erat, Christus dixisse accipiatur: Hodie mecum eris in paradiso. Homo quippe Christus, illo die secundum carnem in sepulchro, secundum animam in inferno futurus erat. Deus vero idem ipse Christus ubique semper est.*

Hebre. II
4. Regum. 2
Matth. 17

Luke. 23

August. epist.
57.

The far easier vnderstanding, and free from all these ambiguities is; if we take Christ to speake those wordes, This day shalt thou bee with me in Paradise; not of his manhoode, but of his Godhead. For the man Christ was that day in the graue according to his flesh; and in hell as touching his soule; but the same Christ as God is alwaies euery where. And though this answer please that learned Father best; that Christ should speake of the theeues soule, and his diuine presence in Paradise, yet wee haue no warrant in the word of God so to sauen Christ's soule vnto hel for the time of his death, that it might not bee in Paradise before it descended

in his time
-ing
in his time
2. in his time

Rom. 10

into hell; and he first shew himselfe to the saints to ~~the~~ his
 speakeable comfort, before hee went to subiect the powers
 of darkenesse vnder his yoke. That hee^b descended into the
 deep, must be receaued, because it is auouched by the apostle;
 but what time he went, or how long he staid, as also what ma-
 ner of triumph he brought thence, cannot be limited by a-
 ny mortall man; In all these cases I thinke it safest to par-
 ticularize nothing, which is not defined in the worde of God:
 there may be likelihoods, but the consciences of the faithfull
 must not be enforced, except to certainties. This is that
 I thought fit to be saide touching Chyistes descent to hell;
 bying the force and fruite of his going thither; or appea-
 ring there, to subiect the whole strength and kingdome of
 Satan vnto himselfe, and to acquite all his members from
 comming thither; but the time or manner of his descen-
 ding, I dare not determine, least I should auert you from
 truth to fables.

Farre surer is the former doctrine, teaching the redemp-
 tion of mankind by the death of Chyist, to bee all-sufficient
 and euerlasting, wherein the scriptures being euident and the
 Fathers consonant, I shall neede no more words; I will there-
 fore close them both with the confession of Fulgentius, who
 liued 500. yeeres after Chyist, and so commend you to God.

^e Fulgen. de in-
 carnat. & gra-
 tia dom. nostri
 Iesū christi, ca. 8.

*Deus verus & viuus, imo deus veritas et vita aeterna, nisi idem
 verus homo fieret, mortē gustare non posset. Et idē homo qui mor-
 tem gustauit, si verus deus & vita aeterna non esset mortē vincere
 non valeret. Excepto illō, qui sic homo est ut idem sit deus, quis est
 homo qui destruxerit mortem, aut quis eruet animam suā de ma-
 nu inferi? niors autem filij dei, quam SOLA CARNE suscepit
 VTRAMQUE IN NOBIS MORTEM, anima scilicet car-
 nisque destruxit, & resurrectio carnis eius. gratiam nobis & spi-
 ritualis & corporalis resurrectionis attribuit, ut prius iustificati
 per fidem mortis & resurrectionis filij dei, resuscitemur ab infi-
 delitatis morte, & post primam resurrectionem scilicet ani-
 marum, quae nobis in fide collocata est, etiam ista carne, in*

qua nunc vivimus, resurgamus, nunquam denuo morituri. The true and living God, yea the God that is truth it self, and life ever lasting, if he were not also true man, could not have tasted death, and that man which tasted death, except he had beene likewise the true God, and eternall life, hee could not have conquered death. Saving he that was both God and man, what man could have destroyed death, or deliivered his own soule from the power of hell? But the death of the sonne of God WHICH HE SUFFERED IN HIS FLESH ONELIE, destroyed both deaths in vs, as well of soule as bodie; and the resurrection of his flesh gave vs the grace both of a spirituall and corporall resurrection, that being first iustified by faith in the death and resurrection of the sonne of God, we might bee raised from the death of infidelitie; and after the first resurrection which is of the soule, (from sinne,) given vs by faith, we may also rise in this flesh, in which we now live, never to die anie more.

Cum SOLA CARO MORTERETVR ET RESVCITARETVR IN CHRISTO, prop-
ter unitatem personae dei & hominis, filius dei dicitur mortuus.

Totum igitur HOMINEM cum suis infirmitatibus sine peccato dei filius accepit, in tota traditus idem Christus, SECUNDUM SOLAM CARNEM MORTVVS, Totus Christus secundum solam animam ad infernum descendit. Humanitas ergo vera filij dei, nec tota fuit in sepulchro, nec tota in inferno, sed in sepulchro secundum carnem Christus mortuus iacuit, & secundum animam ad infernum Christus descendit. Secundum divinitatem vero suam, qua nec loco tenetur, nec fine concluditur, totus fuit in sepulchro cum carne, totus in inferno cum anima. At per hoc plenus fuit ubiq; Christus, quia non est deus ab humanitate, quam suscepit separatus, qui & in anima fuit, ut solutis inferni dolosus AB INFERNO VICTRIX REDIRET, & in carne sua fuit, ut celeri resurrectione corrumpi non posset.

ONELIE THE FLESH died; and was raised againe in Christ, yee for the unitie of the person, being God and man; the sonne of God is said to have died. The whole nature of man then with our infirmities, the sonne of God tooke vnto him for our sakes,

4 Fulgenz. de
passione domini
ad Trasim. lib. 3.

but without sinne. in the whole nature the same Christ being deliuered, DIED ACCORDING TO THE FLESH ONLY, and whole Christ descended into hell according to the soule onlie. So that the true manhood of the sonne of God, was neither whole in the sepulchre, nor whole in hell; but in the sepulchre Christ lay dead in his true flesh; and in his soule Christ descended into hell. But as touching his diuinitie, which is neither comprehended in place, nor measured with end; whole Christ was in the graue with his flesh, and whole Christ in hell with his soule. And thereby whole Christ was euery where: because his Godhead was not seuered from his manhood; but was with his soule, that dissoluing the sorrowes of hell, it might returne conquerour from hell; and with his flesh, that speedilie rising it might not see corruption.

The same place of Peter, that Christ by his spirit preached vnto the spirites (that are now) in prison, which in the daies of Noe were disobedient, whiles the Arke was preparing: and likewise that the Gospell was preached vnto the dead; I omit as nothing pertinent to Christs descent to hell; the first being verified in the time, and by the mouth of Noe; and the second performed by the preaching of the Apostles, as Saint Austen long since obserued; who saith of the first, *Considera ne forte totum illud quod de conclusis in carcere spiritibus, qui in diebus Noe non crediderant, Petrus Apostolus dicit, omnia ad inferos non pertineat, sed ad illa potius tempora, quorum formam ad haec tempora transtulit.* Take heede, least happily all that which Peter speaketh of spirites closed in prison, which beleued not in the daies of Noe, doe not at all pertaine to hell; but rather to those times which Peter compareth with our age: and of the second, *Quo Petrus dicit, propter hoc & mortuus Euangelizatum est, ut iudicentur secundum homines in carne, uiuant autem secundum deum spiritu, non igitur apud inferos intelligi. Propterea enim in hac uita & mortuus Euangelizatum est, id est, infidelibus & iniquis, ut cum crediderint iudicentur secundum homines in carne, hoc est, in diuersis tribulationibus; & in ipsa*

1. Pet. 3.

1. Pet. 4.

August. epist.
99.

Ibidem.

morte

morte carnis . That which Peter saith ; (to this purpose was the Gospel preached vnto the deade, that they might bee iudged according to men in the flesh, but liue according to God in the spirit;) hath no necessitie to be applied to hell . For the Gospel is preached in this life to the dead , that is to the infidels and sinners, that when they belecue they might be iudged in the flesh after the maner of men, by diuerse troubles , and euen by the death of the flesh. **This I repeate the rather, because some late wryters haue borrowed Saint Austens exposition , and suppressed Saint Austens name; as if they were the first that euer looked into the truth of these places . Other reasons there are, but they are not woorth the ripping vp; I will therefore trouble you no further.**

To the father that spared not his owne sonne , but gaue him for vs all ; to the sonne that laide downe his life for vs, and redeemed vs with his precious bloud ; to the holie Ghost which sealeth the sufferings and comforts of Christ in our harts; euen to the king euerlasting, immortal, inuisible, and God onelie wise, be honour and glorie , for euer and euer. Amen.



... which ... the ...

... and ...



The Conclusion to the Reader, for 225
the clearing of certaine obiections
 made against the doctrine
 before handled.

I Promised thee (Chyristian reader) in my
 pzeface of this booke, to giue thee a taste
 in the conclusion how rashly & weakly
 the doctrine, which thou hast now
 read, was confuted, before it was
 printed, by one that professeth ^aHe ¹ pag. 3.
 could not forbear but imploy his talent
 to cleare the holy cause (as he calleth it) ²
 from all the corrupt fancies and vaine imaginations of men: ³
 which, God willing, I meane now to performe. Thou must
 not looke that I will wast time and paper to settle a giddie
 head, or stoppe a running tounge; but when by some particu-
 lars I haue made it appeare how vnfit he is to be refuted,
 or so much as regarded by mee; I will leaue him to the depth
 of his follies. For though he point plainlie to my sermons,
 in directing his treatise: ^b contrary to certaine errors publikly ^b pag. 1.
 preached in London, and sticketh not to ^c name me; yet because
 he flyeth from the state of the chiefe Question. which I im- ^c pag. 89.
 pugned, and taketh the paines to ouer skip all my authori-
 ties with silence, if not with contempt, and in reporting my
 reasons forgetteth and dissembleth what pleaseth himselve,
 as also in the defence of his holie cause he roueth as he li-
 steth, nether keeping himself to any order, nor bringing any
 matter of moment, but confusedlie potwizing out the hardie
 resolutions of his owne bzaines, spiced euerie where with
 ignozant & absurd positions: nether my leasure nor my li-
 king suffer me to seeke him out, that hath so farre lost him-
 selfe, nor to vouchsafe him an answer, that so pzeudlic despise-
 seth all authoritie and antiquitie, which sorteth not with his
 fantasie. I will therefore shew thee (good Reader) some exam-
 ples

Ples of his insolent reteating the Fathers, of his forgetfull or willfull altering my reasons, of his impertinent proving that which is not questioned, and skipping that which should be proved, of his erroneous and dangerous assertions, of his intolerable ignorance in the tongue, whereof he so much vaunteth, and then leaue th^e to God, if thou loath not the reading, as I did the writing before thou come to the end.

Galat 6.

Where I took for my text, these words of S. Paule, a God forbid that I should reioice but in the crosse of our Lord Iesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified to me and I to the world. This cōfuter would beare men in hand, that I misooke my text, & forced a false conclusion from it. ^b This (saith hēe)

Pag 31.

^c is not onely an obiection, but euen a foundation and principall
^c ground of this error, but so mistaken and forced as nothing may
^c be more. My reason hēe maketh to be this; Christs soule was not
^c crucified but only his bodie; therefore Christs bodie onlie suffe-
^c red, and not his soule. By this (gentle reader) it may plainlie

be perceiued, how well this gainfater obserued my proofs. I drew no reason from these words, but proposing them for my theme, took occasion from them to laie downe; first the contents of Christs crosse, how far it extended; and then the effects of Christs crosse, how much it performed, which is the generall methode of the whole treatise. In the contents of Christs crosse my words are these.

Vide pag. 4.

Rightly then maie the Crosse note all manner of miseries, forso much as our Saviour going from the garden to the graue suffered all sorts of afflictions; which I before specifying amongst others named these, shame, reproch, and all sorts of deadlie paines, besides heauines of hart, and agonie of mind, which oppressed him in the garden; and this I made no different signification, but rather a participation of the crosse of Christ. When I came to Christs sufferings on the Tree, as Peter speaketh, I vsed these plaine words: the rest (of his torments) which went before, not being excluded as superfluous, but continued and increased by that sharp & extreame martirdome which he suffered on the Crosse.

Dido

Did I then make any such conclusion out of these words of Paul as you imagine, Sir confuter? or did rather your wit & memorie so slenderlie serue you, that you could not conceiue or carry away the maine methode of my sermons, distinctly laid downe at my first entrance into this matter? But as you begin with my Theme, so you continue with the whole discourse, mistaking, forgetting, peruerting and maiming all that I alledged or concluded.

^d Neuerthelesse you take it to bee cleare, that this text was ^d Pag. 32.
 mistaken by me, for the Apostle here speaketh not of the personall,
 sufferings of Christ, but of the godlie, which they suffer for Christs,
 truth sake. To dimme eyes twy light is clearer then Sunne
 shine; and to a man of your vnderstanding falsehood may
 bee clearer then truth; but knowe you Sir H. I. that I mis-
 tooke not my text. For albeit the CROSSE bee some times
 taken for the afflictions of the godlie; yet THE CROSSE
 OF CHRIST is no where in the scriptures so taken. Again
 though we be ^e permitted and ^f commanded to reioice in our
 afflictions; yet to make it a thing detestable to reioice in
 anie thing else, as the Apostle here doth, by saying, God for-
 bid that I should reioice but in the Crosse of Christ; hath no
 ground in diuinitie. Himselfe saith else where; ^g Of such
 a man (as was taken by into Paradise) will I reioice;
 of my selfe I will not reioyce, except it bee of mine infir-
 mities. Our Saviour saith to his Disciples, ^h Reioice
 rather because your names are written in heauen. But of
 Christ crucified, it is pietie and dutie to saie; God forbid that
 wee should reioice but in the Crosse of Christ. For as to the Co-
 rinthians the Apostle refuseth ⁱ all knowledge saue of Christ, and
 him crucified: so here hee renounceth all reioicing saue in the
 Crosse of Christ, that is in Christ crucified. This to bee the
 full and plaine meaning of the Apostle in this place is to
 me as cleare as daie light, and I hope will so seeme to thre
 (Christian Reader) if thou marke the words of Saint Paul
 in the 12. verse of this verte Chapter, where hee chargeth

Gal. 6. ver. 12

the false Apostles with byging Circumcision, because they would avoid persecution for the crosse of Christ: They con-
 straine you (saith hee) to be circumcised, onely because they would not suffer persecution for the Crosse of Christ; protesting the contrarie for himselfe in these wordes, but God forbid that I should reioice but in the Crosse of Christ, VVHERBY THE VVORLD IS CRUCIFIED TO ME, AND I TO THE VVORLD: Meaning he doth not onely refuse the fa-
 uours, but despise the terrours of the worlde for the crosse of Christ. In the first part of this comparison betwixt himselfe and those that flattered the Jewes with teaching circumci-
 sion for feare of affliction, put your interpretation to y^e wordes of the Apostle, and see how absurdly it matcheth with them. They con-
 straine you to bee circumcised, onely because they would not suffer persecution for the crosse of Christ, that is as you expound it, because they would not suffer persecution for
 the afflictions of the godlie. Hath this exposition either sense or reason in it? Or else is it euident that the Apostle here meaneth by the crosse of Christ, the slander & shame of Christs suffering on the Crosse, which the Jewes so abhorred, that they pursued all that preached or beleued it? Then consequentlie Pauls reioicing in nothing but in the crosse of Christ contra-
 ris to their course must needs import, that he reioiced in no-
 thing so much as in that shamefull death which the Saviour of the world endured on the crosse; and to that end he saith in the former Chapter, where hee more largelie handleth
 this matter; y^e If I yet preach circumcision, why doe I yet suffer persecution? Then is the slander of the crosse abolished; meaning there was none other cause why the Jewes hated and persecuted him, but for preaching Christ crucified, to bee the true and onlie meane of our saluation, without circum-
 cision or what soeuer ceremonies of the law.

Gal. 5. ver. 11.

Tract. in Io-
han. 43.

As the text is clare with the sense which I followed, so the fathers concurre with the same. Christ (saith Austen)² chose that kind of death to hang on the crosse, that a Christian might
 say,

saie, far be it from me to reioice but in the crosse of Christ. Chry-
 sostome vpon this place, ^a what is the reason (saith he) that ^a Chrysof. in
Paul so reioyceth in Christes crosse? because Christ for my sake Galat. 6
 tooke the shape of a seruant, and for my sake endured that hee
 suffered. Adding farther. ^a *Annon est gloriandum, quum ille*
dominus, qui verus est deus, non erubescit pro nobis crucem subi-
re? Haue we not good cause to reioice when that Lord, which is
 true God, was not ashamed to endure the crosse for vs? *Paul*
 doth ^b not reioice (saith Ierom) in his owne righteousnesse or ^b Ierom. in
 knowledge, but in the faith of the crosse, by which all my finnes Galat. 6
 are pardoned me. *Christ* ^c bearing his crosse on his shoulders, ^c Beda. in
 (saith Bede) commendeth it, that *Paul* might saie, be it far from Galat. 6
 me to reioice but in the crosse of Christ. He was despised in the
 eyes of the wicked for that, wherein the heartes of the Saintes
 should reioice. I state somewhat longer (gentle Reader) on
 this point; for that, as it had bin a childish oversight in me at
 the verie first entrance to mistake the meaning of my text;
 so it is moze then a malepart tricke in him vnjustlie to cha-
 lenge me for it; but I maie the better content my selfe with
 it, since this Refuter sticketh not to vse all the Fathers with
 like disdain, whereof I will giue thee an example or two,
 that thou maiest see the headnesse of this hasty writer.

In the contents of Christes crosse, I obserued out of ^d Au- ^d Vide pag 7
 gustine, ^d Ierom, and ^d Bernard that no violence of death
 wrested Christes soule from him, as it doth ours; but when
 he saue his time, hee euen at an instant laide it downe of
 himselfe, no paines hastening his death. ^e *This is a para- ^e Page. 53
dexe in Nature (saith this Controller) *and contrary to scrip-*
ture which saith, he was like vs in all things sinne only excepted.
 You might giue the learned and auncient Fathers better
 wordes Sir tricker, what soeuer you do me; your wits are too
 weake to refute their resolution. For where like a Dunce,
 you prate you know not what, they ground themselves on
 the plaine and expresse wordes of the scriptures. ^f No man ^f Iohn. 10
 (saith our Sauiour) taketh (my soule) from mee, but I laie it
 downe*

downe of my selfe: I haue power to laie it downe, and haue power to take it againe. Howe thinke you Sir; coulde ante violence or paines of death take Christs soule from him; or had hee power to laie it downe when and as he woulde, which no man else euer had or shall haue: you replie, *he was*

⁶⁴ *like vs in all things, sinne only excepted.* Such proofes became well your person. Was he like vs in his birth: can we lye in the graue without corruption, as he laie: or raise our selues from death as he did: Weade more for shame and wryte lesse, till you bee better aduised, or better instructed. Upon these words of Christ, I haue power to laie down my soule, and haue power to take it againe, Chrysostom writeth thus; *⁊ utrumq;*

Homili. 69
In Iohannem.

nonum fuit & prater communem consuetudinem. Potestatem habeo ponendi eam: hoc est, ego solus potestatem habeo, que vobis non est. Both these (powers) were strange and aboue the common course of men. I haue power to laie down my soule, that is, I A-

L O N E haue this power, which you haue not. If you denie this that Chrysostom saith; remember what God himselfe saith:

^h Luke. 12

^h O foole this night shall they fetch away thy soule froe thee, which Christ saith none could do from him, because he had power by his fathers appointment to laie it down of himselfe.

In like sort, when I shewed not mine own opinion, but the iudgments of the ancient fathers as well for the causes that might be of Christs ⁱ agonie in the garden, as for the meaning of his ^k complaint on the crosse, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me; obserue (gentle Reader) I praie thee, how absurdly he roleteth from the one to the other, & how insolentlie he reiecteth al the fathers, for that they vphold not his humour of hell paines to be the ground of both. I alleaged Ierom and Chrysostom, that Christ on the crosse cited the beginning of the 22. Psalm, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, that the Iewes might knowe they had fulfilled the words of the prophet Dauid in that psalme for shewing the passio of Christ. His answer is, ⁱ *this sence is most absurd.*

ⁱ Vide pag. 19

^h Vide pag. 34

ⁱ Pag. 66

To Achanasius, Augustine, and Leo, that Christ spake those words

words in the person of his church, which then suffered in him and with him, he saith, ^m *This is no lesse absurd then the former,* ^m *Page. 67* there is no reason or likelihood for it. When I brought Ierom, Ambrose, Austen, and Bede, that in the garden Christ might sorrow for the reiection of the Jewes, who would put the vengeance of God on their owne heads, to the viter destruction of their whole nation by putting him to death, this Confuter foolishly and forgetfully maketh this an interpretation of Christs complaint on the crosse, and addeth; ⁿ *This is more* ⁿ *Page 68.* *fond and absurd then the other.* So when among other causes of Christs agony in the garden that might be, (for I took vp on me to determine none) being fixe in number, I brought this for one out of Ambrose, that Christ sorrowed for vs, was SAD for vs, and GRIEVED for vs, he LAMENTED OVR VVOVNDES, not his, OVR VWEAKENES, not his owne death, ^o *This in effect* (saith hee) *is nothing but what wee* ^o *Page. 68.* *affirme, howbeit this ought not to haue anie place heere;* ^p *Page. 69.* *How could these wordes hang together, when hee meaneith to tell* his father howe zealous hee is for his glorie, to saie; *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* *There is no fashion in them thus signifying.* What you speake boldlie but errone, ^q *Page. 55.* *oullie of the sonne of God; It cannot bee strange if often times Christ fell amazed, confounded and forgetfull of himselfe for feare and grieffe; I maie trulie and iudlie say of you; it is not strange to see you amazed, confounded and forgetfull in your writing. What I spake of Chrilles agonie in the garden, your applie to his complaint on the crosse, and saie, the words will not hang together. God Str awake out of your sleepe, and learne at least to vnderstand before you aunswere.*

As this presumer euerie where with disdaine casteth away the iudgements of the father which I produce, & preferreth his owne preeulsh conceite before them all; so when he reporteth my reasons, he either ignoratlie mistaketh them, or purposely peruerteth them, & they may the lesse encumber him.

Vide page. 58

In the effectes of Christs crosse I noted out of the Apostle to the Hebrewes thre properties of the true propitiatorie sacrifice which toke a waite the sinne of the world; It was a bodilie, a bloudie, and a deadlie sacrifice; and amongst manie reasons to confirme the same, I brought these two, which the confuter after his forgetfull maner roueth at. The first in effect was this, The true sacrifice for sinne, which the Redeemer should offer, was shadowed and foreshewed by the sacrifices which God commanded and accepted in the old testament: but the sacrifices of the Patriarches and of the faithfull appointed by Moses foreshewed and figured a bodilie, blondie, and deadlie sacrifice, and no paines of hell; therefore the true sacrifice for sinne was made by the bodie, bloud and death of the Redeemer, and not by the paines of hell suffered in his soule. The second this; As the sacrifices of the law prefigured what the Saviour of the world should do for the abolishing of sinne; so the sacraments of the new testament confirme and seal that performed in the person of Christ Jesus, which was the true propitiation for our sinnes, and price of our redemption: but the sacraments of the new testament, and speciallie the Lordes supper, declare and confirme unto vs the bodie of Christ giuen for vs unto death, and his bloud shed for the remission of our sinnes; therefore this was the true propitiation for our sinnes, and price of our redemption, and not the paines of hell suffered in the soule of Christ, as some imagine. To the first the Confuter answereth;

Page. 11.

The proposition is false taking it generally. The carnall sacrifices of the Iewes signified that which they were apt to signifie, but not anie further. The sacrifices of beastes could not prefigure the personall union of God and man, nor the reasonable and immortal soule of Christ, nor his resurrection, all which were necessarie pointes in the meritorious sacrifice.

Page. 12.

See concludie he denieth the assumption. For certaine of the Iewes sacrifices set foorth the sufferinges of the soule of Christ also. As the scape Goate in the 16. of Leuiticus, which was a sin offering

ring, though it were sent a waie free and untouched. To the reason drawne from the Sacraments, hee saith, *Wee are to* ^{Pag. 14.}
answere as we did before. These are bodilie and carthlie Ele- [”]
ments, and therefore fitte to set foorth bodilie and apparant ef- [”]
fects in Christ; they can not set out the spirituall and inuisible [”]
effects in him. And yet the ceremonie of breaking the bread which [”]
is to shewe that Christes bodie was broken for vs, can not belong [”]
propertie to the bodie, but to the soule. These I trust are your
words; now heare my replie. I had no such proposition as
you frame to your selfe, that either the sacrifices of the lawe,
or Sacraments of the Gospel, were figures of our whole
and absolute redemption, which is (as you expound it) of all
the fruits and causes of our redemption. This is your crea-
tion, not my proposition; I tolde you that as God had pro-
mised, to the faithfull beleueed, that his owne sonne should be
the Seede of the woman, and by his death and blood should
purge their sinnes. To continue this promise and con-
firme the faith of all befoze and vnder the lawe, God ap-
pointed bloodie sacrifices, as continuall remembrances
and figures, not of the person, nor of the function of Christ;
but of the Sacrifice, by which hee shoulde abolish sinne;
to witte, by his bodie laine, and his blood shedde, which
the carnall sacrifices were fittest to resemble, since
God would not haue the blood of anie man, but of his
owne sonne shedde for remission of sinnes. My propo-
sition then speaketh of the true sacrifice for sinne, and a-
noucheth that to bee the true sacrifice for sinne, which was
shadowed and figured by the death and blood of those beasts,
that God commaunded to bee offered vnto him. This pro-
position you doe not denie, for you graunt, ^{Pag 11.}
sacrifices signified what they were apt to teach, and signifie: [”]
but they were apt and ordained of GOD to teach the
Jewes, that, by the death and blood of the Messias, they
shoulde bee redeemed and saved from their sinnes; ergo
they were apt and ordained of God to figure and shadowe

the true propitiatorie sacrifice. And so the patriarches and Prophets beliened and expected, whose faith and hope could neither be vaine nor frustrate, since they were thereto directed by Gods owne appointment.

This proposition, be you Christian or Jewe, you may not denie; and therefore you doe well to denie the assumption, and to affirme that certaine sacrifices of the Jewes, as namelie the scape Goate in the 16. of Leuiticus did signifie the immortall soule of Christ, which was [£] a sacrifice for sinne, and did properlie beare our sinnes, and suffer for our sinnes. But Sir, if a man aske you howe you prone that the scape Goate signified the soule of Christ, what haue you to saie? Because both Goates (saie you) are a sacrifice for sinne, as the Text speaketh. You abuse the Text, and deteine your selfe. The wordes are. Aaron shall take of the assemblie of the children of Israel two hee Goates for a sinne offering, that is to make a sinne offering of one of them, on which the Lordes lotte shall fall; So followe the wordes in the 8. verse of that chapter. Aaron shall cast lottes ouer the two hee Goates, one lotte for the Lorde, and another lotte for the scape Goate. And Aaron shall offer the Goate on which the Lords lot shall fall, and MAKE HIM A SINNE OFFERING. The taking of the Goates from the people doth not make them sacrifices for sinne, but the offering them vnto the Lord by the Priest: so that though two were taken, yet lots were cast which of them should bee the sinne offering, and which of them the scape Goate, which consequentlie was no sinne offering, because that was made a sinne offering, on which the Lords lot fell. And so if the scape Goate did signifie the soule of Christ, as you affirme more boldlie then wiselie, then was not the soule of Christ a sinne offering, neither did it suffer for sinne, if your owne example maye bee trusted. Howbeit what the scape Goate signified, I am not so forward to pronounce as you be, though I haue better warrant so to doe then you haue.

For

£ Page 12:

Leuit. 16
vers. 5.

For Cyril, or as some thinke, Origen writing vpon that place of Leuiticus saith; ^h If all the people of God were holie, there shoulde not bee two lottes cast vpon the Goates, one to bee offered to the Lorde, the other to bee sent to the desert; but there should bee one lotte, and one offering to the Lord alone. But nowe where in the number of them that come to the Lord, some belong to the Lord, some deserue to bee cast awaie, and seuered from the Lordes offering; therefore part of the sacrifice which the people bring, to wit one of the Goates, is offered to the Lorde, the other is cast off, and sent into the Desert. Ambrose in the like sense. ⁱ As of two founde in the fiede one istaken, the other forsaken; so are there two Goates, one fitte for sacrifice, the other to bee sent awaie into the Desert. Hee serued for no vse, neither might hee bee eaten or tasted of by the children of the Priestes. Beda foyneth with them. ^k If all the people were holie, there shoulde not bee two lottes vpon the Goates, but one lotte, and one offering; nowe when manie are called and fewe chosen, part of the peop'es sacrifice is offered to the Lord, the other parte is cast awaie. ¶ Else this maie bee vnderstoode of Iesus and *Barrabas*, that one of them, which was the Lordes lotte, euen Iesus was slaine; the other accursed caritise was sent into the Iewes Desert, bearing the sinnes of the people that cried, Crucifie him. So that the scape Goate by the iudgement of these fathers signified the reprobate among the people; and not the soule of Christ; as you holde it auouch. But did it signifie the soule of Christ; what gaine you by that? The scape Goate was neither done to death, nor made anie sinne offering, as you falslie suppose, but was separated from the Lords offering, and let go free and vntouched. Then by your owne similitude the soule of Christ neither died anie death, as you after fallacie and absurdlie conclude, that the soule of Christ died, and was crucified; neither was it anie part of the offering for sinne to God, which you so much endeour to proue. Such is

^hIn Leuit. lib. 9

ⁱLib. 1. epist. 4.

^kIn Leuit. ca. 16

your understanding, that by your owne examples, you overthrow your owne positions, whyles you labour to establish them with faint conceits of your owne devising.

[But in the burnt offering or holocaust prescribed, Leui. 6 you find more helpe then in the scape Goate, to proue that Christs soule suffered for our sins as well as his body.] If you meane that Christs soule suffered the paines of hel, I would faine see how you proue that out of the holocaust or burnt offering. If you thinke the name of fire doth some what relieue you, remember, Sir, besides the sundrie references that fire hath in the scripture, the ¹ holocaust was first slaine, and after burnt; and therefore vnlesse you will fasten the fire of affliction as you call it, to Christs body or soule after his death, the burning of the dead sacrifice by fire will little further your purpose. Again, in one and the same fire was the holocaust consumed. If this therefore touch the death and passion of Christ, his bodie and soule must jointly suffer one and the same kind of affliction; which is the thing you so much impugne. And since by your owne position the bodies of beasts ^m could not

^c *prefigure the immortal and reasonable soule of Christ, how cometh it now to passe that y^e body of the holocaust after death shall signifie as well the soule as the bodie of Christ? Can you thus plant and plucke vp with a touch? It is no waie denied or doubted by mee, that the soule of Christ was afflicted and tormented with sorrow and paine all the time of his passion; which this Trifler so much laboureth to proue; and therefore if the holocaust did signifie the whole manhood of Christ suffering for our sinnes, it could not preiudice anie thing, that I did or doe teach, as anon thou shalt (gentle Reader) more plainlie perceiue; but yet whie the burning of the holocaust should signifie Christs affliction on the Crosse, either in bodie or soule, I see no prooffe made by this Confuter; and why it should not resemble Christs afflictions before death, these two reasons moue me. First it was burnt after it was dead; next it was wholie consumed by*

¹Leuit. 7. ver. 2

^m pag. 11

by fire; neither of which can accord with Christs sufferings
 of the crosse: but by the burning of that sacrifice, I take ra-
 ther the acceptance of Christs death, or his incorruption af-
 ter death to be signified. For that part of each sacrifice which
 God reserved for himselfe, and recited to himselfe, was al-
 wayes burnt with fyre; and the Hebrew word, *HOLA H*, which
 the Scripture useth for the holocaust, signifieth ^o that which
 ascendeth vp to God (by fire;) whence God is often saide in
 the scriptures, when hee accepteth an holocaust, to smel a
 sweete saour. Which words saint Paul applieth to the death
 of Christ in saying, Christ gaue himselfe for vs to be a sacrifice
 vnto God of a sweet smelling saour, that is well pleasing and
 acceptable vnto God. So likewise because the fire consu-
 med in the holocaust all that was subiect to corruption, the
 holocaust may signifie Christs incorruption after death. This
 sense S. Austen approueth, when he saith, ^o *Sic leuetur holocaustum*
^o *ut absorbeat mors in victoriam*; Let the holocaust so asc-
 end that death bee swallowed vp in victorie. And againe,
^o *Quando totum consumitur igne diuino, holocaustum dicitur.*
^o *Totum meum consumat ignis tuus, nihil inde remaneat mihi,*
^o *totum sit tibi. Hoc erit in resurrectione mortuorum, quando*
^o *mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem. Cum absorbet ignis diu-*
^o *inus mortem nostram, holocaustum est.* When the whole sacri-
 fice is consumed with heauenlie fire, it is called an holocaust. Let
 thy fire (o Lord) consume me wholie, let nothing thereof remaine
 mine, let the whole be thine: this shall bee in the resurrection
 of the dead, when this mortalitie putteth on immortalitie.
 When Gods fire consumeth our Death, then is it an holocaust.
 An other kinde of holocaust is mentioned by Saint Austen,
 which I mislike not. ^o *Holocaustum est totum igne consump-*
^o *tum. Est quidam ignis flagrantissima charitatis; totus exardes-*
^o *cat igne diuini amoris, qui vult offerre Deo holocaustum.* An
 holocaust is when the whole is consumed with fire. There
 is a fire of most feruent charitie, hee must wholie burne with
 the fire of the loue of God, which will offer to God an holocaust,

Gen. 8.
Exod. 29.
Leuit.

August. i.
psal. 50.

August.
psal. 65.

Idem in sal.
49.

No man euer burned with this fire comparable to Christ Iesus; whose love to wardes God and man flamed, as unto death, so after death, most feruentlie. So that touching the holocaust the Confuter presumeth but pꝛoueth nothing; and yet if his supposall were granted, it weakeneth not the force of my reason, since by the bodily and bloudie sacrifice shadowed in the law, I do not exclude the torments on the crosse imparted to the soule, or rather wholly discerned by the soule of Christ, but onelie the paines of hell which were neuer figured by anie sacrifice, nor sealed by anie Sacrament of the old or new testament, though now they bee made the principall part of our redemption, which indeede was purchased by the death and bloud of Christ Iesus.

In auoiding the reason which I drewe from the Sacraments of the new testament, and namelic from the Lordes Supper, in the length of six lines (Sir refuter) you contradict the definition and institution of that Sacrament, as also the plaine resolatton of S. Paul, and the principles of naturall reason. The Sacraments (you saie) are earthlie elements, they cannot set out spirituall and inuisible effects in Christ. I had thought Sacraments by their nature had bene visible signes of inuisible graces, which definition is so common in the schooles, that no smatterer in diuinitie besides you is ignorant of it. ⁹ *Si tu incorporeus esses, nude dona ipsa incorporea tibi tradidisset, quoniam uero corpori coniuncta est anima, in sensibilibus intelligibilia tibi traduntur.* If thou hadst been without a bodie, God would haue giuen thee his spirituall gifts vncouered; but because thy soule is ioined with thy bodie, in sensible thinges are deliuered thee spirituall (or inuisible) graces. ^r Where all the Sacraments were common, (saith Augustine) Grace which is the vertue of the Sacraments, was not common to all. ^r In the Lords Supper, that there should be no horror of bloud, & yet the grace of Redemption might remaine, for a resemblance thou receiuest the Sacrament, but thou obtainest the grace & vertue of (Christ) true nature. So that if those earthly elements of water, bread
and

Chylost. in
Act. homil. 83.

Psal. 77.

Abros. de
sacramentis.
li. 6. cap. 1.

and wine, did not set out and exhibite the spirital and inuisible effects in Christ, they were no Sacraments. [But the Cerimonie of breaking bread (say you) cannot properly belong to the body, but to the soule .] In the first institution of his Supper did not Christ breake the bread, and deliuer it saying, Take cate, this is my bodie? If breaking belong to the bread, then breaking belongeth properlie to the body of Christ; for the bread was ordained to the use of the body of Christ, & that St. Paul noteeth in expresse words. 'The bread which we break, is it not the Comunion of the body of Christ? But Christs body (you say) was not properly broken; because scripture saith "not a bone of him shalbe broken. A speculation fit for such a diuaine as you are; had Christs body nothing in it but bones: Had he not as well flesh as bones: *A spirit, saith our sauour, hath not flesh & bones, as you see me haue. Then if Christs flesh were rent & torne with whips, with nailles, with a speare, as it certainly was, though his bones were whole, his body was properly & truly broken. For the cutting or tearing of the flesh, is the breaking of the flesh, and from a part the whole maie and doth properly take his denomination. And therefore Paul spake truly and properlie when he thus expresseth the words of Christs institution, y This is my body, which is broke for you. Neither doth he in that word varie from Christs institution, but he rather teacheth vs, that as the bread is broken, and the wine powred out in the Lords supper; so was the flesh of the Lords body giuen to be broken & torne on the crosse for vs, & his blood likewise shed for the remission of our sinnes. *The nailles & spear, (you grant) did pearce him, but in no sort can that be called breaking or bruising in peeces, as the worde in Elay doth plainlie signifie. Wherefore the meaning is the torments of his soule did bruize and breake him in peeces. Your Hebrew, your Greeke, & your Philosophie, came all out of one forge, they are so like. You can not finde that Christs flesh was broken and bruised on the Crosse by grieuous stripes and wounds, but you haue spied, that his soule was broken in peeces.

1 Pag. 14.

1. Cor. 10.

John. 19.

Luke. 24.

1. Cor. 11.

2 Pag. 10.

peeces and that properlie . If one of the Peentes before whom you were wont to talke , should aske you into howe manie peeces it was broken, your heade would aske to shape him a wise answer. [But the word DACHA which Esay saith doth plainly (you say) signifie to breake in peeces.] Doth it alwaies and ever signifie properlie to breake into peeces? How can it then be applied to the soule, but improperlie and by a figuratiue kinde of speech? A Whole hill with you is a Mountaine. The worde doth signifie to treade vnder foote, to bruisse, to oppresse, to humble. When Dauid saith the enemye hath cast my life downe to the ground; Will you saie he hath broken my life in peeces? When Iob saith, ^b How long will yee vex me my soule, and afflict mee with your wordes, will you adde, and breake mee in peeces with your wordes? When Ieremie saith of the men of Iudah. ^c They are not humbled vnto this day; Will you phrase it, and say, They are not broken in peeces to this day?

In the power of Christs death to proue the blood of our sauiour to be the true price of our redemption, and that as wel of our soules as of our bodies; I alledged the words of Peter ^d You were redeemed with the precious blood of Christ; and of the soules in heauen saying vnto Christ, ^e Thou wast killed, & hast redeemed vs to God by thy blood; when their bodies were rotten in ^h earth. Hence I reasoned, if our soules be not redeemed fro death by the blood of christ, our bodies haue in this life no benefite of redemption, I meane from death; for we die as doe infidels, and our bodies rot in the graue as theirs doe till the daie of resurrection. But ^{S.} Peter saith, we are redeemed, not we shall bee; and the saints say to Christ when their bodies lie in the dust, Thou hast redeemed vs by thy blood; ergo that redemption which we haue in this life, must be referred to our soules; and our bodies must expect the generall date of redemption in the ende of the world. To this our Confuter replieth, ^f What a paradoxe, yea what impietie is this? Haue our bodies no good at all by Christes death,

^a Psa. 143. ver. 3

^b Iob. 19. ver. 2

^c Ier. 41. ver. 10

^d 1. Pet. 1.

^e Reuel. 5.

^f Pag. 23.

^g is this? Haue our bodies no good at all by Christes death,

no more then the bodies of infidels, because wee die stil as wel as they? God Sir remember, Redemption from death is the point which I bzged; y our bodies in this life haue not, no moze then the bodies of Infidels haue, but must expect it. And therefore if our Soules be not redeemed by the blood of Christ from Sinne & death, we haue presentlie no redemption by the blood of Christ, but must stae for the time of our resarrection befoze we shall haue it. Which is contrarie to the words both of Peter and of the Soules in heauen, that saie to Christ when their bodies bee rotten in earth, Thou hast redeemed vs by thy blood. Here y tell vs of the iustification, mortification, and sanctification of our bodies, as also of the expectation of glozie, which our bodies shall haue, and thinke to make a great conquest of the words, NO GOOD AT ALL; but pall in your hoznes. Besides that my meaning is verie plaine, what sceuer the wordes were, which I might vse, which I do not acknowledge to be these that you bring, but that our bodies haue no benefitte of Redemption from death; marke well the condition annexed to the proposition, If our soules bee not redeemed by the death and blood of Christ; and then all these absurdities which you thought to fasten on mee, fall full on your owne head. For if our soules be not redeemed by the blood of Christ, our bodies haue vtterlie no god, euen no god at all by the death of Christ. [They haue you saie *Iustification, mortification, sanctification, & hope of resurrection, besides the lawfull possession of earth, by things.*] Haue our bodies these things of themselves, or from our soules first iustified, mortified, sanctified and assured of life? I trust you dare not saie that our bodies haue anie of these, but for and from the Soule. Then if the soule be not redeemed by the death of Christ, the bodie can haue none of these, and consequentlie my words are sound and good; & yours, if you stand to them against the condition annexed to mine, are prophane and false. [But I alter my words, you will saie, to my best aduantage, when I see your obiections to preuent that danger.] It had bene fittest for

you to haue stated the printing of mine owne wordes, and then you might haue charged me with them, and not bee repelled as a forgetter or misconstruer of them, or to haue gotten you a copie of that which I deliuerd out that verbe sumner to men of great honour and learning, a yeere and more before I euer heard or thought of your pamphlet, because I founde so manie humozous heades misconceauing and misreporting my wordes. But your haste was such, you coulde not; or your skill, you woulde not staie the sight of mine owne wordes, least they shoulde trouble you more then you were wate: and therefore out of your owne ill conceaued, and worse digested Rapso dies, you frame objections as pleaseth your selfe, which either were not mine, or not so proposed by me. And that maketh me pursue no more of your answers, by reason I spende more time in recalling you to the truth of my wordes, then in refelling your exceptions, which haue neiether waight nor witnesse, more then the buzzing of your owne bzaine. Let vs therefore view holwe inell you behaue your selfe in your owne proofes, which you cannot forget or mistake.

In proposing the question, and pursuing the proofes, there is some hope (christian Reader) the holines of the confuters cause will lead him to go plainly & soundlie to work. Thus therefore he beginneth. *The whole controuersy hath in it two points.*

[P. ag. 1.]

- “ 1. That Christ suffered for vs the wrath of God.
 “ 2. That, after his death on the crosse, he went not into hel
 “ in his soule.
 “ Now then for the former, thus we saie and constantly auow: Christ
 “ Iesus did suffer in his whole manhoode for the redemption and satisfaction of our sinnes: yea he suffered properly and immediatelie
 “ in his soule and not in his flesh only. Therefore he suffered for vs
 “ the wrath of God. This consequent is manifest and cannot be denied. The antecedent or first part of the former generall reason is
 “ denied and confidentlie reiected, yet how falselie by Gods helpe shal
 easily.

easily appeare. Touching the first part of this controuersie; were you awaked or a sleepe (Sir refuter) when I preached of these thinges, that you so constantlie auowde this was the question, whether Christ suffered for vs the wrath of God or no? If you were present and not a sleepe, it is too much boldnes to outface the world in print, that this was the position which I impugned. There were too manie witnesses there, for mee to denie, or you to belie the question; you knowe it well enough, but you cannot tell how to proue that which I then reprov'd, and therefore you shrink from that, and dallie with generall and doubtfull termes, which according as they are expounded, may either make with you, or against you. The question proposed by me, was, whether it could be proued by the scriptures, or by necessary consequent from them, that Christ in his soule suffered the true paines of hell such as the damned doe suffer, and wee shoulde haue suffered, had we not beene redeemed by him? I added, if wee tooke the paines of hell metaphoricallie for great and extreme sorowes and paines, as Dauid and Ionas did, the speach might be tolerated; but if wee tooke them properlie for the verie same which the damned doe and shall suffer in hell, as there is no prouofe in it, for there is no truth in it. To this you saie nothing, and so to all wise men make a confession that you cannot iustifie that, which I then disallowed. Ye bee come since to tell vs that certainelie Christ suffered the wrath of God for vs; which if it be granted you; I doe not see what it canne helpe your cause, or hurt mine. For the wrath of God extendeth to all paines and punishmentes as well corporal as spirituall, in this life and the next, be they temporal or eternall. So that no paine or punishment small or great coulde befall the bodie or soule of Christ, but it must needs proceed from the wrath of God. Wherefore your idle discourse of 32. leaues, in which you labor to proue that Christ suffered the wrath of God for sinne, might wel haue bin spared. These lines directlie to the purpose had bin moze worthy

then so many leaues thus wastfullie spent. But in the ende you conclude like a Clark, Christ suffered the wrath of God,
 1 Pag. 33. " ^h which we affirme is equall to hell it selfe, and all the tormentes thereof. What you affirme I little regarde; what you can proue is that I intend. And out of this proposition Christ suffered for vs the wrath of God for sinne, you shall neuer conclude; Ergo hee suffered the true paines of hel. Were your proposition generall that Christ suffered all the wrath of God for sinne, that is the whole wrath of God and euery part thereof due to sinne, you might well conclude; Ergo hee suffered the true paines of hell; for hell indeede as it is the last, so is it the greatest effect of Gods wrath against sin; but from an indefinite proposition as yours is, which maie signifie the W H O L E O R S O M E P A R T O F G O D S V R A T H due to sinne, you shall neuer inferre what part you list, as here you doe.

Will you, to make your consequent good, amend your antecedent and make it generall; that Christ suffered the whole wrath of God, & euery part thereof due to sinne: Then heare good Sir, mine answer. That proposition, besides that it no waie followeth vpon your first antecedēt; Christ suffered properly and immediatly in his soule, therefore he suffered the whole wrath of God and euery part thereof due to sinne: besides I saie that there is no coherence, no consequence betwixt these two propositions; the later of them, that Christ suffered the whole wrath of God due to sinne, and euery part thereof, is most impious and blasphemous. For so neither vter desperation, nor finall reiection, nor eternal damnation are expected, but Christ did and must suffer them all; since they are partes, yea the chiefest partes and effectes of Gods wrath against sinne. This is far from your meaning, as you often protest. Tralie I belene it; charitie leades me to thinke, though you be somewhat foolishly in this cause, that yet you are not so diuellish as to fasten these things on the sonne of God. But you must also be so wise as to see, that if your antecedent
 be

be general, these will follow, whether you mean them or no: if your antecedent be not general, but indefinite, as, *Christ suffered the wrath of God due to sinne*, that is some partes and effectes of Gods wrath due to sinne, you shall neuer make choise in your conclusion which parts he suffered, as namelie the true paines of hel & of the damned. Now those which you will, either the invaliditie of your argument, or the impietie of your antecedent; the one will proue you to lack learning, that you see not the difference; the other that you want christianity, if you should not with mouth disclaim, and with hart detest that horrible blasphemie.

You wil pretend I know, your conclusion is not general: no more indeed is it; your words are, *therefore Christ suffered for vs the wrath of God*; but this conclusion being indefinite, and verie doubtful, will do you no good in the fortifieng of your cause. For Christ may suffer the wrath of God in his bodie, yea in his soule hee maie suffer it, and yet not the paines of the damned, or of hell: but because you make this the maine foundation of your whole matter, let vs looke somewhat better into it. You labour to proue by a long proecesse that Christ suffered the wrath of God for sinne. First then what meane you by the wrath of God? I hope you doe not meane anie inwarde affection or perturbation in God, but as you expounde your selfe ⁱ *the verie effectes of his iust wrath*; you shoulde saie, of his iustice and power punishing sinne. And this warning (gentle Reader) if thou bee simple I must giue thee, (for the learned knowe it of themselves,) that when thou readeest in the scriptures, or hearest me reason of the wrath of God, thou doe not imagine that God is mooued with anie inwarde mutation, but the punishment ordained for sinne by the iustice of God, or inflicted on vs when we haue sinned by the hand of God, (what soeuer mean it please him to vse) is called the wrath God. Ambrose saieith well; ^k *Ira est non ei qui iudicat, sed illi qui iudicatur*; It is no wrath to God that iudgeth, but to him that is

ⁱ Pag 33:
^k In cap. 2. ad Rom.

¹ Greg. moral.
lib. 20. cap. 14
^m August. de
ciuitate dei.
lib. 15. c. p. 25

ⁿ August. in
Psal. 7.

is iudged. ¹ *Quia culpas percutit irasci dicitur*, saith Gregorie; God is saide to be angrie, because he punisheth our sinnes. And so Aullen. ^m *Ira de inon perturbatio animi eius est, sed iudicium quo irrogatur pena peccato*. The wrath of God is no affection of mind in him, but his iudgment whereby punishment is inflicted for sinne. The conclusion is; ⁿ *nomine ira intelligitur vindicta iniquitatis*, by the name of (Gods) wrath is vnderstoode the punishment of iniquitie. It is then euident that by the name of (Gods) wrath, throughout the scriptures, is vnderstode the vengeance or punishment prepared or inflicted for the sinnes of men. Nowe what particular punishments God hath provided for sinne as well in this life, as the next, to chastise and reuenge both the bodies and soules of sinners, woulde aske long time to rehearse. The greatest and sorest are these iudgements, which are executed on the wicked, in the worlde to come; to witte, refection from the kingdome of God, and condemnation to hell fire, where not onelie darkenesse amazeth the eyes, and remembrance of sinne committed afflicteth the conscience, but an intolerable flame of fire tormenteth both soule and bodie for ever. These terrible iudgements of GOD against sinne the Scriptures publish and denounce to men in this life, that if the loue of heauen doe not winne them to obedience, the feare of hell shoulde hold them from resisting and contemning God. The greatest torment that in this life canne befall a sinner is desperacion; when the soule of man, conuincid in her selfe by the number of her hainous offences, loseth all hope of life to come, and casteth her eyes wholie on the fearefull tormentes of hell prepared for her; the continuall thought and fright whereof doe so amaze and afflicte the comfortlesse soule, that shee sinking vnder the burden seeleth in her selfe the horrour of hell befoze shee come to it. So that the losse of heauen, and feare of hell maie torment wicked and desperate persons in this life; but the execution thereof,

after

after this life, shall be an other manner of astonishment and torment, then they canne yet conceaue. If the thought of these iudgementes and punishmentes, ordayned by Gods power and iustice for sinners, so afflict men, what shall the sight doe? if the feare of hell bee so intolerable, what shall the flame bee? when therefore you saie (Sir Rectifer) Christ suffered for vs the wrath of God; wee must not content our selues with that generall worde, you must tell vs in particular what partes and effectes of Gods wrath Christ endured, before you canne auouch that which hee suffered, to bee equall to hell and all the tormentes thereof. Did hee suffer hell fire either in soule, or in bodie? the damned shall suffer it in both. Did hee sinde or feare himselfe to be excluded from the kingdome of God? the damned doe see themselues shut out for euer. If hee neither felt nor feared the MYST, the VVORME, the FIRE of hell, nor so much as DOUBTED the LOSSE of Gods kingdome, what tormentes equall to hell canne you name vs? [The wrath of God you will saie, is equall to hell and all the tormentes thereof]. The wrath of God is hell, and so are all the tormentes of hell; yea they are the sharpest effectes of Gods wrath against sinne. And therefore neuer plaie with generalities and ambiguities, but expresse plainly what other effectes of Gods wrath you meane. For since the losse of heauen, the darkenesse, worme, and fire of hell, and the feare of both bee the greatest and sorest iudgementes of God against sinne, that are decreed by his iustice, reuealed by his word, and executed by his power, in this life. or the next: wee plainelie and truelle saie you can name vs none other effectes of Gods wrath equall to these. If then it be hapnous impietie to saie, Christ suffered these, and none other are equall to these, take backe your laushting vnirath, that Christ suffered the effects of Gods wrath, equal to hel and all the tormentes thereof; for my part I see neither sense nor reason in it.

But

" [But it shalbe soundlie and evidently prooued.] Will you
 prooue you know not what: Tell first what effects of gods
 wꝛath you meane, and then on with your pꝛofes. Your mea-
 ning may be such as you sh. all neuer pꝛoue. It may be such
 as we wil easely graunt. For touching your words which you
 take for the castel of your cause, *Christ suffered for vs the wꝛath*
 " of God; know you good Syꝛ, *Christ suffered nothing at his*
Passion either in bodie oꝛ soule, were it little oꝛ great, but it
was an effect of Gods wꝛath punishing Sinne, oꝛ as you
delighte to speake, it was the wꝛath of God. Well, if you bee
 so loath to expresse your mind, for feare you betwꝛaie your
 " cause, let vs heare your pꝛofes; ° *Thus wee saie and constantlie*
 " *anow: Christ Iesus did suffer in his whole manhood for the Re-*
 " *demption and satisfiſſion of our Sinnes; yea he suffered properlie*
 " *and immediatlie in his soule and not in his flesh onlie: As you*
 haue begonne so you will goe on; talking is your pꝛofession,
 you did your selfe wꝛong when you came to wꝛiting. This
 Antecedent as you bitter it, (your meaning is secret to your
 selfe) doth neither good noꝛ hurt to the Question. That *christ*
 suffered in his whole manhood for the Redemption of our
 Sinnes is a thing by mee neuer doubted, noꝛ denied; the
 doubt is, what he suffered in his whole manhood; and what in
 each part of his manhood; for that he suffered all that he suffe-
 red in his whole manhood your selfe doe disclaime in the next
 page, when you saie, P *This greuous Passion was in his soule*
 " *properlie and immediatlie, seeing then his bodie was not touched*
 " *with anie smart. And when I gaue fire causes that might bee*
 of *Christs* agonte in h garden, did I so much as pretend that
 anie of them then touched his bodie, when he was affected
 with this passion of mind: And except thys be your meaning,
 that *Christ* suffered some things for our Redemption in his
 whole manhood, and some things properlie and innmediatlie
 in his Soule, your Antecedent hath a flatte contradiction in
 it selfe. For if he suffered all, that he suffered, in his whole
 manhood, how could hee suffer anie thing properlie and
 immediatlie

• Pag: 4

• Pag: 5.

immediatelie in his soule: which is the second part of your owne Antecedent. And if that bee the drift of your generall reason, about which you spende 32. leaues, you maie sit downe and begin againe a newe pamphlet, that shall haue some moze certaintie then this hath. For heere you roue, neither expressing, nor indeede knowing what you woulde haue; onlie you hide your selfe in this generall phrase, that *Christ suffered the wrath of God for sinne*; but vnlesse you specifie what he suffered, I do not meane to bhabble with you, or with anie other, about generall and vncertaine speeches. What hee suffered moze then the scriptures expresse, (for I faithfullie belæue all that is there witten) I doe not casilie admit you, or anie other such presumer, to deliuer vpon your credits; when you declare what you meane, and prooue that you saie, you shall soone haue an answer.

[Christ (you saie) ⁱ assumed not our nature, nor any part of it, but ONLY to suffer in it properly and immediately, euen for the very purchasing of our redemption thereby. Otherwise he had no neede to assume both, but either the one part or the other.] See what it is (good Reader) for a man to loose himselfe in the wildernesse of his owne wit. To prooue that Christ suffered both in bodie and soule, which is a thing by no man denied (for the question is, what he suffered, and not whether soule and bodie were ioined in Christes sufferings?) his Refuter leappeth oer head and eares into absurdities, not onely against diuinitie, but euen against nature, and the verie law of our first creation. That the sonne of God had no END nor PURPOSE in taking our nature vnto his in the vnitie of person, but ONLY to suffer for our sinnes, is a bolde and lewd oversight; his ende and purpose in taking our nature was not onlie to suffer for vs, but to doe all that for vs, which in his life time, and after his death, by his resurrection, ascension, and mediation he did, doth, and will do for vs. By his owne mouth he reuealed to vs his fathers will from heauen; by his example of life he taught vs all perfection of holinesse;

Pag. 172

Pag. 162

Pag. 173

by his rising he swallowed by our death; by his intercession we receave all the giftes and graces of God, which we haue or shall haue; by his sitting in heauen with our flesh, he giueth vs assurance that our mortall bodies shall bee changed, like to his glorious bodie; yea the verie vnion of our nature to his is an effectuall meane to make vs one with him, as he is one with God. Had Christ not bene man, we could haue had no interest in the fulnes of his obedience, in the riches of his graces, in the Communion of his spirit, in the fellowship of his glorie, which are the helpes, supports, and meanes of our saluation, as well as his suffering for vs; and man hee could not bee without a soule and a bodie; neither part toynd with his diuine nature was sufficient to make him a man. By the lawe of our first creation we are men consisting of bodies and soules; and therefore Christ as our heade must haue both, NOT ONELIE TO SVFFER FOR SINNE, but also to quicken, sanctifie, and glorifie both our soules and bodies that hee may perfitte our saluation, and bring vs to GOD, without reiecting or excluding either parte of our nature: Yea so aduised you are, Sir Refuter, in your reasons, that by your owne assertion you conclude Christs flesh to bee needlesse for our Redemption: for thus you saie;

¶ Pag. 18.

“ *This suffering (of the soule by her bodie which is naturall and by sympathie onelie)* PROPERLIE DID NOT MAKE TO OVR REDEMPTION. What is suffering, good Sir, in your learning? The receaving of the blowes, or the feeling of the paine? If you beate or cut a deade carkas, that hath neither life nor sense, will you saie it suffereth? I thinke not. There must then bee life and sense in the bodie, befoze it canne suffer or feele a nte paine. Howe, life and sense, pertaine they to the bodie or else to the soule? If you knewe not befoze, as by the vnlearned discourse it seemeth you did not, Saint Austen shall teach you; except you will skorne him in this point,

for the clearing of certaine obiections. 231

point, as you do in others. ^r *Si diligentius consideremus, dolor, qui dicitur corporis, magis ad animā pertinet. Anima enim est do-* ^{m August. de}
lère, non corporis, etiam quando ei dolendi causa existit a cor- ^{ciuitate dei.}
pore, cum in eo loco dolet, ubi leditur corpus. Sicut ergo dici- ^{lib. 21. cap. 3}
mus corpora sentientia & corpora uiuentia cum ab anima sit cor-
poris sensus & uita; ita et corpora dicimus dolentia, cum dolor
corporis nisi ab anima esse non possit. If wee well consider, the
 paine which is called bodilie paine, belongeth rather to the
 soule. The soule feeleth the paine, not the bodie euen when
 the cause of paine commeth from the bodie, and the soule
 greeueth in the place where the bodie is hurte; As then
 wee saie bodies are liuing and feeling, when the life and
 sense of the bodie is by the soule; so saie wee bodies full
 of paine, when the paine of the bodie cannot bee felte but
 by the soule. And so againe; ^r *Dolores qui dicuntur car-* ^{Idem de ciui-}
nis anima sunt in carne & ex carne; dolor carnis tantummo- ^{tate dei. lib. 14.}
do offensio est anima ex carne. The paines which are called ^{cap. 15}
 bodilie paines, are the paines of the soule in the bodie and by
 the bodie. For bodilie paine is nothing else but the grieffe
 of the soule by the bodie. Whereof Diuines maie not
 doubt, since naturall reason and experience teacheth,
 that as the soule seeth by the eyes, and heareth by the eares
 of the bodie; so the soule feeleth paine and offence by enerie
 part of the bodie, when it is wounded or wronged. If this
 suffering of Christs soule, by communion with his bodie,
 did not properlie make to our Redemption, which are your
 own words; then neither the stripes, woundes, nor death of
 Christ did any way make to our redemption; since of all these
 violences offered to Christs bodie, the fleshy it selfe had not
 the feeling but onlie the soule of Christ by communion with
 her bodie, or as you terme it, by *Sympathie*. Yea farther,
 by your owne rule, the fleshy of Christ was needelesse in
 the worke of our Redemption, for so much as his fleshy could
 not properly and immediatlie feele any paine; but of force

must leaue the feeling of all that was suffered to the soule; and so whiles you talke so much of the proper and immediat e suffering of Christs soule, you haue cleane excluded all the sufferings of Christ, which the scripture expresseth, as not making proper lie to our redemption.

¶ Pag. 19.

“ [But ^rinsteede of a false argument of mine, you will returne a
 “ reason better grounded, and of certaine truth; which is this;
 “ Whereby Adam first, and we euer since doe most properlie commit
 “ sinne, by the same hath Christ our second Adam made satisfac-
 “ tion for our sinne. But Adam first, and we euer since most proper-
 “ lie commit sinne in our soules, our bodies beeing but the instru-
 “ ments of our soules, and following the soules direction and will.
 “ Therefore Christ in his soule chieflie and most properly made satis-
 “ faction for vs.] Thou shalt perceiue (christian reader) by the

Vide pag e. 104

answere to this argument, howe ill I spend the time in pur-
 suing this Reader, which neither can tel what he would haue,
 nor what he should pꝛoue, nor whether his own reason make
 with him or against him. I made no such argument as here
 he pretendeth; the effect of my reason was this. The flesh of
 Christ must be as able to redeme vs as Adams was to con-
 demne vs: but we inherit pollution and condemnation from
 Adams flesh; therefore the flesh of Christ must both quicken
 and cleanse vs. The Maior is euident, vnlesse we make the di-
 uell more able to destroye vs by an other, then God is able to
 saue vs by himselfe. The Minor is cleere, without intermed-
 ling with the question, whence soules be deriued. I vtterlie
 refused to ground anie reason vpon that difficultie; I vsed
 Davids words, in sinne my mother conceived me, and as Am-
 brose saith, *“ prius incipit in homine macula quam vita*; pollu-
 tion (which is original) beginneth in man before hee hath life.
 Now the soule is the life of the bodie. Then if pollution cleaue
 to the flesh before life come, and consequentlie before the
 soule come, whence soeuer it cometh; it is euident that A-
 dams flesh defileth and so condemneth vs. As for my conclu-
 sion that Christs flesh must quicken and cleanse vs, if the
 premisses

¶ In Apologia
 Dauid, ca. 11.

premisses would not support it, which they fully doe; the Scriptures will maintaine it.* He that eateth my flesh (saith our Saviour) and drinketh my blood, hath eternall life, and I will raise him vp at the last daie. I am that bread of life. If any man eate of this bread, he shall liue for euer, and the bread that

¹ Iohn 6.

I will giue, is my flesh, which I will giue for the life of the world.

By reason standing good, Sir Refuter, let vs looke a little to yours, that you saie is so well grounded, and of certaine truth. How proue you your first proposition, *In which part*

Adam did first sinne, by that part Christ must satisfie for sinne?

²²

Satisfaction for sinne the Scripture acknowledgeth none but by death; because by Iudge in prohibiting Adam to transgresse threathned death; y In the day that thou eatest thereof thou

¹ Gene. 2.

shalt die the death; and the Apostle saith plainlie; ² Christ is the

² Hebrues 9.

mediator of the new testament, that THROUGH DEATH, which was for the REDEMPTION of the transgressions in the former Testament, they which were called might receiue the promise of eternall inheritance. If nothing might satisfie for

sinne but death; then consequently the Soule of Christ which could not die, could not paie the satisfaction for our Sinnes,

howsoever Adam did, and we still doe sinne, most properlie with our Soules. This is but a straw in your waie; for you

stifle, but absurdly, if not impiously defend, that Christ died the death of the Soule; yet because the Scriptures and Fa-

thers with one consent auouch the contrarie, yea S. Austen is so peremptorie therein that he asketh, QVIS AVDEAT

Vide pag 79.

DICERE, VWHO DARE AFFIRME IT? you shall giue mee

leau to tell you that the Apostle denieth your Maior, till you can make it good, not by your owne vnlearned frensie, but by

god testimonie of Scripture, that Christ did die the death of the Soule. Now by your assumption, that Adam most proper-

²³

lie committed sinne in his soule; If you mean that Adams soule

²⁴

was the agent, his body the Instrument which the soule used as in all sins; so in this; that indeed is most true, but directly repugnant to your conclusion. But that for your Minor, that

Adams soule transgressed the commaundement with hir bodie and by hir bodie; the conclusion then followeth in spite of your hart; ergo in satisfiing for sinne the Soule of Chyist must be punished with hie bodie & by hie bodie; which is the thing you labour to ouerthrowe with all the wits you haue. Meane you otherwise that Adam brake the Commaundement of God, not by his bodie properlie, but by his soule? Then is your assumption a manifest contradiction to the fact of Adam. For with his eares he heard the perswasion of the woman, with his eyes he liked the forbidden fruit, with his hand he toke it, with his mouth he did eat it, which was the fact that God precisely did prohibit. God did not saie to Adam thou shalt not like it, or desire it, which the soule of Adam did, but THOU SHALT NOT EATE THEREOF, which could not bee performed but by the hand and mouth of Adam: and therefore Adam transgressed the commaundement not by his soule, but by his bodie, euen as in murder, theft, & adulterie, these facts men commit by their bodies and not by their soules.

[But in that and all other sinnes brought to effect, the soule, you will saie, is the principall agent, the bodie is but the Instrument.] I grant it willingly; and thence I conclude, ergo in the satisfiacion for sinne, the soule must be the principall patient and dolent, and the bodie by Gods iustice must be the instrument of her paine. And here marke I praye thee (Christian Reader) whether this one argument doe not vtterlie ouerthrowe all that this idle discourser hath doone, and would doe in this whole pamphlet. For nothing is more proportionable to Gods iustice, then to loine them in paine, that were loined in sinne; and to retaine the same order in punishyng, which they kept in offending. But all prouocations and pleasures of sinnes the soule taketh from her bodie, all acts of sinne she committeth by her bodie: therefore the iustice of God both temporallie and eternallie

eternallie punisheth the soule by the bodie; that as it hath
 beene the Instrument of her pleasure, so it shall bee of
 her paine. And if **G D D** obserue this course as well in
 his temporall as eternall vengeance on the sinnes of men,
 whie then shoulde not the sufferinges of **Christes** soule by
 his bodie bee truelie and properlie a satisfaction for sinne,
 which this great Doctoꝝ a little befoze said, *made not properlie,*
to our Redemption?

Paꝝ. 18.

For thy better instruction, gentle Reader, and my dis-
 charge, that the soule taketh her occasions to sinne, vseth
 her delightes in sinne, and perseurmeth her attemptes
 of sinne, with and by the bodie, giue mee leaue in this
 point to bee somewhat the longer.

Caro est officina spiritus, qui in ea et per eam, quaecunque affectauerit, peragit

^a Cyprian in
 prolog de na-
 tuitate Christi

& consummat. The flesh (saith Cyprian) is the forge of the
 soule, which in that and by that acteth and performeth, what-
 soeuer it affecteth.

Per quinque sensus, quasi per quasdam fenestras vitiorum ad animam est introitus. By the fiue senses
 of the bodie (saith Ierome) as it were by certaine windowes,
 vices (or sinnes) haue their entrance into the soule.

^a Hier. contra
 Iouin. lib. 2

Quam anima sine carne est quam diu est in carne; nihil non

^b Tertullian, de
 resurrect. cara-
 nis.

cum illa agit, sine qua non est; siquidem in
 carne, *& cum carne, & per carnem agitur ab anima,*
quod agitur in corde. The soule (saith Tertullian) is no
 where without the flesh, as long as it is in the flesh.

SHEE **DOETH** **NOTHING** **VVITHOVT** **THAT**, without which
 shee is not. Euen that which is done in the heart, the soule
 doth in her flesh, with her flesh, and by her flesh:

Prea **hee** **prelleth** **it** **farther** **and** **saith;**

A deo non sola anima transigit vitam, ut nec cogitatus licet solos, licet non ad effectum

^c Ibidem.

per carnem deductos, auferamus a collegio carnis. Et sine opere et

sine effectu cogitatus, carnis est actus. Negent factorum societatem, cui negare non possunt cogitatorum. Et si anima est, qua a-

git & impellit in omnia, carnis obsequium est. So farre it is that
 the

the soule alone doth perfourme this life, that the VERIE THOUGHTS IN THEM SELVES, neuer brought to effect, we take not frō the fellowship of the flesh. Yea the very thought VVITHOVT ACT, VVITHOVT EFFECT, IS A DEEDE OF the flesh. Let them now denie that to be the soules companion in works, which they cannot denie to bee her companion in thoughts. For though it be the soule, that mooueth and leadeth to all things, yet the flesh addeth her seruice. And least it should seeme strange that he affirmeth, he pointeth to the words of our Sautour, ^d out of the hart come euill thoughts. How true this is that Tertullian here voucheth thou shalt sone perceiue (gentle Reader) if thou behould men in SLEEPE, in FRENZIES, in LETHARGIES, in APOPLEXIES; where the substance of the soule is no waie touched or decayed; but onely the Instruments of her bodie, which she vseth in perceiuing, remembryng, vnderstanding anie thing, are distempred, or obstructed. The experience here of is so easie and euident euen to the simplest among men, that I shall neede to spend no more words to the learned. Tertullians conclusion is this.

^d Math. 15.

Ibidem de resurrectione carnis.

deum non licet aut iniustum iudicē credi, aut inertem; iniustū, si sociam bonorum operum a premiis arceat; inertem, si sociā malorū a suppliciis secernat. Non sit particeps in sententia caro, si non fuerit & in causa. Non possunt ergo separari in mercede, quas opera coniungit. We maie not thinke God to bee an iniurious, or a negligent Iudge: iniurious, if he exclude the (soules) companion in good works from (the soules) reward; negligent, if he excuse the (soules) partner in euill, from the (soules) punishments. Let the flesh haue no part in the sentence, if it had no part in the cause. They cannot be seuered in wages, that were ioyned in worke. If Tertullians assumption be true, that in this life the soule can neither work, speake, perceiue, desire, nor think good or euill without the Instruments of her bodie; (excepting alwaies Gods power to inspire what pleaseth him; for hee that framed the soule can alter and chaunge it at his liking, by the immediate working of his spirit;)

clauson

cluston be true, that God the righteous iudge of the world in his euerlasting reward of obedience, & likewise in his eternall vengeance for sinne will ioine and comple both bodie and soule together; then apparentlie NO SVFFERINGS ARE SO FIT IN THE PERSON OF THE REDEEMER FOR THE SATISFACTION of sinne, as those VVHICH ARE COMMON TO BOTH PARTS OF MAN, & namelie which the soule suffereth from her bodie & by her bodie; which ouerthroweth all the Confuters vnalted and vnsettled discourse of the soules proper and immediate suffering in the person of Christ Iesus.

Doe I then denie that the soule hath anie sufferings in this life and the next, which come not by the bodie: By no meanes. For though those conioined sufferings be most answerable to sinnes committed; yet the soule hath some proper punishments in this life, as sorrow and feare, when the bodie hath no hurt, from which Christ was not free as appeereth by his Agonie: and so in the next the soules of the wicked haue grieue and remorse besides the paine of fier. The remembrance of sinne shall not a little torment the wicked, but perpetuallie afflid and gnaw their consciences as a woyme that neuer dieth. The losse of Gods fauour and kingdome shall not a little grieue them, when they see others receiued into that eternall ioye and blisse, and themselves excluded. ^t Gehenna grauius est a dei benevolentia excidere; to fall from Gods fauour (saith Chrysofome) is more grieuous then hell it selfe; and againe, ^s Ego illius gloria amissionem multo amarius quam ipsius gehenna supplicium esse dico. Intolerabilis quidem res est gehenna: quis nesciat & supplicium illud horribile? tamen si mille quis ponat gehennas, nihil tale dicitur est quale est a beata illius glorie honore repelli. The losse of that (euerlasting) glorie I saie is farre bitterer then the torments of hell it selfe. Hell is an intolerable thing, and an horrible punishment: who knoweth it not? Yet if a man

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^t Chrysoft. in Genes. homil.

^s Chrysoft. in Mat. homil. 24

an Reader) how scornfully this Confuter reiecteth the iudgments of the auncient fathers by mee alleaged touching the causes of Christs agonie in the garden, and his complaints on the Crosse; as likewise how forgetfull hee changeth, or purposeleie mainmeth my reasons, that hee maie the better annoyde them: and thirdlie how vncertaine his propositions, and how lame his conclusions are, that hee maketh for his owne side, yea often such as ouerthwowe his owne assertion; Thou shalt heare now some of his speciall reasons, as hee calleth them; but as the truth is, some of his speciall absurdities, and impieties: wherein I will be no longer then of force I must bee; I take little pleasure in raking such an vncleane sinke.

h Pag. 34.

cc The first is: *Christ suffered the paines and sorrowes for sinne which we should.* This proposition (Sir confuter) if you take it indefinitely as it lieth; proueth nothing for you: you maie do well to goe to the Vniuersitie againe, whence you came afore you were wise, and there learne to put quantitie to your propositions, that wee maie know when you speake of any thing, whether you meane ALLO: SOME: for if you meane here, that Christ suffered ALL that wee should, this proposition is an horrible blasphemie: then Christ suffered the LOSSE of GODS GRACE, SPIRIT, FAVOUR, LIFE, and KINGDOME, for so should wee; then hee was plunged into finall desperation, irreucable malediction, and eternall condemnation; for so should wee. [You are farre from that frensie, you will saie.] I hope so too; neither doe I charge you with it; but if your proposition bee generall you cannot auoide it; and therefore, after your loose and trifling manner, you sette downe a doubtfull assertion, that maie serue for all, or for part of that which wee should haue suffered. If you meane but part, then your proposition proueth no such thing, as you intend. For you would faine from hence inferre, that Christ suffered the paines of hell, which were due to vs; & if hee suffered but
part

part of that which wee should, a wise Christian will suppose anie part, rather then the paines of hel; howbeit the Apostle teacheth mee to saie that ¹ Christ died for our Sinnes according ¹ 1 Cor. 15. to the Scriptures, and that death was the death of the Crosse, ^m He humbled himself & became obedient vnto death, euen to the death of the crosse. [That is no sufficēt answere, you wil saie; because on the Crosse ⁿ He sustained our sorrowes, as ^a Esai. 53. Esai said he should.] The wordes of Esai are not, as you would faine haue them, he bare ALL our sorrowes, for then he must haue sorrowed for the losse of gods grace, fauour & kingdome, as I said before; but the prophet saith, he bare our sorrowes, which maie receiue a double construction, and either of them verie religious and christian. The first, what soeuer he felt or suffered it was ours, not his owne, that is for our sakes, and for our Sinnes. This the Prophet in the words following confirmeth, He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruized for our iniquities. The next is, he sustained our sorrowes that is such weaknes, faintnes, & wearines, as are incident to our nature; and that the Prophet confesseth in the words before, He is a man full of sorrowes, and hath experience of infirmities, euen of such as naturallie offend & afflict vs. But when the scripture saileth you, you die to similitudes of your owne making, and where Paule saith, ^o Christ gaue ^o 1 Timot. 2. himselfe a ranome for all; you saie, ^p the Scripture speaking ^p Pag. 34 heere after the common vse, and custome of redeeming captiues taken in warre, doth meane that Christ paid for vs THE SAME PRICE which else wee should haue paid. First, whoe told you that the Scripture speaketh here after the common vse of Enemies, since in our Saluation the sonne of God interposed himselfe as a mediator with his father, to answere what the iustice of God would require at the hands of his sonne, for the pardoning of a seruant, that had offended? You and your friends cannot abide to heare, that the enimie who had vs in captiuitie should haue any price for our deliuerance; you condemne that as a Dancheisme;

and

and doe you no'we for an aduantage vze that the enimie must haue a price for his captiue? Secondlie the price that wee shoulde haue payde was eternall condemnation of bodie and soule into hell fire. If Christ payde the same, loke wel least with seeking helpe from an enimie, you light not on open blasphemie. I aslie to soyne with you in your owne similitude, is it not the common vse in warres to redeme captiuitie with monie? The Captiue himselfe is tyed to perpetuall imprisonment or seruitude; hee that will ransom a prisoner is not bounde to bee a Prisoner himselfe, but to yeelde such recompence in money or other wise, as the conquerour shall demaunde. So that euen by your owne comparifon, it is euident, the sonne of G D in redeeming vs was not tied to our captiuitie, but might yeelde his Father a greater recompence for our absolution, then our condemnation woulde haue amounted vnto.

Page. 35.

Your seconde spectall folle (Sir Confater) is ground-
 ed vpon the wordes of Saint Paule. *Christ redeemed vs from
 the curse of the Lawe beeing made a curse for vs.* Whence
 you reason; *It is vaine and senselesse to thinke that the A-
 postle speaketh here of two seueral kindes of curses. And if Christ
 sustained anie curse for vs, what curse could it be? not the curse
 of the lawe? or what was it? not the curse of God? If you aske
 to learne, you may bee soone taught. If you aske to bzag,
 you maie be soone coled. The curse of God vpon the sinne
 of man proceedeth from the wrath of God against the sinne
 of man; howbeit God curseth not onelie sinners, but other
 his creatures, with whom he is not angrie, but only because
 they shoulde not serue the pride and iustes of the wicked.*
 When Adam transgressed, God cursed the earth for his
 sinne in saying, *Cursed is the earth for thy sake, thornes and
 thistles shall it bring thee.* For not onelie the soules and bo-
 dies of the wicked are cursed and consumed with plagues
 resting in them, and on them; but all that they take in hand,

2 Genes. 3

and

for the cleering of certaine obiections. 263

and all that belongeth to them is accursed like worse. ¶ If thou wilt not (saith Moses) obey the voice of the Lorde thy God to doe all his commaundementes, then all these curses shall come vpon thee and ouertake thee. Cursed shall thy basket bee, and thy store. Cursed shall bee the fruite of thy bodie, and the fruite of thy lande, the increase of thy kine, and the flockes of thy sheepe. The Lorde will sende vpon thee cursing in all that which thou settest thine hande to doe, vntill thou bee destroyed and perish, because of the wickednesse of thy workes. The rest of **G O D S** curses there numbred vnto the ende of that Chapter, and laide vpon bodie and soule, wife and childzen, goods and landes, life and death of such as transgresse; peruse (gentle Reader) at thy leasure, and thou shalt easilie see, how farre the curse of **G O D** in this life pursueth sinners; besides the horrible tormentes of the nexte life kept in store for them. So that as I did in the wrath of God, I must in the curse of God aske you (Str Confuter) whether you meane that Christ suffered for vs the whole curse of the lawe, or parte thereof? if you aunswere the whole; looke in that place which I now cited, how manie kinds of curses there be reckoned, which neuer touched our Saviour; besides the graunde curse which closeth vp all, and continueth for ever; ¶ Depart from me ye **C U R S E D** into euerlasting fire. If you saie a parte; then proue you nothing with your hot and sharpe spurres as you thinke, when you saie; *what curse could it be? not the curse of the law? or what else? not the curse of God?* Christ suffered a parte of that curse, which God by his owne mouth laid on Adam and all his posteritie for sinne. ¶ By one man sinne entred into the worlde (saith Paul) and by sinne death. hee also suffered other partes of the curse, which **G O D** by his lawe threathned vnto sinners, to wit **shame and TROUBLE**, **x** **VVRONG** and **VIOLENCE**, **y** **CAPTIVITY** and **MISERY**, **y** **THIRST** and **NAKEDNES**, **z** **GRIEFE** and **PAYNE** of bodie and minde. Besides, the verie kinde of death, to

Deutero. 28

Matth. 23

Rom. 5

Deut. 28
 verse 20, 37
 x 33.
 y 48.
 z 65.

which

which he submitted himselfe was accursed by speciall words in the law, ² accursed is euery one that hangeth on the Tree. Now to verifie the words of S. Paul, that Christ redeemed vs from the curse of the law due to our sinnes, being made a curse for vs; it sufficeth that the sonne of God, being equall with his Father in glorie and maiestie, vouchsafed to vndergoe not all the partes of our curse, but some partes thereof. Gods euerlasting curse which is most due to sinne, I hope you will free him from. Gods spirituall curse, by which he depriveth the wicked of his truth, of his grace and other giftes of his sprite, you must likewise cleare the sonne of G D D from. Wee cannot be subiected to that parte of Gods curse without apparant impietie. Take from him truth, you make him a lyar; take from him grace you charge him with a reprobate minde; take from him the Spirit of G D D, you giue place to Satan to worke in him as in the children of vnbeliefe. I trust (Sir Refuter) you bee neither so wicked as to thinke, neither so desperate as to defend, that the sonne of God might suffer any of these curses. Then haue you boldlie, but falsely and lewdly concluded out of S. Paul, that he putteth ^b a part of the iust curse of the lawe, thereby meaning the whole. Are you so well acquainted with Saint Pauls minde, that of your owne heade, to vphold your humorious fanisie, you will vize his meaning without his wordes, to support a manifest falstie? The whole curse of the law containeth insatuation of minde, obduration of heart, desperation, damnation; and what not? did Paul meane, that Christ was made these thinges for vs? or could hee haue redeemed vs, if in these things he had bene yoked with vs? But that I thinke (Sir Refuter,) you sinne of ignorance, not meaning to maintaine these blasphemies, and yet including them within the largenesse of your wordes, through the weaknesse of your wit, I must by the duty which I owe to God, and his truth, haue giuen you other termes, then now I do; but I had rather fatherly warne you to take

hæde

Galat. 3

Page. 40.

“ *a part of the iust curse of the lawe, thereby meaning the whole.* Are you so well acquainted with Saint Pauls minde, that of your owne heade, to vphold your humorious fanisie, you will vize his meaning without his wordes, to support a manifest falstie? The whole curse of the law containeth insatuation of minde, obduration of heart, desperation, damnation; and what not? did Paul meane, that Christ was made these thinges for vs? or could hee haue redeemed vs, if in these things he had bene yoked with vs? But that I thinke (Sir Refuter,) you sinne of ignorance, not meaning to maintaine these blasphemies, and yet including them within the largenesse of your wordes, through the weaknesse of your wit, I must by the duty which I owe to God, and his truth, haue giuen you other termes, then now I do; but I had rather fatherly warne you to take

hæde of these totes in time, least they bring the whole curse of God vpon your owne soule, which you would so faine fallen on Christs.

Notwithstanding your follie thus to presume without all profe vpon the Apostles meaning besides his wordes, you haue a good conceit of your self, & like a proper man you say, I urge then, let it be noted, Christ is said to be made a curse for vs; ^{Page 37.} and before I shewed this curse was Gods curse And againe. ^d The Scripture it selfe affirmeth, hee did all that for vs: therefore who ^{Page 36.} dareth denie it? Who either man or Angel shall presume to say nay? You haue urged it, I haue noted it, and so haue many wise and good men more; and will you heare what I conceiue? Trulle this; you haue more neede of Physicke to cure your braines, then of labour to rebate your arguments. So many, and those speciall reasons; so proudlie proposed, so weaklie performed, so fallacie concluded, did I neuer reade as long as I haue liued. You wilt thinke perchance (christian Reader) I speake this to disgrace the encounterer, and so to preiudice his cause with thee; mine heart God knoweth; but if thou bee not of the same minde with mee before I ende with his speciall reasons, as hee calleth them, I much deceiue my selfe; speciallie if thou thy selfe bee intelligent and indifferent.

I hope, though I vaunt not, as he doth, there can bee no doubt, but the curse of God for sinne containeth these partes which I propose; to wit, the externall, corporall, spirituall, & eternall plagues and punishments, wherewith God pursueth the wicked that rebell against him. I count it as cleare, that neither the eternall, nor the true spirituall curse of God could take hold on the soule of our Saviour. For as the greatest blessings that God giueth vs in this life, after he hath by mercie pardoned our sinnes, are the faith of his truth, to direct vs, the strength of his grace, to assist vs, the earnest of his spirite to perswade our hearts of his fatherlie clemencie to vs, and to inflame vs againe with the loue of his name, hope

of his promises, and desire of his kingdome; so the greatest curse for sinne, that in this life maie befall men, is to haue his holie spirite taken from them, with all his graces and gifts, that anie waie tends to saluation, and to be giuen ouer into a reprobate sense, that with blindness and hardnesse of heart, they may runne headlong to their owne destruction. With these impieties and blasphemies, I trust no Christian will burthen the soule of our Saviour; and yet these are the true spirituall curses of God against sinne. If then the soule of Christ were alwayes full of grace and truth, and the abundance of his spirite such, that wee all receiue of his fulnesse; If in the perfection of his holinesse, innocencie and obedience there coulde bee no defect; no; anie feare or doubt in that stedfast assurance of faith, hope and loue, which our Saviour alwayes retained; howe coulde hee bee ing so fullie and perpetuallie blessed of God, bee also tralle accursed of him? The curse of God is not in wordes, but in deedes. Then euidentlie saint Pauls meaning is and must be, that Christ, voluntarilie vnder taking some part of the curse due to our sinnes, (for the whole hee could not vnder take without reprobation and damnation;) not onlie discharged vs of the whole, but gaue vs the blessing of God promised to Abraham. And to this ende I brought the testimonies of saint Austen, Chrysostome, and others, fullie confirming that I said: to which you replie, as your custome is; *It is vaine and senselesse to thinke that the Apostle here speaketh of two severall kinds of curses.* Indede it is vaine and fruitlesse to reason with him, that preferreth his ignorant imagination, before the iudgements of all the learned, and auncient fathers in Christs church; but Sir, your follies will sticke fast by you, when their expositions shall passe with all wise men for cyrrant and god.

You quarrell as your manner is, with those parts of the curse, which I say Christ indured. For where I proposed a SHAMEFUL, VVRONGFUL & PAINFUL death to be that part

John. 1.

Page: 35:

“ is vaine and senselesse to thinke that the Apostle here speaketh of two severall kinds of curses. Indede it is vaine and fruitlesse to reason with him, that preferreth his ignorant imagination, before the iudgements of all the learned, and auncient fathers in Christs church; but Sir, your follies will sticke fast by you, when their expositions shall passe with all wise men for cyrrant and god.

part

part of the curse, which Christ suffered for vs; you skirre at euerie one of these; And of the first you say: ^b Will any man of common reason affirme that (to be openly hanged on a tree) was all the curse that Christ bore for vs? Nothing but the shame of the world, because it was an ignominious death? Whether you account saint Austen, and saint Chrysostome, men of common reason I know not; The Church this 1200. yeeres hath taken them for reuerend and learned fathers. You adde, It is more then absurd so to say. Judge thou (Christian reader) whether this Prater be well in his wits, that in his frenzie thus reprocheth, not onelie the fathers of Christs church, but euen the Prophets and Apostles themselues, as men moze then absurd, and not of common reason. Moses from Gods mouth threatheth such as transgresse the lawe, that God will send them^h trouble and shame, and will make them aⁱ wonder, a prouerbe, and a common talke among all people. Esay foreshewing Christs sufferings, reckoneth this for one of the least: ^k He was despised, reiected & numbred among sinners; we did iudge him plagued and smitten of God, and turned our faces from him. Dauid in the person of Christ, complaining of the wrongs receiued at the time of his passion; putteth this as the first and the chiefest, ^l I am (as) a worme and not a man; a shame of men, and the contempt of the people. All they that see mee haue mee in derision; they make a mowe, and nod the heade, saying, he trusted in God, let him deliuer him, let him saue him. They gape vpon mee with their mouthes. Saint Paule himselfe vgeth as much the shame, as the paine of the crosse; ^m Looke to Iesus the authour and finisher of your faith, who for the ioy set before him endured the crosse and despised the SHAME. He endured such contradiction of sinners least you should faint in your mindes. How often doth God threaten shame and confusion of face to those that fall from him? How earnestly doth Dauid euery where pray against it? Howe truly doth Daniel make this confession to god: ⁿ O Lord to vs belongeth OPEN SHAME because

^b Pag. 38.

^h Deut. 28. vers. 20.

ⁱ & ver. 37. ^k Esay. 53.

^l Psal. 22.

^m Heb. 12.

ⁿ Daniel. 9.

we haue sinned against thee; the CURSE is powred vpon vs written in the law of *Moses*; because of our sinnes, Ierusalem and thy people are a REPROCH to all about vs. If the scriptures were not cleare, that shame and reproch is a chiefe part of Gods curse against sinne, howe manie wise men and good men chose death before shame: What generous nature doth not more decline slandering then wounding? In common reason to which you appeale, howe can it bee lesse wrong or grieffe, to whippe the soule with reproches, then the bodie with scourges: Wertly our Saviour who best knoweth the waight of both, giueth like reward to both: ° Blessed are you when men reuile you, and speake all maner of euill against you for my sake, falselie; reioice and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen.

• Matt. 5.

As you shuffle with the shame, which our Saviour suffered on the Crosse, so you doe with his death; affirming that

2 Pag 45. " Death may in no sort heere be called a curse, because death
 " to the godlie is no curse properlie, nor punishment of sinne,
 9 Pag 44. " but a benefite and aduantage. You are too yoong a Doctor
 Vide pag. 92 to controll Saint Austen, whose wordes I haue alledged in the Treatise at large. His resolution is, that when Paule saith, Christ was made a curse for vs, he meant Christ died for vs. *Idem est mortuus quod maledictus, quoniam mors ipsa ex maledicto est.* It is all one to saie, Christ died for vs, and hee was accursed for vs; because death came from the curse. This you denie; for that the godlie after death goe to heauen, which is rather a benefite then a curse to them. God Sir, it is no benefite of death it selfe, but Christes blessing after death, that departing this life, wee goe to heauen. Did you encourage men to die, since of force for sinne dwelling in their bodies they must die; it were well said, that death is rest from their labours, and an entrance into blisse, for so Christ hath provided for his, when they goe hence: but if you will reason what death is in it selfe, you must resolue it to be a part of Gods curse inflicted on Adam.

Adam

Adam for sinne, and from him naturallie deriued to all his posterity; from which though our soules be exempted, and our bodies shall be restored, yet it remaineth to this day a part of Adams punishment, which can not be avoided, though it must not be feared, because Christ hath overthrowne the force and feare therof with his death. By one man (saith Paul meaning Adam) sinne entred into the world, and by sin death.

ⁱ Rom 5.

I hope it entered not as a blessing; God doth not vse to blesse sinne: but it entered as a part of the wages of sinne, or curse for sinne, and so it doth and shall continue, to the ende. The last enemy that shall be destroyed (saith Paul) is death; when this mortall hath put on immortalie, then is death swallowed vp in victorie; till then the sting of death is sinne. If the death of the body be an enemy and must be destroyed by Christs second coming, then is it no blessing; for those shall increase, when hee appeareth in glorie.

ⁱ 1. Cor. 15.

If Christ be in you (saith Paul) the spirit is life for righteousness sake, the body is deade because of sinne. If sinne be the cause of death yet seizing on our bodies, it can be no blessing, that riseth from so badde a cause; neither could the resurrection of our bodies, which Christ hath promised, and we expect at the last day, be so great a joy as it is; if the corruption of our bodies in the meane time were a blessing. Gods blessings be not contrarie one to the other. S. Austen learnedlie resolued this question in this sort.

ⁱ Rom. 8.

Boni bene moriuntur, quamuis mors sit malum. The godlie die well, though death be euill. * *Mors hominis ex pœna peccati est, quia ex peccato factum est ut moriatur.* The death of mans body cometh from the punishment of sinne, because sinne brought it to passe, that man dieth. This conclusion in exact wordes Prosper collecteth out of saint Austen. *Mors etiam prorumpœna peccati est.* The corporall death euen of the godlie is the punishment of sinne. This collection to be true, S. Austen himselfe confirmeth. *Si vero quem mouet, cur vel ipsam patiantur, si & ipsa pœna peccati est, quorum per gratiam reatus aboletur, cum ista questio in alio nostro opere, quod inscriptum est de Baptismo*

ⁱ August. de ciuitate dei. lib. 13. cap. 5. August. contra Faustum. lib. 14. cap. 3.

ⁱ Prosper in sentent. ex August. 148.

ⁱ August. de ciuitate dei lib. 13. cap. 4.

ultimo parvulorum tractata ac soluta est. If it moue any man, why they, whose sinne is abolished by grace, doe yet suffer the death of the bodie, if that death bee a punishment of sinne, that Question I haue handled and resolved in another worke of mine, intituled of the baptisme of infants. The effect of his resolution here is this. * *Per ineffabilem dei misericordiam & ipsa pœna vitiorum transit in arma virtutis, & fit meritũ iusti, etiam supplicium peccatoris, NON QVIA MORS BONVM ALIQVOD FACTA EST, QVAE ANTEA MALVM FVIT, sed tantam deus fidei præstitit gratiam, vt mors instrumentum fieret, per quod transiretur in vitam.* By the vnspokeable mercie of God, the verie wages of vice becommeth an instrument of vertue, and the punishment of a sinner, is made the merite of the righteous: not that death, VVHICH BEFORE WAS EVILL, IS NOW BECOME ANIE GOOD THING, but God hath shewed so great fauour to our faith, that death is the waie, or meane by which wee shall passie to life. And so concludeth, that

* Ibidem.

† Ibidem cap. 5 *Pie fideliterque tolerando auget meritum patientie, non auferit vocabulum pœne;* By induring (the death of the bodie) religiouslie and faithfullie the merite of patience is increased, but the name of the punishment is not altered. And if death were notwe no part of the punishment of our sinnes, but a gaine to the godlie as you woulde haue it, by what meanes I praye you came it so to bee? Not by the resurrection of Christ conquering death, and changing the nature of it? Then till Christ was risen, death was a punishment to the faithfull themselves; and consequentlie when Christ died for our sinnes, hee tooke vpon him a part of our curse, which after he turned, as you saie, into a blessing. ² *Primis parens propter transgressionem mortis pœnam intulit, verum superueniens Christus hæc omnia abstulit. Neque enim mors, ultra mors est, sed nomen tantum habet mortis.* Our first parent by his transgression brought in the punishment of death; But Christ, coming after tooke all away. For death is no longer death, but hath onelie the name of death, ² *Ipsam mor-*

‡ Chrysost. in gen. Homil. 29.

§ August. de ciuitate dei. lib. 10. cap. 24.

tem, quatinus esset poena peccati, pro nobis tamen sine peccato Christus per soluit. Death it selfe, (saith Aulten) though it were the punishment of sinne, yet Christ that was without sinne vnder-tooke it for our sakes. And so for ante thing you haue yet said, you shall euer be able to say, Saint Austens assertion; which I cited befoze, standeth good; that because the death of the bodie was a part of the curse inflicted vpon Adams sinne, Christ vndertaking that part of the curse for vs, that is, dying in his bodie, loosed vs from the whole curse of the lawe.

Against Chrylostomes iudgement, that not onelie death, but the very kind of death which Christ died, was accursed by the very words of the lawe, saying, accursed is hee that hangeth on a tree; you replie: ^b *Not euery one that is hanged is cur- sed: for manie innocents and martyrs are hanged, who are most blessed; but euerie one that is iustlie hanged is accursed; and so, was Christ here ccondemned by the iust sentence of the lawe to, paie his debts, for whome hee had willinglie and aduisedlie vnder- taken. And so indeede he bare the true curse of the lawe.* Chry- lostoms iudgement is as I reported it. ^d *Cruce signum erat mortis maledicta, mortis omnium diffamatissima. Hoc enim solu mortis genus maledictioni erat obnoxium.* The croffe was a signe of a cursed death, of a death most infamous. This onelie kinde of death was subiected to the curse. And againe. ^c *Non quauis mors isti similis est, ista namq; omnium videbatur esse probrossi- ma, ista plena dedecore, ista maledicta. Propterea Iudai sat agebant eum ista morte interimere, vt sinemo abstineret ab eo quod esset occisus, abstineret tamen vel ideo, quod hoc pacto esset occisus.* Not euerie death was like to this. This seemed most reproch- full, most shamefull and accursed. Therefore the Iewes laboured to put him to this kind of death, that if no man would refuse him because he was killed, at least yet they should forsake him, for that he died this vile kinde of death. The kinde of death which Christ submitted himself vnto was a shameful, & a cursed kind of death; as for the cause of Christs death, Chrylostom was far

^b Pag. 38.

^c Pag. 39.

^d Chrylost. in demonstrat. quod Christus fit deus. tom. 5. ^e Idem in epist. ad philip. scr. 7.

from

from thinking Christ was iustlie hanged; he saith Christ thus honoured his father, *Non coactus, nec inuitus, sed & hoc ex sua ipsius virtute*; not constrained, nor vnwilling, but of his own vertue or humilitie. And the Apostle warranteth Chrysostoms speech, for he saith: *Christ humbled himselfe, and was obedient to the death, even to the death of the crosse.* But what warranteth

¹ *Ibidem.*

² Phil. 2.

³ Pag. 39.

⁴ 1. Pet. 3.

⁵ Pag. 39

⁶ Pag. 42.

⁷ *Ibidem.*

“ your speech that ^h Christ was hanged on the tree by the iust sentence of the lawe? I had thought he had suffered the ⁱ iust for the vniust; and hauing no sinne had bene willinglie, and by no sentence of the law, hanged on a tree. ^k Is it wrong (you aske) for the law to lay the penaltie on the suretie, when the debtor cannot discharge it? But if it be meere and true iustice, and no wrong, then was Christ by the iust sentence of the lawe hanged on the tree, and so he bare indeed the true curse of the law. ^l For though ^m God alwayes loued and imbraced Christ in regard of his owne innocent person, yet in another regard of our person, which he sustained, we may say God HATED him, God CURSED him. ⁿ Tea he tooke our person on him, and so became by our sins, SINFVLL, DEFILED, HATEFVL, & ACCVRS ED. Is this the holines of your cause you haue in hand, Sir refuter, with a simple similitude against the scriptures, against the faith, against the fathers, against the consciences of gods people, openly to pronounce the eternall and everlasting sonne of God SINFVL, DEFILED, HATEFVL, & accursed of his father; for that he tooke vpon him the punishment of our sinnes? Your similitude had need be sound, that shall beare the waight of these wordes; if you falle, can you tell howe deeply you come within the iust sentence of gods law, for opening your irreligious mouth against God, and his sonne? but the reof anon.

In the meane while, because with scornning Chrysostom, you make way to your unholy conceit, that Christ being truly accursed in soule for the guilt of mans sinne ⁿ was iustlie hanged

⁸ Pag. 35

“ by the sentence of the lawe, and say it is VAIN E and SENCE-
 “ LESSE to thinke the Apostle speaketh there, of two kinds of cur-
 “ ses (as Chrysostom asseureth) but rather that hanging on a tree

⁹ Pag. 40

for the clearing of certain obiections. 273

is set downe as a part for the whole execution of Gods iust curſe, and argueth the whole to be on Chriſt, let vs ſee whether you, or Chryſoſtom, bee deceiued. ¶ As many as are of the workes of Gods lawe, are vnder the curſe, (ſaith Paul;) for it is written, Curſed is euery man that continueth not in all things which are written in the booke of the lawe, to do them. We ſhall agree I hope that this is Gods curſe, both temporall and eternall, laſt on the bodies and ſoules of ſinners, for tranſgreſſing anie part of Gods commandementes, propoſed in his lawe; and to this all that haue ſinned are ſubjected, becauſe it is the GENERALL curſe, EXECVTED by God himſelf vpon ALL ſinne committed, either in deede, word, or thought. ¶ From this curſe (ſaith Paul) Chriſt hath redeemed vs, being made a curſe for vs, as it is written, Curſed is euerie one, that hangeth on a tree. If this be all one with the other, then euerie man that tranſgreſſed Gods law in thought, word, or deede, was by the ſentence of the lawe to bee hanged on a tree. Shewe that ſentence in the lawe, and Chryſoſtom ſhall yeelde vnto you; if you cannot, then hāging on a tree is no neceſſarie part of the generall curſe of God vpon all ſinners, and conſequentlie being no part of it, it is not all one with it, neither can it argue the whole to haue been in Chriſt. [*How ſtandeth the Apoſtles reaſon then that Chriſt was made a curſe?*] where in ſinne there are two things, the committing of it, and the reuenging of it by God or man in this life or the next; and magiſtrates had vnder Moſes, as they haue vnder Chriſt, power giuen them from aboue as Gods miniſters to take vengeance (in this life) on him that doth euill; the Apoſtle knowing that Chriſt, though he committed no ſinne, was yet content to beare the puniſhment due to ſinne in his bodie on the tree; and by his ſmart to abolith our fault; citeth a place out of Moſes, where the Iudiciall and corporall puniſhment of a man by death is not onelie called a curſe, but counted a ſatiſfaction for ſinne, which being ſuffered the law had ended his forme vpon the ſufferer. And ſo concludeth that Chriſt

receauing a Iudiciall, and corporall punishment of death for our sinne, not onlie therein suffered the curse, but satisfied the fojce of the law, & by that curse of his suffering redeemed vs from the curse of our transgressing. The place cited out of Moses is this; ^{Deuser. 21} if a man haue committed an offence worthy of death, and is (by the lawe) to die, and thou hang him on a tree: his body shall not remaine all night on the tree, but thou shalt bury him the same day; for the curse of God is (alreadie laid & executed) on him that is hanged. This most apparantly was a publike punishment executed by the magistrate vpon the body of the offender; and because by his open and shamefull death, which Moses rightlie calleth the curse of God, hee had satisfied the sentence of the Iudiciall lawe, God commandeth no farther reppoch to be offered his bodie, in suffering it to hang in all mens eies any longer, but to bee buried the same daie; for that by his death the curse of God ceased. The difference betwene these two curses is soone perceiued. Euerie sinne receaued the first curse, whereof Paul spake before; selue crimes receaued the iudgement of this seconde kinde of curse which was to bee hanged. The first was inflicted by God himselfe: the second was executed by the magistrate. The first touched bodie and soule, in this life and the next; the second ended with the death of the bodie. The first was committing of sinne, the seconde was suffering for sinne. And therefore Chrysostomes exposition is verie true, when hee saith; ^{Chrysoft. in ca. 3. ad Galat.} The people were obnoxious to another curse, which was this; Cursed is euerie one, that continueth not in that which is written in the booke of the lawe; for there was not one of them that had fulfilled the whole Lawe; but Christ in steede of that, tooke vpon him another curse, which said, cursed is euerie one that hangeth on the tree. He that should take away the first curse, must not bee subiect to the same, but vndertake another in place thereof, and by that dissolue the first. As if one being adiudged to die (for some crime) another, no way guilty of the same, but willing to die for him, should deliuer him from the punishment.

punishment: So did Christ; not being subiect to the curse of trāf-
gression, in steede thereof he tooke an other curse, and dissolued
the curse that laie on them.

[Before a man can be accursed by his death, hee must, you
saie, be iustlie hanged; for manie *Innocents and martyrs are*,
hanged who are most blessed.] Innocentes and martyrs, hee
their soules neuer so blessed, maie beare in their bodies a
shamefull death, as Christ did in his; and that is a kinde
of cozpozall curse, though by men vniustlie inflicted, e-
uen as death in the godlie is a remnant of Gods curse vpon
sinne, though their soules bee blessed before and after
death. Yea the woorde *KALAL* whence the Hebrewes de-
riue that which with them signifieth a curse, noteth also to
make vilde and contemptible, as if shame, reproch, and
contempt were the greatestt outwarde curse, that coulde
befall anie man in this life. The cause why wee suffer it,
shall make it iust or vniust; but wee must call things by
those names, which *G D D* first allotted them. Powe
death, shame, wzong, reproch, and such like, God orday-
ned at first to bee punishmentes of sinne, and so partes of
the curse due to sinne. If wee suffer at mens handes for
piety, that which God appointed to be the wages of iniquity,
so wee bee patient and willing to abide the triall, which is
righteous with God, though iniurious from men, the name
is not altered, but the reward increased. Yea God it is, that
causeth iudgement to beginne at his own house oftentimes,
by the handes of persecutozs; hee doth vs right, when men
doe vs wzong; and dealeth not with vs according to our
sinnes in the greatestt wzongs that can be done vs. Therfore
martyrs and innocents may do well to remember, that God
hath cause enough, though man haue none; and so submit
themselues as worthe of woyle from Gods handes. But
none of these things may be saide of our Sausour, who a-
lone among all the children of men wanted sinne, and suf-
fered wzong; and therefore his punishmentes with God were

just, not by his deseruing, but by his desiring to suffer for man-
 How then commeth it to passe, that martyrs, which are sin-
 ners before God, are vniustly hanged, because they deserue
 no such thing at mens handes; and Christ who was most in-
 nocent before men, and most righteous before God, you will
 needs haue to be iustly hanged:

“ [The suerty (you say) by his suertiship is a debtor to the creditor
 and to the law; and so Christ, though most innocent in himself,
 yet was hee iustly hanged, as our saretie, by the iust sen-
 tence of the law.] You mistake, Sir Confater, as well the
 sentence of the lawe, as the suertiship of Christ. For though
 mans lawe permit, which is the rule of charitie, that men
 should beare each others burdens, and vnder take one for an
 other in money matters, and such like things which God lea-
 ueth in each mans will and power; yet tell me I praye, what
 lawe, Gods or mans, permitteth a murderer or like offen-
 der to be spared, and an other, that is willing, to be hanged
 in his steede? I thinke mans lawe will allow you no such su-
 ertiship, I am sure Gods lawe will not. “ As I liue, saith the
 Lord, the soule that sinneth, that soule shall die. The wickednes
 of the wicked shall be vpon himselfe. Hee shall haue then no
 suerties to die for him, much lesse shall his suertie be comp-
 led to die by the sentence of the law. Their monie men may
 giue awaie; but their liues they may not, till God call for
 them; and if not their liues, much lesse their soules by ante
 sentence of the law. The sonne of God did not by LAWV, but
 by LOVE interpose himselfe to beare our sinnes; * So God
 loued the worlde, that hee gaue his onely begotten sonne, that
 whosoever beleeueth in him should not perish, but haue euerla-
 sting life. Yea y the sonne of God loued vs, and gaue himselfe
 for vs, not by anie obligation to the lawe, for hee was aboue
 the lawe, and could not be bound by the lawe; and we were
 condemned by the sentence of the law, and not put to finde
 suerties. The eternall wisdome and counsell of God shew
 out of his inestimable loue towards vs, without the lawe,

and

“ Ezech. 18

* Iohn 3.

† Galat. 2

and before the law decreed, as to create vs, so to redēme vs, by Christ his sonne. And the sonne not as debtour to anie, nor for anie, but of his good will and fauour toward vs, offered himselfe to suffer for vs what soeuer the iustice of his father would impose. Wherein he became not a Suertie bound to the law; but a Mediatour to God, and a Redeemer of man. Suerties that stand bounde and must paie the debt, may not looke to be Mediators; and he that redeemeth a prisoner from the enemy is not bound, but content so to doe. And that the death of Christ should be paid as a debt to the lawe whereto Christ was bounde, is to mee a strange position. I take Christes sufferings all this while for a voluntarie oblation to God, and not for a due obligation to the lawe, and himselfe to be a mediatour, not a debtour; his death I reckned to bee a richer offer, then man coulde owe, and a greater price then the lawe could exact. And therefore the newe testament of mercie, grace, and glorie was made by his blood, which are other manner of purchases, then the due payment of mans debt. How coulde that bee due vnto the lawe, which ouerthrow the lawe? Sinners, such as we are, were to die by the lawe; but that the sonne of God should die for vs, what lawe did or coulde require that at his handes? you shall doe well therefore to leaue these dangerous discourses, and learne to saie with the scripture and fathers, that loue, not lawe; desire, not debt; mercy, not necessity brought the fontie of God from his throne in heauen, to his crosse on earth.

[Such was the sentence of the lawe, you will saie, that without death he could not redēme vs.] Paie such was his loue, you should saie, that enen with his death hee would redēme vs. ² *Cum posset nobis etiam non moriendo succurrere, subuenire tamen moriendo hominibus voluit: quia nos videlicet minus amasset nisi & vulnera nostra susciperet, nec vim suā dilectionis nobis ostenderet, nisi hoc quod a nobis tolleret, ad tempus ipse sustineret. Passibiles quippe mortalesque nos reperit, & qui nos existere fecit ex nihilo, reuocare etiam sine sua morte potuit*

² Greg. moral. lib. 20. cap. 16

à passionē . Sed ut quanta esset virtus Compassionis ostenderet , fieri pro nobis dignatus est , quod esse nos voluit , ut in semetipso temporaliter mortem suscipere , quam à nobis in perpetuum fugaret . Christ when he might haue succoured vs without dying , woulde rather helpe man by dying (saeth Gregorie :) because he had loued vs lesse , if he had not taken to himselfe our woundes , neither had hee shewed vs the strength of his loue , vnlesse hee had for a tyme sustayned that , from which he deliuered vs . Hee founde vs miserable and mortall ; yet hee that made vs of nothing might haue recalled vs from our miserie without his owne death . But that hee might declare howe greate the vertue of Compassion is , hee vouchsafed to bee that , which hee appointed vs to bee , that receauing a temporall death in himselfe , hee might chase it from vs foreuer . ^a Those (saeth Austen) that aske , did GOD so want meanes to deliuer men from the miserie of this mortalitie , that hee woulde haue his onelie begotten sonne to bee made a mortall man , and to suffer death ; It is not enough so to refute that wee shewe this waie to be good and agreeable to the diuine excellencie , whereby God vouchsafed to deliuer vs by the Mediatour of God and man Christ Iesus , *verum etiam ut ostendamus NON ALIUM MODVM POSSIBILEM DEO DEVISSE , cuius potestati cuncta equaliter subiacent , sed sananda nostra miseria conuenientiorum alium modum non fuisse , nec esse oportuisse ;* but also that wee shewe God WANTED NOT OTHER MEANES , to whose power all thinges are subiect , but that neither there was , nor coule bee a more conuenient way to heale our misery . For what was so needefull to raise vp our hope , and to free mens mindes from despairing immortalitie , being alreadye deiected by the condition of their mortalitie ; as to make euident shewe vnto vs , how much God esteemed vs , and how much hee loued vs ? whereof what plainer or perfiter prooffe could be made , then that the sonne of God , remaining that he was , would take from vs & for vs that which he was not , and vouchsafe to be amongst

^a August. de
Trinitate lib.
13. cap. 10

vs : and first without anie deserte of his to beare our miseries , and vpon vs, then beleeuing how greatly God loued vs, and hoping where afore wee despaired, to bestowe without all merit of ours, yea when wee deserued euill at his handes, the giftes of his grace, with bounty no way prouoked by vs. And so Ambrose.

^b By one mans death the world was redeemed, Christ might, if hee woulde, haue refrained from death ; but hee neither refused death as vnprofitable, neither could he haue saued vs any better waie then by dying. So that no legall necessitie, much lesse Iudiciall seueritie , brought Christ to his Crosse, but to teach vs obedience to God by his example, to demonstrato his loue to vs by refusing nothing for our sakes, and to declare his owne power, whose weakenesse was stronger then all his and our enemies , and to strengthen our patience, and giue vs comfort in all the troubles of this life , he chose the paynfull and shamefull death of the Crosse, and there shewed so perfecte a patterne of obedience , innocencie , patience , that the Angels themselues did admire it.

^b Ambros. de
sede resurrect.

So farre you make Christ suertie for vs that in taking
^c our person on him, hee became by our sinne sinnesfull ; defiled ,
hatefull and accursed. Similitudes, if you sucke nothing from
them but that which is agreeable to the truth, in teaching may
be tolerated; in concluding they will halt. That Christ is ^d a su-
erty, we find it once mentioned in the scriptures; but not to the
law to pay our debtes, but ^d of a better testament, euen of the
new couenant of grace established in his blood, wherof he is
also the mediator & priest. Now he died for vs, not as a suertie
bound to the law, but as a mediator to God for vs, he interpo-
sed himself of his own accord, to yeeld such recompence vnto
his father, as hee should be pleased to accept for vs. If you
will needs vse similitudes, vse rather the similitude of a medi-
ator, and Redeemer, which the scriptures often call him, then
of a suertie; therby to bind him not onely to suffer the paines
of hell in our steede, but also to defile him with our sinnes
and

^c Pag. 42

^d Hebre. 7.

and make him hatefull to God by our curse. No similitudes
 6^c can prooue Christ in taking our person on him to be SINNE-
 7^c FULL, DEFILED, HATEFUL, and ACCURSED; and there-
 fore your uncleane mouth, and uncleaner heart, that thus
 speake, and thinke of the sonne of God, are worther of ca-
 stigation, then of resutation. I know you will pretend the
 Apostles wordes, ^c God made him sinne for vs that knewe no
 sinne; but howsoever some late wryters turne sinne into
 sinner, and thence giue cause of these and the like speeches,
 the church of God from the beginning hath warlike declined
 such irreuerent wordes, and yet plainelie confesse the truth.
 That God MADE HIM SINNE, hath two god and approu-
 ued senses; one that he made him a sacrifice for sinne, and so
 the clenfer of sinne, and no waie defiled by our sinne: the o-
 ther, that he punished our sinnes in him, and vsed him as hee
 doth sinners. ^f They that know (saith Austen) the scriptures of
 the olde testament, acknowledge this that I saie. Not once, but
 often and verie often it is found; Sacrifices for sinnes, are called
 sinnes. Then him that knewe no sinne God made sinne for vs,
 that is a sacrifice for sinne. Christ was made sinne in that he was
 offered to abolish sinne. And againe, ^g *peccatum vocabatur*
in lege sacrificium pro peccato, assidue lex hoc commemorat, non
semel, non iterum, sed sapissime. Tale peccatum erat Christus.
Peccatum non habebat, & peccatum erat; peccatum erat, quia
sacrificium pro peccato. The sacrifice for sinne is in the lawe cal-
 led sinne. The lawe still so vseth the word, not once, nor twice,
 but verie often. Such a sinne was Christ, he had no sinne, and
 yet he was sinne. He was sinne, because he was the sacrifice for
 sinne. So Ambrose. ^h Because Christ was offered for sinne,
 worthilie is he said to be made sinne, because in the lawe the sa-
 crifice that is offered for sinne is called sinne. This waie if you
 consider S. Pauls wordes, they conclude directlie against your
 irreligious supposition. For if Christ when hee toke vs into
 his bodie, did cleanse our sinnes by the offering of himselfe;
 hee became not defiled by our sinnes. Hee did not cleanse vs
 that

^a 2. Cor. 5

^f Aug. de ver-
 bis do. secund.
 Iohan. serm. 48

^g Idem de ver-
 bis Apostoli.
 serm. 7.

^h Ambrosius in 2.
 Corinth. ca. 5

that was defiled by vs. Whosoever you take those wordes;
 i Such an high priest it became vs to haue (saith the Apostle) as
 was holy, harmlesse, V N D E F I L E D, S E P A R A T E from sinners. ^{i Heb. 7.}
 If the Priest were defiled, the sacrifice could not be accepted.
 If Christ were separate from sinners, then was hee not pol-
 luted by sinners. He took our sinnes vnto him, not to drawe
 anie pollution from them, but to make h^y purgation of them.
 He that coulde cleanse vs from our finnes, howe much more
 coulde hee keepe himselfe from being defiled with our
 finnes? If we follow the other sense of S. Pauls wordes, that
 Christ was made sinne for vs, that is the punishment of
 our sinne, wee must take heede that wee bring him not with-
 in the guiltinesse of our finnes, as we doe within the punish-
 ment of our finnes. ^k *Suscepit Christus sine reatu supplicium*
nostrum, ut inde solueret reatum nostrum, & finiret etiam sup-
plicium nostrum. Christ vnderooke (saith Austen) our pu-
 nishment without our guilt, that so hee might remit our guilt,
 and ende our paine. ^l Christ (saith Cyprian) endured by *Mo-*
ses and his owne Apostle to bee called a curse, and sinne, *pro si-*
militudine p^anae, non culpa, for the likenesse of the paine, not of
 the fault. ^m *Dilexit (nos Christus) dulciter, sapienter, fortiter.*
Dulce nempe dixerim, quod carnem induit; cautum, quod culpam
cauit; forte, quod mortem sustinuit. Christ (saith Bernard) loued
 vs sweetelic, wiselic, stronglic. Sweetelic in that he tooke our
 flesh; wiselic, in that hee shunned our guiltinesse; stronglic, in
 that he suffered death for vs. If Christ took the paine, but not
 the guilt of our finnes, howe came hee to bee defiled by our
 finnes? It must needes be either in soining and vnicing him-
 selfe vnto vs, or in answering and suffering for vs. Our v-
 nion with Christ doth sanctifie vs, it defileth not him. We
 are as neere soyned to Christ nowe raigning in heauen,
 as wee were to Christ suffering on the Crosse. As we
 died with him then in the bodie of his flesh, ⁿ so wee
 sitte together with him in heauenlic thinges. But our vni-
 on and communion nowe, though wee bee sinfull and

^k August. cont.
 Faustum. lib. 14
 cap. 4

^l Cyprian de
 passione Chri-
 sti.

^m Bernard in
 cantic. term. 30

ⁿ Ephes. 21

mortall, doth no waie defile him, no more did it then,
 when hee suffered for vs. If you saie our sinnes were
 imputed vnto him; when he was crucified for them; that
 increaseth the perfection of his loue, it argueth not ante
 pollution of his soule. To die for wicked men, did not
 touche him with ante taint of our sinnes, but °GOD
 (saith the Apostle) setteth out his loue towards vs in this,
 that whiles wee were yet sinners Christ died for vs. The
 iust therefore did die for the vnjust, and was no partner of
 our iniustice; hee that saued vs from our sinnes, did
 not defile himselfe with them. And where all this is
 grounded vpon a simple similitude, that a suertie by
 vndertaking for a debtour, maketh the debt his owne,
 though hee neuer borrowed the money; it is easilie and
 trulie answered, that Christ did not vndertake wee
 shoulde not sinne, no; that wee shoulde paie the debt which
 wee did owe; but when wee had sinned, and were able no
 waie to aunswere the iustice of GOD, but by our euer-
 lasting destruction of bodie and soule; it pleased the sonne
 of God to interpose himselfe, and no waie bound to vs,
 or for vs, to intreate his father ^f that in his owne per-
 son hee might make recompence for our sinnes; and so
 as a Mediatour allowed of God, hee tooke our nature;
 and freelie, not indebted; willingly, not constrained;
 P. Hee gaue himselfe for vs a sacrifice of a sweete saour vn-
 to God. As if the whole people of anie lande rebelling
 against their King, and being subdued and readie to be
 destroyed, the Kinges sonne (loath to see his fathers king-
 dome dispeopled, and so manie wretched men, women,
 and children put to fire and sword) shoulde impoxtune his
 father at his request to bee gracious vnto them, and to
 late on him, though hee bee his onelie sonne, what
 chastisement the father in his wisdom and iustice shall
 thinke fitte for the repressing of the like outrage hereaf-
 ter: maie ante of those subiectes without extreme ingra-
 titude

°Rom. 5.

Ephes. 5.

titude, and intolerable contumelie reproch the Kings sonne, when hee suffereth for their sakes, that hee is guiltie of their treason, and both DEFILED with it, and HATEFULL for it? I will not applie, because it will presse you too farre; but as mine owne perswasion is, that no such sinfull and hatefull wordes haue, or should be vsed in the Church of God to the dishonour of his sonne; so my counsell to the sober and wise reader, is, to stop his eares, and shut his eyes against such defiled and accursed speeches.

¶ You proceede to another prooffe, and where the Apostle saith, *Christ spoiled Principalities & powers, and made a shew of them openlie, triumphing ouer them; vpon these words you inferre. ¶ These principalities are the diuels; therefore it is certaine Christ FELT THEM to bee the verie instruments that* ¶ Pag 45.
VVROUGHT THE VERIE EFFECTS of Gods wrath V P O N
HIM. This is the first place where you specifie anie effect of Gods wrath against Christs soule (for you will haue the soule of Christ properlie and immediatelie to suffer the effectes of Gods wrath;) and that you prooue learnedlie and wiselie like your selfe. The diuels haue nothing to do with the soules of men, but either to tempt them to worke in them, or to torment them. To tempt is to trie how fast y^e saints stand in the feare and loue of God. And for that cause the wisdome of god hath from the beginning suffered all his saints, his owne sonne not excepted to be tempted of satan. For Christ coulde not be tempted by the corruption of his heart as we are, but by Satans voice, or by Satans members. Of vs James saith ¶ James. 1.
 ¶ Euerie man is tempted, when he is entised and drawne away by his owne concupiscence. Concupiscence there was none in Christ. He had no law in his flesh rebelling against the lawe of his minde, as wee haue; It is in vs the rage of originall sinne from which he was free, and therefore he coulde not bee tempted but by the eare, as he was in y^e desert by satan himselfe, & by Satans members at the time of his abode on earth. In the hearts of men when y^e diuel preuaileth with temptation

Ephes. 2.

1. Pet. 2.

1. John 3.

there he worketh, leading such as consent and yield vnto him into all wickednesse, even with greedinesse: So^r he worketh in the children of disobedience, as the Apostle testifieth. This can haue no place in Christ, because^r he did no sinne, neither was there anie guile found in his mouth. * He that committeth sinne (saith saint Iohn) is of the diuell, and for this purpose appeared the Sonne of God, that hee might dissolue the workes of the diuell. Then since inward temptation by the hart Christ could haue none, and outward temptation by the mouthes & hands of the wicked is no effect of Gods wrath, but rather a triall of Gods gifts and graces bestowed on vs; It remaineth
 * that if Christ felt the diuels as the very instruments that wrought
 ** the verie effects of Gods wrath upon him, that is vpon his soule,
 ** (for that part of Christ you say must properly and immediatly
 ** feele the wrath of God) it resteth I saie by your owne wordes

¶ Christ FELT THE DIUELS TORMENTING HIS SOVLE.
 And indeede for so much as in executing the true paines of hell, and of the damned, God hath none other instruments but diuels, you cannot defend that Christ suffered the paines of hell, but you must graunt that Christ felt the diuels, as instruments executing those paines on his soule. For the bodie of man they may torment with touching, as they did Iobs; the soule they can not, but by possessing it. For they can not worke but where they are, and therefore they must possesse the soule which they torment. Is not here (Christian Reader) an wholesome clearke, and an holic cause, that concludeth Christes soule was possessed and tormented of diuels on the Crosse? And the prooofe is as ridiculous, as the position is impious. Christ^r spoiled principalities and powers, and openlie triumphed ouer them, ergo (say you) hee felt them the instruments of Gods wrath, by tormenting his soule. If your learning and Logicke serue you so well, you may procede Doctor in dotage when you will. For my part (Christian Reader) I will giue none other answer to these lewd and wicked absurdities, but that which Iacob said to Si-

Philip. 2.

meon and Leui; ^γ Into their secret my soule shall not come. ¹ **To** ^γ Gen. 49.
strengthen thee, thou maiest remember, what Peter saide of
Christ. ^z God anointed Iesus of Nazareth with the holy ghost, & ^z Acts. 10.
with power to heale all that were oppressed of the diuell; ^z God
was with him; ^o else what **Christ** said of himselfe, ^a The prince ^a Iohn. 14
of this world commeth, and hath naught in me; ^o at least what
the diuels the miselues said to Christ; ^b Iesus the sonne of God ^b Matt. 8.
VVHAT HAVE VVE TO DO VVITH THEE? Art thou come
to torment vs before the time? **And so in the Gospell of saint**
Luke, the ^c soule spirit when he saw Iesus cried out, what haue I ^c Luke 8
to doe with thee, Iesus the sonne of God most high? I beseech
thee torment me not.

[But perchance I mistake him.] would God there were
so much grace in him, as to reuoke it, or refuse it; I woulde
gladlie confesse mine errour in mistaking his wordes: but
what if he go on from bad to worse? What if he heapeth vp
reasons as he thinketh, but inuolde trifles void of sense and
reason to confirme the same? ^c This reason will proue the ^c Pag. 45
same (saith hee) taken from the lesse to the more. ^d Thus do the ^d Pag. 46.
members of Christ suffer. Therefore of necessitie Christ our head
suffered the like. Yeato the Hebrewes hee sheweth a reason which
can neuer be refuted by the witte of man. ^c Christ succoured vs ^c Pag. 47
not, but wherein hee had experience of our temptations and infir-
mities: but he succoureth vs euen in these our temptations of fee-
ling the terrors of God and the sorrowes of hell. Therefore hee
himselfe had experience of the same. ^e Adde hereunto that of ^e Pa. 48. & 49
all absurdities, this is the greatest, that meere men should suffer
more deeply and bitterly then Christ did. You haue moze words
then witte (Sir Confuter) that ppropose these childish argu-
ments for inuincible reasons. Your selfe shall see the weak-
nes of them. ^s What soeuer the members of Christ, say you, did or ^s Pag. 46.
shall suffer, of necessitie Christ our head suffered the like. Meane
you in bodie? or in soule? or in both? If in bodie, then Christ
had his eyes put out, for so had Sampson; he was swallowed by
by a whale, for so was Ionas; hee was cast into a burning
furnace,

furnace, for so were Sidrac, Mishac, and Abednego; he was stoned to death, for so were Naboth, Steuen, and others. You meane not in bodie; meane you then in soule? Inward faults of error, lust and sinne Christ neuer had. He was free from all conflicts of heart, that rise in vs from the roote of remorse of sinne; that increase with weakenesse of faith, want of grace, and quenching of Gods spirite. The terrours of minde which wee feele through conscience of our vniworthynesse, ignorance of Gods counsell, and distrust of Gods fauour hee neuer felt: his faith admitted no doubting, his loue excluded all fearing, his hope reiected all despairing. So that holue you shoulde make a falser proposition, and more repugnant to the Apostles wordes which you alledge then this which you haue made, I by no meanes can conceiue. Hee was tempted in all thinges a like except sinne. Then neither the rootes, partes, nor fruites of sinne must bee in him. But the Apostle that excepteth sinne, excepteth all sinnesall adherentes. The punishment of sinne which proceedeth from the iustice of GOD, and is no sinne, that Christ might and did beare; but in no wise those terrours and feares of conscience which proceede from sinne, and augment sinne, as doubting, distrusting, despairing, in which GOD reuengeth sinne with sinne; these muste bee farre from Christ, vnlesse wee will wrappe him within the snares of our sinnes. The feare of Gods Maiestie armed with mightie power to reuenge sinne, is profitable to keepe vs from sinne; therein Christ may communicate with vs, though not to that ende, for he could not sinne; but fearing, doubting, or distrusting that God will for our manifold sinnes cast vs from his presence, and condemne vs to hell, commeth in vs from the guiltynesse of conscience and weakenesse of faith and hope, which in Christ neither had, nor could haue anye place.

[But

for the clearing of certain obiections: 287

[But ⁱ the Apostle (you saie) sheweth a reason, which can never be refuted by the witte of man. Christ succoured vs not, but wherein he had experience of our temptations.] Are those wordes in the Apostle? No (you will saie) but collected from the Apostles wordes, where hee saith ^k In that Christ suffered being tempted he can helpe those that are tempted: Hence you conclude vpon your owne warrant, that Christ can succour vs in no temptation but whereof himselfe had first experience; and this you proclaime to be irrefutable. Such lips such lettice; such doctors such diuinitie. Your collection, Sir Rectifier, is not onelie farre different from the Apostles wordes, but euidentlie repugnant to the christian faith and truth. The Apostle giueth not here the cause why Christ is able to helpe vs in our miseries and necessities, for he is able in that he is God to do what he will; but hee sheweth that our high Priest is ^l faithfull and mercifull, that is willing and readie to helpe vs, and helpe vs in all our afflictions and troubles, for so much as in his owne person hee woulde feele our temptations and infirmittes, that he might be the better able to helpe vs in hauing more compassion on vs. And this is that the Apostle saith in the fourth chapter of this Epistle: ^m Wee haue not an high Priest, which can not be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all things (or throughlie) tempted alike except sinne. So that his sufferinges made him the more mercifull and faithfull; because he knoweth best as well our naturall infirmities, as our manifolde miseries.

This for the sense of the Apostle, notice to the trusty of your collection. CHRIST SVCCOURETH VS NOT, but wherein he hath felt the same. Meane you Christ is not able or not willing? For you saie, hee succoureth vs not. To saie hee is not able, is blasphemie; because he is God, and God I hope can succour vs in all our miseries, without suffering those things which we doe. To say he will not (though the Apostles word be δύναται, hee is able) is as false in

ⁱ Pag. 47.

^k Heb. 2.

^l Heb. 2. ver. 17

^m Heb. 4.

it selfe, and as inurious to Christ. For then Christ will neuer helpe anie man that is sicke, because hee neuer felt anie disease of bodie, noz anie whose bones are broken, because his were whole: noz anie Martyr that burneth in fire, because hee diyd on the crosse; the blinde, deafe, dumbe, lame, and a thousand sady like Christ will neuer heare, noz helpe, because he suffered not the same. [You speake of ghostlie temptations, you will saie, not of bodily afflictions.] Saint Paule speaketh of both, and Christ had experience of both; and therefore if your collection be false and absurde in the one, it will neuer bee sound and assured in the other. But come to your owne pitch. Will Christ deliuer no man from blindnesse and hardnesse of heart, because hee neuer endured either? Will he not aide vs to repressse the lusts of our flesh, because he neuer was tempted with the m? Will he not helpe our vnbeltefe, because his faith was alwayes strong? Will he not saue anie from desperation, because he neuer despaired? Will hee not cure frenzie, and surte, because hee was neuer out of his wittes? Pet. ther did hee, noz will hee cast out Devils, because himselfe was not possessed? Is this the reason that cannot bee related by mans witte which euerie childe maie presentlie controlle? In deede you speake truer then you are ware of, if your deuille maie bee receiued. For you doe not sicke to defile Christ with our sinnes, to astonish and amaze all the partes and powers of his minde, to torment him with Devils, and in the ende to adiudge him to the death of the soule, which hath in it blindnesse and hardnesse of heart, infidelitie, and what not? Yea it is with you: ^{of all absurdities the greatest, that meeremen, although they bee reprobates, shoulde suffer more deeply then Christ did,} For Gods iustice, saie you, shoulde bee as seuerer on Christ, as on anie reprobate, and yet they suffer reprobation, desperation, damnation.

From hence you go to another of your holie mysteries;
and

*P^{ag.} 48.

“ of all absurdities the greatest, that meeremen, although they bee reprobates, shoulde suffer more deeply then Christ did,

*P^{ag.} 33

“ For Gods iustice, saie you, shoulde bee as seuerer on Christ, as on anie reprobate, and yet they suffer reprobation, desperation, damnation.

and as if you had not done the Lord of glorie wrong enough with these irreuerent and irreligious speeches, you take from him in his passion at your pleasure, not only his vertues & graces, but euen his sense, memorie & vnderstanding, & leaue him often times when you list your selues, ^r amazed, ^r astonished, and forgetfull of himselfe for feare, yea so distempered, ^r disturbed, ^r distracted, ^r ouerwhelmed & ALL CONFOVND^d in his whole humanity, both in all the powers of his soule and senses of his body, that he knew not what he said or did. God grant, (Sir Refuter) you be wel in your wits, that deprive the Saviour of the world when you will, of all sense, memorie, & vnderstanding. [The euangelists, you will say, in expresse words affirme that Christ in the garden was ^r astonished & grievously perplexed.] Have you the skill, when the scriptures saie, that Christ beganne to bee astonished and perplexed, to stretch y^e beginning to the highest degree of all astonishment that maie light on the Reprobate in this life, or the damned in the next? when the holie ghost toucheth a naturall infirmity common to Christ with all the godlie in the like cases, doth your conscience serue you to make of that not onlie a general and total distemper, but an Infemall confusion of all the powers of his soule, and senses of his bodie: had you consulted S. Ierom, hee would haue taught you an other lesson. *Do-*

” 1 Pag. 11.

” 1 Pag. 13.

” Mark. 14.

” Math. 26.

” Ierom. in
Math. ca. 26

minus ut veritatem probaret assumpti hominis, verè quidem contristatus est; sed ne passio in animo eius dominaretur per propassionem capit contristari. Aliud est enim contristari, aliud incipere contristari, &c. The Lorde to shew himselfe a true man, was sorrowfull in verie deede, not that any passion ouerswaied his minde, but he began to be touched with the affection of sorrow. It is one thing to be sorrowfull, and an other to begin to be sorrowfull; his sorrow was not for any feare to suffer, since he came of purpose to suffer, and reprovèd Peter as too feareful, but for that most wretched Judas, and the weakenes of all his Apostles, and the reiection of the whole nation of the Iewes, and the miserable destruction of Ierusalem. And if hereticke doe interpret

this sorrowe of heart, not for our Sauiours affection towardes them that shoulde perish, but for a perturbation of minde, let them answere me, howe they expounde that which *Ezechiel* speaketh in the person of God, and in all these thinges thou didst make me sorrowfull. Saint *Ierome* saith, the wordes enforce no moze, then that *Christ* began to bee sorrowfull and perplexed, and if anie man stretch them farther hee giueth him the note of an hereticke; and though I re-fraine that worde because I hope you doe it of ignorance and not of malice, yet I cannot excuse you from a dangerous error, and that in foure speciall pointes. First you mistake the cause whence this feare arose; secondlie you extend it farther then in trueth you shoulde; thirdlie you continue it longer then with anie warrant you may; and fourthlie by pretence thereof you chalenge *Christes* prayers in the garden not onelie with want of good memoze, but with flat repugnance to the knowne will of God; which is euident sinne,

¶ Vide pag. 17.

¶ Pag. 80

¶ Pag. 81.

Concerning the first I am resolu'd, as in the treatise before I haue specified, that the cause of *Christes* agonie, could not proceed, but from his submission to the maiestie of God sitting in iudgement, or from his compassion on mans miserte, or from both. You will haue it proceede from *the intolerable horrors of Gods fiery wrath equall to hell; And where Cain saide, The horror of my sinne is heauier then I can beare, you doubt not but ^x Christ as touching the vehemencie of the paine, was as sharpelie touched euen as the Reprobates themselues, yea if it may be, more extraordinarilie. You that are so well acquainted with the horrors of the Reprobate for their sinnes, that you dare attribute them to Christ, can you tell what they are? Is it speculation that you speake of, or experientie; that you dare thus subiect the sonne of God to the same terrozs and horrors of conscience; which namelie Cain as you saie, and other reprobates haue felt? I praye you, Sir, in so waightie matters as mate amounte to*
heresie.

heresie and open blasphemy, plaie not with generall termes, so as neither you vnderstande your selfe, nor anie man else can conceiue your meaning. The terrozs of the wicked in this life wee can confesse, you canne perhaps liuelie describe them, but soz ought that wee learne by the scriptures they are such, as without horrible impietie you cannot ascribe vnto the Saviour of the worlde. Remorse of sinne committed, beeing and gnawing the conscience, is the first of their paines, which suffereth them night nor daie to take anie rest. Secondlie, the feare that God, whom they haue despised, hath likewise reiected them and is become their enemy, and therefore from him they looke for nothing, but the iust vengeance of their sinnes both in this life and the next, so pursueth them, that they tremble and shie when no man followeth them. Thirde the griefe to forsee themselves excluded from the fellowship of that ioie and blisse, which is prouided for the saintes of G D D, which Chrysostom saith is far more bitter then the paine of hel, doth make them sinke for sorowe. Lastlie the continuall terrour of that dreadfull iudgement which shall be pronounced, of that horrible confusion which then shall ouerwhelme them; and of those eternall and intollerable flames of fire in which they shall burne; the verie terrour I saie and horrour thereof doeth so afflicke and torment them, as if they presentlie felt it. More wordes may bee vsed, and perhaps more vehement to amplifie their paine; but these are the partes and causes of that feare and horrour, which pursueth the wicked for their haynous offences. Can anie of these, (Sir Refuter,) bee applied to Christ? Dare you but offer so much as the mention of the least of them to bee founde in the sonne of G D D: I thinke you dare not; I hope you will not. What meaneth then this matching of Christ with Cain? yea this touching of Christ deeper then anie of the Reprobate? In horrour and paine you saie, *Christ was like them who be separated in deede*; ; Pag. 77.

^a from the grace and loue of God, yet himselfe neuer separated, but
^b alwaies most intirely beloued. The hozrour and paine, which the
 Reprobate heere feeles, riseth from the remosse of their owne
 conscience, and from the distrust and feare of their owne
 hearts; which pursueth them euen in this life befoze iudge-
 ment. The execution of his terrible vengeance indæde God
 hath reserued to the next life. The greatest terroz that the A-
 postle noteth in the wicked here in this world is, ² a feareful
 expectation of iudgment and of burning fire which shall deuour
 the aduersaries. What hozroz then like the reprobate coulde
 the conscience of Christ feele, that had no remosse, distrust,
 or feare of anie such thing as they haue, but was assured and
 secured of Gods euerlasting fauour, and loue in the highest
 degree: was there paine without hozrour and feare in the
 soule of Christ? if you meane the paine that is consequent
 to our naturall affections, as to sorow and feare, you saie
 nothing to the purpose. Saint Iohn saith ^a *timor habet poenam*;
 Feare hath in it paine, and so hath sorow and feare, euen as hope hath
 ioye; ^b Reioice in hope; but this is not the paine which the
 Reprobate feele, much lesse which the damned suffer; I
 trust their paine is moze then a naturall oppressing and af-
 flicting of the heart with humane feare and sorow. And
 therefore if I conceaue anie thing, you misse the truth verie
 much, Sit Confater, when you saie that Christ was touched
 in hozrour and paine as dæpelic as the Reprobates are; and
 yet your conceite reacheth farther. For you defende that he
 suffered as much as the damned in hell, which is moze then
 the reprobates doe in earth, howsoener to thewe your lear-
 ning you make hell and heauen heere on earth. For my
 selfe (Christian Reader) whence I thinke, the astonishment
 of Christ in the garden might rise, thou hast it in the treatise
 befoze, I shall not need to repeat it againe.

In like maner you extend Christes agonie too farre; for
 there it was an agonie of minde, which did not bereane him
 neither of sense, memozte, nor vnderstanding, you haue
 byoughts

²Hebre. 10

^a 1. Iohn. 4

^b Rom. 12.

brought vs a farrell of phrases, to expresse that *all the senses*,
of his bodie, and al the powers of his soule were amazed, astonished,
distempred, disturbed, distracted, forgetfull, ouerwhelmed, and,
all confounded; and you thinke you neuer haue words enough
to expresse your follie, in dreameing of the greatest astonish-
ment that maie be, because the scripture saith, he began to
be astonished. But Sir, how proue you this you saie? as in
feares and sorowes there bee diuers degrees; so are there
likewise in astonishmētts. To be astonished is to loine feare
with admiration, which doaweth the minde so wholie to think
on some speciall thing aboue our reach, that during the time
we turne not our selues to anie other cogitation. Euen as
the eie, if it be bent intentiuely to behold anie thing, so that
present it discerneth nothing else: So saith it with \hat{y} soule, if
the wholie addia her selfe to thinke on anie matter, she is a-
mused; if it bee more then she conceaueth, or more fearefull
then she well indureth, she is amazed, or astonished; but not
of necessitie so, that she loseth either sense or memorie; one-
lie for that time she conuerteth neither to anie other object.
The present beholding of the diuine maiestie sitting in
iudgement; and of his iustice armed with infinite power
to reuenge the sinnes of men, might iustlie astonish the hu-
mane soule of Christ; seeing therewithal how mightilie God
was prouoked by the manifold and wilfull transgressions of
men; but this religious astonishment, though it might for a
season suspend all other thoughtes in our Saviour, yet is
there no neede it shoulde depriue him of vnderstanding,
sense or memorie. When Paul saith ^c worke your saluation
with feare and trembling; doth hee meane they should want
memorie or vnderstanding? When Moses receaued the lawe
from God, ^d so terrible was the sight that hee saide, I tremble
and quake. Was Moses therefore boide of sense or reason
at that present? ^e An horrible terror (saith Dauid) hath taken
mee for the vngodlie that forsake thy lawe. Was Dauid for
that it takes besides himselfe, and all confounded in bodie and

^c Philip. 2.

^d Hebre. 12.

^e Psal. 119.

soule, as you speake here of Christ? Our whole conuersation should be as Paule professeth of himselfe, when hee saith;

[1 Cor. 1

Page. 61.

I^e was among you with much trembling and feare. Should therefore Christians be alwayes besides themselves? [Christ often praied vnto his Father, you saie, and then presented himselfe before the Maiestie of God; and yet wee do not reade that euer hee was vexed, terrified, and amazed in so doing.] Sir Kefater, if your vnderstanding and memoize be not lost, I tolde you that the humane nature of Christ presented it selfe before the maiestie of God in iudgement; there to suffer man euerlastingly to perish, whome hee deereleie loued, or to vndertake in his owne person that burthen, which the iustice of God, displeas'd with our sinnes, should lay vpon him. And if you doe not thinke this a cause sufficient for the manhode of Christ to feare and tremble; yea for the time to be astonish'd at the number of our sinnes, and terrour of Gods vengeance, prouided for our eternall destruction both of bodie and soule, you be so deepe in your hellish paines, that your wits and senses are confounded. Absurdities and contrarieties are so rise with you, that you thinke other men can hardlie auoide them; but first vnderstand your owne, and then you shall be better charge others.

After you haue spent the whole strength of your small eloquence and lesse intelligence, to infer and amplifie the most

[Page. 73.

^h wonderful and piteous agonies, feares, sorrowes, wiseries, outcries, teares, astonishment, forgetfulnesse, and confusion of the powers of nature with which the sense of Gods wrath afflicted, distracted, amazed, overwhelmed, and all confounded our Saviour in his whole humanity; You suddainlie, euen in the twinkling of an eye free him from all, and set him cleare, as if all this had bene but a dreame. For vpon Christes speaking of these wordes, ⁱ Father; if it bee possible let this cuppe passe from mee; you inferre; ^k if Christ had thus praied aduisedly and with good memorie, against the knowne will of God hee had

[Match. 26.

Page. 57

sinned

sinned. And in the words present lie following without staie
 or pause betweene, yet not my will, but thine bee doone,
 you imagine that Christ, ¹ as it were comming suddainly to
 himselfe quickly controled his former words. And thus when it
 pleaseth you, you put the sonne of God into ^m a wonderfull
 and piteous confusion and forgetfulnesse of all the powers and
 partes of his bodie and soule; and least you shoulde be contain-
 ed of a manifest, and irreligious vntueth, in the veris
 nicke of the nexte worde, which Christ spake with the same
 breath, you restore him to his perfect senses, and dis-
 charge him from your hellish confusion and paynes. But
 good Sir, if it were so *unsupportable and intolerable a bur-*
den, and confusion as you dreame of, howe came our
Sauour to bee so lightlie and quicklie ridde of it, as if
there had bene no such thing? was that heauie and fierie
wrath of G D against our sinnes equall to hell so soone
quenched? or was the sonne of God no longer able to en-
dure it? ⁿ Of all absurdities (your selfe being iudge, for
it is your position) this is the greatest, that meere men should
suffer more deepe lie then Christ. When if Cain endured this
all his life long, if Saul and Iudas had no intermission
of their payne, if the damned in hell, (from whome
you fetch your patterne) doe euerlastingly suffer it, howe
commeth it to passe, that after you haue so hottie stirred
for it, you are so soone wearie of it? will you make vs
belceue, that Christes obedience and patience was tried
with a touch of this hellish paine, and so an ende? or will
you retourne it as often as please you? and if this cuppe
did so quicklie passe from our Sauour, howe did hee
then prate against the knotome will of God; which is an o-
ther of your foundations, then as, in the uttering of these
words, the cup did passe from him, by your owne confession?
In like sorte to excuse Christ from sinne, ^o in praying a-
gainst the will of his Father, you cast him into a wonderfull
confusion.

¹ Pag. 71.

^m Pag. 73.

ⁿ Pag. 48.

^o Pag. 33.

"confusion and forgetfulnesse of all the powers of his soule, and senses of his body: and in the same page, for an other advantage,

1 Pag. 59.

"you auaouch that in that praier, Christ ^P PERFECTLY KNEVV the dominion of death should not holde him. Were all the powers of his soule ouerwhelmed and all confounded, and yet did he euen in that whole confusion of sense, memorie, and vnderstanding PERFECTLY KNOW the dominion of death should not holde him? can a man haue his knowledge and memorie all confounded and ouerwhelmed, and yet retaine PERFECT KNOWLEDGE? could Christ forget his fathers will in that praier through astonishment, and in the speaking of the words remember he praied amisse, and in the nexte worde quicklite correct himselfe? Surely these be conceites answerable to your cause; and denices fit for your diuinitie; But (Sir Refuter,) let passe your dreames, and helpe vs your prooves, that Christ praied against the knowne will of his father, which you make the groundwork of this confusion: and when you haue so done, then prouue that your hellish paine was the cause of this astonishment. Spanie thinges might astonish our Sauiour for the time, besides the paines of hell; and in that astonishment, if Christ had spokē he knew not what (which I beleue not) as Peter did when he sawe his glozte in the mountaine, it had bene a defect in nature, and no contempt of Gods counsell, much lesse such an infernall confusion as you describe.

Luc. 9

1 Pag. 59

" [It is manifest (you saie) that Christ ^r in plaine words praied. ^{cc} contrarie to Gods known will:] It is more manifest that you knowe not what you saie. How could he praie against his Fathers will that praied expressely with this condition, ^r & Father IF THOU VVILT take awaie this cup from me. [That is a correction after the praier (you will saie) and no condition in the praier.] Are you so captious against Christ, that you will not supplie one Euangelist with an other? ^r Luke and ^r Mathew put a plaine condition vnto the praier of Christ; the one sayng, father if thou wilt; the other, father if

Luc. 22.

Mat. 26.

it be possible; that is to stand with thy will, and mans saluation. And though Marke omit the condition in the tenor of the praier, yet doth he fullie expresse his meaning to bee al one with the rest. For thus he saith of our Sauour, " hee ^{" Mark. 14.} fell downe on the grounde, and praied that IF IT VVERE POSSIBLE, that houre might passe from him. So that all thre Evangelistes concurre, that Christ praied not onelie with a reseruatiō of his fathers will, but annered that condition vnto his praier; and therefore in all mens eyes saue yours, hee praied not in plaine wordes contrarie to Gods knowne will. And this erroneous and contumelious position you set downe to the worlde, as the chiefest faytresse of your hellish paines, wherein you plainly wrest the scriptures from their expresse wordes. [But S. Iohn, you will saie, reporteth Christs praier to bee simple made, * Father, saue mee from this houre.] Saint Iohn speaketh of an other time and ^{" Iohn. 12} place; and his wordes import a deliberation of two partes proposed by our Sauour, with his resolution in the ende; what shall I saie? Father deliuer me from this hower; that is, Shall I saie deliuer me from this hower? but therefore came I into this hower. Father glorifie thy name. Chrysostom thus expoundeth Christs wordes: *Y NON DICO libera me ex hac hora, sed pater glorifica nomen tuum.* I SAIE NOT, deliuer me from this hower, but father glorifie thy name. And so doth Epiphanius. *Quid dicam pater? serua me ex hac hora, hoc inquit dicam? at propterea veni in hanc horam.* What shall I ^{Epiphanius lib. 2. Hæret. 69.} saie? Father saue mee from this hower? shall I saie so? but therefore came I into this hower. But what better expositō canne wee haue then Saint Paul, who plainely saith that Christ in making this praier was heard, & ^{" Hebre. 5} deliuered from that he feared. Hee praied not against the knowne will of God, whose praiers God heard and performed. And where you lie to this hellish confusion to saue Christ from sinne; by pretending to cleere him from sinne, you charge him rather with sinne. For the praier which is not made in faith

is sinne. Nowe can the heart be assured it shall receaue that it asketh at Gods hands, if it bee neither directed to aske according to the will of God, nor prepared to aske with that devotion which is fit for God: So that when you make Christ to triple his prayers with vehement teares and cries, & still repugnant to the will of God, you challenge the sonne of God with open sinne, from which you would seeme to excuse him. And as for your double relapse into the same astonishment still, when Christ was twice clere from it, it is a foolish deuise of your idle byzaines, as if the Lorde no sooner returned to his prayers, but your hellish confusion did waite at his heeles, to interrupt and ouerwhelm him; and within sixe wordes againe to leaue him. If your cause be holle, iust not thus prophanelie with the sonne of God, nor bereaue him of his wits, when you thinke good. If it were a necessarie effect of Gods wrath, then after it lighted on our Saviour in the garden, it must continue till man was redeemed, and Gods wrath appeased, which was not done but by the death of Christ: And therefore make your choise: either let the wrath of God cease in the garden, when Christ ended his prayers; or if that still continued to the death, let also this astonishment still continue, or at least bee no necessarie effect of Gods wrath. One of these you must take, take which you wil; the rest will serue to subuert your tower of Babel.

[I doe you wrong, you will saie, to call your opinion the tower of Confusion;] you do your selfe wrong (Sir Resuter) in the chiefeest point of Christian religion to leaue the faith confessed by the whole Church of Christ for these 1500. yeares, and to walke in such ambiguities, and absurdities as your selfe doe not vnderstande. For I praye you, Sir, this wonderfull confusion and astonishment in all powers of the soule, and senses of the bodie, is it a necessarie consequent to the wrath of G O D, or no? If it bee, (for you saie, *Christ coulde not but sinke, and bee confounded vnder that burden*) howe cominsth it to passe, that

that the reprobate and desperate, feeling the sense of **G O D S** wrath vpon them, doe not loose their wits, and senses as Christ by your assertion did: will you affirme they are astonished and all confounded as Christ was? then if you excuse Christ from sinne, in disliking and declining his Fathers knowne will, because hee was astonished; you must likewise excuse all the wicked and Reprobate from their sinnes, after they once seele the sense of Gods wrath, because they cannot but bee astonished and confounded vnder that burden? Againe, could Christ not sinne, whiles hee felte the wrath of God vpon him, because he was astonished? Ergo neither could hee merite all that while, and so neither his obedience, patience, humilitie, noz charitie could haue antie place, or vse, so long as the sense of **G O D S** wrath dured. Haue you not deuised vs a goodlie sense of Gods wrath, that shall exclude Christ Iesus from the exercise of all his graces, vertues, and merites? This palpable absurditie you thinke to skippe, (Sir Refuter,) but your wit is too weake, or your cause not good; it will not bee. [^a *If a man in distresse fall a sleepe, saie you, or be astonished with some violent blowe, on the heade, in such an one there is no decaie of faith, nor of obedience, nor of patience, nor of loue; euen so in Christ there was no defect of grace, but an infirmitie of nature.*] Was Christ a sleepe or in a swoone? astonished you thinke, hee was. Was hee so astonished that his senses were taken from him? did hee not walke? did hee not speake? did hee not pray? While then compare you this to a sleep or a swoone, wheras in Christ was neither? and though you plainelie saie in your comparison; yet, were it so, as you would haue it, for your life you cannot auoide my conclusion. For a man in a sleepe or a swoone, though hee loose not the habite of faith and patience, obedience and loue; yet hath hee no vse of them for that time; much lesse doth hee serue God with them. But Christ Iesus by all his sufferinges mult merite, which a

Page 57

300 The conclusion to the Reader,

man a sleepe or amazed cannot doe. And therefore remem-
ber, (Sir Refuter) this reason amongst the rest is yet un-
answerd; and I thinke wil somewhat trouble your bzaines
before it bee answered. All that Christ suffered for our Re-
demption was, and must bee, meritorious with God. But the
suffering of hell paynes, which astonish and confounde all
the powers of the soule, and senses of the bodie, neither was,
nor coulde bee meritorious with God; Christ therefore did not
suffer such hellish paynes as did confounde and astonish all the
powers of his soule and senses of his bodie. And thus, by
your amazed position, you haue wholie confounded your
owne opinion.

Thou hast heard (good Reader) a number of the Refu-
ters spectall follies; I haue some fewe moze to trouble thee
with, and so I will leaue him to his holie cause, and thee to
the mercies of God. To shewe him selfe learned as well in
the Græke tongue, as in philosophie, hee vnder taketh an o-
ther reason that I made, and sporteth him selfe somewhat
handsomlie with it. Out of the fist to the Hebrewes where
the Apostle saith, ^b Christ in the daies of his flesh did offer
vp prayers and supplications with strong cryes and teares vnto
him that was able to saue him from death, and was heard in that
he feared, or deliuered from his feare; I collected two things.
First that Christ in his praier made in h garden (for to those
the Apostle pointeth) did but feare, and not as then suffer
that he feared. The next, he was deliuered from his feare;
and consequentlie neuer came to suffer that from which hee
was deliuered. This Confuter replieth, as hee thinketh,
verie soundlie, and verie sufficientlie. Thou shalt heare the
whole. My reason hee maketh to bee this. ^c *That wherein*

[§]Hebr. 9

[°] Pag. 24.

[§]Ibidem.

^a *Christ was heard and deliuered from by praier, he feared but felt
not. But Christ was heard and deliuered by prayer from the wrath
which he feared, therefore he felt it not. His answer is. ^d Nay
euen therefore he felt it. Wee deny therefore the first proposition.
^e For hee was in some sense of it, when hee praied against it, and was
heard*

heard. He had then some foretast but the extremity came after, which hee before feared. And finally hee being in all this was heard (as the verie word (ἰσοκουσθεῖς) seemeth to import) and deliuered from it, that is at least, not before hee had felt it. Againe very the fearing of Gods wrath is a true feeling, I saie not a full feeling, but a true feeling: but it is granted that now in this Agonie hee feared the wrath of God: Therefore hee truly felt it. Therefore the Question is granted. You wrote this in the morning, Sir Reluter, when you were fresh and fasting, it is so short and sharpe; but belike it was darke, or your eyes were dull you could not see neither what I said, nor what your selfe saie. The force of my reason consisted in this, that where feare goeth before suffering, and is no longer called feare when suffering cometh; if Christ at the time of his prayers in the garden were deliuered from his feare, much more from anie suffering of that hee feared. And since by your owne positions you affirme hee feared in his agonie the paines of hell; I concluded hee suffered them not. Let vs now see howe you impugne this reason. You first change suffering into feeling; and because the soule in all his affections hath a kind of feeling, you inferre, naie therefore Christ felt it. Your manner is too shrowde your selfe with generall and ambiguous words that maie signifie anie thing, and then you shew your learning in speaking you knowe not what. But vse the word suffering which I did, or take feeling for suffering, in which sence it maie stand; and then see how absurdlie and falslie you take my reason at this rebound. For then you must saie. Fearing is a kind of feeling, Christ feared the paines of hell, ergo Christ suffered them; and so by your logicke whosoever feareth captiuitie or death, is a captiue, and dead; and hee that feareth to lose his purse, hath lost it; yea hee that feareth to offend God, doth offend him; and hee that feareth to bee an hereticke, is an hereticke. I thought though your diuinitie had not, yet your

Vide Pag. 29.

^c Cicero: Tuf-
cul. quæst. lib. 4

^f Lactant. de
vero cultu. li.
6. ca. 14

^g Ambros. de
Iacob et beata
vira li 1. ca. 2.

^h Gregor. mo-
ral. li. 9. cap. 39.

Philosophie coulde haue serued you to vnderstand; that
^c *metus est mali independentis, agritudo presentis*; feare is of an
 euill approaching; grieft or paine, of an euill present. If you
 scozne philosophers, whom for the proprietie of words, you
 preferre before all the diuines in the world, as anon shall
 appeare: Lactantius telleth you, that of ^f Desire, joy, feare and
 sorrow, the two first (desire and joy) are for good things ap-
 proching or present: the two last (feare and sorrow) for euill
 likewise approaching or present. ^g Ambrose will teach you
 that, ^g *ante dolorem est timor, post dolorem tristitia*: feare is
 before grieft or paine; after paine followeth he auines. And like-
 wise Gregorie, ^h *In his vita tormentis, timor dolorem habet, do-
 lor timorem non habet, quia nequaquam mentem metus cruciat,
 cum pati iam ceperit, quod metuebat*. In the tormentes in this life
 feare hath some grieft, but grieft hath no feare; because feare
 doth not afflict the mind, when a man once suffereth that, which
 he feared. This were enough to make my argument good,
 but it hath yet more strength from the Apostles words: Christ
 praying in the garden was heard from his feare; that is was
 deliuered from his feare. Now is a man deliuered from his
 feare by suffering that he feared? So wee test wth men,
 when we will giue them their deserts, and let them stand no
 longer in suspence; but God so tested not wth his sonne, as
 to rid him from his feare, by present punishment. God there-
 fore heard Christs prayer and deliuered him from his feare,
 when as yet he did not suffer it; and being deliuered from it
 in the garden, how came he to suffer it more extremly on
 the Crosse? For you saie, ⁱ *Christ was in some sense of it, when
 hee praied against it, he had then some fortaste of it, but the extre-
 mitie came after, which he before feared*. Syr confuter, if you
 can test & gybe thus with the Apostles words, I must leaue
 you as lacking both conscience & common sense; & so will all y
 be godly. Christ praying in the garden was deliuered from his
 feare, saith Paul; that is say you, after he had suffered on the
 Crosse, the extremitie of that which he before feared, So the for
 Christ

[P 42. 74.]

ⁱ *hee praied against it, he had then some fortaste of it, but the extre-
 mitie came after, which he before feared*. Syr confuter, if you
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 be godly. Christ praying in the garden was deliuered from his
 feare, saith Paul; that is say you, after he had suffered on the
 Crosse, the extremitie of that which he before feared, So the for
 Christ

Christ to be deliuered, from that he feared, was (by your construction) to suffer the extremitie of that he feared. Will you that God send you such deliuerance in the time of need, that so prophaneely play with the deliuerance of his sonne? [Hæc was deliuered you will say, from the continuance of it?] No (good Syr) Christ neuer feared the paines of hell should continue on him after death; it is horrible blasphemy so to think; & vnto death you say they continued. How was he then deliuered from his feare? or haue you so soone forgotten your owne words, if you regard not myne? ^k *It is absurd to saie he* „ ¹ *Pag. 59.*
praised in feare against that which he perfectly knew should neuer „
come vnto him, namely that, the Dominion of Death should „
bold him. If the dominion of death should not hold his bodie,
much lesse should hell hold his soule.

[But the Græke word, ἐισαυσοθεῖς, you saie, seemeth to import a deliuerance after Christ was in that he feared; ἐισαυσοθεῖς, ¹ *Hee was heard being in it.*] As is your diuinitte, Syr confuter, so is your Græke. For if Christ were heard; then God did heare him; & so if ἐῖς toynd to the passive of αὐξω signifie that Christ was heard being in the paines of hell; then ἐῖς, toynd to the Actiue, and referred to God, must likewise import that God being in y^e same paines did heare him. Haue you not brought vs a learned obseruation out of your Græke store, that God which heard, and Christ that was heard, were both in the paines of hell? But indeed ἐισαυξάνειν is to hearken vnto, as wee do when we bend our eare to anothers speech; and ἐισαυσοθεῖς is harkned vnto or heard. The word is five times vsed in the new testament, but in the Septuagint nothing more frequent to signifie that we harken to Gods voice when we obey him, and God harkneth to our voice, when hee graunteth our praers. Feare not saith the Angell to Zacharie, ἐῖσιν ἡ ἀδελφὴ σου, ^m *Lucæ: 1.*
 ἡ ἀδελφὴ σου, thy praier is heard, thy wife Elizabeth
 shall bring thee a sonne, Soe the Angell to Cornelius,
 ἐῖσιν ἡ ἀδελφὴ σου, thy praier is heard. ^o with ⁿ *Act: 10.*
 strange

• 1 Cor: 14 strange toonges will I speake to this people, saith the Lord, *καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως ἐισακίσσονται ἡμῖς*, and neither so will they harken vnto mee. The wise man in like manner, *ῥ' ὁ ἐισακίσσων Κυρίου*, hee that harkeneth vnto the Lord, giueth rest to his mother. And the Septuagint, Whē thou praicst, saith Eliphaz in the booke of Iob, *ῥ' ἐισακίσειταί σοι*, God will heare thee. Earlie, saith David to God, *ἐισακίσει τῆς φωνῆς μου*, shalt thou heare my voice. So in Esaie, the eare of the Lord is not shutte, *μὴ ἐισακίσσῃ σου* not to heare. Infinite examples might bee brought to the same end, but these are sufficient to conuince your ignorant mistaking of the Greeke tongue; yet the Question you saie is granted. For *fearing* is a true feeling, and if Christ feared the wrath of God, ergo he felt it. You reckon a pace when you reckon alone, but when you come for allowance you will lacke a faire deale of your reckning. If fearing were suffering, which is most absurd; if there were no kind of feare, but your amazed and all confounded feare, as there be more other kinds of feares; if there were noe more parts of the wrath of God, but hell paines, as there be sundrie more; if no man might feare but for himselfe, as in charitie wee may, and in duty we ought to feare for others, and Christ in loue might and did for vs; then had you some hope, that he which granteth the one, would admit the other: but if this be all you can saie, that feare is a kind of feeling, I am as farre from granting the Question, as I was in the first beginning. For though you dallie with doubtfull words, and thinke it enough to catch here and there at a likelihood, my course is not so. Indēde out of these words I reasoned bypon your owne principles: and supposing it for the time to be true which on this place some auouch, that Christ feared the paines of hell, I concluded, if Christ were deliuered from fearing, he was certainlie deliuered from suffering the paines of hell. And before you answered the argument, you triumph as if the Question were granted. But Sy; remember it

is the suffering of hell paines that we talke of, and not of a Metaphoricall kinde of feeling; which you substitute in stead thereof. Againe all the effects of Gods wrath Christ did not feele, nor feare, as namelie, neither reprobation, nor desperation, nor eternall damnation, which is the chiefest and sharpest effect of Gods iust wrath against sinne. Some partes the reof if hee did feare, and so in affecteden feele, howe doth it followe hee felt or feared hell paines? Thirdlie, hee did sustaine as well our person, as our cause; hee had not onelie compassion on vs, but continuation with vs; and in that respect as our head hee might worthilie feare the everlasting destruction of his bodie, if he did not interpose himselfe, and auert Gods wrath from them, by healing them with his owne stripes, and bearing their sinnes in his owne bodie. Fourthlie he might feare the power of Gods wrath, able to punish euen the bodie of Christ with farre more smart, then his humane flesh was able to endure. Lastlie, hee might carefullie shunne and decline both our sinne and the wages of our sinne, which is eternall death with a religious feare, as content to redeeme vs, but not to destroy both himselfe and vs.

And this commeth nearest the signification of the Greek worde there vled, which is no confused or amazed feare, such as you would cunningly conuey vnder the name of a *perplexed feare*, but a carefull and diligent regarde to be ware and decline that, which wee mislike or doubt. And therefore *εὐλαβής* is not onelie one that feareth God by taking good care not to displease him, but a circumspect and warie man in other things; and *εὐλάβεια* is circumspection and warinesse in private or publique affaires, as well as Religion to G D D. Nowe because the boldest men are, the sooner they aduventure on anie thing, and the more fearefull, the more heede they take what they do; *εὐλάβεια* by consequent signifieth an inclination rather to feare, then presumption; but it is lesse then *φόβος*, which

is the vsuall worde in Greeke for feare, as maie plainelty be proued by Plutarch in his Treatise of Morall vertues; where, noting howe men couer vitious affections vnder the names of vertues, he saith, * ἡ αἰσχυνεοῦσα ἀνδρείου καλῶσι, καὶ τὸ ἡλεῶσαι χαίρειν, καὶ τὸς φόβος ἑυλαβείας; They call blushing reuerence; mirth gladnesse, and feare warinesse. Euripides in the person of Eteocles king of Thebes, saith, ἡ δὲ ἑυλαβεία χρησιμωτάτη θεῶν, Circumspect care is the most profitable Goddesse. And where you quote the 23. of the Acts for proofof your conceit, the place is rather against you then with you. For when the Councell dissent- ed about Paule, and some tumult began to arise, the Tribune doubting least some hurt might happen vnto Paule then his prisoner, prevented it, and sent his souldiers to take him away from the midst of the throng. This feare of the tribune was for another man, not for himselfe, neither was a perplexed or amazed feare, but a doubt forecasting the worst, and preventing it. So is it written of Noah, that being admonished by God of the flood which should come vpon the world, by faith ἡ εὐλαβηθεὶς, fearing, declining and preventing (what God had threatned to others) he made ready the Arke, for the sauing of his housholde. This could be no distrustfull feare, what should befall him and his house; for his faith is commended by the Apostle in preparing the Arke, for the safetie of himself and his children; but he shunned that which he saw would light on others; and that the scripture there calleth εὐλαβηθεὶς. The rest that maie concerne Christs praier in the garden, or might occasion that agonie which there hee shed, thou hast (gentle Reader) in the 2 treatise before; which I will not here resume, least I wearie thee with ouer much tediousnesse.

For a farewell to his speciall reasons, the Coniuter hath referred matters of most speciall moment to the last: and because they are weightie and neede good proofof, hee hath searched the bottome of his studie, and sheweth vs here

* Plutarch. de
virtute moral.

7 Euripid. in
Phœnis.

2 Acts. 23.

2 Heb. 11.

2 Vide pag. 17.

the depth as well of his reading, as vnderstanding. Out of
the Epistle to the Hebrews he citeth these wordes; ^b Christ ^b Heb. 2.
through death abolished him that had the power of death, that
is the Diuell. From hence hee reasoneth thus. ^c Surely
the worde DEATH hath the same meaning in both places: ve-
rie soude it were to take it here otherwise. Nowe it is questi-
onlesse; in this latter place; death signifieth the death of the
soule, the tormentes and sorrowes of the damned, which are sepa-
rated from the life of God: of which death the Diuell is sayde
to haue the power and execution. Therefore in the former place
death signifieth so to; euen the death of the soule, that is the tor-
ments and sorrowes due to the damned, and ^d consequently Christ ^d Pag. 77.
suffered the death of the soule. And because this reason will
seeme altogether vnreasonable and harsh in the eares of some,
to saie the least of it, let them soberlie consider it, and it is most
true and euident: Or if this will not perswade men to be-
leeue that Christ did the death of the soule, ^e men lining be-
ing surprisid with grienous sorrowes and paines, will saie (as ^e Pag. 76
Terence witnesseth, occidi, perij, interij) they die, they perish.
So likewise the death of the soule sometimes maie bee vnderstoode
and that most fitte for the paines and sufferinges of Gods ^f Pag. 77.
wrath, which alwayes accompanie them that are separated
from the grace and loue of God. And if Terence bee not au-
thoritie sufficient, Saint Peter against whome lieth no ex-
ception, ^g saith, that Christ in his suffering for vs was done to ^g Pag. 78.
death in the flesh, but made aliuie by the spirite. And in the
Scripture whensoever the flesh and the spirite are opposed to
gather, ^h the flesh is alwayes Christes whole humanitie, I saie ^h Pag. 79.
not his bodie onlie, but his soule also. From hence nowe it fol-
loweth, that Christes soule also died, and was crucified accor-
ding to the death and crucifying, which soules are subiect vnto,
and capable of. I haue (Christian Reader) neither per-
uerted the reasons, nor pared the authorities, on which
his Confuter groundeth his conclusion, that Christ died

the death of the soule, and that Christs soule was also crucified as well as his bodie; I haue onelie sette them together, that thou maiest with one view behold both the deeprnes and soundnesse of this bypart writer; and in thy secrete and byright iudgement, is it not patience enough to heare and endure a two legged creature to talke in this sort without all learning, religion or discretion, controlling all the fathers as soles, for thinking otherwise then hee doth, commaunding the Scriptures pretor-like, to serue his ignorant and lewd assertions, and esteeming none to be sober or considerate, except they confesse his shamefull absurdities to be most true and euident? But I haue not learned nor vsed to giue reuiling speeches, the Worde reprooue his follie. Though it bee not worth the answering, yet for their sakes that bee simple, I will not refuse to speake to it, and to let them see what difference there is betwixt truth and error.

Your inaine reason (Sir Reluter) is this, in these wordes
 of the Apostle, *Christ through death abolished the diuell that
 had power of death. This worde DEATH (say you) hath the
 same meaning in both places, the profe you make for it is this,
 verie fond it were to take it here otherwise. Your assumption is,
 but death in the latter place questionlesse signifieth the death of
 the soule; Therefore Christ died the death of the soule. It were
 as easie for nice to saie, it is not so; as for you to saie,
 it is so; but that course which you holde is but prating of
 euerie thing, it is no prouing of ante thing. Howe ma-
 nte kinds of death there are, wee shall better learne by the
 graue father Saint Austen, then by the young louers in*

¹ August. ⁵ serm. Terence: *1 Dicitur mors prima, dicitur & secunda. Prima
 329. mortis dua sunt partes, una qua peccatrix anima per culpam
 discessit a creatore suo: altera qua indicante Deo exclusa est
 per poenam a corpore suo. Mors autem secunda ipsa est cor-
 poris & anima punitio sempiterna.* There is a first death and
 a second Death. Of the first death there be two parts: one, when
 the

the finfull soule by offending departed from her Creator; the other whereby the soule for her punishment was excluded from her bodie by Gods iustice. The second death is the cuerlasting torment of bodie and soule. The same partes and kindes of death are often repeated by him in his 13. booke *de ciuitate Dei*; as namelie, ^k *Mors anima fit cum eam deserit Deus. sicut corporis cum id deserit anima. Ergo vtriusq; rei, id est totius hominis mors est, cum anima à Deo deserta deserit corpus. Ita enim nec ipsa uiuit ex deo, nec corpus ex ipsa. Huiusmodi autem totius hominis mortem illa sequitur quam secundam mortem diuinorum eloquiorum appellat authoritas. Nam illa poena ultima & sempiterna recte mors anima dicitur.* The death of the soule is, when God forsaketh her, as the death of the bodie is, when the soule forsaketh the bodie. So y death of both, that is of the whole man is when the soule forsaken of God forsaketh her bodie. For so neither she liueth by God, nor the bodie by her. This death of the whole man, that other death followeth; which the diuine scriptures call the second death, for that last and cuerlasting punishment is rightlie called the death of the soule. Here are thre kinds of death; sinne which separateth vs from God, bodilie death, which separateth the soule from the body, and eternall damnation which tormenteth body and soule for euer. In the Apostles words to the Hebrues, that Christ through death abolished y diuell that had power of death; you wil by no meanes haue the death of the bodie intended; that is a benefite and gaine to the godlie. Then of sinne and eternall damnation the diuell must be said to haue power, and indeede so he hath. For hee is the perswader and leader to sinne, and the executioner and tormentor in damnation. And so by your diuinitie Christ must sinne, and be euerlastingly condemned to hell fire, before he can abolish the Diuell that hath power of both these. For he must abolish him, by the same kind of death, whereof hee hath power. Looke, Sir Resuter, what an wholesome exposition of the Apostles words you haue made vs, which the diuell himselfe durst not adventure,

^k August. de ciuitate dei. lib. 13. cap. 2.

it is so blasphemous. God forbid you will say, this should be ante part of your meaning. But if such bee your ignozant rashnesse, that you will so expound scriptures, as these consequents shall necessarie followe, you must leaue writing, and fall to learning an other while, till you be able to foresee what may iustly be inferred vpon your positions. Deaths of the soule there are none mentioned in ante Scripture, or father, but finite and eternall damnation. Leaue the patheticall, hyperbollicall & metaphoricall phrases of Terence, to boies in the Grammer schole, speake at least like a diuine, though you bee none. If your cause bee so holie a truth as you talke of, it hath both foundation and approbation in the Scriptures. You shall not neede to runne to heathen Poets to prooue that the Sauour of the worlde died the death of the soule. What the death of the soule is, what consequentes it hath, and what maine and mosse sufficient reasons there are, why Christ neither did, nor might die the death of the soule, thou hast (good Reader) before in the Treatise it selfe: if this fumbler either will skippe them, or can not answere them, I must not repeate them as often as hee will neglect them. Yet to ease thee of going backe, I will here giue thee the effect thereof.

Vide pag. 73.

The life and death of the soule is in manie hundred places learnedlye and tralie bouched and prooued by Saint Austen.¹ *Mori carni tua est amittere vitam suam; mori anime tue est amittere vitam suam. Vita carnis tua anima tua, vita anima tua Deus tuus. Quomodo moritur caro amissa anima, que vita eius est; sic moritur anima amisso Deo, qui vita est eius.* For thy bodie to die, is to loose his life; and for thy soule to die, is to loose her life. The life of thy bodie is thy soule. The life of thy soule is thy God. As the bodie dieth when the soule is departed, which is his life; so the soule dieth when God is departed which is her life. And againe.^m *Quomodo ergo mortua est anima de qua viuit corpus? Audi ergo & disc*

^m August. de verbis Apost. serm. 30.

for the clearing of certain obiections: 311.

disce; corpus hominis creatura Dei est, & anima hominis creatura dei est. De anima deus viuificat carnem, ipsam autem animam viuificat de seipso, non de seipso. Vita ergo corporis anima est, vita anima Deus est: moritur corpus cum recedit anima, moritur ergo anima si recedit Deus. Carnem iacentem sine anima vides; animam miseram sine Deo videre non potes? Crede ergo, adhibe oculos fidei. How dieth the soule then by which the bodie liueth? Hearken and learne. The bodie of man is the creature of God, & so is the soule. By the soule God giueth life to the flesh, but the soule her selfe God quickeneth by himselfe, and not by herselfe. The life of the bodie then is the soule, the life of the soule is God. The bodie dieth when the soule departeth, ergo the soule dieth if God depart from her. Thou seest the flesh lying dead without a soule, and canst thou not see the soule wretched without God? Beleeue then, and open the eies of faith. And speaking of the particular consequents to the life and death of the soule, the same father saith: *Quomodo cum anima est in corpore, prestat illi vigorem, decorem, mobilitatem; Sic cum vita eius Deus est in ipsa, prestat illi sapientiam, pietatem, iustitiam, charitatem; veniente itaq; verbo & audientibus infuso resurgit anima à morte sua ad vitam suam, hoc est ab iniquitate, ab insipientia, ab impietate, ad Deum suum qui est illi sapientia, iustitia, charitas.* As when the soule is in the bodie, shee giueth vigour, comelinesse and motion to the bodie; so when God her life is in the soule, he giueth her wisdome, pietie, righteousnesse and charitie, The worde (of GOD) then sounding and infused to the hearers, the soule riseth from her death to her life, that is from iniquitie, follie, and impietie, to her God, who is to her wisdome, righteousnesse, and charitie. If this were not plaine inough; the Scriptures themselves are so euident, that no man can mistake the life of the soule, except hee will purposelye blinde himselfe, least hee shoulde come to the knowledg of the truth. For the sonne of God is

^a August. in Ioh.
han. tract. 19.

^o Iohn. 1.
^p Iohn. 6.
^q Iohn. 5.
^r Iohn. 7.

by

^fRom. 8.
^vJohn. 6.
^uJohn 15
^zGalat. 3.
^y1. Iohn 4.
^z1. Iohn. 5.
^aColof. 3.
^bReuel. 22.

by the ^f spirite of life, yea ^v whoſoever belecueth, and ^u abideth
 in him, hath life and beareth fruite in him. For the iuſt ſhall
^z liue by faith, and he that dwelleth in ^y loue, dwelleth in God,
 and God in him, for God is loue. So that not onely Chriſt is our
 life, ^z and he that hath the ſonne hath life, but ^a with him, and in
 him, alwaies was, and alwaies will bee, the ^b fountaine of
 life, which neuer did nor can bzis vp: how then could Chriſt
 die the death of the ſoule, whoſe ſoule was perſonallie vnto
 icd, vnto the worde that was life in it ſelfe? And if the
 grace and ſpirite of God in vs, make vs liue by God, and in
 God; if faith and loue knitte men to the life of God; howe
 coulde the ſoule of Chriſt alwaies full of grace and truth,
 alwaies full of faith and loue, and of the holie Ghoſt, bee
 deade?

[But this Refuter meaneth another death of the ſoule.]
 What his meaning is, is not materiall, but whether hee
 meane truth or no. If he wil frame vs a monſter in Chriſtian
 religton, what haue I to do with that, but to deſect it? There
 is another death after this life, mentioned both in ſcriptures
 and fathers, which is the ſecond death. But I hope this Con-
 futer will eate and ſleepe vpon the cauſe before hee wrappe
 our Santour within euerlaſting damnation. That is, a death
 in deed from which God bleſſe and ſaue vs all. They muſt
 needes bee good Chriſtians that labour to bring Chriſtes
 ſoule within the compaſſe of the ſecond death. ^c *Hac mortalitas
 eſt umbra mortis; vera mors eſt damnatio cum Diabolo.* Our
 death is here but a ſhadow of death; the true death indeede is
 damnation with the diuell, ſaith Auſten. And againe. ^d *Quid eſt
 iſta mors? Eſt relictio corporis, depositio ſarcina grauis: mors
 ſecunda, mors aterna, mors gehennarum, mors damnationis
 cum Diabolo, ipſa eſt vera mors:* What is this death? It
 is the leauing of the bodie, and the laying downe of an heauier
 burthen; for the ſecond death, the death that is eternall, the
 death of hell, the death of condemnation with the Diuell, that
 is the true death. Which of theſe two deathes of the
 ſoules,

^e Auguſt in pla.
 43.
^f Idem in Ioh-
 han. tract. 43

soules, you will haue the soule of Christ subiected vnto, you
 must tell vs, (Sir Refuter,) if you will needes haue him die
 the death of the soule; and the choise is so good, that take
 which you will, you incur hainous and horrible blasphemie.
 I wish you to bee better aduised, then to proceede to the de-
 fence of so wilfull a frensie. As for new deaths of the soule,
 you haue no comission to inuent arie; shewe what scrip-
 ture or Father spake it before you, or you must giue the
 godlie leaue to thinke you no fit founder of a newe faith. S.
 Austen was of opinton that no Christian durst auouch that
 Christ died the death of the soule, ^c *Nam quod Iesus anima*
mortificatus fuerat, quis audeat dicere, cum mors anima non sit
nisi peccatum, a quo ille omnino immunis fuit? That Christ was
 dead in soule **VHO DARES AFFIRME IT**, whereas the
 death of the soule (in this life) is nothing but sinne, from which
 hee was altogether free? you not onelie auouch it, but you
 thinke no man sober that will not consent to it. But you did
 well to prophesie of this conceite of yours, that it woulde
 seeme harsh and altogether vnreasonable in the eares of some, ^{so}
saię the least of it; In the eares of all that bee wise and lear-
 ned it will sound worse, for it is a flat repugnancie not only
 to all the Fathers, but euen to the christian faith, that Christ
 died as well in soule as in bodie; and as meane a man as
 I am, I thinke I shall bee able to make that good which I
 saie. For if the soule of Christ were alwaies perfectlie vni-
 ted vnto life, fullie possessed of life, and abundantly able to
 giue life, tell me I praie you howe it maie stande wth the
 trueth of the scriptures, that the same soule was for arie
 time deade: you may euen as well defende that Christ sin-
 ned, as that his soule died, for the death of the soule is sinne
 in this life, and damnation in the next. ^f *Certe anima Christi*
nulla mortificata peccato vel damnatione punita est, quibus dua-
bus causis mors anima intelligi potest: Surelie the soule of Christ
 was deade with no sinne, nor punished with any damnation,
 which are the two waies that the death of the soule may bee

^c Idē epist. 99

^f Aug. epist. 99

possibly conceaued.

² Pag. 77.

“ [The death of the soule, say you, ^s may be understood, & that
 “ most fitly, for the paines and sufferings of Gods wrath, which al-
 “ waies accompany them that are separated from the grace and loue
 “ of God. This death of the soule yee affirme Christ suffered;
 “ yet hee himselve neuer separated, but most intirely beloued, yea

³ Pag. 42

“ most ^h holie, most innocent, and most blessed.] You contradict,
 (Sir Resater,) not onlie the scriptures and fathers, but euery
 your selfe in one and the same sentence, and reele like a
 man whose byaines are not streadie. ⁱ *Secundum scripturas*

¹ Ambros. de
 fide resurrect.

*triplicem esse mortem accepimus. Vna est cum morimur peccato,
 deo viuimus. Beata mors qua a mortali nos separat, immortal
 conseruat. Alia mors est vita excessus cum anima nexu corporis
 liberatur. Tertia mors est de qua dictum est, anima qua pecca-
 uerit, ipsa morietur. Ea morte non solum caro sed etiam anima
 moritur; hac mors non est perfunctio huius vita, sed lapsus erro-
 ris.* By the scriptures (saith Ambrose) we learne there is a tri-
 ple death. One when we die to sinne and liue to God. This is
 a blessed death, which seuereth vs from that which is mortall,
 and ioineth vs to that which is immortall. The second is the de-
 parture out of this life, when the soule is deliuered from the
 bandes of her bodie. The thirde death is that of which it is
 written; the soule that sinneth, shall die; this death dieth not
 onelie the flesh, but the soule also; for it is not the ending of
 this life, but the running into error. ^k The first is the life

² Ibidem.

of the soule, and the death of sinne, which is SPIRITV-
 ALL; The second is the ceasing of this life which is NA-
 TVRALL; the thirde is not onelie sinne but destruction,
 which is PENALL. Which of these agreeth to Christ,

³ Ibidem.

Ambrose himselve will tell you. ¹ *Quid est Christus nisi
 mors corporis, spiritus vita?* What is Christ but the death of
 the bodie, and the Spirit of life? Then Christ died not the
 death of the soule, for the spirit of life cannot die, vnlesse
 you will make life it selfe to bee death. Vea, they which in
 this worlde die the death of the soule are separated from

Christ,

Christ, for did they abide in him, they shoulde abide in life; he is^m the waie, the truth, and (not onelie liuing, but) life it selfe; ^{John. 14} This testimonie our Saviour giueth of himselfe, ^{John. 6} Verilie, verilie I saie vnto you, hee that beleueth in mee hath eternall life. If they cannot die the death of the soule, which beleue in Christ, howe much lesse can Christ himselfe die that death? And heere, (Sir Refuter) you haue so grosse and palpable an error, that women and childzen will deride you. For if the tormentes of hell and paines of the damned *do alwayes accompany them that are separated from the grace and loue of God*, howe manie hundred thousand thousandes of all sortes, sexes, and ages in all kingdomes and countries shoulde bee disturbed, distracted, and confounded in all the powers of their soules and senses of their bodie? where are the ^{Rom. 9} riches of Gods bounteousnesse, patience and long suffering which the Apostle so highlie commendeth, as leading vnto repentance? How could Abraham with anie truth saie to the rich man in hell; ^{Luc. 16} Sonne remember thou in thy life time receauedst thy good things and Lazarus paines; where if your position be true, the paines of Lazarus could not bee comparable to the tormentes and paines that *ALWAIES ACCOMPANIE* the wicked? I assure thee (Christian Reader) a man could not with fewer and foolisher wordes then these, more crosse the whole tenor of the scriptures. For the wicked here in this life abound with all wealth, ease, and prosperitie, inso much that manie of the godlie haue bene and still are offended with it. Reade the 72. Psalm, and see whether these intolerable and horrible feares, sorowes, paines, and tormentes of hell and the damned, do alwayes accompanie them heere in this life. ^{Psal. 72} My feete were almost gone (saith Dauid) when I sawe the peace of the wicked. There are no bands in their death, they are lustie and strong, they are not in trouble, nor plagued with other men, their eies stand out for fatnesse, they haue more then their heart can wish. *Lo these are the wicked, yet PROSPER*

THEY ALWAIE, and increase in riches. This was too hard for me till I went into the sanctuarie of God, then I vnderstood their ende. So that God ^r with much patience suffereth the vessels of wrath prepared vnto destruction, who according to their harde and impenitent hearts, ^f heape vp wrath vpon themselves against the daie of the declaration of the iust iudgement of God, whose suddaine destruction is then nearest, when they shall say ^r peace and safety.

^rRom. 9

^rRom. 2

^r1.Thessa. 5

^rEphes. 2

And what maruell you crosse the scriptures in confounding the wrath of God to come with the wrath of God present in this life; when you doe not see your owne wordes to be contrarie one to the other? For if Christ died the death of the soule, which is ^u an alienation from the life of God, howe was he neuer separated, but alwaies intirely beloued and most blessed? If hee were neuer separated from the life of God, howe came he to die the death of the soule, which must needs be a separation for the time from God, vntlesse you can match light and darkenesse, death and life together, and make the one to be the other, and both to cleaue to God himselfe. But what cannot you do, that can make the paines of the damned, and torments of hell the onlie true and perfectlie accep-

^rPage. 63.

“ted sacrifice to God: These are your words. ^x Such a sorrow
“indeed of a broken and contrite heart is the only true and perfectly
“accepted sacrifice to God, and is in effect nothing but what we af-

^rPage. 77.

“firme. You affirme that Christ died the death of the soule,
“which you interpret to bee such ^y paines and sufferings of Gods
“wrath, as alwaies accompany them that are separated from the
“grace and loue of God: You affirme that Christ suffered ^z won-

^rPage. 73.

“derfull and piteous astonishment, forgetfulnesse and confusion of
“the powers of nature, euen of ^a all the powers of his soule and senses

^rPage. 53.

^rPage. 45.

“of his bodie, yea he ^b felt the verie diuels as the instruments,
“that wrought the verie effectes of Gods wrath vpon him; and

^rPage. 80.

“though the ^c wicked ofientimes find farre more intolerable hor-
“ror of their sinnes then any other, yet you doubt not, but

^rPage. 81.

“^d Christ as touching the vehemencie of paine, was as sharply tou-
ched

ched euen as the Reprobate themselues, yea, if it may be, more extraordinaryly. All this you affirme, and by your owne words, all this is the ONLY TRVE, and perfectly accepted sacrifice to God. So then whosoever feeleth not all this, hath no broken nor contrite heart, nor anie longer then hee feeleth these hellish torments in his soule. And if this be the ONLY TRVE sacrifice to God, I will not aske what shall become of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but howe unhappie are the godlie that at anie time are free from the paines of the damned, and from the tormentes of hell, since the suffering thereof is the ONLY TRVE and perfectlie accepted sacrifice to God: ^c Godly sorrow, saith the Apostle, causeth repentance vnto saluation; those wordes please you not; such ^f hellish sorrowes, and intolerable horrors as the Reprobate themselues feele, yea as the damned doe suffer, this saie you is the ONLY TRVE and accepted sacrifice to God. You must haue other sacrifices, and those accepted, before you come to heauen; or else the Reprobate and damned will bee there as soone as you: God send you his grace, and grant your wits and senses bee not dissempered and distracted; you talke so much of hellish paines, and tormentes executed by diuels, as the only true sacrifice of a broken and contrite hart.

^c 2. Corin. 7

^f Pag. 45 in
margine.

The Apostles wordes, whereon you first grounded this odious assertion, haue no such intention, as you imagine. By death Christ conquered him that had power of death that is the Diuel. Aske the simplest childe y^e is catechised in your charge, if you haue ante, what death Christ died for vs, and hee will answer you out of his Creede, Christ was crucified, deade, and buried; and that is the death which the scriptures describe and deliuer. ^s I deliuered vnto you (saith Paul) that which I receiued, how that Christ died for our sinnes, according to the scriptures; what death if wee aske the Apostle, he will answer the death of the Crosse. For ^h ye preach (saith he) Christ crucified; and I esteemed not to know any thing among you but Christ Iesus and him crucified. Christ crucified then,

^c 1 Corin. 15.

^h 1. Cor. 1

ⁱ 1. Cor. 2.

that is by his death on the crosse, destroyed him that had power of death. [Of what death, you aske, hath the diuell power?] as well of the second death which Christ coulde not suffer; as of the first which hee did suffer. [Christ, you will saie, coulde deliuer vs from no death, but from the verie same which he suffered himselfe.] If so you saie, or so would saie, it is no lesse then heresse, or blasphemie. Hee deliuered vs from euerlasting death, which hee neither did, nor coulde suffer. If you saie hee deliuered vs not from euerlasting death, it is open heresse; if you saie Christ suffered euerlasting death, it is blasphemie. Yet hath the diuell power of both deaths, as well temporal as eternall. What power, you aske, hath the diuell of this death wherewith our bodys die? ^k God made not that death, but by the ^l enuy of the Diuell it came into the world. He was the first procurer of it by perswading sinne, and still reioiceth in it as the verie gate to hel. ^m I shal goe (saith Ezechiah) to the gate of hell, which was the death of his bodie; that waie the wicked passe to hell. Hea the Apostle calleth the corruption of our bodys the sting of sinne, wherewith the diuell pearced vs; ⁿ when this corruption hath put on incorruption, o death where is thy sting?

For the exposition of the Apostles words, I may either say with ^o S. Austen, *Ipse Dominus mori voluit, ut, quemadmodum de illo scriptum est, per mortem euacuetur eum qui potestatem habebat mortis, id est Diabolum, & liberaret eos qui timore mortis per totam vitam rei erant seruitutis. Hoc Testimonio satis illud monstratur, & mortem istam corporis principe atque authore Diabolo, hoc est ex peccato accidisse, quod ille persuasit. Neque enim ob aliud potestatem habere mortis verissime diceretur.* The Lord himselfe would die, that is it is written of him, by death he might destroy him that had power of death, euen the diuell, and deliuer them which for feare of death were all their life long subiect to seruitude. By this testimonie it is sufficientlie prooued that this verie death of our bodys came from the Diuell as the Authour and chiefe dooer thereof; that is from the sinne which hee perswaded:

*Sapient. 1.
[Sapi. 2.

*Esa. 38

*1. Corin. 15.

*August. de
pecc. merit. &
scmiss. li. 2. c. 32

swaded. He cannot for any other cause be said to haue power of death, which here is most truly spoken. Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Cyril referre death throughout that sentence to the death of the bodie: In these wordes (saie they) the Apostle ^p noteth an admirable thing, that whereby the diuel had power, thereby was he ouerthrown. The weapons which were his strength against the world, that is death, by y^e Christ strooke him. Why terrible ye? why feare ye death? now death is not terrible, but acceptable as the end of labor and the beginning of rest. ^q Chrysostom hath almost the same wordes. Cyrill verie often expoundeth death in that place for the death of Christs bodie. ^r The sonne of God was partaker of flesh and blood, that yeelding his B O D Y to death, he by nature as God being life it selfe, might quicken it againe: otherwise how had hee abolished the imperie of death, vnlesse he had raised againe his dead B O D Y. And againe; ^t Because it was aboute mans nature to abolish death, yea rather it was subdued of death, the son of God, that is life, took vnto him mans nature subiect to death, y^e death as a cruell beast inuading his flesh should cease frō his tyranny ouer vs, that should thereby be abolished. If by death in the second place we vnderstand the death of body and soule with Fulgentius, I am not against it, this being alwayes remembred, that Christ died no death but the death of the bodie. ^v *Mors filij Dei, quam SOLA CARNE suscepit vtramq³, in nobis morte, anima scilicet carnisq³, destruxit.* The death which the sonne of God suffered ONLY in his flesh, destroied BOTH DEATHS in vs, as well that of the soule, as that of the body.

The Confuter hauing bestirred himselfe in his special and choise arguments, as thou hast heard (christia reader) & now drawing to an ende, purposeth like a politticke captaine so to entrench himself, that no force shal fetch him out of his hold. And because wordes are the weapons that can endanger him; he taketh the readie wate with them, to turne & wind them at his wil, and so maketh ante thing to be euerie thing, that nothing should hurt him. The scriptures affirme, that

^p Ambros. in
Hebr. ca. 2.

^q Chrysost. in
Hebr. ca. 2
^r Cyril de recta
fide. lib. ex
Hebr. ca. 2

^t Idem de recta
fide lib. 2.

^v Fulgent de
incarnat. &
grat. christi. c. 9.

Christ crucified is the wisdom and power of God to all that be called, and that we are^a reconciled to God by the death of his sonne, and our sinnes redeemed, and the 7 diuel destroyed by the death of Christ Jesus; as also that hee 7 suffered for vs in the flesh, yea he² suffered for our sinnes being put to death in the flesh. And least it should hence be collected, that Christ died not by death of the soule; but rather the death of his bodie was a sufficient price for the life of the worlde; the Refuter undertaketh this place of Saint Peter, that Christ was^a done to death in the flesh, and thence will proue, that the flesh comprehendeth bodie and soule, and that the soule of Christ^b DIED and was crucified as well as the bodie. Reason or authority besides his owne he bringeth none, but out of the hinder part of his head he giueth an obseruation, which, if he saie the worde, must needes proue sounde and good; and this it is.

Whensoever in scripture the flesh and the spirit are opposed together, the^d flesh is alwaies Christs whole humanitie, as well as his soule as his bodie. From whence it followeth that Christs soule also died and was crucified. How proue you this note, (Sir Refuter?) had you saide that where soeuer the flesh of Christ liuing is spoken of, there the flesh of a man endued with a humane soule is intended; you had saide well: for Christ was perfect man and perfect God, in one and the same person; but when you will stretch all the attributes of the bodie, and make them common to the soule, because Christ had a soule as well as a bodie, it is no true obseruation deriued from the scripture, but a partiall supposition intended to further your hellish sorowes. In the 26. of Matthew, when Christ telleth his disciples^c that the spirit is readie, but the flesh weake, doth hee take spirit there for the godheade, as if that were readie to suffer any thing; or for the soule which was willing, but that the flesh was weake? In the 24. of Luke when Christ saieth, ^fa spirit hath not flesh and bones as you see me haue, had his soule flesh and bones, and those to be seene as his bodie had? To the Romanes when Paul saith,

^gChrist

^a Rom. 5.² Hebre. 2.⁷ 1. Peter. 4.² 1. Peter. 3.^a 1. Peter. 3.^b Pag. 79^c Pag. 78^d Pag. 79^e Matth. 26.^f Lucæ. 24.

for the clearing of certain obiections. 321

Christ our Lord was made of the seede of *Dauid* according to
 the flesh, and declared to be the sonne of God, touching the spi-
 rit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the deade; will
 you conclude that *Christs* soule was made of the seede of
Dauid and came from *Dauids* loines as *Christs* flesh did?
 The like he repeatech in the same Epistle: ^h of the *Israelites*
 came Christ according to the flesh, which is God ouer all to be
 blessed for euer; whereif your obseruation faile not, *Christs*
 soule must be kinne to the *Iewes* as well as his flesh. Whie
 then, when Peter saith, ⁱ Christ was put to death according to
 the flesh, but quickned by the spirit, doe you make it so cleere
 a case that the worde flesh there comprisseth both bodie and
 soule; and the refoze by Peters confession, Christ died in soule
 as well as in bodie? so when Paul saith; ^k Christ was crucifi-
 ed through infirmitie, yet liueth through the power of God,
 what leadech you to imagine, that his soule was crucified as
 well as his bodie? who did crucifie him I praise you, God or
 the *Iewes*? Peter saith to the *Iewes*, ^l Iesus of Nazareth,
 a man approoued of God, after you had taken with wicked
 hands, you haue CRUCIFIED and slaine. So againe, ^m the
 holy and iust one ye denied, and killed the Lord of life. And like-
 wise. ⁿ By the name of Iesus, whom ye haue crucified, whom
 God raised againe from the deade, doth this man heere stande
 whole, who before was a creeple. If the *Iewes* then cru-
 cified and killed the *Lord* Iesus, coulde they crucifie and
 kill his soule? Are you so simple that you remember not the
 wordes of our *Sauour*, ^o Feare not them which kill the bod-
 ie, but are not able to kill the soule? And you make it not an
 oversight; but a positive point of your holie truth, as you
 call it, that *Christs* soule was crucified and died; and con-
 sequentlie that the *Iewes* directlie against the wordes of
 Christ were able to kill and crucifie the soule of Christ.
 Will you saie that God crucified the soule of Christ, for
 what will you not saie, that say *Christs* soule was crucified &
 died? in what scripture shall wee reade that God crucified

^s Rom. 1.

^h Rom. 9

ⁱ 1. Pet. 3

^k 2. Corin. 13

^l Actes. 2.

^m Actes. 3.

ⁿ Actes 4

^o Matt. 10

the soule, as the Jewes did the bodie of Christ: you would seeme to conclude it out of the scriptures, which whensoever they speake of Christ crucified, they note the shamefull and cruel death which the Jewes executed on him, not anie thing that God did vnto him. And out of that word, cuerie where in the scriptures referred to the Jewes, to inferre that God also crucified his soule, is as much madnesse as the former. If you feare not the paines of hell, because you are so well acquainted with them, feare at least the shame of the worlde, least they deride you to skorne, as lacking that common vnderstanding which boies in the streets, and prentices in the shoppes haue. But what if your selfe, being be like amazed, and (as you saie of Christ) all confounded in all the powers of your soule, and senses of your bodie, when you waite in defence of your holie cause, do contradict your selfe, and call your owne assertion ABSVRD AND MOST FALSE, and that not ten or twelue leaues off, but in the verie same place where you labour to iustifie this position, and prouing and pronouncing it to be absurd and most false, you presently conclude it as a principle of your newe faith: well, if it bee not so, then I must confesse I was a sleepe when I thought you did so. But if it fall out to be true which I saie, I hope (christian Reader) then wilt thinke my time anie waie better imploied then longer to reason with such a bazaar sicke babler.

1. Pet. 3. ver.
18.

The words of Peter are; ° Christ hath once suffered for sinnes, the iust for the vniust, and was put to death in the flesh, but quickned by the spirit. Saint Austen writing vpon this place obserueth this for a sure rule to expounde the whole.

1 Aug. epist. 99

P In care quippe viuificatus est, in qua fuerat mortificatus. Christ was quickned in that verie part, wherein hee suffered death, or was put to death. This rule hath in it a mightie truth that maie not be resisted. For if any part of Christ died, which was not againe quickned, but still left dead, then that parte suffered perpetuall death; which is not onelie plainelie

plainlie false but openlie blasphemous. Then must this stande for an vndoubted ground; that whatsoeuer part of Christ was dead, the same must be quickned againe, to auoid the eternall death of anie part. And if anie part of Christ needed not quickning or restoring to life, it neuer died; for quickning is heere the restoring of life to that which was dead, and not the giuing of life to that which had none before. Then if Christs soule died, offorce it must either be quickned againe, or kept vnder eternal death; but to saie that Christs soule was quickned or made aliue IS ABSVRD AND MOST FALSE: Ergo to saie that Christes soule died IS ABSVRD AND MOST FALSE. You will aske me howe I proue the Minor or second parte of this Argument? If Saint Austen did not helpe me to proue it, the Confuter will. Loe (Sir Refuter,) your owne words in the very same place, take care I praye you, that I misrepeate them not, for if I hit the right, you wil proue your selfe as verie a baby as euer suckt a bottle. BOTH THESE, saie you, ARE ABSVRD AND MOST FALSE, that Christ was made aliue either in his HVMANE SOVLE, OR BY THE SAME. See and shame, if there be anie grace, or sence in you, that going about purposelie to prouoe that Christs soule died and was crucified, you set this for a preface vnto it, it is ABSVRD and most FALSE that Christ was made aliue in his humane soule; which without any Christ or colour, you do saie & must saie, befoze your conclusion can be true; except you wil lye to this, that Christes soule died in deede, but was neuer restored to life, or made aliue againe; which if wee come to, I must proclaime you no longer foolish but blasphemous. Howbeit I hope you will rather see your follie, then fall to this frensie; for my part, I wissh you better counsell and more reading; and although you tell me of ^r errors, ^l corrup: fancies and wayne imaginations, ^c shameful questiōs, ^u toyish fables, ^x fond, absurd, without sence or reason, then I doe but repeat the iudgements of the ancient and learned Fathers; yet I will beare them at

⁹Page. 78.
linea. 25.

^r Pag. I.
^c Pag. 3.
^l Pag. 54.
^u Pag. 81.
^x Pag. 68.

your hand, and from my heart doe pittie your ignorance, for I hope it bee but ignorance; howsoever you take vpon you to controle all as fond and absurde, that yeelde not to your humour.

For the clearing of this place of Peter, wherein the Confuter hath so much ouerseene himselfe, I stand not vpon the advantage of his wordes, but vpon the sounde and learned exposition of Saine Austen, whose antiquitie and authoritie concurring with the truth of the scriptures doth please me, & I trust (christian reader) will content thee. *Christus spiritu viuificatus est, cū in passione esset carne mortificatus. Quid est enim, quod viuificatus est spiritu, nisi quod eadem Caro, qua sola fuerat mortificatus viuificante spiritu surrexit? Nam quod anima fuerat mortificatus Iesus, hoc est eo spiritu qui hominis est, quis audeat dicere, cum mors anima non sit nisi peccatum, a quo ille omnino immunis fuit? Certe anima Christi non solum immortalis, secundum naturam ceterarum, sed etiam nullo mortificata peccato, vel damnatione punita est, quibus duabus causis mors anime intelligi potest; & ideo non secundum ipsam dici potuit Christus viuificatus spiritu. In ea re quippe viuificatus est, in qua fuerat mortificatus; ergo de carne dictum est. Ipsa enim reuixit anima redeunte, quia ipsa erat mortua anima recedente. Mortificatus ergo carne dictus est, quia secundū solam carnē mortuus est, viuificatus autem spiritu quia spiritu operante, etiā ipsa caro viuificata surrexit.* Christ was quickned by the spirit, when in his Pasion he was put to death in his flesh. What meaneth it, that he was quickned by the spirit, but that the same flesh, in VVHICH ONLY HE DIED, rose againe by the quickning of the spirit? For that Iesus DIED IN SOVLE, I meane in his humane spirit, VVHO DARE AFFIRME IT, where as the death of the soule is nothing (in this life) but sinne, from which he was wholie free? Surelie the soule of Christ was not onlie immortal by nature, as others are, but neither died by sinne nor was punished by any damnation, which are the two waies
how

for the clearing of certaine obiections. 325

how the soule maie possible die. And therefore Christ could not bee said to bee quickned in soule by the spirite: for in that part was hee quickned, in which hee died. Therefore it was spoken (by Peter) of Christs flesh. That reuiued when the soule returned, because that died, when the soule departed. Christ then is sayd to bee done to death in his flesh, for that hee died ONLY IN HIS FLESH, and to be quickned by the spirite, because that verie flesh rose againe being quickned by the working of the spirite. These learned and sound conclusions of S. Austen, are detrahitie repugnant to your weake and false obseruations, Sy: Resuter. Christ died in the flesh (saith Peter) that is saith Austen, in THE FLESH ONLY; for the soule of Christ died not, since the death of the soule is either sinne in this life, or damnation in the next, both which were farre from Christ. You tell vs that Christs soule not onlie died, but was also crucified; and all the prooffe you bring for it, besides Terence, is that Peter saith Christ died in the flesh. Now the flesh saie you, signifieth as well the soule as the bodie, and so Christ died in both: but such prooffes, if you vse them often, will proue you to haue a great deale lesse religion and learning, then you would seeme to haue.

What death the Scriptures affirme Christ died for vs, if you bee now to seeke at these yeares, it is pittie your shoulders haue beene so long troubled with your head. Can there bee faller, or plainer words then those which the foure Euangelists vse in describing the death, buriall, and resurrection of the bodie of our Saviour? Shew but one such word in Scripture or father, that Christ should die at the time of his Passion, and take the cause. [He layd downe his soule vnto death, you will saie;] You should haue done well in your pamphlette at least to haue laid that downe for a thewe, and not vpon your single word to haue vouched so weightie a matter as the death of Christs soule is; but you must be borne with, your wits are often not at home. What is ment by this that Christ laid downe or yelded his Soule.

• Eſai. 53.

326 The conclusion to the Reader,

^a August. tract.
47. in Iohan.

unto death, S. Austen largelie disputeth in his 47 treatise
 vpon S. Iohns Gospell. The effect is, when Christ laid
 downe his soule unto death, his bodie died, and not his
 soule. ^a *Quid fecit Passio, quid fecit mors, nisi corpus ab anima
 separauit? Si enim mortuus est dominus, immo quia mortuus est
 Dominus (mortuus est enim pro nobis in cruce) sine dubio caro
 ipseus expirauit animam. Hoc est ergo ponere animam, quod est
 mori. Cum ergo exit anima a carne, et remanet caro sine ani-
 ma, tunc homo ponere animam dicitur. Carni hoc tribue, caro
 ponit animam suam, & caro iterum sumit eam. Caro ponit a-
 nimam suam expirando. Ipse Dominus Christus dicitur sola
 caro. Audeo dicere, et sola caro Christi dicitur Christus. Con-
 fiteris illud quod habet fides, in eum Christum te credere, qui cruce
 cifixus est & sepultus. Ergo sepultum Christum esse non negas,
 & tamen sola caro sepulta est. Ergo Christus erat etiam caro
 sine anima, quia non est sepulta nisi caro. Disce hoc etiam in
 Apostolicis verbis, Humilianit semetipsum factus obediens
 usque ad mortem. Iam in morte SOLA CARO a Iudais est
 occisa, & tamen carne occisa Christus occisus est. Itacum caro
 animam posuit, Christus animam posuit, & cum caro ut resur-
 geret animam sumpsit, Christus animam sumpsit. What did the
 Passion, what did the death of Christ, but separate his bodie
 from his soule? If the Lord died for vs, yea rather because in-
 deede the Lord did die for vs: (for hee died for vs on the crosse,)
 doubtlesse his flesh did breath out his soule. Soe that to laie
 downe his soule and to die is all one. When the soule departeth
 from the flesh, & the flesh remaineth without any soule, then a
 man is said to lay downe his soule. Vnderstād this of the flesh,
 for the flesh laieth down her soule, & taketh it againe. the flesh
 laieth down her soule by breathing it forth. The Lord Iesus is
 called his flesh alone. I dare be bold to auouch it, THE ON-
 LY FLESH of Christ is called Christ. Thou confessest, as it is in
 thy Creede, that thou beleueest in that Christ, which was cru-
 cified & buried. Then thou acknowledgest Christ to be buried,
 & yet only his flesh was buried. Therefore flesh without a soule
 was*

for the clearing of certain obiections: 327

was Christ, because nothing of him but his flesh was buried. Learn the selfe same in the Apostles words, Christ humbled himselfe & was obedient vnto Death. Now in his death ONLY HIS flesh was killed of the Iewes, and yet the flesh being slaine, Christ was slaine. So when the flesh laid downe her soule, Christ laid downe his soule, and when the flesh tooke her soule againe to rise, Christ tooke his soule againe. To men that do not willfullie blind themselues these words are cleare enough, and they haue for their warrant the full consent of Scriptures, Councils, & Fathers, for 1400 yeares, without dissenting from it. ^b Christ suffered for you, (saith Peter) leauing you an ensample that you should follow his steppes, who himselfe bare our sinnes in his bodie on the Tree, that we being dead to sinne, should liue in righteousness. When Christ died to sin, his body died on the tree, his soul liued in righteousness: So must we do, for so did he, when he left vs an example how to follow his steppes. Our soules must not die before we can resemble his death; they must liue in righteousness as he did. ^c Every where (saith Paul) we beare about in our bodie the dying of the Lord Iesus, that the life of Iesus might also be made manifest in our bodies; which he thus expoundeth afterward. Therefore we faint not, but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is daily renewed. When in our bodies we carrie about the death of Christ, who for our example died in his bodie vnto sinne, that we should follow his steppes. And why doubt we hereof, since the same apostle doth in as plain & expresse words, as might be spoken, testifye, that Christ, when ^e we were enemies, reconciled vs IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH THROUGH DEATH; to make vs ^d ^e Colos. 1. holy, and without fault in his sight, grounded and stablished in faith, and not moued awaie from the hope of the Gospell? What could the hart of Paul inuent, or his tong vtter more effectually then this, that Christ THROUGH DEATH IN THE BODIE OF HIS FLESH reconcileth vs to God and maketh vs holies,

^b 1 Pet. 3

^c 2. Cor. 4

^d Ibid, vers. 16

^e Colos. 1.

holie, and without fault in his sight? If you can quarrell with these words (Sir Refuter) you maie do what you will with the Scriptures. No words will bind you, that take bodie for soule, life for death, faith for amazed feare, hope for intolerable horror, descending for ascending, and hell for heauen. What is this els but to make a confusion of all Religion, and giue open defiance to the trueth by taking one contrarie for the other? You do not so, you will saie. Leave so doing and these Questions will soone be determined. I prouie there was alwaies in Christ euidence of faith, assurance of hope, Joy of loue euen in the midst of his paines on the

- ^f Pag. 7. " crosse: and you graunt there was ^f not anie the least diminution in Christ of his faith, patience or obedience to God, neither was Christ so much as touched with anie waucering, much lesse fearing in his trust and confidence of Gods loue and
- ^s Pag. 77 " protection towards him. How then can the ^s horrour of Gods seuerer iustice and wrath, like them that indeed be separated from the grace and loue of God, bee in Christ: Or how can the sorrowes of the damned which are separated from the life of God bee found in Christ? how could Christ suffer ^h the same
- ^h pag. 46. " terrours of Gods wrath and assaults of the Deuill, yea far greater then the godlie feele in their consciences, for want of faith, and feare of Gods displeasure? What are these but plaine
- ⁱ pag 57 " contrarieties? Againe in Christ, you saie, ⁱ was no defect of grace; how then could the soule of Christ replenished with the spirite of life, and liuing in all fulnes of grace and trueth, bee dead? can you make one and the same part of Christ both aliuie and dead? Soe likewise if, Christ had but ^k feared
- ^k pag. 64 " to bee utterly forsaken with the hatred of his Father, that indeed
- ^l Pag. 49. " you saie were desperation, which God forbid. And yet you doe
- ^m Pag. 70. " not doubt but Christ was as ^l deepe lie touched with the ^m vni-
- ⁿ Pag 80. " speakeable horror of Gods ⁿ seuerer wrath due to sinne as the ^o
- ^o Pag. 81 " Reprobates themselves. A number of these hogepots you haue made vs; speaking of things which your selfe cannot, or dare not expresse. Sometimes you would saie affirme it

it in generall words, and when you come to particulars, you renounce it againe. In the verie case that gaue vs occasion of this rehearfall, when the Apostle saith, we are ^{Rom. 5.} reconciled to God by the death of his sonne, and explaining himselfe, saith the death that reconciled vs to God, was the death which Christ suffered ^{Col. 5.} in the bodie of his flesh; Is it not as cleare as daie light, that the bodilie death of Christ, which he suffered on the crosse, is by the scriptures resolu'd to bee the sufficient price of our redemption, and meane of our reconciliation to God, except you take the bodie of Christ for the soule of Christ, and the stripes and woundes of his flesh for the paines of hell? ^{1. Pet. 1.} Yee were redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, saith Peter. Can there bee plainer wordes, that Christes ^{Mat. 26.} blood shedde for the remission of our sinnes is the perfect price of our redemption, without the death of the soule, or paines of hell, which you interpose? So likewise, when Peter saith ^{1. Pet. 2.} Christ bare our sinnes in his bodie on the Tree, in that hee ^{1. Pet. 3.} suffered once for sinners when hee was put to death in his flesh; are you not forced to peruert these wordes for defence of your fancie, and to take the flesh for bodie and soule, that you maie make the death of Christe to bee common to both? [It is one thing, you will saie, to take the flesh for the whole man, and another to take the bodie for the soule.] I knowe it right well, but the one will not serue your turue without the other. By a part to name or note the whole man, is no newes in the Scriptures; but to ascribe the attributes of one part to the other, because the name of either part is sometimes taken for the whole, that is a generall subuerting of all the trueth of the Scriptures. Saint Austen tolde you euen now, that Christes dead flesh is called Christ; will you therefore referre the properties of Christes dead flesh vnto his soule, and not thinke you take the waie to dissolve as well the vnion as communion of two natures in Christ,

and of the distinction of two parts in his manhood? The body indeede is more distinguished from the soule, then the name of flesh is, because the regenerate part of the soule is in the Scriptures euerie where called flesh; but this hath no place in Christ, by reason no corruption of sinne cleaued vnto his soule, and therefore the name of flesh doeth no where signifie the soule in Christ, as it doeth often in vs; onelie by naming flesh in Christ, the scripture sometimes intendeth, that he disdained not the weakest and basest part of our nature, when he came to redēme vs. And so Saint Iohn saith, ^x The worde was made flesh, meaning the true and eternall sonne of God, vouchsafed to take not onelie our reasonable and humane soule vnto him, but euen our vilde and mortall flesh into the vnitie of his person, and so became man, that hee might restore man nowe fallen from God, and perished in his sinnes, to the fauour and life of God againe. But when the Scriptures saie, that Christ died for our sinnes, the auncient fathers and Councils with one consent applie that to the death of Christes bodie on the Crosse, and not to the death of the soule, or to anie paines of hell. And though in the Treatise before I haue cited such as sufficientlie witnesseth that doctrine to be sounde and Catholike, yet will I not bee greened to let thee see (Christian Reader) that there was nothing more commonlie, nor constantlie professed in the Primitiue Church, then the doctrine which I am now forced to defende against the rage and reproch of this slaundersous impugner.

^z *Post edita per facta diuinitatis sua monumenta, reliquum iam erat, ut pro omnibus sacrificium offerret, pro omnibus templum suum morti tradens, quo omnes innoxios & liberos à veteri prauaricatione efficeret, seque declararet mortis victorem. Corpus igitur quod communem cum omnibus habebat naturam (corpus enim humanum & mortale erat) ad similitudinem sui generis mortem excepit; verbum enim quoniam mori non potuit, ut pote immortale*

^z Iohn. I.

7 Achanasius
de incarnat.
verbi dei.

immortale, corpus sibi sumpsit, quod mori poterat; illudque ut suū pro omnibus obtulit, ut ita pro omnibus, omnibus ipse corpore coniunctus, mortempatiens, compefceret eum, qui mortis habebat imperium, hoc est Diabolum, & liberaret eos quotquot formidine mortis per omnem vitam obnoxij erant seruituti. After Christ by his deedes had declared his diuinitie, it remained that hee shoulde OFFER A SACRIFICE FOR ALL, yeelding vnto death the temple (of his bodie) for all, thereby to deliuer and discharge all from the olde transgression, and to declare himselfe the conquerour of death. His bodie therefore, which in nature was like all ours (for it was an humane and mortall bodie) died in like maner as bodies doe. For the sonne of God, because he could not die being immortall, tooke a bodie vnto him that might die, and offered that as his owne for all men, that so being ioined in bodie to all, and suffering death for all, he might repress him that had power of death, euen the Duell, and free those, that for feare of death were all their life long subiected to seruitude. Epiphanius treadeth in the same ^{Epiphanius 2^o ref. 69.} **steps.** When the sonne of God (saith he) would suffer of his owne good will for mankinde, because his diuinitie coulde not suffer, being of it selfe impassible, hee tooke ἡμέτερον παθόντων σώμα, OVR BODIE THAT MIGHT SVFFER, that therein hee might yeelde to suffer, and admitted our sufferings, his Godhead being present in his flesh, the godhead suffereth not. For he that saith I am life, how can he die? But God remaining impassible συμπάσχει τῆ σαρκί, suffereth by his flesh, that his passion may be accounted to his deitie, though it suffered not to the ende our saluation shoulde bee from God. In his flesh was the suffering, least wee should haue a passible God. Which indeede is impassible, imputing that suffering vnto himselfe, according to his free choise, and not of anie necessitie. Ambrose in like sort. ^{Ambrosii in Lucam. lib. 4 de duct. Christi in desertum} *Laqueus contritus est, & nos liberati sumus. Non potuit melius conteri laqueus nisi per adam aliquam diabolo demōstrasset, ut dum ille festinaret ad per adam, suis laqueis ligaretur. Qua potuit esse preda nisi corpus? Oportuit igitur*

tur hoc fraudem Diabolo fieri, ut susciperet corpus dominus Iesus & corpus hoc corruptibile corpus infirmum, ut crucigeretur ex infirmitate Si enim fuisset corpus spirituale, non dixisset, spiritus promptus est; caro autem infirma. The snare is broken, and we are deliuered. The snare could not bee better broken, then by shewing the diuel some pray, that whiles he hastned to the pray, he might be wrapped in his owne snares. What pray could there be beside the bodie (of man?) It was therefore requisite the diuell should bee thus deceiued, that the Lord Iesus should take a body vnto him, euen this corruptible & weake body of ours, that he might be crucified through infirmitie. Had it beene a spiritual bodie that he tooke, he would neuer haue said, the spirite is ready, but the flesh is weake.^a The same Christ suffered, and suffered not; died and died not, rose againe and did not rise, because hee raised vp his owne bodie. For that which fell, that rose againe; that which fell not, needed not rise. Hee rose then according to the flesh, which being dead did rise againe. Ergo alio he died in our nature which he tooke vnto him, and suffered in the body which he tooke, that we might belecue he tooke a true bodie. **To the vnbelæuer asking,** Shall I belecue God in flesh, God borne of a woman, God crucified, whipped, dead, wounded, buried?^b **Austen answereth,** thy God remaineth vnchangeable; feare not, he perisheth not. Christ was borne of a woman, but in his flesh. Hee was an infant, but in his flesh. Hee sucked, increased, was nourished, and grewe in age, but in his flesh. Wearied he slept, but in his flesh. Hee hungred and thirsted, but in his flesh. He was taken, bound, whipped & mocked: yea he was **CRUCIFIED AND KILLED, BUT IN HIS FLESH.** Why art thou afraid? The word which was God remaineth for euer. He that despiseth this humblenes of God wil neuer be cured from the deadly swelling of pride. The Lord Iesus therefore by his flesh gaue hope to our flesh. To be borne, and to die were here on earth common, to liue for euer was not here. Christ found here our earthlie wares, which were wilde, and brought with him his heauenlie, which were strange. If thou

^a Idē. de incarn. sacrament. ca. 5

^b Augst. de verbis domini secundum Iohannem, serm. 42.

thou feare (his) death, loue (his) resurrection. ^c He came to the place of our pilgrimage to take that which aboundeth here, eue^c mocks, whippes, blowes, spitings in his face, reproches, hanging, the crosse and death. These things abound in our region, to this entertainment hee came. What hath he giuen thee here? Instruction exhortation, and remission of sinnes. What hath he promised thee O mortall man? that thou shalt liue for euer. Doe^cst thou not beleue it? Beleue it, I say, beleue it. It is more that he hath alreadie done, then that hee hath promised. It is more incredible, that the eternall died, then that the mortall shall liue for euer. If God died for man, shall not man liue with God? But can God die? Hee tooke from thee wherein to die for thee. THERE COULD NOT DIE BVT FLESH, THERE COULD NOT DIE BVT A MORTALL BODIE. Hee clothed himselfe with that wherein hee might die for thee; hee will clothe thee, wherein thou shalt liue with him. ^dIn that (part) Christ died, in which thou shalt die: in that (part) Christ rose in which thou shalt die. ^dIdem in ps. 70 Thou wilt pardon mee (Christian Reader) if among so much lothsome stufte of reprobate heresies, damned paines, and hellish torments, as this Confuter hath heaped together, I solace my selfe sometimes with the longer comfort of sounde and sweete doctrine, so sincerelie and sensiblie deliuered by the learned and auncient Fathers. I will alledge one place more where in thou shalt see the full consent of prouinciall and generall Councels, not to bee gaine^csaide by anie man that will beare the name of a Christian, and so shutte by this point.

Cyrril writing to Nestorius, to stay and suppress that false doctrine which hee beganne then to spreade; teacheth vs verie plainelie howe the sonne of God is saide in the Scriptures to SUFFER, DIE, AND RISE AGAINE for vs, and our saluation. ^c So wee saie (the sonne of God) suffered and rose againe; not that the sonne of GOD suffered in his owne nature, either the stripes, or the boaring of

^c August. in psal 148.

^dIdem in ps. 70

^cCyrril epist. 8 ad Nestorium.

the nailes, or the rest of the woundes, ἀπαθὲς γὰρ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι
 καὶ ἀσώματον, the Deitie could not suffer by reason it is no
 bodilie substance; but because THAT BODIE, which hee
 made his owne, suffered these things, himselfe is saide to suffer
 these things for vs. ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀπαθὴς ἐν τῷ πάσχειντι σώματι;
 He that could not suffer was then in his bodie which suffere-
 red. After the same manner wee thinke of his dying. The
 sonne of God is by nature immortall, incorruptible, life and the
 giuer of life; but because the bodie, which was his owne, tas-
 ted death for all by the fauour of God, as *Paule* speaketh,
 hee himselfe is saide to haue suffered death for vs, not that hee
 had experience of death as touching his owne nature, (it
 were a madnesse so to thinke, or say) but for that as I saide e-
 uen nowe, his flesh tasted death: So his flesh rising againe,
 it is called his Resurrection, not that hee fell to corruption,
 God forbidde; but that his bodie rose againe. When this
 stayed not the frenzie of Nestorius the heretike, but that
 hee replied in swelling woordes, Cyrill called a Coun-
 cell at Alexandria, and there with one consent, they ap-
 proued the trueth, and sent it vnto Nestorius to bee con-
 fessed in these woordes amongst others; If anie man doe
 not confesse that the Sonne of GOD suffered in his flesh,
 was crucified in his flesh, and tasted death in his flesh, let
 himbee accursed. Dilating this and the rest of their Ar-
 ticles in their Synodall Epistle sent to Nestorius, they
 saie, & Wee confesse that the onelie begotten God, euen the
 sonne borne of God his father, though hee were impaissible in
 his owne nature, yet suffered hee in his flesh for vs accord-
 ing to the Scriptures; καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ σαρωθέντι σώματι, τὰ
 τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς ἀπαθὴς οἰκισμῶν πάθη; and was in his
 bodie that was crucified, accounting the sufferings of his owne
 flesh as proper vnto him, though he were without suffering; and
 by the grace of God tasted death for all, διὰ τὴν αὐτῷ ἰδίον
 σῶμα, when he gaue his owne bodie vnto death. This doctrine
 came to bee scanned in the third generall Councell helde at
 Ephesus,

† Synod. Alex-
 and. anathe-
 macimus. 12.

† Epistola Sy-
 nodi Alex-
 andrinæ ad
 Nestorium in-
 ter Cyril. epist.
 10.

^hEphesus, and being there deliberatly read, was worde for worde allowed of the whole Councell, as agreeable to the ^hEphesin. concilii. Sect. I. Scriptures and the Nicene fathers. The like approbation it had, not onely in the Councell of Constantinople vnder Flavianus, but in the great councell of ⁱChalcedon, where the proceedings of both these Councels were a fresh examined, and the former wordes of Cyrill repeated and confirmed, with the full consent of that general Councell, as most sound and catholike. ⁱ.Concil.Chalcedon. act. I

So that he shall ill deserue the name of a christian, that after so many fathers, and Councels, both Princiell and Generall, will begin to teach vs a new faith, and tell vs that the Scriptures meane Christ was crucified and died, as wel in his soule, as in his bodie; since the whole Church with one assent hath euer so conceiued and expounded the Scriptures, that Christs crucifying and dying must bee referred to his bodie; and consequentlie that the ioynt sufferings of Christ (the soule feeling what the bodie suffered) were most available for our redemption. For when they ascribe the crucifying and death of Christ to his bodie; they doe not exclude the soule from the sense and feeling of the paine, which is a naturall consequent to the continuation with her bodie, but they shew what part of Christs manhoode suffered the crosse and death, that the Scriptures so much speake of, and whereby wee are redeemed and reconciled vnto G D D. One place repeated in the Councell of Ephesus, maye serue in steede of manye, to declare their meaning. ^kHowe can the Creator of all things, who is neither visible, palpable, nor mutable, sustaine the Crosse and death? Wee saie the sonne of God sustained the Crosse and death in his owne fleshy, that hee might deliuer vs from death and corruption. Hee laide downe his soule for vs, not as an alien and straunger to the sonne of God, but vnspeakeable vnited vnto him, as himselfe saith; I haue power to lay downe my soule, and I haue power to take it againe.

^k Interrogatio & respō. in concil. Ephesino proposita.

ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ἰδίον τὸ ἀδολμοῦν, τὸ λύπην ὑπομένειν, ἢ ἐκδιμῆν ἀπὸ
 τῆς σαματῆ; ὡς κρεὶς καὶ σαρκὸς ἢ κοπιᾶν, ἢ σαυρῶσαι, τὸ ἀνίστα-
 σθαι. It is proper to the soule to bee penitue, to feele paine and
 grieft, to depart from the bodie; as it is proper to the flesh to be
 wearied, to be crucified, to be raised againe. So the violence
 was offered to the bodie, the sense whereof reached vnto the
 soule; and these are the sufferings of the crosse, and of death,
 which the Scriptures attribute to the sonne of God for our
 saluation; In somuch that your long discourse of the proper
 and immediate suffering of Christs soule for sinne with-
 out and besides the bodie, maie be hanged on the hedge, as
 discording both from the scriptures, and all the Catholike fa-
 thers, that either haue priuatelie testified the truth by their
 writings, or publickly confirmed it by their assemblies. And
 as for your hellish paines, when your selfe can tell what they
 are, and make some better profe, then yet you haue done,
 that they were, or might be in the soule of Christ, you shal re-
 ceive further answer.

These are the Refuters requisite arguments, which he cal-
 leth his speciall reasons, being indeede rather so manie mon-
 sters in Christian Religion, then matters to perswade a
 nie man were he neuer so simple, and but that a straunge
 faith muste needes haue such straunge groundes as these
 bee, I shoulde thinke hee did rather expose this con-
 cepte of Hell paines, to bee derided of the worlde, then
 to bee beleued, hee cuerte where so secondeth his
 badde cause with woozse proofes; but where better foode
 wanteth, Akoznes are good meate, and blacke Moozes
 maie bee beautifull, when others bee stuate. I woulde
 heere make an ende of his first parte, but that as his
 manner is, when hee hath stumbled absurdly a long
 while at hell hee steppeth on the suddaine as vnhand-
 somelie to heauen. ^l Knowe therefore (saith hee) hell, as we

^l Pag. 80:

“ take it is euen in this life founde sometime, as heauen is like-

^m Pag. 81

“ wise; for as ^m touching materiall fire in hell, what a toyish
 fable

fable is that^e else I praie you how may the soules of the damned suffer by materiall fier, seeing they are spirits, and therefore with them and fier materiall there can be no communion. But let it be as it may be; the locall hell of the damned we speake not of. You slacke your hell paines (Sir Refuter) towards the ende, as if all this while you had bene too hot in them; and heere you giue thre qualifications to them; or rather contradictions to your former speeches. Hell as you take it is SOMETIMES found in this life. But two leaues before you tolde vs the ⁿ paines and sufferings of Gods wrath, which are the hell that you saie Christ suffered, ALVAIES accompanie them that are separated from the grace & loue of God; how cometh ALVAIES to be so quicklie changed into SOMETIMES? were there fewer wicked when you spake the last wordes, then when you spake the first? or are you better aduised; remembryng what a grosse absurditie it woulde be to cast all infidels and hypocrites, wicked and disobedient persons into hel torments all the time of this life before the iudgment of God taketh hold of them? Secondlie, ^o as there is heauen euen in this life in some measure, euen so, saie you, there may be hell. You doe not meane that here on earth are the verie same ioies and blisse that are in heauen, nor anie way equall to them; if you did, it were a lewder absurditie then the former. For here we reioice, that our names are written in heauen; (as the Apostle teacheth vs to doe) we reioice vnder the hope of the glorie of God. Now hope that is seene, is not hope. For howe can a man hope for that which hee seeth (or possesseth?) but when we hope for that we see not, we doe with patience abide for it. In this life we walke by faith, not by sight; and whiles we dwell in the bodie, we are absent from the Lord. For though we be now the sonnes of God, it appeareth not as yet what we shal be; our life is hid with Christ in God; when Christ, who is our life shall appeare, then shall wee also appeare with him in glorie. If you therefore affirme of heauen as you do of hell, that the verie same ioies which are

ⁿ Page. 77.

^o Page. 80.

^p Luke. 10

^q Rom. 5

^r Rom. 8.

^s 2. Cor. 5

^t 1. John. 3

^u Colos. 3

338 The conclusion to the Reader,

in heauen, or EQVALL with them are here sometime found on earth, it is a wicked error flatlie repugning to the truth of Gods promises, and to the verie nature of our Christian faith and hope. (For ^x faith is the 'grounde of thinges hoped for, and the euidence of thinges not yet appearing,) but if you meane that as wee conceaue HOPE of heauenlie blisse, so wee must needs REIOYCE in it; this position is verie true, but plainelic opposite to your imagination of hell paines. For then must there in this life bee no moze felte of hell, but the FEARE thereof, and the grieue arising from that feare; euen as the HOPE of heauen maintaineth our ioye. For we in Christ could not haue the feare of hell possible bee founde, nor anie grieue, or sorowe arising from anie such feare, since there was in his soule no wante of faith nor hope, *no y not axie the least diminution* of either, as your selfe confesse; but as the Apostle saith, ^z FOR THE IOY THAT VVAS SET BEFORE HIM he endured the (paine of the) crosse, and despised the shame. And here you may see by your owne comparison the follie of your owne assertion. For if your hellish sorow ^a be the only true and perfectly accepted sacrifice to God, (as you saie) and ^b without faith it is impossible to please God; which alwaies hath hope, and consequentlie, ^c the ioie of saluation annered vnto it, which you call heauen; then can no man please God, or offer anie sacrifice to God, till hee bee both in hell and heauen at one and the same time; and the ioyes of heauen are so coupled with the paines of hell, that none of the faithfull can be in the one without the other, but in both together. And thus haue you brought heauen and hell not onelic to bee euerie where, but by your corrupt conceites to bee alwaies linked together. Lastlie, the fire of hell doeth somewhat trouble you, and therefore you labour vtterly to quench it; and aske, ^d what a toyish fable is that? but good Sir, if you would bring no moze fables then I doe, you might haue spared not euerie lease, but euerie line in this

^zHebre. I I.

^z Pag. 71.

^zHebre. 12.

^a Pag. 68.

^bHebre. I I.

^cPsal. 51.

^d Pag. 31.

this your vnadvised pamphlet. I spake not in my sermon one word either of materiall, or corporall fire in hell, but I vjged the fire of hel to be a true created fire, and not any metaphoricall flame, as you here dreame: from which since the bodie and soule of Christ were both free, he did not suffer the true paines of hell, nor the same torments which the damned do in hell; and which wee should haue suffered, had wee not bene redeemed.

° This (you saie) is great iniquity, yea plaine sophistry to accuse against you, and to make your most holie truth odious with the people onely by the ambiguitie of the worde hell. Begin you now to finde the sensible absurditie of your mishapen fancie? if you woulde haue taken the name of hell metaphorically for great and exceeding paines, this question had bene sooner calmed, and our Crowde freed from your nettle found exposition. But to father your opinion vpon the creed with more likelihood, where the word hell is properly taken, (though you now hatch vs a new signification of hell out of Socrates,) you then vjged as your selfe in this present confutation do still vjge, that Christ must haue the ^{FVLL} *VVAIGHT AND BURDEN of our sinnes laid vpon him, and suffer those sorrowes and paines for sinne, VVHICH ELSE VVE SHOVLDE; that his price VVAS THE SAME which else wee shoulde haue payde; that seeing it* ^h *was possible for him to feele THE FVLL SMART of our sinnes, yea ALL OVR SMART, and Gods strict iustice so required, IT VVAS SO, AND MVST BE SO; as also, that* ⁱ *it is not proportionable with iustice, that an easer punishment should satisfie for a greater sinne, and* ^k *of all absurdities the greatest, that meere men shoulde suffer more deepe then Christ did; and therefore,* ^l *Christ sustained euen the sense of Gods wrath DVE to our sinnes, and had the* ^m *VVHOLE CURSE of God for sinne executed on him, that is the* ⁿ *DEATH OF THE SOVLE and the* ⁿ *TORMENTES and sor-*

[°] Pag. 30.

^f Pag. 28.

^g Pag. 34

^h pag. 37.

ⁱ pag. 2

^k pag. 48

^l Pag. 73.

^m Pag. 40.

ⁿ Pag. 77.

Sophistrie Sir, what is the FULL BURDEN of our finnes, and THE SAME PRICE which we should haue payde, what is OVR FULL SMART yea ALL OVR SMART, and the VVHOLE CURSE OF GOD; what is the DEATH of the soule, and the TORMENTS DVE TO THE DAMNED, but those verie things which I by the warrant of Gods word told the people were prepared and threatned to the wicked, and shall bee executed on them in hell, as they shoulde haue bin on vs, if we had not bin redeemed by the blood of Christ? you must recall all your reasons, and vnfaile all these positions before you can auoid that which I object. If Christ did, and must by Gods iustice suffer the VVHOLE, the SAME, and ALL that was due to vs for our finnes; the we me, good Sir, I praye you (for I confesse it passeth my reach) how you can free him from the darknes, destruction, reprobation, malediction, worme or fire of hel? yea those words, if you looke not well to them, and rebate them in time with some fresh write, they will carrie with them both the PLACE and PERPETVITY of hell; for both these were DVE to our finnes, and are parts of Gods CURSE, and should haue bene executed on vs, as they shall bee on the damned; and out of ALL, the VVHOLE, and the SAME, how can you except anie, but by an open *Vray dire* of dotage? [*° The local hel of the damned you speake not of.*] Speake of what you will; so long as your assertions, in full and plaine termes inferre and conclude so much; well your words may runne without your wits; but I tell you trulie what is the consequent of them, and leaue those wordes, and then your most holie trueth is left naked without shew or shadow of prooue. For these generals, the VVHOLE, the SAME, and ALL giue life, such as it is, to your childish reasons. Without them you cannot open your mouthe to make one conclusion.

But because hell fire so much crosseth your cause, that you would faine be rid of it, and burneth your fingers so fast, (*Sic Refuter,*) that you strue to cast water on it; giue mee
leane

leauē a little to let you vnderstand, it flameth moze fiercelie, then that you can quenche it with the licour of your mouth. And the rather for that in the eares of all men it is a most sensible reproofe of your vsfauorie position. For if Christ suffered not the fire of hell in bodie noz soule, then most apparantlie he suffered not the FULL burden of our sinnes, noz paid the SAME price which wee should haue paide, noz endured ALL our smart, noz felt the VVHOLE curse of God, noz sustained the tormentes DVE to the DAMNED; and therefore the true kindling of this fire, is the vtter quenching of your new deuised hell paines. Knowe you therefore (Sir Refuter) that your metaphoricall fire in hell is a phantastical error of yours; and you shall doe well to tremble at the terrible iudgement of God threatned in his worde with moze religion, then to cast off that fire as a *toyists fable*. I shall not neede to rehearse, how often it is denounced in the Scriptures, and in what vehement and constant manner; let vs learne rather carefullie to shunne the place, then cunninglie to shift the word, which they shall finde to bee no figure, that feele it. ¶ A fire (saith God himselfe) is kindled in my wrath, and shall burne to the bottome of hell, it shall eate through the earth, and the depth thereof, and shal inflame the foundations of the hills. ¶ Behold, (saith Esay) the Lord wil come with fire, that he may recompence his anger with wrath, and his indignation with the flame of fire, for the Lorde shall iudge with fire. The slaine of the Lorde shall bee manie, their Worme shall not die, neither shal their fire be quenched. Which wordes our Sauiour directlie referreth to hell. ¶ It is better to enter into life hauling, then hauing two legs to bee cast into hell, into the fire that neuer shall bee quenched, where their Worme dieth not, and the fire neuer goeth out. ¶ If wee sinne willinglie (saith the Apostle to the Hebrues,) there remaineth no more sacrifice for sinnes, but a fearefull expectation of iudgement, and raging fire, which shal deuoure the aduersaries. ¶ As Sodome and Gomorra and the cities about

Deutero. 32

Esai. 66

Mark. 9.

Hebre. 10.

Judæ. epist.

342 The conclusion to the Reader,

them are set forth for an ensample, and suffer the vengeance of eternall fire. ^u The fearefull and vnbeleeuing, the abhominable and murderers, and whoremongers, and forcerers, and Idolaters and all lyars shal haue their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death; **To whome the Iudge shall saie, when they shall see the truth thereof before their eyes,** ^x Depart from mee ye cursed into euerlasting fire, prepared for the Diuell and his angels. ^y For the Lord Iesus shall shewe himselfe from heauen with the Angels of his power in flaming fire rendering vengeance to them which know not God, and obey not the Gospell. **That the fire with which Christ shall appeare to iudge, shall bee corporall and visible to all mens sights can bee no question, it** ^z shall dissolue the heauens, melt the elements, and burne vp the earth with the workes that are therein, as Peter affirmeth: and that the wicked shall euerlastingly burne therein, all the Fathers with one consent acknowledge. ^a Ignorance (saith Austen) of such as are not willfully, but simplie ignorant, shall excuse no man from burning in euerlasting fire. For it is not saide without cause: Christ shall come in flaming fire to render vengeance to those y^e know not God. ^b In flaming fire rendering vengeance; this (saith Ierome) *Paul* speaketh against them because they dreamt of the paine of conscience, and thought this impossible. If the flame by Gods commandement did not so much as touch the three men (that were cast into it,) ^c why by the same power shoulde not fire be beleued to bee sharper to some, and easier to others? ^c Christ shal come (saith Ambrose) with his heauenlie armie, and with fire as his minister to giue vengeance on the Pagans which knewe not God, and the Iewes which beleued not the gospell of Christ, all which the fire shall burne, that they may bee punished with euerlasting destruction, alwaies feeling it, and neuer failing in it, that the verie paine which consumeth them, may euer renewe them. And so Chrysofome. ^d Thinke on this fire, and thou wilt count the pleasure of sinne to bee no pleasure. If
the

^u Apoc. 2. 1.

^x Matt. 25
^y 2. Thessa. 1

^z 2. Pet. 3

^a August. de
grat. & lib. ar-
bitr. cap. 3

^b Hierony. in 2.
Thessa. ca. 1

^c Ambros. in,
2. Thessa. ca. 1

^d Chrysof. in
2. Thessa. ca. 1

the onely sight of a deade man so quaile our hearts, howe much more hell, and the fire which cannot be quenched? because the very remembrance of it is able to drawe vs to do well, therefore God hath appointed the very threatning of it, as an wholesome medicine for our soules.

Your Queuesse obiections against these and the like places, that if there be true fire in hell, why not a true worme as well, and much wood? And if this fire were prepared for Diuels that are spirits, what communion hath fire with spirits? these trifles of yours I saie, S. Austen hath long since fullie considered, and learnedlie refuted, and plaunlie resolved, that all these toys notwithstanding, the fire of hell is not onelie a TRUE fire, which were my words, but a CORPORAL fire that shall punish both men and diuels; at which you so much wonder. *Mitti in gehennam ignis, ubi vermis eorum non moritur, & ignis non extinguitur, non piguit uno loco eadem verbatim dicere. Quem non terreat ista repetitio, & illius pene comminatio tam vehemens ore diuino?* To be cast into hell fire, where their worme dieth not, and the fire quenchem not, Christ did not loath in one place, to repeate the same wordes thrice. Whome woulde not this repetition terrifie, and the threatning of that paine so earnest by Christes owne mouth? Both these, the fire and the worme, such as woulde haue them to belong to the paines of the soule, and not of the body, saie; that fire may be here fitlie taken for burning griefe; as the Apostle speaketh, *f* who is offended, and I burne not? the same kinde of griefe they thinke, may be vnderstood by the worme; for so it is written, *g* As the worme wasteth woode, so doeth griefe the heart of man. On the other side those that doubt not, but in hell the bodie and soule shall be both punished, they affirme the body shall bee afflicted with fire, the soule with a kinde of sorrowe, as it were with a worme. The which though it bee MORE LIKELIE, because it IS ABSVRD, that in hel should want either paine of bodie or of soule; I rather beleue that both PERTAINE TO THE BODY, then that neither; and that the
Scripture

August. de ciuitate dei. lib. 21. cap. 9

2. Corin. 21.

Prouerb. 25

344 The conclusion to the Reader,

scripture in these wordes suppresseth the griefe of the soule, because it followeth as a consequent, though it be not expressed, that the bodie beeing so tormented, the soule must likewise bee afflicted with an vnfruitfull repentance. For it is writte n in the bookes of the olde Testament, ^h the vengeance on the flesh of the wicked is fire and worme. Let euerie man choose what best pleaseth him, to attribute fire to the bodie, the worme to the soule, the one properly, the other figuratiuely; or both to the bodie properly. For I haue afore sufficientlie shewed, that certaine creatures liue euen in the fire in burning without consuming, in payne without death, by the marucilous power of the Almighty Creator; which to be possible whosoever denieth, knoweth not by whome all wonders are wrought. Let therefore euerie man choose of the twaine, which he liketh best, whether he will referre the worme properlie to the bodie, or to the soule, by a kinde of translation of thinges corporall to spirituall, so that BY NO MEANES HEE THINKE the bodies in hell shall bee such, that they shall not be touched with the paine of fire. ⁱ Heere riseth another question, if the fire that shall afflict (in hell) bee not incorporall, as the griefe of the soule is, but CORPORALL AND HVRTING VHERE IT TOUCHETH, that bodies may therein bee tormented, howe the wicked spirits shall bee punished by the same? For the same fire is prouided to punish both men and Diuels as Christ saith, ^k *Depart from me yee cursed into euerlasting fire prepared for the Diuel and his Angels.* Why should we not say that incorporall spirits may be afflicted by the paine of corporall fire, after a true but a maruailous manner, when as the spirits of men beeing also incorporall, may nowe bee inclosed in the members of their bodies, and shall then bee tied to the bandes of their bodies without dissolution? therefore the spirits of Diuels, or rather the spirits that are Diuels, though they bee incorporall, shall be FASTENED TO CORPORALL FIRE, thereby to be tormented after a straunge and vspeakeable manner: Fastened I saie, to receiue torment from the fire, not to giue

^h Ecclesiast. 7

ⁱ Idem de ciuitate dei lib. 21. cap. 10

^k Math. 25.

giue

giue life to the fier. And hell it selfe which is called the lake burning with fire and brimstone, SHALL BE A CORPORAL FIER, and shall torment the bodies of men with their soules, and the diuels that are spirits without bodies feeling paine, but not giuing life to those CORPORALL FIERS. The steps of Austen doth Gregorie followe: ^l Corporall fier to continue needeth corporal nourishment: but contrariwise the fier of hell (which is incorporeal) and shall CORPORALLY BURNE the wicked cast into it, is neither kindled with mans industrie, nor fed with wood, but once created remaineth vnquenchable, and needeth no kindling, and wanteth no burning. Therefore the Scriptures, to shew that the reprobate burne within & without, say, they are deuoured with fier, and made as an ouen, that by fier they may bee tormented in their bodies, and by grieffe burne in their mindes. And though the word *incorporeus* bee crept here into Gregories text in stead of *Corporeus*, as appeareth by the comparison and words adioyning, (for it were no straunge thing that a metaphoricall fier should neede no kindling of man, nor nourishing of wood; & how can an incorporeal fier CORPORALLY burne the reprobate, which are the words presently following?) yet to put that out of doubt, his opinion is clere to the contrarie in his Dialogues, where hee saith: ^m That the FIER OF HELL IS CORPORALL, I haue no doubt, in which it is certain bodies shall be tormented. And if the diuell and his angels being incorporall shall be tormented with CORPORALL FIER, what maruell if the soules before they receiue their bodies feele corporall torments?

^l Greg moral.
li. 15. cap. 17.

^m Idem. dia-
log. lib. 4.

Neither were they the first that made this resolution; that an actuall and sensible fier shall torment the bodies & soules of the damned; the Church of Christ from the beginning beleueed y same. ⁿ The prophane Philosophers (saith Tertullian) know the difference of this common and that hid fier; so far distant is this which serueth mans vse, fro y which in Gods iudgement appeareth, whether it flash with thunder from heauen, or break through the earth by the tops of hills. For that consumeth not, what it burneth; but rather repayreth what it eateth, as the

ⁿ Tertul. in
apologetico
versus finem.

mountaines euer burning doe still continue, and he that is blasted from heauen liueth and turneth not to ashes. This is a testimony of that eternall fier, this is an example of that perpetuall iudgement, which maintaineth punishment. The hills burne and dure; how then shall the wicked and the enemies of God?

o Laſtant. de diuino præmiſiſ li. 7. ca. 21.

Laſtantius in like ſort: o The holy Scriptures teach vs how the wicked ſhall be puniſhed. Becauſe they ſinned in their bodies, they ſhall take their fleſh again, that they may be puniſhed in their bodies; yet that fleſh which God will clothe man with, ſhall not bee like this earthly fleſh, but indiffoluble and remaining for euer, that it may ſuffice for torment, and for euerlaſting fier. The nature of which fier is diuerſe from this which wee vſe about the neceſſaries of this life. For that fier alwaies liueth and burneth of it ſelfe without any nourishment. The ſame diuine fier therefore with one and the ſame ſtrength and power ſhall burne and continue the wicked, and ſhall yeeld it ſelfe euerlaſting maintenance, ſo as it ſhall only burne and torment without any decay to the bodie.

p Cyprian. ad Demetrianũ.

Cyprian is often and earneſt in this cauſe: P *Cremabit addictos ardens ſemper gehenna, & viuacibus flammis vorax pœna, nec erit vnde habere tormenta vel requiem poſſint aliquando, vel finem*: Hell alwaies burning ſhall broyle them that are adiudged to it, and paine ſhall deuoure them, with continuall flames; neither ſhall their torments haue

q Idem de lauacrii martyrij.

eaſe or end. And againe, q *Saniens locus cui gehenna nomen eſt, eructantibus flammis per horrendam ſpiſſæ caliginis noctem, ſeu ſemper incendia camini ſumantis expirat; globus ignium atratus obſtruitur, & in varios pœne exitus relaxatur*: The cruell place,

r Idem de aſcenſione chriſti.

which is called hell, caſteth vp fearfull fiers, like a burning chimney, the flames breaking through the horrible darknes of y thick miſt; a whole globe of blackiſh fier ſtanding and reſolving into diuers ſorts of torments. r *Stridore illum Dentium flamme inextinguibiles agitabant, immortales miſeri viuēt inter incendia, & inconſumpſibiles flamma nudū corpus allambent*: Vnquenchable

flames ſhall force that gnawing of teeth, immortall wretches ſhall liue in the miſt of fier, and flames neuer conſuming ſhall wrap their naked bodies. Hell as Chryſoſtome writeth, hath fier and darknes, but far worſe then theſe which we are ac-

quainted

quainted with. For if there be fier (saith he) how is there darknesse? thou seest that fier is more grievous then this our fier, for it hath no light; if it bee fier, how doth it burne for euer? thou seest it is worse then ours, for that is not to be quenched, and therefore is called vnquenchable. Let vs then thinke with our selues how great a miserie it is, to burne for euer, to be in darknes, to make continuall lamentation, and to gnash the teeth and not to be regarded? if darknes alone doe so terrifie, and trouble our hearts, what shall it do when such griefes & flames of fier come with it?

Minutius Felix in his dialogue betwixt an Ethnicke and a Christian, cited by Lactantius in his first booke *De falsa religione cap. 11*. saith; As the lightnings touch mens bodies, but consume them not; and the flames of the hills *Ætna* & *Vesuius*, and of other parts of the earth do burne & not waste; so that punishing fier (in hell) feedeth not vpon the decayes of their bodies that burne, but continueth without eating or wasting their bodies. The same comparison doth *Pacianus*, y^e died vnder *Theodosius*, make in his exhortation vnto repentance against the *Nouatians*: *Post animarum tēpestiua supplicia rediuiuis quoque perpetua corporibus pœna seruatur*: After the due punishment of the soules, (of the wicked) a perpetuall torment is prepared for their bodies that shall be restored to life. The force whereof you may coniecture by the things which are in this world. *Ætna*, *Lisaniculus*, and *Vesuius* in *Campania* doe cast out vnceasing, flames of fier, and to manifest to vs the perpetuities of that (terrible) iudgement, they still breake & waste, and yet neuer end. *Sibylla* whom *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, and *Austen* alledge and allow as inspired by God, describeth the last iudgemēt with these words: The earth cleaving shall lay open the dungeon of hell; all kings shall come before the Tribunall of God, and a flood of fire and brimstone shall fall from heauen (vpon the wicked.) *Christus in suo tunc terrore videbitur, eique ignis iudicij in reproborum vindicta famulabitur, quia videlicet Ignis ille iudicij, qui cœlum, aerem, & terram concremat, peccatores involuit; quos proculdubio in pœna sua damnationis confringit*: Christ then shall be seene in his terror, and the fier of iudgement shall serue him to reuenge the Reprobate, by rea-

f Chrysest. in hebre ca. 1. homilia. 1.

e Minutius Felix in Octauio.

u Pacianus in: parænesi ad i pœnitentiam.

x Lactantius lib. 7. ca. 20.

x Eusebius de vita Constant.

x August. de ciuitate Dei

li. 18. ca. 23.

y Greg. in Ezechiel homil. 2.

z Idem moral.
li. 9. ca. 39.

son the very fier of iudgement, which melteth the heauens, the ayre and the earth, wrappeth in sinners, whom doublelesse it crusheth in the torment of their damnation. z Hea, the flame of hell shineth not to the Reprobate for their comfort, and yet giueth light for their punishment; that to the eyes of the damned though the fier of their torment shine with no brightnes, yet it sheweth for their further grieffe in what sort they are punished. How thinke you Sir Refuter, is it a TOYISH FABLE worthy of such contempt as you make it, or a point of Christian doctrine deliuered by the Prophets and Apostles, and receiued by the ffathers in all ages in Christs Church, that the FIRE of hell shalbe VISIBLE and SENSIBLE to the bodies of the wicked, and shall ETERNAL- LY and CORPORALLY punish the damned according to their deserts without quenching it selfe, or consuming the? And your foolish Philosophie that things cozpozall cannot worke vpon things spirittual, must glue place to the power and will of the Almighty; by whose appointment wee see in this life nothing more common, the that the soule which is spirittual, suffereth from her bodie all kindes of paines; and therefore it is as easie for God to make the soule feele fier in the next life without the bodie, as with the bodie; whose power if it please you to impagne, you must leaue the name of a Christian, and get you some other profession. So then the paines which the damned feele, besides the grieffe of heauen lost, is FLAMING FIER intolerably tormenting both bodie and soule; and as a Cyprian obserueth; *Omni tormento atrocius desperatio condemnatos affliget*: Desperation, which shall afflict the condemned worse then al their torments. To these if you subiect the Sonne of God, you know what will folloiw; from these if you free him, as you needes must, then is the Question at an end: for in every mans sight, Christ did not suffer the paines of hell, nor the torments of the damned, which the scripture maketh to be these, & not those which you can neither expresse nor proue.

a De ascen-
sione Christi.

Fró slender reasons you come (Sir Refuter) to slenderer authorities; and though you quote but few, and not one of them;

them speaking one word to your purpose, yet befoze you produce them, you chalenge them as insufficient to testifie in this, or any cause against your liking. For where they may not be iudges, nor with you so much as witnesses of the Scriptures sence, (you so reiect their expositions euerie where with pride & disdain) yet you in your wise dome take vpon you to build vpon the words of the holy Ghost, what absurdities and follies you list; and your best reason is, *it were fond to thinke otherwise:* but be more sober, if you will be ruled by me; it is the way to hazard your own wits, & not their credits, to entertaine thē in this maner. [They speake not plainly, nor fully, you say, because it was neuer in question in their time.] Touching the redemption of man by the death & blood of Christ Iesus, they speake as plainly and fully as it is possible for men to speake; and keepe exactly the forme of wholesome doctrine deliuered in the Scriptures; touching your hell paines they say nothing in deed, because it was neuer heard of in y^e Church of Christ in their times; but that Christ died NOT THE DEATH OF THE SOVLE; and by the ONLY DEATH OF HIS BODY, and shedding of his blood sufficiently ransomed & redeemed vs, this cannot be spoken in plainer and exacter terms, then they haue proposed it and proued it. And therfoze you and others that doe well not to make al the ancient & learned lights of Christs Church so ignozant in their Creed & Catechisme, as not to know, how they were saued by y^e Crosse & death of Christ, befoze your hellish paines of the damned were of late deuised. Your better sitting of this matter, is the open wrestling and forcing of the scriptures against their true, proper and perpetual sence, to serue your strange conceits. And as you do with the scriptures, you must be suffered to do with the Fathers which you produce, that is; to put thē quite from their own meaning, & frame their words to your fancies, befoze any man can tell to what end you cite them.

The first word you quote out of Ierom, you falsifie by putting *maledictum* to it, where Ierom doth not so, but simply saith, VVHAT VVE should haue suffered for our sinnes,

that he suffered for vs. The very next words that are his
 & wne, (for he interposeth a place of Scripture, that in his
 flesh Christ dissolued our enmitie with God, and healed vs
 with his stripes) are these. ^a *Ex quo perspicuum est, sicut corpus flagellatum & laceratum, ita animam uerè doluisse pro nobis.*
 Whereby it is euident, that as his bodie was whipped and torne,
 so his soule truly sorrowed for vs. Here you must be permitted
 to adde of your owne, besides Ieroms meaning, that this
 sorrow was your hellish sorrow, or else I cannot see why
 you cited Ierom, except it were to falsifie him. But how,
 and why Christ sorrowed for vs, when Ieroms owne words
 were alleaged by me, your answer was; this ^b *is more fond
 and absurd than the other.* Cyprians words you neither vnder-
 stand, nor like; he saith that Christ ^c taking our person
 and cause vpon him sayd in our names, that he was forsaken:
*Quod pro eis uoluit intelligi qui deserui à Deo propter peccata
 meruerant, quorum reconciliationis causam agebas,* which he
 would haue to be vnderstoode of vs (or for vs) who deserued
 by our sinnes to be forsaken of God, whose reconciliation he
 then vnderooke. So S. Austen expounded those words of
 Christ, My God, my God why hast thou forsaken me? ^d *Ille uox
 membrorum ipsius uox erat, non capitis,* that voyce was the voice
 of his members, and not of the head; but you could not en-
 dure either Austen or any other father so to say, without
 controlement. [But Cyprian saith Christ endured like pu-
 nishment to those that be sinners & accursed.] In part, not
 in all; otherwise he must haue suffered eternall death of bo-
 die and soule: and therefore expounding himselfe in the next
 sentence, he saith, ^e *In tantum infirmis compateris, ut nec cruci-
 cifigi, nec mori, dum illi uiuant & non percant, nec erubescas nec
 formides.* So far didst thou suffer with the weake, that thou didst
 neither shame to be crucified, nor feare to dye, so they might
 liue and not perish. Ambrose saith; With the sorrow of his soule
 Christ abolished the sorrow of our soules; Here you must
 haue leaue to bying in your hellish sorrowes againe Am-
 broses minde, or else this is but lost labour: the causes of
 Christs heauines and sorrow when I repeated out of this
 very

^a Hierony. in
 Esa. ca. 53.

^b Pag 68.
^c Cyprian de
 passione chri-
 sti.

^d August. in
 Psal. 21.

^e Cyprian.
 Ibidem.

very place of Ambrose, you reiected them as ^ffond and false, ³³ f Pag. 67. and now with the bare name of sorrow you think Ambrose dreant of your hell paines. For shame reade out the chapter, and leaue these mistakings.

[But * Ambrose saith, the man (in Christ) now readie to die, by the separation of the Diuinitie, cried, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me.] A man dieth when his soule leaueth his body. Christ therefore ready to die the death of the body, which was left of y^e deitie vnto death, by withdrawing it selfe for a time, vttered these words. Death of the soule, or dereliction vnto hell paines, there are none to be found in Ambrose, nor any words sounding that way, vnllesse you peruert them at your pleasure. The words next going befoze are these: *g* *Gloriosa Dei professio, vsque ad mortem se pro nostris descendisse peccatis, vel euident manifestatio* *g* *contestantis Dei secessionem Diuinitatis & CORPORIS.* It was a glorious profession of God, that he descended euen vnto death for our sins; or an euident manifestation of God witnessing the departure of his Diuinitie from HIS BODIE, (when it dyed.) The next words of Ambrose why you allége I doe not see, but to make vp the number, which is very smale, and lesse forcible. Who doubteth but Christ offered that, which he put on? He put on his body, & his body he offered. S. Paul will tell what Christ offered, ^h We are sanctified by the offering of the bodie of Iesus Christ once made. Your own authoz Saint Ambrose writing vpon these words alleaged by Paul, ⁱ thou hast fitted me a bodie, saith; *Hoc ex persona dicitur eius, qui* *CORPVS SVSCEPIT nostra mortalitatis, vt pro nobis haberet quod offerret.* This is spoken in his person, who put on our MORTALL BODIE, that he might haue what to offer for vs. ^k *Vna quippe oblatio corporis Christi perfectos facit sanctificatos* *qua remissionem integram facit peccatorum.* The one OBLATION OF THE BODIE OF CHRIST maketh perfect, such as be sanctified, and giueth full remission of finnes. If you thinke Ambrose mistoke the matter; heare Athanasius. ^l *Anobis simili corpore mutuo, eo quod omnes mortis corruptioni obnoxij* *essentus. pro omnibus ID IPSVM in mortem deditum patri suo*

* In I uer. ca. 23. de commendatione spiritus.

g Ambros. ibidem.

^h Hebre. 10.

ⁱ Ambros. in Hebre. ca. 10.

^k Ibidem.

^l Athanas. de incarnatione uerbi Dei.

SACRIFICAVIT, *ut homines à morte ad vitam* CORPORE suo, *quod proprium sibi fecit, renocaret.* IMMOLATIONE enim SUI CORPORIS & legi nobis infesta finem posuit, & primordium vitæ nobis renouavit spe resurrectionis nobis data. The son of God BORROWING FROM VS A BODIE LIKE OVRs, because we all were subiect to the corruption of Death did SACRIFICE THE SAME to his father by yeelding it vp vnto Death, that BY THE BODY which he made his own, he might recall men from Death to life. For by the OFFERING OF HIS BODIE, he ended the lawe that oppressed vs, and renewed the beginning of life vnto vs, giuing vs hope of Resurrection. Cyrill with the whole Synode of Alexandria, which I mentioed before, wrote thus to Nestorius, ^m Christ is made the mediator of God and man, and a reconciler of peace, offering himselfe to God, & to his father as a sweet smelling sacrifice, for he OFFERED HIS OVN BODIE FOR VS, to bee a sweete sauaour. But of the true sacrifice for sinne, which Christ offered, I haue spoken enough before, as well in this conclusion, as in the Treatise. It must haue the BODIE, the BLOOD, and the DEATH of the offerer: none of which agré to the soule of Christ, though the bodie without a soule could be no reasonable sacrifice; & therefore I exclude not the soule whose obedience, innocencie, & patience concurred to sanctifie this sacrifice; but I note the parts of the sacrifice for sin by the Apostles doctrine were those, which I named, the blood and death of the Sacrificer; both which must needs be found in his body and not in his soule.

^m Epistola Synodi Alexandrinæ ad Nestorium.

ⁿ Tertullian contra Praxeam.

From Ambrose you roue to Tertullia, & there you find that which I neuer doubted of. ⁿ The Son suffered, for sake of his father. *Hæc vox est animæ & corporis, id est hominis.* This was the voice of soule & bodie, that is of man. Did you think the body could speak without the soule, before you read in Tertullian that this was the voice of both? If you did, you were deeply learned; if you did not, why doe you bring it as a matter worth the hearing, that bodie and soule ioyned in speaking? But you help it ouer y^e stile with a false translatiõ, & where Tertullian saith, this was the voice of soule & flesh, you english it

it, ° *this is meant of the flesh and of the soule, to wit, as you ex-^p
pounde it, that both soule and bodie died forsaken of God.*
Take back, Sir Refuter, your false and insauerie glozes
that corrupt the text, Tertullian neuer heard, nor thought of
the death of Christs soule, nor of ante such forsaking, as you
imagine; hee expoundeth himselfe without your additions,
in the verie same place, plaine enough. ¶ *Denique posuit* ^{¶ Tertullian}
*spiritum, & statim obiit. Spiritu enim manente in carne, caro om- ^{aduersus}
*nino mori non potest. Ita relinqui a patre fuit mori filio; filius i- ^{Praxeam in}
gitur & moritur, & resuscitatur. Dicendo denique Christus ^{codem loco.}
mortuus est, id quod unctum est mortuum ostendit, id est, carnem,
Christ laid aside his spirit, and PRESENTLY DIED. For his
spirit remaining in his flesh, the FLESH by no means coule
DIE. So to be forsaken of the father, was for the sonne TO DIE.
The sonne therefore died and was raised againe. Then in saying
Christ died, (Paul) shewed that died which was annointed, euen
the flesh of Christ. Of the death of Christs flesh Tertullian
speakes; which hee saith, could not possible bee, so long as
Christs soule remained in his bodie. Christ then died no
death of the soule whiles he liued, and breathed on the crosse;
but the death which hee died was the laying aside of his
soule; and leaving his bodie vnto death. You ende with
Cyril that ¶ Christ made his flesh a Redemption for our flesh,
and his soule a Redemption for our soules. Cyril meaneth no-
thing lesse then that, which you would implie, that with the
death of either part in himselfe, Christ redeemed each part
in vs; But Cyril knowing that Christ in his sufferings on
the crosse ioynd both partes together, the one to receaue
the violence and rage of the wicked, which was his bodie; &
other to seele & endure the smart thereof with all obediencie
patience, which was his soule; saith truly that Christ ioyning
both soule and bodie in suffering for vs, redeemed both soule
and bodie in sauing vs; which wee acknowledge to bee true
without exception. For had not the soule of Christ bene
partner, yea chiefe patient in those bodillie sufferinges of
Christ,**

Christ, they could not haue profited vs; neither doe we at anie time otherwise speake or thinke of Christs sufferings, but that the bodie was the instrument whereby the soule of Christ did admit and feele all those paines, wrongs, shames, wounds and what soeuer he endured on the crosse, or before at their hands, which put him to death. But these paines and sorowes of Christs soule, you saie, MAKE NOT TO OUR REDEMPTION, and vntilke the soule properlie and immediatlie (not from, or by her bodie) feele hellish paines and sorowes, such as the damned doe, you make no reckning of all that Christ otherwise suffered. And this is your error which you shrowde vnder the name of a most holie truth, where indaede, if it be vjged & followed, as you beginne, it will fall out to be a most hainous contemning of all that Christ suffered for vs; and a dangerous substituting of other deuises, which Christ neither did nor could suffer, as you propose them.

You end, Sir Refuter, as you beganne with egregi-
 ous lyes, that ^{not the most or the best,} BUT ALL AND EVE-
 ry one, both churches and writers in the world, that are pro-
 testants, teach as you doe, and that your doctrine is publlike au-
 thorized by the lawes of this Realme, as appeareth by the booke
 of Homilies, where it is said, that Christ put himselfe betweene
 Gods deserved wrath and our sinne. But (Syr confuter) if you
 haue this proprietie of Mydas y you can turne all Fathers,
 Churches, writers, and lawes with touching them, to be of
 your opinion, you maist haue Mydas cares too; vntilke you
 looke better about you. Such an insolent and impudent speach
 would well become an ale-house, where no mā should beare
 you; but in the face of the world to brag after this sort is to-
 lerable in no man, but in you, that neither know what you
 say, nor see what you should prooue, nor vnderstand what ma-
 keth with you or against you. You no sooner reade in any mā
 new or olde mention of Gods wrath, or of death, but you
 straight fanly that he meant your hel paines, & the death of
 the

the soule; and so you play with the homilies allowed by the lawes of this Realme. Where because you find that Christ interposed himselfe betweene the wrath of God & vs, to auert it from vs, you forthwith resolute, the Homilies teach your doctrine. But awake, Sir Refuter, and you shall see great difference betwixt the doctrine taught in the booke of Homilies, and publikey approued by the lawes of this Realme, & your frenzies; that Christ DIED the DEATH of the SOVLE; that the VVHOLE CURSE of God was created on Christ; that he was by our sins defiled, sinful, hateful, & accursed; that al the powers of his soule & senses of his body were overwhelmed, distracted, and all confounded; that he felt the verie Dinels to be instruments, executing the wrath of God upon him, that the sufferings of Christs soule, by Sympathie as you call it, (that is from and by the body) make not to our redemption; that Christs soule died, and was crucified, where it is absurd and most false to say Christ was made a line ether in his humane soule, or by the same; these and an hundred such absurdities and impieties haue no allowance in the booke of Homilies, nor any thing sounding towards your hellish paines of the damned. The doctrine there taught is sound, true and plaine, that we are redeemed by the death and bloud of Christ Iesus; that such was the iust displeasure of God against our sinnes, that though he were his owne son, that undertooke the cause for vs, the iustice of God pursued him with most painfull smart and anguish euen vnto death; and forced the weaknesse of his humane flesh to crie, my God, my God why hast thou forsaken mee. But you content not your selfe with this; you must haue him suffer the verie paines of the damned in Hell, or nothing. His bodilie death were it neuer so paynfull and sharpe, you make light account of; *the theenes crucified with Christ. suffered, you say, as great bodily violence as he did; yea wicked & vngodly men indure with belldnes & great ioy far more exquisite & barbarous torments & sharper tortures, as touching the body, then Christ could* ..^f pag. 51

"Pag 51 " endure, and therefore in plaine words you saie, " such follie in
 " the sonne of God, bee it farre from you once to imagine, as that he
 " should stagger, shrink or faile for any corporal tormentes what soe-
 " uer, forgetting what Ambrose writeth; " *Neque enim habent
 " fortitudinis laudem, qui stuporem magis vulnerum tulerunt, quã
 " dolorem.* it can haue no praise of fortitude to be desperately con-
 " firmed, rather then patientlie subiected vnto paine of tormentes.
 " And what Auste confesseth, * *Nil erat tunc IN CARNE IN-
 " TOLERABILIVS*, there was nothing more intolerable in the
 " flesh then the crosse of Christ; as likewise what Bernarde re-
 " solueth † *Nec aliquo modo dubitandum, quin infirmitatem &
 " exterminationem corporis incomparabilem sustinueris*; it must
 " not be doubted, but Christ suffered incomparable weakenes and
 " torment of body. For this if you did strine, it were to be to-
 " lerated; so that which no father ever testified, nor scripture e-
 " uer affirmed, when you shew your selfe so eager; you betwray
 " your humoz, you benefit not your cause.

Thou hast heard christian Reader, what things I haue mis-
 liked in the first part of this opponents pamphlet; but no-
 thing more then this, that he wasteth so manie wordes, and
 nelther expresseth what hee meaneth, nor proueth what hee
 pretendeth. All that he hath saide is this in effect; Christ suf-
 fered in soule the wrath and curse of God for our sinne, or
 due to sinne; but these are so generall termes that in parte
 they bee true, in parte they bee false, and therefore hee that
 walketh in these clondes, and descendeth not to particulars,
 meaneth to hide his heade vnder the Couert of these ge-
 neralities when neede is; and out of these to fashlon to
 himselfe such assertions as please best his humour. The
 waie to come by a trueth, is to specifie the partes of
 Gods wrath and curse, which they suppose Christ suffered,
 and then shall wee in fewe wordes trie whether those suffer-
 ings accord with the rules and groundes of the scriptures,
 or no. And this I foietell, because if hee or anie other
 for him bee disposed to reuue his cause, hee must not
 bring

* Ambros. in
 Lucæ ca. 22
 de Tristitia
 Christi.

† Aug. tractat.
 in Iohan. 36.

† Bernard. de
 passione Chri-
 sti. cap. 5

bying a sacke full of words for so waightie matters; but plainlie and particularlie declaring what he holdeth, and prouing what he affirmeth, go direaly to the point, and then by Gods grace we shall soone trie where truth standeth. But if anie man will draw the grounde of our redemption to generall and ambiguous termes, which shall still increase contention to noe purpose; I meane not to repell words with words; till they answer these pceses, I will not trouble my selfe with their emptie phrases.

In the second Question of Christs descent to hell, I shall not hold thee long (gentle reader) because this babler forgetting what I sayd, concerning the pce and purpose of Christs descent to hell, runneth a new course to Pagans and Poets for help, to expound that article of our Creede; and there presumeth himselfe to be so strong, that of the rest he doth prate without reason or remembrance. The end of Christs descent to hell, I noted out of Athanasius, Fulgen-
sius and others, and proued their speech confozmable to the Scriptures; the places thou hast in the latter part of the treatise, I meane not to increase this close with needlesse repetitions. The Cofuter, belike distracted and disempyred with the cogitation and confusion of his hell paines, vtterly mistaketh or forgetteth the whole. He supposeth Christs descent to hell had none other purpose, but ² to triumph and insult vpon the thrice miserable and wofull wretches in their present vn-
speakeable damnation, infinitely confounded already, & inferreth; ² Sure a verie srie triumph this were for the sonne of God which e-
uen among men were nothing but dishonorable; but if his byaines
be so brittle, that he can neither conceaue, nor carrie a-
waite what I sayd; I must not beate it into his head: that I then preached, is here now printed, let him reuell it if hee can. Soe when I made the subduing of hell and treading on Satan with all the power of darknesse, a chiefe part of the glozie of Christs resurrection, this scoo-
ner in his foolish conceite mocketh at it, and saith ² a worthe ² priuiledge

358 The conclusion to the Reader,

- priviledge suretie, and verie honorable. All men would thinke it
 a greater honour neuer to haue comie in hell at all. For his actuall
 triumphing in hell all the world knoweth, is the most inglorious
 and vilest debasing. In sadnes (Syr refuter) if these be your
 best exceptions against Christs triumphing over hell, all the
 world will know, that you are a worthe man, to weare a
 wooden dagger. The Apostle made it a part of Christs high
 exaltation,^b that euerie knee, as well of things vnder the earth,
 as of things in heauen, should bow vnto him; and euerie toong
 confesse that Iesus Christ is the Lord; and do you thinke it a
 meete matter to be mocked and derided? Paul saith; Christ
 spoyled principalities and powers (of hell & darknes) and made
 a shew of them openlie, and triumphed over them in his owne
 person, (so so I must reade till you shew me better authoritie
 against it, then I haue brought for it;) & your selfe both see and
 saie, that^c whyles Christ suffered and whyles he died, it was a mi-
 serable triumph, yea^d a piteous triumph it was indeede, where
 himselfe remayned in such woful tormets, where appeared no shew
 of conquest, but rather of being conquered; &^e stil he suffered til he
 gaue up the ghost. What letteth them I praie you, since these
 words were not verified on the Crosse, but they did take
 place in his resurrection, as I teach; and therein as by the
 effects it was most euident and apparant to the eyes of all
 men, he did spoyle powers and principallities, & made a shew
 of them openly, and triumphed over them in his owne per-
 son? Doth the holy ghost attribute this as a great honour to
 the humane nature of Christ, that^f ascending on high he led
 captiuitie captiue; and doe you make a merriment of it,
 appealing to the whole world for their censure on your
 side?
 Your strongest fort is this; ^g There can bee no commoditie
 nor benefit to the godlie by it. For what good is there so much
 as pretended? The generall redemption of all Gods elect and
 chosen people was wrought and fullie finished on the Crosse.^h
 what could his going downe to hell adde more? Is the salueing of
 hell*
- Pag. 156.
- Philip. 2.
- Coloss. 2.
- Pag. 156.
- Pag. 159.
- pag. 156.
- Ephes. 4.
- pag. 163
- Pag. 164.

hell powers, and the treading on all their force, and the restraining of all their furie, so small a matter with you, that it doth no good to the godlie? Hee hath triumphed and spoiled them to free vs from feare; and hath taken the ⁱ keys ⁱ Reuel. 1. of death and of hell, into his owne hands; to shew that all power is giuen him in heauen, earth, & hell, and that he can re-
 straine and ^k bind Satan at his will and pleasure. Is the per- ^k Reuel. 20. formance and assurance of these things no comodity nor benefit to the godlie? [*The redemption of Gods elect, was (you say) fully finished on the Crosse.*] Deserued and obtained it was on the Crosse, and by the crosse, but not there executed. There were our sinnes pardoned, and our selues reconciled to God; but as Christ died for our sinnes, so he rose for our iustification. His resurrection in that glorious manner, which I haue mentioned in the treatise, & his ascension are necessary parts of our Salvation; and therefore vse not the force of Christs crosse to exclude, but to induce the rest. For so doth the Apostle when he saith, ⁱ Philip. 2. Christ humbled himselfe, & became obedient vnto y death of the crosse. Wherefore (that is euen for that his humillity & obedience) God hath highly exalted him & giuen him a name aboue euerie name; that at the name of Iesus should euerie knee bow of things in heauen, in earth, & vnder the earth. So that his descending, rising, and ascending added nothing to the force of his death, but they were the fruite thereof; and tend all to our good, since wee are presentlie secured from the power of hell and Satan, and shall be certainlie raysed and receaued to glorie. Christs death without his resurrection and ascension had beene our confusion, and no redemption; for if sinne had laine him without rising, it must needes haue damned vs without hoping: now in his Resurrection as euerie Enemy was most mighty, so was there most need he should be subdued. But hereof I haue spoken so largelie before that I shall not neede to rehearse it againe; with turning the
 page

page it maie soone bee seene.

- ^m Page. 148. " [But ^m The Scriptures (you tell vs,) are cleare-
 " ly against Christs going to Hell. For this daie (sayd Christ
 " to the theefe) thou shalt bee with mee in Paradise . " All
 " this must needes be of his humane soule verelie without all questi-
 " on. There is none can consider herein his Deitie . If anie thinke
 " his soule might goe to hell first , and presentlie goe thence to hea-
 " ven yer night also, that is ridiculous and toyish .] You haue so
 manie toyes in your head, ^{Spz} Refuter, that a coloured cap
 would well become it: when you come to a non plus in your
 p^{ro}fes, then you crye, this is ridiculous and toyish. So like
 your selfe, and looke to the ridiculous toyes that you bring
 vs in euery page almost. You would p^{ro}ue, forsooth, that the
 SCRIPTURES ARE CLEARE against Christs being in
 hell at anie time betwene his death, and his Resurrection;
 & for your warrant you bring his words to the theefe on the
 crosse; this daie thou shalt bee with mee in Paradise; and at his
 death when he sayd; Father into thy hands I commend my spi-
 rite; And when the places conclude no such thing as you
 would haue them, nor ante thing nere it; then you helpe it
 with outcries, and saie; ° There is no man of sense considering
 these circumstances that can iudge otherwise . But will your
 wisdome remember that S. Austen in his 57. Epistle dis-
 cussing this place of purpose, to day thou shalt bee with mee
 in Paradise; saith the word MEE maie verie readily and
 easily bee referred to Christs Godhead, promising the theefe
 Paradise that present daie; and all the chldish amplificati-
 ons that you haue brought vs to the contrarie, are not
 worth a nut-shell to conseruaille S. Austens iudgement .
 But graunt it were ment of Christs soule; are you so per-
 fect in the length of the waie from hell to Paradise, and the
 wearines of Christs soule in going to both, that you be sure
 he could not do both that daie? You thinke belike Christ
 would not goe thither, but to view the devils one by one,
 and call their names to see who were absent. You haue for-
 gotten

gotten that ^P with his presence, or with his word whiles hee ^{P Luke 8} liued here on earth, hee could torment the diuels, and therefore if it pleased him but to shewe himselfe, who hee was, whom they had so despitesulie pursued by the handes and tongues of the wicked on the Crosse; all hell must not onely bende and bowe vnto him, but feare and fall before him. Againe, what coulde hinder though he did not descende that daie which hee died, but hee might so doe the daie that hee rose; and euen when hee was to rise to loose all the strength of hell before him, and to let Satan see that his kingdome was ouerthrowne by that death, at which hee so much insulted and reioyced? The time I doe not determine, though I thinke it pertained rather to the glorie of his resurrection, then otherwise; as I haue in the treatise more at large expressed.

[Was not his soule, you will aske IN HIS Fathers handes, till the time of his Resurrection?] Who doubteth that? As if to subdue hell with the glorie of his presence did not prouue the hande of GOD to bee rather mightilie with him, then anie waie to leaue him, and that to bee true, which was forespoken by Dauid in his person, ¹ Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell? [The ¹ Psal. 16. handes of God, you thinke, signifie heere his toyfull presence, and the possession of heauen.] Who tolde you so? Was Dauid dying when hee saide; ² Into thine handes ¹ Psal. 31. I commende my spirite, thou hast redeemed mee Lord God of truth? Was Sion not on earth but in heauen, when the Prophet saith of her; ¹ Thou shalt bee a crowne of glorie in the hand of the Lord, and a royall Diademe in the hande of thy God, it shall no more bee saide to thy land, Desolate, for thy land shall haue an husbände? Was the king of Iudah then in heauen, when God saide of him, ² Though ¹ Ierc. 22. Coniah the sonne of Iehoiakim king of Iudah were the Signet of my right hand, yet would I plucke thee thence? Gods hand signifieth his power, and protection; and could there

greater fauour, power, or prefection bee shewed to the soule of Christ, then for God in raising him from the dead, not onelie to treade death, but euen hell and Satan vnder his feete? Call you this a most inglorious and vile debasing, for the humane nature of Christ; to haue all power in heauen, and earth, (in which Hell also must bee comprized,) to bee deliuered vnto him; and to bee made Lorde ouer all, not onelie men, and Angels, but euen enemies and diuels? From this honour and power, where of it is said; "Thou hast subiected all things vnder his feete; maie no creature in heauen, no; in hell be excepted? And therefore if this bee a vile debasement, I knowe not what glorie meaneth. The purpose then of Christes descent to hell, giueth honour to him ouer all his enemies, and comfort to vs against the power and terrour of hell, which wee see disclosed and spoiled by our heade in our names, and for our sakes; for so much as beeing ioyned to him as ^xmembers of his bodie, of his flesh, and of his bones, hell hath nowe no more right to vs then to him; since it is not possible but the heade muste bee where the members are: And Christ himselfe yhungreth, and thirsteth, and is naked, and sicke, imprisoned, and persecuted, in euerie one of his members, euen in the basest and lowest of them; and this no more impeacheth the all sufficient merite of Christes Crosse, then his resurrection from the dead doeth the thirde daie after his death, and all things finished on the Crosse, needefull to bee suffered for our redemption; which in your franticke humour you seeme to detest as ^aBLASPHEMOVS.

[The prooffe that hee went thither, you will saie, is all; if that were once cleered, the rest woulde soone bee accorded.] I maie not for your pleasure (Sir Refuter) stande to rippe vpp and repeate the thinges which were then deliuered, and are now published; there you may loke; If you like them not, giue mee some reason besides your
owne

¹ 1. Cor. 15.

² Ephes. 5.

³ Mat. 25.
Acts 9.

⁴ Pag 156.

owne rousing conceit, and it shall bee, soone answered.

[It is no where written in the Scriptures you, will saie.]

Saint y Austen iudiciallie and resolutelie testifieth you, it is written in the Prophet Dauid, and so expounded by Saint Peter; and of that iudgement were all the Fathers of

Christes Church without exception. ² Athanasius saith it is a parte of the Catholike faith, without belceating the

which we can not be saued. And sure the words be plaine enough, if you leaue wresting them from their right and true

signification to serue your affections. What can be plainer, ² Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell; besides the Article of our Creede, He descended into hell? Your answer is: ^b This

is euident that the worde hell in our vulgar Creede is vnfit, corrupt and starke naught. For this I affirme, it is onelie

the Fathers abusiuo speaking, and altering the vsuall and auñcient sense of Hades, that hath bredde this error of Christes descen-

ding into hell. Their vnapt and perilous translating into Latin, Inferi, and our naughtie and corrupt translation in English, hell, hath confirmed the same. ^d And note here first it is

a thing too risewith the Fathers, yea with some of the auñcietest of them to alter and chaunge the authenticke vse of words,

whereby consequentlie it is easie for errors and grosse mistakings to creepe in. As Chirotonia to signifie ordination of

Ministers, when it signifyeth authenticalle the peoples giuing of voices in election: Kleros, to signifie onelie the Cleargie, when it

signifieth all the flocke. Euen so trulie the Greeke fathers vse Hades, and the Latine Inferi, to signifie hell properlie and particularlie, that is, the place of the damned. ^e But this is a meere and

plaine abusio of these wordes, and specialle of our worde most in question, that is Hades, They haue much altered and changed the

authenticke and true vse thereof. You begin nowe to shewe your selfe in your right hue. All the Greeke and Latin fathers that euer were in the Church of Christ; all the English teachers that haue bene since this nation receiued the faith, neuer vnderstood the signification of the word Hades, til you

¹ Epist. 99.

² Athanas. in Symbolo.

² Psal. 16.

² Act. 2.

^b Pag. 124.

^c Pag. 95.

^d Pag. 96.

^e Pag. 97.

came of late to bying vs newes of Socrates fanſie, and Ciceros diuinitie to correct the Creede; Ignatius, Clemens, Origen, Athanaſius, Eusebius, Baſil, Nazianzene, Epiphanius, Chryſoſtome, Cyril, Eustathius, Theodoret, with a thousand more naturallie borne Greekes; and manie of them nothing inferiour to Plato, or whom you can name, euen for their eloquence in the Greeke tongue, were they all ignozant of the worde Hades, which bores in Grammar ſchoole doe well vnderſtande? Or did they all conſpire one after another to falſifie the faith? Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Ierome, Ambroſe, Auſten, Hillarie, Prudentius, Proſper, Fulgentius, with infinite others great Schollers and pillars in the Church of **G D D**, had none of them the ſkill to knowe what *Infernum* or *Inferi* meant, till you ſprang by to reſtore the Latine tongue to his originall integritie? Or did they all concurre purpoſelie to corrupt the Creede? Which will you take from all theſe fathers religion, or learning? If you leaue them ſo much vnderſtanding as the bores haue nowe in Pauls Schoole, they coulde not miſtake either Hades, or Inferi. And therefore you may talke thus long enough before you ſhall gette ante ſober Reader to beleue you. He muſt bee as farre infected with this frenzie as you your ſelſe are, before this will anie way ſinke into his head, that none of theſe vnderſtoode their owne naturall language. [But they haue miſtaken other wordes, you ſaie, as well as theſe; namelie, *χειροτονία* and *κλήρος*] In deede you, or they haue groſſelie miſtaken the one; the other is not, that I knowe in queſtion, unleſſe you take vpon you ſo greate a commaunde in the Church of **G D D**, that no worde maie bee vſed by anie man without your conſent. Doeth anie father in expounding the Scriptures, put the Cleargie for the people; as if the reſt had no part in the Kingdome of **Chriſt**?

Christ: but if they wanted a word to note them, that were called to the publike seruice of Christs church; and thought best to name them clerici, clerkes; what haue you to do with it: or what reason to speake against it; so long as the rest of Gods people are not thereby depriued of their parte in Gods heauenlie inheritance: And what if they tooke this tearme from the scripture and deriued the berie word from the Apostles mouthes: are you not well occupied to quarrel with them? Peter both twice vse that worde for a parte, or place in the publike ministerie and seruice of the church, with which the people did not meddle. ^a Judas (safely Peter) was ^a Acts. 1. numbred with vs, καὶ ἔλαχε τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης, and had his place in this ministerie. So againe to Simon Magus; ^b ἐκ ἐσι σοι μερίς, ἔσδὲ κλῆρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς τῶ. Thou ^b Acts. 8. hast no part nor lot in this businesse or function. Where Peter in both places calleth the charge of an Apostle κλῆρος, not that Judas, or the rest of the twelue were chosen by lots, but that he had a part with them in that function.

As for χειροτονία, I thinke there bee more saide, then you will be able to answer; you know where to finde it. Could you proue that the Apostles did make elders with the peoples voices, which you shall neuer bee able to doe, you had some reason to thinke the worde might importe some such thing; but where the worde in his owne nature is but to stretch out the hande, and it is certaine by the scriptures the Apostles in ordaining elders did vse imposition of handes, which is plainelie χειροτονία; (electing by voices they did not vse for ought that can bee proued;) what a malepart guest are you to saie, *It was a rife thing with the fathers, yea with the* ¹¹ *ancientest of them to alter & change the authentick use of words;* ¹² because the Athenians in Demosthenes time had a course in their publike assemblies to giue their consentes to make lawes and decrees with holding by their handes, which he calleth χειροτονία? But you bite on the hidle I perceiue, and so you must, till you learne to be more sober then to condemne

so manie learned and religious fathers of ignorance and corruption; which in such a companion as you are, might well be beleued; in men of their religion and iudgement can by no reason be mistrusted. Whis by the way, because you glance at *χεροβρία*, though the rein you accuse not me that allage them, but the fathers the miselues as corrupters of church discipline, and perverters of their own language; howbeit hades is now in question and not *αλιος*, or *χεροβρια*; and therefore saie for hades what you can, or rather for your selfe; since all wise men will hold you more then rash and presumptuous, if you condemne so many without great cause.

Page 97.

“ [The classical writers, you say, the maisters of the Greeke tongue
 “ do vse HADES in proper sense only in generall for the STATE
 “ OF THE DEADE, the WORLD OF THE DEADE, the
 “ WORLD OF SOVLES DEPARTED, indifferently, and in-
 “ definitely, meaning as wel those in eternal ioyes, as those in paines.]

1. Corinth. 4

Labour you (Sir Refuter,) to bring into the creede the maribones of a græke phrase, or an article of the chistian faith: If you be so idle headed, that you strive to haue a new phrase into the Creede, remember the kingdome of God is not in speech but in power. If you intende an article of the faith, pagans and Poets are no such classicall maisters, to be cited or followed in the mysteries of chistian religion. What if it were true, which here as your maner is, you avouch with a brazen face, y Homer, Plato, & Plutarch did so vse the word; is it therefore a consequent the scripture must so speak: how many hundred Græke words haue with Pagans their general significations, which the holte ghost restraineth to expresse Gods trust, and serue Gods will? The græke wordes for Apostle, elder, Bishop, Deacon, Gospell, Scripture, faith, hope, repentance, sinne, the law, conscience, concupiscence, and infinite such like, doe they not with Pagans impose one thing, with Chistians an other thing, and that by the warrant of Gods worde? touching hell it selfe; with your classicall writers

fers, and masters of the Greeke tongue, (I meane euen Homer, Plato, and Plutarch) are not δαιμόνια, taken for god and blessed spirits, yea for Gods, which the scriptures vse onlie for diuels? Plutarchs booke περι τῶ σωκράτους δαιμόνιος; of Socrates spirit; which thing also Plato mentioneth in his Apologie and dialogue *De sapientia*, wraeth not Socrates Diuell; neither doth Ilocrates prescribe vnto Demonicus by this rule, Ἦμα τὸ δαιμόνιον, that hee shouldc worship the diuell, but rather God; and yet by that word the new testamēt and the Septuagint in the olde intend onlie diuels. Διάβολος with the masters of the Greeke tongue is but a carper or reprehender, insomuch that most of Platons schollers were called διάβολοι, and yet in the newe testamēt this is the proper name for the diuell. τάρταρος Plutarch doth take for the ayre, and deriueth that word from colde; τάρταρος ὑπὸ Ἰουχρόπτης κέκλητ'· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἰσίδωδος εἰπῶν τάρταρον ἠεροέντα καὶ τὸ ῥίγνυντα πάλλεσθαι καὶ βέβην, τάρταρίζειν. *Tartarus* is so termed from colde, whence *Hesiod* calleth it the ayrie tartare; and he that shaketh and trembleth for cold, is sayd *tartarizein*. Yet your instructor maketh τάρταρος the sayle and pylson in hell, and saith, S. Peter when hee telleth howe God condemned the Angels, taketh all the words from *Homēr* and HIS PROSE COMMENTARIE. If he meane Eustachius the Christian Bishop, it is a foule ouersight; if hee meane anie other, he shall do well to proue, and not to presume that Peter read Homer and his prose commentarie to expresse the punishment of Diuels. Howe if δαιμόνιον, διάβολος, and τάρταρος haue other significations and acceptions with the masters (as you make them) of the græke tongue, & yet in the new testamēt are wholly & onlie referred to note hell and the diuels thither adiudged; whie may not the word HADES in like sort be taken from his prophane vse among the heathen writers, and bee applied by the Euangelistes and Apostles to signifie hell? yea if the opinion which the pagan

Apud Athen.

Plutarch. de primo frigido,

Poets;

Poets, and profane Philosophers helde of HADES were false and repugnant to the chritian faith, howe could the canonicall wryters of the new testament vse the word, and not change the sense: dare you so much as dreame, that the holy Ghost woulde canontize the Poets fables and the Philosophers fantasies of the world to come? or if you be so foolish, as to forget the difference betwéne light and darkness, truth & falshood, wil any wise man entertaine your pœtical furies?

cc [The Gentiles, (you will saie,) tooke HADES for the worlde
 cc of the deade, the worlde of soules departed; generallie and inde-
 cc finitelic, were they in hell or in heauen, and this is no error, (you
 cc think,) against the faith.] But this is an open falshood comit-
 ted against your owne classically wryters; and if your cunning in the greeke Poets bee no profounder, the boies in Grammer schooles will deride it. I praise you sir by your Greeke Poets, Homer, Hesiod, and others what is HADES originallie, the name of a person, or of a place? I aske you none other question, but that which euerie childe acquainted with your Poets canne readilie tell, which your maisters of the Greeke tongue, Plutarch, and Plato confesse; which euerie speech that you, or your Instructor bringeth out of his Poets doth confirme. And here (chritian Reader) I must praise thy patience and pardon, if I turne from the scriptures and fathers to the Poets and their fables; I haue no desire to it, nor delight in it; but such is the insolence of these men grounded vpon ignorance, that it may not bee endured, and without some entering into these matters, it will not bee displaced. I will saie no moze then I must néedes, and omit what is not materiall.

Homer the first and eldest of your classically wryters imagi-
 neth that the threë sonnes of Saturnus, whom hee supposeth to
 bee Gods, deuided the gouernement of the whole worlde be-
 twéne them; Iupiter taking the skie and the aire; Neptune
 the water, with her déepes and riuers: and Pluto the heart
 of the earth with all the dead of what sort soeuer. This thirde
 sonne

for the clearing of certaine obiections. 369

sonne of Saturne, and owner of the deade, is hee that Homer and all the Poets call *αἴδης* HADES; his name being otherwise declined and inflected to serue their verse, but still the same person. Homer in the 15. of his Iliades maketh Neptune thus to speake. We are three brethren, the sonnes of Saturne by *Rhea*; *Jupiter* and I, *τρίτατος δ' αἴδης ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσων*; the third is HADES the ruler of those y^e lie (dead) in the earth. The whole was deuided into three parts; my lot was to dwell alwaies in the sea, *αἴδης δ' ἔλαχεν ῥόφον ἠερόεντα*, and HADES lot was to haue the darke mist; and to *Jupiter* fell by lot the large heauen with the skie and clowdes. This HADES or God of the deade Homer calleth *Ζεύς καταχθόνιος*, the god vnder the earth, and giueth him in the same booke these properties, *αἴδης τοι ἀμείλιχος, ἠδ' ἀδάμαστος*,

Homer Iliad; 15.

τῆνεα καὶ τέ βροτέισι θεῶν ἔχθιστος ἀπάντων; HADES implacable & fierce; & for that cause of all y^e gods the most odious to men. Hesiod agreeth with Homer, that *Rhea* companying with *Saturne* brought him notable children.

^b Iliad. 9.

ἰφθιμόντ' αἴδην ὅς ὑπὸ χθονὶ δάματτα νάει,

ἠηλῆες ἦτορ ἔχων, euen mightie HADES that dwelleth in houses vnder the earth and hath a cruell and mercilesse heart. The same Hades he maketh the gouernour of the deade, as Homer doth.

^c Hesiod. in Theogonia.

τρεῖς αἴδης δ' ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοιισιν ἀνάσων:

Ibidem.

HADES was afraid that is ruler of the deade vnder the earth. This is that hades which you so much talke of, to whose house your Poets make all the dead last; vnliust, good and bad to come; and therefore the most of your authorities out of the Greeke Poets and others haue *εἰς αἴδης*, vnderstanding *δόμον* or *οἶκον*, to shewe that the deade go or come to HADES HOUSE or dwelling.

The rest of your classcall writers and masters of the Greeke tongue, both Plato and Plutarch alleadge and approve this fable of Homer. Plato in his dialogue of the oratorick called *Gorgias*, maketh Socrates the
to saie; ^d Hearc then a *Gorgia*.

370 The conclusion to the Reader,

very excellent tale which you will thinke a fable, but I a good lesson. That which I will saie, I will speake to you for a trueth. As *Homer* reporteth, *Iupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto* deuided the gouernement, after they receaued it of their father. There was a lawe touching men vnder *Saturnus*, and euer was and still is with the gods, that such men as led a iust and holie life, when they departed hence shoulde goe to the Iles of the blessed, and there liue in all happinesse without any euill; and they that had beene wicked and vngodlie should goe to the prison of punishment and vengeance which is called *Tartarus*. The iudges of these matters, in *Saturnes* time, and in the beginning of *Iupiters* raigne were the liuing of such as yet liued, and gaue iudgement the same daie that each man should die, wherefore their iudgement was corrupt. *PLUTO* the and the Gardians of the blessed Ilands going to *Iupiter* tolde him, that there came vnto them men to either place vnmeete for that condition. To whome *Iupiter* answered, I will see it redressed. The iudgements are therefore now amisse, because they that are iudged are couered round, for they are iudged aliue, and so many that haue wicked soules are compassed with beauty, nobility, & riches, and manie come to the place of iudgement, & depose they liued honettlie, and so the iudges are astonished; as also the iudges theselues are clogged, hauing their soules wrapped with their eies, and eares, and the rest of their bodie. First therefore men must be kept from foreseeing the time of their death. The they must be iudged whē they are naked from all these thinges, that is after death, and the Iudge likewise must be deade also, that he may be free frō these lets, and with his soule he must view the soule of euery man newly dead, forsaken of all his kind, & stripped of al worldly pompe, that the iudgement may be sincere. And I foreseeing this before you, haue appointed Iudges, two of my sons *Minos* & *Rhadamanthus* out of Asia, and a third which is *Aeacus* out of Europe. These when they are dead shall iudge in an open meade in the meeting of three waies, whereof two shall leade; one to the Iles of the blessed, another to *Tartarus*. The soules of *Asia* shall be
iudged

for the clearing of certain obiections. 371

iudged by *Rhadamāthrus*, & those of Europe by *Aeacus*, to *Mi-
nos* will I giue the prerogatiue to decide y^e doubts that shall arise
in either place: y^e the iudgmēt may be very euē which shal send
soules to their places. This is that wich I haue heard, & beleue
to be true, & by their speeches am perswaded there is some such
thing. Thus far *Plutarch* citeth out of *Plato* y^e iudges & places
for the dead, & al this wthin *Plutoes* kingdom vnder y^e earth, • *Plutarch. de
consolatione
ad Appolloni-
um ad finem.*
which they call *HADES*: where as well the places, & pleasures
for the good, as the prisons & punishments for the bad are in
their conceit prepared & settled. And this if you doubt, read et-
her *Vlises* descent to *HADES* described by *Homer* in the 11.
booke of his *Odiseas*, or *Aeneas* journey to hel, set forth by *Vir-
gil* in the first booke of his *Aeneidos*, or *Dyonisius* hostage to see
Euripides, expressed by *Aristophanes*, as also the like aduen- • *Aristophanes
in ranis
• Euripides in
Hercule fu-
rento.*
tures of *Hercules* & *Theseus* mentioned by *Euripides*, & others,
& you shall see THE WORLD OF THE DEAD, or THE
WORLD OF SOULES, be they good or bad, to be in *Plutoes*
kingdom, which the græke Poets call *HADES*: & therfore unlesse
the distemper of your braines make you weary of *Christian*
religion, and incline you to *Paganisme*, I doe not see what
reason moueth you to bring *Homers* *HADES*, to expounde
the *Creede*. And were you permitted so to doe, what gaine
you by it? For *Homers* *HADES* is y^e region vnder the earth,
where the good are kept in pleasant fields, and the wicked in
places of punishment, and this is evidently the hell of the
Poets and Pagans, to which by your own classically & authen-
tical exposition *Christ* did descend, if the *HADES* be receaued
into the *creede*.

[But *Plato* the wise Maister taketh it sometime for hea-
uen; as namelie in his *Phadone*, where speaking in the person
of *Socrates* a little before his death he saith. The soule being an
inuisible thing goeth hence to another place like to it selfe, that
is, to a noble, pure, and inuisible, in *HADES*; in truth to a
good and wise God; whither if God will my soule shall present-
lie goe.] Did you not propose *Plato* to bee an expounder
of the *Creede*; and preferre him as a wise maister be-
fore

† Tertullus de
anima.

fore all the fathers, because you thinke hee fitteth your humour right, I coulde suffer him to haue his praise; but in this case I must saie of him as Tertullian doeth, *† Do- leo bona fide Platonem omnium hereticorum condimentorium factum; Illius est enim & in Phadone, quod anima hinc euntes sint illinc, & inde hinc;* I am sorie in good sadnesse that Plato is become the Apothecary of al heresies. For it is his opinion euen in his *Phadone*, that soules go hence thither, and thence hither. Your wise Masters report of HADES and PLYTO, was the private opinion of Socrates against the common consent of Homer and all the poets, and against the rectified perswasion of the people. The conceite it selfe is full of pride, error, and paganismish infidelitie, absurditie, and blasphemie. And yet all this being verie true, Platoes wordes importe no such thing, as you imagine, that HADES is that heauen where God and his saintes remaine. And therefore, Sir Confuter, if you be wearie as well of the Apostles, as of the fathers, and instead of Christ will haue Plato to teach men the mysteries of the kingdome of heauen; Englands (where God be thanked there is a religious, vertuous and wise prince, ruling with christian lawes, and a number of learned and graue both Counsellors, Bishops, Judges, and others that will endure no such prophanenes) is no fit place for you to bring in Platoes heauen. If I proue not these exceptions which I take to your wise masters imagination, let me beare the shame; if I do, look you; your fellowes hold well you deserue of Christan religion to make the saintes to rest, and Christ to raigne either in Platoes heauen, or in Homers hades.

For the first it is eident; the Poets all with one consent placed HADES BELOVE VNDER THE EARTH, and not about in the skies; nor in heauen. Homer and Hesiod you haue heard. † Aristophanes maketh Dionysius desirous to see Euripides nowe deade, and therefore sendeth him to Hercules to learne the waie, to whom professing that no man shall perswade him not to goe

† Aristopha
in Raniis.

to Euripides, Hercules replieth, *πότερον εἰς ἄδης κάτω;* wilt thou goe TO HADES BELOVVE, to see him? where Plutoes kingdome is described aunswerable to the rest of the Poets. In Euripides the ghost of Polydor begetteth the first tragedie thus. ^h Here am I come leaving the dennes of the dead, and the gates of darkenesse: *ἰν' ἄδης χωρὶς ἀκίῃσαι θεῶν,* where HADES hath his seate seuered from the gods. Pindarus speaking *περὶ τῶν εὐσεβέων ἐν ἄδης,* of the godlie that are in HADES, saith, ⁱ *τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος ἀελίς τῶν ἐνθάδενύκτα κάτω;* to them the strength of the sonne doth lighten the NIGHT that is there BELOVV. ^k Euripides maketh Hercules after the murder of his wife, and chlozen to fate, *θανῶν ὕπενπερ ἦλθον, εἶμι γῆς ὑπο.* Dying I will go vnder the earth whence I came; ^l *ἦλθον ἐξ ἀνελίων μυχῶν ἄδης κόρης ἐνερθεν* returning from the darke chambers of the queene of HADES BELOVV. In like sort Sophocles maketh Ajax to fate. ^m *τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἐν ἄδης τοῖς κάτω μυθήσομαι,* the rest I will speake to the spirites BELOVV IN HADES. So Hercules rememb'ring his wo'kes, saith, with the se armes ⁿ *τὸν θ' ὑπὸ χθονὸς ἄδης τρεῖς κεφαλὰς σκύλακα,* the three headed whelpe of HADES VNDER EARTH. Simonides shewing how manie waies men end their liues, some by sickenesse, some by warre, some by sea, saith; such as are famcd o; conquered in warre ^o *πέμπει μελάινης αἰδῆς ὑπὸ χθονὸς,* HADES sendeth vnder the blacke earth. ^p Orpheus one of the eldest Masters of the Greeke tongue without comparison, that liued in the time of the Judges of Israel, as Suidas testifieth, and not so farre infected with fables, as those Philosophers and Poets that came after him, describing the true God, that, as he saith, Moses wrote of; calleth him, *αἰθέρος ἠδ' αἰδῆς, πόντος, γῆς τε τύραννε, δαίμονες ὄν φείσῃσι θεῶν δὲ δέδοικεν ὄμιλος;* the king of the heauēs, of the earth, of the sea, AND OF HADES, before whom Diuels do tremble, and the whole companie of

^h Eurip. in Hecuba.

ⁱ Apud Plutarch de consolatione ad Apollonium.

^k Euripid. in Hercule surété

^l Ibidem.

^m Sophocles in Aiace flagellifero.

ⁿ Sophocles in Trachiniis.

^o Simonides in vita humanam

^p Orpheus de deo.

gods (or Angels) doe feare. Where in olde Greeke and good diuinitie HADES is seuered from heauen, sea, and earth; and consequentlie must be properlie HELL. And so if you runne ouer all the Poets, you shall finde that with one generall consent they placed Hades not onelic κάτω below, but ὑπὸ χθονός, vnder the earth. This was the opinion of the people. ^k The common people (saith) Lucian) perswaded by Homer, Hesiodus, and the rest of the poets, and taking their poems; for a law τόπον τινα ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς βαθὺν ἄβυσσον ὑπειληφάσσι, beleeue: HADES to be a deepe place vnder the earth; and that Pluto Iupiters brother raigneth ouer that gulph, the kingdome of the dead falling to him by lotte, and hee ordeting howe they shall liue there belowe. The place was so called from the name of the person whome they supposed to be gouernour of it; otherwise HADES was the proper name of Pluto, as Plato himselfe confesseth in Cratylo, ὁ δὲ ἄδης οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν μοι διδιδόσιν ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸ ἀείδης προσεργῆσαι πᾶς ὀνόματι τῷ τῶ, καὶ φοβέσθηναι τὸ ἄνομα, Πλῆστανα ἡ ἀλῶσιν αὐτὸν. As for HADES the most part of men seeme to me to conceiue by the name that which is darke, or which can not bee seene, and fearing the name they call him PLYTO.

And howsoever Socrates in that place, with a very false and fond reason goeth about to proue, that the name of HADES, as hee thinketh was not thence deriued but rather ἀπὸ τῶ πάντων τὰ καλὰ ἀείδειναι, from knowing al good things; which in deede is but a fess, and by no possibilitie can come within the compasse of that word; yet both Plutarch, and the prose commentator vpon Homer, neglect this utterly; and vphold that which Socrates refuse. ^m τὸ ἀείδης αὐτῶ καὶ ἀχέρων, ἄδης καὶ ἀχέρων ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχον. Hades and Acheron (saith) Plutarch) haue their names from (the aire) that is not seene, nor hath any colour. And in his discourse, whether a secrete and silent life be best, or no, Plutarch proposeth this etymologie as it were ⁿ elder the Socrates saith τὸν ἦλιον Ἀπέλλαν καὶ κάτῳ τῶς πατρῆος καὶ παλαιῶς θεσμῶς νομίζοντες Δῆλιον καὶ Πύθιον προσα-

* Lucianus de luctu

† Plato in Cratylo.

^m Plutarch de primo frigido.

ⁿ Plutarch de occulte viuēdo

for the clearing of certain obiections. 375

ἠορῶντοσι: τὸν δὲ τις ἐναντίας κίρτου μόρῳς ἔτεθε θεὸς ἔτεθε λαίμων
 ἔστιν, ἀδην ὀνομάζουσι, ἀδην εἰς αἰετὸς καὶ ἀθάτον ἡμῶν, ὅταν
 διαλυθῶμεν, βασιλῆοντων, νυκτὸς αἰδώς ἀεργηλοῦ θ' ὕπνου κόρα-

yon. Men ACCORDING TO THE AVNCIENT TRADI-
 TIONS OF THEIR FATHERS, thinking the sunne to be A-
 pollo, named him Delius, and Pythius. And the RYLER of
 the contrarie destinie (to life and light) whether he bee a God,
 or a D I V I N E L, they termed HADES, being the M A S T E R of dark
 night, and dead sleepe; for that when wee depart hence, wee go
 into an ynknowne and vnseene place. So that Socrates detri-
 uation of Hades was both false and newe, euen as his opini-
 on of HADES to be an eloquent and bountifull God; and his
 reason is worst of all, that because men returne not backe
 againe after death, therefore: ° HADES doeth detaine them
 with eloquent perswasions, and great rewards, which maketh
 him to be called *Pluto*. For the scripture assureth vs, that
 men dead can not returne againe, though they were neuer
 so willing; and though God of his goodnes bestoweth ever-
 lasting blisse on his Saints; yet the rest would faine bee rid
 of their eternall miserie, and can not; neither are they held
 in their state with faite promises, or large benefites, but by
 the vnalterable rigour of Gods iustice. Eustachius vpon Ho-
 mers wordes, that Achilles sent many a woorthy soule to HA-
 D E S, saith; ἐστὶ γὰρ αἰς τόπος σκοτεινός ὑπὸ γῆν, ἀφανής, ἀφα-
 ρισμένος ψυχῶν αἰς, is a darke place vnder the earth, not to be
 scene, appointed for soules, and is deriued from α the p̄tina-
 tiue, and εἶδω to see, and is called also αἰδώς, and by con-
 traction HADES. So when Homer byingeth in Hector's wife
 complaining of her miserie and saying,

Ρ σὺ μὲν αἰδώς διόμοις ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γάμοις
 ἔρχεαι, Thou husband art gone to HADES house vnder the dennes
 of the earth. Eustachius addeth; τόπος ἔστιν ὑπὸ γάμοις, καὶ ἔτω κε-
 κρυμμένος; ἀπὸ καὶ αἰδώς λέγεται ἦν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἀφανής, ὅτι ἐκ ἔστιν
 ἰσθμῶν. This is a place vnder the earth, and so hidde from vs.
 Therefore it is called Hades, that is an inuisible aire, which wee

° Plato in
 Cratylo.

¶ Iliad. 22

can

can not see. And howsoever Socrates pleased himselfe in framing this heauen, as you call it, for himselfe, and a fewe others (for hee admitteth none but Philosophers into it) Lucian in his Dialogues of the dead, bitterlie mocketh him, as being in Hell with all the rest; howsoever he dreamed of an heauen for himselfe after his departure hence.

How Paganish, and not onely ridiculous but blasphemous Platoes heauen is, appeareth by this, that Socrates maketh SVANNES his fellow seruants to Phcebus, & imagineth they sing that day they die, *προειδότες τὰ ἐν ἄδης ἀγαθὰ*, FORESEEING THE GOOD THINGS THEY SHALL HAVE IN HADES. And further saith that whē they perceiue they must die, then chiefly and most of al they sing *γεγυθότες ὅτι μέλλοσι παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀπιέναι ἕπερ εἰσὶ δεράπωντες*; reioycing that they SHALL GO TO GOD whose seruants they are. And those wordes which Socrates spake of Swannes, foreseeing THE GOOD THINGS IN HADES, you, Sir Con- suter, in the abundance of your wit, note to p^roue HADES to be heauen. And to this heauen though Socrates admitteth Swannes, yet he accepteth no men, but such as haue bene Philosophers, & those of the purest sort. As for such as vse popular and ciuil vertues, as iustice and temperance, gotten by care and continuance without Philosophie, his words are expressly these; *ἄτρετες εἰμὸς ἐσιν εἰς τοῖστον πάλιν ἀφινεῖσθαι πολιτικὸν καὶ ἡμερον γένος, ἢ πρὸς μελιτῶν, ἢ σφηκῶν ἢ μυρμηκῶν ἢ καὶ εἰς ταῦτόν γε πάλιν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος. εἰς δὲ γὰρ θεῶν γένος μὴ φιλοσοφῆσαντι καὶ παντελῶς καθορῶ ἀπιόντι ἔθμισ ἀφινεῖσθαι ἄλλω, ἢ τῷ φιλομαθεῖ*. It is fit that such (soules) should returne againe into some such politicall and tame kinde eicher of BEES, VVASPES, OR EMMETS, & after that into men again. But into the kinred of the Gods it is not lawful for anie to come that hath not bene a Philosopher, and verie pure at his departing hence. Others that were stouthfull and filled theire bellies, hee saith must be turned into Ases, and such other beastes

La dialog.
Acaci & Me-
nippi.

Plato in Phc-
done.

Page 94.

Plato in Phc-
done.

beasts; and oppressours and wrong doers into Wolves, Kites and Hawkes. Of these his plaine resolution is ^r that such soules wander, vntill by the earnest loue of their bodilie nature, which followeth them, they PVT ON BODIES againe. And such bodies (of birds and beasts) they put on as resemble the manners of their former life. Here is a goodly world of soules to be brought out of Plato into the Cræde; and Socrates heauen, why you should fauise, I cannot gesse, except it be, that none but very pure and precise persons shall come thither, to whom you would faine be the ringleader. But this is not all. In making HADES AND PLVTO, by which the Poets meane the diuell, to be a wise and bountifull God, hath not your wise Master fitted his new heauen with an excellent head? Plutarch moueth the doubt whether HADES be a God or a DIVELL, that hath power ouer darknes and death: Homer & Hesiodo affirme, he dwelleth vnder the earth, and is implacable, cruell, and hated of men. Porphyrie, no meane follower of Plato, concludeth PLVTO (which is all one with HADES as * Plato confesseth) to be the chiefe of all wicked spirits. Porphyrius words are,

r Ibidem.

* In Cratylo.

Ἦ τις δὲ ποιῶν δαιμόνας ἐν εἰκῇ ὑπὸ τὸν σέραπιν ὑποπέποιμαι. εἴ δ' ἐν τῷ συμβόλιον μόνον ἀναπειθόντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰ μελιχίματα, καὶ τὰ τέτων δοτορεύματα πρὸς τὴν πλεῖστον γίγνεται, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ εἰδείκνυμι: ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ πλεῖστον ὁ θεὸς, καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγιστα δαιμόνων ἄρχων, καὶ σύμβολα διδὸς πρὸς τὴν τέτων Ἰλασιν.

f Citatur ab Eusebio de preparat. euangelica lib. 4. cap. 12.

We do not without cause coniecture that all wicked spirits are vnder Serapis; being led so to thinke not onely by his ceremonies, but because offerings to pacifie, and sacrifices auerting rage are doneto PLVTO, as we haue shewed in our first booke. Now Serapis is all one god with Pluto, and therefore he is the greatest prince of Diuels, and one that giueth charmes to driue away spirits. Now, here is Socrates wise and bountifull god, HADES AND PLVTO, concluded by a great Platonicke, to be the chiefe diuell; whose iudgement Eusebius followeth. And in deede considering his place where he dwelleth, his rage that he vseth against men, for which

hee is so feared and hated of them, and his sacrifices in which hee delighteth, as also his power ouer death and darkenesse, it is a clere case that Platoes **H A D E S** OR **P L U T O** is the great diuell in hell; whose craftes and sleights, because hee knew not as a Pagan, he hath promoted him to be a wise and liberall god; and you haue learnedly cited this wise deuise to make him ruler of your heauen, whither you send Christ and his Saints to liue there for euer.

Now were it graunted vnto you, that Pluto and **H A D E S** (which by the description of all your classically Poets is in deede the diuell) were one of Platoes gods; are you so little acquainted either with Plato or with Paganisme, that you presently conclude hee is the true God of Heauen? Or that this inuisible place must needs be the Kingdome of God? Loke but in the latter end of this booke, which you alleage for this very purpose: and there you shall see what pretie fancies Socrates hath of another inuisible earth farre aboue this, and waters likewise, and trees, and flowers, and fruites, and beastes, and men that liue longer than we doe here below, and without sicknes; where also there are temples & woods, in which the gods dwell familiarly; *ἢ αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν, ἢ) Διὰ τὰ ἄσχητον διατῶν*, That to see that earth is the sight of the blessed. But what be these wicked fancies either to the Cræde or to Christian Religion? Seeing therfore your Græke Poets with one consent make **H A D E S** to be a god below vnder the earth; and put vnder his power as well the Elisian fields and seates for the iust soules, as the prisons and dungeons for the vniust; and this fantasticall conceitte of Socrates touching a speciall place for himselfe and such Philosophers as hee was, together with Swannes, beastes, trees, flowers, fruites, as it was singular and secret to himselfe, so it was most absurd and wicked; you may by no meanes bring your Classically writers that were Pagans to expounde the Cræde;

† Plato in
Phædone cir-
ca finem.

Créde; much lesse must you binde the holy Ghost in the new Testament, to vse the word HADES, as the infideis did; since the holy Ghost onely knoweth and speaketh truth; and their imaginations of the dead, or as you speake of the world of soules, was not onely false and foolish, but impious and blasphemous. And yet if you doe admit them to be interpreters of the Créde; which I vtterly refuse for the causes I haue tolde you; they make directly against you. For HADES with them was the Ruler or place of soules that were beneath vnder the earth, were they in rest or in paine; and that Christian Religion will assure you must néedes be hell, howsoeuer to beat out your broken matter you beginne halfe to doubt where hell is.

[The authenticke authors of the Greeke tongue vsed hades for the place of the blessed soules (you say) and not properlie for hell. So Leonidas cheered vp his men not to feare such a blessed death; to suppe in hell had bene a colde comfort vnto them.] You reade nothing your selfe belike, that you hit nothing right. In Plutarch whome you alleage, this is no comfort giuen by Leonidas; but hee seeing the Persians now in sight, as his men were dining; and in number so infinite aboute his, who were but an handfull, willeth them to make short, and saith; So dine, as men that must suppe in HADES; that is, care not for meate since death is so neere; but prepare to fight for your Countrey. It sheweth a resolution to dye, but no consolation after death moze than they knew befoze; which was, that in HADES were places as well for the good to rest, as for the bad to be punished; but both were below vnder earth, and in Plutoes kingdome, as the Gentiles supposed. Neither did Homer meane to make a new heauen, for such as Achilles was, but to send them to the place where hee thought all soules did abide; and therefore hee put Achilles soule in Plutoes region vnder the earth, as

well as the rest of the Grecians and Trojans, that died in that Battaille. And because your Proctor Will needes haue the words that Achilles spirite spake to Vlisses at his descent to hell, to bee a dictionarie for hades, what place it is, against which if the Creede had gone, it had been a skoffe to all Hellas, and had hindered all the proceeding of the Gospell: Let vs see whether his owne dictionarie will not returne all his allegations vppon his owne head. If HADES in the Cræde must bee the same place, where Achilles spirite was, whither Vlisses descended, and where he saw and spake with so many Ghostes, then apparantly HADES must bee the Poets HELL. At Vlisses entrance Homer telling how the soules came about him saith,

a Odiss. 11.

a αἰδ' ἀγέροντο ψυχὰν ἕν' ἐξ ἑρέβου :

The soules flocked together out of Erebus; now ἐρέβου is the very place where the Poets place Cerberus, and whence the same Poet saith, Hercules

b Iliad. 8.

b Ἐξ ἑρέβου ἀγόρευε κύνε στυγερὴ ἀΐδου :

Was sent to fetch from Erebus the dogge of HATEFULL HADES. Againe Vlisses mother asking him how hee came to that place, saith

c Odiss. 11.

c τίς ποτ' ἐμὴν πῶς ἴδεις ἕν' ἑσπερίῃσιν,

My sonne how camest thou vnder this darke mist? Of Ajax Ghost, who would not for anger speake to Vlisses, Homer saith,

d Ibid.

d οὐδ' ἐμὴν ἀλλὰς ψυχὰς εἰς ἑρέβου :

Hee went away to other soules in Erebus. Where Vlisses saith hee saw Sisyphus

e Ibid.

e κεντρίῃ δ' αἰεὶ ἔχεται,

Suffering grievous torments, as also Titus and Tantalus to endure the like. Where he saw f βίον ἠεὶ δαίνεσθαι

f Ibid.

f εἰδένων ἀντὶς δὲ μὲν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι :

τίπποτα. Hercules strenght a Ghost: for hee himselfe was in ioye with the immortall Gods. Where Achilles spirite tooke so small comfort, that when Vlisses said, s There is

g Odiss. 11.

none

none happier then thou Achilles; before, whiles thou liuedst, wee honoured thee as a God, and now art thou a great commaunder among the Dead; bee not therefore so sadde; hee replied, Praise not death to mee Vlisses, I had rather serue any poore man (on earth) as his drudge, though hee were scant able to liue, then to raigne here ouer all the dead. If the place bee darke and deepe $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho$: if Cerberus bee there which the * Poets make the very kéeper of hell; if there bee grieuous and cruell punishmentes for such as deserue them, if the best haue there so little ioye of the place, as Homer maketh Achilles ghost here to confesse, what place can this bee but that hell, which all the Poets acknowledge; though in some part thereof there bee worse punishmentes then in other:

*Hesiod. in theogonia.
* Virgil. li. 6.

[This is not that Tartarus, you will say, which the Poets make the Nayle and Prison for the wicked.] What is that to the purpose, if some punishmentes in hell bee worse than other? Looke to those whome the Poets place without the dungeon, and see whether they bee in heauen or no? And because you and your friends talke so much of the worlde of Soules, and of heauen to bee found in HADES, and INFERI; and your selfe bying Virgill as one of your Classicall authoꝝ to proue this matter, ^h who though hee were a Poet, and fayned many things, yet hee spake (you say) familiarlie, and after the vulgar vse, and for the substance of the matter vitered touching heauen and hell, the opinion of the worlde then: I must pray the Readers leaue and patience, whiles I follow you in your owne fantastickall deuise, though against mine owne liking, to let the simple see what your world of soules, and your heauen is, euen in those very writers, which you produce for this purpose; and whether they bee fitte things to bee Presidents for the Creade or no. In Plutoeskingdome vnder earth, whether Aene-

h P. 67.

i *Æneidos* 6. as went to see his father Anchises, ⁱVirgil your authen-
 k *Pag.* 101. ticke authoꝝ maketh besides *Tartarus*,^k and your goodly *Eli-*
 " an fields the eternall habitation (as you call it) of the blessed,
 l *Æneidos* 6. many lodgings. As first foꝝ ^lsicknes, care, weeping, pouertie,
 labour, warres, discord, dreames, and death, besides foꝝ *Cen-*
taures, *Briareus*, *Hidra*, *Chimera*, *Gorgon*, *Harpies*, and *Gerion*,
 and sundrie other monsters. There wander the Ghosts, whose
 bodies are not buried a hundred yeare before they can get ouer
 the foule and filthie river of *Styx*. The other side of *Styx*, is
 kept by *Cerberus* the Dogge with thre heads; where first
 are placed the soules of infants weeping and crying; then
 such as were vniustly condemned to death, next, such as being
 wearie of their liues killed themselues, now willing to suffer
 pouertie, or any paine on earth, so they might returne to life
 againe. In the fourth place are *Lugentes Campi*, the wo-
 full fields of such as died for loue; in the fift, Warriars and
 such as pursued each other with the sword, where *Æneas* saw
 all the *Grecians* and *Trotians* that dyed at the siege of
Troy. Of all these places, where yet are no punishments,
 the Poet maketh *Deiphobus* to say to *Æneas*, what cause
 dzucth thee,

Vt tristes sine sole domos, locaturbida adives,

To come to the wofull housen without sunne, and lothsome
 places? Then leadeth the left hand to *Tartarus*, which
 these men so much harpe at, compassed wth fierie *Phleg-*
eton, and there are the punishments of the wicked; then
Plutoes palace, and on the right hand, *Amana vireta*
fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beata, The sweete springs of
 the fortunate woods, and the blessed seats. Here is the hea-
 uen which this confuter alleageth out of *Virgil*, and here
Æneas found his father *Anchises*, in a greene vale, viewing
 the soules that dzanke of the water of obliuion, and were
 to take new bodies on earth againe. His words are,

* *Æneidos* 6.

* *Anima quibus altera fato,*

Corpora

*Corpora debentur, Lethei ad fluminis undam
Securos latices & longa obliuia petant.*

The soules who by destinie are to take bodies the second time, doe here at the River of Lethe drinke the waters of viter forgetfulness, no way remembryng whatsoeuer they saw or knew, either whiles they first liued, or during the time of their abode vnder earth. And because it seemed strange to Æneas, that soules should come to take other bodies, though this be right Platoes fantasie in his Phædone, Anchises telleth his sonne the secrets of Platoes Purgatorie, heauen, and resurrection, as Virgil conceiued them, who was a great Platonist. When men die (saith he) all the infections of their bodies cannot presently be taken from their soules.

Æneidos 6.

! Ergo exerceatur pœnis, veterumq; malorum supplicia expendunt,
Therefore the soules (of such as are curable, for the desperate and insurable, are cast into Tartarus, and neuer come thence by Platoes owne words) are purged with paines, and abide the punishment of their former infection, some are hanged vp to the winde, some are plunged vnder water, some are clensted by fier:

*Quisque suos patimur manes, exinde per amplum
Mittimur Elysiū, & pauci lata aruat enemus,
Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit,
Æthereum sensum, atque auræ simplicis ignem.
Has omnes ubi mille rotam voluere per annos,
Letheum ad fluuium Deus euocat agmine longo,
Scilicet immemores superâ ut conuexa reuisant,
Rursus & incipiant in corpora velle reuerti.*

m Æneidos 6.

Wee euery one of vs suffer our clensting, and after that wee are sent out into the large Elysiā fieldes, where but a fewe of vs inhabite these pleasant places, vntill long time hath taken away the bodilie infection, and leaueth the æthereall sense pure, and the vigour of the fierie and
simple.

simple ayre. Then after a thousand yeares God calleth all these soules (thus purged and placed in the fortunate scates) to the flood of Lethe, that they may goe to the earth againe, with viter forgetfulnesse of all things, and beginne to desire to returne to new bodies. To these Elysian fields when Aeneas should come, the Poet maketh Sybilla say,

Aeneidos 6.

Ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras;

Aeneas descendeth to his father, euento the soules below in Erebus: And that Erebus is one of the infernall Gods, as the Poets call them, can bee no question. For when Dido minding to kill her selfe prepared *Sacra Ioui stygio*, Sacrifices to the infernall Iupiter, the Poet maketh her Priest to inuocate, *Tercentum tonat ore deos Erebumque Chaosque*, Three hundred gods, and Erebus and Chaos.

Aeneidos 4.

This is the worlde of Soules that Virgil deliuered in his time; which hee collected out of Plato; this is the heauen, that is contayned in HADES and INFERI. Judge thou Christian Reader, whether this be not the high way to Paganisme, to tell vs that this is the heauen, where the Saints of God are in rest, and whether Christ ascended. For my part, but that I thinke this confuter talketh of that hee knoweth not, I must haue proclaymed him for a Pagan; and therefore after hee saith it, if hee persist to say that heauen is either Homers HADES, or Virgils INFERI, I may not spare to discharge the duttie of a Christian man, to let the whole realme vnderstand, that this is open infidelitie, cloaked vnder the name of Puritie. Platoes world of Soules where it altereth from this, is rather worse than better. For hee saith, the soules of euill men are clogged with their bodilie vncleanenes, and wander, ⁿ ὡς οἱ λέγεται εἶναι τὰ μνήματα τῆς τάρταρος, about tombes and graues, as it is said, and then put on the bodies of beastes, birds, or wormes. And you, Sir Confuter, lighting on the first part of these wordes, openly falsifie them, and lewdly

n Plato in
Phædone.

lewdly misapply them. For in stæde of (as it is said) you translate, (** as it is commonly said*) and by that worde „ *Pag. 98.*
 COMMONLY of your owne adding, and referred to the former words, where there is a manifest distinction or pause betwixt them, you bid the reader note that HADES is commonly called heauen. For thus you write: Againe, Plato saith of heauen, that it is an vnseene estate, euen HADES, „ *o Pag. 98.*
as it is commonly called, which you will by the side to be noted; 33
 where Plato in that place speaketh not one word of heauen. But such is the miserie of your cause, you must belie your authoꝝ, or else you will lacke pꝛoues for your humours. And touching the soules of all men that are boꝝne, Plato holdeth their soules had bodie before, and stape in HADES, vntill the time come that they must haue bodie againe, and therefore all our knowledge heere is but the remembꝝing of that we knew before, when our soules were in other bodie; which is the opinion that Tertullian chargeth him with: His owne wordes are,
 ἡ παλαιὴ μὲν ἐν ἡσπέρῃ τῷ ὀλέθῳ ἐπέσθη ἡ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ὡς εἶσιν (αἱ ψυχῆ) ἐνθάδε ἀφικόμεναι ἑκεῖ; ἢ πάλιν ἢ δίδου ἀφικνέσθαι καὶ γίνονται ἐκ τῆς τελευτῆς.
 There is an auncient assertion which wee remember, that soules departing hence are there, and come hither againe, and are new borne from the dead. And least you should thinke hee did not consent to it; hee saith somewhat after,
 ἢ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα ἐκ Ἐξαπατούμενοι ἐμολογούμεθα ἅπαντες καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς, καὶ τὸ ἀναβιώσκειν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τελευτῆς τὰς ἕσπρας γίνεσθαι. Wee are not deceiued confessing all this; but there is in very trueth a returning of soules to liue againe on earth; and of the dead spring the liuing. Consult you and your Instructor whether you will bring this HADES or world of soules into the Cræde; or whether the thiefe from the Crosse ascended to this heauen, together with the soule of our Sautour. But if these bee intolerable and abominable heresies to haue soules passe from bodie to bodie; and Platoes HADES be nothing
 else

p Plato in Phædone.

q Ibid.

else but a continuall chopping and changing of soules from life to death, and from death to life againe, hale backe your HADES from the Cræde, howsoeuer your Hellas will take pepper in the nose to see her follies refused.

Cicero is your last authenticke writer that you bring to proue *Inferi* to be heauen, out of whom you note three things. *First*, that he utterlie mistiked the opinion of the olde Latines, that thought the world of the dead was vnder the earth, and therefore gaue this terme *INFERI*, to signifie the same: this hee openly mistiketh, that the damned soules were beneath in the earth, or at least in such kinde of torments as many did imagine. How much more did he condemne them, that thought all the deceased soules were beneath, vnder. or in the earth? The blessed hee thought rather, as Plato did, to ascend vp to heauen. *Secondly*, you note, That although hee reiected the opinion of the former Latines, yet hee retayned the Latine phrase, as being now common and familiar euery where; which rose of olde from that opinion, thinking all the dead after this life to be infra, beneath. He had learned to thinke wiselier, but yet he spake so, as the vulgar phrase had preuailed, according to Aristotles rule; we must thinke as the wise doe, but speake as the people doe. *Thirdly*, Tullie saith of this opinion followed great errors. If a man would hire you to speake against your selfe, you cannot doe it in playner manner than here you doe. You confesse that Cicero was the first (for befoze him you bring none) that mistiked the opinion of the olde Latines (whose seate and tongue in Italie was then 1200. yeares olde) that the world of the dead was vnder the earth, and to signifie so much, they vsed the woerde *Inferi*; which had continued in the mouthes of all men learned and vnlearned, till Ciceroes time, to expresse the state of the dead. *Secondly*, you say the phrase was so common and familiar euery where for the worlds of the dead, that Cicero himselfe, though hee thought otherwise

otherwise durst not depart from *the vulgare phrase which had so generally prevailed*. Then by your owne confession wee haue thus much, that *Inferi* for twelue hundred yeares in the mouths of all men ignozant, and learned among the Latines and Romanes did signifie the state of such soules as were vnder the earth. How let Cicero say what he can to the contrarie; his authoritie is no waie so great that it should ouerwaigh so long and settled a consent. Great errors followed hereof Tullie saith. And you affirme the like, but not so great as Tullie himselte mayntayned in rejecting that opinion. For he in some pride of his tongue and conceite of his wit brought heauen and hell to be utterly nothing.

That the old Latines thought all men after death to go vnder the earth I see no proofe; I find rather the contrarie confessed by your owne author. He alleageth out of Ennius, *Romulus in calo cum dijs agit eunum, ut fama assentiens* Tuscula. quest. li. i. *dixit Ennius.* Romulus leadeth his life in heauen with the Gods, as Ennius approving the same writeth. And againe; *Abijt ad Deos Hercules. Vetera iam ista, & religione omnium consecrata.* Hercules is gone to the Gods. These things are ancient and sealed with the religious consent of all men. So that Ciceroes words which you alleage, cannot impoert that they thought so of all men, for then they must so haue thought of Romulus and Hercules, which Cicero confesseth all men acknowledge to be in heauen; but they supposed so of most men; which amongst Pagans, as they were, was no such great error, as you would make it, nor any way so great as that which Cicero laboured to establish in place thereof. For he through the insolencie of his opinion of himselte, or inconstancie of his disposition, or both, would sometimes haue an *Inferi*, or hell below; and sometimes he would haue none. Examples whereof are euident in his writings. In his spleene against Antonie, he saith; *Ulli igitur impij, quos occi-* Philippica. 14

distis, etiam ad Inferos pœnas parricidij lucent: vos autem qui extremum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis locum et sedem consequuti. Those wicked, whom ye slew, shall IN HELL suffer the punishment of their parricide: you that lost your liues in obtayning the victorie haue obtayned the place and seate of the blessed. In his brauerie defending Cluentius, he cast it all off as a foolish fable. * *Quid tandem illi mali mors attulit? nisi forte ineptijs ac fabulis ducimur, ut existimemus illum apud Inferos impiorum supplicia perferre, et ælum esse præcipitem in sceleratorum sedem atq; regionem: quæ si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intelligunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit præter doloris sensum?* What harme could (Cluentius) do vnto (Oppianicus condemned and banished for his lewdnes) by killing him? vnlesse wee belecue toyes and fables to thinke he endured the punishment of the wicked in hell, and that he was cast headlong into the region and prison of the vngodly? which (conceits) if they bee false, as all men may easily vnderstand, what hurt could death doe him, but take from him all sense of grieue? To make a reason for his Client, that by killing his aduersarie, afflicted with penury and miserie, he should rather doe him a good turne, then a spite, he vtterly relecteth, as a fable, that the wicked haue any punishments after this life; which in the former place against Antonius souldiers he vsed as vehemently for a truth.

And though in this place he take, as you say, the ignozance of the olde Latines, yet in an other place, hee commendeth their wisdom, for the self same position. † *Itaq; ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud Inferos eiusmodi quadam illi Antiqui supplicia impijs constituta esse voluerunt, quod videlicet intelligebant his remotis non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.* Therefore to terrifie the wicked in this life, THOSE AVNCIENT Fathers held there were some such punishments appointed IN HELL for the wicked, because they saw without the death was no way to be feared. And, Sir Refuter, are you a Christian, that thinke it woorth the noting out of a prophane Orator, that

x Pro Cluentio.

y Oratio in Cætilin. 4.

that it is a foolish fable to thinke, the wicked are punished after this life in hell: Uphold you the proude and lewd conceite of a Pagā against the settled and reuealed iudgements of God by his word: dare you adde of your owne head (for your author hath no such word) *z* that the ignorance OF THE TRUTH *beganne this opinion, that Inferi were vnder the earth, and the terrors of hell also?* I see your deuise; you would haue hell euerie where; and TORMENTS OF HELL you would haue none, but such as Chyist by your assertion suffered in his soule here on earth; and because you want good authoritie to countenance this matter, you reade vs a Lecture out of Cicero, that he thought so befoze you, and that he is a verie authenticke and Classicall wyter. But keepe this lesson till you get none but Atheists and Infidels to bee your hearers; they will thanke you for it; Chyistian eares doe abhoze it; and will detest your prophanes as much as they doe Ciceroes. For if there bee no punishment in hell, sure there is no hell, and he that decreaseth the terroz, decreaseth the truth of it: therefore the olde Latines did not erre. But your New Orator thinketh hee may buyld and ouerturne hell and heauen at his pleasure.

As he dealeth with hell, so doth he with heauen; somtymes he will haue one, and somtymes he cannot tell whether there bee any such habitation for soules or no. And the heauen which he would haue, is a Mansion of his owne making. Such authors you bring vs to expound the Creede, and to outface all the Fathers, that they themselues cannot tell what they say. Where he purposely disputeth of the seate and sanctuarie for the soule after death, he concludeth the whole discourse, as doubtfully as he beganne. *a Si supremus ille dies non extinctionem, sed commutationem afferi loci, quid optabilius? sin autem perimit ac delet omnino; quid melius quam in medijs vite laboribus obdormiscere, et ita conuiuentē somno sepeliri sempiterno?* If the daie of our death bring not a perishing but changing of places, what can be more

a Tuscula.
quæ st. lib. 1.
ad finem.

Ibidem.

to be wished for? But if it vterly quench and extinguish (bodie and soule) what can be more acceptable amidst the troubles of this life, then as it were wincking to slumber, and shutting our eies to fall into an euerlasting sleepe? *Habes somnum imaginem mortis, eamq; quotidie induis, & dubitas quin sensus in morte nullus sit, quum in eius simulachro videas esse nullum sensum?* Thou hast sleepe which thou daylietriest, for an image of death; and doubtst thou but there is no sense in death, when thou findest no sense in sleepe, which is the patterne of death? Now on the other side for Ciceroes heauen, which you will needs bying into the Creede vnder the name of *Inferi*, hee maketh it no reward of vertue, no; gift of grace to be bestowed where it pleaseth God; but he affirmeth there is a fierie aire aboue, of which soules are made; and therefore as soone as the soule is loosed from the bodie, it flieth vpward as fier doth, by a naturall motion, vnto the place, which is like to it selfe, and there stayeth, and is nourished with the selfe same things, with which the starres are nourished.

Ibidem.

Qua quum consistet, perspicuum debet esse, animos quum e corpore excefferint, siue illi sint spirabiles, siue ignei, sublime ferris accedit ut eo facilis animus euadat ex hoc aere, quem saepe iam crassum appello, eumq; perumpat, quod nihil est animo velocius. Qui si permanet incorruptus, suiq; similis, necesse est ita feratur, ut penetret & diuidat omne caelum hoc, in quo nubes, imbres, ventiq; coguntur. Quam regionem quum superauit animus, naturamq; sui similem contigit, & agnouit, vincit ex anima tenui, & ex ardore solis temperato ignibus insistit, et finem alius se offerendi facit. Quum enim sui similem & leuitatem & calorem adeptus est, anquam paribus examinatis ponderibus, nulla in partem mouetur. Ea q; ei demum naturalis est sedes, quum ad sui similem penetrauit, in quo nulla re egens, alitur & sustentatur, isdem rebus quibus astra sustentantur & aluntur. It is long and tedious (good reader) to be troubled with these prophane follies; but because the confuter laboureth so much to haue

Ciceroes

Ciceroes world of soules and his heauen into the Creede; and in respect of him disgraceth all other writers as ignorant of the latine tongue, these words will playnly shew thee, what an audacious, irreligious, and heathenish attempt that is; and how absurdly and lewdly he saith, Cicero had learned to thinke wiselýer then they, that said hell was below in the earth. For they deliuered a trueth, and this of Ciceroes is a false, foolish and wicked fansie. The English of his words is in effect this. These things being certain, it ought to be a cleare case, that our soules when they leaue the bodie, whether they be of an aerie or fierie nature, do mooue vpward. A good helpe for the soule with more ease to passe and breake through this grosse ayre heere below is this, y nothing is swifter than the soule. Which remayning vncorrupt, and alwaies like it selfe, OF NECESSITIE MVST ASCEND, and pearce, and deuide all THIS HEAVEN (or ayre) in which the cloudes, windes, and rayne engender. Which region when the soule hath once passed, and touched, and perceiued a nature like to it selfe, mixed of a subtil ayre, and the temperate heate of the sunne; in that fierie region, IT STAYETH, and maketh an ende OF ASCENDING ANY HIGHER. For when it hath gotten like both heate and purenes (of the ayre) balanced as it were with equall waights, it moueth no way. AND THIS IS THE NATVRAL SEATE OF THE SOVLE, when it commeth to a like ayre to it selfe; in which needing nothing, IT IS NOVRISHED and fed with THE SELFESAME THINGS, VVITH VVICH THE STARRES ARE NOVRISHED and sustayned. Ciceroes heauē is nothing but an heap of heathenish impieties. The first, that the substance of the soule consisteth of fier or ayre; the second, that of necessitie it ascendeth vpward as fier doth. The thirde, that when it commeth to a pure ayre and temperate heate of the sunne, it stayeth there, and ascendeth no higher. The fourth, that this is the naturall seat for the soule, and thence it moueth no way. The fift, that it is there nourished and sustayned with the selfe same things,

with

with which the Starres are. The consequents to this heauen are most horrible. First that all soules by necessitie of their nature being in this place, there are consequently none in HELL, noꝛ none in heauen, and so both those places are vtterly emptied by your eloquent Pastor. Next that, when the Starres & skies shall be melted and dissolved with fier, then must the soules of all men be likewise dissolved, consisting of the same matter, which they doe, and so vtterly extinguisht. Lastly, Gods promises, and threats are all frustrate, if he can doe his enemies no moꝛe hurt, noꝛ his seruants moꝛe good, then this heauen affoordeth. And therefore if you bring the world of soules, oꝛ this heauen into the Cræde, I must refuse the Article for open and euident points of Infidelitie, which I suppose, the Apostles, noꝛ Apostolicke men neuer meant, when they made the Cræde.

Yet this place such as it is, Cicero, you say, called it *Inferi*. Syꝛ if you leaue vsing, you must leaue vsriting. For you can shant vsrite a true word. Cicero doth no where call this place *Inferi*; but howsoeuer he had his priuate conceits as a Philosopher, yet when he spake befoꝛe the senate, oꝛ the people, he was forced to yeeld to such opinions, and to vse such words as were commonly received with all men, and that is the direction which Aristotle giueth by the rule which you alleage, that though we must learne to think as wise men do; yet we must be content to speake as the people doe, not that by so speaking we must alter the nature and proprietic of the words, which wee vse; but mynding to aduise oꝛ perswade the multitude, we must condescend as well to their vulgar phrases, as to their generall and receiued opinions. And therefore as the people thought all men dying to descend vnder the earth to *Inferi*, so Cicero speaking in open place vseth this same phrase, whatsoeuer he privately thought of the place where the dead were.

From Pagans (Syꝛ Refuter) you returne to Christians, & whom befoꝛe you accused for altering & changing the authenticke

for the clearing of certaine obiections. 393

use of words, you now alleadge as obseruing the true propriety of the same word, for which you did challenge the same before. ^b Hereunto let us adde (saie you) that the latter learned writers euen Christians haue also espied and graunted this propriety of the latin word *Infernum* or *Inferi*, as also of the Greeke **H A D E S**. Ierom saith, *Infernus* is a place where the soules are included, either in rest or in paines. The farther you go, the more you shew, you vnderstand neither Pagans nor Christians. The fault you found with the latin Fathers was, that they use the word *Inferi* to signifie hell properlie and particularlie, that is the place of the Damned: or else an other particular place under the earth a part of hell and not farre from hell it self, where soules remayned if not in paines, yet in prison, & far from the place of eternall blessednes & ioy, but this you affirme is a meere and plaine abusion of the word. And within two leaues, when Ierom saith the verie same thing, which you mistaked before, and called a meere and plaine abusion of the word; you confesse hee espied the true propriety of the word *Infernus*. This is banding of Balles in a tennis Court, and not a nie searching after a truth in the church of God. But when your learning reacheth no further, you must needes breathe out your ignorance, or bzi-
dle your tooing, which hath runne so long on a voluntarie, that you cannot tell when you bee out, nor when you bee in. Ierom indeede was of opinion that before Christs death the soules of all, as well good as bad, were shut vp in a place within the earth; the good in rest and expectance of Christs comming thither, by him to bee deliuered; the badde in paines and torment. This place common to both sorts, but with different effects, Ierom calleth *Infernus*, which in our English tooing is hell. Of this place he saith. ^d *Infernus locus est in quo anime recluduntur siue in refrigerio. siue in pœnis.* Hell is a place in which soules are included, either in rest or in paine. Here you saie Ierom espied the propriety of the latine word *Infernum* or *Inferi*. Bee it so since you will needes haue it so. But *Infernum* in this place doth

^b Pag. 101.

in Ose: ca: 13.

^c Pag. 96.

^d in Ose: ca: 13

no waie signifie the kingdome of heauen; Ergo the true proprietic of the worde *Infernum* doeth not signifie the kingdome of heauen. The Maior is your owne. The Minor by Gods grace I will proue euen out of Ierom. Marke well his wordes.

Hiero. in epi-
taph Nepot. ad
Heliodorum.

Quid simile Infernus & regna calorum? What likenes haue *Infernus* and the kingdome of heauen? you saie *Infernus* is taken by Ierome for the kingdome of heauen; Ierome himselfe telleth you the one hath no likenesse to the other. Are you not caught like a long beaked thing in your owne grin? and because you shall perceiue it is not a tricke, but a truth that I presse you with out of Ierom, that *INFERNVS* by no meanes is the kingdome of God, and consequentlie must be properlie hell, (except you will builde newe receptacles for soules after Christs ascension where they may bee, neither in hel nor in heauen,) you shall haue more out of Ierom touching the true proprietie of these wordes.

^cIn Amos. ca. 9.

^c CERNE PROPRIETATES; AD INFERNVM DESCENDITVR, AD COELVM CONSCENDITVR. MARKE THE PROPRIETIES (of these two wordes:) TO HELL MEN DESCEND, TO HEAVEN MEN ASCENDE. And againe, ^f *Nota ante aduentum Christi, quamuis sanctos, omnes Inferni lege detentos. Porro quod sancti post resurrectione domini nequam teneantur inferno testatur Apostolus dicens; melius est dissolui & esse cum Christo; Qui autem cum christo est, utique non tenetur in Inferno.* Note that before Christs comming all, euen the saints theselues, were detained vnder the lawe of hel: but that after the resurrection of our Sauior they are not helde in hel, the Apofile witnesseth when he saith; It is better to be dissolved and to bee with Christ. And he that is with Christ certainly is not detained in hell. There is no shifting from the force of these wordes. Afore Christs comming the saints were in *Inferno*, after his ascension they were not. For hee that is with Christ is not in *Inferno*. Saie if you dare that *Infernus* here is the kingdome of God. For then these absurdities will pursue you.

^fIn Ecclesiast.
cap. 9.

you: That after Christs ascension the saintes are not in the kingdome of heauen, and he that is with Christ is not in the kingdome of Christ: therefore maugre your bearde, if you haue anie, *Infernus* with Ierom is trulie and properlie hell, and in no wise the kingdome of heauen, as you imagine. Thus thriue you by your own authoꝝ, whom you produce to make the world beleue that formerlie *HADES* & *INFERI* did signifie heauen: such heauens if you be wise, keepe your selfe from, neither professe to expound the Creed by the Classicall masters of the græke tongue, being Poets & Pagans. What is to be thought of that opinion of the Fathers that the saintes before Christs comming were in *Inferno*, in hel, but free from feare or torment, though in some darknes, as also whence they toke the ground of that assertion, I haue shewed in the end of the^a treatise before as much as needed to this question; there with ease it may be perused,

^aVide pag. 182
et sequent.

[They mistooke, you will saie, the word *Infernum* in the old testament, and thence grew their opiniõ, that the Patriarks and prophets before Christs comming went to hell; but the scriptures had no such meaning; for neither the worde Sheol with the Hebrues, nor the worde Hades with the Septuagint had any such sense, to signifie hell. And this a notable argument, y^e Hades signifieth the world of soules, or generall state of the dead, were they in hel or in heauen.] Wee are all this while out of our proper element to list heathen philosophers & Poets for the meaning of the cræde, & a little smattering in the Greeke tongue made the Refuter so arrogant, that hee bid defiance to all the fathers both græke and Latin, as vnable to vnderstande one poore word in the Cræde, which the church of Christ proposed to euerie childe to learne, and to euerie catechist to knowe. But now wee are returned to the scriptures againe, (for Fathers they leaue as corrupters of the olde both faith and phrase) wee shall goe through with more ease, and ende with more speede. That Sheol or Hades doe signifie heauen, either in the Scriptures of the

olde or newe Testament, or with the Septuagint which are the translators of the Hebrew into Greek, I utterly denie; and no man living shall ever be able to make anye proove thereof; on which issue I am content to sojourn with any man that is learned and sober, for the hazard of either of our credits. If Sheol, and Hades in the scriptures neuer signifie heaven, then can they not signifie THE WORLD OF SOULES; for so much as there is no one place common to all soules departed this life, but some are in hell, and some in heaven; and for one word to signifie both hell and heaven so farre distant one from the other, and so much repugnant one to the other, is somewhat strange, except it could be strongly proved. Chaos did import the whole masse of heaven and earth before they were distinguished, but since they were severed, and settled by the wonderful wisdom and mighty power of God so far apart one from the other, and so much unlike one to the other, there are wordes in the scripture which note all that God made, but none that comprisse heaven and hell, excluding the rest. S. Paul useth $\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ for the creature^a, and $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\eta\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\varsigma$ for the making of the world, and our sauntour useth $\alpha\iota\omega\omicron\nu$ for this world and the next, where nothing is excepted; but that heaven and hell should come to be included in one word & the rest excluded, I see neither why, nor howe it should be. For where wordes are common, some things must also be common, as needefull to be expressed by those wordes; but to soules in heaven and hell no positive thing is common; all things are rather contrarie. Their bodies they want in both places, because they are soules; other wise their states be as repugnant in all points, as light and darknesse, Christ and Belshaz, yea as heaven and hell in which they are; & the refoze as light and darknes, faith and infidelitie, truth and error haue no common worde to comprisse them being contraries each to other; no more haue heaven and hell as they are the rewardes of the iust and uniuust; for so much as all things in either are directlie repugnant each to other.

Againe

^a Rom. 8.

^b Ephel. 1

^c Matth. 12.

Again that SHEOL or HADES may possible signifie heauen I utterly deny, because in heauen besides the soules of men, there are the elect angels of God, to whom if anie man dare applie SHEOL or HADES, he must giue me leaue to thinke his iudgement to be weake, and his faith vnfound.

[Sheol and Hades, you will saie signifie all that are deade in either place.] But you must remember, that both these wordes in the Scriptures doe properlie signifie places and not persons. For though the ancient Greekes vsed the word HADES, first for a person, and then for the place which that person gouerned; yet the holie ghost (knowing that the person which the Pagans meant was in deede the Diuell) vseth the worde for the place, and not for the person, except the texte bee figuratiue. In Sheol it was neuer doubted but that it alwaies signified a place, and neuer anie person. Nowe if neither Sheol nor Hades canne signifie both places, I meane heauen and hell, then canne they not signifie the worlde of soules; for they bee dispersed in both those places.

[It cannot be denied, you wil saie, but the olde testament referreth Sheol, as the Septuagint doe Hades, both to the goodlie and to the wicked after death.] It is most true that Sheol in Hebrew, and Hades in Greeke are applied in the olde Testament both to the good and bad; The Question is not to what men, but to which parts of men, good or bad, Sheol and Hades are referred. To the bodies of men, good and bad, lying deade in the graue they are sometimes applied; to the soules of the goodlie, as detained in either, they are neuer applied. Sheol and consequentlie HADES with the Septuagint, importeth the whole death that is due to sinne, and euerie part thereof; but by no meanes heauen, where the soules of the saintes are, nor anie part of that blisse, which they possesse. Since then as well the death of the bodie in this worlde, as the death of the soule in the next worlde were the wages of sinne; Sheol and Hades

doe sometimes signifie the generall state of deade bodies, as when the Scripture describeth rottenesse, silence, forgetfulness, senselesse, contempt, dishonour, and such like to bee in Sheol. And the same worde when it is referred to the soules of the wicked as there detained, or of the godles as thence deliuered; for so much as the soule cannot be inclosed in the graue; of necessitie the pit prepared for the soules of sinners must bee, by all such textes of Scriptures, intended. But that Sheol or Hades should signifie the worlde of Soules, as well in heauen as in Hell, neither hath this Refuter brought antie Texte or reason for it, neither will hee ever bee able to prooue it. And howsoever one of late hath taken vpon him to talke of those thinges, like one of the Titanes with bigge and bombasted tearmes; I, seeing nothing in that fardell of his but Riddles and raylings, meane not to alter my course.

When touching the sense of Sheol in the olde Testament, I take it to bee cleare, that it sometimes signifieth the graue or the state of deade bodies; but neuer the worlde of soules, which phrase the Refuter hath caught by the ende, hoping at length to conueie it into the Creede. But hee must first shewe vs where hee findeth antie such thing in the Scriptures, before we maie suffer him to make it an Article of our faith. Against it enerie place is a prooffe; but for it none that I reade, or they haue yet alleaged. They thiffe hardes, and in steede of the worlde of soules they bring in the graue, or the state of deade bodies; which is but a vaine flourish, to propose one thing, and to prooue another. And though you (Sir Refuter) goe to varying of
 .. phrases which I thinke is your best skill; as, ^k *The state of*
 .. *the deade, the worlde of the deade, the worlde of soules departed;*
 yet I must let you vnderstande there is great difference betwixt these speeches. Sheol may extend to their bodies whose soules doe liue in heauen: to their soules it cannot; and
 therefore

for the clearing of certain obiections. 399

therefore you must not chop in the one for the other, as your instructor doth, who when he would proue the world of soules, falleth by above head and eares into the graue. The one you shall euerie where light on, of the other there is no mention. As when Jacob said to his sonnes, ¹ you will make my hoare haire descend to *Sheol* with sorrow; and likewise when David said to Salomon, ^m thou shalt make (*Shemeis*) hoare haire descende to *Sheol* with blood: are there white haire or blood in the worlde of soules, as there are in the graue? this is the state of deade bodies, but not of soules departed. In the destruction of Core, Dathan and Abiran, the Scripture saith; ⁿ the earth opened her mouth & swallowed them vp, and their howsen, and they descended, and all that were with them alieue to *Sheol*. Alieue is both bodie and soule in euerie mans eie. If or had those two bene severed, they had bene dead. Doe the bodies of men descende to your worlde of soules? or is it plaine that in this place must be meant by *Sheol* either hell which receiued both their bodies and soules that were in that rebellion against God; or at least the heart of the earth, which receaued them liuing, whereas other men die before they are committed to the earth? ^o like sheepe (saith David) shall they bee laide in *Sheol*. Are there sheepe, or anie resemblance of sheepe in your worlde of soules; or doth David rather meane, that, as sheepe are bounde, and then slaine, and cast on heapes, so shall the wicked bee handled? nowe as manie places in the scriptures as note *Sheol* to be belowe, cannot be referred to your worlde of soules; for they are as well on high in heauen, as belowe in hell. And therefore of force *Sheol* must in all those places either importe hell which is belowe, or the graue which is lower then the earth whereon men doe liue. ^p Thou hast deliuered my soule (saith David) from the lower *Sheol*. And Esaie of the King of Babel: ^q *Sheol* belowe was afraide at thy comming, and raised vp her mightie men to meete thee, and to saie vnto thee, art thou also weakened, as well as wee? is thy pride depressed to *Sheol*? This cannot be

¹ Genes. 42.

^m 3. Reg. 2

ⁿ Numb. 16

^o Psal. 49.

^p Psal. 86.

^q Esa. 14.

be

400 The conclusion to the Reader,

bee meant of the generall and indefinite state of the deade
 nor of the worlde of soules, for manie of them were on high
 in strength and ioy; not in feare and weakenesse, as here they
 are described in Sheol. And therefore ruffle you and your a-
 bettour as long as you list with sautes and tearmes; feil
 crakes fray not such as bee pluiue to your lame legs. Again,
 heauen is namelie expressed, and opposed to Sheol; how can
 heauen be included in Sheol? ^r To the high heauens what wilt
 thou do? it is lower then *Sheol*, how wilt thou know it? Will
 your learning serue you to make the high heauens a part of
 the lowe Sheol? ^r If I ascend to heauen, thou art there, (saith
 Dauid to God,) if I lie downe in *Sheol*, there art thou also. So
 God himsele by Amos: ^r If they dig to *Sheol* there shall my
 hande fetch them; if they ascend to heauen thence will I bring
 them downe. And to the king of Babylon. ^u Thou saiedst
 in thine heart I will ascende to heauen, and climbe aboute the
 highth of the cloudes: but thou shalt be pluckt down to *Sheol*,
 euen to the sides of the pit.

To men of ante meane capacitie I thinke it be manifest,
 that ascending here cannot be descending; & consequentlie
 that heauen is no part of Sheol, but a place rather opposed a-
 gainst it; albeit your impudencie be such y^e in the Creed you
 expound, he descended into hell, by the cleane contrarie, that
 is, he ascended into heauen. What that will not men of your
 face and fanke doe? I hope all good men will beware of
 such expositions. We deride the Gloss of the Canon lawe
 for saying *Statuimus, id est, abrogamus*, we establish, that is, we
 abrogate. How ridiculous and audacious then is this pre-
 sumption, to saie Christ descended into hel, that is he ascended
 vp to heauen; but hereof in the close when we haue first clea-
 red your sonde conceites of SHEOL AND HADES. ^x The
 dead praise thee not (saith Dauid to God) nor all that descende
 into silence. If the scriptures affirme as much of Sheol, how
 can Sheol be the worlde of soules? yea how can Sheol bee hea-
 uen, where the soules night and daie, that is euerlastinglie,

^rJob. 11.

^rPsal. 139

^rAmos. 9

^rEsai. 14.

^rPsal. 115.

do nothing but praise God, and confesse vnto him the honoz
of his name? ¹ Sheol (saith Esay) cannot confesse vnto thee, ¹ Esa. 38.
neither can such as descende vnto the pit trust in thy truth. ² *Shea*
(saith Salomon,) ² There is no worke, thought, knowledge, ² Ecclesiast. 9
nor wisdom in *Sheol*, whither thou goest. If *Sheol* bee the
wo:ld of soules, they be all a sleepe, that neither doe speake,
no: thinke anie thing. Small are their ioyes, and lesse are
their paines, which they neuer so much as thinke of. So that
neither hell, no: heauen, no: any part of your wo:ld of soules
can bee heere vnderstoode by *Sheol* in Salomons wo:des;
but of mere force it must be the Graue where the bodie ly-
eth voide of sense, speech, action, or cogitation. The rest of
the places of the olde Testament where *Sheol* is named, con-
curre with these; and import either the graue, which is
common to the godlie with the wicked; or else that pit which
is prepared for the soules of the wicked, which can bee none
other place, but preciselie and properlie HELL. What
textes they are of the lawe and the prophets, where *Sheol*
is named, that cannot bee referred to the graue, I haue
in the treatise before specified and handled such of them, as
I thought sufficient, especiallie receauing no answer to
my reasons, but the Sphingicall perplexities of an high
minded Maister; whose wo:des with mee, though they
bee of the largest size, are but winde. And therefore I tell
vpon the same groundes and proofes, which I make before,
and stande to iustifie, that in no place of the olde or newe te-
stament, where SHEOL OR HADES are named, their
wo:ld of soules is, or canne bee vnderstoode; let them name
mee the places, I will presentlie send them by Gods grace
an answer.

Vide pag. 147.

As for HADES (good Reader) by which worde the Sep-
tuagint expresse the Hebrue SHEOL; in all these textes,
where thou seest the worde SHEOL, thou maiest assure thy
selfe the Septuagint vse HADES in steede thereof, and the
berie same reasons that serue for *Sheol*, serue for *Hades* in

enerie point without exception: And that maketh me whole to skippe the handling of HADES in the Septuagint; and to referre the discussing thereof till I come to the places of the newe Testament. Now the consequent of that I haue alleaged either heere or before, is this; that by SHEOL and HADES in the olde Testament must needs be meante either HELL, the GRAVE, or their WORLDE OF SOULES, which they so much talke of; if no place in the olde Testament doe necessarilie enforce their worlde of soules to bee vnderstoode by either of these wordes, then it remaineth, that in what textes the graue maie not bee endured to bee the meaning of either of these wordes, there wee conceaue the place of the damned must bee intended in either of them. Peruse both the obseruations and allegations before, and thou shalt see both the textes and the proofes, whie the place of the damned must often bee vnderstoode by Sheol in the booke of the law and the prophets. I hope thou wilt thinke it superfluous for mee to defende it, or enlarge it, before anie man doe particularlie impugne it. So that whatsoeuer you prate (Sir Refater) without waight or warrant touching Sheol, I count it lip laboz; when you or your helpers bring anie thing worth the regarding, you that find me readie to receaue it, or refute it; as the matter deserueth.

Vide pag. 247

Sheol then in the olde Testament, and Hades in the Septuagint signifying sometimes the state of deade bodies which is the graue; sometimes the place of deade soules, which is hell; but neuer the world of soules, whereof some are in heauen; let vs see what force HADES hath in the new testament; or whether it can thence be proued, that Hades importeth the world of soules. As the mysteries of God were more fully declared by the gospel, then by the law; so the kingdom of heauen was more precisely severed from the kingdome of Satan by Christ, then by Moses. What Moses darkelie shadowed vnder figures, that Christ reuealed in plaine wordes; and

and therefore hell fire, which is obscurelie mentioned in the law and prophets, is often and openlie named by the mouth of our Saviour; and HADES, which before extended to good and bad, is nowe by the writers of the newe testament restrained to the place of the damned. So that Hades with the signifieth hell, and the powers thereof, and not the death of the bodie, much lesse the world of soules. Examples hereof I haue giuen thee (gentle Reader) in the ^u Treatise before; saue that I then reasoned the death of the bodie was not signified by HADES, which now these deuilers haue changed into the VVORLD OF SOVLES. I must therefore nowe ouerrun all those places againe, and shewe that the VVORLD OF SOVLES cannot bee expulled by auncle of those places. Which I will with as much breuitie as I canne, considering the wise Reader will soone bee able to discern this newe Camisadoe latelie offered with the VVORLD OF SOVLES. The first place is, ^x Woe to thee *Chorazin*, and woe to thee *Bethsaida*, saith our Saviour: ^y And thou *Capernaum* exalted to heauen, shalt bee brought downe euen to hell; it shall bee easier for Sodomie in the day of iudgement then for thee. What is Gods curse and threates to impenitent sinners? HELL, or the VVORLD OF SOVLES? and in the date of iudgement, when their punishment shall bee greater then the Sodomites, shall they go to hell fire, or to the VVORLD OF SOVLES? I praye you (Sir Refuter,) where are the Sodomites at this houre? in hell or in your VVORLD OF SOVLES? In hell I thinke. Saint Iude saith, ^z They do sustaine the punishments of euerlasting fire. Is that your VVORLDE OF SOVLES? If it be not, they shal certainlie be where the Sodomites are, yea in worse case shall they bee, and that I suppose must bee in hell, and not in heauen. The second place is in the wordes of Christ to Peter, ^a Vpon this rocke will I builde my church, and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it, and I wil giue thee the keyes of the kingdom of heauen. The VVORLD OF SOVLES doth not impugne the church, therefore it is no signe

^uVide pag. 171

^x Matt 11
^y Luc. 10

^z Iud. epist.

^a Matth. 16

of Gods fauour, for that not to preuaile againſt the church. Againſt, what ſoener preuaile not, yet if hell preuaile, what ſafetie hath the church? Heretiſe and iniquitie are the gates of hell fighting againſt the church, as well as crueltie. ^b *Ego portas Inferni reor vitia atque peccata, vel certe hereticorū dicitur, per quas illeſti homines ducuntur ad Tartarum. Nemo itaque putet de morte dici, quòd apoſtoli conditioni mortis ſubiecti non fuerint, quorum martyria vides coruſcare.* I thinke (ſaith Ierom,) the gates of hell to be vices and finnes, or elſe heretiſes, by which men being enticed are led to hell. Let no man therefore imagine it is ſpoken of death, as if the Apoſtles were not ſubiect thereto, whoſe martyrdoms thou findeſt ſo famous.

^a Hiero. in
Matth. 16

^c Hilarius in
Mat. cano 16

^c *Digna adificatione illius Petra, qua infernas leges, & Tartari portas, & omnia mortis clauſtra diſſolueret.* It was a Rocke (ſaith Hilarie) worthy of Chriffs building, which ſhould diſſolue the lawes of hell, the gates of Tartare, and all the Cloiſters of death. So Origen, ^d *Porta inferorum dicuntur etiam principatus ac potestates, aduerſus quas nobis eſt colluctatio.* The gates of hell may the powers and principalities bee called, againſt the

^d Origenes in
Matth. ca. 16.

^e Bede in Mat.
16.

which we haue to ſtriuie. ^e *Portas inferni hereticam prauitatem nominat, ſiue vitia & peccata, unde mors ad animam venit.* The gates of hell Chriſt calleth *Heretiſes*, (ſaith Bede) or elſe vices and

^f Ambroſ. lib 6.
in Lucz ca 8.

finnes, by which the ſoule dieth. So Ambroſe, ^f *Quæ autem ſunt porta Inferni, niſi ſingula quæque peccata?* What are the gates of hell, but all kind of finnes? And Gregorie; ^g *Porta Inferni heretiſes ſunt, qua quaſi inferorum aditus pandunt.* The gates of hell are heretiſes, which open as it were the paſſage to hell. The ſitte

^g Greg. in. Pſal.
ſ. penitentiali

are heretiſes, which open as it were the paſſage to hell. The ſitte generall counceſſ of Conſtantinople with one full conſent

^h Synod. ſ. con-
ſtantinop. ſeſſ.
ſione. 8.

alloweth the ſame. ^h *Porta inferni non preualebunt aduerſus eam, id eſt hereticorum lingua mortifera.* The gates of hell that is the deadlie tongues of heretickes, ſhal not preuaile againſt the church. You might haue moze, but theſe are enough. Here (ſir Reſuter) you tell a long and a ſoiliſh tale of death out of your owne heade, as if Chriſt did promiſe his Apoſtles protection againſt the violence of Tyrants, but not againſt

the

the rage of Satan; ⁱ To vnderstande sinnes and errorrs as some ¹ Pag. 111. of the ancient writers doe, the circumstances of the texte, you saie, doe seeme not to beare it. Your ignorant humour is loth to haue it so; otherwise the wordes of Christ, respect the trueth of Peters confession, that himselfe was Christ the sonne of the liuing God; against the which faith no policie, no tyranie of Satan shoulde preuaile, and so by your leaue the ffathers goe direalie to the meaning of the terte; and you woulde wrest it to your pinate fanlic, least HADES shoulde signifie HELL; and yet at length vpon aduicement you ^k confesse it may bee heere the GATES OF HELL, ¹ Pag. 113. and that HADES is thus vsed sometimes, and namelie in the last example out of the 16. of Luke. It is well s^hen that in the 16. of Luke you yeelde HADES doeth signifie HELL, where the wicked are tormented, and did you denie it, the Scripture auoucheth it; the wordes are plaine, ¹ I am tormented in this flame: & againe, least they come into this place of torment. Then HADES without ante other addition noteth HELL, and when Christ saith, the rich man IN HADES LIFT vp his eyes; he addeth this as a necessarie consequent being in tormēt, to shew that HADES is the place of torment, and not the VVORLD OF SOVLES. ¹ Lucx. 16.

From thence you leape to the Reuelation; and there, when Saint Iohn saue ^m one sitting on a pale horse whose name was death, and HADES followed after him, that is, saie you, the world of the dead. ⁿ It cannot be hell certainly, because hel slaieth none in that sort. Againe, to saie preciselie that the fourth part of the world should go to hell, I take it to bee a strange phrase, in scripture. Here first is a plaine p^{ro}se, that death and HADES, are two senerall things, the one following after the other. For nothing doth follow it selfe. The doubt is now what HADES importeth. The world of the dead, saie you. The worlde of the dead, if thereby you mean dead bodies, is al one with death; if you vnderstand the world of soules, that hath two partes beauen and hell, which of these two did follow after death to helpe

help destroy the fourth part of the earth? the kingdom of hea-
 uen is neuer proposed in the scriptures as a destroyer, but
 the diuell hath his proper name in this booke, ^m ὁ ἀπολ-
 λύων the destroyer. Againe, this vision S. Iohn saw at the
 opening of the fourth Seale, but the world of soules in hea-
 uen was shewed him in the opening of the fift Seale, which
 presentlie followeth in the next verse in these words. And
 when (the lambe) had opened the fift Seale, I saw (saith Iohn)

Apoca. 6. vers. 9. vnder the altar the soules of men slayne for the word of God,
 and for the testimonie of the Lambe. The world of soules in
 heauen was scene in the opening of the fift seale; therefore
 that world of soules was not scene in the opening of the
 fourth Seale; but of force, if by HADES you will vnder-
 stand anie world of soules, it must be of those that were in
 HELL. Howbeit because hee did accompanie death that
 was sent to destroy, I take it rather to bee the powder of
 the deuill, that is there described; then anie world of soules,
 as you dreame. And that the diuell destroyeth as well the
 bodie as the soule; if it be strange to you, you are a greater
 stranger in the Scriptures then you would seeme to bee.
 Who threth the house vpon the heads of ⁿJobs Children can
 you tell? or who smote Iob himselfe with that loathsome
 disease? [But the fourth part of the earth, you saie,
 could not go to hell;] God graunt no more then the
 fourth part go thither. ^pPeuser reade you, ^o many called
 and few chosen; and ^p though the number of the children
 of Israel be as the sand of the Sea, yet but a remnant
 shall be saued. And why might not the dragon as well deu-
 oure the fourth part of the earth, as ^q draw downe from heaue
 with his tayle the third part of the starres? ^q If there you take
 a certayne number for an vncertain, which is S. Iohns man-
 ner of writing in this booke, why not as well here as else
 where? these therefore are a couple of idle quarrels; if the
 be your best, you are more willing, then able to do harme.
 But by y same words in the same booke, we shall better vnderstand

ⁿ Apoca. 9.

ⁿ Job. 1
 Job. 2

^o Math. 22.
^p Rom. 9.

^q Apoca. 12

derstand what is ment by HADES, then by your wandring and weake gloze. Death and HADES, saith S. Iohn were cast into the lake of fier. ^r It were absurd (you adde) to saie death and hell were cast into hell. True; but moze absurd, and moze blasphemous to saie, that death and the world of soules shall bee cast into the lake of fier. For then not onlie the Saints of God, but heauen it selfe should bee cast into hell fier. Yet if we take the containing for the contained, which is the most vsuall phrase of the Scripture, as ¹ wo be to thee Chorazin, wo to thee Bethsaida, & thou Capernaum; as ¹ Iherusalem, Iherusalem which killest the prophets; & it shall be easier for Tyrus & Sydon, with a thousand such every where occurrent; then is it an easie & true speech, that hel, to witte the powers of hell; euen the diuels themselves shall be cast into the lake of fier. And so doth Andreas Bishop of Cesaria expound it, ^u *ωνιμας δωαμεις, τας τον αδην εχσας*, the wicked spirits the possessours of HADES, shall be cast into hell fier. And so Bede ^x *Mors & Infernus missi sunt in stagnum ignis. Diabolum dicit et suos, quem supra in equo pallido sedentem Infernus sequebatur.* Death & hel shall be cast into the lake of fier. He meaneth the diuel & his, who before sitting on a pale horse hell followed. As yet then HADES in the new Testament is not onlie a thing different from death, but euen hell it selfe; and your world of soules in none of these texts can find any hold or help. Let vs see the rest.

^u Apoca. 20.
^r P. 42. 116.

^f Math. 11.
^r Math. 23.

^v Andreas c. 16.
in Apoca. ca.
20.
^x Bede in
apoca. ca. 20.

That Christ triumphed ouer hell and Satan, & not ouer death onely; the Apostle fully affirmeth when he saith; Christ ^y spoyled principalities & powers, made an open shew of them, and triumphed ouer them in his owne person; that likewise hee hath the keyes of hell and not of death onlie, S. Iohn plainlie sheweth when ^z he saw an angell come down from heauen, hauing the key of the bottomeles pit, and there binding & shutting vp the diuell. The same key of the bottomeles pit was, in the 9 Chapter of the Reuelation, giuen to the Star that stode from heauen. This keye must Christ haue, for hee

^y Colos. 2.

^z Reuelat. 3.

saith)

408 The conclusion to the Reader,

^a Reuelat: 3.

^b Math. 16

^c Reuelat : 20.

^d Reuelat: 1

^e I Corinth 15

[Pag. 117.

saith of himselfe that he ^a hath the key of Dauid, which openeth and no man shutteth, which shutteth and no man openeth. Since then there are ^b keyes not of heauen onlie which Christ committed to Peter and his fellow labourers; but of the ^c bottomles pitte, where Satan lyeth bound; which of force must bee HELL; when Christ professeth in the first of the Reuelation that he ^d hath the keyes τῆς θανάτου καὶ τῆς ᾄδου of death and of HADES; who saith not that HADES there must signifie hell it selfe, the key whereof is so expresse mentioned in that booke? And so when the Apostle maketh two parts of Christs conquest against death and hell, ^e ô death where is thy sting? ô HADES where is thy victorie? what reason is there to exclude out of these words, Christs victorie over HELL, since the same Apostle witnesseth, that Christ had a glorious triumph against hell, and the word HADES in all the places of the new Testament, which we haue yet viewed, inferreth hell: [The Apostle (you saie) ^f speaketh not of the Damnation of the wicked; but of the resurrection of the dead.] And so do I; and therefore inferre, that when the bodies of the saints shall be raised from death, whose soules be already saued from hell; then shall these words be openlie verified, ô death where is thy sting? ô hell where is thy victorie? For since by sinne hell gate possession of both parts of man as well of his bodie as of his soule; the full deliuerance of man must free both parts, and the full conquest over hell is the losse of both parts, which in the resarrection of the dead shall be performed and not afore; and therefore then is the time for all the faithfull to thanke God, for their full victorie over DEATH AND HELL, and to saie with the Apostle ô death where is thy sting? ô HELL where is thy victorie? But what haſt your world of soules to do with these words, or with anye other; where HADES is named in the new testament? All these places serue fillie for hell, and the most of them necessarilie; since either is expresse as a diuerse thing from HADES, or not to bee compisid in the name of HADES.

But

But your world of soules is most absurd and false in every one of these, and can not stand with the circumstance of the text, the first of the Revelation onelie excepted, where though there be no wordes to impugne it, yet are there none to approue it. For is it anie curse for Capernaum, to bee brought to the world of soules, except you meane hell? Doth your world of soules impugne the Church of Christ? or destroy the fourth part of the earth? or shall it be cast into the lake of fire? And what victorie shall the just have against the world of soules in the last day; since their stone soules reioice to receiue their bodies; and against the soules of the wicked they neither may nor will intolt? It therefore remaineth that though HADES with the Septuagint signifie either BODILIE DEATH or HELL; yet in the new Testament where HADES is described as a diuers thing from DEATH, and following AFTER DEATH, HADES of necessity, being NOT DEATH, must needs import HELL. Of the place in question, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in HADES, I will yet saie nothing, but will come to the words of the Creede, Christ descended to HADES, and search what must be the meaning of HADES in that article.

What I take to be the meaning of Hades in the Creede, where it is said, Christ descended to HADES, as also what reasons lead me therto, thou hast, Christian Reader, in the former^a treatise, thou shalt with more ease finde it there, then I repeat it here; howe much this Confuter confesseth or resisteth, that must I now examine. When I obiect that in a short sum of the Christian faith made for the simple and common people, to repeat one thing twice were needlesse, and against the nature of the Creede: and to vse a darke and hard phrase after a plaine and easie, is unreasonable and absurd, he answereth,

^aVide Pa. 171.

It is true, I hold it vnreasonable altogether in the short and vulgar Creed, appointed euery for the common Christians, to vse words darke and difficult. And when the same thing is by diuers words expressed, the later ought to be the lighter and clearer. Therefore I fullie grant, in the Creede specialle the phrase must be familiar, triuall, easie and plaine. I urged three things to be obserued in the ex-

pounding the Creede, the words to be proper and euident without figuratiue obscuritie, the things to be different without idle repetition, and the order to be consequent without anie confusion. The Confuter agreeth with me in all these; and he doubteth not but his exposition is such. Since then there be three expositions of that article, Christ descended to HADES; that is either to the GRAVE, or to HELL, or to the WORLDE OF SOULES, which in Christs case (you saie) was HEAVEN; which of these three, Sir Refuter, commeth neereſt to the nature of a thopt, easie, and orderlie summe of a Creede? The first you like not, because it expreſſeth that in darke and hard circumloquation, which was familiarly and plainly said before, he was dead and buried. The question then resteth betwene the two last, which of the twains best expreſſeth the proper

sense, and vulgar vse of the worde HADES. For the Apostles
 and Apostolike men (you confesse) did so write and speake, as the
 people then might best vnderstand. If it bee so, then your expo-
 sition, (Sir Refuter) is cleane thrust out of doores. For nei-
 ther with the auncient Maisters of the Græke tongue, which
 were the Poets, nor with the Septuagint, nor with the
 wryters of the newe Testament, nor with the people of that
 time, in their vnderstanding, did HADES euer signifie the
 worlde of soules without anie limitation of state, or place.
 Againe that generall and indefinite worlde of soules, without
 respect of heil or heauen, is no point nor part of the Christian
 faith. For faith touching Christ must not be generall or am-
 biguous, but particular and certaine. It is no faith, much
 lesse an article of the faith, to saie, Christs soule after death
 went some whither; the Creede muste specifie the place
 whither it went before it can bee a matter of faith, that must
 be beleued. And therefore HADES doeth point out the
 particular place, as heil or heauen whither Christs soule
 went after death, before any man may chalenge it to be the
 true meaning of that article.

1 Pag. 125.

“

1 Pag. 128:

“ If anie doe aske particularlie whither is this? You aun-
 swer, *namely into heauen: for whither should the Saints go else?*
 This

This in deede is a familiar, triuall, easie, and plaine exposition, **Christs soule** DESCENDED DOWNE TO HADES; that is, it ASCENDED VP TO HEAVEN. And so by taking heauen for hell, and ascending vppe for descending downe, you haue quickelie made an ende of this matter. Whie then goe on with your wise Master, and make HADES, which is the chiefe Diuell, to bee God, and you haue made a perfect exposition of the Creede, fitte for such as attribute to Diuels, what they shoulde attribute vnto GOD. Was this the plainest and easiest waie for the Apostolike men to teach the people, **Christs soule** ascended vppe to heauen, by saying hee DESCENDED TO HADES? And did the people so best vnderstande them? You that expounde this by the cleane contrarie, and saie they be best so vnderstande, no maruaile if you arrogate so much vnto your selfe in framing the Scriptures to your fantasies; you make with little studie prooue a speedie expositor of the Scriptures. But, Sir, wise men that regarde their faith more then your follyes will aske; where you finde descending for ascending, and Hades for heauen? If you pretende Plato, they will tell you, that to embrace a priuate conceite of Socrates against all the former Greekes, against the Septuagint, against the Euangelists, and Apostles, and euidentlie against all the fathers is not to expounde an Article of the faith, but the next waie to bring Paganisme into the Creede; and that by so licentious and lewde a trade of open peruerting the wordes of the Creede, and taking sowre for sweete, colde for heate, euill for good, that nothing shall stande sounde if this bee admitted. [It is, you saie, an Hebrerwe phrase. ^k So Iacob spake, I ^k Pag: 126 will goe downe mourning to my Sonne vnto Sheol, yet Iacob thought not to goe to hell to his sonne, but among the soules of the godlie dead, that is to saie, into heauen.] It hath bene meetelie well tolde you, that Sheol neuer signifyeth Heauen in all the Scriptures, but that Iacob meant hee woulde goe mourning vnto Sheol, that is to his Graue, refusing to take any comfort whyles he liued, since his sonne

was dead. You like a tyzant ouer the Scriptures, will haue what sense please you in euerte place; and then you saie it is plaine and common. In dæde your ignozance and insolencie is verie plaine and common; but the interpretations which you make of Scripture, be absurde and moze then folish. A man liuing maie well be said to descend into his graue; liuing hee standeth, dying he lieth downe; and the face of the earth on which we are, is higher then the bowels of the earth where wee be buried; but of a soule ascending vp to heauen, to say it descendeth to hell, is a phrase of your making, and fit for your falsly, which is guided moze by will then by truth. When you proue these two points, that HADES IS HEAVEN in the Scriptures, and that DESCENDING IS ASCENDING, we will hearken to your exposition; till then we will leaue it as a distemper of your vnlected byaine.

For the last exposition of the three which remaineth, I haue helpe'd thee (Christian reader) by the particular circumstances of the Scriptures, that in the continuall vse of the new Testament HADES signifieth HELL, which is the place where the wicked after this life are in torments. I haue also in the sermons before examined the words of Dauid, alledged and applied by ^m Peter to Christ, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, whence Peter concludeth Christs soule was not left in hel; as likewise the words of Paul importing that Christ descended *εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον* to the bottomelesse deepe, which worde throughout the new testament doth signifie nothing but HELL; I haue noted how anciently Christs local descent to hel was preached in the church, euen by one of the ⁹ seuentie disciples (that were conuersant with Christ) & continued to this date with the full consent of the fathers, both Greeke & Latin without creption, and by the whole church of Christ receiued; I must not iterate that which there is so latelie written. The words are faire and plain, there is no danger nor difficultie in them, the end of Christs descending thither being both honourable to him, and comfortable to vs, as I haue before deliuered it. Lastly, I see no cause either in this Confuters ridiculous pamphlet, or in his aber-

Vide pag. 170
& sequent.

¹ Psal. 16.
² Act. 2.

³ Luke. 10.

torstempestuous and furious libell, why anie man should dislike
 or distrust this exposition, as vsit for the wordes, or vsound
 for the faith of the Creed. To load thee with authorities were
 to make an other volume; thou shalt onelie see I haue not
 deuised it of mine owne heade, but that it hath both antiquitie
 for it, and authoritie with it, and so I will make an ende.
 Cyprian in his Sermon of Christs passion; *o. Ipse dicit ad pa-*
trē, non derelinques animā meam in inferno, nec sines corrupti car-
nam meam in sepulchro, quia ubi in presentia illius, effractis inferis
est captiuata captiuitas, presentata vidtrice anima in presentia pa-
tris ad corpus suum sine dilatione reuersus est, Christ saieth to his
 Father, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, nor suffer my
 flesh to rotte in the graue, because as soone as captiuitie was
 subdued, hell being broken vppe in his presence, and his trium-
 phing soule presented to the sight of his Father, hee without
 delay returned to his bodie. Arnobius writing vppon the
 hundredth thirtie and seuenth Psalme; *P. Postea vidit Inferos, &*
longē factus est non solum à cælis, sed & ab ipsa terra: Abissi pro-
funda descendens scidit, & quia inderenerterctur ad superos, & quia
a superis remearet ad cælos. Afterward Christ went to hell, and
 was farre not onelie from heauen, but from the earth: descending
 hee brake the bottomlesse deepe, that hee might thence returne to
 life; and from thence to heauen. Lactantius in his verses of the
 resurrection, saith.

o Cyprian de
 passion Christi.

P Arnobius in
 psal. 137.

q *Tristia cessarunt inferna vincula legis,*

Expauitq; Chaos luminis ore premi.

Deperunt tenebra, Christi fulgore fugate,

Eterna noctis pallia crassa cadunt.

q Lactan. phœ-
 nix de resur-
 rect.

r Athanas. ad
 Liberium.

The fearefull bands of the infernall power ceased, and Chaos
 was afraid to be oppressed with the light of his presence. The dark-
 nesse of hell was chased away with the brightnes of Christ, and the
 grosse coverings of eternall night vanished. Athanasius, *P. Ipse est dei*
virtus, qui infernum expugnauit, & imperium Diaboli demolitus
est, qui Deus in descendēdo, deus in ascendendo, corpus suum à morte
excitatum patri representauit, ac vindicauit à morte sub cuius im-
perio tenebatur. Christ is the power of God, which surprised hell,

and ouerthrewe the kingdome of the diuell, who being God in descending, and God in ascending, presented his body raised from death to his father, and tooke it from death, vnder whose power it was helde. Hilarius. *Hic ergo vnus est mortem in inferno perimens, spei nostre fidem resurrectione confirmans, corruptionem carnis humana gloria sui corporis perimens.* Christ alone is hee that in hell killed death, confirmed our hope with his resurrection, and destroyed the corruption of mans flesh, with the glorie of his owne bodie. Basil: *Habes ergo myrrham ob sepulturam, guttam ob descensionem ad infernum, quod non inefficax in sepulchro permanferit, sed ad infernum descenderit, gratia dispensationis circa resurrectionem absoluenta, vt qua de seipso erant oracula Prophetarum, vniuersa expleret:* Thou hast (in this Psalme) myrrhe for his buriall, dropping for his descent to hell, because hee lay not in his graue without force, but descended into hell to dispatch thinges needfull for his resurrection, that hee might fulfill all that the Prophets forespake of him. Nazianzene maketh **Christes mother to say of him,** *At ubi veneris in atram nocte Plutonis domum, Infernum acerbo iaculo defixeris.* But when thou wentest to the house of Pluto, where darke night is; thou diddest thrust thorow hell with a wounding speare. Fulgentius: * Dauid spake of Christes resurrection, that his soule was not left in hell, nor his flesh saw corruption. In this then the Godheade of Christ shewed the power of his impassibilitie, that being euery where, alwaies, and vspeakeable present, it wanted not to his flesh, when it suffered not his soule to feele any paine in hell, neither forsooke his soule in hell, whiles it kept his flesh from rotting in the graue. Beda our countryman shall be the last, y My flesh (saith Dauid of Christ) shall rest in hope, expounding in what hope; to wit in this hope, that though my soule descend to hell, yet thou wilt not leaue it to be possessed of hel. The rest go all cleare that way, applying y words of Dauid cited by Peter, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, to Christs descent thither after death. And howsoever the fathers incline to thinke, as Ierom did, that the saints befoze Christes coming were inclosed in a place vnder the earth, expecting Christs coming to bee carried by to heauen (of which I haue spoken

Hilarius de trinitat. lib. 4.

Basil: in psal. 44

Nazianzen. in christo patiente.

Fulgentius ad Thrasimundum. lib. 3.

Beda in Psal. 15.

spoken

spoken as much as is needfull in the 2 treatise before;) yet they absolutelie acknowledge that Christ descending destroyed the kingdome of Satan, and freed all the faithfull from euer comming thither. Vide pag. 139. & sequent.

The rest of the Confuters talke is like y froth of the sea, which wind & waues roll to and fro; sometimes he runneth this way, and then backe againe another way; saying and vsaying hee knoweth not how, nor what. Sometimes he saith the Creede, and namely this article Christ descended to Hades could not be made long after the Apostles time; whereof Ignatius and others most ancient do speake. Pag. 93. In another place he saith; We find almost all the Creedes, certainlie the most ancientest, and the best of them to want these wordes of Christs descending into hell. Pag. 166. In one place he saith, The Creedes which we find in Ignatius, Irenaus, Iustinus Martyr, Tertullia, Origen, Athanasius, Augustinus, the Nicene, Costantino, Pag. 167. politan, Toletan, Ephesine, al these neuer thought that Christs going downe to hell, was anie distinct or certaine Article of the Christian faith. And yet before he confessed y Ignatius and others most ancient doe speake namelie of this Article. Pag. 93. Wat, Sir, haue these Creedes which here you cite, all the rest of the Articles that are in the Apostles Creede? I hope there want in some of them a good manie. For these rehearsals in the eldest Fathers doe but touche some of the Articles of the Creede, and shewe that there was such a compendious brieft of the Faith receiued amongst Christians from the beginning. The Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and others, want euertie one of them sundrie Articles that are in the Apostles Creede, and adde other that are not there; so as in deede they are rather expositions then recitals of the Apostles Creed. And yet I hope Athanasius creede hath this Article in precise wordes, and rehearseth it as a part of the Catholike faith, that Christ descended into Hell. Neither is there anie one of these Fathers whome heere you haue named, as Ignatius, Irenaus, Iustinus Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, but they expresselie touche and teache Chrilles locall descent to Hell, as all the rest doe without exception.

And

^a Igna ad Trall.

^b Iren. li 5. c. 3 r

^c Iustin. in dialo.

lo. cum tryph.

^d Tertul. de.

anima:

^e Orig. in cap.

5. ep. ad Rom.

^f Aug. epi. 99.

And if Councils will content you, you shall not goe farre for both Provinciall and Generall. The Council of Alexandria that wrote to repressse the heresie of Nestorius, maketh the spoiling of hell a part of Christs resurrection, and saith; ^d*Tertia Die reuixit, expoliatus infernum*, Christ rose againe the thirde daie, hauing spoyled hell. This confession was read and allowed as Catholike in the first generall Council of Ephesus, in the great Council of Chalcedon, and in the ^efifth generall Council of Constantinople. So that fathers and Councils both oecumenicall and provinciall, haue receiued and approoued this article euen from the foundation of Christs church; as a part of Christs resurrection, howsoeuer they did not alwayes annere it to their Creedes.

^dEpist Cyril.
& Synod. Alex-
an. ad Nestor:
^eVide acta cõ-
cili Ephesini
& 5. Synod.
Constan. Sef. 7.

^fPag. 166.

With like follie and inconstancie, he saith it is ^f*the natural and necessarie denision of the articles of the Creede, that these, Christ suffered, was crucified, dead, buried, descended into hell, should concerne Christs humiliation, and hee supposeth euerie sensible man will confesse so much whereas he himselfe expoundeth the last of them to haue this meaning, that Christs soule ascended to heauen. Now to ascend to heauen every boy knoweth is a part of Christs exaltation, and not of his humiliation. Howe his note booke denideth the Creeds, I know not, but Saint Paule whence this diuision hath his ground, saith this is Christs exaltation, that at the name of Iesus euerie knee should bow of things in heauen, earth, and vnder the earth, which is hell. His humiliation stretcheth no farther then the death of the Crosse, then beginneth his exaltation. With like discretion when I alledged the Parable from Christs owne mouth, that his triumph ouer Satan must haue thre parts, the houerunning, the binding, the spoiling of Satan, and his kingdome; and further from that Parable I vertued nothing; This wisdom to the w himselfe learned, crieth out, ⁱ*a fine toy or rather a shamefull gloze by vsauoric allegorizing to corrupt the Text. Is this a good waie to prooue Articles of the faith, videlicet by Allegories? As if the mooste parte of Christs doctrine were not deliuered by Parables and Allegories?**

^gPhilip. 2.

^bMat. 12.
Luke. 11.

ⁱPag. 161.

The

The parables of the Sower, of the labourers in the vineyard, & the husbandmen killing the heire, of good trees & straight gates, of the lost sheepe, vniust Steward, and vnrighthouse iudge; of Tares sowed by the enemy, and haruest at the end of the world, of the great Supper, and wedding garment, of the wounded Samaritane, and wise virgins, of the prodigall sonne, and euill seruants, one y neglected his masters talent, the other that imprisoned his fellow, of the rich man & Lazarus; to be short the allegories of light, of salt, of leauen, of chaffe, of the vyne and branches, of the good shepheard, and a thousand such in the prophets, Euangelists and Apostles, do they teach no matters of faith: What Buzzard was euer so blind as so to saie, no points of faith maie be proued by allegories: Had I extended the Parable farther then Christ himselfe did, or applied it to anie other purpose then he did; there might haue bene some cause of quarrell, but keeping my selfe preciselie both to the Scope and words of our Sauour, I could not tread awzie. But in a brauerie to chalenge all the Parables and allegories in the Scriptures, as vnfitte to teach points of faith, neuer came in anie sober mans head.

As you vse the Scriptures, so you vse the Synode of this Realme, that is you arrogantlie and absurdlie falsifie it. ^k ^k Pag. 171
The manifest meaning of the whole Synode (of this Realme,) which is our publik doctrine and established by law in England.
 APPARENTLY RENOVNCETH, (saie you) this doctrine of [”]
Christs going downe to the hell of the damned. If you prouue that you saie, I must confesse it is verie materiall; & by Gods grace I my selfe will reuoke all that I haue said in this point; but if you brag not onlie without cause, but against the verie trueth and tenor of their proceedings, are you not worthis in fixe of H. J. to be named W. J.? but let vs heare how this appeareth: [”]
Euen thus; the Synode before holden in king Edwards time ^{Pag. 172.}
*affirmed this doctrine directly and expressly (in their article of Christs descent to hell.) This Synode comming after repeateth and ratifieth a part (of that article) in expresse words; but part of it euen all and euerie whit that containeth this doctrine expresse of Christs going downe to the hell of the damned, all this I saie our Synode, (anno 1562) cutteth off; it putteth out, it casteth awais. The words are these of the former Synode, *Quemadmodum* [”]
*Christus.**

Articlu. 3

Christus pro nobis mortuus est & sepultus, ita est etiam credendus ad Inferos descendisse. Nam corpus usque ad resurrectionem in sepulchro iacuit, spiritus ab illo emissus cū spiritibus qui in carcere sine in inferno detinebantur fuit, illisq; predicauit, quemadmodum testatur Petri locus. As Christ died for vs and was buried; so also it is to be beleueed, that he went down to hel. For his body lay in the graue vntill the resurrection; his spirit which he breathed out was with the spirits that were in prison or in hel, and preached vnto them, as the place of Peter vvitnesseth. ^b But our Synode since correcteth it herein & saith but thus only, *Quemadmodū Christus pro nobis mortuus est & sepultus, ita est etiā credendus ad inferos descendisse. As Christ died for vs and was buried,*

Pag. 172.

so we are to beleue also, that he went vnto the dead. This therfore in thē is scene manifestly (as I said) to renounce and abrogate this particular sense of Christs descēding, & HE VVENT AFTER DEATH TO HELL. Is this all you haue to saie (Sir Refuter,) then when pro- uender is deuided you shall haue a part for your good collectiō. You collect that & later Synode by leauing out certain words of the former renounceth that CHRIST AFTER DEATH VVENT TO HELL; and that which it retaineth of the former Synode in expresse wordes is this; IT IS TO BE BELEEVED THAT CHRIST VVENT DOWN INTO HELL. So in your iudgement by beleueing that Christ wente downe into Hell, they renounce, that Christ went to hell. If it were a matter of sight I shoulde aske whether you had anie eyes or no; nolue it is a matter of reason I must more doubt whether you haue your five wittes or no. Set your inference to the viciue of all men. The Synode in her Hatellies time agreeth, It is to be beleueed that Christ vvent downe into hell. Ergo they apparātly renounce that Christ went to hel. This is your conclusion; shew it to any tapster or tinker in Englande and see whether he will reward you with a mocke or no.

[But they leaue out the latter part of the Article which the former Synode concluded.] So they leaue out that Christs bodie vvas in his graue vntill his resurrection, which are the wordes of the former Synode. Is the omitting of this a manifest renouncing and abrogating of it? God forbid [But the first Synode in king Edwardes time added farther, you saie, that Christs spirit vvas vvith the spirits detained in Prison or in hel,

hel, and preached vnto them.] First then tell your abettor, that al the Realme wil take him not only for a Railor against al honesty, but for a lier against al duty, that voucheth so confidently king *Edward* the sixt and his subiects held that Christ his soule neuer vvent to Gehenna; & the realme knoweth the Q. othe; as also the Q. aduentureth her eternal state. These be no states to come within the compasse of his uncleane mouth: He may doe well to remember who they be, of whom it is written: They despise government, & speak euil of those that are in authoritie, as raging vvaues of the Sea, foming out their owne shame; And to take heed, that he proue not too true a prophet against himselfe in paying the price of misusing his liege and Soueraigne Ladie, and her whole Realme. But I with him repentance and so I leaue him. Secondlie, (Sir Refuter) you maie see thre things in the latter wordes of that Article in king *Edwardes* Synode, which are verie wiselie with silence ouerskipped by the Synode in her Maiesties time; and wherein for my part I thinke they did verie well not to adde to this Article, anie time, purpose, or prisoners, when, why, or to whome Christ descended. But therein to imitate the wisdome of the best ages, who kept this Article as they founde it without enterlacing it with anie newe additions. For in the later wordes of that former Synode nowe left out are thre things that cannot bee iustified by the Scriptures. 1. that the Spirits of the iust vvere in hell. 2. that Christ there preached vnto them. 3. that he staid there till his resurrection. These three pointes contained in the Article of that Synode; were aduiselie and profitablie suppressed by the Synode kept in her maiesties time; and these are the pointes which I my selfe impugne in this Treatise, as having no iust nor tolerable grounde in the Scriptures. But these things being downed by omission, what is that to the rest of the article, which the later Synode imbraceth as a matter necessarie to be beleueed: for thus they resolue; As Christ died for vs & vvas buried; so also it is to be beleueed y^e HE VVENT DOVWN INTO HELL. And though you woulde weaken their resolution with a false translation, as your maner is, by making them saie, vve are to beleuee that Christ vvent vnto the dead, yet may you gain no thing by that, for we haue publike assurance & allowance that

Iudæ epistola

Articul 3.

their words were and are IT IS TO BE BELIEVED THAT CHRIST VVENT DOVNE INTO HELL. Their words in Latin were, you will say, *Credendum est ad inferos descendisse*? But the same Bishops & the same Clergie that were at the first Synode in the 5 of her Majesty, assembling again in the 13 yeare of her highnes raign, did themselues english it as I report it, and offered it to the Prince & Parliament in those words to be confirmed, which accordingly that high Court did. So y^e now not these words, Christ descended into HADES, though they be true as being the originall words, much lesse yours Christ went to the dead, but precisely these, Christ went downe into hell, are the faith & doctrine which the Church & Realme of England professeth, or which the lawe establisheth; and what they meane, were it not for your adde quirckes, is sone perceaued euen of the simplest.

Page. 173

“ You conclude that the publike sentence of our Church, yea
 “ the publike law of our land is against this opinioⁿ of Christs descen-
 “ ding into hell. And I conclude likewise that which is in the bone
 “ will neuer out of the flesh; with arrogance and ignozance you
 began, and so you will end. If HELL in english be HELL, & GOING
 DOVNE be DESCENDING, the both the Church & the law of Eng-
 land directly, expressly, precisely mayntayneth CHRISTES DE-
 SCENDING INTO HELL. If HELL in english be HEAVEN, & GOING DOVNE
 be GOING VP, then the Church and lawe of England fauoureth
 your fanisie. And hereof I am wel content thou shalt be Judge
 (Christian Reader) that vnderstandest best thine owne toong.
 For the latine I NFERNUM and the Greeke HADES I am content to
 be tried by all the Fathers, Greeke & Latine that euer wrate
 in the Church of Christ. If these men canot keepe their quarter
 cleere nor vpholde their conceite, but they must exclude all
 Greeke, Latine, and English diuines since Christs time from
 vnderstanding euerie man his owne naturall toong; I will
 see their bzain es better settled, and their mouthes better tem-
 pored, befoze their philosophicall follies and Rabbincall fanisies
 the one sorte being strangers, the other enimmies to the faith of
 Christ, shall drave mee from my Creede. And so I wish thee
 (Christian Reader) as my selfe, mercie and grace from the
 Lord Iesus, and commit thee to God,

FINIS.





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