

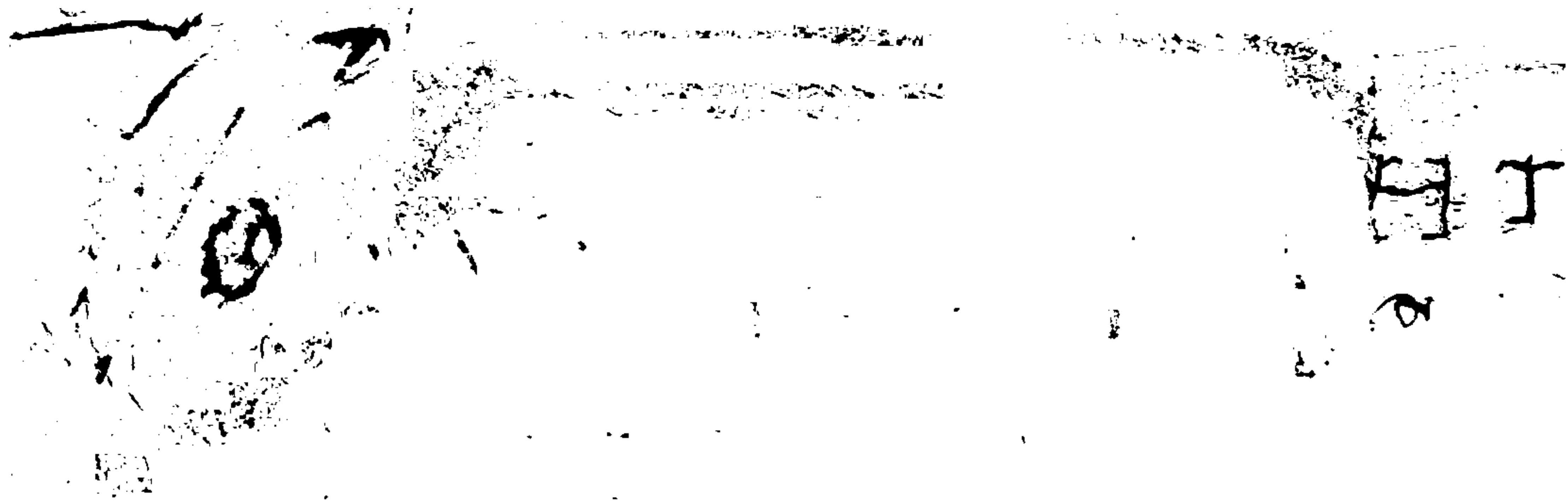
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12-5

The effect of certaine Sermons

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 resurrection,*

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.

I. Corin. 3.

Ie sicme nos is byme any thing done Christ Iesus, and him crucified.

Athenasius de incarnatione verbi dei.

*Therefore the force of Gods word is that a soule that might die, that, exal-
ting it with a reasonable soule, it might suffer for a full satisfaction to
Death for all.*

Printed at London by Peter Short for Walter
Burie, 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 Paules 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 bloud of Crist Iesus. And because that Citie then had, and yet hath, as manie learned and religious preachers; so some 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 chiefest part, and maine ground of our Redemption by Christ: I, finding how fast that opinion had increased, since it was first deuised, and doubting where it would end; thought it my dutie publikeliē 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 *Jonas*, *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 *Jonas*; 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.

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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 Saluation.

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 be concluded by the Scriptures, that Christ suffered the true paines of hell; and so the Consciences of the faythfull could not iustlie be forced to the necessarie beleeuing of anie such strage 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: *extream 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 *holie Scriptures* as *figures*

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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 beleued 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 ^eDIED for our sinnes; and by his ^dDEATH, destroyed him that had power of death, *euē the Diuell, and reconciled vs; when we were strangers and enemies, IN THE ^eBODIE OF HIS FLESH THROUGH DEATH,* (for wee are reconciled to God, by the ^fDEATH of his *sonne, and sanctified by THE OFFERING OF THE ^sBODIE of Iesus Christ once, who ^hhimselfe bare our sinnes in his ^bBODIE 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 trueth, what to beleue and confesse in the mystery of our redemption; and not to controle or correct the doctrine so

4

^e 1. Corin. 15.

^d Hebre. 2

^e Colof. 1

^f Rom 5.

^s Hebr. 10.

^h 1. Pet. 2.

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clearly deliuered in the Scriptures, so consonantlie 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 farre I purposed, when I first entered, by Gods grace to proceede in this cause, according to y simple vnderstanding wherwith 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 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 safely 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 *David*, *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 *bodie*, and *hell* for the *grane*; and as for the locall descent of Christ
to

ⁱ Psal. 16.
^k Acts 2.

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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 *Dauid*, fulfilled in the person of our Sauour. This occasion drew mee to the next question of Christs descent to hell. Vherin 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 Crede, 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 vwith 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 pouer 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: vwhereupon I was both aduised and intreated by men of greater place then I vwill name; to put the effect of that vwhich I had deliuered in vwriting; that by mine ovne vvords, and not by other mens conceits or reports, the learned might iudge of the doctrine. VWhich I did that verie
Summer

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Summer, and had it readie for the presse before Bartlemewtide, but that the Parliament of States approaching, wherein men shoulde be otherwise imployed; and a great hurle raised against it by certaine popular preachers in that citie, through whose mouthes the contrarie had often passed to the people as currant, I was desired by the same persons againe to staie, till that time of businesse were ouer past, that heat of contradiction somewhat alaied, and respite giuen that it might be translated into Latin, which also is now performed, as wel as published in English. To whose counsell I ycelded, referring the time wholly to their iudgements, notwithstanding I were by many traduced in many places as a teacher of strange and false doctrine. But I haue beene and am the more willing to beare the reproches of maligners, because I seeke not my selfe heerein, but that the church of Christ heere in Englande should hold fast that ancient and sure foundation of faith which hitherto it hath kept; and professe that doctrine touching our Redemption by Christ, which as wel the publike lawes of this realme, as all the catholike fathers do vphold and allow.

In setting downe the summe of that which I preached, I neither do, nor can promise thee (gentle Reader) the same words which I then spake; I wrote them not; but I assure thee before him that knoweth all things, that I haue not swarued nor altered anie materiall point from the methode, propositions, proofes and conclusions, which I then vsed, nor from the wordes as farre as either my notes, or my memory vpon the fresh foote coulde direct mee; which I haue yet to shew. Manie proofes and authorities I omitted

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in the pulpit, which the time shut me from; and some objections I have 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 iudgement; 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 howloeuver 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

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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 faithful, & 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.

Hauiing 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 selfe, one more hasty 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.

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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 opponēt 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 severed from the treatise, to giue thee a tast of the rashnes and weaknes of his enterprise, 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 duetic in matters of faith to beware of vnwritten verities, in the greatest point of all, which is our redemption by Christ; take heede


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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 Bilson

London 1599

From title 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.



So 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 foolishnesse. The Grecians sauing
nothing but worldlie wisdom, and fleshlie reason, coun-
ted it a mere folly for the sonne of God, to leave 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 imitation and ex-
pectation of a better life, they did neither conceiue, nor be-
lieue; and therefore they reieted his birth, and especially his
death, as a dreame of simple and vnlearned men, such as
they

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

2 The full redemption of mankind,

they took the Apostles to be. The Jewes hauing their eares 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, byusing 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 he beha promising nothing but reproch and penurie; they so disoeyned 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. Thus the Jewes looking for wonders, and the Brethren for Wisedome, did both condemn the crosse of Christ: the one of weaknesse, the other of foolishnesse: and for that cause fell at the stone of offence: but such as were called both Jewes and Gentiles to bee heires of the promise, did plainlie perceave, and fullie confesse Christ crucified to be the mightie power, and manifold wisedome of God for their everlasting loie 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, we shall see nothing in him but earthlie weaknesse, and deadlie woundes, 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 wisedome, 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: woorthie therefore doth the Apostle professe, that he did, and we should not reioice but in the crosse of Christ.

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

What it is to
the beleeuers.

Galath. 6

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4 The full redemption of mankind,

*De passi. dom.
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; ^{h.} The whole life of Christ was a crosse and a martyrdom. The reason whye Christ so vled the worde (for he first vled 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 betwixte 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, whippcd, scorned, reuiled; he endured colde, nakednes, thirst, wounding, hanging, shame, reproch, and all sortes of deathlie paines; besides heauinesse of heart, and agonie of mind, which oppressed him in the garden. Rightlie then maie the crosse note all maner of miseries, forasmuch 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 eternall life, she prodigallie imparteth that to her pilgrimages, pardons, & 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 extreame martyrdom which hee endured on the crosse.

By the death and bloud of Christ. 5

croffe. And so Christ crucified as the scriptures describe him, had from top to toe no part free from paine and griefe; but hang on the wood, hauing his flesh torne with whippes, his cheekes swolne with buffets, his face defiled with spittle, his head stackt full with thornes, his eyes deteeted for shame, his eares burning with taunts, his mouth sozred with vineger; his hands and feet wounded with Iron spikes, his bones vnointed, 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 ransom of our sinnes, and price of our redemption. Hee bare our sinnes in his body vpon the Croffe (saith Peter:) and again, You are redeemed with the precious bloud 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 expresse 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 godlie at their private leysure.

In the meane time I may not omit in his Stripes, Thornes, Crucifying and Death, to obserue that which the Reader will happilie ouerskiepe 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 extremely to be whipped, and shewed to the people in that plight with these words, *Ecce homo*, Behold a man; to let them see that Christ had receiued very sufficient correction, no crime being proved against him, and so to withhold them from seeing his death. In CROWNING him with thornes, the soldiers did not onelie wreath him

1 Peter. 2.
1 Peter. 1

The paines of
Christs crose.

1 Ioha. 1

6 The full redemption of mankind,

^m Matth. 27.
Matke. 15.

^m Psa. 22.

^o Socrates lib. 1.
cap. 17

^o De pass. dom.
cap. 7.

a thicke crowne of thornes, to sticke his head full of thornes: 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 plainly testifie. In NAILING him to the Crosse, besides the greatnesse and sozenesse of his wounds, which were worthy 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 David foreshewed by these wordes: ^m *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 nailles, 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 aboue other partes of the bodie, and what paine and anguish the prickling, straining and tearing of the sinewes, ligaments and ioynts in either (which are verie thicke, and full of sense in both those places) did breede and kindle in the whole bodie, nature can teach vs without any further prooffe. Of RACKING his ioynts, Bernard maketh this collection out of David: ^o *Tantum distensus sum, ut corpore nudo in modum Tympanice 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, David hath plainer and expreßer wordes, in the 14. verse of the same Psalm, which cannot be contradicted. WITH PARED V. 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 aboue three houres, in most perfect sense, with most extreame paine, till the verie 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

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 wiles it please God to shorten or lighten the rage of the paine, the flesh repineth at the present anguish, howsoeuer 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 world doe neither. He spared not himselfe, that knoweth how to spare his; but suffered and endured all to the bittermost, with so exact obedience and patience, that he did not shrink at the paine, nor stripe 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 rendring up his soule the Scriptures and Fathers do carefullie 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.

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

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

Bernard de pass. dum. ca. 41.

He died voluntarily. Iohn. 19.

Serm. 4. Hebdomade pansae. 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 manner 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? : No one taketh my soule from mee; but I laie it downe of my selfe. By this we may perceiue, the coniunction 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 intrusion of death vpon him, but a voluntary sacrifice for sinne rendered vnto God for our sakes, to appease the wrath and satisfie the curse, which our manifold wickednes had most iustlie deserued.

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

Jonas. 2.
Psal. 18.
Psal. 116.

Thus farre without feare we maie freely 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 vpon 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 speach the Scriptures will beare; if we concludde no worse meaning within those words; Out of the bellie of **H E L**, (saith Ionas) I cried and thou heardest my voice. The sorrowes of **H E L** compassed me about (saith Dauid) and the griefes of **H E L** tooke hold of me. Some others affirme, that Christ, in sustaining the wrath of God due to vs, wrestled with the verie powers of hell that sought to

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 leave 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 way, 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 apt 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 rect such extremittes 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 chiefly 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 speciallie of his owne Son: who not onely 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.

o I The full redemption of mankind,

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 elect 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 grant no such thing, because in him there was neither corruption of flesh; nor remorse of sinne, nor weakenesse of faith; that shoulde any kinde of waie breede or peelee to the worme, that gnaweth at our consciences. A desperate feare is when the breath of God awaketh the wicked to knowe, and acknowledge, what vengeance is prepared for them, in the 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 aduersarye. But yet euen these men, whose case is most despaired, 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 feele. 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 saluation, we cannot ascribe to him without euident impletie. And as for Christs suffering the
same

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12 The full redemption of mankind,

suffer. The **VVAGES** of sin is expressely death both of soule and bodie, and therfore **Christ**, as our suretie and for our sinnes, must taste of both, (as they affirm) before he can discharge vs from both. Signes 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 **COMPLAIN**T on the crosse, that he was forsaken of God, which (as they thinke) proueth he felt in soule a most fearefull iudgement of God, pronounced against our sinnes. To euerie of these I will speake in order, that finding the weaknesse of their foundation, we maie the soner 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 should 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 with antiquitie I will not bidge 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 three waies be proued; by the wordes next pracedent, by the words next adioyned, and by the application which *Peter* maketh, when he sitteth this place. The wordes next before, (which are these, ^d My flesh shall rest in hope) note Christs burfall: 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

Psal. 16.

time were both past; but he speaketh in the future tense; & 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, whiles he liued. The words annexed infer the same. ^d Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, nor suffer thine holie one to see corruption. Both these being jointly spoken of Christ, must both bee jointly 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 knitteth together in coherence. Lastlie Peter in plaine words saith, ^e Dauid 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. Yea, God ^f 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.}

^d Psal. 16.

^e Acts 2.

^f Ibidem.

^g August epist.

For Christ was to rise againe; not as others before him were restored 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 & celestial gloyp; 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 Dauid speaketh of himselfe, not of Christ; and Dauids words to Christs person we may not refer at our pleasures, without farther and better warrant. Againe, Dauid doth not saie, the **TORMENTS**, but the **SNARES**, or **STREIGHTS**

^h Psal. 18. & 116.

14 The full redemption of mankind,
of DEATH, as well as of HELL (for the worde Sheol in
differentlie signifieth both, if there bee none other circum-
stance to limite it to either; and Dauid by the rules of diuini-
tie was neuer here on earth in the true paines of the dam-
ned,) 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 Sa-
tan, should hunt after the godlie here 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 maye no more be defended to bee here on earth, then the
ioies 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 rea-
son: as well for that there is no proportion betwixt the per-
son 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 entored 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 very
SAME WAGES of sinne, which we should haue suffered, I
knowe not howe in fewer wordes a man maye couch more
grosse and open impiety. For we should haue bene WHOLLY
SEVERED, JUSTLY HATED, and VITTERLY REJECTED
from God, yea ETERNALLY CONDEMNED BO-
DIE AND SOVLE to hell fire. Maye anye of these thinges
be affirmed or imagined of Christ without hainous and hor-
rible blasphemie? This was the wages of our sinne; must
be

he endure THE ISAME, before wee can bee redeemed; or Gods iudice 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 taste the verie same death both in soule and bodie which wee should haue done; and which in vs should haue beene euerlasting: First 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 cleerely 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 EXCESSION 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 be the death as well of the soule, as of the bodie; and chiefely of the soule; because the soule of man is the principall agent in sinne. S. Iohn calleth hell the 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 wages of sinne is death: If for the time Christs soule were dead, it had no communion 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 do liue: and he that 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. *Mors anime fit cum eam deserit deus*, the death of the soule is when God forsaketh it: *Mors est spiritus a deo deseri*, it is the death of the spirit to be forsaken of God. *Mors anime 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 communion; no fellowship with God; the soule then that is dead, is excludēd from the saour, and grace; truth, and spirit of God; and if a-
 nie 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.

¹ Apocal. 2.

^{*} Rom. 6.

¹ Galat. 3.

^m 1. Iohn. 4.

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

^o 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 certainelie 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 eare to Peter, which saith, ¹ 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 **Lozde** ¹ 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 yield 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 sease 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 holte; 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 vnited and inseparablie ioined vnto God; besides that himselfe was the true and euerliuing 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 iust and full satisfacton of all our sinnes, even in the righteous and sincere iudgement of God? Though therefore

THE

¹ 1. Pet. 2.

¹ 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 receave THE SAME WAGES which we should have receiued. And since hell is the greatest vengeance, that God inflicteth for sinne, if Christs soule were free from aynie, it must needs be cleared and acquitted from that; which is greatest, and most repugnant to the faimesse 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 certaiuelie what was the true cause thereof. Howbest if we will needs coniecture at causes, wee must take heed, that with our obscure and priuate gueses, we do not contradict such plaine and euident places, as testifie the perfection and coniunction of Christs humane nature with his diuine, and so wrong the person of our Saviour. This rule remembered (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 cannot 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 mate thinke on more, 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 blood to be shed for the sinnes of the world,

The signes y
Christ did suf-
fer the paines
of hell, are his
agonie in the
garden, and his
complaint on
the crosse.

Sixe causes
that might be
of Christs ago-
ny in y garden.

18 The full redemption of mankind,

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

So great is the MAJESTY OF GOD, euerie where and at all times, but Spectallie sitting in iudgment, and so farre exceeding the capacitie of all his creatures; that no flesh liuing is able to appeare before 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 *David* to God) trembleth for feare of thee, and I am afraide of thy iudgements. Since then it is a point not onelie confessed but vrged, by the defenders of this new deuise, that *Christ* appeared here before 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 (even at hand) is the iudgement of the world. Now (even 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 before 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; whyles wee are loden with sin, but in much feare and trembling; since he would not appeare before God to take our sinnes on him, but in this agonie.

The REJECTION OF THE IEWES might be another cause of his agonie. ⁴ He wept ouer their cittie, when he beheld it, and remembred the subuersion of it; how would he then be grieved when he foresaw the finall reiection of the whole nation; and his blood to be laid on them and their children for ever: 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 needs breede in their king, and *Messias*, in whome were the bowels of mercie and pittie, to see the wicked rage

of

¹Ioel. 2

²Hebre. 12

³Psal. 119

⁴Iohn. 12

⁵Esay. 6

The reprobati
on of y^e Iewes,

⁶Luke. 19

⁷Exod. 32

⁸Rom. 9

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20 The full redemption of mankind,

not for his owne suffering, but for our dispeering. 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 vigilas*: 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 grieffe and feare for his Disciples. The Angell being sent to protect the Apostles; and the Lord receiuing comfort thereby *Ne pro his tristis esset; iam sine tristitia metuas, dormite & requiescite*: That he should no longer grieue for them, beginneth nowe to be without grieffe 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.

¹ Ambrose de fide lib. 2. cap. 3.

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 late our selues open to danger, but even 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. Doles igitur domine Iesu, non tua, sed mea vulnera, non tuam mortem, sed nostram infirmitatem.* Christ is affected for mee, sadde for mee, and grieved for mee. Hee sorroweth for mee, and in mee, who had nothing in himselfe to bee sorowed for. Thou griuest 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 sorie for it, is first to displease; and then to despise God. Wherefore it is not possible to appease Gods wrath once prouoked, but with earnest and heartie sorrowe that euer we offended. Then as corruption is the mother, and plea

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 before him, or besides him did, or could expresse: Godly sorrow causeth (in vs) repentance vnto saluation; and a 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 onelie render recompence by his life, and suffer vengeance by his death for our sins, but so deepe lie sorrowed for them that in his agonie, aboue nature, he sweate bloud after a strange and marueilous maner.

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 thereby 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 spirite, euen in the manhoode of Christ: some also thinking that Christ corrected and reuoked his petition; suddenly slipt 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

2. Cor. 7. 10.
Psal. 51.

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 three things in the cuppe of Gods wrath; and by his prayer accordingly decline them; to wit, eternal malediction, corporall castigation above his strength, and the separation of his bodie by death from the fruition of God.

Christ might pray against the eternal malediction of our sinnes.

Heb. 5.

Theodores 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 deserved; he might intentiuely pray to haue That cup passe from him, which was prepared for vs; & was heard in that he declined or feared. For Christ (saith Paule) in the dayes of his flesh did offer vp prayers and supplications to him, that was able to saue him from death, and was heard ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, for the reuerence had of him; so Chrysostome, Theodorete, Oecumenius and others not vnlearned (as I thinke) in the Greeke tongue doe interprete the worde; or as others delight rather to say: He was heard in that he feared; εὐλάβεια signifying feare and care, as well as reuerence. For Paule meaneth that prayer (saith Theodorete) 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 prayer; for he was heard in that hee asked. He desired therfore to be saued from ETERNAL death, and that the cup of Gods everlasting malediction might passe from him, and in that he was heard.

[At least then (will they say) Christ feared everlasting death, against which he instantlie prayed with strong cries & teares.] The number of our sinnes, and power of Gods wrath hee coulde not chouse but see, being ordained the saviour of the world, to beare the one, and appease the other; and therfore if we grant that the sight of both, did for the time somewhat astonish the humane nature of Christ, aduise dly considering the

the waight of both, I see no great inconuenience therein, so long as they impresse 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 clere 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 refrainē to speake what wrong it is, to put either doubtfulnes, 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 failed, being seuered from him, as the iust wages of our sin: against him it could not preuaile; because nothing could befall him either against his will, or vassit 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 vnitie of his person, did most sufficientlie gard him from all danger, and doubt of eternal death; yet to shew the perfection of his humilitie, he would not suffer his humane nature to require it of right; but praye Arate on the earth besought his Father, That cuppe might pas

Christ praied as the heade of his bodie, and so one person with his members.

Galath. 2.
Rom. 6.
Colos. 3.

pas

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passe from him, and was heard in that he shunned, or avoided.
 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 released the last venge-
 ance of mans sinne, & took the cup of eternall malediction
 not from him onlie, but from vs all at his mediation: how-
 beit to shew the confidence he had in his father, and to bring
 his obedience to the highest degree that might be; hee did af-
 ter his religious dislike of that cup, which wee had deserued,
 simplie and wholie submit himselfe to his fathers pleasure,
 without any condition or exception, in saying to his father;
 Not as I will, but as thou wilt: For thereby striking any ter-
 rore of hell into the sence of his flesh, as some would haue it;
 but fully resting on his fathers will and goodnesse towards
 him, as in the surest haven of his hope, and our helpe, against
 all the power of death and hell.

Matth. 26

Christ might
 desire the pu-
 nishment of
 our sinnes to
 be proportio-
 ned to the
 strength of his
 humane flesh.

A second thing which Christ might iustlie feare, and ear-
 nestlie praye against, (though his soule were neuer so safe,)
 was the power of Gods wrath to be executed on his bodie,
 vnlesse 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 onelie with
 meekenesse 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 wic-
 ked, 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.

Wherfore Christ might feare his verie passion; not as wea-
 ker in courage then martyrs or malefactors, but as perfec-
 ter in nature then either of them. The more we entoe the
 presence

presence of God in soule or in bodie; the greater grieffe it will be, and must be to lacke the sence hereof; euen for a short time. The flesh of Christ then, which had not onlie a personall coniunction, but also a wonderfull fruition of God aboue 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 keepe that sence and feeling of Gods presence, which not onlie the soules, but also the bodies of his Saintes shall hereafter enioy; and which Christ had here on earth in greater measure, then we can expresse, as being personallie vnited to the diuine nature, though as yet not glorified with immortallitie.

And where some aough, 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 enim animi infirmitate; sed potestate turbatum;* We may by no meanes doubt that Christ was troubled not for any weakenesse of hart, but through (his own) power; yet Cyril graunteth that Christ as a man abhorred and feared death, and addeth that except he had voluntarily thewed our feare in himselfe, and quenched it, we had neuer bene freed from it. *Omnia Christus perpeffus est, ut nos ab omnibus liberaret. Sicut igitur nisi mortuus esset, mors non extingueretur, sic nisi timuisset, non essemus nos a metu liberati: nisi doluisset non cessassent 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 beeing stirred they might be repressed, by the power of the godhead dwelling in him, and our nature by that meanes reduced to a better temper.

Ambrose in other wordes saieth as much. *Sequestrata delectatione diuinitatis aeternae; tadio meae infirmitatis afficitur. Suscepit enim tristitiam meam, ut mihi suam letitiam largiretur.*

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

Cyri. thesauri. lib. 10. cap. 3.

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

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vestigis nostris descendit usque ad mortis arumnam, ut nos suis vestigijs reuocaret ad vitam. Debit ergo & dolorem suscipere, ut vinceret tristitiam, non excluderet; & nos disceremus in Christo, quemadmodum futura mortis maestitiam vinceremus. And so he concludeth: *Hic alto operatur effectu, ut quia in carne sua, peccata nostra perimebat, merorem quoque anime nostre, sue anime 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 saulour to feele in our nature came not for want of strength: but of purpose to quench and abolish those affectionis 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 woulde submit himselfe to these infirmitie 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 wherof we may daillie 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 sofullie die; yea, then malefactors which oftentimes go to their death verie resolutely. The detestableness 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

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bloud to mans
redemption.

* Hilar. lib. 10
de trinitate.

† August. in
Psalm. 93.

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

† Bede in Luc.
cap. 22.

cating of his blood to bee shed for the redemption of man-
kind: for where some conjecture Christ did sweate blood
for feare, Hilarie plainelle denieth it; and saith, * *Sudo-
rem nemo audebit infirmitati deputare; quia & contra naturam
est sudare sanguinem, nec infirmitas est, quod potestas, non secun-
dum naturam consuetudinem, gessit.* No man shoulde dare attri-
bute (Christs bloody) sweate to infirmitie, because it is against
nature to sweat blood, and can be no weakenes, which power
did aboue the course of nature. Austen maketh it a significati-
on of the martyrs blood, that should willingly bee shedde
throughout the church for the testimonte of the truth: † *Ideo
totocorpore sanguinem sudavit, quia in corpore suo, id est Ecclesia,
Martyrum sanguinem ostendit.* Christ sweat blood along all his
bodie, to this ende, that he might shew the blood 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 Lorde Iesus praying with a
bloody sweat, 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 blood he should not onely redresse 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 aperte declaratum, quod effectum sua precis iam
obtineret, ut fidem discipulorum, quam terrena adhuc fragilitas
arguebat suo sanguine purgaret, & quicquid illa scandali de eius
morte pertulisset, hoc totum ipse moriendo deleteret, immo uniuersum
late terrarum orbem peccatis mortuum sua innocua morte cele-
stem resuscitaret ad vitam.* Let no man attribute Christs bloodie
sweat to infirmitie, but rather learne that by sprinkling and hal-
lowing the earth with his blood, it was declared, not to him who
knewe it, but vnto vs, that he had obtained the effect of his prai-
er, with his blood to purge the faith of his Disciples, which earth
lie

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 Christs sweate by the name of teares: and saith, *Ventum est adorationem, & usque tertio factus in Agonia orabat; ubi quidem non solis oculis, sed quasi omnibus membris fleuisse videtur, ut toti corpus eius, quod est ecclesia, totius corporis lachrymis purgaretur.* Christ came to prayer, and being in an agony he prayed 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 Church might bee purged with the teares of his whole body.

Bernard in ramis palmarum serm. 3.

S. Paul alleageth the cries and teares of Christ in the garden as a profe of his priesthood, & saith, that not onlie he offered praiers & supplications, which was one part of his office, wherein hee was heard for the reuerence had of him: But also *τελειωθείς*, being sanctified, to offer sacrifice, (for 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*. Christ readie to enter the garden saith, *Pro eis sanctifico me ipsum;* 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 finnes of the people; and by the rite of Moses lawe, the priestes, when they were sanctified vnto God, had their bodies sprinkled with the bloud of their sacrifice from top to toe. Christ when being the truth of all their figures as well in the sanctification, as oblation of himselfe, might miraculously sprinkle his whole bodie with his own bloud; (for it was aboue nature as Hilarie noteth) so to consecrate his person, as approved of God, to be the true priest after the order of Melchizedec, and voluntarilie dedicate his bloud to

^b Hebe. 5.

Or sanctifie his person to offer the true sacrifice for sinne,

^c John. 17.

^d Exod. 29.

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be shed for the remission of our sinnes, which hee did of his owne accord yeeld, 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. Christs agonie then being alleaged by the Apostle to demonstrate Christs priesthood, must not rise from the terror of his own death, but rather from the vehemencie of his prayer for vs, that it might bee, as well an intercession for sinners, as a sanctification of himselfe, to offer the sacrifice available 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 onlie 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 willing they 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 deaths of all his saintes to God his father, before they can be holie or precious in his sight.

But since Christs 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 overthrow 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 themselves interprete 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 whatsoener he asked. I know (saith Christ to his father) that thou hearest me alwaies. Whence they conclude, he feared hell paines, thence I infer
he

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

Hebre. 10

Ioh. 11.

hee suffered them not. for being deliuered from the feare of hell approaching; he could not be left vnder the burden of hell abiding. Againe, 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 accord goe towardes them; *vt confidentiam, & gaudium passuri videant*; that they may see the confidence and gladnesse (of Christ) going to his passion.

⁸ Hieron. in
Math. 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. Indeede 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 mistake not their reference. ⁱ My father is greater then I am, were words as cleare as date light: but the referring that to the diuine which hee spake of his humane nature; bred 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 neither his sauour, grace, nor spirit from them; but onelie withheld his helpe or comfort for the time, to make them more earnest to seeke and flie to him. But were they neuer so pregnant, if we applie them to the wrong part, which God neuer forsake, we may incurre as grosse an error as euer did Arrian. And yet if we straine them to the uttermost, they will neuer proue that Christ on the crosse suffered the paines of hell.

^h Matth. 27.

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

ⁱ Iohn. 14.

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hell. For if we should grant, which were diueltly impietie to thinke, that God forsooke Christs soule as verelie, 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 bewitchd 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, befoze 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 reserved 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 saviour of the world, in this rabble of wicked and desperate castaways; and yet though men could be so dangerously deuoted to their dreames, this proueth not their purpose. Desperatton they may stumble at, if they will presse the words without anie difference between the dereliction of Gods saintes and his enemies; but tolera-

tion

The wicked
are here forsa-
ken, 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 neuer conclude, vnlesse we make hell to be no iudgement, noz punishment after this life, but onelie a terroꝝ and hoꝝroꝝ of conscience, such as pur- sueth 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 impietie 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, ¹ the Lorde hath forsaken me: and God himselfe assureth her words to be true, ² 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? Dauid saith of himselfe, ³ Thou hast reiected and ab- horred, thou hast beene angrie with thine annointed. Was Dauid then in the verie paines of the damned? of his whole realme he saith; ⁴ O God thou hast cast vs off, and beene angrie 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 bee deprived 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, or destitute of helpe, when their enemies assault or 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, or forsaketh vs, when he refraineth his eye from watching, his eare from hearing, or his hand from helping vs in the miseries and aduersities of this life.

If I be thought partiall, let vs heare what the ancient and learned fathers purposelie write of our sauiours complaint

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

1. Divers expositions of the fathers, how Christ was forsaken on the crosse.

2 August. epistola. 120.

3 Idem in Psalmum. 21.

4 Leo de passio. serm. 16.

5 Athanasius de incarnatione Christi.

The first; that as Christ is our heade, and we his members in such sort soynded 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 uttered manie thinges in his passion, which ought to be referred directlie 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 transfiguravit Iesus, vocem corporis sui, hoc 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, even 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 illum deus, cum ipse esset deus, atque filius dei. Quare dicitur, nisi quia nos ibi eramus, 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 a 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 be used

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A fourth is, that where God for sin had refused and forsaken man, euen from the fall of Adam, Christ nowe exalted on the tree, reconciled mankind vnto God, and slue hatred, making peace by his prayer betwixt God & man. Cyril: ^m when Adam transgressed the diuine commaundement, mans nature was after a sort forsaken of God, and therby subiected to a curse and death. These words of Christ therefore, *Erant soluentis manifeste derelictionem qua nobis acciderat, & quasi plucantis in hoc patre, &c.* Were the manifest remouing of that derelictio, 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 dominus, primitia humana natura pro vniuersa.* The lord speaketh these words for all mankind, as being the first fruits of mans nature. **Where** in the same of his own person it is true that Athanasius saith. ^o *Neq; enim a patre derelinqui potuit, quia semper est in patre & ante quam hanc vocem ederet & postquam edidisset. Ecce enim descende, 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 wayestrembled, the vaile rent, the Sunne darkened, the stones claue, the dead rose.

^m Cyril de reſta fide ad reginas.

ⁿ Basil. in Psal. 32.

^o Athan. contr. Arrianos serm. 4.

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. *Vox ista, quare me dereliquisti, doctrina est, non 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 be separated,

^p Leo de Pass. serm. 36.

pared, he asketh the question for vs that are fearefull & weak, why flesh fearing to suffer is not heard. ^{¶ Ibidem.} *Vnde ipsa vox non exauditi, magni est expositio sacramenti: quod nihil humano generi conferret redemptoris potestas, si quod petebat nostra obtineret infirmitas.* The vcrie wordes of him, that was not heard, open to vs a great myserie, to witte, that the power of the redeemer couldē doe mankinde no good, if our infirmitie might obtaine what it woulde aske: Origen sayth: ^{¶ Origen in Mat. cap. 27.} 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 befoze 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 David foresheued, that the true Messias and sauiour 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. ^{¶ Act. 4.} The Lord (saith Jerom) 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 passiō. ^{¶ Hieron. in Psa. 21.} Christ spake these words (saith Chrysostom) ^{¶ Chrysost. homo in Mat. 89.} that the Jewes might know hee honoured his father to the last breath; and that God was not hisemie (as they objected:) 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 marvel

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 implieth not
onlie desperation in Christs soule, if wee presse the wordes,
and the dissolution of Christs person, but an euident con-
tradiction to all that Christ did, or saide on the crosse, or in
Iudgement after the Jewes had once laide handes on him.
For if these wordes be referred to the soule of Christ, and im-
port a generall and true deteliction, which must be supposed,
before the paines of hell can thence be concluded; Christ fee-
ling and confessing himselfe to be forsaken of God, could
haue neither faith, nor hope. For he that beleueth, 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 weaknesse 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 entaie God. For we by faith, hope, and
loue, the soule of man entaieth God in this life; and hee that
entaieth God is not forsaken of God. Yea whosoer hopeth
in him, neither is nor euer shall be forsaken. y For hope doth
not confound, z 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 persuasion 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 error 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 truth saie, that
his soule was vtterlie forsaken.

Gal. 7. 1.

Rom. 8.
Ecclesi. 2

Agathe

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 naturall congruence, much lesse naturall coherence with God. There must bee a spirituall communion in grace, or else there can be no personall vniou 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 truly saie, that the one is personallie ioynd with the other. This 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 measured not his spirit to him, but of his fulnesse we all haue receaued. So that if the fulnesse of grace failed in the soule of Christ, the vnitie of his person was vtterly dissolved. For without a communion, there can be no coniunctiō of two natures in Christ. If there were an effectuell and full communion, there could be no reall nor generall dereliction. Inso much that the verte 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 ouer death. Which plainelie proueth the Godhead 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 vniou of his two natures was dissolved.

John. 1.

Lastlie, no sence could bee deuised, 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.

d Luke. 23

e Luke. 23.

f Matth. 27.

g John. 18

h John. 16

i Acts. 2.

opposite to all that Christ saide or did after his agonie, then this last found exposition, or rather dep^ruation of his words. To the high priest asking him whether he were Christ the son of y^e 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 distrusting or doubting that, which he resolutelis affirmeth shall come to passe even in the eyes of his enemies. When they fastened him to the crosse hee saide, d Father, forgie them, they know not what they do. Could he intreate and obtaine pardon for others, that found himselfe 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 Verlie, I saie to thee, thou shalt this day bee with me in paradise. Could hee giue paradise to others, with so great confidence, that coulde 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 conceived that he was reiected or estranged from God, but contrariwise confessed; f Truelie this man was the sonne of God. Christ himselfe g 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. Now 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, even 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 coulde not be so much as mooued or swaied to and fro, for so the wordes *ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ* doe signifie, that I should not waue vp and downe, but stand fixed and assured; how could that parte of Christ, which enioied so manifestlie the sight of Gods countenance, and strength

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, whatsoeuer 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 maie not easily leaue Gods wordes, 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 wordes teach him how to speake. Since therefore redemption and remission of sinnes are enerie 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 perceane how plainelie and fullie this doctrine is deliuered in the propheticall & apostolical scriptures; I thinke it good to go forwarde 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
Christs crosse.

The effectes of Christs crosse though I might reckon manie, yet to keep my selfe within some compasse; I restraine to five chiefe branches: the MERITE of his suffering, which was INFINITE; the MANNER of his offering, which was BLOVDY; The POUER 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 Sauiour. I will therefore take them as they lie in order.

The merite of
Christs passion
must be infinit
in two respects

The merite of Christs suffering must be simply infinite, that it may worke two things for vs; to wit, redeeme 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 vnrightheousnesse. 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 euermourning death. It may seeme much to carnal men, that God should requite sin with euermourning reuenge; but if we seriously bethinke our selues, what it is for earth and ashes to waxe proud against God, & after so manifold & abundant blessings to cast off his yoke, & readily, yea greedily to prefer euerie vanitie and fanisie before his heauenly 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 wilfull men against his diuine maiestie; howsoeuer we digest it, it is a thing determined with God, and no doubt balaced in his vpright 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 waight; in durance, though not in degree and sence of ioy, or paine. Then in either respect

^aEzech. 18.

to

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44 The full redemption of mankind,

infinite merite of Christs death and passion faith. P In-
comprehensibilis (deus voluit) comprehendi, summus humilia-
ri, potentissimus despici, pulcherrimus deformari, sapientissimus ut
inmentū fieri, immortalis mori, ut compendio absoluam, deus fieri
(voluit) vermiculus; quid excelsus deo? quid inferius vermiculo?
The incomprehensible (God woulde) be comprehended, the
highest humbled, the most mighty despised, the most beautifull
deformed, the most wise bee like a beast, the immortall (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 betweene the Creator and the best of his creatures there
be an infinite distance; what thinke yee then was there be-
twixt the throne of God in heauen, and the crosse of Christ
on earth: not an infinite distance: and so infinite that nei-
ther 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 onelie 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 onelie 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 per-
son of Christ; ¶ 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, obedi-
ence, and charity, hee purged the pride, rebellion, and selfe-
loue, which our first father shewed when he fell, and we all
expresse in our sinnes; and therefore as we all died in
Adams transgression, so we are all iustified, that is absol-
ued from our sinnes, and receaued into fauour, by the obe-
dience of Christ.

¶ Yea the obedience of Christ did in farre higher degree
please God the Father, then the rebellion of Adam did dis-
please

¶ 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 tooke the burthen from their shoulders, and laid it on his owne, contentedly giuing his life for them, who cruellie tooke his life from him: to conclude, those were the sinnes of men; these are the vertues of God, which doe infinitely 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 approbatton of his obedience, as being thereby throughly 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 mercie and pittie towards vs, that caused the sonne of God to take our mortall and weake flesh vnto him, and therein, and thereby to pay the ran some of our sinnes; and to purchase eternall life for vs. He must be a Saviour; no debter; 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 vnitie 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.

Matt 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 divinitie, as if the sonne of God were not a full and sufficient price, to ransom 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 OWNE BLOOD; GOD;** noting the dignitie; **HIS OWNE,** the unitie 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 balance with him) ^blesse then nothing, and vanitie; in that he was giuen for vs, the ransom excelleth the prisoner, as much as God doth man. We are reconciled to God by the death of his sonne. ^cMarcell 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: ^dfairer 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 blood to redeeme vs, wee must giue over all hope; and despaire. For heauen cannot yeld 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 blood 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 trueth to be the guider 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 blood of Christ Iesus.

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

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

^d Rom 5.

And so do the
fathers.

verbum, merito suum ipsius templum & corporale instrumen-
tum pro omnium animis pretium offerens, id quod morti debebatur
persoluit. Where as the word (or Ionne) 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, ut sit pretium? Sed sufficit solus pro omni-
bis 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 ut 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 bloud. Austen, *d Si propter*
hominē mortuus est deus, nō est victurus homo cum deo? quomodo
mortuus est deus? accepit ex te unde 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 mortal body. And else where an ancient
 wziter 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 beleue 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 humilitie) no compensation (of equality.) And
 to shewe the truth of his speech he addeth; *f Innocency was*
 arraigned for the guiltie, mercie was buffeted for the cruell, piety
 was

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

b Cyril de reſta
fide ad reginas ira
1. Timothei. 2.
dedit semetipſū
pretium pro
nobis.

c Cyril ibidem
in 1. Petri. 1.
preioso sanguine
Christi redempti
estis.

d August in pſa.
148.

e August. de
tempore. 114.

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 we yet, remembering 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 by death, then God himselfe could be conquered by the power of darknesse.

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 mortall infirmitie, that by suffering death for the time hee might conquer the force thereof for ever; 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 euident, and eminent example of his obedience, loue, and patience; but in suffering hel there is no signe of grace, nor shew of vertue. Voluntarie to forsake God, or willingly to be forsaken of God, is the greatest impietie that can be committed. And against his will Christ neuer did, nor might suffer any thing: for that had beene 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 witness his loue; and declare his merits, which in compulsion could be none. Since then the sonne of God neither willingly would, nor forcible could be forsaken of his Father; it is a dangerous deuise 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 too 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 apparāt iniurie. First hel is outward and inward darkenesse; nowe Christ was light, and in him was no darknesse of the soule. As long as I am in the worlde I am (sayth hee) the light of the worlde. When as the light hath no fellowship with darkenesse, no more had Christ with hell; which is the power of darkenesse, from whence hee hath deliuered vs. **Secondly**, hell is destruction both of bodie and soule. 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 Sauer of both, wee maie not admitte the destruction of both: ho we shall be saue vs, that could hardlie, and as some write, **MAXIMA CVM DIFFICULTATE** with much a do, saue himselfe? But! God sent his sonne to bee the Saviour of the worlde. We must not therefore, wrappe him within the destruction of bodie and soule; no not for an hower, or an instant. **Thirdly**, hell is the second death. The first is of the bodie for a time, the second is of the soule for euer. The lake burning with fire and brimstone, this is the second death (sayth Saint Iohn.) Of this death Austen saith, *De prima corporis morte 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 anouch 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 Saint Iohn affirmeth, that hell goeth not before

soule might suffer.

I

John. 9.
2. Cor 6.
Col. 1.

Mat. 10.

John. 4.

3.

Apoc. 20.

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

50 The full redemption of mankind,

• Apoc. 6.

• Mark 9.

• Hebr. 7.

• Hebr. 2.

• Mat. 25.

5

death, but followeth after death. I looked (saith he) and beheld a pale horse, and his name that sat on him, was death, and HE 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 euertastinglie biteeth and afflicteth the conscience. Now in Christ as there was no taint of sinne, so could there bee no touch of conscience accusing, nor remorse 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 priuate 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 à me maledicti in ignem eternum*; Depart from mee ye cursed into euertasting 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 sinfull 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; with the ende thereof, he beginneth his eternall vengeance; which wholie and for ever debarreth the workers of wickednesse from the kingdome of God. This reiection the soule of Christ could not suffer, beeing inseparably ioynd 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

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pretended: The fire of hell, they will say is metaphoricall; they that go thither shall find it no metaphore. It is no good dallying with Gods eternall, and terrible iudgements. The Scriptures are so platne, 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, ^x I am tormented in this flame. Saint Iohn saith it is a ^y lake burning with fire and brimstone. Daniel saith, ^z a fire streame issued from before Christ sitting in iudgement. Paul saith, it is ^a a violent fire which shall deuoure the aduersaries. God himselfe saith, ^a ^b fire is kindled in my wrath, and shall burne to the botome of hell, and shall enflame the foundations of the hilles. 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 worshippe the beast and his image, he shall ^c drinke of the wine of the wrath of God, and shall be 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 euerlastingly fastened to that place of torment. And this is cause enough to stae all men, that bee soberlie minded, from defending that Christs soule suffered the paines of hell, which the holie Ghost saith

^x Luke 16.

^y Reuel. 21.

^z Dan. 7.

^a Heb. 10.

^b Deut. 32.

^c Reuel. 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 reserued for euer. And Iude, ^f Sodome and Gomorrhe 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 with 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 ouercame 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 the se dangerous and fruitlesse speculations. For whether they looke to the persons for whom; or the crimes for which, or the Iudge, by vyhom 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 possibilitie of grace, and hope of repentance vnto diuels. It is the wages of sinne; which being an infinite contempt of the

^d 2. Thes. 1.

^e 2. Peter. 2.
^f Iud. epist.

^g Mark. 9.

^h Acts. 2.

ⁱ Ephes. 5.

^k Matth. 12.

^l 1. Cor. 10. 1.

^m Luke. 11

The paines of hell are eternal

ⁿ Matth. 25.

diuine

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divine maiestie, must by the balance of iustice have 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. I aske, as God is eternall and cannot change; no more can his iustice, or iudgement alter with time; but as his truth abideth for ever, so his iudgment being iust and good, is irrevocable; & consequently the vengeance of sinne can never 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 everie man according to his works; & our saviour forwarne us not in vaine, that hel fier is **VENGEANCE, & EVERLASTING**. Since then neither the remorse, reiection, malediction, nor desperation of the damned; nor the darkenes, destruction, death, & fire of hel can without evident impiety be attributed to the soule of Christ; I am farre from admitting into any part of the Creed this ambiguous, if not dangerous assertion, that Christ in his soule on the crosse felt the verie paines, and torments of the damned; but I preferre the simple and plaine doctrine of the holie Ghost, which teacheth us 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 iustly saie, O death where is thy sting? O hell where is thy victory? Thanking God which hath given this victorie through our Lorde Iesus Christ, as it was forespoken by the prophet Esay. The Lorde will destroy death for ever; 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 deliever you three things worthe to be observed; with what Sacrifice God was pleased for our finnes,

James. I.
Heb. 6.

Mark. 9.

1. Corinth. 15

Ibidem.

Esay. 25.
Osee. 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 couenant of grace and mercie was confirmed vnto vs for our safette. 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 restored by Gods pardon, and to be assured of his protection; that the like miserie might not the second time preuaile against vs; which is performed by the newe Testament of mercie forgiving; 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 plainely declare, the olde testament would sufficientlie witness vnto vs. For as well Patriarks as Prophets, yea all the godlie from Abel to Christ did by their sacrifices and seruice 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 bruise his heele: As the heele of man is the basest part of his bodie; and nearest the earth; so the Serpent should bruise the weakest and earthliest part of Christ; but euen that bruised 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 brothers.

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

Genes. 3:

And in the first
of the new
testament
the sacrifice
of the
new testament
is preferred

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brothers. This faith did all the Patriarkes testifie by their bloudie sacrifices; that they expected the bodie of the Messias 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 examples of better thinges, as the Apostle calleth them, namelie of Christs bodie once to be offered, and his blood once to be shed for the abolishing of sinne. The FIGURES 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 annered to him with an othe, what doth it import but the loue of God * 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 expessed 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 supplication of hell paines cleane excluded from the sacrifice for sin. But

Hebre 9

Rom. 8

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

But which of these two was beleued of the Patriarks, witnessed by the sacrifices, shadowed in the figures of the law, expected of the faithfull from the foundation of the worlde: The bloudie 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 error? And doeth the Apostle falselie conclude from the sacrifices of the lawe, that Christs offering before it coulde take awaye sinne, most of force bee bloudie: 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 bloud 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 insufficient 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 knewe anye 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 bloud 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 beleued in him, which should take awaye the sins of the worlde by his death and crosse, and we in him that hath taken them away.

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7 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; fro those steps if we swaue, we may not loke to be Abraham's children, y^e refuse Abraham's faith as erroneus, & chalēge our father for misbeliefe.

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

1.

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 positively handle it, that I much muse how any man of iudgement or learning can mistake it. For if we marke but three conclusions, which the Apostle maketh; we cannot erre from the truth in this behalfe. The true sacrifice for sinne must be but ONE,

2.

and ONCE OFFERED, not often, nor iterated, by reason it is perfect and able to clense vs from all sinne. It must bee

2. Hebre. 9.

3.

BLOVDY, for so were all the offerings of the lawe, and without shedding of bloud is no remission. It must bee CONFIRMED BY DEATH, that redemption purchased might neuer bee renoked, nor altered. These three positions are

2. Hebre. 10.

mainelie and mightilie vrged by the holie ghost, the 9. and 10. to the Hebrewes; 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 man (saith Paul meaning Christ)

2. Hebre. 9.

after he had offered ONE SACRIFICE FOR SINNE, sitteth for euer at the right hand of God. For with ONE OFFERING had he made perfitt 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 BY HIS OWNE BLOVD CHRIST ENTERED in Once into the holy place, and FOYND, ETERNALL REDEMPTION. Almost all things are by

the

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for the redemption of our transgressions, and shedding of his blood for the remission of our sinnes. 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) broken for you; this is my blood, which is shed for manie. **THE OBLATION 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 bring 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 & corporal sacrifice, which was the truth that answered & accomplished al the signes of the law? For the insupportible 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; & therefore 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 full 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 doth **REDEEME, CLEANSE, WASH, IUSTIFIE, & SANCTIFY** the elect

8 Luke .22

11 Corinth. 11

14 Mark .14

The force of
Christs blood
expressed in
the scriptures.

By the death and bloud of Christ. 61

elect; It doth **PACIFYE** 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 can
 not ask: or expect; why shrink 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 **scriptures**, sudge 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) ¹Hebr. 9.
 entered once into the holy place **OBTAINING** eternall **RE-**
DEMPTION. ^mThe blood of Iesus Christ **CIENSETH** vs fro ^m ¹John 1.
 all our finnes. ⁿHe **WASHED** vs from our finnes in his blood.
^aBeing now **IUSTIFIED** by his blood, we shall bee saued ⁿ Reuel 1
 from wrath through him. ^pIesus suffered **that** hee might ^oRom. 5.
 sanctifie the people with his blood. ^rBy Christ then ^pwee ^rHeb. 13.
 haue redemption through his blood, even the remission of ^qEphel. 1.
 finnes. and ^rnowe in Christ Iesus yee which once were farre ^rEphel. 2.
 off, are made neere. by the blood of Christ. ^sFor it ^rColol. 1.
 hath pleased (the Father) by him to reconcile all thinges
 vnto himselfe. And to pacifie through the blood of his Crosse
 both thinges in earth, and things in heauen: ^tWhome God
 hath purposed to bee a Reconciliation through sayth in his ^rRom. 3.
 blood.

And therefore the new testament is sealed with Christs
 blood. This is (saith hee) my blood of the new Testament,
 which is shed for manie for the remission of finnes. ^xYee are
 come to Iesus the mediator of the newe Testament (saith
 Paul) & to the blood of sprinkling which speaketh better things
 then that of *Abell*. For *Abells* blood cried for vengeance: but
 Christs blood speaketh for mercie and grace. And for that
 cause Paul calleth it; ^yThe blood of the euerlasting Te- ^rHeb. 13.
 stament; For ^zthis is the Testament, that I will make with the
 house of Israel; after those dayes sayeth the Lorde, I will

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Heb. 8.

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 vnrighteousnesse,^z and I will remember their sinnes and iniquities no more. This testament of mercie, grace and glozie 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 looke 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 aboue the blood of Christ, by which we are cleansed from our sinnes, and reconciled to God?

Heb. 10.

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

I knowe they will and must answer, 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 comprise 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 vige the one, and

as

as it were continually forget the other. Thirdly, 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 understood as antecedent to them, and not eminent above them. Nowe the CROSSE, BLOYD, 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 seales that confirme and ratifie the new testament; and therefore they giue chiefest power and strength to the whole couenant; as appeareth by the Sacraments: which impart 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 everlasting: 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 bringing vs vnto Christ, that we may be 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 ransom, 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 ransom 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.

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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 bysight 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 lawes, 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 wisdome 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 malice against Gods glozie 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 y^e 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.**

1 Pet. 1.

1 Reuel. 5.

How the price of our redemption was paid.

^kNazianzen. orat. 4 2. in Paschat. 2. ^lGene. 2.

When I say the blood of Christ was the price, wherewith God redeemed vs out of Satans power, I doe not mean that God made anie contract with Satan, or took his consent to exchange; much lesse, that Christ did profer his blood to the diuell, to set vs free: it were an iniurie to Christ for vs to thinke his blood was shed to ^ksatisfie 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, ^lThou shalt die the death, and to satisfie the iustice of God provoked 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 manner of contumelie and crueltie abused his body, and spilt his blood, insulting at him by the mouthes of the wicked, and reioycing in the conquest he gate ouer Christ in bringing him to a reprochfull death. But this extreame rage of Satan against the person of Christ, turned to the bitter ruine of his owne kingdome. For God did not onely raise againe the Lord Jesus from death, as dying an innocent without all defect, but in recompence of the wrong, which he received at Satans hands, to the which he willingly submitted himselfe, God gaue him power to spople the kingdome of the diuell; and to deliuer all that euer did or should beleaue 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 midst of his malice, who assaulting Christ Jesus our head, as he had done all the members was ouerthrowne by him, and vanquished with an euertlasting victorie.

Mortuus est uolens, ut inuoluntarie mortuos exuscitaret. Deuorauit ipsum mors ignorans, ubi deuorasset, cognouit quem non deuorauit. Deuorauit unum cum omnibus; perdidit omnes propter unum. Rapuit ut leo; confracti sunt dentes ipsius. Christ died willinglie (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 therewith broken. The creed extant vnder the name of Ruffinus;

Mark. 14.

Basil. oration.

Basil. oration. in fine epistolarum.

81. 82.

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• Symbolus
Ruffini tomo
Hieronymi. 4.

◦ *Sacramentum carnis suscepta hanc habet causam, ut divina filij dei virtus velut hamus quidam, habitu humane carnis obtectus principem mundi inuitare posset ad Agonem, cui ipse carnem suam velut escam tradens, hamo enim diuinitatis intrinsecus teneret insertus ex profusione immaculati sanguinis.* The myserie of Christs 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 bloud. . .

† Gregor. Moralium lib. 3. ca. 11

Conditionem omnium Satanae manu 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 sentire permittit, ut unde 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 beleue? And yet who taught by the truth is ignorant; that when the Lorde for our redemption yeelded 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.

† Ibidem.

† 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 erudiendum 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

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accepto diabolo 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 iniured, but concluded, that wee might be loosd from his snares.

• **S.** Ambrose affirmeth as much. *Si redempti sumus non corruptibilibus argento, & auro, sed precioso sanguine domini nostri Iesu Christi (quo utiq; vendemur. NISI E O qui nostram peccatrix successione are desiderium seruitium possideat) S. ne dubio Ipse flagitabat pretium. ut seruitio exueret quos itenebat. obstrictos. Pretium autem nostra liberationis erat sanguis domini Iesu, quod necessaria soluedam erat EX CUI peccatis nostris venditi eramus.* If we bee redeeined not with corruptible things as siluer and golde, but with the precious blood of our Lord Iesus Christ (who selling vs, **BUT HE** that possessed vs as his seruants by reason of our sinfull succession) doubtlesse euen **HE** required a ransome to dismisse 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 **HIM**, **TO WHOM** we were sold through our finnes: They which traduce this doctrine; as inclining 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 innocēt blood could not be shed but by the hands of the wicked, what touch of vntruff can it haue, that God accounted the blood of Christ to be of more value then all the sounes of men; and consequētie; that, which the diuell eagerly thirsted, and wrongfullie shed, to be reputed as mans ransome; and a price most sufficient for all the world? **Yea** the scripture, which is the word of truth, doth not onely teach vs, who redeemed vs, and with what price, as, **God bought his Church with his owne blood**; but it manifest 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.

• Ambros. lib. 9
Epist. 77.

* Acts. 20.
* Colof. 1.

* Osee. 13.
* Luke 1.

Whether

Whether therefore 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 belofall the swallower; to a **P R I C E** that con-
 cluded 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 raising 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 vnto **G O D**,
 and made them kinges and priestes to God his father. *Ve-
 nit redemptor & dedit pretium, fudit sanguinem suum, emit or-
 bem terrarum. Videte quid dederit, & inuenite quid emerit. San-
 guis Christi pretium est, tantumquid valet? 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 as so great a price? What
 but the whole world? what but all the nations of the earth? *Hic
 sanguis effusus dominem terrarum orbem abluuit, hic sanguis antea
 semper praesignabatur in sacrificijs, iniustorum cadibus. Hic orbis
 terrarum est pretium. Hoc Christus emit ecclesiam. Hoc eam an-
 nem adornauit.* This blood (saith Chrysostom) being shed wa-
 shed the whole world. This blood was euer before figured in
 the sacrifices, and martyrdomes of the righteous. This blood is
 the price of the world; 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
 mundi vitam, etiamsi suam deponeret animam ut pretium pro no-
 bis, ac etiam preciosum sanguinem, nisi verus esset filius, & tan-
 quam ex deo.* Christ had not bene a iust price (saith Cyril)
 to redeme all creatures, nor sufficient to purchase the life of the

a. 1. 1.

oc. 1. 1.

b. 1. Corinth. 6.

c. Rom. 7.

d. Rom. 6.

e. Reuelat. 5.

f. August. in

Psal. 95.

b. Chrysof. ad po-

pul. Antioch

homil. 61.

b. Cyril. dialog.

de trinitat. lib. 4.

g. 1. 1.

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world, though he would haue laid down his life and his precious bloud as a ransome for vs, if he had not beene the true sonne of God, & as it were, God of God. *U*here as now *Unus dignitate uniuersos superans, pro omnibus mortuus est, & quaecunq; sub coclo sunt sanguine suo redemit, deoq; & patri uniuersa terra habitatores acquisiuit.* He alone exceeding al other in worth & valedied for al, & by his bloud redeemed all things vnder heauen, & purchased to God his father the inhabitants of the whole earth.

*Cyrl. tom. 2
epistola. 1.*

Matth. 20.

*Efay. 53.
Howe Christ
gaue his soule
a ransome for
many.*

[But our sautoz saith the son of man came *dare animā suā redemptionem pro multis*, to giue his soule a ransome 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 thes repugnant one to the other; howbeit in tructh 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 late down his soule to death, that it might be separated from his bodie & so giue HIS SOVLE, that is, his LIFE a ransome for many, & an offering for sin. And so the very trāslators, y other wise sautoz

Matth. 20.

this opinion of hel paines, do interpretz thole words: *The son of man came not to be serued butto serue, & to giue HIS LIFE a ransome for many. And the like else where: Bonus pastor dat animā pro ouibus.* The good shepheard giueth HIS LIFE for his sheep *Animā meā pono pro ouibus meis*; I lay down my LIFE for my sheep. *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

John. 10

John. 13

1. John. 3.

is A LAYING ASIDE OF THE SOVLE, for y loue of others; as where Peter saith, *Ponam animam meā pro te*; he did not meane he would go to hel for his master, there was no cause nor neede thereof; but I wil lay down MY LIFE for thee. And when S. Iohn telleth vs, *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, thē dissident to the rest of h̄ 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 POWER 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 onclie weakened, and wasted, 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 himselfe for vs, making the purgatiō of our sinnes in his own person, by the sacrifice of himselfe to put away sinne; is a case so clere, that it need not to be prooued, much lesse may be doubted without apparent subuersion of the christian faith: but whether Christ suffered the death of the whole man, his soule tassing 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 h̄ crosse, is out of al doubt; the Euangelists describe the maner 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 exāple that y we should follow his steps. Al this he performed with h̄ death of his flesh, the Scriptures no where mentioning anie 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

Galat. 2
Hebre. 1
Hebre. 9

By Chrilles death the scriptures meane the death of his body.

1. Peter. 2.

confirmed

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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 eternal inheritance. This plainlie expresseth the death of the bodie. For God forbid mens Testaments should be frustrate, till their soules have 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 needs no paines of hell before it can be good. You y 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 deuill. The death of the spirit may 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 destrote the deuill, that insulted and raigned ouer the weaknesse of manns flesh. Wee are buried (with Christ) by baptisme 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 prooue that Christ died not for vs the death of the soule, but onelie 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

Colos. 1

Hebre. 2

Rom. 6

us; 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 & force of sinne. The death of Christ then is mentioned nowhere in the Scriptures, but the verbe words or circumstances, doe cleere confirm that they speake of the death which he suffered for us 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 live. 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 auouch of the soule of Christ. Men maye doe well therefore to beware how they venture vnsadlye to saye, that Christ suffered the death of the soule; for howsoeuer they maye frame to 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 fountaine of life, saith Dauid to God. Then if the soule of Christ

Christ could not die the death of the soule.

• Psal. 36:

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were alwaies ioined with God, or so much as in Gods fauour, it must needs haue life; for ^b in (Gods) fauour there is life. ^a *Dea* the presence of Gods spirit giueth life: ^c *Spiritus est qui uiuificat*; it is the spirit y quickneth, saith our Saviour; and Paul ^d *testeth* the same words. Where then THE SPIRIT OF GOD is, there is LIFE; and consequently the soule y is dead is deprived of Gods spirit: ^e *scilicet* from whom the spirit of God is departed; in him must needs want all the fruits of Gods spirit; and so the soule, that is dead, is excluded from all godlinesse and vertue. ^f For these are not onelie signes, but effectes of Gods spirit working in the soule of man. And since between righteousness and unrighteousnes there is no middle; the soule of man wanting light, truth, and sanctitie, of force must be filled with darkenes, error, & iniquity; which to surmounte in the soule of Christ, is the bight of all impietie. ^g As manie as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sonnes of God. If Christs soule wanted at anie time the spirit of God, he was not the sonne of God. If he ever and alwaies had the spirit of life dwelling in him, his soule coulde at no time be dead. ^h For the ⁱ spirit is life through righteousness. But whie seeke we proofes that Christs soule could not die, since he himselfe is the AVTHOR AND GIVER OF LIFE? ^j 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; shall neuer die. If the soule of him that beleeueth in Christ shall neuer die, how coulde Christ himselfe at anie time die in soule? ^m Christ is our life; howe then shall we be sure neuer to die, if the fountaine of our life in Christs person might for the time bee dried vp with death: shall we haue fuller or perfiter fruition of life then Christ Jesus 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,

^a Psal. 30.

^b Iohn. 6

^c 2. Corinth. 3.

^d Rom. 8

^e Rom. 8.

^f Iohn. 14

^g Iohn. 6.

^h Iohn. 11

ⁱ Colos. 3.

^j Iohn. 10

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Ephes. 2. 10.
Coloss. 2

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

I N S I N N E. 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 christian men with heart and voice will cherelie discharge the **V N S P O T T E D** and **V N D E F I L E D** Lambe of God, who did no sinne, neither was there any guile found in his mouth.

The other kinde of the death of the soule; which is damnation, must be farther from Christ then euer was sinne. For not onelie Christs innocency should bee vnjustlie condemned, which were altogether repugnant to Gods righteousnesse; but the sonne of God wronged; and mans saluation wholy subuerted. Nothing might befall the humane nature of Christ, which was unfitting for his diuine; both being joined 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 indeed condemned by man, that gaue wrongfull sentence of death against him; but hee was acquitted of God. And because hee humbled himselfe to the death of the crosse, God highly exalted him, and gaue him a name aboue all names; as well in witness of his innocencie, as in reward of his humility. Hea the holie ghost, which evidently recordeth Christs assurance, confidence, and reioicing in God, as hee hung on the crosse, cleane excluding all suspicion 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 conjunction of Christs soule with God prooeth 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 euerlastingly punished. ² Certe anima Christi non solum immortalis secundum caterarum naturam;

Philip. 2

Plal. 16.

Asquiff. epi.

sed

sed etiam nullo mortificata peccato, vel damnatione punita est: quibus duabus causis mors anime 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, **SINNE REVIUE D, BUT I DIED;** for sinne deceiued me, and snare me. And likewise our sauour, except you beleue, you shall 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 euerlasting punishment, saith Christ to the wicked. They shall be punished with euerlasting perdition, saith Paule of the ignorant and disobedient. The smoke of their torments shal ascend euermore, saith Iohn in his Reuelation. The lake burning with fire and brimstone, this is the second death. How the ancient fathers define the death of the soule is some scene by their writings. *Dicam audacter fratres sed tamen verum. Dna vita sunt: vna corporis, altera anime, sicut vita corporis anima, sic vita anime deus. Quomodo si anima deserat, moritur corpus; sic moritur anima 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.

Rom 7.
John 8.

Mat 25.
2 The 1.

Reuel. 14.
Reuel. 20.

August. in
Psal. 70.

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the soule depart the body dieth; so dieth the soule, if God forsake it. ^h *Mors proprie non est ea, quae animam à corpore, sed quae animam à Deo separat. Deus vita est, qui a Deo separatur, mortuus est.* That is not properly death (saith Cyril) 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 *Animae quae peccat moritur, non utique aliqua sui dissolutione, sed merito moritur Deo, quia uiuit peccato. Ergo quae non peccat, non moritur.* The soule which sinneth dieth, (saith Ambrose) not by anie dissolution of her substance, but worthilie dieth shee vnto God, because shee liueth vnto sinne. The soule then which sinneth not, dieth not. ^k *Animam in corpore uita est carnis; Deus uero qui uiuificat omnia, uita est animarum.* ^l *Sicut mors exterior, ab anima diuidit carnem, ita mors interior à Deo separat animam.* 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 uita est corporis, ita Deus uita est anima.* ⁿ *Mors anima separatio à Deo; mors corporis separatio anima 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. Neither doe I see howe this definition of the death of the soule can be suoyded or amended. For can there be life from any other, but onelie from God? If it bee good, it must come from the fontaine of all goodnesse, and none is good but onelie God. When 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.

^h Cyril. homil. 10. de exitu anime.

ⁱ Ambros. de bono mortis ca 9

^k Gregor. in Ezech. homil. 17

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

^m Bernard. serm. paru. 3. & aliis ser. paru. num. 7

ⁿ Luc. 18.

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

Rightly therefore do the ancient 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; yet we leave him neither faith nor hope, love nor joy, obedience nor patience, nor any other metues 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 nor tasted the death of the soule, but onely the death of the bodie. In his bodie he bare our finnes 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 woikes.

Quid est enim quod uiuificatus est spiritu, nisi quod eadem caro qua sola fuerat mortificatus uiuificante spiritu resurrexit. Nam quod anima fuerat mortificatus Iesus, hoc est eo spiritu qui hominis est; quis audeat dicere, cum mors anime non sit nisi peccatum, a quo ille omnino immunitus fuit? Mortificatus ergo carne ductus est, quia secundum SOLAM CARNEM mortuus est. What is meant by this, that Christ was quickened in spirite, but that the same flesh, IN WHICH ONELIE HE DIED, rose againe quickened by the spirite? For that Iesus was DEAD IN SPIRIT WHO DARE AVOWCH, I meane in his humane spirite, since as the death of the soule is nothing but finne; from which hee was altogether free? And least wee shoulde thinke this slipte his penne; else where hee largelie and learnedlie handleth the same matter. (*Diabolus*) *per impietatem MORTVVS EST IN SPIRITV, carne utique mortuus non est: nobis autem & impietatem persuasit, & per hanc ut in mortem carnis venire mereremur effecit. Quo ergo nos Mediator mortis transmisi, & ipse NON VENIT, hoc est ad MORTEM CARNIS: ibi nobis Dominus Deus noster medicinam emendationis inseruit quam ille non meruit.* By sinne the Diuell

DIED

1 Pet. 2.

Colos. 1.

August. epist. 99.

Idem de trinitate lib. 4 ca. 12.

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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. Whither 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 euadi non potest, sed potius impietas quae per fidem caueri 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 Mediator of life (Christ Jesus) to shewe vs that death is not to bee feared, which by humane condition can nowe not bee escaped, but rather impietie, which by fayth may be auoyded; mette vs in the ende whither 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; wherby the power of Satan fully detained vs to abide the punishment of our transgressions. *Quia vinum spiritui mortuus spiritu non inuasit, quo modo auidus mortis humana conuertit se ad faciendam mortem quam potuit; & PERMISSVS EST IN ILLVD, QVOD EX NOBIS MORTALE vinus mediator acceperat: Et ubi potuit aliquid facere, ibi omni ex parte deuictus est, & unde accepit exterius potestatem dominicae carnis occidende, inde interior eius potestas, quam nos tenebat, occisa est. Factum est enim, ut vincula peccatorum multorum IN MULTIS MORTIBVS PER VNIVS VNAM MORTEM, quam peccatum nullum praecesserat, soluerentur. Ita Diabolus hominem in ipsa morte CARNIS amisit.* Because (the Diuell) deade in spirite coulde not inuade (Christ) liuing in spirite; as most desirous

to

Ibidem.

Ibidem cap. 13

to kill man, hee fastened on that death which hee coulde
 compasse and was suffered to kill that mortall (bodie) which the
 living Mediatour tooke from mankinde; and where he could
 doe anie thing, euen there was hee euerie 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 deathes were loosed
 by the one death of one, in whome was no sinne. So the Diuell

lost man BY THE VERIE DEATH OF (CHRIST) FLESH.
 And the death of Christ should leade vs patientlie to suffer
 the same death for him which hee suffered for vs. ⁿ *Hactenus*

more erentur ad Christi gratiam pertinentes; quatenus pro illis
ipse mortuus est. Christus; CARNIS TANTVM MORTE
 NON SPIRITVS. So farre should 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. *SOLVS CORPORIS MORTEM Dei filius*

pro nobis accepit, per quam a nobis & dominationem peccati, &
paenam aeterna 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; *Idem de tem-*

Cyrellus teacheth the same doctrine. *Si intelligatur*
Deus incarnatus, & propria carne passus, parua est erga ipsum
omnis creatura; & sufficit ad redemptionem mundi. VNIVS
 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 redeme the worlde is the DEATH OF HIS ONE LY
 FLESH. And likewise Gregorie. *Nos quia mente a Deo*

recessimus, & carne ad puluerem redimimus; poena dupla mortis
instringimur. Sed venit ad nos qui SOLA CARNE PRO
 NOBIS MORE RETVR, ET SIMPLIAM SVAM DV-

PLAE

ⁿ *Augusti de*
Trinitate lib. 11
cap. 15.

^x *Idem de tem-*
pore, Serm. 162.

^y *Cyriil. de recta*
fide ad reginas
lib. 2.

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

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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 punish-
 ment OF A DOUBLE DEATH. But (Christ) came ynto
 vs, which DIED IN THE FLESH ONLY FOR VS, and ioyning
 HIS ONE KINDE OF DEATH TO BOTH OVS, DELIVERED
 VS FROM BOTH. And more at large; the same father
 debating the same matter; *Vmbra mortis mors carnis
 accipitur quia sicut vera mors est; qua anima separatur à Deo,
 ita umbra mortis est, qua caro separatur ab anima. Quos enim
 constat NON SPIRITV, SED SOLA CARNE MORI, ne-
 quaquam se vera morte, sed umbra mortis dicunt operiri. Quid est
 ergo quod beatus Iob postulat umbram mortis nisi quod ad de-
 lenda peccata ante Dei oculos, Dei & hominum Mediato-
 rem requirit, qui SOLAM PRO NOBIS MORTEM CAR-
 NIS susciperet, & veram mortem delinquentium, per umbram
 suam mortis deleret? Ad nos quippe venit qui IN MORTE
 SPIRITVS CARNISQUE TENEBAMUR VNAM ad nos
 suam mortem detulit, & DVAS NOSTRAS, quas reperit sol-
 uit. SI ENIM IPSE VTRAMQUE SVSCIPERET, NOS A NULLA
 LIBERARET: sed VNAM misericorditer accepit, & IVS TE V-
 TRAMQUE damnavit SIMPLAM SVAM DVPLAE NO-
 STRAE cotulit & DVPLAM NOSTRAM MORIENS SVBE-
 GIT. Qui ergo SOLAM PRO NOBIS MORTEM CARNIS
 SVSCIPIT umbram mortis pertulit, & à dei oculis culpam quam
 fecimus, abscondit. The shadow of death is take 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 undertake FOR VS THE DEATH
 OF*

* Idem moralium
 lib. 4. cap. 17.

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^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 toynitie 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.

^c Heb. 4.

^d Bernard in ramis palmarum. Serm. 3.

Sicut TOTUM HOMINEM saluum fecit, sic DE TOTO SE HOSTIAM fecit salutarem; corpus exponens tantis supplicijs & iniurijs; animam vero gemine cuiusdam humanissima compassionis affectui; inde super merore inconsolabili sanctarum foeminarum; inde super desperatione & dispersione discipulorum. In his quatuor crux dominica fuit. As Christ saued the **VVHOLE MANKIND** 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.

^e Irenaeus. lib. 5. cap. 1.

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 bloud, 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 diuorce of death, that bzake the communion of bodie
and

and soule: & *Sicut TOTVS SEMETIPSV M, tradidit* & Fulgentius ad
 TOTVS HOMO SEMETIPSV M OBTVLIT, ita totus homo ANI- *Trasimundum*
 MAM SVAM POSVIT, cū anima, in cruce moriente carne, dis- *lib 3.*
 cessit. As WHOLE Christ gaue H I M S E L F E (saith Fulgen-
 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 susception of sorrow, prepassion 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 avouched.

& *Quia TOTVM HOMINEM deus ille suscepit, ideo TOTIVS*
 HOMINIS in se passiones in veritate monstravit, & animam que
 dem rationalem habens, quicquid fuit infirmitatis anima sine
 peccato suscepit & pertulit, ut dum humana anima passiones, in
 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 NATVRE of man; therefore he shewed in
 himselfe the sufferings OF THE WHOLE 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

*Fulgentius ad
 Trasimundum
 lib. 3.*

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FLESH; and thereby he killed the WHOLE DEATH inflicted on the body and soule of man. ^h *Quis ignorat Christum IN SO-*

^h *Ibidem.*

LO CORPORE MORTVVM & sepultū? Who is ignorant that Christ in BODY ONLY DIED, and was buried? And againe,

ⁱ *Ibidem.*

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 *Ibidem.*

^k *Moriēte 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.

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

Wherefore I easlie admitte the wordes of Nazianzen, to be true, that euerie part in man is ^l sanctified by the like

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

in Chast; our condemned flesh by his flesh; our soule by his soule; our vnderstanding by his vnderstanding; yea I dis-

like not the wordes of Cyrill; ^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 ransome for the flesh of all men, and made his soule likewise a price to redeme the soules of all,

though he were restored againe to life, as bceing life by nature: so long as we abuse not his wordes to maintaine our fau-

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

les impugning his generall and settled doctrine; that ⁿ sufficient for the redēption of the world, is the DEATH OF HIS

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

FLESH ONLY: nor thereby take occasion to defend that his bloud is not able to iustifie, or sanctifie the beleeuers. ^o *Sanguine suo; hoc est SVAE CARNIS SANGVINE iustificat omnes in se credentes.*

^p *Ibidem.*

With his bloud, 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 UTILITER derelicto, quo pacto non necessarius verbo incarnationis modus ut iustificet in sanguine suo credentes in se, & conciliet patri per mortē sui corporis?

If the world MIGHT

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1. John. 1

Hebre. 9

Reuelat. 5.

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 bodie; 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 bo-
 die. Thou hast redeemed vs to God by thy blood, saie the
 saintes in heauen, whose bodie lie in the dust of the earth.
 Redemption, remission of sinnes, iustification, sanctification,
 and such like effectes of the blood of Christ are PRINCIP-
 ALLY 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 bodie, 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 to pntlie feeling; but with admirable pa-
 tience enduring; the bitter and sharpe paines antecedent,
 and annexed to the death of his bodie. *Cum caro in doloribus*
est, & in pœnis, profecto anima tunc habet maximum agonem pa-
tientia. 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 feeleth the plea-
 sure and paine of her bodie; and howsoeuer the flesh bee sub-
 iected to violence, the sence and grieuance thereof is in the
 soule; both in this life, and in the next.

August. epist.
120.

The bodilie
 death of christ
 ouerthrew all
 the enemies of
 our saluation.

2 Rom. 7.

7 Ephes 2.

2. Timoth, 3

As the bodilie death of Christ payeth the price of our re-
 demption: so it remoueth all the impediments of our salua-
 tion, which are manie and mightilie linked together. For by
 the CORRUPTION of nature descending from our pa-
 rents, 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 LAWE of God, and
 so incurre the CURSE pronounced against the transgres-
 sours of the law; and by that obligation are liable to ETER-
 NAL DEATH. This is the chaine of original infection,
 actual transgression, legall malediction, and eternal damnation,
 which

which draweth vs from God, and bindeth vs as prisoners and captives to death, and hell. If then the DEATH of Christ suffered ^a IN THE BODY OF HIS FLESH loosed every linke of this chaine, and not onely 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 particularie, and see whether the power of Christs death doe not perfectlie dissolve 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 reusue 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 onely the guilt; but also the life and power of sinne died in Christs flesh, when it was crucified. So that ^e sinne nowe 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 forgiveness of sinnes. For God hath ^g proposed him to be a reconciliation through faith in his blood by the forgiveness 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.

- 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 curse of the law. not ^{Galat 3.}

^a Colos. 2.

^b Ibidem.

^c Rom. 6.

^d Galat. 5.

^e Rom. 6.

^f Ephes. 1.

^g Colos. 1.

^h Rom. 3.

ⁱ 1. Iohn. 1.

^j Hebre. 9.

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not in al things written in the book OF THE LAW, 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 bloud. *Ergo* the bloud 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 expessed 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 lawe for our sinnes, not only our transgressions are pardoned, for which Christ suffered; but the law stinging him to death, lost his force for euer. For the vengeance of the law once executed on our suertie, can no more in Gods iustice be exacted 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 euer 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 heede that wee step not an haires breadth from the Apostles words: For if we stretch the curse farther: on Christ, then in truth it did, or coulde take place; wee arrogantlie and impiousslie pronounce that cursed, which in deede 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 vnited vnto him.

1 Ephes. 1

2 Galat. 3

2 Genes. 22

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Christ was not
accursed in
soule.

If anie 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 understanding verie desperate diuinitie. For men might nalle his bodie to the tree, as did the Jewes; but none could 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 should the righteousnesse of God immediatly, and iustlie laie the curse, which bringeth inwarde and everlasting death, on the soule of Christ: Againe, God spirituallie curseth none, but whome hee first deseruedlie hateth; as all vncleane and wicked persons. If then the soule of Christ could not worthilie be hated of God, it could not truelie be cursed of God; for the hatred and curse of God cannot be seuered.

August. contra
Faustum Mani-
cheu. lib. 14. 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 Apostolus ait de Christo, factus est pro nobis maledictum, sicut non timuit dicere, pro omnibus mortuus est; hoc est enim mortuus, quod maledictus; quoniam mors ipsa ex maledicto est: & maledictum est omne peccatum, siue ipsum quod fit, ut sequatur supplicium, siue ipsum supplicium, quod alio modo vocatur peccatum, quia fit ex peccato. Suscepit autem Christus sine reatu supplicium nostrum, ut inde solueret reatum nostrum, & finiret etiam supplicium 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 WAS ACCURSED, BECAUSE DEATH CAME FROM THE CURSE; and all sinne is accursed, as well that which is committed and deserueth punishment, as THE PUNISHMENT IT SELFE, which in a sort is called sinne, because it is consequent to sinne. Nowe Christ bare our punishment without any desert, that thereby hee might acquite our guiltinesse, and ende our punishment. And againe. *Maledictus.*

Maledictus.

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 pœna nostra. Sic & semper benedictus in sua iustitia, maledictus autem propter delicta nostra, in morte suscepta ex pœna 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 himselfe? 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 unum maledictum pertinere ad corpus mortale, quod ligno suspenditur; alterum ad animum, quo sol adoratur: sicut mors est corporis in

Ibid, in cap. 6.

Ibid, cap. 13.

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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 perceiueſh 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 damneth bodie and ſoule for euer.

The reſt of the ancient fathers tread the ſame path.* The people (ſaith Chryſoſtome) were ſubiect to the curſe, which ſaith, accuſed is euerie one y abideth not in thoſe things 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, accuſed is euerie one that hangeth on the tree. Where then he that hangeth on the tree is accuſed, and he that tranſgreſſeth the law is
likewiſe

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

The kinde of
Chriſts death
was accuſed,
& ſo the force
of the lawe
diſſolued.

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*Cyrl. defens.
in Anathematif-
icis primis.*

Other expositions if any man seeke, hee shall find euen in the learned and ancient writers. *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 *Cyrl*) 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 sayth he was **A CURSE VNTO THE CURSE**, that is; a dissoluer and finisher of the curse. *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 vtterly ignorant, that Christ was not accursed; God forbid: but he tooke away the curse that lay on our finnes, in yeelding himselfe to the crosse, and was made death vnto death for our finnes, 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.

*Epiphanius
contra Marcionis
vitas heres. 42.*

These, though they diuerslie applie the Apostles speech,
Factus

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 depulsion of the curse from vs; yet in this they all agree, that by giuing his bodie to die on the Crosse, Christ receiued, sustained, and abolished 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; it hath neither cause, noz 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 **E**VERIE ONE that hangeth on the tree; excusing none; and if anie might bee 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; although 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: ¹ *Ex parte quippe mortali pependit: ut ligno, - mortalitas autem unde sit, notum est credentibus. Ex poena quippe est, & maledictio peccati primi hominis; quam Dominus suscepit, & peccata nostra* ⁱ *pertulit in corpore suo super lignum.* That part (sayth Augusten) which was mortall (in Christ) hung on the Crosse; and whence mortallitie 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. ² *Pea 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 Galat.

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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. ** 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 saued vs from the eternall malediction, which is, Go you cursed into euerlasting fire.

My resolution then is, which I hope will be receyued, because it is the Apostles; **WE 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 law; which hath no more chalenge to vs nowe, then a man hath to his wife that is long since dead. And if you aske when, and how we became dead to the law; Saint Paul answereth; **BY THE BODIE OF CHRIST**, when hee suffered on the Crosse for our sinnes. And as he that is dead is freed from sinne; so we dying in, and with the bodie of Christ, are **LOOSED FROM THE LAW OF SINNE, AND DEATH**; Sinne being condemned, and death conquered.

** Ibidem*

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

** Rom. 6.*

** Rom. 8.*

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

of the lawe, which obliged man for his vncleanesse and vnrigh-
 teousnesse to euerlasting condemnation; and find that hee, which bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree, did in that mortall part which hee tooke of vs, crucifie as well the flesh, and sinne of man, as the curse and death, that raig-
 ned ouer man: and so much hee performed in the bodie, of his flesh through death, by which hee reconciled vs vnto God, to make vs holie and blamelesse in his sight: let vs now see whether the death of the spirite, and the curse of the soule will anie thing helpe the woork of our redemption, or whether the death of Christs 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 com-
 mende the TRUTH, POUER, and IUSTICE of God, and more amplie declare the OBEDIENCE, PATIENCE, and LOVE of Christ, if hee refused not the verie tor-
 ments of hell for our sakes, shunning no part of the bur-
 then that pressed vs, I must confesse I am rather of a con-
 trarie minde; that the bodilie death of Christ on the crosse doth more plainlie expresse the vertues of God, and Christ his sonne, then if the terroz and horroz of hell were there, with coupled.

1
 Gen. 2.
 As namely the truth of God

2
 The power
 God.

And first for the TRUTH of god, his threating Adam in this
 wise, " Thou shalt die the death, or thou shalt certainly die,
 was truelie performed in the bodie of Christ; in the soule of
 Christ it could not without sinne or damnation; neither of
 which with anie truth can be ascribed vnto Christ. That the
 mouth of God lied, or the soule of Christ died, is a choise so
 hard, that I with all men that haue anie care of Christian
 religion to refraine either. Next, touching the POUER of
 God; the weaker the instrument which God vseth to ouer-
 throwe 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 voide of all hope in shew, to rise a-
 againe

gaine into a blessed and heauenlie life, and to foile both death and Satan by recouering it selfe into the full possession, and all his members into the toyfull expectation of euerm-lasting glozie, 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 manye sinnefull soules haue by grace struggeled, and cleared themselves; from the grave neuer rose none into an immortall, & incorruptible life, before the flesh of Christ. Deeper in desperation, and al other temptations of hel haue others been, that yet were saued, then anie man dare affirm of Christ: Deeper in death without corruption, then the bodie of Christ, neuer was, noz ever shall be anie of the sonnes of men. It was therefore an harder thing for the bodie of Christ, past all sense, to rise from death, to immortalitie, then for his soule boide of sinne, and full of grace to repell the force of Satan; and yet to repell it, the weth greater power then to suffer it; to conquere it, the weth greatest of all.

[But to beare the burden of Gods wrath due to our finnes, and to free vs from it, needed greater strength, (they will saie) then Christs flesh could haue.] To support and auert Gods iust indignation from vs, the humane bodie or soule of Christ of themselves were not able; but the **DIGNITY** and **VNITY** of his person must be placed in the gap to quench the flame of Gods iust vengeance against our finnes, which was euerm-lasting destruction both of bodie and soule; yet for so much as the sincerity and sanctitie of Christs soule, personallie ioyned, quickened, and blessed with the perpetual vnion, communion, and fruition of his deitie, 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 wrath of God was executed on the flesh of his sonne, which hee tooke of purpose from Adam, that therein 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 wrath from vs, the dignity of Christs person was necessary.

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God against our vnrightheousnesse.

^{3.}
The iustice of
God.

² 1. Pet. 3

¹ Matth. 27
² Actes. 3.

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

And this is moze 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 Christ might suffer nothing iustlic, but as the ² iust for the vn-just, that is willinglie, but vniustlic; 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. ¹ I haue sinned, saith Judas, 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 Christ 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 soules 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 spiri- tually he punisheth no man, but for his owne vncleannes, e- ther naturally sticking in him, or voluntarily committed by him.

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

^d 1. Corinth. 15

^e Rom. 5.

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

ⁱ Psal. 51.

^k Job. 14.

^l Ephes. 1.

^m Ephes. 4

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 shall all be made alieue. **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 righteousness of the faithfull is the forgiuenes of their sinnes, ^h through the redemption that is in Christ Iesus. I will not here dispute whether the soule be created, and infunded; or else trauced from Adam, as well as the flesh: I will 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 ^l fashioned in iniquitie, and conceaued in sinne, the words of Dauid doe exactlie witnessse, and no man can make that to bee cleane, which commeth from the vnclane? 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 inward 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 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 righteousness sake; yet ^s sinne so dwelleth in vs, (that is) in our ^t mortall bodies,

dies,

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 deriue 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 because of sinne. * Rom. 8. 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 Christs 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 condemnation in the bodie of Adam; vnlesse wee make sinne of more power to kill, then God is to quicken; which is to exalt the diuell aboue God, and his sonne. For y God was in Christ, reconciling the worlde to himselfe; by whose bloud the ^z partition wal is broken down, and hatred abrogated ^z through 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 proportion to the death of the soule; and therefore the one cannot in iustice excuse the other.] There is farre greater distance betwixt the sonne of God, and the sonnes of men, then betwixt the bodies 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 simplie infinite. What soeuer therefore it pleased the sonne of God to suffer for our sakes, it was most sufficient for our redemption; howbeit to demonstrate his loue, hee would be partaker of our infirmitie and mortality; least we should loath our condition, or grudge at the chastisement of our sinnes; but if we set aside the dignitie and vnitie 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 wages of our sinne. For what equiualence hath one soule with

why the death of Christs body doth counteruaile all the bodies & soules of men.

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all the soules of the Saints? or one daies anguish which Christ felt in soule, as they suppose, with that euerlasting fire which wee shoulde haue suffered in bodie and soule for euer? set aside I saie the respect of the person, which suffered for vs; and in the rest they shall neuer bee able to prooue anie 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 God; whye 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 fleshe 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 Gods iustice, as the ACTIONS AND PASSIONS OF HIS OVVNE SONNE; and haue their value from the diuiner and worthier parte of Christ?

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

As the death of Christs flesh ONEIE doth more expresse the TRVETH, POWVER; 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; willingnesse.

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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 applyng 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 themselves, or of others, before the loue of God: to loue men so well, that wee were willing to forsake the fauour and fellowship of God, is transgression against God, and not compassion towards men; and therefore wee maie 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 humilicie; and gave his life for his enemies; which was exceeding charitie; and in the course thereof referred himselfe wholly to the will and pleasure of God, which was exact obedience; willinglie, but wrongfullie suffering; whatsoeuer the malice of Satan, and rage of the wicked contriued against him: the wise and gracious counsell of God so turning the mischief of the diuell and his members to the generall good of mankind, that Christs 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 namelie to the
 death or curse of the soule, wee doe not onelie diminish the
 strength of his loue towards God, but we debase the price
 of his bloud; and make it rather detestable, then acceptable
 in Gods sight. For nothing can please God, but that which
 is R I G H T E O V S, I N N O C E N T, H O L I E, & V N D E F I L E D.
 And in a dead or cursed soule what place leaue we for these
 giftes and graces of the holie Ghost? Since then our high
 Priest must be ^d holie, harmelesse, vndefiled, and separate from
 sinners, before his sacrifice coulde bee accepted; the soule of ^d Heb. 7.
 Christ must necessarilie bee 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 alto ^e Ephes. 5.
 gither weakened, if wee conioyne it with the death of the
 soule.

The death of the soule then doth not encrease the obe-
 dience, patience, and loue of Christ towards vs, but doth ra-
 ther decrease and endanger all the vertues of our Saviour.
 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
 found in our saluacion. Call we him iust that deserueth, or
 holie that desireth to be forsaken of God? I thinke not. Then
 all Christs sufferings must be I N I U R I O V S, before hee can
 be L V S T; and V O L V N T A R I E, before they can be a S A C R I -
 F I C E vnto God. Both which are witnessed by the worde
 of God, as likewise by the ancient fathers. THIS IS ^f THANK-
 WORTHIE (saith Peter) if a man for conscience towards God
 endure grief, S V F F E R I N G V V R O N G F V L L Y. For what praise
 is it, if when ye be B V ^f E T E D for your F A V L T S, ye take it
 P A T I E N T L I E? But, when ye doe well, ye suffer patientlie,

All Christs
 sufferings were
 I N I U R I O V S in
 respect of the
^doers, and ^dvo
 L V N T A R I E in
 respect of him
 selfe.
^f 1. Peter. 2.

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this is acceptable vnto God. For hereunto are ye called: for **S O CHRIST SUFFERED FOR VS**, leaving vs an example that we should follow his steppes. **Christ therefore suffered as well VVRONGFULLY AS PATIENTLY.** Malefactors may be patient, but that is no merit with 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 verie testimonie, the theefe on the crosse giueth him. ^h We receiue punishment worthie of that we haue done; but this mā hath done nothing amisse. *Quod iuste debebat Adam, Christus iniuste mortem suscipiendo persoluit.* What Adam iustly owed (saith Austen) that Christ vniustly paid by suffering death. ^k *Pergit ad passionem, ut pro debitoribus nobis quod ipse nō debebat, exsolueret.* Christ goeth to his passion to pay that for vs debtors, which wee did not owe. ^l *De humanitate suscepta tantum beneficij collatum est hominibus, ut à dei sempiterno filio, eodemque hominis filio mors temporalis indebita redderetur, qua eos a sempiterna 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, ut neminem Christo indutum 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 bloud, that the Diuell had no right to detaine 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*

^g 1. Pet. 2.

^h Luke 23.

ⁱ August de tempore. serm. 101.

^k Idem de unitate li. 13. ca. 14
^l Ibid. cap. 16

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

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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 could 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 willingly would neuer be excluded.

The recapitulation of y manner and merit of Christs death.

Gen. 2.

John. 3.

The samme is, since the TRUTH AND IUSTICE of God might not release the sin of man, without fulfilling the sentence of the Judge, THOU 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 violently and wrongfullie bee put to death euen by their handes, 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 intortouslie 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 bloud to bee the purgation and propitiation of our sinnes; his obedience wpying awate 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 noie other meanes of our redemption but the DEATH AND BLOOD of the SONNE of God, I hold them wisest, that leaue deuising any better or other help for our saluation than God himselfe hath revealed. 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 prone: let vs view the COMFORT of Christs crosse, and thereby see howe his soule was affected towards 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 sauiour, 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, no euident proofe 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 cleauiug to God, with all perfection of constancie. Read the xvi. and xxii. Psalme. who will, which purposelie treat of Christs passion; and tell mee whether there bee so much as a worde importing anie distrust of Gods fauour, or anie suspicion of the paines of hell suffered in the soule of Christ: [The first entrance 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 Christs crosse taken out of the 22. Psalme.

"Psalm. 22.

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Psalm 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.

¶ Vers. 9.

¶ 10

¶ 11

¶ 19

¶ 22

¶ 24

¶ On thee was I cast from my birth. THOU ART MY GOD FROM MY MOTHERS BELLY. ¶ Bee not farre from mee, for trouble is neere, and there is none to helpe. ¶ Bee not farre, O Lord my strength: hasten to helpe me. ¶ I will declare thy name vnto my brethren, in the midst of the congregation, I will praise thee, ¶ 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 faueur; 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 wilst 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 that by his fauor towards the humane soule of his sonne. ¶ And the next words are an explication of the former. Why hast thou forsaken me, ¶ 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. ¶ Merit S. Ambroses iudgement and reason both satisfie me, what soeuer it doth others. ¶ *Ille nunquam derelictus est à patre, cum quo pater semper erat. Sed secundum corpus, in quo traditus est passioni vox ista processit; quoniam derelinquit nobis*

¶ Vers. 11.

• Ambros. in
Psalm 118. ser. 1.

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

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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. I aske now a meane diuine; was it possible that Christ Jesus 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 COVNSEL 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 aduise, and brotherly intreate you all in the bowels of Christ Jesus, that you take good heed how you venter on any such doctrine. Some rather with S. Peter, and stedfastlie beleaue, that Dauid spake concerning Christ, when he said: **I sawe the Lord alwayes before me, for he is at my right hand, that I should not be moued. If ALWAIES, 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 he COULD NOT BE MOVED, 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. *Quasi quaedam ibi derelictio fuit, ubi nulla fuit in tanta*

116
117
118

116
117
118

Act. 2.

h Bernard de
verbis Esaiæ
serm. 5.

tanta

tanta necessitate virtutis exhibitio; nulla maiestatis ostensio.
 There was on the crosse a kind of forsaking; in as much as there was in so great necessitie, no declaring of his power; no shewing of his maiestie. Divers other kindes of forsaking may be verie well allowed and beleued in the sufferings of our Saviour; 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 be admitted.

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

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

faith, why diddest thou DOUBT? saith Christ to Peter. Then doubting is the diminishing of faith.

Abraham (saith the Apostle) did not DOUBT of the promise of God, THROUGH UNBELIEFE; but was strengthened in faith, and gaue the glorie vnto God; being fully assured, that hee which had promised, was able to performe it. Then doubting, by the expresse rule of the holie ghost, is UNBELIEFE, 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 CLEARE CHRIST FROM DOUBTING, OR CHARGE HIM WITH UNBELIEVING, and DISHONOURING GOD.

If any man lacke wisdom (saith James) let him aske of God; and it shall be giuen him: but let him aske in faith; and not doubt, (or dispute with himselfe;) for he that doubteth, is like a waue of the Sea, tost with the winde; neither let that man thinke he shall receive 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

¹ Rom. 14

Doubting of Gods fauour is sinne in Christ

⁴ Matth. 14.

¹ Rom. 4.

^m Iacob. 1.

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a waue of the sea doth, that is tost with the winde, enclining sometimes one way, sometimes another way. But this man for his inconstancie, shall obtaine nothing at Gods haies, whose truth when we but **D O V B T** wee **D E N I E**; and whose promise when wee **D I S P U T E** wee **D I S B E L E E V E**. The soule of Christ then maie not bee touched **V V I T H** **A N I E** **D O V B T**, much lesse distrust of Gods fauour and loue towards him, and to imagine or affirme so much of Christes 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 soueraine of God to take our nature into the vnitie of his person, that it should vtterly bee impossible for sinne, death, or hell to separate vs from him, or him from God. Whereas because hee was infallible assured, hee must needs be throughlie perswaded; and in that perfect perswasion, knowledge; and assurance of Gods euerlasting purpose, fauour; and loue towards him; that he should be the Saviour of the world, if doubting bee not tolerable; howe inexcuseable is feare and terror, as if hee were forsaken of God? which could not bee; except God would breake his promise; and or hee giuen to Abraham and David, and falsifie his truth expressed with his own voice from heauen; yea, and reuerse his eternall counsell and decree, forspoken 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

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skill in refelling this anſwere: It is true that a mightie feare may ſo affect a man for the time; that it ſhall hinder the ſences from recovering themſelves; and ſtop the faculties from informing one the other. But this muſt bee ſome ſuddaine object aſtoniſhing 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 three 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 deedes 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 prooſe, or giue any ſigne of a man in a maze? when hee boldelie profeſſed himſelfe before the high Prieſt **TO BE THE SONNE OF GOD**; when he tolde Pilate as well the cauſe why **HE VVAS BORN**, as the place whence he had **POVVER OVER HIM**; when hee warned the women of Jeruſalem **TO VVEEPE FOR THEMSELVES** and their children; when hee prayed for his perſecutors, as **NOT KNOWING VVHAT THEY DID**, and promiſed **PARADIſE** to the penitent thiefe that hung by him; when he bequeathed the care of his **MOTHER** to the fidelitie of his **DISCIPLE**, and **COMMENDED 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 fanſie. Could he forget himſelfe to be the ſonne of God, that ſo often and openlie called God his **FATHER**? that in the heate of his
agony

^r Mark. 14.

^f Iohn. 18

^t Iohn. 19

^{*} Luke. 23

^{*} Luke. 23.

^r Iohn. 19

^r 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 resolve 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 materiall for mans saluation, as they affirme,
 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 saved 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 conceaued, 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.

also. 121

Christ
 is the
 true
 God

Christ
 is the
 true
 God

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Christ forget both his owne person, and his fathers eternall counsell and loue towards him; which is to ste one absurditie with another. 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 memoire, 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 shew our selues to be void of all vnderstanding, in that we cleaue to our own 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 remēbing: 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 bad example for vs to follow. But in deede he neither did, nor spake anie thing, no not in the mids of his paines, but heie aduisedlie, quietly, religiously, & obediently; such as might well be seeme 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 prayers in y garden

[He wauered (some thinke) in his prayers; and corrected himselfe as ouerhot, in that he asked at his fathers hands: I such holdfast they take of his wordes, that faine would haue his wittes amazed with their imagined fears and horrour of hell fire. But by their patience, their expositions must not looke to bee canonical in the church of God. If they take anie thing well, wee take it with their prayse; if otherwise 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
1. Corinth. 7

woyse

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124 The full redemption of mankind,

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

[But his spirit was amazed with feare, and so hee kne we
not what he praied.] We take too much vpo vs to put Christ
besides himselfe, when it pleaseth vs. His praiers in the gar-
den were zealous; but religious; yehement, but reuerent;
mourneful, but faithful. He offered vp 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 praiers as inconstant and wauering. For
my part though I could not conceiue the sense of Christs
praier in the garden, yet do I fully resolve he was most as-
sured in faith, his praier should take effect. His oftē 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. What 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 distempered humo2, and in the end we shall con-
clude godlines to be madnes. If or greater submissioⁿ or mo2
deuotioⁿ, then Christ vttered in that agony, can no man shew.
If therefore we condemne this as a maze in Christ, when that
zealous and deuout persons be in their wits?

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

[But the scripture saith, he was ^m A F R I G H T E D, & A S T O-
N I S H E D.] The liuely beholding of Gods maiessty; or mans
miserie might both afright & astonish his humane nature on
the suddain, but presently; recollecting himselfe, he fell to be-
hement and intentiue praier, 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 compasison towards men, as the grounds & causes

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of his Agonie, and you shall easily cleare this soule heape of
 absurdities and impieties, that now pursueth the contrarie
 position. It is humilitie for mans infirmite to shake and
 tremble at the appearance of Gods glorie. It is mercie, to
 stand defixed and euen astonished with the sense and griefe of
 mans finall iudgement and eternall punishment. From this
 fountaine, that is from the meditation of the diuine Maie-
 stie, and commiseration of humane miserie, if we deriue the
 HEAVENES OF HEART; FEARE AND ASTONISHMENT,
 which Christ suffered of the Iewes 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 infla-
 med with such vehemencie, that the weaknesse of mans flesh
 not able to followe the readinesse of his spirit, rauished with
 a wonderfull seruencie to giue himselfe to saue the worlde,
 might for the time falle in the exteriour 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
 tenderth to Gods glorie, and agreeth with Gods will. He that
 otherwise aske th ante thing at Gods hands; prayeth not, but
 presumptuously tempteth God; and seeketh to make the
 wisdom and power of God seruiceable to his corrupt ap-
 petites. " 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 beleue, 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 excu-
 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 rauished.

How and why
 Christ might
 be rauished.

Mat. 26.

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Strengthened by an Angel from heaven.

[He asked that, they will say, which was not granted.]

Christ's praier
could not be
reiected.

°Heb. 5.
John 11.

I am resolute of another minde. My reasons are,
first the Apostle sayeth, HE WAS HEARD offering
vp strong cries and teares. Secondlie, Christ himselfe
sayeth; Father I thanke thee, because thou hast heard me.
I knowe THOU HEAREST ME ALWAYES. And howe
coule 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 thise in
most earnest praye; impugne his fathers will so well
knowne, and so often foretolde by his owne mouth. I be-
lieue rather his owne report of himselfe; for hee coule
not lie and doe nothing (sayde hee) of my selfe, but as my
father hath taught mee, so speake I these thinges. 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 coule not bee ig-
norant, so coule hee not bee forgetfull of his Fathers
counsell and decree. The glozie of God might appall
him at the entrance into his prayers: but his constant
continuing one and the same request to his Father
three severall turnes; with intermission of time, and ad-
monition to his Disciples to watch and praye, prooueth
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.

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John 8:

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

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in the sight of God . This Saint Paule saith was Gods
 Y GOOD PLEASURE, to which Christ was O B E D I E N T, &
 therefore neither ignorant of it, nor doubtfull in it; but assured-
 lie resolved with fulnesse 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 SAVOUR 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 howsoever late wri-
 ters haue found out the terror 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 & David, when they bare witness of Christ,
 that his HEART WAS GLAD, & HIS TONGVE IOYFUL,
 and that euen 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 anye 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 fancies to ouer-
 turne the verie principles of truth? Christ suffered
 for vs, leauing vs an example, that wee shoulde followe his
 steppes. For if 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 fellowshipe of his
 afflictions, and to bee conformed vnto his death; if by

anic

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

Ephe. 5.

Heb. 12.

Acts. 2.
 Psal. 16.

We must suffer
 as Christ did,
 which I hope
 is not the
 paines of hell.

1 Pct. 2.
 Rom. 8.

Phil. 3.

and meanes wee may attaine to the resurrection of the deade.
 Shall the communion of Christes sufferings bring vs to
 the true torments of hell, and must we persuade our selues
 that wee are forsaken of God, afore wee can bee conformed
 to his death? & Reioyce (sayth Peter,) when yee doe com-
 municate with Christes sufferings. **MUST WE THEN REIOICE**
 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; **As 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 com-
 forts. **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 griefes; all terrors and torments are
trifles; unto the sense and feeling of Gods displeasure and
just indignation; but the holie Ghost I am sure propo-
seth to vs the Crosse of Christ as the waye to perfection,
that neuer wanteth consolation. For therein though our
outwarde man petish, yet the inwarde man is daylie renewed;
and when our bodies die to sinne, as did Christes; our
soules live to God, as did his. Excellentlie doth the
Apostle describe the comfort of Christes Crosse in all the
saythfull, when hee sayeth. Wee are afflicted on euerie
side, but not ouerpressed; wanting, but not vterlie desti-
tute; persecuted; but not forsaken; falling; but not pe-
rishing; 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
unto death for Iesus sake; that the life of Iesu might bee
manifest in our mortall flesh. Christ then in the mortifi-
cation of his bodie on the Crosse, was neither OVER-
PRESSED, FORSAKEN, NOR PERISHING; but relieved
& supported inwardly by the power of gods spirit, in which he
reioiced, whiles his flesh indured bitter and sharpe torments.

.11.

^b 1 Peter. 4.

^b 2. Cor. 1.

Christes afflic-
 tion on y^e crosse
 was full of
 consolation,

¹ 2. Cor. 4.

^k Ibidem.

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12. Cor. 12.

ibidem.

Héb. 12.

Luke 4.

Héb. 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. 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 have it from him; why presume we to take it from him in the time of his sufferings? Shall the scholler be above his maister? or the seruant more perfect then his Lord? Yes, then God manifested in the flesh? But I hope men learned will take good heed howe they diminish the comfort of Christs crosse; we mustⁿ looke to Iesus the authour and finisher of our faith; If he were amazed, perplexed, and forsaken in his afflictions; who shall raise and comfort vs in our extremities? Hee that himselfe was afflicted, and overwhelmed, with his sufferings on the crosse? It may then be said unto him; O Physician heale thy selfe. Shall hee comfort vs; what could NOT COMFORT himselfe? Can wee REIOICE AND TAKE PLEASURE in following his steppes, when hee sanke vnder the burthen, and suffered both his sayth and hope for the time to faile? But farre be from vs these vnfauorite thoughts, and vnsemitte 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 everlasting joy.

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

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God are without repentance. And therefore it is utterly impossible, that Gods election should alter, or that hee should not loue his owne vnto the end; but judgement beginning at the house of God; wee are chastened of the Lord, that wee should not be condemned with the world. And altho' it is 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 fauour in question for the time; yet that temptation riseth from the guilines of our hearts, and weaknesse of our faith, which giueth way to the diuel: otherwise as we ought to beleue god will be merciful to our iniquities; & remember our sinnes no more; for his covenant made with vs in the blood of his sonne; so should wee bee fullie perswaded, that when we endure chastening, bee it neuer so sharpe, God offereth himselfe vnto vs, as vnto sonnes; for what sonne is it, whome the father chasteneth not? So that if wee bee without 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 seemeth grieuous 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 receiueth;) But as the blessings which he abundantly bestoweth on vs, do manifest his gracious and undeserued mercy; so the plagues, with which he visiteth our sinnes, do witness his righteous and prouoked judgement. And in that sense must we reckon 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 whom we are sealed vnto the day of redemption; so when hee chasteneth our transgressions, the scourge which we feele is truely said to be the wrath of God; not that God is touched with anye 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.

Eph. 4.

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leadeth 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 finnes because it is temporall, when it should iustlie be eternall; and afflicteth the bodie, where it might wortheilie 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 finnes 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 any such change in his father, or so much as doubted the constant and eternall counsell, and decree of God, to make him the Saviour of the worlde, and by the blood of his crosse to make peace in heauen and earth; these are so dangerous doctrines, that I thinke no learned diuine will undertake 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 made the authour of eternall saluation vnto all that OBEY HIM. A double sense then of Gods wrath Christ Jesus had. The first that pursued his bodie vnto death on the tree, where hee bare our finnes; that is the chastisement of our peace; the STRIPES of our iniquities, and WOUNDS 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 finnes;

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

▪ Hebre. 5

▪ Ibidem.

▪ 1. Peter. 2.

▪ Esay. 53.

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whose danger and destruction touched him as nere, through 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 SVVEATING, VVEEPING and CRYING to God for vs, that his stripes might heale vs, his anguish excuse vs, his death quicken vs, and his person sustaine and suffer for vs, that so euer 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, whiles hee felt the arrowes of God sticking in his flesh, and sawe the terror of eternall death ready to swallow vp all his members; we make grant, that the CONSOLATION and ROIE, 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 deceitfull fraude of Satan undermined vs: but by no meanes we make admit in Christ either feare or doubt of his owne saluation; nor forgetfulness of his person or function; but the harder the work 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 towards him, and mercie towards vs, feele the torments of hell for the time without anye distrusting or doubting of his saluation, or our redemption:] The essentiall torments of hell, are the absolute losse of Gods kingdome, without recouerie, and exquisite sense of hell fire everlastinglye 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,

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Num 3.

Num 13.

trulie; that who so will reade the sermon of the saluation of al mankinde, in the first volume of Homilies; and likewise the two Homilies, concerning the death and passion of our Saviour Jesus 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, whatsoeuer 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 fully 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 writers, or by the vnsettled 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 & catholicke Fathers; close to the lawes of this realme: they all concur and conioine 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 crose; which is the glory of his resurrection.

I haue deliuered you foure effectes of Christes crose; 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 crose, 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 HELL (for descent but on the crose 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 neither frustrate the faith; nor alter the Crede by anie thing that I affirme; or refuse. Where to let you see the multiplicitie of mens wits and conceites; there are foure severall opinions that take holde euerie one of this Article of our Crede, and challenge the true meaning thereof as their peculiar 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 glozie of his resurrection, as his bodie had ouer death. Which of these hath the best right; and fittest sense to be an article of our crede; will appeare by comparason in the end and vphot 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 Crede 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, continuation, & communion with God. The scriptures auouch, that Christs soule was IN HELL, but not while 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 taking the one for the other. In this life God sometimes suffereth 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 otherwise presume 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 not on Christ.

138 The power of hell destroyed,

to despaire. In Christ as there was no vse, so was there no place for anie such temptation. There was in him no danger of pride to exalt him; and therefore no neede of teare to depresse him: no slacknesse or coldnesse coulde 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 dreaddfull 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 anie infirmitie of his, nor PROFITABLE for bring him to perfection of holinesse; as they are in vs: so were they proportioned to his person, that was most assured of Gods euerlasting 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 rolled 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 he from all feare of heart, that hee should or might be reiected from Gods fauour, or adiudged to euerlasting death. Smart, paine and griefe 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 dissolve the vnion and communion of both his natures; or else breede a false persuasion, and sinnefull temptation in the soule of Christ. In vs that haue infinitely prouoked the iustice of God; it is the true beholding that wee haue deserved, if God be not pleased for Christs sake to pardon and forgive vs; In Christ, that was perfectlie righteous, and personallie ioyned with God, there coulde be

be

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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 griefe and sorowe for our iniquities and miseries; then to touch him with any feare or doubt of his owne innocencie or safetie. Charitie is a fitter Agonie for the sonne 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 virtues 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 shoulde take such pleasure as they doe; in misconstruing other mens words; and blazing them vnto the worlde as erroneus and impiouus; let them remember, that some of their owne side, and those not of the meaneest both for learning and religion amongst them, haue not onely waded as farre as anye other newe writers 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. yeeres before Luther appeared, first broched this assertion. *Passio Christi; (qua maior nulla potest esse) fuit ut damnatorum, qui magis damnari nequeunt, scilicet V S QVE AD POENAM 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.* And againe. *Vltimam poenam 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 stre translations and obseruations; the same yeere, that Luther beganne to write,

Nicholaus de Cusa Excisio-
mum lib. 10. ex
sermone: qui per
spiritum sanctum
sensit & obit.

Ibidem.

write; in his scholies upon the 30 Psalme, mentioneth this opinion of Cusanus, and saith, *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 upon these wordes of *Christ*, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, he saith, *Exiit Christus hac hora DE VM, non abijciendo, sed non SENTIENDO: se posuit patrem ut hominem ageret. Sic & Deus pater, nunc non patrem, sed TYRANNVM MAGIT, quamuis interim amicissimo in Christum sit animo. Illa Christi derelictio pauior est conscientie nostre ob admissa peccata, que iudicium dei & iram eternam 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 feeleth 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 hauing 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 furans, adulterans, occidens, &c: sed stipendium, poeniam & meritum peccatorum, que sunt frigus, calor, esuries, sitis, timor, tremor, horror mortis, horror inferni, DESPERATIO, mors, INFERNVS STIPSE in se transferens, ut famem fame, timorem timore, horrorem horrore; DESPERATIONEM DESPERATIONE;*

August. Infirmarius in scholis O Staplium Psal. 30.

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

Ibidem

Christus in se transtulit

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TI ONE, *mortem morte*, INFERNVM INFERNO, *breuiter*
 SATANAM SATANA, *vinceret*. Christ did transerre to him-
 selfe 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 him-
 selfe, 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 overcome hunger with
 hunger, feare with feare, horror with horror, DESPERA-
 TION 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 for the
 time, as if he had FELT THE ETERNAL VVRATH OF
 GOD, and were REJECTED FOR EVER. Could those quar-
 rellers haue gotten the like aduantage against anie of our
 writers, they would haue filled the world with their tragi-
 call exclamations of HERESIE, BLASPHEMIE, TUR-
 CISME, PAGANISME, and I knowe not what; and there-
 fore let them goe and washe their owne faces from these
 spottes, before they declaimc so violentlie agaynst our de-
 formities.

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 blas-
 phemie. 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. Wherhappes they thought hee was be-
 sieged and assaulted with these temptations, and that the
 humane

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without veritie, bonitie, and constancie, there can be no God. If then Christs soule could not be infected with sinne, nor have 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 behold, 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 more 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 prooued, nor defended by the worde of God. The prooue I leaue to them that like the position; which if anye man affirme, he were best bee sure of his footing. It is no small arrogancie, and blasphemie to sit Judge 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 furie of hell fire; when shall the Saints of God, that can neuer bee so vnited vnto his gloze, nor assured of his societie, nor so endued with his sanctitie, bee free from the flames of hell? If that vnion and communion which Christ had with God, coulde not exclude

Christs soule
free from hel
then either
saints or
angels.

exclude 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 nere 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 therefore 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 shoulde 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 do vnderstande, shoulde bee added; rather to obscure then to expound the former. Again, HE DESCENDED, significth a voluntarie motion, where as the bodie dead hath neither WILL nor MOTION. Wherfore, HELL in the new testament, is so vniusuall 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 circumlocution, which troubleth and confoundeth the hearer; besides the improprietie and incoherence of the worde, that a dead corps shoulde descend, and speciallie vnto hell.

This opinion is not false, but impertinent and idle.

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

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

and they will not say that the souls of the just are in a place.

Crede to Chythes ^{some} after DEATH, but they change the name of hell into the state of the deade; 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 avoyde *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 what they woulde faine decline; but what if by their sacre set exposition they fall into that errour which they seeke to aie? Doe they not fauourie profer, and quite besides the marke? Let vs take a little into their conceite. Chythes 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 onlie God. All creatures be they soules or angels are defined with place, though they potuall replenish the places as bodies do; yea what soeuer is not circumscribed within a place, is in halle; which no creature can be. The soules then of the righteous must of necessity be in a place. And what call you that place by your opinion? A shore for the iust? Chythes 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. Their state you will say, is called hell, but not their place. A witte difference I assure you. The place for soules after this life, is answerable to their state. If their state be 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 Chythes descending into hell conuersed with the soules of the righteous; of force the soules of the righteous were in hell, which is the selfe same errour; that you woulde seme by your newe founde interpre-

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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 best. And so much followeth in plaine wordes in the next verse:

^c *Ibid. ver. 24.*

^c I say to you, it shall be easier for them of the land of Sodom 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.

^d *Iob. 11*

The lowest place
and farthest
from heauen
is hell.

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 $\frac{1}{2}$ outside of the earth where men are buried. ^d Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the perfection of the almighty? 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 exceedeth all things; there can be no doubt, but it is compared with the highest & deepest places that are; which are heauen and hel. In 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 prouided 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 allegorickall 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,

^e *Psal. 85.*

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 see on fire, the foundations of the mountaines. If in the graue there is none, in hell there is; neither can the sepulcher, where mens bodie lie buried, be the bottome of hell. For so shall we make the place of hell higher, then the earth, which the scripture everie where calleth, 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 have 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 evident by their position, that not onelie Christs soule after this life descended to hell, but all the soules of the iust and righteous leaving this worlde before Christs coming, descended likewise into hell. And this evasion 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 avoid 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, everie man must needes conceive, not onelie the separation of the soule from the bodie, but also the subjection of either part to the state of the deade. What needed then an unknowne hebrew phrase hee descended into Sheol, to expresse the verie same point, which before was fullie and satelie delivred. Again, 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

Deut. 32

The scripture
maketh a de-
scend to Sheol.

^bLuke. 16

^bGenes. 37

¹Genes. 42.

¹Numb 16

¹Psal. 9.

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

¹Esay. 38

¹Prouerb. 15

this life be in Sheol; or no. And vnder correction I take it
to bee more; then the Scripture. and there doeth posi-
tively affirme. as reason is; that Abrahams bosome is by
our Sauour placed **SIA BOVE; FARRE OFF** from the
place, where the wicked after this life are tormented. Dow
to Sheol. the Scripture maketh a **DESCENT**; not an as-
cent; as when Iacob saith; **I WILL GOE DOWNE
TO SHEOL** vnto my sonne; mourning. And againe; you
will bring my gray haýres with sorrow **DOWNE TO SHE-
OL.** And least wee shoulde dreame of a metaphoricall
kinde of descent; in the rebellion of Corah, Dathan, and
Abiram; the scripture saith; **THE EARTH OPENED
HER MOUTH**; and the earth opened her
mouth; and swallowed the crop; with their families. So they; and
all that were with them; **DESCENDED** into Sheol; and
the earth **COVERED** them. To Sheol then the scripture
maketh a locall descent; which is either of the bodie to the
grave, (for 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 David) shall be turned into Sheol
and al nations that forget God. Where he doth not meane; they
shall die as well as the godly; which is like wise the lot of all the
just & 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 bodie to the grave; which is the gate of
hell. Ezechiah mentioning in his pñters; how he was visited
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 euerlasting
punishment. The way of life (saith Salomon) is **ON HIS** to
him

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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 torments, hee L I F T V P his cies and saw *Abraham A F A R O F F*, and *Lazarus* in his bosome. Upon which place, S. Augusten learnedly and truthfully 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 & 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 G R E A T E G V L F E 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 dead remaine; which the Hebrew calleth *Sheol*; and touching *Inferi*, which are the places, or spirits beneath, we maye with S. Austen conclude two things 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

¹ Prouerb. 13

² Luke 16.

³ August. epist. 99.

ascended rather, then descended. Next, 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 anye part or member of hell. So
 that CHRIST'S DESCENDING INTO HELL cannot be
 expounded of his conuersing with the spirites of the iust and
 perfect men after his death; nor of his endouring 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
 cleere, that neither Jewish Rabbines with their grammati-
 call obseruations, nor Graeke poets with their fantastical
 imaginations may be suffered to contradict it. Howe easie
 it is to wangle 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 mysteres of chri-
 stian religion, either from such impudent impugnors of it,
 as were the Rabbines, or from such ignorant deluders of it,
 as were the prophane poets, who talke euerie where of hea-
 uen and hell, according to the false and lewde perswasion of
 their own hearts. And therfore they may spare their paines,
 that promise vs so manie thousand deponentes both Jewish
 and heathen, that Sheol and Hades do not signifie hell. It wil
 trouble them more then they thinke, to bring vs but one good
 profe out of the scripture, that the soules of the righteous be-
 fore Christs coming, 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 peece nor part of Ha-
 des, or Inferi, which the hebreu calleth Sheol, as being deu-
 ided from it with a mightie distance; and that the soules of
 the iust departing this life before Christs death, were CA-
 RIED VP BY THE ANGELS, INTO ABRAHAM'S BO-
 SOME.

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

2021
 155.2
 177.11
 177.11

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177.11

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

HE DESCENDED INTO HELL; neither doeth any of
the precedent opinions come nere the plaine and true expo-
sition thereof. For in my judgement they must haue a sense
both DIFFERENT in matter; and CONSEQUENT in order,
even as they lie, before we can rightlie vnderstand the. If it
be must be DEAD; then BURIED in body, which was laid in the
earth: lastly the soule after it was seuered by death from the
body, DESCENDED INTO HELL; & this third point, he de-
scended into hell, must neither be ALLEGORIZED, which in
matters of faith is verie dangerous, so long as the proper
sense containeth a truth, nor CONFONDED VVITH THE FOR-
MER; for so the Creed shall not shortly touch mysteries of relig-
ion, 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 or-
der, & PROPRIETY of words; and those three considered, the
sense of the Article made must be, that Christ, after his BO-
DY was BURIED, IN SOVLE DESCENDED VNTO that
place, which the scripture properly calleth HELL; & 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 leave some what farther to
repeat the fruit and force of his glorious resurrection.

Christ is called ^a the first fruits of them that slept; not that ne-
uer none before Christ was restored from the dead; 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 be-
gotten of the dead, was indeede the first, that euer rose from
the

^a 1. Corinth. 15

^a 1. Regum. 17.

^b 2. Regum. 4

^c Marc. 5.

^d Luke. 7

^e John. 11

^f Reuelat. 1.

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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 showed his conquest ouer death, not by keeping his flesh from death, which he could easily haue done, but by saving 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 wee liue: and change the curse of death, making it nowe a rest from all labours, which before was an entrance into perpetuall paine. This enimie, 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, doing, or feating sinne; and the wisdom 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 reiected of any christian.

The conquest of Christ ouer hell and Satan may bee no way doubted by any diuine, that rightly handleth the mysterie 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

force

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.

Reuel. 14

the godlie being by death deliuered from the committing, doing, or feating sinne; and the wisdom of God providing, that as sinne brought death into the world, so death should abolish sinne out of the worlde.

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

his conquest ouer hell and Satan may bee no way doubted by any diuine, that rightly handleth the mysterie of our saluation.

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 perfecte settled or assured; but as well the time when, as the manner, how, are some what 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 safely be received, and comfortable embraced, if not necessarilie urged, is the summe of mine intention, and should bee the ende of your expectation; with this prouiso; that no man earpe 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.

to cleare off
ye words
ambiguities
that
might

In expressing Chrestes conquest ouer hell and Satan, I thinke best to obserue these thre things: VVHAT hee did vnto Satan and his kingdome; VVHEN; and with 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 Chrestis humiliation was his exaltation; and for the violence which he endured, hee received full satisfaction. As when on the crosse Christ suffered at Satans hands, and by Satans meanes REPROCHE, RAGE, & VVRONG; so in his resurrection hee 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 SVBDED, TIED, and SPOILED by Christ rising from the dead, let no vnlettered 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 desc.
cent.

Christs conquest ouer Satan had these three effects.

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The prooffe of
these three by
the scriptures
*Mat. 12.
Mark. 3.

Phil. 2.

Colos. 2.

you with wordes, I will shewe you whence I take them; first joynlie all in one sentence, then sever alle from sundrie places of the holie scriptures. Our Saviour in the Gospell doth purpose to make this comparison, by virtue of this parable concerning himselfe and the kingdom of Satan. How can a man ENTER into a strong mans house, and spoile his goods, except he first WINNETH the strong man, and then SPOILE his house? Christ then ENTERED upon Satans house as a CONQUEROR, and TIED him as the STRONGER; SPOILED him as the right OWNER of that which Satan unrightfully detained from him. And albeit it maie not bee denied, but Christ whyles hee lived on earth, made some prooffe, of his right and power, to dissolve the workes, and displace the force of Satan, from the bodies and soules of men; yet it is evident that the full demonstration of his victorie, and perfection of his glorie were reserved to the time of his resurrection, when he brake the chaines and sorrowes of death and hell, and ascended to his father, not onely clothed with honour, and immortalitie, but armed with power and principallitie; all knees bowing vnto him, in heaven, earth and hell, and all tongues confessing that Iesus was the Lord, to the glorie of God. These verie parts of Christs conquest over Satan, the Apostle doth comprize in one sentence to the Colossians, saying; Christ hath SPOILED powers and principalities, and made a SHEW of them openly, TRIUMPHING ouer them in his owne person. What powers and principalities in this place doe signifie wicked and sinfull sprites 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 truth, and enuied his glorie. Ouer those then Christ TRIUMPHED

as

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

Pfal 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 OF HELL; and could **R**VLE his enemies with a rodde of yron, and breake them like a potters vessell; that by his death, hee **D**ESTRÖIED 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 thoroughlie 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 principallitie, in heauen, earth and hell. Howbeit of the time **V**HEN hee triumphed, wee shall afterwarde speake; we nowe obserue **V**HAT 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 goddes; or as the Apostle expresseth 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 Paules wordes in this place without iust profe, let vs see what ancient fathers haue followed the same. The Siriacke 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. 5.* Epiphanius in *Anchorato, & contra Pneumatomacheos heres. 74.* Chrylostome homili. 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 *semet- ipso* in his own person, and those y reade *EV AVTΩ* applie it to Christ, & not to the crosse, saue onelic Oecumenius.

Ruffinus in *Symbolum Apostolicum*, and so throughout the Latine Church without anie dissenting. Onelie 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 glozie 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 afterwards, when he rose from the dead; and euen before he died, he was fullie 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 glozie. It may therefore be confessed & belæued, that Christ ouerthrew Satan on the crosse; and so triumphed in spirit against him, or had a spirituall triumph ouer him; as David foretolde, 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 more victorious and triumphant, then his yeelding himselfe vnto death, is directlie repugnant to the truth of the scriptures. Though he were ^xCRUCIFIED THROUGH INFIRMITIE, yet liueth he (saith Paul) through ^xTHE POWER of God. So that to die, euen in Christ, was infirmitie, though voluntarie; to liue againe as hee liueth in the height of celestiaall glozie, was a cleare demonstration of the power of God in him. He was declared to be the son of God,

Oecumenius in
2. cap. ad Colos.

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

^x2. Cor. 13.

^xRom. 1.

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in power by the resurrection from the dead: ' Inſomuch that if Chriſt had died, and not riſen againe, his conquest had not beene worth the ſpeaking of. ⁊ 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 VWEAKENEſſE, it is raiſed in power. Since then in the death and croſſe of Chriſt the holie ghoſt noteth ^b reproach, ^c ſhame and weakenesse; wee do foulie erre, if wee aſcribe no greater, noꝝ 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 glorie.

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 ynto 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 SHOVLDBOVV, 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, oꝝ Limbus patrum; the elect in heauen doe willingly ſerue him; ſuch as liue on earth, doe endure his iuſtice oꝝ 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, came

¹ 1. Cor. 15.

² Ibidem.

^b Heb. 13.

^c Heb. 12.

^d Luke. 24.

^e Phil. 2.

The cauſe and time of chriſts triumph.

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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 bottomles pit, and shut him vp, and sealed vpo 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 beleeue and confesse, that Christ Iesus our Lord and saour 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 througely 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.

Christ's 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 maisterie for god to conquer his vassall. The seede of the woman must bruize the serpents 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 lower parts of the earth, & after ASCENDED, & WAS EXALTED

TED

TED, AND RECEAIVED this power and honour as a **G I F T** 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 **E X A L T E D** 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 ouercome the enemy of man;
 the enemy had not lawfully beene ouercome. Which pro-
 portion of iustice the Apostle vrgeth, 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 aboue 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 ouerthrow death, and which must tri-
 umph ouer hell. The bodie of man, whiles the first death la-
 steth, 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 lyng in the graue without **S E N S E**, **M O**-
T I O N, OR **L I F E**, could haue no conquest ouer hell; ouer
 death it had, being preserued in the graue without all corrup-
 tion; and raised from the deade to a blessed and immortal
 state without all imperfection: Ouer hel it had none, because
 that part of Christ which did conquere hel, must haue as well
M O T I O N TO **D E S C E N D** thither, and **P O W E R** TO **R E**-
P R E S S E there the rage of satā; as also **L I F E** AND **S E N S E**
T O **S P O I L E** 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, tooke 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. 20.1

° 1. Corinth. 15

And in his mā-
 hood the soule,
 not the bodie,
 which lay dead
 in earth.

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¶ Rom. 14

¶ Matth. 16.

¶ Osce. 13

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

¶ August. de
doctri. Christiana.
lib. 3. cap. 10.

¶ Ibidem.

in heauen and earth, but for his members also, for whose sa-
fety 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 shal not preuaile against them. And this is that victorie;
which God threatened to death and hell by his prophet, say-
ing: 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.

So agréable is this doctrine to the christian faith, & so com-
fortable to all the godly, that few would refuse it, except such
as are waspishly wedded to their owne fancies; if it might
appeare where this is written in the scriptures. The which
desire of religious mindes, whiles I laboꝝ to satisfie, I must
forwarne them, how easie it is for contentious spirits to frus-
trate the strength of all that God saith, if they may be satis-
fied with diuerse significations, & figuratiue interpretations,
to elude when they list, the words of the holle ghost, & decline
the literall & proper sense of the diuine oracles at their plea-
sures. This rule therefore must be helde throughout the scrip-
tures, & in mysteries of religion, we diuert not from the na-
tiue & proper significations of the wordes, but when the letter
impugneth the grounds of christian faith & charity. Otherwise
we shal leaue nothing sound & sure in the word of God; if we
may auoid all things by figures: that please not our humoꝝ.

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

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*Psal. 16.

The soule must
not be taken
for the bodie,
though man
may be signifi-
ed by either:

*Tertullian. de
carne Christi.
cap. 13.

*Actes. 2.

When his soule was severed from his bodie, there can be no question, as I have shewed before; for that Christ saith, his flesh ^x SHAL LIE DOVYN (or take rest in the tabernacle of his graue). IN HOPE that God VVIL NOT FORSAKE HIS SOVLE IN HEL; and in this hope Christ died: this assistance was therefore given him after death. That his soule must be taken properlie for that part, which after death sawe 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 live, the bodie or soule may rightlie import 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 living, wee must take heed 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. *¶ 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 thinges 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 exprested 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 Dauid, saith Peter, ^z spake of Christs

Christs resurrection, that his **S O V L E** was not forsaken, (or 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 no-
 reth two distinct things. Since then Peter doth not onlie so
 repute; but so interpret Dauids wordes, that hee spake of
 Christs soule and Christs flesh; it is euident they must be two
 distinct and different thinges, both in Dauids prediction, and
 in Peters application.

^a Tertullian. de
 carne Christi.
 cap. 13

Againe 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 worlde. For neither of these was ever ac-
 complished 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 vn-
 derstand Paradiſe; it was no priuledge to be there not forsa-
 ken, but rather a childish absurditie to thinke that any soule
 might there be forsaken; and so no cause for Christ so strong-
 ly to hope, and so greatly to reioice, that **HIS S O V L E** should
 not bee forsaken, where it was impossible, that anie soule
 should be forsaken: but this is rather a iust grounde of ex-
 ceeding ioye; 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
 prooueth Christs resurrection more stronglie, (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 de-
 staine his soule; what better assurance could be brought of his

The circum-
 stances proue
 the words must
 be properly
 taken.

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resurrection, then that neither death could dissolve his bodie into dust, nor hell prevail 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 SORROWES OF DEATH**, in as much as it was **IMPOSSIBLE** he should be held thereof. God made way for Christ to rise againe by **BREAKING THE SORROWES 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 flesh lay; & Paradise hath no **SORROW**; the **SORROWES OF DEATH** must needs be referred to the paines of hel, which were all loosed and dissolved before Christ; because **IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE THEY SHOULD TAKE HOLD OF HIM.**

[But Peter, they will say, nameth the **SORROWES OF DEATH**, and not of hell:] as if the name of death did not extende, as well to the **SECOND DEATH**, which is hell, as to the first, which is the dissolution of nature; and **THE SORROWES 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 **SORROWES OF THE SECOND DEATH** must necessarily be vnderstood; & those were all broken and dissolved 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 power of his aduersary, & in his own person to triumph ouer Satan, and al the strength of the kingdom of darknes.

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 ^e *Sheol*, by which S. Luke expresseth Davids meaning, doth properly import in the new testa-

^a Actes. 2.

^c Apoc. 2

20.

21.

Death is either the first or the second

^d Actes. 2

The word ^e *Sheol* by which S. Luke expresseth Davids meaning

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vs partakers of, except hee had first triumphed ouer the
both in his owne person. And that victorie Christ did foresee
and foresee, when he said to God, thou wilt not forsake my
soule (εις αδης) 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 be-
ginning hath
confessed
Christs de-
scend to hell,

If my collections were not allowed by the scriptures; the
generall faith and confession of all the fathers in all ages and
countries, since the first foundation of Christs church, should
moue men that are modest, not haustie to leape from the v-
niuersall consent of all places, and persons grounding them-
selves 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 beleued 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 descende-
rit, sepemque illam antea nunquam disruptam sciderit; resurrexe-
rit etiam, ac mortuos qui à seculo dormierant, unà excitauerit;
& quomodo solus quidem descenderit, multà vero turbâ comita-
tus 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 y 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 y the letters sent to Christ
and receaued from him by the ruler of that city, are no where
remembered in the Euangelists: but by their leaues that rea-
son is rather frivolous: 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 con-
taine the bookes, that should be written: Since then this is no
sure ground to reject a storie, for that it is not contained in
the

◦ Euseb. ecclesi-
ast. histor. lib. 1
cap. 13.

John. 21

the scriptures, I see no cause either to prejudice 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 easilte bee reproved. His words are. *Habes harum rerum testimonium scriptis comprehensum, & ex Grammatophylacio urbis Edessæ tunc regie desumptum. Nam in ipsis publicis chartis, quæ res præcæ continent, ista adhuc usq̄ diem ex eo tempore servata reperiuntur. Nihil autem impedit, quo minus literas ipsas, quæ nobis ex Archivis desumptæ, & e Syrorum lingua his verbis translata sunt, audiamus.* Thou hast the testimonie of these thinges 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 **T O T H I S V E R I E D A Y**, preserved from the time wherein these things were done. And I thinke it best to set downe the letters, which I my selfe **C O P I E D** out of the Authentick records, and **T R A N S L A T E D** from the Syrian tongue in these wordes. How the report of a writer, y^e is not canonical, should have more credite then this hath, I know not. The records were auncient and publique, and then extant to be viewed by euerie man, when Eusebius did exemplifie them. If wee discredite all antiquitie and testimonte which wee see not with our owne eyes; wee must looke to receiue the like rewarde from our posteritie. Ignatius that lived with, and after the Apostles, in his Epistle to the Church of Trallis, confesseth the same Article, almost in the same words. *καὶ κατήλθεν εἰς ἄδην μόνος.* Ignatium ad Trallianos. 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 ouerthrew the mid-wall thereof. Athanasius present at the great councell 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-

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leued of all Christians. *Passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis: hac 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. *Secundum animam (Christum) apud inferos fuisse aperte scriptura declarat, & per Prophetam premissa, & per Apostolicum intellectum satis exposita, quod 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. *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. *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. *Christus Dei filius moritur, sed omnis caro uiuificatur in Christo. Dei filius in inferis est, sed homo refertur ad caelum.* 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. *Humana ista lex necessitatis est, ut sepultis corporibus ad inferos anime 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

Athanas. in Symbolo.

August. epist. 99.

Ibidem.

Hilarius de Trinitate. lib. 2.

Ibid. lib 3.

Hilarius in Psal. 138.

prooue

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manū 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 devoluta peccati: & usque ad infernum descenderet anima saluatoris, ubi peccati merito torquebatur anima peccatoris. Hoc autem ideo factum est, ut per morientem temporaliter carnem iusti, donaretur vita eterna carni: & per descendentem ad infernum animam iusti, dolores solverentur inferni. It remained for the full effecting of our redemption, that man assumed of God without sinne, shoulde thither 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 shoulde 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 shoulde suffer corruption: In so much as man sinning deserued by punishment to bee severed from himselfe; who by his transgression woulde 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 SINFUL SOUL 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

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 adiudged 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 writers 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 otherwise, to reiect Christs descent to hell as a fable, or to wrest it to an other sense, with newe founde expositions. Howbeit I see no cause, but the doctrine of the Scriptures confessed by all the fathers may stande verie cleare, whatsoeuer we resoluue 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 perfectly confessed and absolued in this life; that she maie set to sale her prayers and pardons. But if shee 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

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^cAct. 2.

^dSymbol. 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 kingdom of Satan con-
sisteth of these three; SINNE, DEATH, and HELL: SINNE
RAIGNING, whyles 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
worke of sinne is sweete, if the wages were not sowre,
which is hell fire. To raise our bodies from death, is
no fauour, if Hell bee not ouerthrowen; it were more
easie for them to lie in dust, then to burne in hell. Howe
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 ^eDIVELL; and DELIVERED ALL
them which for feare of death were all their life time subiect
to seruitude. If the ^eDIVELL bee DESTROYED, then
Hell is fullie conquered; for whyles 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.

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resurrection for vs, brought his BODIE OVT OF THE GRAVE, & his SOVLE OVT OF HELL; 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 immortalie (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 the 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 proiecit Iesus: & ubi tenebatur anima humana in morte, ibi exhibuit humanam suam animam, ut ipse inuisus a 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, atque 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 needs be in hell) there he being present as a mortall man, might demonstrate his immortalie, and

Athanas. de incarnatione Christi.

so make vs partakers, of his incorruption (in flesh;) and immortalitye (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. *Quide Ad inobedientia questionem habuit, iudicioque peracto 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 discerpitur; et ut ad duo loca discedat; condemnatur. Ac proinde opus fuit illo ipso iudice, qui hoc decretum tulerat, ut ipse per se sententiam solueret sub specie condemnati, incondematum se sincerumque a peccatis ostendens, ut hominem deo reconciliaret, hominemque totum in libertatem vindicaret. Iam si mihi alium locum condemnationis praeter hos duos ostendere potestis, merito hominem dixeritis tripliciter diuidi. Quod si tertium aliquem locum ostendere non potestis, P R A E T E R S E P V L C H R V M ET INFERNVM, ex quibus pland ereptus est homo Christo assertore, per suam speciem cum nostri similitudine congruentem; cur igitur dicitis, deum nondum propitiatum esse? Hee 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. Inso much 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 you can name me any other place, whereto man*

Athanasius agreeeth in this point with Hilary and Fulgentius. Athanas. ibide.

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(after death) is to be deuicid 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 G D vouchsafed to descende, that by the lying of his bodie in the earth, our bodies 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.

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 Jesus submitted himself; not that his flesh should see corruption, or his soule tast of damnation, but y^e by the presence of his body in the graue, & of his soule in hell he might shew himselfe invincible 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 frēgerit; coherede sibi plebē acquisiuerit, carnem in aternitatis gloriam ex corruptione transtulerit;* because he became man, vanquished death, brake the gates of hel, purchased vnto himselfe a people to inherit with him, and translated his flesh frō corruptiō to eternal glory. These two places the graue & hel, wher to sinners were adiudged to haue their bodies 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 à deo peccati merito*

¹ Hilary in Psal.
138.

^m Hilary de trinitat. lib. 3

ⁿ Fulgent. 22
supra.

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

The ende of Christs descent to hell, was the destruction of Satan, and deliuerance of man.

^c Esay. 25
^f Osee. 13

^c Osee. 13
^u Rom. 16

^z 1. Corinth. 15
^y Luke. 1

^z 2. Tim. 3

As the place whither Christ descended, is expressely named in the scriptures to be hell, and *αἶδης*, where the wicked are eueraltinglie tormented; so the purpose of his descent is plainelie professed in the same, to bee the spoiling of Satan, and deliuering of man from the power of hell. And these two are so linked together, that the one is alwaies included in the other; Christ entering Satans house to this ende, that he might diuide the spoiles. First then let vs see, what the scriptures say of mans deliuerance from the hande of Satan; and after ward 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 euer, and likewise in the prophet Osee; ^f I will redeeme them from the power of hell; I will deliuer them from death: ^o death I will be thy death, ^o hell I will bee thy destruction; was not peculiar to this or that age, nor proper to those that were already dead, or then borne when this was spoken; but generall to all the faithfull from the beginning to the ende; whereby God assureth them, that ^c hell shall bee destroyed, and ^u Satan troden vnder feete, and ^x death swallowed vp in victorie. Zachary Iohn Baptistes father is the best expositor of all these promises, when he saith. ^y 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

liue

live 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 quieted 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 sinnes, 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 leste why we should tremble at death, that now is an entrance to a better life.

^a Actes. 26

DELIVERANCE then, FROM THEIR HAND OF ALL that hate vs, (which Christ hath purchased for vs,) hath in it not onely remission of sinnes, and resurrection from death, but also the destruction of Satan: whereby God acquitteth 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 tran-
 slateth vs into the kingdome of his deere sonne; and this deli-
 uerance belongeth to all the members of Christ without ex-
 ception, as well liuing, as yet vnborne. Christ (saith the A-
 postle) 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 pro-
 per to anye that were in hell at the time of Christs 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. Fulgentius teacheth this doctrine as
 Catholike: *Sicut mortuus pro nobis, omnes nos sibi commori*

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

^b Hebre. 2.

fecit; sic soluitis doloribus inferni; omnes fideles ab iisdem doloribus

^c Fulgent. ad Trasimundum. lib. 3.

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liberant. 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 ever were, are, or shall be, died in Christs flesh unto 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 Christs soule breaking the strength, and loosing 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 from 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 certayne whom he found in hell, when he came thither.

Ibidem.

De trinitate, l. 4.

Ibidem, lib. 3.

Athanas. de sententia aduentu Christi. Idem de incarnatione Christi.

Ibidem.

Hidarius saith in the same confession, that Christ killing death in hell, confirmed the faith OF OVR HOPE with his resurrection; and breaking the gates of hell; purchased a people that shoulde inherite with him. 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 OVR DETENTION. 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 lastlie, where death both of soule and boote was inflicted on man for sinne, the one in the graue, the other in hell; hee that gaue the iudgement, dissolued the sentence in his owne person, vnder the shewe of a man condemned; but in deede vncondemned, and free from sinne, that hee might reconcile MANKIND to God, and bring THE VVHOLE MAN into libertie. FROM THE GRAVE THEN, AND FROM HELL MAN WAS FREED CHRIST DELIVERING HIM.

And

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thy physitiā, you haue 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 hē when he giueth thanks? you deliuered me out of prison. A debtor was in danger to be hangēd; 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 SVPPERED TO COME**, by those that deliuered them. Tertullian declining to Montanisme in his booke de anima, and defending the soules of al the faithful 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 against 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 deuil, 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 Jesus.

ⁿ 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 what soener we determine or imagine of this later question, the other position standeth vncontrolled, both by Scriptures and fathers: yet for their sakes, that happlie maie stumble at this block, I will not refraine 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 exposuero, 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 thinges are altogither vncertaine. The thinges after this life God will not haue particularlie knowne vnto vs, whiles here wee 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 boldlie 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 *Ἅδης*, 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.

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HELL; But the signification of the worde Sheol is so manifestly mistaken, that it is nowe no great matter to finde the folle. When Jacob saith, I will go downe to Sheol mourning to my sonne; and againe; 4. You will bring my gray haire with sorrow vnto Sheol; and like wise Iob; Sheol is my house; oh that thou wouldest hide me in Sheol till thine anger were past; as also Dauid, what man liueth, that shall deliuer his soule from the hand of Sheol? And lastly Ezechias, I shal go to the gates of Sheol: If 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 profe, 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 putrisie, 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; y Sheol can not confesse vnto thee, neither can death praise thee, nor they that descende into the pitte, trust in my truth; 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, NOR TRUST

IN

Gen. 37.

Gen. 42.

Iob. 17.

Iob. 14.

Psal. 89.

Esai. 38.

Sheol signifieth as well the graue as hell.

Esay. 38.

Ibid. ver. 18.

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grave, where the bodie lieth dead and rotten, as the place where the soules of vniust and sinfull men are kept and tormented; if in the wordes of the Patriarkes and Prophets, confessing they must go to Sheol, we vnderstand the graue, which indeede they ment; there is no shew in the scriptures, that the faithfull before Chzistes death went to hell, as some fathers haue collected out of these and such like sayings of the godlie before Chzistes birth; but rather the places that mention their state after death, do evidently import 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 shewe 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 Patriarks and Prophets were in hell at the time of Chzistes 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 immortalitie. 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 judge the Nations, and raigne ouer peopls; 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 regarde had of his elect. The soules of the righteous, before Chzistes comming were in peace, euen in Gods hande, receiued as a perfect offering. Grace and mercie was with them, and a speciall fauour towards them, no torments did touch them. If this were hell, what greater
greater

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

^fPsal. 49.

And if this bee not plaine enough, our Saviour in his life time described Abraham to be & farre above 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 laie in his bosome; if the riche man woulde 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.

^eLuke 16.
Christ himselfe placed y^e soules of the righteous far above hell in confort.

Saint Austens collection upon Abrahams bosome; is woorth the hearing. *Ad. Aunt quidam hoc beneficium antiquis etiam Sanctis fuisse concessum, Abel, Seth, Noe, & domui eius; Abraham, Isaac, & Jacob, alijsque 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 diuiti; Inter vos & nos chaos magnum firmatum est, ut y qui volunt hinc transire ad vos non possint, neque inde huc transire; nescio utrum QVIS QUAM SIT, CVINON VIDEATUR ABSVRDVM. Porro si plures quam duo ibi erant, QVIS AUDEAT DICERE non ibi fuisse Patriarchas & Prophetas, quibus in Scripturis Dei iustitia pietatisque tam insigne testimonium perhibetur?*

^hAugust. epi. 99

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 Abraham, id est secreta 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 tanta felicitatis finem.

Some adde that this benefite was yeelded vnto the Saintes of the olde Testament, *Abel, Seth, Noe* and his familie, *Abraham, Isaac,* and *Jacob;* 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 godlie 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 onelie; *betwixt you and vs is a mightie gulfe 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 ABSURD.** And if there were mo then two, **VVHO 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 yerie 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

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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 thither:] 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 fro thence. But when he commeth to make proof for this his opinion, he fainteth, 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, A. L. M. O. S. I. T. 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 contraturall 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.

99.

Quod scriptum est in morte Christi factum, solutis doloribus inferni, vel ad ipsum potest intelligi pertinere, quod eos hactenus saluerit, hoc est irritos fecerit, ne ab eis ipse teneretur, praesertim quia sequitur, in quibus impossibile erat teneri. E. V. M.: vel si causa quaeritur cur venire voluerit in infernum, ubi dolores illi essent, quibus omnino teneri non poterat; hoc quod scriptum est, solutis doloribus inferni, non in omnibus, sed IN QVIBVS DAM ACCIPI POTEST, quos ille dignos ista liberatione iudicabat. What the Scripture saith was performed in the death of Christ; THE PAINES OF HELL BEEING LOOSED, may either bee vnderstoode to pertaine to Christ himselfe; that hee loosed; that is, frustrated those paines from taking anie holde of him; speciallie whereas it followeth (in the Text) OF WHICH PAINES IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE HEE SHOULD BE HELDE: if we aske for the cause, why he woulde come to hell, where those paines were which coulde take no hold of him; these words (loosing the paines of hell) may bee

bee taken not of all, but of some; whom 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 befoze 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 safette loosed 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 borne, 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 allured from the chalenge that hell had to them; though they were then in rest, and in hope of Christs comming to perfoyme 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 befoze Christs descent thither; hee openeth the waie for vs to aske how the church came; by that perswasion; 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 testimonie, 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, such the father of the world; and BROUGHT HIM OVT 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 beleeue Adams bandes were loosed in hell by Christs descent.

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

Sapient. 10

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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 meditation of his fall; but that Christ fet him from hell, when hee descended thither, canne by no rules of religion bee warranted. Indeed Christ went to hell to loose the bands of Adams sinne; and so the church might well believe and professe. For the guilt of Adams transgression, and roote of Adams corruption, brought vs all to be iustly condemned to hell, but that the death of Christ reconciled vs againe to God by the remission of our sinnes; and the personall descent of our Sauour 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, that soules were in hell, and thence deliuered at Christs coming, as it was altogether vnknewe to men on earth, and consequentlie most vncertaine, so is it rather presumptuous to define, then religious to believe.

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

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 vnknewe things, no mans assertion is to be trusted without the witness of the scriptures; and forso much as is expessed vnto vs in the word of God, it rather crosseth, then fauoreth this assertion of the fathers. Next the ancient writers heere in doe not onelie varie, one from another; but euen from themselves; to manifest that they had no settled truth; but some conjectures, and those verte 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

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Mark. 9.

Scriptures: With one breath our Saviour doth thence pronounce in the gospel of Marke that in hell; neither the fire quenched, nor the worme dieth; and presume wee to quench 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 everlastinglie to condemne them.] The translators mistooke the word Sheol, calling that hel, which indeed was the graue, where the bodies 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 therefore we may strue about words if we list, but we must leaue the spirits of iust and perfit men before Christs comming, that place, which Christ, teaching here on earth, assured vs, was assigned them 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.

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

⁹ De anima, ca.

55.

¹ In Psal. 48.

concio. 13.

¹ In Eccle. cap. 9

¹ In Epistol. ad

Rom. cap. 5.

As for the supposall of the fathers, that Abraham, Iacob, Samuel, and David, with the rest of the Patriarkes 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 genesi ad literam. cap. 33.* exactly contradiceth the opinion of ⁹ Tertullian, ¹ Basil, ¹ Hierom, & ¹ Ambrose, that Abraham & the rest of the Patriarkes and Prophets were in hell; & proueth that Abrahams bosome must not be thought to be any part or member of hell. In his 57. Epistle to Dardanus hee saith, *non facile dixerim*; I cannot readily pronounce. 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

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shall life should be in hell. In the one and the same chapter he affirmeth the persuasion of the heathen;

^b Ambros. de bono mortis. ca. 10.

quod anima liberata de corporibus & in hunc peterent, id est, locum qui non videtur, quæ locum Latine Infernum dicimus: that soules departed from their bodies did go to *αἰδης*, that is, to an inuisible place, which in latine is called hell; and also the assertion of true religion, & the ^b graue was the receptacle of the body only; *animarū autē superiora esse habitacula, scripturæ testimonijs valde probatur*; But y^e mansions of the soules are aboue, as may easly be proued by y^e testimonies of scripture. These are the habitatiōs of which Christ said, there are ^c many mansions with his father. But I take no delight in rehering their oversights, it will suffice that with one consent, they make Abrahams bosome a receptacle for all the iust; and the place of torment 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. περὶ ἀρχῶν.
^e Hieron. in. Esay. cap. 65.
^f Ambros. in Psal. 38.

^g Idem de bono mortis cap. 12.
^h Hilar. in Psal. 51.

They that depart this world by death are according to their deeds & deserts bestowed (saith Origen) *alij in locū, qui dicitur Infernus, alij in sinū Abrahæ*, some to y^e place which is called hel, others to *Abrahæ bosom*. *Omnes qui patrem habent Abrahā, & virtutū eius similes esse meruerunt, requiescunt in sinu eius*. All that haue *Abrahā* for their father, and obtained to be like him in virtues, rest in his bosome, saith Jerom. *Iusti in Abrahæ sinu requiescere leguntur, quod in eius gratia, in eius requie, in eius placiditate requiescunt, qui conformē ei fidē 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 *Abrahā*, and followed his exāple in wel doing. And therefore he speaketh else where to *Abrahā*: *Expande sinus tuos, ut plures suscipias, quia plurimi in deū crediderunt*. Open wide thy bosom to receaue me, because many haue beleued in God. *Extendit David spes suas ad infinitam perennitatis etatē, nec concluditur mortis occasu quū sciat sibi in Abrahæ sinibus exemplo pauperis Lazari*

Lazari

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resurrection as after, were and are still in Abrahams bosome; and there shall continue till the date of iudgement. Howe 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 needs 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 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 likeness 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 likeness; these reasons preuaile with mee. First, neither by Witches nor Diuels coulde the soules of the saints 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. 28.

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; ^{Deut. 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 received adoration at Saules hands, which the 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. ^{Reuel. 22.}

Tertullian disputing against it verie learnedlie, saith. ^{P Tertul. de anima. cap 57.} *Ecce bodie (Simonis hereticos) tanta presumptio artis extollit, ut etiam Prophetarum animas ab inferis mouere se spondeant. Et credo, quia mendacio possunt: nec enim pythorico tunc spiritui minus licuit animam Samuelis effingere, post deum mortuos consulente Saule. Absit alioquin ut animam cuiuslibet sancti nedum Propheta a 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.* ^{9 Ibid.} *Nulli autem anima omnino inferos paterere, satis dominus in argumento illo pauperis requiescentis, & diuitis ingemiscens ex persona Abraham sanxit, non posse relegari renunciatorem dispositionis infernae, quod vel tunc licere potuisset, ut Mosis & Prophetis crederetur.* Euen 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 SHOULD BELIEVE, that the

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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-
 chaunce (the Diuell) did doubt to auouch himselfe to bee the
 Prophet of God, and that to *Saul*, whom hee alreadye 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 Propheteffe; and to the Apostata
 (*Saul*) easilie 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 good an-
 tiquitie, if it bee not his; saith . . . *Cetera omnia ab ipsa
 Pythonissa facta sunt, Demonis opera, prestigijs 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 præ-
 monstraret. Et quoniam Samuelem Saul non audierat,
 dum amissionem regni predicaret 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 adherentes.* All the rest the
 witch did by the operation of the Diuell, deluding their
 eies, which sawe one that was not *Samuel*. But the trueth
 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 eare to *Samuel*, prophecying vnto him the
 losse of his kingdome, but sought to retaine it by the helpe
 of

Respons. ad
 quest. 52.

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* *Videlib. 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 diuell, 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 faide they should be with him; God had promised vnto Saul **E T E R N A L L I F E** after his departure hence; which is a plaine contrarietie to the wordes of the Scripture, that saith; **S A V L D I E D I N H I S S I N N E S**. 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 *Theodorets*.

¶ *1. Paral. ca. 10. vers. 13.*

¶ *Ad Simplician. lib. 2. quest. 3.*

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, *Non est absurdum credere, ex aliqua dispensatione diuina voluntatis permissum fuisse, ut non inuitus, nec dominante aut subiugante magica potentia, sed volens & obtemperans occulte dispensationi dei, quae & pythonissam illam, & Saulem latebat, consentiret spiritus Prophetae 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 secreete 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 opinion as the easier, and likelier, that the whole was but the deceite and worke of Satan. *Quaerquam in hoc facto, potest esse alius FACIE TOR intellectus & EXPEDITIO REXITUS, 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*

¶ *Ibidem*

dominibus appellari, quarum imagines sunt. Although in this fact, there may be another more easie 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 wont to be 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 prænunciavit, 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 WHICH THAT IMAGE WAS SHEWED, the lesse to be DETESTED.

b Ad octo Dulcinius questionum quest. 6

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

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

Neither opiniõ proueth that *Samuels* soule was in hell.

d 1. Sam. 18.

sonnes shall be with vs; he did not meane their soules should be in the same receptacles after death, but as *Austen* saith: *e Mortuus mortem viuo prænunciabat.* He that was dead, fore-

e Ad Simple. 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 divitem, 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, betwene the proud rich man, 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; but we rather embrace the reasons that are extant in the questions of the olde testament under 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 historiae commodetur assensus. Quomodo enim fieri poterat, ut arte magica attraheretur vir & natiuitate sanctus, & vita operibus iustus? Aut si non attractus est, consentit: quod utrumq; de viro iusto credere absurdum est. Porro hoc est prestigiū Satanae, qua, ut plurimos fallat, etiam bonos in potestate se habere confingit. Historicus mentem Saul, & habitum Samuelis descripsit, ea quae dicta & visa sunt exponens, praetermittens si vera an falsa sint. Quid enim ait? Audiens in quo habitu esset excitatus, intellexit, hunc esse Samuelem. Quid intellexerit retulit, & quia non bene intellexit, contra scripturam, alium adorauit quam deum, & putans Samuelem adorauit diabolum, ut fructum fallaciae suae haberet Satanas. Si enim vere Samuel illi apparuisset, non utiq; vir iustus permisisset se adorari, qui predicauerat deum solum adorandum. Et quomodo homo dei, qui cum Abraham in refrigerio erat dicebat ad virum pestilentiae, dignum ardore gehennae,

8 Quest. ex veter. testimonio. quest. 27.

11 Caus. 26. quest. 2. § 14. nec mirum.

12 m. d. 10

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

¹ Heb. 2.
² Col. 2.

¹ 1. Cor. 15.

^m Acts 2.

^p Ephes. 4.

^o Mat. 27.

accord with the words of the scripture, and with the grounds of faith; wherein they all concur with one consent. When they swarve aside, or part asunder, I dissemble it not; touching the reader, as not to regarde their private opinions without good proofe, so not to reiect 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 ouer 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 enough, S. Lukes interpretation is so pregnant, that without wrong to the word, it can not bee pated. 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 all. 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 parts 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 challenge to the soules of men that came not neare their graues. Since then ascending from the lower parts of the

the

the earth, he lead captiue, all þe powers, that held man in bon-
dage; and those chiefelie were the powers of hell; which had
interest into the soule of man by reason of sinne; it must
needes 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; befoze 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 descen-
ded to the lowest, and ascended to the highest; that he might
fill all (places) with the presence of his manhood; all knees
in heauen, earth, and hell bowing into the exaltation of his
humane nature.

And if the lower partes of the earth; whether Christ de-
scended to leade captiuitie captiue, hee not lowe enough to
shewe the scituation of hell; Saint Paul hath plainer wordes
of Christs descending as lowe as might bee; when he wrote
to the Romanes, in this wise: Say not in thine heart,
who shall ascende into heauen? (that is, to bring Christ downe
from aboue,) nor who shall DESCEND INTO THE DEEPES?
(that is, to bring Christ backe from the deade.) Christ dy-
ing DESCENDED INTO THE DEEPES; as rising
from the deade, hee ascended into heauen. Nowe 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 αβυσσον ωπελθεν, to departe into the deepe. In the Reue-
lation of Saint Iohn, hell is called, το φεραρ της αβυσσου,

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

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

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

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

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Ibidem. ver. 11

Reuel. 20.
κλειδα.

Christ descended into the bottomlesse deepe.

1. Cor. 15. 17. & 20.
Christ is raised from the dead.

The descent to hell after death, a part of our redemption.

De Trinitat. lib. 2.

Athanas. de sententia aduentu Christi.

the pit of the deepe, and the Diuell is there named the Angel, τῆς ἀβύσσου, of the deepe: yea the verie place, where the Diuell is shut vp, is expessed by that word; I sawe an Angel (saith Saint Iohn) come downe from heauen; hauing τὴν κλεῖν τῆς ἀβύσσου; the key of the deepe, and a great chaine in his hand. And he took the dragon that olde serpent, which is called the diuell, and bounde him, and cast him εἰς τὴν ἀβύσσον into the deep, & shut him vp: Ἡ ἀβύσσος be a bottomles deepe, then which can nothing be deeper; if in the scriptures it properly signifie the verie dungeon of hel, where the diuels are kept; the Apostle then auouching 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 not more deny he descended into the bottomles pit, which is hell, then y he ascended into heuens; both are necessary partes of our redemption, & euident proofs of his mighty operatio. We must be freed fro hel; before we can be placed in heauen; and if Christ haue omitted either, he hath performed neither. What marvaile then, if the ancient fathers with one consent; make Christs descent to hel, a material point of our redemption, and presse it as an appendix to faith; since it hath so good ground; and iust prove in the scriptures; howsoeuer they or we doubt, where the soules of the righteous were. before Christs suffering. Crux, mors, inferi, salus nostra est, saith Hilary; The crosse, death, and descent (of Christ) to hell are our saluation. *Dispositas neque corpus in monumento, neq; animam in inferno destituit. hic est enim, quod dictum est per prophetam. non relinques animam meam apud inferos, neq; dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem. Quocirca in ANIMA QUIDEM CHRISTI MORS DEVICTA EST, resurrectioq; ab inferis deprompta, & spiritibus annuntiata est.*

of the
in the
sermon

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Therefore brethren whether this or that be 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 themselues, and many bodies of the Saines, which slept, arose; and came out of the graues after his resurrection, and went into the holy cittie and appeared to many. The death of the bodie, as it is parte of the wages of sinne; so is it the gate of hell; and the Diuell is saide in the scriptures to haue the 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 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 rottech 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 finnes 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 be 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 subjected to the range of Satan, hee being the

Some
tion.
that resur
Christ is

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

¹ Ephel. 2

¹ Ephel. 6

² Hebre. 2

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

Whether the

bodies of the

the saints, that

rose with christ

slept againe

or no

² August. epist.

99.

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

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

• Matth. 27.

^p Augm 7. E. pistola. 99.

Christ is so often commended to vs with so great honor and euidence,

dence: And if David rose with them, Peters' prove unto the
 Jewes is verie weak, when hee saith, ^{Actes, 2, ver. 34} David is deade and
 buried; and his sepulchre remaineth with vs vnto this daie. For
 if Davids body were risen before the speaking of those words,
 his sepulchre was emptie; and concluded nothing for Pe-
 ters purpose. For answer here to, the holie Ghost had
 no meaning by Peters mouth to prooue that David lay therein
 in his graue, when those wordes were spoken; but onelie
 that David saw corruption, as his sepulchre remaining to that
 date conuincid; wherein his bodie was buried aboue a thou-
 sand yeares before Christs comming, and consequente-
 ly must needs be turned into dust many hundzeds before Peter
 spake the worde. His prediction therefore, 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 verie sound and clere;
 whether Davids ashes were then in his sepulchre or no. Peters
 other allegation, that David is not ascended into heauen, 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, wherunto
 the bodie of Christ was exalted by his ascension into hea-
 uen. So that here Austen hath some hold to prooue, that David
 did not ascende in body, when Christ did; or at least not to
 heauen, whither Christ ascended; because in plaine wordes
 Peter saith, David is not ascended into heauen; but either the
 bodies 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 witness of Christs resurrection;
 but onelie such were chosen, as were knowne to the persons
 then liuing in Hierusalem. Whatsoeuer it was, *melius est
 dubitare*

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Rom. 10

into hell; and he first shew himselfe to the saints to their unspeakable comfort, before hee went to subiect the powers of darkenesse vnder his yoke. What 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 manner of triumph he brought thence; cannot bee limited by any mortall man; In all these cases I thinke it safest to particularize nothing, which is not defined in the worde of God: there may be likelihoods, but the consciences of the faithfull must not bee enforced, except to certainties. This is that I thought fit to be saide touching Christes descent to hell; bying the force and fruite of his going thither; or appearing there; to subiect the whole strength and kingdome of Satan vnto himselfe; and to acquite all his members from coming thither; but the time or manner of his descending, I dare not determine; least I should auert you from truth to fables.

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

Deus verus & viuus, imò deus veritas et vita aeterna, nisi idem verus homo fieret, mortem gustare non posset. Et idem homo qui mortem gustauit, si verus deus & vita aeterna non esset, mortem vincere non valeret. Excepto illo, qui sic homo est ut idem sit deus, quis est homo qui destruxerit mortem, aut quis eruet animam suam de manu inferi? mors autem filij dei, quam SOLA CARNE suscepit, VTRAMQUE IN NOBIS MORTEM, anima scilicet carnisque destruxit, & resurrectio carnis eius. gratiam nobis & spiritualis & corporalis resurrectionis attribuit, ut prius iustificati per fidem mortis & resurrectionis filij dei, resuscitemur ab infidelitatis morte, & post primam resurrectionem scilicet animarum, qua nobis in fide collocata est, etiam ista carne, in

Fulgen. de incarnatione & gratia dom. nostri Iesu christi. ca. 8.

qua nunc vivimus, resurgamus, nunquam denuo morituri. The true and living God, yea the God that is truth it self, and life everlasting, 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 deliuered his own soule from the power of hell? But the death of the sonne of God WHICH HE SUFFERED IN HIS FLESH ONE LIE, destroyed both deaths in vs, as well of soule as bodie; and the resurrection of his flesh gaue 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,) giuen vs by faith, we may also rise in this flesh, in which we now liue, neuer to die anie more.

Cum sola caro moreretur et resuscitaretur in Christo propter 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 mortuus, 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 diuinitatem vero suam, qua nec loco tenetur, nec sine concluditur, totus fuit in sepulchro cum carne, totus in inferno cum anima. Ac per hoc plenus fuit ubique Christus, quia non est deus ab humanitate, quam sepe separat, qui & in anima fuit, ut solutis inferni dolosus ab inferno victrix rediret, & in carne sua fuit, ut ceteri resurrectione corrumpi non posset. Whereas ONE LIE THE FLESH died, and was raised againe in Christ, yet for the vnitie of the person, being God and man; the sonne of God is said to haue died. The whole nature of man then with our infirmities, the sonne of God tooke vnto him for our sakes,

¶ 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 speedie rising, it might not see corruption.

The darke places 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 perfozmed 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, omnino 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, *Quod Petrus dicit, propter hoc & mortuis Euangelizatum est, ut iudicentur secundum homines in carne, uiuant autem secundum deum spiritu, non cogit apud inferos intelligi. Propterea enim in hac uita & mortuis Euangelizatum est, id est, infidelibus & iniquis, ut cum crediderint iudicentur secundum homines in carne, hoc est, in diuersis tribulationibus & in ipsa morte*

1. Pet. 3.

1. Pet. 4.

8 August. epist.
99.

Ibidem.

morte

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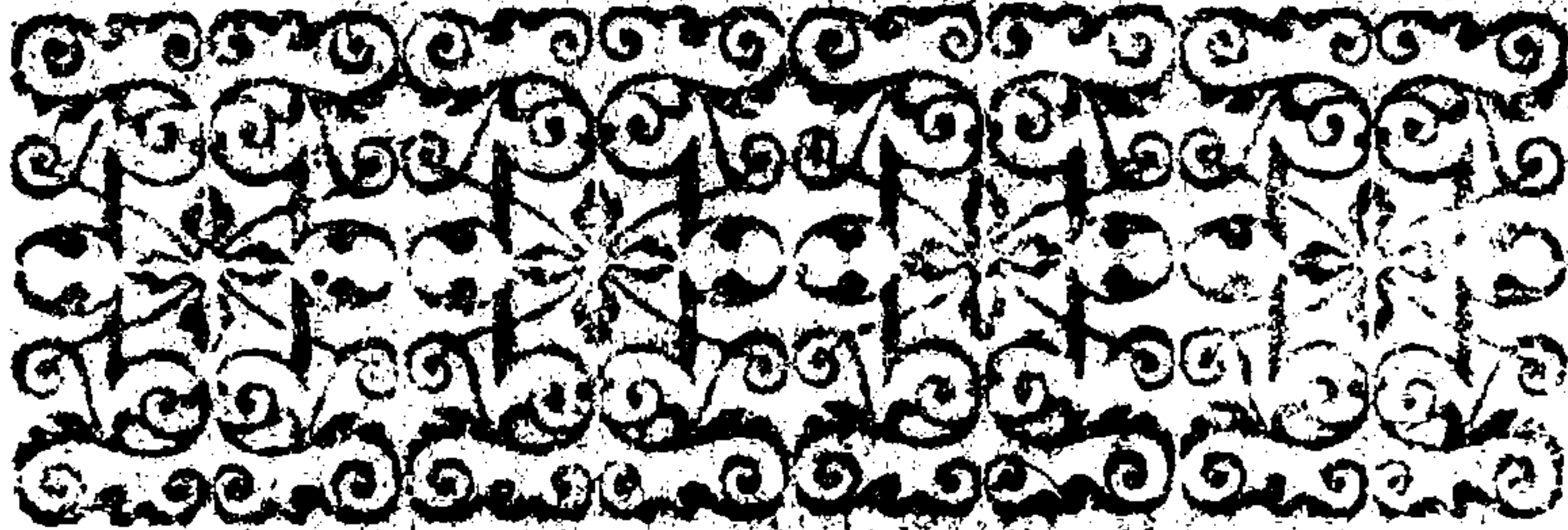
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were carried. I say which Peter saith, (to this purpose
 was the Gospel preached unto the dead, that they might be
 judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God
 in the spirit) hath no necessity to be applied to hell. For the
 God which quickeneth us in life to the dead, that is to the infants
 and infants, that when they believe they might be quickened in the
 flesh after the manner of men, by divine prophecies, and events,
 the death of the flesh. Thus I repeat, I repeat, because I have
 in the words have bestowed Saint Austens exposition, and
 to the words Saint Austens saith, as if they were the first that
 were taken into the way of the place. And that is true
 that is, but it is not to be taken for the saying of I will that
 I will be your servant.

To the father that spared not his own son, but gave
 him for us all; to the same that laid down his life for us, and
 redeemed us with his precious blood; to the Father of our
 Lord Jesus Christ, which teacheth the justifications and comforts of Christ in
 our hearts; then to the King everlasting immortal,
 invisible and God on the wife, Father
 and glory, for ever and
 ever. Amen.



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

Promised thee (Christian reader) in ^a the
 p̄face 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 ^a He
 could not forbear but imploy his talent
 to cleare the holy cause (as he calleth it)
 from all the corrupt fancies and vaine imaginations of men:
 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 tongue; but when by some particu-
 lars I haue made it appeare how vnfit he is to bee 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
 preached in London, and sticketh not to ^c name me; yet because
 he flyeth from the state of the chiefe Question, which I im-
 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-
 keth, neither keeping himself to any order, nor bringing any
 matter of moment, but confusedlie potwring out the hasty
 resolutions of his owne bzaines, spiced euerie where with
 ignorant & absurd positions: neither my leasure nor my li-
 king suffer me to seeke him out; that hath so farre lost him-
 selve, nor to vouchsafe him an answer, that so proudlie despi-
 seth all authoritie and antiquitie, which sorteth not with his
 fanisie. I will therefore shew thee (good Reader) some exam-
 ples

^a Pag. 3.

^b pag. 1

^c Pag. 89.

Ples of his insolent retecting the Fathers, of his forgetfull
or wilfull 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 thee to God, if thou loath not the rea-
ding, as I did the writing before thou come to the end.

Where I take for my text, these words of S. Paule,
Galat 6. a God forbid that I should reioice but in the crosse of our Lord
Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified to me and I to the
world. This cōfuter would beare men in hand, that I mistooke
my text, & forced a false conclusion from it. ^b This (saith hee)
is not onely an obiection, but euen a foundation and principall
ground of this error, but so mistaken and forced as nothing may
be more. My reason hee maketh to be this; Christs soule was not
crucified but only his bodie; therefore Christs bodie onlie suffe-
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. Rightly then maie the
Crosse note all manner of miseries, forsomuch as our Saviour
going from the garden to the graue suffered all sorts of afflicti-
ons; 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 partici-
pation of the crosse of Christ. When I came to Christs suffer-
ings on the Tree, as Peter speaketh, I used 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.

Dio

Galat 6.

Pag 31.

Wide pag. 4.

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128 The conclusion to the Reader,

³ Gal. 6. ver. 12

the false Apostles with byging Circumcision, because they would avoide 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-
 vours, 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 constraîne 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 belæued it? When consequentlie Pauls reioicing in nothing but in the crosse of Christ contra-
 rie to their course must needs import, that he reioiced in no-
 thing so much as in that shameful 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.

³ Gal. 5. ver. 11.

² Tract. in Io-
 han. 43.

As the text is clere 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 upon this place, ^a what is the reason (saith hee) that ^a Chrysoft. 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? Hauē 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 chollish oversight in me at
 the verie first entrance to mistake the meaning of my text;
 so it is moze then a malepart trick in him vnjustlie to cha-
 lenge me for it; but I make the better content my selfe with
 it, since this Refuter sticketh not to vse all the Fathers with
 like disdaine, whereof I will giue thee an example or two,
 that thou maiest see the headinesse 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
doxe 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 trifler, what soeuer you do me; your wits are too
 weake to refute their resolution. For were like a Puner,
 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 Sauour) 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; couldē ante violence or paines of death take Christes 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 like vs in all things, sūne only excepted.* Such p̄ses became well your person. Was he like vs in his birth: can we lie in the graue without corruption, as he laie: or raise our selues from death as he did: Reade more for shame and write 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; *Et utrumq; nouum fuit & præter communem consuetudinem. Potestatem habeo ponendi eam: hoc est, ego solus potestatem habeo, que uobis 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 ALONE haue this power, which you haue not. If you denie this that Chrysoſtom saith; remember what God himselfe saith: *hō foole this night shall they fetch away thy soule frō thee, which Christ saith none could do from him, because he had power by his fathers appointment to laie it down of himselfe.*

Homili. 69
In Iohannem.

^hLuke. 12

ⁱVide pag. 19

^hVide pag. 34

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 Christes agonie in the garden, as for the meaning of his complaint on the crosse, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me; obserue (gentle Reader) I praise thee, how absurdly he rolet from the one to the other, & how insolentlie he reiecteth al the fathers, for that they uphold 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. Psalme, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, that the Jewes might knowe they had fulfilled the words of the prophet Dauid in that psalme foretelling the passiō of Christ. His answer is, *this sence is most absurd.* To Achanasius, Augustine, and Leo, that Christ spake those words

ⁱPag. 66

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Vide page. 58

In the effectes of Chyistes crosse I noted out of the Apostle to the Hebrues thre properties of the true propitiatorie sacrifice which take a waie 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, bloudie, 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 newe testament confirme and seale 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 newe testament, and spectallie 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; *The proposition is false taking it generally. The carnall sacrifices of the Jewes signified that which they were apt to signifie, but not anie further. The sacrifices of beastes coulde not prefigure the personall union of God and man, nor the reasonable and immortall soule of Christ; nor his resurrection, all which were necessarie pointes in the meritorious sacrifice. See candlie he denoteth the assumption. For certaine of the Jewes sacrifices set foorth the sufferinges of the soule of Christ also. As the scape Goate in the 16. of Leviticus, which was a sin offering*

Page. 11.

Page. 12.

ring, though it were sent a waie free and vntouched. To the
 reason drawne from the Sacraments, hee saith, *Wee are to* Pag. 14.
answere as we did before. These are bodilie and earthlie Ele-
 ments, and therefore fitte to set foorth bodilie and apparant ef-
 fects in Christ; they cannot 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
 properlie 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 eva-
 sion, not my proposition; I tolde you that as God had pro-
 mised, to the faithfull beleued, 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 before 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 should abolish sinne;
 to witte, by his bodie slaine, 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, *The Iewes* Pag 11.
sacrifices signified what they were apt to teach, and signifie:
 but they were apt and ordained of God to teach the
 Iewes, that, by the death and blood of the Messias, they
 should be redeemed and saved from their sinnes; ergo
 they were apt and ordained of God to figure and shadowe
 the

the true propitiatorie sacrifice. And so the patriarches and Prophets beleued and expected, whose faith and hope could neither be vaine nor frustrate, since they were there to direct 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 namely the scape Goate in the 16. of Leviticus did signifie the immortal 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 prove 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 deceiue 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 mate bee trusted. Howbeit what the scape Goate signified, I am not so forwarde to pronounce as you bee, though I haue better warrant so to doe then you haue.

For

Page 12:

Leuit. 16
vers. 8.

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your understanding, that by your owne examples, you overthrow your owne positions, whiles you labour to establish them with faine conceits of your owne deuising.

[But in the burnt offering or holocaust prescribed, Leui. 6 you find more helpe then in the scape Goate, to proue that Christ soule suffered for our sins as wel 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 vntill 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 *prefigure the immortall 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 Writer so much labourerh to proue; and therefore if the holocaust did signifie the whole manhood of Christ suffering for our sinnes, it could not prejudice 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 wholly consumed by*

¹Leuit. 7. ver. 2

^m pag: 11

^{cc}

by fire; neither of which can accord with Christs sufferings
 or the crosse: but by the burning of that sacrifice, I take ra-
 ther the acceptation 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 fire; and the Hebrue word, H O L A H, which
 the Scripture useth for the holocaust, significthⁿ 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 savour. 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 savour, 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 approveth, when he saith. *Sic leuetur holocaustum
 ut absorbeat mors in victoriam*; Let the holocaust so as-
 cend that death bee swallowed vp in victorie. And againe,
Quando totum consumitur igne diuino, holocaustum dicitur.
Totum meum consumat ignis tuus, nihil inde remaneat mihi,
totum sit tibi. Hoc erit in resurrectione mortuorum, quando
mortale hoc induerit immortalitem. Cum absorbet ignis diui-
nus 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. *Holocaustum est totum igne consump-*
tum. Est quidam ignis flagrantissima charitatis; totus exardes-
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.

ⁿ Gen. 8.
 Exod. 29.
 Leuit. .

^o August. i.
 psal. 50.

^p August.
 psal. 65.

^q Idem. in sal.
 49.

No man ever burned with this fire comparable to Christ Jesus; whose love towards God and man flamed, as unto death, so after death, most ferventlie. So that touching the holocaust the Confuter presumeth but prooveth 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 fully discerned by the soule of Christ, but onelie the paines of hell which were never 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 Jesus.

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

Chyloft. in
Mt. homil. 83.

¶ Psal. 77.

¶ Ambros. de
Sacramentis.
li. 6. cap. 1.

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peeces and that properlie . If one of the Pzentices before
 whome you were wont to talke , should aske you into howe
 manie peeces it was broken, your heade would ake to shape
 him a wise answer. [But the word **DACHA** which Esay do-
 leth 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 Mole 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
^a 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
^c adde, and breake mee in peeces with your wordes? When Ie-
 remie 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?

^a Psa. 143. ver. 3

^b Iob. 19. ver. 2

^c Jer. 41. ver. 10

In the power of Christs death to proue the blood of our sa-
 uiour to be the true price of our redemption, and that as wel
 of our soules as of our bodie; 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 bodie were
 rotten in the earth. Hence I reasoned, if our soules be not re-
 deemed fro death by the blood of christ, our bodie haue in this
 life no benefite of redemption, I meane from death; for we
 die as doe infidels; and our bodie rot in the graue as theirs
 doe till the daie of resurrection. But S. Peter saith, wee
 are redeemed, not we shall bee; and the saints say to Christ
 when their bodie 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 bodie must expect the ge-
 nerall daie of redemption in the ende of the world. To this
 our Confuter replieth, ^f What a paradox, yea what impietie
 is this? Haue our bodie no good at all by Christes death,

^d 1. Pet. 1.

^e Reuel. 5.

^f Pag. 23.

no more then the bodyes 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 pull in your hoznes. Besides that my meaning is verie plaine, whatseuer 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 resurreccion, 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. When 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 deliueerd out that verie summer to men of great honour and learning, a peere and more before I ever heard or thought of your pamphlet, because I founde so manie humorous heades misconceauing and misreporting my wordes. But your haste was such, you coulde not; or your skill, you woulde not state the sight of mine owne wordes, least they shoulde trouble you more then you were warr: and therefore out of your owne ill conceaued, and worse digested Rapso- dies, you frame obiections as pleaseth your selfe, which either were not mine, or not so proposed by me. And that maketh me pursue no more of your answeres, by reason I spende more time in recalling you to the trueth of my wordes, then in refelling your exceptions, which haue neither waight nor witnesse, more then the buzzing of your owne bryaine. Let vs therefore view howe well 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 & soundly to work. Thus therefore he beginneth. *The whole controuersy hath in it two points.*

[P. 29. 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 sa-
 “ tisfaction 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 de-
 “ nied. The antecedent or first part of the former generall reason is
 “ denied and confidentlie reiected, yet how falselie by Gods helpe shal
 “ easily.

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⌋ Pag. 33.

then so many leaves thus wastfullie spent. But in the ende you conclude like a Clark, Christ suffered the wrath of God,
 “^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 indæde 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 **VHOLE OR SOME PART OF GODS VVRATH** 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 properlie and immediatlie 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 vtter desperation, nor finall reiection, nor eternal damnation are excepted, 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 beleene it; charitie leades me to thinke, though you be sonic what foolish 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

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 chose 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 doubtfull, will do you no good in the fortifying 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 proceesse 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* ⁱⁱ *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 readest 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 saith 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 ^l *judged.*

ⁱⁱ *Pag 331*

^k *In cap. 2. ad Rom.*

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

ⁿ August. in
Psal. 7.

is iudged. ¹ *Quia culpas percutit irasci dicitur*, saith Grego-
rie; God is saide to be angrie, because he punisheth our sinnes.
And so Aullen. ^m *Ira dei non 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 punish-
ment 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 eui-
dent that by the name of (Gods) wrath, throughout the scrip-
tures, is vnderstoode the vengeance or punishment prepara-
red or inflicted for the sinnes of men. Nowe what particu-
lar punishments God hath provided for sinne as well in
this life, as the next, to chastise and reuenge both the bo-
dies and soules of sinners, woulde aske long time to re-
hearse. 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 condem-
nation 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 euer. These terrible iudgements
of **G D D** against sinne the Scriptures publish and de-
nounce to men in this life, that if the loue of heauen doe
not winne them to obedience, the feare of hell should hold
them from resisting and contemning God. The greatest
torment that in this life canne befall a sinner is desperati-
on; when the soule of man, conuincd in her selfe by the
number of her hainous offences, loseth all hope of life to
come, and casteth her eyes whole on the fearefull tormentes
of hell prepared for her; the continuall thought and fright
whereof doe so amaze and afflict the comfortlesse soule,
that shee sinking vnder the burden feeleth in her selfe the
horroure 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

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¶ *But it shalbe soundlie and evidently prooued.*] Will you
 prooue you know not what: Tell first what effects of gods
 wrath you meane, and then on with your pꝛofes. Your mea-
 ning may be such as you sh ill 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 wrath*
 of God; know you good Syr, Christ suffered nothing at his
 Passion either in bodie or soule, were it little or great, but it
 was an effect of Gods wrath punishing Sinne, or as you
 delighte to speake, it was the wrath of God. Well, if you bee
 so loath to expresse your mind, for feare you be waite your
 cause, let vs heare your pꝛofes; *Thus wee saie and constantlie*
 auow: *Christ Iesus did suffer in his whole manhood for the Re-*
demption and satisfaction 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 profession,
 you did your selfe wrong when you came to writing. This
 Antecedent as you viter it, (your meaning is secret to your
 selfe) doth neither good nor hurt to the Question. That christ
 suffered in his whole manhood for the Redemption of our
 Sinnes is a thing by mee neuer doubted, nor denied; the
 doubt is, what he suffered in his whole manhood; and what in
 ech 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, *This greuous Passion was in his soule*
properlie and immediatlie, seeing then his bodie was not touched
with anie smart. And when I gaue sixe 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 this be your meaning,
 that Christ suffered some things for our Redemption in his
 whole manhood, and some things properlie and immediatlie
 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.

immediatelic 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 more certaintie then this hath. For heere you roue, neither expzessing, nor indeede knowing what you would 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 babble with you, or with anie other, about generall and vncertaine speeches. What hee suffered more then the scriptures expresse, (for I faithfullie beleue all that is there written) I doe not easilie 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) 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 Pag. 172

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 Christs sufferings?) this Refuter leappeth ouer 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 ouersight; 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;

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by his rising he swallowed by our death; by his intercession we receive all the gifts and graces of God, which we have or shall have; by his sitting in heaven with our flesh, he giveth us assurance that our mortall bodies shall be changed, like to his glorious bodie; yea the vertie union of our nature to his is an effectuall meane to make us one with him, as he is one with God. Had Christ not bene man, we could have 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 salvation, as well as his suffering for us: and man he could not be 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 SUFFER FOR SINNE, but also to quicken, sanctifie, and glorifie both our soules and bodies that hee may perfite our salvation, and bring us 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 be needelesse for our Redemption: for thus you saie;

“ 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 receauing of the blowes, or the feeling of the paine? If you beate or cut a deade carcas, that hath neither life nor sense, will you saie it suffereth? I thinke not. There must then be life and sense in the bodie, befoze it canne suffer or feele any paine. Nowe, 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,

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must leave the feeling of all that was suffered to the soule; and so whiles you talke so much of the proper and immediate suffering of Christes soule, you have cleane excluded all the sufferings of Christ, which the scripture expresseth, as not making proper lie to our redemption.

¶ Pag. 19.

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

¶ Vide pag e. 104

answere to this argument, howe ill I spend the time in pursuing this Trifler, which neither can tel what he would haue, nor what he should proue, nor whether his own reasons 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 redæmie vs as Adams was to condemne 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 diuell more able to destroye vs by an other, then God is able to saue vs by himselfe. The Minor is cleere, without intermedling with the question, whence soules be deriued. I vtterlie refused to ground anie reason vpon that difficultie; I vsed Dauids words, in sinne my mother conceiued me, and as Ambrose saith, *" prius incipit in homine macula quam vita "*; pollution (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 commeth; it is euident that Adams flesh defileth and so condemneth vs. As for my conclusion that Christes 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 bloud, hath eternall life, and I ¹ Iohn 6.
 will raise him vp at the last daie. I am that bread of life. If anie
 man eate of this bread, he shall live for ever, and the bread that
 I will giue, is my flesh, which I will giue for the life of the world.
 My 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* ²²
Adam did first sinne, by that part Christ must satisfy for sinne? ²³
 Satisfaction for sinne the Scripture acknowledgeth none
 but by death; because the Judge in prohibiting Adam to trans-
 gresse threatned death; ¹ 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,
 howsoeuer Adam did, and we still doe sinne, most properlie
 with our Soules. This is but a straw in your waie; for you
 kisse, 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 ^{Vide pag 79.}
 is so peremptorie therein that he asketh, QVIS AVDEAT
 DICERE, VWHO DARE AFFIRME IT? you shall giue mee
 leaue to tell you that the Apostle denieth your Maior, till you
 can make it good, not by your own vnlearned frensie, but by
 good testimonie of Scripture, that Christ did die the death of
 the Soule. Now by your assumption, that Adam most proper- ²²
 lie committed sinne in his soule; If you mean that Adams soule ²³
 was the agent, his body the Instrument which the soule vsed
 as in all sins, so in this; that indeed is most true, but directly
 repugnant to your conclusion. Put 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 satisfying for sinne the Soule of Chriſt must be punished with hir bodie & by hir 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 persuasion of the woman, with his eyes he liked the forbidden fruit, with his hand he tooke 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, even 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 satisfaction 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 praie thee (Christian Reader) whether this one argument doe not utterlie ouerthrow all that this idle discourser hath doone, and would doe in this whole pamphlet. For nothing is more proportionable to Gods iustice, then to soine them in paine, that were toynd in sinne; and to retaine the same order in punishing, 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

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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 Saviour, ^d out of the hart come euill thoughts. How true this is that Tertullian here voucheth thou shalt soon perceiue (gentle Reader) if thou behould men in SLEEPE, IN FRENSES, IN LETHARGIES, IN APOPLEXIES; where the substance of the soule is no waie touched or decayed; but onelic the Instruments of her bodie, which she vseth in perceiuing, remembzing, vnderstanding any thing, are distempred, or obstructed. The experience hereof 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: *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 pleaseh him; for hee that framed the soule can alter and chaunge it at his liking, by the immediate working of his spirit;) if Tertullians conclusion

Matth. 15.

Ibidem de resurrectione carnis.

for the clearing of certain objections. 257

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

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 griepe and remorse besides the paine of fier. The remembrance of sinne shall not a little torment the wicked, but perpetuallie afflict and gnaw their consciences as a woorme that neuer dieth. The losse of Gods fauour and kingdome shall not a little greue them, when they see others receiued into that eternall ioye and blisse, and themselves excluded. *Gehenna grauius est a dei beneuolentia excidere*; to fall from Gods fauour (saith Chrysostome) is more grieuous then hell it selfe; and againe, *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 dicturus est quale est a beata illius gloria 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

Chrysost. in Genes. homil. 33.

Chrysost. 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 complainte on the Crosse; as likewise how forgetfull hee changeth, or purposeth to maimeth 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 ouerthrowe 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.

Page 34.

cc The first is: *Christ suffered the paines and sorrowes for*
 cc *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 ALL or 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, irreuocable 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 y^e 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

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and doe you nowe for an aduantage. vize that the enemye 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 enemye, you light not on open blasphemie. Lastlie to toyne with you in your owne similitude, is it not the common vse in warres to redeeme captiuitie with monie? The Captiue himselfe is tyed to perpetuall imprisonment or seruitude; hee that will ransome a prisoner is not bounde to bee a Prisoner himselfe, but to yelde such recompence in money or otherwise, as the conquerour shall demaunde. So that euen by your owne comparison, it is euident, the sonne of **G D** in redeeming vs was not tied to our captiuitie, but might yelde his Father a greater recompence for our absolution, then our condemnation woulde haue amounted vnto.

Page.35.

Your seconde spectall folle (Sir Confuter) is grounded 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 Apostle speaketh here of two several 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 brag, you maie be soone cooled.* 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 bodies of the wicked are cursed and consumed with plagues resting in them, and on them; but all that they take in hand,

and

Genes.3

for the clearing of certaine obiections. 263

and all that belongeth to them is accursed likewise. ¶ 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 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 D S** 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 (Sir 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 euer; ¹ Depart from me ye CURSED 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 laide on Adam and all his posteritie for sinne. ¹ By one man sinne entred into the worlde (saith Paul) and by sinne death. hee also suffered other partes of the curse, which **G D S** by his ¹ lawe threatned vnto sinners, to wit ² shame and TROUBLE, ³ VVRONG and VIOLENCE, ⁴ CAPTIVITY and MISERY, ⁵ THIRST and NAKEDNES, ⁶ GRIEFE and PAYNE. of bodie and minde. Besides, the verie kinde of death, to

¹ Deuterio. 28.

¹ Matth. 23

²

³

¹ Rom. 5.

¹ Deut. 28.

² verse 20. 37.

³ 33.

⁴ 48.

⁵ 65.

which.

Galat. 3

which he submitted himselfe was accursed by speciall words in the law, ^a 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 spirite, you must likewise clear the sonne of G. D. D. from. Hee 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 Kefuter) 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. When 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 vrgē his meaning without his wordes, to support a manifest falsitie? The whole curse of the law containeth infatuation 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 thinges he had beene yoked with vs? But that I thinke (Sir Kefuter,) you sinne of ignorance, not meaning to maintaine these blasphemies, and yet including them within the largenesse of your words, 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
 heede

Pag. 40.

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of his promises, and desire of his kingdome; so the greatest curse for sinne, that in this life may befall men, is to haue his holie spirite taken from them, with all his graces and gifts, that any waye tende to saluation, and to be giuen ouer into a reprobate sense, that with blindnesse 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 could be no defect; nor any feare or doubt in that stedfast assurance of faith, hope and loue, which our Saviour alwayes retained; howe could hee bee being so fullie and perpetuallie blessed of God, bee also fruitlesse accursed of him? The curse of God is not in wordes, but in deedes. When 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 gave 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 replye, as your custome is; *It is vaine and senselesse to thinke that the Apostle here speaketh of two severall kinds of curses.* Indeede 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 theire expositions shall passe with all wise men for cyrrant and good.

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. i.]

[Page: 35:]

for the clearing of certain objections. 267,

part of the curse, which Christ suffered for vs; you skirre at euerie one of these; And of the first you say: *8 Will any man of* Pag. 38. *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.yeres 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 themselves; as men more then absurd, and not of common reason. Moses from Gods mouth threatneth 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 not 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 vjgeth as much the shame, as the paine of the crosse; ^m Looke to Iesus the authour and finisher of your faich, 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 euerie where pray against it? How truly doth Daniel make this confession to god: ⁿ O Lord to vs belongeth OPEN SHAME because*

^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 chouse death before shame: What generous nature doth not moze decline standing then wounding? In common reason to which you appeale, howe can it be lesse wrong or grieffe, to whippe the soule with reproches, then the bodie with scourges: Merely 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.

• *Mate. 5.*

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

• *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,*

• *Pag. 44.*

“ *but a benefite and aduantage.* You are too yoong a Doctoz to controll Saint Austen, whose wordes I haue alled-

• *Vide pag. 92.*

ged 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. Good 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

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tsuo paruulorum 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 poena vitiorum transit in arma virtutis, & fit meritum iusti, etiamsi supplicium peccatoris, NON QVIA MORS BONVM ALIQVOD FACTA EST, QVAE ANTE A MALVM ERIT, sed tantam deus fidei praestitit 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, WHICH 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 passe to life. And so concludeth, that

*Ibidem.

¶ Ibidem cap. 5

Pie fideliterque tolerando auget meritum patientiae, non auferit vocabulum poenae; 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 nowe 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? When till Christ was risen, death was a punishment to the faithfull themselves; and consequentlie when Christ died for our sinnes, hee took upon him a part of our curse, which after he turned, as you saie, into a blessing. *¶ Primus parens propter transgressionem mortis poenam intulit, verum superueniens Christus haec 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 comming after tooke all away. For death is no longer death, but hath onelie the name of death. *¶ Ipsam mor-*

¶ Chrylost. in gen. Homil. 29.

¶ August. de ciuitate dei. lib. 10. cap. 24.

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of death

for the clearing of certain objections: 27.

tem, quamuis esset poena peccati, pro nobis tamen sine peccato Christus persoluit. Death it selfe, (saith Austen) 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 before, 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 Chrysostomes 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 c* condemned by the iust sentence of the lawe to ^c *paie his debts, for whome hee had willinglie and aduisedlie vnder- taken. And so indeede he bare the true curse of the lawe. Chry-* ^d *stoms iudgement is as I reported it.*

Crux signum erat mortis maledicta, mortis omnium diffamatissima. Hoc enim solū mortis genus maledictioni erat obnoxium. The crosse was a signe of a cursed death, of a death most infamous. This onelie kinde of death was subiected to the curse. And againe. ^e *Non quatenis mors isti similis est, ista namq; omnium videbatur esse probrosissima, ista plena dedecore, ista maledicta. Propterea Iudaei satagebant eum ista morte interimere, ut si nemo 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 shamefull, & a cursed kind of death; as for the cause of Christs death, Chrysostom was far

from

^b Pag. 38.

^c Pag. 39.

^d Chrysost. in demonstrat. quod Christus sit deus. tom. 5.
^e Idem in epist. ad philip. Jer. 7.

Ibidem.

Phil. 2.

Pag. 39.

1. Pet. 3.

Pag. 39

Pag. 42.

Ibidem.

Pag. 353

Pag. 40

from thinking Christ was iustly hanged; he saith Christ thus honoured his father, *Non coactus, nec inuitus, sed & hoc ex sua ipsius virtute*; not constrained, nor unwilling, but of his own virtue 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 your speech that *Christ was hanged on the tree by the iust sentence of the lawe?* I had thought he had suffered the iust for the vniust; and hauing no sinne had beene willinglie, and by no sentence of the law, hanged on a tree. *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.* For though 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. *Yea he tooke our person on him, and so became by our sins, SINFULL, DEFILED, HATEFUL, & ACCURSED.* 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 SINFULL, DEFILED, HATEFUL, & accursed of his father, for that he took vpon him the punishment of our sinnes? Your similitude had need be sound, that shall beare the waight of these wordes; if you faile, 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 thereof anon:

In the meane while, because with scorning Chrysostom, you make way to your unholy conceit, that Christ being truly accursed in soule for the guilt of mans sinne, *was iustly hanged by the sentence of the lawe, and say it is VAIN and SENCELESSE to thinke the Apostle speaketh there of two kinds of curses (as Chrysostom affirmeth) but rather that hanging on a tree*

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274 The conclusion to the Reader,

receiving a Iudiciall, and corporall punishment of death for our sinne, not onlie therein suffered the curse, but satisfied the foize of the law, & by that curse of his suffering redeemed us from the curse of our transgressing. The place cited out of Moses is this; [†]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 or 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 commaundeth no farther reproch to be offered his bodie, in suffering it to hang in all mens eyes 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; fewe 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; [†]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

[†]Deuter. 21

[†]Chrysost. in
ea. 3. ad Galat.

punishment

punishment: So did Christ; not being subiect to the curse of transgression, 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 iustly 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 corporall curse, though by men vniustly inflicted, euen as death in the godlie is a remnant of Gods curse vpon sinne, though their soules bee blessed befoze and after death. Psea the worde *KALAL* whence the Hebrewes deriue that which with them signifieth a curse, noteth also to make vilde and contemptible, as if shame, reproch, and contempt were the greatest 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 *God* first allotted them. Nowe death, shame, wrong, reproch, and such like, God ordayned at first to bee punishmentes of sinne, and so partes of the curse due to sinne. If wee suffer at mens handes for pietie, 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. Psea God it is, that causeth iudgement to beginne at his own house oftentimes, by the handes of persecutors; hee doth vs right, when men doe vs wrong; and dealeth not with vs according to our sinnes in the greatest wrongs that can be done vs. Therefore martyrs and innocents may do well to remember, that God hath cause enough, though man haue none; and so submit themselves as worthie of worse from Gods handes. But none of these things may be saide of our Saviour, who alone among all the children of men wanted sinne, and suffered wrong; and therefore his punishments with God were

just, not by his deserving, but by his desiring to suffer for man. How then commeth it to passe, that martyrs, which are sinners before God, are unjustly hanged, because they deserve no such thing at mens hands; and Christ who was most innocent before men, and most righteous before God, you will needs haue to be justly 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 justly hanged, as our suretie, by the iust sentence of the law.] You mistake, Sir Confuter, 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 undertake one for another in money matters, and such like things which God leaueh in each mans will and power; yet tell me I praye, what lawe, Gods or mans, permitteth a murderer or like offender to be spared, and an other, that is willing, to be hanged in his steede? I thinke mans lawe will allow you no such suertiship, I am sure Gods lawe will not. ^u As I liue, saith the Lord, the soule that sinneth, that soule shall die. The wickednes of the wicked shall bee vpon himselfe. Hee shall haue then no suerties to die for him, much lesse shall his suertie be compelled to die by the sentence of the lawe. Their monie men may giue a waie; but their liues they may not, till God call for them; and if not their liues, much lesse their soules by anie sentence of the lawe. The sonne of God did not by L A V V, but by L O V E interpose himselfe to beare our sinnes; ^x So God loued the worlde, that hee gaue his onely begotten sonne, that whosoever beleueth in him should not perish, but haue euerlasting 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 lawe, and not put to finde suerties. The eternall wisdom and counsell of God therout of his inestimable loue towardes vs, without the lawe,

and

^u Ezech. 18

^x John 3.

^y Galat. 2

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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 (saith 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 (saith Austen) that aske, did GOD so want meanes to deliuer men from the miserie of this mortalitie, that hee woulde haue his onelic 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 MODUM POSSIBILEM DEO DEVISSE, cuius potestati cuncta aequaliter 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 could be 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 alreadie 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

for the clearing of certaine objections. 279

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 demonstrate 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 paynefull and shamefull death of the Crosse, and there shewed so perfitte a patterne of obedience, innocence, patience, that the Angels themselves did admire it.

^b Ambros. de
side resurrect.

So farre you make Christ suertie for vs that in taking our person on him, hee became by our sinne sinnefull; 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 wil halt. That Christ is ^d a suertie, 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 interposed himself of his own accord, to yeeld such recompence vnto his father, as hee should be pleased to accept for vs. If you wil needs vse similitudes, vse rather the similitude of a mediator, 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

^c Pag. 42

^d Hebre. 7

and

and make him hatefull to God by our curse. No similitudes
 can prooue Christ in taking our person on him to be, **SINNE-
 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 worthier of ca-
 stigation, then of refutation. I know you will pretend the
 Apostles wordes, ^e God made him sinne for vs that knewe no
 sinne; but howsoever some late writers 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 good and approu-
 ed senses; one that he made him a sacrifice for sinne, and so
 the censer of sinne, and no waie defiled by our sinne: the o-
 ther, that he punished our sinnes in him, and bled 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 law 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 took 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

^e 2. Cor. 5

^f Aug. de ver-
 bis do. secund.
 Iohan. serm. 48

^g Idem de ver-
 bis Apostoli.
 serm. 7.

^h Ambros in 2.
 Corinth. ca. 5

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mortall, doth no waie defile him, no more did it then,
 when hee suffered for vs. If you saie our finnes were
 imputed vnto him, when he was crucified for them; that
 increaseth the perfection of his loue, it argueth not anie
 pollution of his soule. To die for wicked men, did not
 touche him with anie taint of our finnes, but ° G O D
 (saith the Apostle) setteth out his loue towardes vs in this,
 that whiles wee were yet sinners Christ died for vs. The
 iust therefore did die for the vniust, and was no partner of
 our iniustice; hee that saued vs from our finnes, 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, nor 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 G O D, but by our euer-
 lasting destruction of bodie and soule; it pleased the Sinne
 of God to interpose himselfe, and no waie bound to vs,
 or for vs, to intreate his father that in his owne per-
 son hee might make recompence for our finnes; and so
 as a Mediatour allowed of God, hee tooke our nature:
 and freelie, not indebted; willinglie, not constrained;
 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 Kings sonne (loath to see his fathers King-
 dome dispeopled, and so manie wretched men, women,
 and children put to fire and sword) shoulde importune 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: make anie of those subiectes without extreame 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.

Now 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* **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 wisdomie 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 *Euerie man is tempted, when he is entised and drawne away by his owne concupiscence. Concupiscence there was none in Christ. He had no lawe 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 himself, & by Satans members al the time of his abode on earth. In the hearts of men when y^e diuel preuaileth with temptation there*

pag 45.

James.

Ephes. 2.

1. Pet. 2.

1. John 3.

there he worketh, leading such as consent and yeeld unto 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 sione (saith saint Iohn) is of the diuel, 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: e feele the wrath of God) it resteth I saie by your owne wordes

Christ FELT THE DIUELS TORMENTING HIS SOULE.

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. Nowe 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 holie cause, that concludeh Christs soule was possessed and tormented of diuels on the Crosse? And the prooue 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 proceede 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.

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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? Inwarde assaults 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 vnworthinesse, 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 howe you shoulde make a faller 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 sinnefull 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 guiltinesse of conscience and weakenesse of faith and hope, which in Christ neither had, nor could haue anye place.

[But

for the cleering of certain obiections: 287

[But ⁱ the Apostle (you saie) sheweth a reason, which can never bee 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 Refuter, 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 infirmities, 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 bee touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all things (or thoroughlie) 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 manifold miseries.

This for the sense of the Apostle, note to the truth 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 δυναται, hee is able) is as false in

1 Pag. 47

1 Heb. 2

1 Heb. 2. ver. 17

1 Heb. 4

It selfe, and as inturious 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 died on the crosse; the blinde, Deafe, dumbe, lame, and a thousand such like Christ will neuer heare, noz helpe, because he suffered not the same. [You speake of ghoſtly 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 repress the lusts of our flesh, because he neuer was tempted with them? Will he not helpe our unbeltefe, because his faith was alwayes strong? Will he not saue anie from desperation, because he neuer despaired? Will hee not cure frenzie, and furie, because hee was neuer out of his wittes? Pet. ther did hee, noz will hee cast out Diuels, because himselfe was not possessed? Is this the reason that cannot bee refuted by mans witte which euerie childe maye presentlie controlle? In deede you speake truer then you are ware of, if your deuise maye 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 Diuels, 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 meere men, 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.

• Pag. 48.

• Pag. 83]

From hence you go to another of your holie myſteries;

and

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this sorrowe of heart, not for our Sauiours affection towardes them that shoulde perish, but for a perturbation of minde, let them answer 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 more, then that Christ began to bee sorrowfull and perplexed, and if any 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 spectall 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 any warrant you may; and fourthlie by pretence thereof you chalenge Christes prayers in the garden not onelie with want of good memorie, 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 resolved, 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 procede from *the intolerable horrors of Gods fiery wrath equall to hell; And where Cain saide, The horror of my sinne is heavier then I can beare, you doubt not but Christ as touching the vehemencie of the paine, was as sharpelie touched euen as the Reprobates themselves, yea if it may be, more extraordinarie. 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 terrores and horrors of conscience; which namely 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, please not with generall termes, so as neither you vnderstande your selfe, nor anie man else can conceiue your meaning. The terrores of the wicked in this life wee can conjecture, you canne perhaps liuelie describe them, but so; 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, vering 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 nexte, so pursueth them, that they tremble and flie when no man followeth them. Thirdlie the grieue to forsee themselves excluded from the fellowship of that ioy and blisse, which is provided for the saintes of G 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 & fate and horrour thereof doeth so afflict 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? 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*,

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"from the grace and love of God, yet himselfe never separated, but
 "alwaies most intirely beloved. The horrour and paine, which the
 Reprobate heere feeles, riseth from the remorse of their owne
 conscience, and from the distrust and feare of their owne
 hearts; which pursueth them even in this life before iudge-
 ment. The execution of his terrible vengeance indeede God
 hath reserved to the next life. The greatest terror 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 horrour then like the reprobate could
 the conscience of Christ feele, that had no remorse, distrust,
 or feare of anie such thing as they haue, but was assured and
 secured of Gods everlasting fauour, and love in the highest
 degree: was there paine without horrour and feare in the
 soule of Christ: if you meane the paine that is consequent
 to our naturall affections, as to sorrowe and feare, you saie
 nothing to the purpose. Saint Iohn saith ² *timor habet poenam*;
 Feare hath in it paine, and so hath sorrowe, even 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 more then a naturall oppressing and af-
 flicting of the heart, with humane feare and sorrowe. And
 therefore if I conceaue anie thing, you misse the truth verie
 much, Sir Confater, when you saie that Christ was touched
 in horrour and paine as deepelic 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 more then
 the reprobates doe in earth, howsoever to shewe 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
 before, I shall not need to repeat it againe.

In like maner you extend Christes agonie too farre; for
 where it was an agonie of minde, which did not bereaue him
 neither of sense, memozte, nor vnderstanding, you haue
 brought

²Hebre.10

²1. Iohn.4

^bRom.12.

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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.

[8. 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 memorie 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, whom hee deerele loued, or to vndertake in his owne person that burthen, which the iustice of God, displeas'd with our sinnes, should laie vpon him. And if you doe not thinke this a cause sufficient for the manhood 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, provided 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 the 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 wonderfull and piteous agonies, feares, sorrowes, miseries, 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 Christs speaking of these wordes, i. Father, if it bee possible let this cuppe passe from mee; you inferre, k if Christ had thus praied advisedly and with good memorie, against the knowne will of God hee had

Matth. 26.

Page. 57

sinned

finned. And in the words presentlie following without state
 or pause betweene ; yet not my will, but thine bee doone,
 you imagine that Christ, ¹ as it were comming suddainly to
 himselfe quickly controlled 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 conuin-
 ced of a manifest, and irreligious vitrueth, in the verie
 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. What
 good Sir, if it were so *unsupportable and intolerable a bur-*
den, and confusion as you dreame of, howe canis our
 Saviour to bee so lightlie and quicklie ridde of it, as if
 there had bene no such thing : was that heaute and fierie
 wrath of God 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 Judas had no intermission
 of their payne, if the damned in hell, (from whom
 you fetch your patterne) doe everlastingly 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
 beleue, that Christs obedience and patience was tried
 with a touch of this hellish paine, and so an ende ? or will
 you returne it as often as please you ? and if this cuppe
 did so quicklie passe from our Saviour, howe did hee
 then praye against the knowne will of God ; which is an o-
 ther of your foundations, when as, in the uttering of the se
 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. 59.

“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 avouch that in that prayer, Christ PERFECTLY KNEW the dominion of death should not holde him. Were all the powers of his soule overwhelmed and all confounded; and yet did he even in that whole confusion of sense, memorie, and understanding PERFECTLY KNOW the dominion of death should not holde him? can a man have his knowledge and memorie all confounded and overwhelmed, and yet retaine PERFECT KNOWLEDGE? could Christ forget his fathers will in that prayer through astonishment, and in the speaking of the words remember he prayed amisse, and in the nexte worde quicklie correct himselfe? Surely these be conceites answerable to your cause; and denices fit for your diuinitie; But (Sir Refuter,) let passe your dreames, and shewe vs your proofes, that Christ prayed against the knowne will of his father, which you make the groundwork of this confusion: and when you haue so done, then prooue that your hellish paine was the cause of this astonishment. Spante thinges might astonish our Saviour 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 glorie 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

2 Pag. 59

“ [It is manifest (you saie) that Christ in plaine words prayed contrarie to Gods known will:] It is more manifest that you knowe not what you saie. How could he praye against his Fathers will that prayed expresse with this condition, & Father IF THOU WILT take awaie this cup from me. [That is a correction after the prayer (you will saie) and no condition in the prayer.] Are you so captious against Christ, that you will not supplie one Euangelist with another? Luke and Matthew put a plaine condition vnto the prayer of Christ; the one saying, father if thou wilt; the other, father if

Luc. 22.

Mat. 26.

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is sinne. How can the heart be assured it shall receaue that
 it asketh at Gods hands, if it bee neither directed to aske ac-
 cording to the will of God, nor prepared to aske with that de-
 uotion 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 astonish-
 ment still, when Christ was twice cleere from it, it is a foolish
 deuice of your idle braines, as if the Lozde no sooner retur-
 ned 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 holte,
 test not thus prophanelie with the sonne of God, nor bereaue
 him of his wits, when you thinke good. If it were a ne-
 cessarie effect of Gods wrath, then after it lighted on our
 Saviour in the garden, it must continue till man was re-
 deemed, and Gods wrath appeased, which was not done but
 by the death of Christ. And therefore make your choise: ei-
 ther 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 ne-
 cessarie effect of Gods wrath. One of these you must take,
 take which you will; 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 Re-
 futer) in the chiefest 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 ab-
 surdities 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 ne-
 cessarie consequent to the wrath of G D D, or no? If
 it bee, (for you saie, Christ coulde not but sinke, and bee
 sonfounded under that burden) howe commeth it to passe,*
 that

that the reprobate and desperate, feeling the sense of **G D S** wrath upon 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 feele 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, nor charitie could haue anie place, or vse, so long as the sense of **G 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 witt is too weake, or your cause not good; it will not bee. [*If a man in distresse fall, a sleepe, late 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, he 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, whereas in Christ was neither? and though you planelie faile 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 must merite, which a

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man a sleepe or amazed cannot doe. And therefore remember, (Sir Refuter) this reason amongst the rest is yet unanswered; and I thinke wil somewhat trouble your bzaines before it bee answered. All that Christ suffered for our Redemption 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 boeie. And thus, by your amazed position, you haue wholie confounded your owne opinion.

Thou hast heard (good Reader) a number of the Refuter's spectall follies; I haue some fewe more 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 philosphie, hee vnder taketh another 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 prayers 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 be thus. ^c That wherein

Hebr. 5

Pag. 74.

Ibidem.

“ 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.
 “ For hee was in some sense of it, when hee praied against it, and was
 heard.

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^e Cicero: Tuscul. quaest. lib. 4

^f Lactant. de vero cultu. li. 6. ca. 14

^g Ambros. de Iacob et beata vita li. 1. ca. 2.

^h Gregor. moral. li. 9. cap. 39.

Philosophie coulde haue serued you to vnderstand; that *metus est mali impendentis, a gritudo presentis*; feare is of an euill approching; grieffe or paine, of an euill present. If you stoone philosophers, whom for the proprietic of words, you preferre before all the diuines in the world, as anon shall appeare; Lactantius telleth you, that of ^t Desire, ioy, feare and sorrow, the two first (desire and ioy) are for good things approching or present: the two last (feare and sorrow) for euill likewise approching or present. ^{S.} Ambrose will teach you that, *ante dolorem est timor, post dolorem tristitia*: feare is before grieffe or paine; after paine followeth heauines. And likewise Gregorie, ^h *In his vita tormentis, timor dolorem habet, dolor timorem non habet, quia nequaquam mentem metus cruciat, cum pati iam ceperit, quod metuebat*. In the torments in this life feare hath some grieffe, but grieffe 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 with men, when we will giue them their deserts, and let them stand no longer in suspence; but God so tested not with his sonne, as to rid him from his feare, by present punishment. God therefore 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 extremely 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 extremitie 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 & commo sense; as so will all y^e 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

^l Pag. 74.

for the clearing of certain objections. 303

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 prophanely play with the deliuerance of his sonne? [Hee 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 thinke; & 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 praied in feare against that which he perfectly knew should neuer come vnto him, namely that, the Dominion of Death should hold him. If the dominion of death should not hold his bodie, much lesse should hell hold his soule.*

^k Pag. 59.

[But the Greeke word, εἰσακουθεῖς, you saie, seemeth to import a deliuerance after Christ was in that he feared: εἰσακουθεῖς, ^l *Hee was heard being in it.*] As is your diuinitie, Syr confuter, so is your Greeke. For if Christ were heard; then God did heare him; & so if εἰς toynd to the passive of ἀκούω signifie that Christ was heard being in the paines of hell; then εἰς, 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 Greeke store, that God which heard, and Christ that was heard, were both in the paines of hell? But indeed εἰσακούειν is to hearken vnto, as wee do when we bend our eare to anothers speech; and εἰσακουθεῖς is harkned vnto or heard. The word is five times v^sed 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 prayers. Feare not saith the Angell to Zacharie: εἰσῆκουσάν σου ἡ δούλις σου, thy praier is heard, thy wife Elizabeth shall bring thee a sonne, See the Angell to Cornelius, εἰσῆκουσάν σου ἡ προσευχή σου, thy praier is heard. ^m *Luc. 1.* ⁿ *Act. 10.*

^m Luc. 1.

ⁿ Act. 10.

strange

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• 1 Cor: 14

• Eccles: 3:

• Job: 22:

• Psal. 55

• Esa. 59.

• Pag. 74.

strange toonges will I speake to this people, saith the Lord, καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακούσονται μὲν, and neither so will they harken vnto mee. The wise man in like manner, ἢ οὐκ εἰσακούσων κυρίου, hee that harkeneth vnto the Lord, giueth rest to his mother. And the Septuagint, Whē thou praiest, saith Eliphaz in the booke of Job, ἢ εἰσακούσεται ἰσ, God will heare thee. Earlie, saith Dauid to God, εἰσακούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου, shalt thou heare my voice. So in Esaie, the eare of the Lord is not shutte, μὴ εἰσακούσῃ not to heare. Infinite examples might bee brought to the same end, but these are sufficient to conuince your ignozant 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 dallye 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

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is the vsuall worde in Greeke for feare, as maie plainelie be proued by Plutarch in his Treatise of Morall vertue; where, noting howe men couer vicious affections vnder the names of vertues, he saith, * ἡ αἰσχύνεσθαι ἀιδεῖσθαι καλῶσι, καὶ τὸ ἠδέσθαι χάριεν, καὶ τὰς φόβους εὐλαβείας; They call blushing reuerence; mirth gladnesse, and feare warinesse. Euripides in the person of Eteocles king of Thebes, saith, ἠδὲ εὐλαβεία χρησιμωτάτη θεῶν, Circumspect care is the most profitable Goddesse. And where you quote the 23. of the Acts for prooffe of 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 2 Tribune doubting leaft some hurt might happen vnto Paule then his prisoner, prevented it, and sent his souldiers to take him awaye 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 ^a εὐλαβηθεῖς, fearing, declining and preventing (what God had threatned to others) he made ready the Arke, for the sauing of his houholde. 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 himselfe and his children; but he thinned that which he saw would light on others; and that the scripture there calleth εὐλαβηθεῖς. The rest that maie concerne Christs praier in the garden, or might occasion that agonie which there hee shewed, thou hast (gentle Reader) in the ^a treatise before; which I will not here resume, leaft I wearie thee with ouer much tediousnesse.

For a farewell to his speciall reasons, the Confuter hath reserued matters of most speciall moment to the last: and because they are weightie and neede good prooffe, hee hath searched the bottome of his studie, and sheweth vs here

* Plutarch. de
virtute moral.

7 Euripid. in
Phænis.

2 Acts. 23.

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
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 fonde, 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-
mentes and sorrowes due to the damned, and ^d consequently Christ
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 died the death of the soule, ^e men living be-
ing surpris'd with grievous sorrowes and paines, will saie (as
Terence witnesseth; *occidi, perij, interij*) they die, they perish.
So likewise the death of the soule sometimes maie bee vnderstoode
and that most fitlie for the paines and sufferinges of Gods
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, ^f saith, that Christ in his suffering for vs was done to
death in the flesh, but made alive by the spirite. And in the
Scripture whensoever the fleshe and the spirite are opposed to-
gither, ^h the flesh is alwayes Christes whole humanitie, I saie
not his bodie onelie, 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-
verted the reasons, nor pared the authorities, on which
his Confuter groundeth his conclusion, that Christ died

^b Heb. 2.

^c Surely

^e Pag. 77

^d Pag. 75.

^e Pag. 76

^f Pag. 77.

^g Pag. 78.

^h Pag. 79.

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 maest with one view behold both the deepnes and soandnesse of this vpsstart writer; and in thy secrete and vpright 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 ignozant and lewd assertions, and esteeming none to be sober or considerate, except they confesse his shamefull absurdities to bee most true and eident? But I haue not learned nor vbled to giue reuelling speeches, the Worde reprocue 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 maine reason (Sir Refuter) 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 mee 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 anie thing. Howe manie kinds of death there are, wee shall better learne by the graue father Saint Austen, then by the young louers in Terence: *Dicitur mors prima, dicitur & secunda. Prima mortis dua sunt partes, una qua peccatrix anima per culpam discessit a creatore suo: altera qua iudicante Deo exclusa est per poenam à corpore suo. Mors autem secunda ipsa est corporis & anima punitio sempiterna.* There is a first death and a second Death. Of the first death there be two parts: one, when
the

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it is so blasphemous. God forbid you will say, this should be
 ante part of your meaning. But if such bee your ignorant
 rashnesse, that you will so expound scriptures, as these con-
 sequents shall necessarie followe, you must leaue writing,
 and fall to learning another while, till you be able to foresee
 what may iustly be inferred vpon your positions. Deaths
 of the soule there are none mentioned in anie Scripture, or
 father, but sinne and eternall damnation. Leave the pa-
 theticall, hyperbollicall & metaphoricall phrases of Terence,
 to boies in the Grammer schole, speake at least like a di-
 vine, though you bee none. If your cause bee so holie a
 truth as you talke of, it hath both foundation and approba-
 tion in the Scriptures. You shall not neede to runne to
 heathen Poets to prooue that the Saviour of the worlde
 died the death of the soule. What the death of the soule is,
 what consequentes it hath, and what maine and moste
 sufficient reasons there are, why Christ neither did, nor
 might die the death of the soule, thou hast (good Rea-
 der) befoze in the Treatise it selfe: if this fumbler either
 will skippe them, or cannot answere them, I must not
 repete 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 hundzed
 places learnedlie and tralie vouched and prooued by Saint
 August. in Io. han. tract. 47. *Mori carni tua est amittere vitam suam; mori anime
 tua 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. *Quomodo
 ergo mortua est anima de qua vivit corpus? Audi ergo &
 disc*

August. de
 verbis Apost.
 serm. 30.

for the clearing of certain objections: 311.

disce; corpus hominis creatura Dei est, & anima hominis creatura dei est. De anima deus vivificat carnem, ipsam autem animam vivificat de seipso, non de seipsa. 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 li-
ueth? Harken 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: ⁿ *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 infu-
so resurgit anima à morte sua ad vitam suam, hoc est ab iniqui-
tate, ab insipientia, ab impietate ad Deum suum qui est illi sapi-
entia, 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 wisdom, 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 wisdom, righteousness, and charitie. If this
were not plaine enough; the Scriptures themselves are
so evident, that no man can mistake the life of the soule,
except hee will purposelye blinde himselfe, least hee should
come to the knowledge of the truth. For the sonne of God is

life, and coming down from heauen, gave life to the world,
& quickning whom hee would with the waters of life, that is

ⁿ August. in 1^o
han. tract. 19.

^o John. 1.
^p John. 6.
^q John. 5.
^r John. 7.

by.

§ 12 The conclusion to the Reader,

^fRom.8.
^gJohn.6.
^hJohn 15
ⁱGalat.3.
^j1. John 4.
^k1. John.5.
^lColof.3.
^mReuel.22.

by the ^f spirite of life, yea ^g whosoever belecueth, and ^h abideth
 in him, hath life and beareth fruite in him. For the iust shall
ⁱ liue by faith, and he that dwelleth in ^j loue, dwelleth in God,
 and God in him, for God is loue. So that not onely Christ is our
 life, ^k and he that hath the sonne hath life, but ^l with him, and in
 him, alwaies was, and alwaies will bee, the ^m fountaine of
 life, which neuer did nor can drie vp: how then could Christ
 die the death of the soule, whose soule was personallie vnto
 ted, 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
 religion, what haue I to do with that, but to detest 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 Saviour 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 Christs
 soule within the compasse of the second death. ^c *Hec mortali-
 tas 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 aeterna, mors gehennarum, mors damnatio-
 nis 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 pfa.
 43.
^f Idem in Io-
 han. tract. 43

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314 . The conclusion to the Reader,

possibly conceaued.

3 Pag. 77.

“ [The death of the soule, say you, & 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 himselfe neuer separated, but most intirely beloued, yea
 “ most^h holie, most innocent, and most blessed.] You contradict,

4 Pag. 42

(Sir Kefuter,) not onlie the scriptures and fathers, but euen
 your selfe in one and the same sentence, and reele like a
 man whose bzaines are not steadie. ⁱ *Secundum scripturas*

1 Ambros. de
 de resurrect.

*triplicem esse mortem accepimus. Vna est cum morimur peccato,
 deo viuimus. Beata mors qua a mortali nos separat, immortali
 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 vite, 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 errour. ^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-
 TVRAL; the thirde is not onelie sinne but destruction,
 which is PENALL. Which of these agreeth to Christ,

3 Ibidem.

Ambrose himselfe will tell you. ^l *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. Yea, 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) ^{John. 14} life it selfe; 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 broch so grosse and palpable an errour, 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. 2} 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; ^{Luce. 16,} Sonne remember thou in thy life time receauedst thy good thinges and *Lazarus* paines; where if your position be true, the paines of Lazarus coulde 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, insomuch that manie of the godlie haue bene and still are offended with it. Reade the 72. Psalme, and see whether these intolerable and horrible feares, sorowes, paines, and tormentes of hell and the damned, do alwaies accompanie them heere in this life. ^{Psal. 72} My scete 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*

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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, ^r 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, vnlesse 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. 68.

^r "ted sacrifice to God: These are your words. * Such a sorrow
^r "indeed of a broken and contrite heart is the only true and perfectly
^r "accepted sacrifice to God, and is in effect nothing but what we af-
^r "firme. You affirme that Christ died the death of the soule,

^rPage. 77.

^r "which you interpret to bee such ^r paines and sufferings of Gods
^r "wrath, as alwaies accompany them that are separated from the

^rPage. 73.

^r "grace and loue of God: You affirme that Christ suffered ^r won-
^r "derfull and piteous astonishment, forgetfulnesse and confusion of

^rPage. 53.

^r "the powers of nature, euen of ^r all the powers of his soule and sen-
^r "ses of his bodie, yea he ^r felt the verie diuels as the instruments,

^rPage. 45.

^r "that wrought the verie effectes of Gods wrath vpon him; and

^rPage. 80.

^r "though the ^r wicked oftentimes find farre more intolerable hor-
^r "ror of their sinnes then any other, yet you doubt not, but

^rPage. 81.

^r "d Christ as touching the vehemencie of paine, was as sharply tou-
^r "ched

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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 seconde 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 heresie, 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 heresie; 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 which our bodie 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 bodie 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 euacuaret 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 principem atque authorem 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 bodie came from the Diuell as the Authour and chiefe doer thereof; that is from the sinne which hee perswaded:

*Sapien. 1.

†Sapi. 2.

Esa. 38

1. Corin. 15.

• August. de
pecc. merit. &
remiss. li. 2. c. 32

swaded:

for the clearing of certain objections: 319

swaded. He cannot for any other cause be said to haue power of death, which here is most truly spoken. Ambrose, Chrysoftom, 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 Christ strooke him. Why tremble ye? why feare ye death? now death is not terrible, but acceptable as the end of labor and the beginning of rest. Chrysoftom hath almost the same wordes. Cyrill verie often expoundeth death in that place for the death of Christs bodie. The sonne of God was partaker of flesh and bloud, 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; Because it was aboue 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 death as a cruell beast inuading his flesh should cease fro 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 alwaies remembred, that Christ died no death but the death of the bodie. *Mors filij Dei, quam sola CARNE suscepit utramq; in nobis mortē, anima scilicet carnisq; destruxit.* The death which the sonne of God suffered ONLY in his flesh, destroyed BOTH DEATHS in vs, as well that of the soule, as that of the body.

The Confuter hauing bestired himselfe in his special and choise arguments, as thou hast heard (christia reader) & now drawing to an ende, purposeth like a pollicke 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 waie with them, to turne & wind them at his will, and so maketh any thing to be euerie thing, that nothing should hurt him. The scriptures affirme, that

CHRIST

^p Ambros. in Hebr. ca. 2.

^q Chrysoft. in Hebr. ca. 2.
^r Cyril d^e recta fide. lib. 1. ex Hebr. ca. 2.

^s Idem de recta fide lib. 2.

^t Fulgent de incarnat. & grat. christi. c. 8.

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Christ crucified is the wisdom and power of God to all that be called, and that we are 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 y suffered for vs in the flesh, yea he z 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 D I E D 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 needs proue sounde and good; and this it is.

Whensoever in scripture the flesh and the spirit are opposed together, the ^d flesh is alwaies Christes whole humanitie, as well his soule as his bodie. From whence it followeth that Christes soule also died and was crucified. How proue you this note, (Sir Refuter?) had you saide that wheresoever 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 ^e 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 saith, ^f a 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,

8 Christ

^a Rom. 5.
^z Hebre. 2.
^y 1. Peter. 4.
^z 1. Peter. 3.

^a 1. Peter. 3.

^b Pag. 79

^c Pag. 78

^d Pag. 79

^e Match. 26.

^f Lucæ. 24

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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 any thing that God did vnto him. And out of that word, euery 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 streetes, 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 wrote in defence of your holie cause, do contradict your selfe, and call your owne assertion **ABSURD 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) thou wilt thinke my time any waie better imployed then longer to reason with such a braine 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.

Aug. epist. 99

P In eare 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

plainelie false but openlie blasphemous . Then must this stande for an vndoubted grounde ; that whatsoever part of Christ was dead, the same must be quickned againe, to avoid 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, of force 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 (Sic Refuter,) your own words in the very same place, take care I prate you, that I misrepeat them not, for if I hit the right, you will 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 sense in you, that going about purposelie to prouue 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 shift or colour, you do saie & must saie, before your conclusion can be true ; except you wil lie 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 wish you better counsell and more reading; and although you tell me of ^r errors , ^l corrupt fancies and wayne imaginations, ^c shameful questiōs, ^u toyish fables, ^x fond, absurd, without sense or reason , when I doe but repeat the iudgements of the ancient and learned Fathers ; yet I will beare them at

¹Page. 78.
linea. 25.

^r Pag. 1.
^l Pag. 3.
^c Pag. 54.
^u Pag. 81.
^x Pag. 68.

your hand, and from my heart doe pittie your ignorance, for I hope it be 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 oversecne himselfe, I stand not vpon the aduantage of his wordes, but vpon the sounde and learned exposition of Saint Austen, whose antiquitie and authoritie concurring with the truth of the scriptures doth please me, & I trust (christian reader) wil content thee. *Christus spiritu uiuificatus est, cū in passione esset carne mortificatus. Quid est enim, quod uiuificatus est spiritu, nisi quod eadem Caro, qua sola fuerat mortificatus uiuificante spiritu resurrexit? 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 mortificatā peccato, vel damnatione punita est, quibus duabus causis mors anime intelligi potest; & ideo non secundum ipsam dici potuit Christus uiuificatus spiritu. In ea re quippe uiuificatus 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, uiuificatus autem spiritu quia spiritu operante, etiā ipsa caro uiuificata surrexit.* Christ was quickned by the spirit, when in his Passion 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

Aug. epist. 99

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• August. tract.
47. in Iohan.

unto death, S. Austen largely 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. *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
 ipsius 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 dictus est sola
 caro. Audeo dicere, et sola caro Christi dictus est Christus. Con-
 fiteris illud quod habet fides, in eum Christum te credere, qui cruce
 ifixus 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, Humiliauit semetipsum factus obediens
 usque ad mortem. Iam in morte SOLA CARO a Iudais est
 occisa, & tamen carne occisa Christus occisus est. Ita cum 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. Vnderstand this of the flesh,
 for the flesh laieth down her soule, & taketh it agaiue. 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*

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was Christ, because nothing of him but his flesh was buried. Learne 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 wilfullye blind themselves 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) leaving 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 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 bodies 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 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 holie;

^b 1 Pet. 2

^c 2. Cor. 4

^d Ibid. vers. 16

^e Colos. 1.

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holie, and without fault in his sight? If you can quarrell with these words (Sir Refuter) you maye 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 contrarte for the other? You do not so, you will saie. Leave so doing and these Questions will soone be determined. I proue there was alwaies in Christ euidence of faith, assurance of hope, Ioy 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 dimi-
 “ nution in Christ of his faith, patience or obedience to God,
 “ neither was Christ so much as touched with anie wauering,
 “ much lesse fearing in his trust and confidence of Gods loue and
 s Pag. 77 “ protection towards him. How then can the s horror 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 grea-
 “ ter 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 deepelie touched with the ^m un-
 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 bogepots you
 haue made vs; speaking of things which your selfe cannot;
 or dare not expresse. Sometimes you would faine affirme
 it

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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 vnregenerate 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 cleaved vnto his soule, and therefore the name of fleshe 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 redeeme vs. And so Saint Iohn saith, * The worde was made flesh, meaning the true and eternall sonne of God, boughsafed 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 Christs bodis 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 Primitive Church, then the doctrine which I am now forced to defende against the rage and reproch of this flaunders impugner.

* Iohn. 1.

† Athanasius
de incarnat.
verbi dei.

z Post edita per facta diuinitatis sue 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, utpote immortale

immortale, corpus sibi sumpsit, quod mori poterat; illudque ut suū pro omnibus obtulit, ut ita pro omnibus, omnibus ipse corpore coniunctus, mortem patiens, 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 repressse him that had power of death, euen the Diuell, and free those, that for feare of death were all their life long subiected to seruitude. Epiphanius treadeth in the same

²Epipha. hæc
ref. 69.

steppes. ² When the sonne of God (saith he) would suffer of his owne good will for mankinde, because his diuinitie coulde not suffer, beeing of it selfe impassible, hee tooke ἡμῶν παθητὸν σῶμα, 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. ² *Laqueus contritus est, & nos liberati sumus. Non potuit melius conteri laqueus nisi prædam aliquam diabolo demonstrasset, ut dum ille festinaret ad prædam, suis laqueis ligaretur. Qua potuit esse præda nisi corpus? Oportuit igitur*

² Ambros. in
Lucam. lib. 4
de duct. Christi
in desertum

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 beleue he tooke a true bodie. **To the vnbelæuer asking,** Shall I beleue 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 vilde, and brought with him his heauenlie, which were strange. If thou

^a Idē de incarn. sacrament. ca. 7

^b August. de verbis domini secundum Iohann. serm 42.

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the nailes, or the rest of the woundes, ἀπαθὲς γὰρ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι καὶ ἀσώματον, the Deitie coulde 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 πάσχοντι σώματι; He that coulde not suffer was then in his bodie which suffered. 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, tasted 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 euen 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 Council at Alexandria, and there with one consent, they approoued the trueeth, and sent it vnto Nestorius to bee confessed in these woordes amongst others; f 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 him bee accursed. Dilating this and the rest of their Articles in their Synodall Epistle sent to Nestorius, they saie, g Wee confesse that the onelie begotten God, euen the sonne borne of God his father, though hee were impassible in his owne nature, yet suffered hee in his flesh for vs according to the Scriptures; καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ σαρωθέντι σώματι, τὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς ἀπαθὴς ὁ μείζωνος πάθῃ; 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 τὸ αὐτῷ ἰδίον σῶμα, when he gaue his owne bodie vnto death. This doctrine came to bee scanned in the third generall Council helde at Ephesus,**

f Synod. Alex-
and. anathe-
matismus. 12.

g Epistola Sy-
nodi Alex-
andrinæ ad
Nestorium in-
ter Cyril. epist.
10.

^hEphesus, and being there deliberat else read, was worde for ^hEphesin. con-
 worde allowed of the whole Councell, as agréable to the ^hcilii. Sess. I.
 Scriptures and the Nicene fathers. The like approbation it
 had, not onelie in the Councell of Constantinople vnder Flu-
 uianus, but in the great councell of Chalcedon, where the pro-
 ceedings of both these Councels were a fresh examined, ⁱ.Concil.Chal-
 and the former wordes of Cyrill repeated and confirmed, ^{cedon. act. I}
 with the full consent of that general Councel, as most sound
 and catholike.

So that he shall ill deserue the name of a christian, that
 after so manie fathers, and Councels, both Prouinciall 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 Scrip-
 tures, that Christs crucifying and dying must bee refer-
 red 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 as-
 scribe 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 con-
 iunction with her bodie, but they shew what part of Christs
 manhoode suffered the crosse and death, that the Scrip-
 tures so much speake of, and whereby wee are redee-
 med and reconciled vnto God. One place repeated
 in the Councell of Ephesus, maie serue in steede of manie,
 to declare their meaning. ^k Howe can the Creator of all
 thnges, who is neither visible, palpable, nor mutable, sustaine ^k Interrogatio
 the Crosse and death? Wee saie the sonne of God sustained & respõ. in cõ-
 the Crosse and death in his owne flesh, that hee might deli- ^{cil. Ephesino}
 uer vs from death and corruption. Hee laide downe his soule ^{propositæ}
 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.

τάυτης ἰδίον τὸ ἀδνημονεῖν, τὸ λύπην ὑπομένειν, ἢ ἐκδημεῖν ἀπὸ
 τῆς σωματικῆς; ὡς καὶ σαρκὸς ἢ κοπιᾶν, ἢ σαυρῆσαι, τὸ ἀνίστα-
 σθαι. It is proper to the soule to bee pen siue, to feele paine and
 grieffe, 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 senne 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
 discoꝝding both from the scriptures, and all the Catholike fa-
 thers, that either haue priuatelie testified the truth by their
 writings, or publike confirmed it by their assemblies. And
 as for your hellish paines, when your selfe can tell what they
 are, and make some better pꝛofe, 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 mane mon-
 sters in Christian Religion, then matters to perswade a-
 ny 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 euerie where so secondeth his
 badde cause with woorse pꝛoofes; but where better foode
 wanteth, Rokes are good meate, and blacke Moores
 maie bee beautifull, when others bee awate. I woulde
 heere make an ende of his first parte, but that as his
 manner is, when hee hath stumbled absurdlie a long
 while at hell hee steppeth on the suddaine as vnhand-

¹ Pag. 80:

“sonnelie to heauen. ¹ Knowe therefore (saieth hee) hell, as we
 take it is euen in this life founde sometime, as heauen is like-

² Pag. 81

“wise; for as ^m touching materiak fire in hell, what a toyish
 fable

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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 * 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 most needes REIOYCE in it; this position is verie true, but plainelic opposite to your imagination of hell paines. For then most there in this life bee no more felte of hell, but the PEARE thereof, and the grieffe arising from that feare; euen as the HOPE of heauen maintaineth our loye. Nowe in Christ coulde neither the feare of hell possible bee founde, nor anie grieffe, or sorrowe arising from anie such feare, since there was

²Hebre. 11.

¹ Pag. 71.

²Hebre. 12.

³ Pag. 68.

⁴Hebre. 11.

⁵ Psal. 51.

⁶ Pag. 81.

“ in his soule no wante of faith nor hope, *no^y not anie the*
 “ *lestst diminution* of either, as your selfe confesse; but as
 the Apostle saith, ² FOR THE IOY THAT VVAS SET
 BEFORE HIM he endured the (paine of the) crosse, and de-
 spised the shame. And here you may see by your owne com-
 parison the follie of your owne assertion. For if your hellish
 “ sorrow³ 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 sal-
 uation annexed 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
 loyes 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 con-
 ceites 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 more fables then I doe,
 you might haue spared not euerie leafe, but euerie line in
 this

this your vnadvised pamphlet. I spake not in my sermon one word either of materiall, or corporall fire in hell, but I binged 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.

c This (you saie) is great iniquity, yea plaine sophistry to am-
plifie 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 would haue taken the name of hell metapho-
ricallie for great and exceeding paines, this question had
bene sooner calmed, and our Creede freed from your newe
found exposition. But to father your opinion vpon the creed
with moze likelihood, where the word hell is properlie taken,
(though you now hatch vs a newe signification of hell out of
Socrates,) you then binged as your selfe in this present confu-
sation do still bidge, that Christ must haue the ^f FULL VVAIGHT
AND BURDEN of our sinnes laid vpon him, and ^e 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
FULL 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 easier
nishment should satisfie for a greater sinne, and ^k of all absurdi-
ties 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-
rowes DVE TO THE DAMNED. Without anie

^e Pag. 80.

^f Pag. 28.

^e 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 sinnes, and THE SAME PRICE which we should haue paide, 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 vnfaie all these positions before you can auoid that which I obiect. If Christ did, and must by Gods iustice suffer the VVHOLE, the SAME, and ALL that was due to vs for our sinnes; the we nie, good Sir, I praye you (for I confesse it passeth my reach) how you can free him from the darknes, destruction, reprobation, malediction, worne or fire of hel? yea those words, if you looke not well to them, and rebate them in time with some fresh write, they wil carrie with them both the PLACE AND PERPETVITY of hell; for both these were DVE to our sinnes, 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 trulte what is the consequent of them, and leaue those wordes, and then your most holie trueth is left naked without the w or shadow of p^roofe. 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, (*Sir Refuter,*) that you strue to cast water on it; giue mee
leauē

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Apoc. 21.

**⁂ Matt. 25
⁂ 2. Thessa. 1**

⁂ 2. Pet. 3

**⁂ August. de
grat. & lib. ar-
bitr. cap. 3**

**⁂ Hierony. in 2.
Thessa. ca. 1**

**⁂ Ambros. in,
3. Thessa. ca. 1**

**⁂ Chrysoft. in
2. Thessa. ca. 1**

them are set forth for an ensample, and suffer the vengeance of eternall fire. ^u The fearefull and vnbeleeuing, the abhominable and murtherers, 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 lie 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 know not God. ^b In flaming fire rendering vengeance; this (saith) Ierome) *Paul* speaketh against them because they dreamp of the paine of conscience, and thought this impossible. If the flaine 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

for the clearing of certain objections. 343

the onely sight of a deade man so quail 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 objections 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 learnedly refuted, and plautie resolved, that all these toys notwithstanding, the fire of hell is not onely a TRUE fire, which were my words, but a CORPORAL fire that shall punish both men and diuels; at which you so much wonder. ^e *Mitti in gehennam ignis, ubi vermis eorum non moritur, & ignis non extinguitur, non piguit. vno loco eadem verbater dicere. Quem non terreat ista repetitio, & illius pena comminatio tam vehemens ore diuino?* To be cast into hell fire, where their worme dieth not, and the fire quenched 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 fitly taken for burning grieffe; as the Apostle speaketh, ^f who is offended, and I burne not? the same kinde of ^e *2. Corin, 11.* grieffe they thinke, may be vnderstood by the worme; for so it is written, ^g As the worme wasteth woode, so doeth grieffe ^g *Prouerb. 25* 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 LIKE LIE, 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

^e August. de ciuitate dei. lib. 21. cap. 9

^f 2. Corin, 11.

^g Prouerb. 25

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^h Ecclesiast. 7

ſcripture in theſe wordes ſuppreſſeth the grieſe of the ſoule, becauſe it followeth as a conſequent, though it be not expreſſed, that the bodie being ſo tormented, the ſoule muſt likewise bee afflicted with an vnfruitfull repentance. For it is writte 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 marueilous power of the Almighty Creator; which to be poſſible whoſoeuer 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 properly to the bodie, or to the ſoule, by a kinde of tranſlation of thinges corporall to ſpiritual, 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 grieſe 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 being 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 ſtrange and vnſpeakeable manner: Faſtened I ſaie, to receiue torment from the fire, not to giue

ⁱ Idem de ciuitate dei lib. 21. cap. 10

^k Matth. 25.

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mountaine euer burning doe still continue, and he that is blasted from heauen liueth and turneth not to ashes. This is a testimonie of that eternall fier, this is an example of that perpetuall iudgement, which maintaineth punishmēt. The hills burne and dure; how then shall the wicked and the enemies of God?

o Lactant. de
diuino præ-
mio li. 7. ca. 21.

Lactantius in like sort: ° 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 indissoluble 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. Cyprian is often and earnest in

p Cyprian. ad
Demetrianū.

this cause: ¶ *Cremabit addictos ardens semper gehenna, & uacibus flammis vorax pœna, nec erit unde habere tormenta vel quietem 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 lau-
de martyrij.

ease or end. And againe, ¶ *Saniens locus cui gehenna nomen est, eructantibus flammis per horrendam spisse caliginis noctem, seu semper incendia camini fumantis expirat; globus ignium atratus obstruitur, & in varios pœnae exitus relaxatur*: The cruell place, which is called hell, casteth vp fearfull fiers, like a burning chimney, the flames breaking through the horrible darknes of y^e thick mist; a whole globe of blackish fier standing and resolving into diuers sorts of torments. ¶ *Stridorem illum Dentium flammæ inextinguibiles agitant, immortales miseri viuēt inter incendia, & inconsumptibiles flammæ nudū corpus allambent*: Vnquenchable flames shall force that gnashing of teeth, immortall wretches shall liue in the midst of fier, and flames neuer consuming shall wrap their naked bodies: Hell as Chrysofome writeth, hath fier and darknes, but far woysse then these which we are ac-

r Idem de as-
censione chri-
sti.

quainted.

quainted with. For if there be fier (saith he) how is there darknesse? thou seest that fier is more grieuous 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 terrific, and trouble our hearts, what shall it do when such griefes & flames of fier come with it?

f Chrysoft. in
hebr. ca. 1.
homilia. 1.

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 Aetna & Vesuuius, 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 tempestina supplicia rediuis quoque perpetua corporibus poena 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. Aetna, Lisaniculus, and Vesuuius in Campania doe cast out vnceasing, flames of fier, and to manifest to vs the perpetuitie 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.) y^e *Christus in suo tunc terrore videbitur, eique ignis iudicij in reproborum vindicta famulabitur, quia videlicet Ignis ille iudicij, qui caelum, aerem, & terram concremat, peccatores insoluit; quos proculdubio in poena 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-

t Minutius
Felix in Octa-
uio.

u Pacianus in
parænesi ad
pœnitentiam.

x Lactantius
lib. 7. ca. 20.
x Eusebius de
vita Constant.
x August. de
ciuitate Dei
li. 18. ca. 23.
y Greg. in E-
zechiel ho-
mil. 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 doubtlesse it crusheth in the torment of their damnation. z *¶* Yea, 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 Propbets and Apostles, and receiued by the Fathers in all ages in Christs Church, that the **FIRE** of hell shalbe **VISIBLE** and **SENSIBLE** to the bodie of the wicked, and shall **ETERNALLY** and **CORPORALLY** punish the damned according to their deserts without quenching it selfe, or consuming the? And your foolish Philosophie that things corporall cannot worke vpon things spiritual, must giue 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 spirituall, 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 follow; 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 ascensione Christi.

From slender reasons you come (Sir Refuter) to slenderer authorities; and though you quote but few, and not one of
them

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that he suffered for vs. The very next words that are his
 s wne, (for he interposeth a place of Scripture, that in his
 flesh Christ dissolved our eninitie with God, and healed vs
 with his stripes) are these. *a Ex quo perspicuum est, sicut cor-
 pus flagellatum & laceratum, ita animam verè doluisse pro nobis.*
 Whereby it is euident, that as his bodie was whipped and torne,
 so his soule truely sorrowed for vs. Here you must be permit-
 ted 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 un-
 derstand, 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 voluisti intelligi qui deseri à Deo propter peccata
 meruerant, quorum reconciliationis causam agibas,* 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 vndertooke. So S. Austen expounded those words of
 Christ, My God, my God why hast thou forsaken me? *d Illa vox
 membrorum ipsius vox 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 therfore expounding himselfe in the next
 sentence, he saith, *e In tantum infirmis compateris, ut nec cru-
 cifigi, nec mori, dum illi uiuant & non pereant, 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 bring in your hellish sorrowes against 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 plate of Ambrose, you reiected them as *fond and false*, ^{» f Pag. 67.} and now with the bare name of sorrow you think Ambrose dreamt of your hell paines. If you shalme 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 lea- ueth 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, vn- lesse you peruert them at your pleasure. The words next going before are these: *g Gloriosa Dei professio, vsque ad mor- tem se pro nostris descendisse peccatis, vel euident manifestatio*

*In Lucæ. ca. 23. de com- mendatione spiritus.

contestantis Dei secessionem Diuinitatis & CORPORIS. It was

g Ambros. ibidem.

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 alleage 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

h Hebre. 10.

Ambrose writing vpon these words alleaged by Paul, ⁱ thou hast fitted me a bodie, saith; *Hoc ex persona dicitur eius, qui CORPORVS SVSCEPIT nostre 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.

i Ambros. in Hebre. ca. 10.

^k *Vna quippe oblatio corporis Christi perfectos facit sanctificatos que remissionem integram facit peccatorum.* The one OBLATI-

k Ibidem.

ON OF THE BODIE OF CHRIST maketh perfect, such as be sanctified, and giueth full remission of finnes. If you thinke

Ambrose mistake the matter; heare Athanasius. ^l *A nobis si- mili corpore mutuo, eo quod omnes mortis corruptioni obnoxij essemus, pro omnibus* ID I P SVM in mortem deditum patri suo

l Athanas. de incarnatione verbi Dei.

352 The conclusion to the Reader,

SACRIFICAVIT, *ut homines à morte ad vitam* CORPORE suo, quod proprium sibi fecit, renocaret. IMMOLATIONE enim SVI CORPORIS & legi nobis infesta finem posuit, & primordium vitæ nobis renouavit spe resurrectionis nobis data. The son of God BORROWING FROM VS A BODIE LIKE OVS, 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 mentioned befoze, 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 sauour. But of the true sacrifice for sinne, which Christ offered, I haue spoken enough befoze, 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 agræ to the soule of Christ, though the bodie without a soule could be no reasonable sacrifice; & therefore I exclude not the soule whose obedience, innocence, & 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 Tertullian, & there you find that which I neuer doubted of. ⁿ The Son suffered, forsaké of his father. *Hæc vox est animæ & corporis, id est hominis.* This was the voice of soule & bodie, that is of man. Did you thinke the body could speak without the soule, befoze 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 ioynd 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

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Christ, they could not haue profited vs; neither doe we at any 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 befoze at their hands, which put him to death. But these paines and sorrowes of Christs soule, you saie, MAKE NOT TO OVR REDEMPTION, and vnlesse the soule properlie and immediatlie (not from, or by her bodie) feels hellish paines and sorrowes, 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 in daede, if it be vrged & 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 egregious lyes, that *not the most or the best, BVT ALL AND EVERY ONE, both churches and writers in the world, that are protestants, teach as you doe, and that your doctrine is publickly authorized 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 (Sp; confuter) if you haue this proppertie of Mydas y you can turne all Fathers, Churches, writers, and lawes with touching them, to be of your opinion, you must haue Mydas eares too; vnlesse you loke better about you. Such an insolēt and impudent speech would well become an ale-house, where no mā should beare you; but in the face of the world to bray after this sort is tolerable in no man, but in you, that neither know what you say, nor see what you should prooue, nor vnderstand what maketh with you or against you. You no sooner reade in any new or olde mention of Gods wrath, or of death, but you straight fancies that he meaneth 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 publkely approved by the lawes of this Realme , & your frenzies; that Christ DIED the DEATH of the SOVLE; that the VVHOLE CURSE of God was erected 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 liue ether in his humane soule, or by the same; these and an hundred such absurdities and impieties haue no allowance in the bookes 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 angustly euen vnto death; and forced the weaknesse of his humane flesh to crye, 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 paynefull and sharpe, you make light account of; *the theeues crucified with Christ. suffered, you say, as great bodily violence as he did; yea wicked & vngodly men indure with boldnes & great ioy far more exquisite & barbarous torments & sharper tortures, as touching the body, then Christ could* Pag. 51

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endure, and therefore in plaine words you saie, *such follie in the sonne of God, beest farre from you once to imagine, as that he should stagger, shrink or faile for any corporal tormentes what soeuer;* forgetting what Ambrose writeth; *Neque enim habent fortitudinis laudem, qui stuporem magis vulnerum tulerunt, quam dolorem:* it can haue no praise of fortitude to be desperately confirmed, rather then patientlie subiected vnto paine of tormentes.

Ambros. in
Lucæ ca. 22.
de Tristitia
Christi.

Aug. tractat.
in Iohan. 36.

Bernard. de
passione Chri-
sti. cap. 5

And what Austē confesseth, *Nihil erat tunc IN CARNE INTOLERABILIVS*, there was nothing more intolerable in the flesh then the crosse of Christ; as likewise that Bernarde resolueth *Nec aliquo modo dubitandum, quin infirmitatem & exterminationem corporis incomparabilem sustinuerit;* it must not be doubted, but Christ suffered incomparable weakenes and torment of body. For this if you did strine, it were to be tolerated; so that which no father euer testified, nor scripture euer affirmed, when you shew your selfe so eager; you betray your humor, you benefit not your cause.

Thou hast heard christian Reader, what things I haue misliked in the first part of this opponents pamphlet; but nothing more then this, that he wasteth so manie wordes, and neither expresseth what hee meaneth, nor proueth what hee pretendeth. All that he hath saide is this in effect; Christ suffered 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 cloudes, and descendeth not to particulars, meaneth to hide his heade vnder the Couert of these generalities when neede is; and out of these to fashion to himselfe such assertions as please best his humour. The waye 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 sufferings accord with the rules and groundes of the scriptures, or no. And this I forgetell, because if hee or any other for him bee disposed to reuue his cause, hee must not bring

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is priviledge surelie, and verie honorable. All men would thinke it
 a greater honour neuer to haue come 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 ouer 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 ouer them in his owne
 person, (for 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 vp the ghost. What letteth them I praise 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 p^rincipallities, & made a shew
 of them openly, and triumphed ouer 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; & 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 subduing of
 hell

Pag. 156.

^b Philip. 2.

Coloff. 2.

^c Pag. 156.

^d Pag. 159.

^e pag. 156.

^f Ephes. 4.

^g pag. 163

^h 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 ⁱkeyes ⁱReuel.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 restrain and ^kbind Satan at his will and pleasure. As the performance and assurance of these things no commodity nor benefit to the godlie? [*The redemption of Gods elect, was (you say) fully finished on the Crosse.*] Deserued and obtained it ²was 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 justification. 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. ¹Christ humbled himselfe, & became ¹Philip.2. obedient vnto y death of the crosse. Wherefore (that is euen for that his humilitie & obedience) God hath highly exalted him & giuen him a name aboue euerie name; that at the name of Iesus should euery 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 shewed the fruite thereof; and tend all to our good, since wee are presentlie secured from the power of hell and Satan, and shall be certainerly 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 needs haue damned vs without hoping; now in his Resurrection as euery Enemy was most mighty, so was there most need he should be subdued. But hereof I haue spoken so largelic before that I shall not neede to rehearse it againe; with turning the

page it maie soone bee seene.

" *Pag 148.* " [But ^m The Scriptures (you tell vs,) are cleare-
 " ly against Christs going to Hell. For this daie (says Christ
 " *Page. 150.* " to the theefe), thou shalt bee with mee in Paradise. " All
 " this must needs 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^roofes, then you crie, this is ridiculous and toyish. Go like
 your selfe, and looke to the ridiculous toyes that you bring
 vs in euery page almost. You would p^rouue, forsooth, that the
 SCRIPTURES ARE CLEARE against Christs being in
 hell at anie time betwéene 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, no^r anie thing néere it; then you helpe it
 " *Pag. 152.* " with outcries, and saie; ° There is no man of sense considering
 " these circumstances that can iudge otherwise. But will your
 wisdom 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 childish amplificati-
 ons that you haue brought vs to the contrarie, are not
 worth a nut-shell to conteruaile *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 deuils one by one,
 and call their names to see who were absent. You haue for-
 gotten

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greater favour, power, or protection be shewed to the soule of Christ, then for God in raising him from the dead; not onelie to treade death, but even 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 be comprised,) to be deliuered vnto him; and to be 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 be a vile debasement, I knowe not what glorie meaneth. The purpose then of Christs 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 dissolved and spoyled 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 be 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 Christs Crosse, then his resurrection from the dead doeth the third daie after his death, and all things finished on the Crosse, needefull to be suffered for our redemption; which in your franticke humour you seeme to detest as ^aBLASPHEMVS.

[The prooffe that hee went thither, you will saie, is all; if that were once cleered, the rest woulde soone be 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 looke; If you like them not, giue mee some reason besides your
 owne

^a 1. Cor. 15.

² Ephes. 5.

⁷ Mat. 25.
 Acts 9.

² Pag. 156.

owne rousing conceit, and it shall bee, some answered. [It is no where written in the Scriptures you, will saie.] Saint y Austen iudicially and resolutely telleth you, it is written in the Prophet David, 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 leave 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 unfit, corrupt and starke naught. For this I affirme, it is onelie the Fathers abusive speaking, and altering the vsuall and auuncient sense of Hades, that hath bredde this error of Christes descending into hell. Their vnapt and perilous translating into Latine, 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 auuncientest of them to alter and chaunge the authenticke use 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 authentically the peoples giuing of voices in election: Kleros, to signifie onelie the Cleargie, when it signifyeth 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[n] of these wordes, and speciallie of our worde most in question, that is Hades. They haue much altered and changed the authenticke and true use thereof. You begin nowe to shewe your selfe in your right hie. 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.

364. The conclusion to the Reader,

came of late to bring vs newes of Socrates fanſie, and Ciceros diuinitie to correct the Creede; Ignatius, Clemens, Origen, Athanaſius, Eusebius, Baſil, Nazianzene, Epiphanius, Chryſoſtome, Cyril, Eufſathius, Theodorete, with a thouſand moze 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 boies 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 vp to reſtoze 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 boies haue now in Paules 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. We muſt bee as farre infected with this frenzie as you your ſelfe 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; namely, χειροτονία and κληρος] 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**?

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so manie learned and religions fathers of ignorance and corruption; which in such a companion as you are, might well be beléved; in men of their religion and iudgement can by no reason be mistrusted. This by the way, because you glance at *χεροτονία*, though therein you accuse not me that allege them, but the fathers themselves as corrupters of church discipline, and perverters of their own language; howbeit it hades is now in question and not *ἠλῆρος*, or *χεροτονία*; 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 Greek tongue do use HADES in proper sense only in generall for the STATE OF THE DEADE, the WORLD OF THE DEADE, the WORLD OF SOULES DEPARTED, indifferently, and indefinitely, meaning as wel those in eternal ioyes, as those in paines.]

1. Corinth: 4

Labour you (Sir Refuter,) to bring into the creede the martir bones of a græke phrase, or an article of the christian 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 speach 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 christian religion. What if it were true, which here as your manner is, you avouch with a brazen face, y Homer, Plato, & Plutarch did so vse the word; is it therefore & 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 truth, and serue Gods will? The græke wordes for Apostle, elder, Bishop, Deacon, Gospell, Scripture, faith, hope, repentance, sinne, the law, conscience, concupisence, and infinite such like, doe they not with Pagans import one thing, with Christians an other thing, and that by the warrant of Gods worde? touching hell it selfe; with your classicall writers

ters, 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 δαιμονίας; of Socrates spirit; which thing also Plato mentioneth in his Apologie and dialogue *De sapientia*, meaneth not Socrates Diuell; neither doth Inocrates prescribe vnto Demonius by this rule, ἴμα τὸ δαιμόνιον, that hee shoulde worship the diuell, but rather God; and yet by that word the new testamēt and the Septuagint in the olde intend onelie 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 deriueh that word from colde; τάρταρος ὑπὸ ψυχρόπτος κέκλητ'. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἠσίοδος εἰπῶν τάρταρον ἠερσέντα. καὶ τὸ εἰγδντα πάλλεσαι καὶ ζέμειν, 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 prison in hell, and saith, S. Peter when hee telleth howe God condemned the Angels, taketh all the words from *Homer* and HIS PROSE COMMENTARIE. If he meane Eustachius the Christian Bishop, it is a foule oversight; 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. Nowe if δαιμόνιον, διάβολος, and τάρταρος haue other significations and acceptions with the masters (as you make them) of the gréeke tongue, yet in the newe 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 Poets

Apud Athen.

Plutarch. de primo frigido.

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Poets, and prophane Philosophers helde of HADES were false and repugnant to the christian faith, howe could the canonicall writers of the new testament vse the word, and not change the sense: dare you so much as dreame, that the holy Ghost woulde canonize the Poets fables and the Philosophers fantasies of the world to come? or if you be so foolish, as to forget the difference betwæne light and darknes, truth & falshood, wil any wise man entertaine your pectical 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 finitelie, 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 classicall writers; and if your cunning in the greeke Poets bee no profounder, the boies in Grammer scholes will deride it. I prae 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 (christian Reader) I must prae 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 displaid. I will saie no moze then I must needes, and omit what is not materiall.

Homer the first and eldest of your classicall writers imagineth that the three sonnes of Saturnus, whom hee supposeth to bee Gods, deuided the gouernement of the whole worlde betwæne them; Iupiter taking the skie and the aire; Neptune the water, with her dépes and riuers: and Pluto the heart of the earth with all the dead of what sort soeuer. This thirde
sonne

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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 punish-
 ment 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 iudge-
 ment 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 vnmeeetē for that condition. To whome *Iu-*
piter aunswered, I will see it redressed. The iudgements are
 therefore now amisse, because they that are iudged are couered
 round, for they are iudged alieue, and so many that haue wicked
 foules are compassed with beauty, nobility, & riches, and manie
 come to the place of iudgement, & depose they liued honestlie,
 and so the iudges are astonished; as also the iudges theselues are
 clogged, hauing their foules 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 new-
 ly 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* & *Rhadam-*
anthus 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 foules of Asia shall be
 iudged

for the clearing of certain objections. 371

judged by *Rhadamāthus*, & those of Europe by *Aeacus*, to *Minos* 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 shall send soules to their places. This is that which 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 within *Plutoes* kingdom vnder y^e earth, which they call *H A D E S*: there 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 either *Ulisess* descent to *H A D E S* described by *Homer* in the 11. book of his *Odiseas*, or *Aeneas* iourney to hel, set forth by *Virgil* in the first booke of his *Aeneidos*, or *Dyonisius* boiage to see *Euripides*, expressed by *Aristophanes*, as also the like adventures of *Hercules* & *Theseus* mentioned by *Euripides*, & others, & you shall see *T H E W O R L D O F T H E D E A D*, or *T H E W O R L D O F S O U L E S*, be they good or bad, to be in *Plutoes* kingdom, which the greek Poets call *H A D E S*: & therefore unless 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 *Homer's* *H A D E S*, to expounde the *Creede*. And were you permitted so to doe, what gaine you by it? For *Homer's* *H A D E S* 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 & authenticall exposition *Christ* did descend, if the *H A D E S* be receaued into the *creede*.

[But *Plato* the wise Maister taketh it sometime for heauen; 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 nable, pure, and inuisible, in *H A D E S*; in truth to a good and wise God; whither if God will my soule shall presently goe.] Did you not propose *Plato* to be an expounder of the *Creede*; and preferre him as a wise maister be-

Plutarch. de consolatione ad Appollonium ad finem.

Aristophanes in ranis
Euripides in Hercule furente.

deus. sic. s. s. s. s. s.

¶ Tertullian de
anima.

for all the fathers, because you thinke hee fittest your humour right, I coulde suffer him to haue his praise; but in this case I must saie of him as Tertullian doeth; *Doleo bona fide Platonem omnium hereticorum condimentorium factum; Illius est enim & in Phadone, quod anima hinc eunt, & inde hinc;* I am sorie in good sadnesse that Plato is becom 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 received persuasion of the people. The conceite it selfe is full of pride, error, and paganish 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; Englande (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 how well you deserue of Christian religion to make the saintes to rest, and Christ to raigne either in Platoes heauen, or in Homers hades.

¶ Aristophanes
in Ranis.

For the first it is euident; the Poets all with one consent placed HADES BELOWE VNDER THE EARTH, and not aboue 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
to

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gods (or Angels) doe feare. Where in olde Greeke and good
divinitie H A D E S is severed from heauen, sea, and earth,
and consequentlie must be properlie H E L L. And so if you
runne over all the Poets, you shall finde that with one ge-
nerall consent they placed Hades not onelie κατω below, but
υποχθονος, vnder the earth. This was the opinion of the peo-
ple. * The common people (saith Lucian) perswaded by Ho-
mer, Hesiodus, and the rest of the poets, and taking their poems
for a law τὸ ποντίνα ὑπὸ τῆ γῆ βαθὺν ἀβυσσὴν ὑπελήφασιν, beleeue
H A D E S to be a deepe place vnder the earth; and that Pluto
Iupiters brother raigneth ouer that gulph, the kingdome of the
deade falling to him by lotte, and hee ordering howe they
shall liue there belowe. The place was so called from the
name of the person whome they supposed to bee gover-
nour of it; otherwise H A D E S was the proper name of
Pluto, as Plato himselfe confesseth in Cratylo, ὁ δὲ ἀδης
οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν μοι δουρῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸ ἀειδὲς προσειρη-
δαι πᾶσι ὀνόματι τῷ, καὶ φοβούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα, πλάτωνα καὶ
λέγουσιν αὐτὸν. As for H A D E S 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 P L V T O.

And howsoeuer Socrates in that place, with a very false and
fond reason goeth about to proue, that the name of H A D E S,
as hee thinketh was not thence deriued but rather ἀπὸ τῶ
πάντα τὰ καλὰ ἀειδέσθαι, from knowing al good things; which in
deede is but a leese, and by no possibilitie can come within the
compasse of that word; yet both Plutarch, and the prose com-
mentator vpon Homer, neglect this utterly; and uphold that
which Socrates refused. τὸ ἀειδὲς αὐτῶ καὶ ἀχρασον, ἀδης
καὶ ἀχέρας ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχον. Hades and Acheron (saith Plu-
tarch) haue their names from (the aire) that is not seene, nor hath
any colour. And in his discourse, whether a secreete and silent
life be best, or no, Plutarch propoeth this etymologie as true

elder the Socrates saith. τὸν ἡλιον ἀπέλλαν ἀ κατὰ τὰς πα-
τρίδας καὶ παλαιὰς θεομῆδους νομίζοντες Δῆλιον καὶ Πύθειον προσα-
γο-

* Lucianus de
luctu

Plato in
Cratylo.

Plutarch de
primo frigido.

Plutarch de
occulte viuēdo

for the clearing of certain objections. 375

ἠγορεύσει: τὸν δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας κλίτον μοῦσας εἶπε θεὸς εἴτε Δαίμων, εἴτε ἄδην ὀνομάξουσιν, ἀλλ' ἴδω εἰς αἴδης καὶ ἀθάνατον ἡμῶν, ὅταν διαλυθῶμεν, βασιζόντων, νικητὸς αἴδης ἀεθ' ἀλλοιοθ' ὕπνου κόρανον. Men ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT TRADITIONS OF THEIR FATHERS, thinking the sunne to be Apollo, named him Delius, and Pythius. And the RULER of the contrarie destinie (to life and light) whether he bee a God, or a DIVEL, they termed HADES, being the MASTER of dark night, and dead sleepe; for that when wee depart hence, wee go into an ynknowne and vnseene place. So that Socrates determination of Hades was both false and newe, even as his opinion 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 wilking; and though God of his goodnes bestoweth everlasting 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 unalterable rigor of Gods iustice. Eustathius upon Homers wordes, that Achilles sent many a worthie soule to HADES, saith; ἐστὶ γὰρ αἴς τόπος σκοτεινός ὑπὸ γῆν, ἀφανής, ἀφανισμένος ψυχαῖς αἴς, is a darke place vnder the earth, not to be seene, appointed for soules, and is deriued from α the privative, and εἶδω to see, and is called also αἴδης, and by contraction HADES. So when Homer bringeth in Hectors wife complaining of her miserie and saying; Πσὺ μὲν αἴδαιο δόμας ὑπὸ κένθεσι γάνεσσι ἔρχεαι, Thou husband art gone to HADES house vnder the dennes of the earth. Eustathius addeth; τόπος ἐστὶν ὑπὸ γαίης, καὶ ἔτι κενουμένον; ἀλλ' ὁ αἴδης λέγεται ἢ γὰρ ἀπὸ ἀφανῆς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν. This is a place vnder the earth, and so hidde from vs. Therefore it is called Hades, that is an invisible aire, which wee can

...
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Plato in Cratyl.

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...

Iliad. 22

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.

In dialog.
Acaci & Me-
nippi.

How Paganish, and not onelie ridiculous but blasphemous Platoes heauen is, appeareth by this, that Socrates maketh SVVANNES his fellow seruants to Phoebus, & imagineth they sing that day they die, *ἔροειδότες τὰ ἐν ἄδῃ ἀγαθὰ*, FORESEEING THE GOOD THINGS THEY SHALL HAVE IN HADES. And further saith that when they perceiue they must die, then chiefly and most of al they sing *γεγυθότες ὅτι μέλλοσι παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀπιέναι ὅπερ εἰσὶ θεράποντες*; 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 Confuter, in the abundance of your wit, note to prove 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 wordes are expressly these; *ἢ τῶν εἰμῶν ἐσιν εἰς τοῖστον πάλιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι 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 καθαρῶ ἀπιόντι ἔθελμις ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἄλλα, ἢ τῶ φιλομαθεῖ.* It is fit that such (swales) should returne againe into some such politicall and tame kinde either of BEE'S, VVAISPES, OR EMMETS; & after that into men again. But into the kinred of the Gods it is not lawfull for anie to come that hath not bene a Philosopher, and verie pure at his departing hence. Other's that were slothfull and filled the bellies, hee saith must be turned into Ases; and such other
beastes

Plato in Phaedone.

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Plato in Phaedone.

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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 O R 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 foꝛ 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? Look but in the latter end of this booke, which you alleage foꝛ this very purpose: and there you shall see what prettie fantasies Socrates hath of another inuisible earth farre aboue this, and waters likewise, and trees, and flowers, and frutes, 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; *τὰς αὐτῶν ἰδέειν, ἣν ὁ ἀπὸ ἡδονῶν διατῶν*, That to see that earth is the sight of the blessed. But what be these wicked fantasies either to the Creede or to Christian Religion? Seeing therefore your Greeke 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 foꝛ the iust soules, as the prisons and dungeons foꝛ the brutish; and this fantastical conceite of Socrates touching a speciall place foꝛ himselfe and such Philosophers as hee was, together with Swannes, beastes, trees, flowers, frutes, 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

Creede;

† 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 infidels did; since the holy Ghost onely knoweth and speaketh trueth; 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 vtterlie 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 needs be hell, howsoeuer to beat out your broken matter you beginne halfe to doubt where hell is.

; [*The authenticke authors of the Greeke tongue used hades for the place of the blessed soules (you say) and not properlie for hell. So Leonidas cheered up his men not to feare such a blessed death; to suppe in hell had beene 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 aboue 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 heaven, for such as Achilles sue, 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 ψυχὰι ἄνδ' ἐξ ἑρέβου :

The soules flocked together out of Erebus; now ἑρέβου is the very place where the Poets place Cerberus, and whence the same Poet saith, Hercules

b Iliad. 8.

b Ἐξ ἑρέβου ἄξοντα κύνα σαρπη αἰδέου :

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 τίκνον ἰμὸν πῶς ἦλθες ὑπὸ ζόφῳν ἠερόεντα,

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 ἢ δὲ μετ' ἄλλας ψυχὰς εἰς ἑρέβου :

Hee went away to other soules in Erebus. Where Vlisses saith hee saw Sisyphus

e Ibid.

e κρατὶρ' ἀλγί' ἔχοντα,

Suffering grieuous torments, as also Titius and Tantalus to endure the like. Where he saw

f Ibid.

f εἶδωλον αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανατοῖσι θεοῖσι :

πέρπαται. Hercules strength a Ghost: for hee himselfe was in ioye with the immortall Gods. Where Achilles spirite took so small comfort, that when Vlisses said, & There is

g Odiss. 11.

none

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i Æneidos 6. as went to see his father Anchises, i Virgil your authent-
 k Pag. 101. ticke authoz maketh besides Tartarus,^k and your goodly Elisi-
 " an fields the eternall habitation (as you call it) of the blessed,
 l Æneidos 6. many lodgings. As first for sicknes, care, weeping, pouertie,
 labour, warres, discord, dreames, and death, besides for Cen-
 taures, Briareus, Hidra, Chimera, Gorgon, Harpies, and Gerion,
 and fundrie other monsters. There wander the Ghosts whose
 bodies are not buried a hundred yearc before they can get ouer
 the foule and filthie river of Styx. The other side of Styx, is
 kept by Cerberus the Dogge with three 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 themselves, 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 Troians 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
 driueth thee,

Vt tristes sine sole domos, loca turbida adires,

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 with fierie Phleg-
 ron, and there are the punishments of the wicked; then
 Plutoes palace, and on the right hand, *Amena vireta
 fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beate*, 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 dranke 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 latice & longa oblivia potant.

The soules who by destinie are to take bodies the second time; doe here at the River of Lethe drinke the waters of utter forgetfulness, no way remembering whatsoever they saw or knew, either whiles they first lived, 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 Platons fanſie in his Phædone, Anchises telleth his sonne the secrets of Platons 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 exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum supplicia expendunt,
Therefore the soules (of such as are curable, for the desperate and insanable, are cast into Tartarus, and neuer come thence by Platons 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 clenſed by fier:

Quisque suos patimur manes, exinde per amplum

Mittimur Elyſium, & pauci lata arua tenemus,

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 fluium Deus euocat agmine longo,

Scilicet immemores supera ut conuexa veniant,

Rursus & incipiant in corpora velle reuerti.

m Æneidos 6.

Wee euery one of vs suffer our clenſing, and after that wee are sent out into the large Elyſian fieldes, where but a fewe of vs inhabite these pleasant places, vntill long time hath taken awaye the bodilie infection, and leaueth the æthereall sense pure, and the vigour of the fierie and simple

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simple ayre. Then after a thousand yeares God calleth all these soules (thus purged and placed in the fortunat seates) 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 dutie 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, ^{ἵνα} ὡσπερ λέγεται ὅτι τὰ μνήματα τε καὶ τὰ κτεῖνα, 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
Phaedone.

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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 Créde, howsoever 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 bee heauen, out of whom you note three things. First, that he utterly misliked 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 misliketh; 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 retained 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 wisely, 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 misliked 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 worde *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 world of the dead, that Cicero himselfe, though hee thought otherwise

¶ Pag. 107.

¶ Pag. 108.

otherwise durst not depart from *the vulgare phrase which had so generally prevailed.* Then by your owne confession we haue thus much, that *Inferi* for twelue hundred yeares in the mouthes of all men ignorant, and learned among the Latines and Romanes did signifie the state of such soules as were vnder the earth. Now 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 himselfe maintayned in reiecting 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 celo cum dys agit enim, ut fama assentiens* Tuscula. quest. l. i. *dixit Ennius.* Romulus leadeth his life in heauen with the Gods, as Ennius approving the same writeth. And againe; *Abyc 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 import 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 insolence of his opinion of himselfe, 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; *illi igitur impij, quos occi-* Philippica. 14

x Pro Clu-
entio.

*distis, etiam ad Inferos pœnas parricidij luent: vos autem qui ex-
tremum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis locum et se-
dem 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 braverie defending Cluentius, he cast it
all off as a foolish fable. * *Quid tandem illi mali mors attulit?
nisi forte ineptus ac fabulis ducimur, ut existimemus illum a-
pud Inferos impiorum supplicia perferre, et adlum esse præcipitem
in sceleratorum sedem atq; regionem: quæ si falsa sunt, id quod
omnes intelligunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit præter do-
loris sensum?* What harme could (Cluentius) do vnto (Oppi-
anicus 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 head-
long into the region and prison of the vngodly? which (con-
ceits) if they bee false, as all men may easily vnderstand, what
hurt could death doe him, but take from him all sense of grieffe?
To make a reason for his Client, that by killing his ad-
uersarie, afflicted with penury and miserie, he should rather
doe him a good turne, then a spite, he vtterly reiecteth, as a
fable, that the wicked haue any punishments after this
life; which in the former place against Antonius souldiers
he vrged as vehemently for a truth.

y Oratio in
Catilin. 4.

And though in this place he take, as you say, the ignorance
of the olde Latines, yet in another place, hee commiendeth
their wisdome, for the self same position. y *Itaq; ut aliqua in
vita formido improbis esset posita, apud Inferos eiusmodi quædam
illi Antiqui supplicia impijs cõstituta 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 worth the noting out of a prophane Orator,
that

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Ibidem.

to be wished for? But if it utterly 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 eyes to fall into an eueralting sleepe? *Habes somnum imaginem mortis, eamq̄, 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 bring into the Creede vnder the name of *Inferi*, hee maketh it no reward of vertue, nor 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 losed from the bodie, it flieth vppward 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 constet, perspicuum debet esse, animos quum e corpore excesserint, siue illi sint spirabiles, siue ignei, sublimate ferris accedit ut eo facilius animus euadat ex hoc aere, quem saepe iam crassum appello, eumq̄, perumpat, quod nihil est animo velocius. Qui si permanet incorruptus, suiq̄, similis, necesse est ita feratur, ut penetret & diuidat omne caelum hoc, in quo nubes, imbres, ventiq̄, coguntur. Quam regionem quum superauit animus, naturamq̄, sui similem contigit, & agnouit, vinctus ex anima tenui, & ex ardore solis temperato ignibus insistit, et finem alias se efferendi facit. Quum enim sui similem & leuitatem & calorem adeptus est, tanquam paribus examinatis ponderibus, nullam in partem mouetur. Ea q̄, ei demum naturalis est sedes, quum ad sui similem penetrauit, in quo, nulla re egens, alitur & sustentatur, iisdem 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 wiselyer 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 fanisie. 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 MUST 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 subtile 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 NATVRALE SEATE OF THE SOVLE, when it cometh to a like ayre to it selfe; in which needing nothing, IT IS NOVRISHED and fed with THE SELFESAME THINGS, VVITH VVHICH 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 necessity it ascendeth vpward as fier doth. The third, that when it cometh to a pure ayre and temperate heate of the same, 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 hea-
 uen are most horrible. First that all soules by necessitie of
 their nature being in this place, there are consequently
 none in HELL, no; none in heauen, and so both those places
 are vtterly emptied by your eloquent Master. 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 vtter-
 ly extinguish. Lastly, Gods promises, and threats are all
 frustrate, if he can doe his enemies no more hurt, no; his
 seruants more good, then this heauen affoordeth. And ther-
 fore if you bring the world of soules, or this heauen into the
 Cræde; I must refuse the Article for open and euident
 points of Infidelitie, which I suppose, the Apostles, no; A-
 postolicke men neuer meant, when they made the Cræde.

Yet this place such as it is, Cicero, you say, called it *In-
 feri*. Sy; if you leaue lying, you must leaue writing. For
 you can skant write 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 before the
 senate, or the people, he was forced to yeld to such opinions,
 and to vse such words as were commonly receiued 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 propriete of the words, which wee vse; but
 mynding to aduise or perswade the multitude, we must con-
 descend as well to their vulgar phrases, as to these generall
 and receiued opinions. And therefore as the people thought
 all men dying to descend vnder the earth to *Inferi*, so Ci-
 cero speaking in open place vseth this same phrase, whatsoe-
 ner he priuately thought of the place where the dead were.

From Pagans (Sy; Refuter) you returne to Christians, &
 whom before you accused for altering & changing the authen-
 ticke

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no waie signifie the kingdome of heauen; Ergo the true proprietye of the worde *Infernum* doeth not signifie the kingdome of heauen. The Maior is your owne. The Minor by Gods grace I will prooue euen out of Ierom. Marke well his wordes.

Hiero.in epi-
taph Nepot.ad
Heliodorum.

Quid simile Infernus & regna calorum? What likenesse 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 proprieties of these wordes. ^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 nequaquam 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 themselves, were detained vnder the lawe of hel: but that after the resurrection of our Sauior they are not helde in hel, the Apostle witnesseth when he saith; It is better to be dissolued 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.

In Amos.ca.9

In Ecclesiast.
cap.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 nequaquam 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 themselves, were detained vnder the lawe of hel: but that after the resurrection of our Sauior they are not helde in hel, the Apostle witnesseth when he saith; It is better to be dissolued 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.

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 tralie and properlie hell, and in no wise the kingdome of heauen, as you imagine. Thus thise you by your own authozs, whom you produce to make the world beleue that formerlie HADES & INPERI 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 greeke tongue, being Poets & Pagans. What is to be thought of that opinion of the Fathers that the saintes befoze Christs comming were in *Inferno*, in hel, but free from feare or torment, though in some darknes, as also whence they take the ground of that assertion, I haue shew^d ed in the end of the ^a treatise befoze as much as needed to this question; there with ease it may be perused,

^aVide pag. 189
et sequent.

[They mistoke, you will saie, the word *Infernum* in the old testament, and thence grew their opiniõ, that the Patriarks and prophets befoze 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 crede, & a little smattering in the Greeke tongue made the Refuter so arrogant, that hee bid defiance to all the fathers both greeke and Latin, as vnable to vnderstande one poore word in the Creed, 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 moze ease, and ende with moze speede. That Sheol or Hades doe signifie heauen, either in the Scriptures of the

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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 any proofe thereof; on which issue I am content to ioyne 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 heauen, 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 heauen; and for one word to signifie both hell and heauen so farre distant one from the other, and so much repugnant one to the other, is somewhat strange, except it could be strongly proued. Chaos did import the whole masse of heauen and earth before they were distinguished, but since they were seuered, 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 comprise heauen and hell, excluding the rest. S. Paul vseth *ἐκτίσις* for the creature, and *καταβολὴ κόσμου* for the making of the world, and our sauiour vseth *αἰῶν* for this world and the next, where nothing is excepted; but that heauen 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 heauen and hell no positive thing is common; all things are rather contrarie. Their bodie they want in both places, because they are soules; other wise for their states be as repugnant in all points, as light and darknesse, Christ and Belial, yea as heauen and hell in which they are; & therefore as light and darknes, faith and infidelitie, truth and error haue no common worde to comprise them being contraries each to other; no more haue heauen and hell as they are the rewardes of the iust and vniust; for so much as all things in either are directlie repugnant each to other.

Again

^s Rom. 8.

^h Ephel. 1

ⁱ Matth. 12.

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doe sometimes signifie the generall state of deade bodies, as when the Scripture describeth rottenesse, silence, forgetfulnesse, senselesnesse, 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 godlie 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 shoulde signifie the worlde of Soules, as well in heauen as in Hell, neither hath this Refuter brought ante Texte or reason for it, neither will hee euer 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 ante such thing in the Scriptures, before wee maie suffer him to make it an Article of our faith. Against it enerie place is a prooue; but for it none that I reade, or they haue yet alleaged. They shifte handes, 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 objections. 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 grave. The one you shall enerie where light on, of the other there is no mention. As when Jacob said to his sonnes, ¹ you will make my hoare haires descend to *Sheol* with sorrow; and likewise when David said to Salomon, ^m thou shalt make (*Shemeis*) hoare haires descend to *Sheol* with bloud: are there white haires or bloud in the worlde of soules, as there are in the grave? 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*. Althe is both bodie and soule in everie mans etc. If or had those two bene severed, they had bene dead. Doe the bodies of men descend to your worlde of soules? or is it plaine that in this place must be meant by *Sheol* either hell which received both their bodies and soules that were in that rebellion against God; or at least the heart of the earth, which receaved them living, 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 flaine, and cast on heapes, so shall the wicked bee handled? nowe as manie places in the scriptures as note *Sheol* to be below, cannot be referred to your worlde of soules; for they are as well on high in heaven, as below in hell. And therefore of force *Sheol* must in all those places either importe hell which is belowe, or the grave which is lower then the earth whereon men doe live. ^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 dead
 nor of the worlde of soules, for manie of them were on high
 in strength and ioye; 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 tauntes and tearmes; fell
 crakes fray not such as bee p̄luie to your lame legs. Again,
 heauen is namelie exp̄essed, and opposed to Sheol; how can
 heauen be included in Sheol? ¹ 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? ² If I ascend to heauen, thou art there, (saith
 David to God,) if I lie downe in *Sheol*, there art thou also. So
 God himselfe by Amos: ³ 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. ⁴ Thou saiedst
 in thine heart I will ascende to heauen, and climbe aboue 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. But what will not men of your
 face and fancke 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. ⁵ The
 dead praise thee not (saith David 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 everlastinglie,

do

¹ Job. 11.

² Psal 139

³ Amos. 9

⁴ Esa. 14.

⁵ Psal. 115.

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Vide pag. 147

euerie point without exception: And that maketh me bold
 lie to skippe the handling of HADES in the Septuagint;
 and to referre the discussing thereof till I come to the pla-
 ces 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 in-
 tended 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 un-
 derstoode 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 Refuter) without
 waight or warrant touching Sheol, I count it lip laboz; when
 you or your helpers bring anie thing worth the regarding,
 you shall find me readie to receaue it, or refute it; as the mat-
 ter deserueth.

Sheol then in the olde Testament, and Hades in the Sep-
 tuagint signifiyng 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 hea-
 uen; let vs see what force HADES hath in the newe testament;
 or whether it can thence be proued, that Hades importeth the
 world of soules. As y^e mysteries of God were more fully de-
 clared by the gospel, then by the law; so the kingdom of hea-
 uen was more preciselie severed from the kingdome of Sa-
 tan by Christ, then by Moses. What Moses darkelie sha-
 dowed vnder figures, that Christ revealed in plaine wordes;
 and

and therefore hell fire, which is obscurely mentioned in the
 late and prophets, is often and openly named by the mouth
 of our Saviour; and HADES, which before extended to good
 and bad, is now by the writers of the new testament re-
 strained 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 " Treatise before;
 saue that I then reasoned the death of the bodie was not sig-
 nified 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 expessed by anye 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 Camisa-
 doe lately offered with the VVORLD OF SOVLES. The
 first place is, * Woe to thee Chorazin, and woe to thee Beth-
 saida, saith our Saviour: y And thou Capernaum exalted to
 heauen, shalt bee brought downe euen to hell; it shall bee
 easier for Sodome 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 day 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 punish-
 ments of euerlasting fire. Is that your VVORLDE OF
 SOVLES? If it be not, they shall certainly be where the Sodo-
 mites 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

" Vide pag. 171

* Matt 11

y Luc 2. 10

z Iudæ. epist.

a Matth. 16

of Gods favour, for that not to preuaile against the church. Againe, whatsoeuer preuaile not, yet if hell preuaile, what safetie hath the church? Heresie and iniquitie are the gates of hell fighting against the church, as well as crueltie. ^b *Ego portas Inferni reor vitia atque peccata, vel certè hereticorū doctrinas, per quas illecti homines ducuntur ad Tartarum. Nemo itaque putet de morte dici, quòd apostolici conditioni mortis subiecti non fuerint, quorum martyria vides coruscare.* I thinke (saith Ierom,) the gates of hell to be vices and sinnes, or else heresies, 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. ^c *Digna adificatione illius Petra, qua infernas leges, & Tartari portas, & omnia mortis claustra dissolueret.* It was a Rocke (saith Hilarie) worthy of Christs building, which should dissolue the lawes of hell, the gates of Tartare, and all the Cloisters of death. So Origen, ^d *Porta inferorum dicentur etiam principatus ac potestates, aduersus quas nobis est colluctatio.* The gates of hell may the powers and principalities bee called, against the which we haue to striue. ^e *Portas inferni hereticam prauitatem nominat, siue vitia & peccata, unde mors ad animam venit.* The gates of hell Christ calleth *Heresies*, (saith Bede) or else vices and sinnes, by which the soule dieth. So Ambrose, ^f *Quae autem sunt porta Inferni, nisi singula quaeque peccata?* What are the gates of hell, but all kind of sinnes. And Gregorie; ^g *Porta Inferni hereses sunt, quae quasi inferorum aditum pandunt.* The gates of hell are heresies, which open as it were the passage to hell. The fift general councell of Constantinople with one full consent alloweth the same. ^h *Porta inferni non praevalent 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 more, but these are enough. Here (Sir Refuter) you tell a long and a foolish tale of death out of your owne heade, as if Christ did promise his Apostles protection against the violence of Tyrants, but not against

^b Hiero. in
Matth. 16

^c Hilarius in
Mat. cano. 16

^d Origenes in
Matth. ca. 16.

^e Bede in Mat.
16.

^f Ambros lib 6.
in Lucæ ca 8.

^g Greg. in. Psal.
5. penitentialē

^h Synod. 5. con-
stantinop. Sess
sione. 8.

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Apoca. 9.

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, 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.

under 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 seene in the opening of the fift seale; therefore
 that world of soules was not seene in the opening of the
 fourth Seale; but of force, if by HADES you will under-
 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 be the power 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 be.

Job. 1

Job. 2

Who threw the house vpon the heads of Iobs Childzen 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. Neuer reade you, ° 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 de-
 uoure the fourth part of the earth, as I draw downe from heaue
 with his taylor the third part of the starres? D; 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 se
 be your best, you are more willing, then able to do harme.
 But by the same words in the same booke, we shall better vn-
 derstand

Math. 22.

Rom: 9.

Apoca. 12

derstand

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 more absurd, and more
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 like-
wise ^r Ierusalem, Ierusalem 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 *ωνηρεας, δωαμεις, τας τον δαιμον ενδουας,*
the wicked spirits the possessours of HADES, shall be cast into hel-
fier. And so Bede ^x *Mors & Infernus missi sunt in stagnum
ignis. Diabolum dicit et suas, quem supra in equo pallido seden-
tem 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 Testa-
ment 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.

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 hea-
uen, 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 flied from heauen. This keye must Christ haue, for hee
saith)

^u Apoca. 20.
^r Pag. 116.

¹ Math. 11.
^r Math. 23.

^v Andreas cxi
in Apoca. ca.

20.
^x Bede in
apoca. ca 20.

^y Colos. 2.

^z Reuelat. 3.

a Reuelat: 3. faith 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 forces must bee HELL; when Christ professeth in the first of the Reuelation that he ^d hath the keyes τῆς θανάτου καὶ τῆς ᾠδῆς 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 blessed, inferreth hell: [The Apostle (you saie) ^f speaketh not of the Damnation of the wicked; but of the resurrección 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 saved 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 ouer hell is the losse of both parts, which in the resurrection 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 hath 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 little for hell, and the most of them necessartie; since either is expresse as a diuerse thing from HADES, or not to bee comprised in the name of HADES.

But

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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 nearest to the nature of a short, 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 betweene the two last, which of the twaine 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 exposition, (Sir Refuter) is cleane thrust out of doores. For neither with the auncient Masters of the Greeke tongue, which were the Poets, nor with the Septuagint, nor with the writers 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 hell or heauen, is no point nor part of the Christian faith. For faith touching Christ must not be generall or ambiguous, 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 hell or heauen whither Christs soule went after death, before any man may chalenge it to be the true meaning of that article.

h Pag. 125.

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 true meaning of that article.

h 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, triuiall, 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 Maister, 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 G D D. Was this the plainest and easiest waie for the Apostollike 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 maruaille 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 private 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 byring 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. [² It is, you saie, an Hebrew phrased. ^k So Iacob spake, I, ^k Pag: 125 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 deade, 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 anie comfort whyles he liued, since his sonne

was dead. You like a tyrant over the Scriptures, will have what sense pleaseth you in euery place; and then you saie it is plaine and common. In dede your ignorance and insolencie is verie plaine and common; but the interpretations which you make of Scripture, be absurde and moze then foolish. 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 ycar making, and fit for your faith, 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 vnscalled braine.

For the last exposition of the three which remaineth, I haue the word *hell* (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 ἄβυσσόν 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, even by one of the ⁿ seuentie disciples (that were conuersant with Christ) & continued to this date with the full consent of the fathers, both Greeke & Latin without exception, 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 Confaters ridiculous pamphlet, or in his abet-

Vide pag. 170
& sequent.

¹Psal. 16.
^mAct. 2.

ⁿLuke. 10.

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and ouerthrew the kingdome of the diuell, who beeing 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 unus est mortem in inferno perimens, spei nostra 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 permanserit, sed ad infernum descenderit, gratia dispensationis circa resurrectionem absoluenda, ut quae de seipso erant oracula Prophetarum, uniuersa expleret:* Thou hast (in this Psalme) myrre 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: * David 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 vnspeakeable 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 countriman shall be the last, *My flesh (saith David 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 cleer that way, applying y words of David cited by Peter, Thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, to Christes descent thither after death. And howsoeuer the fathers incline to thinke, as Ierom did, that the saints befoze Christes comming were inclosed in a place vnder the earth, expecting Christes comming to be carried vp to heauen (of which I haue spoken*

^fHilarius de trinitat. lib. 4.

^eBasil. in psal. 44

^uNazianzen. in christo patiente.

^xFulgentius ad Thrasimum. lib. 3.

^yBeda in Psal. 15.

spoken

spoken as much as is needfull in the 2 treatise before;) yet they ^aVide pag. 189. absolutelie acknowledge that Christ descending destroyed & sequent the kingdome of Satan, and freed all the faithfull from ever comming thither.

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 vnaying 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 ^b Pag. 93. ancient do speake. In another place he saith; We find almost all the ^c Pag. 166. Creedes, certainlie the most ancientest, and the best of them to want these wordes of Christs descending into hell. In one place he saith, ^d Pag. 167. The Creedes which we find in Ignatius, Irenæus, Iustinus Martyr, Tertullia, Origen, Athanasius, Augustinus, the Nicene, Costantino, 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 ann- ^e Pag. 93. cient doe speake namelie of this Article. 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 rehearals in the eldest Fathers doe but touche some of the Articles of the Creede, and shewe that there was such a compendious brieve of the Faith receiued amongst Christians from the beginning. The Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and others, want euerie 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 recitalls 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 ^a Ignatius, ^b Irenæus, ^c Iustinus Martyr, ^d Tertullian, ^e Origene, ^f Augustine, but they expresselie touche and teache Christs lo- call descent to Hell, as all the rest doe without exception. ^g Aug. epi. 99.

And

^a Igna ad Trall.
^b Iren. li 5. c. 3 r
^c Iustin in dia-
 lo. cum tryph.
^d Tertul. de
 anima:
^e Orig. in capi.
 5. ep. ad Rom.
^f Aug. epi. 99.

And if Councils will content you, you shall not goe farre for both **P**rovinciall and **G**enerall. The Council of Alexandria that wrote to repress the heresie of Nestorius, maketh the spoiling of hell a part of Christs resurrection, and saith; ^d *Tertia Die reuixit, expolians 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 ^e fifth generall Council of Constantinople. So that fathers and Councils both oecumenicall and **p**rovinciall, haue receiued and approoued this article even from the foundation of Christs church; as a part of Christs resurrection, howsoeuer they did not alwayes annere it to their Creedes.

^d Epist Cyril.
& Synod. Alex.
an ad Nestor:
^e Vide acta cō-
ciliu Ephesini
& 5 Synod.
Constan. Sec. 7.

With like follie and inconstancie, he saith it is ^f *the naturall and necessarie deuision 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 himselte 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 deuideth the Creede, I know not, but Saint Paule whence this diuision hath his ground, saith this is ^g 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 threë parts, the ^h ouerrunning, the binding, the spoiling of Satan, and his kingdome; and further from that Parable I vertued nothing; This wisdome to the w^h himselfe learned, crieth out, ⁱ *a fine toy or rather a shamefull gloze by vsauorie allegorizing to corrupt the Text. Is this a good waie to prooue Articles of the fayth, videlicet by Allegories? As if the moſte parte of Christs doctrine were not deliuered by Parables and Allegories?**

^f Pag. 166.

^g Philip. 2.

^h Mat. 12.
Luke. 11.

ⁱ Pag. 161.

The

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418. The conclusion to the Reader,

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 siue in inferno detinebantur fuit, illisq; predicauit, quem admodum testatur Petri locus. As Christ died for vs and was buried; so also

it is to be beleued, 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 Sy-

Pag. 172.

node since correcteth it herein & saith but thus only, Quem admodum dū Christus pro nobis mortuus est & sepultus, ita est etiā credendus ad inferos descendisse. As Christ died for vs and was buried, so we are to beleue also, that he went vnto the dead. This therefore in the is seene manifestly (as I said) to renounce and abrogate this particular sense of Christs descēding, ^h HE VVENT AFTER DEATH TO

HELL. Is this all you haue to saie (Sir Refuter,) then when your uender is deuided you shall haue a part for your good collectiō. You collect that y^e later Synode by leauing out certain wordes 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 BELEEUED THAT CHRIST VVENT DOWN INTO HELL. So in your iudgement by beleuing 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; nowe it is a matter of reason I must more doubt whether you haue your five wittes or no. Set your inference to the viewe of all men. The Synode in her Maiesties time agreeth, It is to be beleued 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 vwith 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 boucheth 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 unclean mouth: He may doe well to remember who they be, of whom it is written: They despise gouernment, & 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 wisdom 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 thre pointes contained in the Article of that Synode; were aduisedly and profitably 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 ground in the Scriptures. But these things being drowned by omission, what is that to the rest of the article, which the later Synode embraceth as a matter necessarie to be beleued: for thus they resolute; As Christ died for vs & vvas buried; so also it is to be beleued y^e HE VVENT DOWN INTO HELL. And though you woulde weaken their resolution with a false translation, as your maner is, by making them saie, vve are to beleue that Christ vvent vnto the dead, yet may you gain nothing 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, *Credendus 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 establissheth; and what they meane, were it not for your addle quirckes, is soone perceaued euen of the simplest.

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“ You conclude that the publike sentence of our Church, yea
 “ the publike law of our land is against this opiniõ 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 ignorance 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 CHRISTS DE-
 SCENDING INTO HELL. If HELL in english be HEAVEN, & GOING DOVNE
 be GOING VP, then the Church and lawe of England fauoureth
 your fantasie. And hereof I am wel content thou shalt be Judge
 (Christian Reader) that vnderstandest best thine owne toong.
 For the latine *INFERNVM* and the Greeke *HADES* I am content to
 be tried by all the Fathers, Greeke & Latine that euer wrote
 in the Church of Christ. If these men cannot 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 bzaines better settled, and their mouthes better tem-
 pzed, before their philosophicall follies and Rabbincall fantasies
 the one sorte being strangers, the other enemies to the faith of
 Christ, shall draw mee from my Creede. And so I wish thee
 (Christian Reader) as my selfe, mercie and grace from the
 Lord Jesus, and commit thee to God.

FINIS.