

A **A** treatise vpon the passi^e
on of Chyeste (vnfinished) made in the yere of our lorde
1534. by Syr Thomas More knyght, whyle he was prisioner in the towre
of London, To which he made this tytle folowing.

B **A** treatyse hystorycail, conteynung the bytter passion
of our sauoure Christe, after the course and order of the fowre euangelistes,
with an expolition vpon theyr wordes, taken for the more parte, oute of the
saynges of sundrye good olde holpe doctours, & begynnyng at the fyrst as-
semble of the byshoppes, the priestes, and the sentours of the people, a-
bout the contriuing of Chyestes death, wrytten the. xxvi. Chapter of
Saynt Mathewe, the. xiiii. of Saynt Marke, and in the. xxi. of S.
Luke. And it endeth in the committing of hys blessed body in
to his sepulchre, with the frustrate prouision of the Jew-
es, about the keepng therof with souldiours apoy-
nted thereto, wrytten in the. xxviii. of Saynte Ma-
thewe, the. xv. of Saynt Marke, the. xxxiii.
of Saynte Luke, and the. xix. of
Saynte John.

(.)
Fyrst an introduccion
vnto the stoyle.

C
Heb. 13.

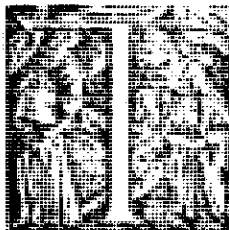
Non habemus hic ciuitatem manentem, sed futuram inquirimus. **W**e haue not here a dwel-
lyng citie, but we seeke the citie that is to come.



Lf it be (god chyisten
reader) true, as oute
of doubtte it is euen
berye true) that (as
S. Paule in that
soze rehearsed wor-
des sayeth) we haue
not here any citie to
dwell in, but we be
seking for the citie that we shall dwelle
in hereafter, then semeth me that many
men are berye farre ouersene, such men
I meane as I am (alacke) my selfe, that
so much tyme and studye belette aboute
their nyghtes lodgeing here, in pas-
sing by the waye, & so little remem-
ber to labour & prouide, that they
may haue some house commodi-
ous for their ease, & well fa-
uoredly trimmed to their
pleasure, in y place whe-
ther once go we shal, &
when we come once
there, dwell there
we shal, & inhabit
there for euer.

Syr Thomas More wryote no more
of this introduccion.

The fyrst poynt, the fall
of Aungeiles.



The glorious bly-
sed Trinite, y sa-
ther, the soane and
the holy gost, thre
distinct & diuers e-
quall & like mygh-
ty persons, & al. iij.
ncuerthelesse one
vndiuisable & vn-
distinct infinite almighty god, being fro
before all tyme eternally stablished, in y
infinite perfection of their incoprehensi-
ble & vnderstandable gloze, did when it ple-
sed the selfe, not of any necessitie, nor for
encrease of any comoditie, y their fall &
perfit, & not encreaseable blisse could re-
ceiue therby, but only of their mere libe-
ral godnes, create of nothing, the noble
high beutiful nature of angels, to make
some creatures partners of y creatours
godnes. And albeit y in y excellent co-
pany of angels, al wer not of like yfecti-
on, but ordynately diuyded into diuers
orders & degrees, y higher in excellence
of nature farre surmounting the lower:
yet bydde the lowest farre passe and ex-
celle, the naturall state that mankynde
after

Afterward had in his creacion. But yet had not the Angells furthwith in their creacion, geuen vnto the the perfite blisse heauē, nor wer furthwith endued with the very fruicion and playne beholding of the glorioſus Trinitie: but wer left in the hand of their own free wil & libertie, either with helpe of Gods grace, by turning to god with lawde and thanke, for that they had already of his gyfte, to be receiued by grace vnto that glozy: or els willingly declining from grace, & turning themſelſe from God, as graceleſſe captiues frowardlye to fall into wretchedneſſe. For if they had once alrcadye had the berye ſight of God at that tyme, in ſuch wiſe as the glorioſus compaigne of Angelles and ſaued ſoules bleſſedly haue it now, the heuēly beholding thereof, muſt nedes haue been ſo delectable & ſo ioyfull vnto them, and ſo ſhould haue perſed & fulfilled them thowelpe with ſweetnes, that it ſhould not haue left any place in them, for anye contrarious appetite or affection to enter. But nowe ſtanding thus in the libertie of themſelf with thoſe excellent betwixen gyftes of their nature, and being by grace moued to tourne vnto god and loue him, & geue him condigne thankes for theſame, gret multitude folowed y^e inſtincte of grace, and ſo didde, and wer of God therefore exalted into the clere ſight of the godhed & by grace confirmed & eſtabliſhed, in y^e full ſuretie of ioyfull perfite blisse and euerlaſſing glozy.

Lucifer on the tother ſide an Angell of excellent brightnes, wilfullye letting ſlip the grace & ayde of God, wherewith he was ſpyred to loke backward vnto his maker, began in ſuch wiſe to loke downward vpon himſelfe, & ſo farre furth to delite & dote in the regarding and beholding of his own beauty, y^e albeit he wel wiſt, he hadde a maker infinitelpe farre aboue him, yet thought he hym ſelfe mete to be his mache. And as wyle as he was of nature, yet pryde made hym ſo frantike, that he boacted that he woulde be goddes ſelow in dede, ſaying vnto himſelfe; *In celum conſcendam ſuper aſtra dei. Exaltabo ſolum meum & ſedebo in monte teſtamenti in lateribus aquilonis. Ascendam ſuper altitudinem nubium: ſimilis ero altiſſimo. I will aſcend into the heauen aboue the ſtarres of God. I will exalte my ſeate, and will ſitte in the hyl of the teſtament in the ſides of the north. I will aſcend aboue the heygth of the clowdes, & I will be lyke vnto the higheſt. But as he bleſd thys blaſphemous preſumpcion*

in his mynde, agaynſt the gret maieſtie of God, he was ſodeynely caſt oute, and thowen downe, with an infinite number of the like traytorious Angelles, as the Prophet Eſay toucheth him in theſe wordes: *Quomodo cecidiſti de celo Lucifer, qui maſ ne oriebaris? Corruiſti in terram. Howe art thou fallen out of the heauen Lucifer, y^e ſpangell in the morning: thou art fallen into the earth. And afterward he ſayth, *Veruntamen ad infernum detraberis in profundum lacu. Howbeit thou ſhalte be drawn downe into hel into the depth of the lake. Theſe wordes with other, the Prophet Eſay rehearſeth in the. xiiii. Chapter, in reſembling the falle of Nabuchodonozor, vnto the ruine of Lucifer. And as well of his fall as y^e fall of his ſelowes, maye well be verified y^e wordes of S. John in his Apocalips, where he ſaith in the. xij. Chapter. *Et factum eſt prelium magnum in celo. Michael & angeli eius prellabantur cum dracone, & draco pugnat & angeli eius, & non valuerunt, neq locus inuentus eſt eorum amplius in celo. Et proiectus eſt draco ille magnus, ſerpens antiquus qui vocatur diabolus, & Sathanas qui cecidit vniuerſum orbem. Et proiectus eſt in terram, & angeli eius cum eo miſi ſunt. There was a great battayle in heauen. Michael & his Angelles fought with the dragon. And the dragon & his Angelles fought & wer not hable, nor their place was no moze found in heuen. And out was thowen that great dragon the olde ſerpent whiche is called the deuill, & Sathanas whiche ſeduceth & deceueth the whole world, & he is thowen downe into the earth, and his Angelles by caſt down with him.***

Thus the indertible iuſtice of almighty God, caſt out of heauen Lucifer & all hys wicked proude ſpirites, & depyred them from his grace for euer, & therebye from al hope & conſort, of recovery of any maner atteining to the celeſtial glozy, but for euer condēned to payn. Howbeit not to y^e bittermoſt part of their paine at the firſt, nor al to payn alike. But as their offences wer not al alike, but ſome part of them by reaſon of their moze noble nature and greater gyftes of god receiued, their unkindnes ſo much y^e moze, & their ſinne ſo much the moze grieuous and in diuers Angelles alſo diuers degrees of malice, in ſome y^e moze in ſome the leſſe: ſo did the righteousnes of God temper & propozcion their puniſhmentes, dyping the great deuill downe into the deepe darke denne of hell, into the berye bottoome & center of the earth, and other houe about into the ayre & ouer parte of

the

Eſay. 14.

Eſay. 24.

Apoca. 12.

Eſay. 14.

At the earth and the sea: which with continuall recourse and counsaile had with their chief prince & ruler Lucifer, that reigneth as king ouer all the children of pride, doe & shal doe till the day of some persecute, attempt, deceue, trouble, bere and punish, such as they can catche into their clawes of þe fily sinfull kind of mā. And then at the small iudgemente, they shal al (as they to their further dyscomfote be surely shewed already) lese all theyr authoritie and rule ouer man, and enter with euill men into the selte same infernal fire, that was first & principall prepared for themself: and therein shal they with the sinful soules that haue left god & folowed them in turmentes intolerable barne in hell for euer.

Let vs here nowe god readers befoze we procede further, consyder well thys matter, and ponder well this fearefull paynt, what horrible perill there is in þe pestilente sinne of pryde, what abhominable sinne it is in the sight of god, whē any creature falleth into the delyte and lykning of it self: as the thing wherupon continued, ineuitably sayleth not to folowe, first the neglecting, & after þe contemning, and finally with disobedience and rebellion, the very full forsaking of God.

If god was so wroth with pryde, that he spared not to dyspue downe into helle for pryde, the noble high excellent Angelles of heauen: what state can ther be so great in this wretched worlde, þe hath not high cause to tremble and quake: uery ioynt in his body, as some as he feleth an high proude thought enter once into his heart, remembering the terrible conminacion and threat of God in holy scripture. *Potentes potentior tormenta patientur.* The mighty men shal mightely suffer tormētes. And thā if it be so soze a thing, & so farre vnfitting in the sight of god, to see the sinne of pryde in the persone of a great estate, that hath yet many occasyons of inclinacion therunto: how much more abhominable is that pleuissh pride in a lewde vnthristy iauell, that hath a purse as peniles as any poze pedler, and hath yet an hert as high as mans a mighty prince. And if it be odious in the sight of god, that a woman beawtiful in dede abuse the pryde of her beawty to þe bayn glory of her selfe: how delectable is that dayntie damesell to the deuil, that standeth in her own light, and taketh herself for fayze, wening herselfe wel lyked for her brode forehead, whyle þe young man

that beholdeth her, marketh more her crooked nose. And if it be a thing detestable for any creature to ryle in pryde, vpon the respect and regard of personage beawty, strength, witte, or learning, or other such maner thyng as by nature & grace are properly theyr owne: howe much more foolish abusio is ther in that pryde, by which we worldey folke loke vpon height, and solemnelye set by our selfe, with diepe disdain of other farre better men, onely for very bayn worldly tryfles that properly be not our owne. How proude be men of golde and syluer, no part of our self, but of the earth, and of nature no better then is the poze copet or tinne, nor to mans ble so profitable, as is the poze mettall that maketh vs þe plough share, and horse shone, and horse nayles. Howe proude be many mienne of these glystering stones, of which þe very brightnes, though he cost the .xx. li. shall neuer shine half so bright nor shew thee half so much lighte, as shal a poze half-peny candel. How proude is many a mā ouer his neighbour, because the wull of his golone is spner: and yet as spne as it is, a poze thepe ware it on her backe befoze it came vpon his: and al the while she ware it, wer her wull neuer so fine, yet was she pardie but a shepe. And why should he be now better then she by that wull, that though it be his, is yet not so berelye his, as it was berelye hers. But now how many men are there proude of that that is not theyrs at al: Is there no man proude of keping another mannes gate: another mannes horse: another mannes hound or hawke: what a bragging maketh a beareward to his syluer buttened bawdyke, for pride of another mannes bere: Howbeit what speke we of other mennes and our own: I can see nothing (the thing well weyed) that any man may wel call his own. But as mē maye call hym a fowle that beareth hym selfe proude, because he setteth about in a bozowed gown, so may we be wel called very fowles all, if we beare vs proude of any thing that we haue here. For nothing haue we here of our owne, not so much as our owne bodies, but haue borrowed it all of god, and yeld it we must again, and send our selfe soule out naked no man can tell howe soone. What hast thou sayth Saynt Paule, that thou hast not receiued: And if thou haue receiued it, wher of gloriest thou, as though thou haddest not receiued it: All that euer we haue, of God we haue receiued: richesse,

royal

A ryalte, lordshyp, beuty, strength, learning, wyf, bodye, soule and all. And almost al these thyngs hath he but lent vs. For al these must we depart from euery whit agayne, excepte oure soule alone. And yet that must we gyue God agayne also, or els shall wee keepe it still wyth suche sozowe, as we were better leese it. And for the myssuse thereof and of our bodies therewith, and of al the remenant of that bozowed ware, whereof we be now so proud, we shal yeld a ful straight accompte, and come to an heauye reckning, and many a thousand body & soule together burne in hel eternallye, for the pcutthe pryde of that bozowed ware, so glorioulye bosted befoze in the transitorye tyme and shorthe soone passed lyfe of this fonde wretched wo:ld. For surelye this synne of pryde, as it is the first of all synnes, begon among the angels in heauen, so is it the heade and roote of all other synnes, and of them al most pestilent. But it is not my purpose to declare here by the manyfold byaunches thereof, all the kindes of mischiefe that procedeth vpon it (for that woulde occupy more time that wete mete for this present matter) but onelye will I counsaile euery man and woman to beware euen of the verye least spice thereof, whiche seemeth to be the bare delite and lpyng of oure selfe, for any thing that either is in vs, or outwardlye belonging to vs. Let vs euerye man lye well in a waite of our selfe, and let vs marke wel when the dyuell spyke casteth any proude bayne thoughte into our mynde, and let vs forthwith make a crosse on our breast, and blesse it oute by and by, and cast it at his heade agayne. For if we gladly take in one such gest of his, he shall not faile to byng in two of his scowes soone after, and euerye one warke then other. This point expylecth wel the spirite of God by the mouth of the prophet, where he noteth the perylous p:ogresse of proude folk, in the perulou of whom he saith in this wise: *Dixerunt linguam nostram magnificabimus, labia nostra a nobis sunt, quis noster dominus est?* They haue said, we will magnifie our tonges, our lippes be our owne, who is our Lord: firste they begyn so, but as it were with a baine delite and pryde of their clequent speache, and say they wil set it oute goodly to the shewe: wher in yet seemeth little harme, save a soun foolish vanitye, if they went no farther. But the diuel that byngeth them: to that point first, intendeth not to suffer them reste and remaine there, but

shorly he maketh them thinke and sape farther: *labia nostra a nobis sunt*: our lippes be our owne, we haue them of our selfe. At what poynte are they nowe lo? Do they not nowe the thing that God hath lent them, take for theyz owne, and will not be aknown that it is his: & thus become they thcues vnto God. And yet to the diuel wil not leaue them thus neither, but carteth them forth farther vnto the verye wurse pointe of all. For when they sape once that theyz lippes be their owne and of them selfe, then against the truth that they haue their lippes lent them of our Lord, theyz proude hartes arise and they aske, *quis noster dominus est?* who is oure Lord: and so denye that they haue anye Lorde at al. And thus lo, beginning but with a bayne pryde of theyz own pryde, they become secondly thcues vnto God, and finally from theeues they fall to be plaine rebellious traitours, and refusa to take God for their God, and fall into the detestable pryde that Lucifer fell to him selfe. Let vs therfore (as I said god Chyisten readers) beware of this horryble vice, and resist wel the very first motions thereof, and the firste suggestions of the diuel, as the yong infantes of Babilon, let vs al to frush & byeake in peeces against the stone, that is our sure & true saviour Chyist, with consideraciō of his great humilitie, by whiche he (being as verelye God as man) humbled him selfe for oure sake (to redeme vs oute of the proude dyuels domynion) vnto the vyle death of the crosse, which is the mater of his bitter passion, wherof I haue take in hande to treat, and haue for the firste point toward it, told you the soze fall of the proude angels, wherby in part, thoccalion of our dampnacion, and consequentlye for oure redempcion the occasion of Chyistes passion grewe.

A prayer.

Glorious blessed trinity, whose iustice hath dampned vnto perpetual pain, many proude rebellious angels, whom thy goodness had created to be parteners of thine eternall glozy for thy tender mercy, piat in myne harte suche mekenes, that I so may by thy grace soloue the mocion of my good angell, and so resist the proude suggestyōs of those spiteful spirites that fel, as I may thoro:ne the merites of thy bytter passion, be partener of thy blyse, with those holy spirites that stood, and nowe confirmed by thy grace, in glozye shal stande for euer.

A The second point, the creati-
on, and fall of mankynde.

U The glorious maiesty of almighty
God, after the foze rehearsed
ruyne and fall of angels, not
wyllyng to suffer the malice of
hys proud enuious enemies, make such
a ministment in hys glorious courts of
heauen, determined of hys greate good-
nes, to create a newe kynde of creature,
wherewith he woulde make by & fulfill
with glorious blessed people, the num-
ber of al those euyl angels, that wer tho-
row theyr high malicious pryde, thzown
out of wealthe into wretchednes.

B This newe kynde than, that he wold
foz this purpose create, the vepe wisdom
of God, determyned marueylously to
mingle and temper. For syth it shoulde
be able (with help of hys grace) to attain
vnto such high heauenly glozpy, he wold
haue it spiritual and immoztal. And yet
to refrayne it from the proude hart, that
Lucifer had and his felowes in theyr spi-
rituall and immoztal substance, God
determined that this new kynde of crea-
ture, shoulde also be bodely grose & mozt-
all. And thus after this visible woztde
made, and ayze, earth, and sea furnished
with soule and spyt, and beastes, grasse,
herbes, trees, and frute, he made the bo-
dy of man of the same of the earth, and
created of nothyng, the spirituall sub-
stance of the soule, after the ymage and
similitude of hymselfe, in that hee endu-
ed it with the thzee great gyftes, memo-
ry, vnderstanding, and wyl, in a certain
maner of resemblance of the glozpyous
blessed trinity, the father, the sonne, and
the holy Gost.

C This kynde of man created God of
a merueylous conuenience also, with al
other maner of creatures. For he made
it haue a beyng, as hath the dead ston.

A lyfe, as hath the insensible tree. A sen-
sible feelyng, as hath the vnrasonable
beast. A reasonable vnderstanding, as
hath the celestia angel.

D This oure foze father Adam beyng
created of the earth, & oure mother Eue
fozmed and framed out of the ryb of hys
syde (as in the first and the second chapt-
ter of Genesis is declared) al be it y they
were ordyneyd vnto the highe pleasaunt
palace of heauen, yet lest ouer sodain en-
halsing so high myght make such pryde
spryng in theyr hartes, as might be the
cause of theyr dypnyng downe agayne,
y great goodnes of God meazured their
state & wealthe, setting them, not on high

in heauen, but beneth in the pleasaunt
garden or orchard of earthy paradise.
And foz the farther sauegarde of their
persons from pryde, he gaue the precepts
and commaundemetes, wher by they shuld
remember & consider them selfe to be but
seruauntes. And therfoze he bothe bode
them there, to be occupied and wozke in
the keeping of that pleasaunt garden, and
also foz bode them the eatyng of the fruit
of the tree of knowledge. And yet vnto
their farther knowledgyng of subieccio,
and repressing of al occasion of pryde, he
set vpon the breakyng of hys behest, the
threate of a verpe soze payne, that is to
wytte, that when so ever they dyd eate of
the foz bode tree, they shoulde dye: that
is to wyt, that where as they had nowe
theyr bodies such, as though they might
dye by theyr owne defaute, yet suche as
wythout theyr defaut shoulde neuer dye,
there shoulde, after that hys commaunde-
ment were by them broken, enter into
theyr bodies, & into the bodies of al their
posteritte, an inenitable necessity of dy-
eng. Thus had God of his high godnes
set them in the possession of a ryght wel-
thy state, and in therpectacion of yet a
farre passyng better, of which they could
neuer sayle wythout theyr owne defaut.
And to kepe the fro falling into the fault,
he was redy to assit the with his grace,
and against proud disobedience y might
make them slype from hys grace, he gra-
ciously sensed and hedged in theyr hartes
with feare. Nowe stode our father Adā
& our mother Eue, lordes of al the whole
earth, had full dominion ouer al the beas-
tes of the same, out of deade of death or
any bodely hurte. And authoryete they
shoulde haue had ouer al theyr owne of-
spryng, with whyche they were with the
blessyng of God, commaunded to encrease
and multiply, and replenysh the woztde.
Their palace was the most pleatāt place
of paradise. Their aparel was y vesture
of innocency, moze glorious then cloth
of gold. Their nakednes as farre fro dis-
honesty & al cause of shame, as theyr bo-
dies wer far from al filth tokens of sin.
Their sensual partes confoznable vnto
reason. Against their soules, no rebellio
in theyr obedient bodies, which foz a sea-
son shuld haue endured ther, wout age,
wrsynes, or payn, without spot or wnt
or any decay of nature, preferred conti-
nually by the holesome frutes & helpe of
Gods hand. And al their childre foz euer
after the same rate. And eche at sundrye
tymes when Gods pleasure wer, shoulde
haue

A hanc had theyr bodys chaunged sodenly into a glorious form, & without death depart out of the earth, carryed by wyth the soule into the blyss of heauen, there to rayne in toy & blyss eternally wth God fulfilling the places froo whiche the proud angels fel. This was loo h^{is} state in which our first father stode a state ful of heuēl hope of eternal toy to come, & a state for the meane whyle, ful of present welthe. But oh wo woth wicked enuy h^{is} dough for pestilēt pryde. For the proud hateful enemy of God, and traitorous wyretch h^{is} dyuel, beholdyng this newe creature of mankynd, set in so welthp state, & either coniecturing by hys natural vnderstāding, or to thencease of his grief for his proud enuious stomake, hauing it reuelēd vnto him, that of thys kinde shoulde be restozed the ruine that was happed in heauen, by the fal of himselfe and hys fellows, conceiued so great hart burning againe the kynde of man therfore, that he rather wold wish his own dāpnacton doubled, so that he might destroy them, then suffer God honoured in them, and thē so to proceede and prosper, that their grosse myngled nature so base in respect of his, shoulde ascend by to that height of heauen that himselfe was fallen froo.

The diuel thā deuyfing with himselfe vpon soyn mischeuous means, by whych he myght byng mākynde vnto destruction, called to mynde the meane by which he had befoze wyretchedly destroyed himselfe. And as he saw his owne dampnacton growen by thoccastion of pryde, so will he wel that if he might by some wylly suggestiō, byng pryde into the kinde of man, & make the first fathers disobey Gods cōmaundement, then wold God of his iustice keepe hys promise in their punishment, & take from the posteritye, the gyfte y^e he promised theyr foze father for them, if the conditiō were broken, vpon which he gaue it. vpon this,

Gene. 3. **D** the old serpent the diuel, beyng as the scripture sayth wylper than all the bestes of the earth, would not begyn at the mā, whom he perceiued to be wiser and moze hard to begyle: but first begā at the womā, as the kind in wisdom moze weak, moze light of beliefe, & moze cth to be bygiled, whō if he might make on hys side, then shoulde he & he together, be twayne against one. And the willy wyrech perceiued wel also, the tender mynde that the man had to hys make, & therby gessed (as it there happed & els wher happeth oft) y^e to byng man to wo, the woman mai do

moze, then wyth al hys craft, the dyuell can do himselfe. This willy serpent therfore the dyuell, deuifing to entyce thys womā to this deadly dede, toke his time for his wyretched woing, whē her husband was not with her. And then gan he fall familiar with her, & inquisitiue of suche thinges as pertained to her husband and her, & nothing at al to himselfe. For ther he asked her this questiō: wherfore dyd God (quoth he) cōmaund you y^e ye shulde not eate of euery tree of paradise, or as it rather semeth by the greke phrase vsual in many places of scripture, he asked her thus: why did God cōmaund you that you shuld eate of no tre in paradise. And that his questiō was suche, apereth by the maner of her answer. For wherbeit if she had shewed her selfe vntwilling to fall familiar with hym, & had said again, what is that for you: or had answered hym & said, my husband shal answer you, al his wyretched woing had ben at end, & he cōfounded and gone. But while she was content to be talkatiue with a straunger, & war a proper enterterner (which properly some gentlewomen wene wer a goodly praise) marke wel what folowed thereon. She answered the serpent & said: Of the fruit of the trees that are in paradise we eate. But of the fruite of the tre that is in the mids of paradise, God hath cōmaunded vs that we shal not eate, & that we shuld not touch it, lest we may hap to dye. Marke here, that in these wordes, the contagious cōuersactiō of thys wicked serpent, wyth his questiōning and her eare gyuing therto, wrought not as it semeth, not outwardly onely with her eye and her eare, but inwardly also wth some subtil suggestiō in her hart. For by this answer of hers it apereyth, that for thw^o vpon his questiōning, she began to stagger, and halfe to dout of the truth & steadfastnes of Gods word. For wher as god had precisely promised, that if they dyd eate of the fruit of that tree, they shoulde dye, she by the inward leaning to the dyuels instigatiō, and not cleauyng to the grace of God, by thys her answer turned it into a dout, sayng: *ne forte moriamur*, lest peradventure we dye. By reason of whych the doutyng, and thereby but halfe dreading, she made half the way her self, for the diuel to walke farther wyth her. For thereupon he letted not boldely to blaspheme God befoze her, and say: Paipe shall not dye. But God dorthe knowe, that what so euer dare you shall cate of that tree, your eyen shall be opened, and

You shall be as gods, knowing both good and euill. And vpon these wordes, she seing that it seemed a good tree to eate of, & sayd to the eye, and delectable to behold, she by and by plucked of the fruite thereof and eate it, and gaue it to her husband and he eate it to.

Wretched wycked Serpent, howe much of thy deadly popsd, hast thou put into the sely soule of this woful woman at ones? For here hadde he made her beleue, that of his owne diuelish condicions god had had twaine: that is to wyt, false head and enuy. For he made her thinke, that God had told them a lye, in that he said that when so euer they eate thereof they should dye: and also that God were enuious, and could not for enuye suffer it, that they should haue so high a thing, as the knowledge of good and euyl.

When strake he into her hart the poison of proud curious appetite, and inordinate desyre to knowe the thing, which for her weale God had forboden her to know. For God woulde of his goodnes she shoulde haue knowen but god. But she by the diuels entisement, wold nedes knowe euyl to. And when her curpous mynde, had made her once set her sayre handes vnto the feelinge of that sowle ppytche, she could neuer rubbe the slytche from her fingers after. What shoulde I speake of the other lesse euils, that he a leuoyed and alected her with, as the pleasure of the eye in the beholdinge of that frute, wyth likorous desyre of the delectious taste: sypis not small in them selfe, but small in respect of the farre passyng greater, when he made her desyre and longe by reason of highe knowledge, to be like a goddesse, & for that cause proud lie to disobey God, and eate of the forboden fruite. And she being thus infected,

When she was enuened with so many poison spottes, infected her husband fourth with. For at her enticement, and not so much for credence giuing to the serpent's wordes, as to content his wife (whose request he could not fynde in hys harte to contrary) he kept her company in her leudnes, and letted not to eate with her. But the walowe sweete pleasure of that fruite, so ne tourned to displeasure and payne. For scant was the fruite passed downe both theyr throtes, when it so began to wamble in their stomakes, that they wyshed it oute agayne, and in hys hely that counsailed them to eate it. For anone was fallen suche a merueylous chaunge, spred thowoe bothe theyr bo-

dies, that where as when they put it in the theyr mouth, they were such as it was a great pleasure eche of them to behold o'ther, and be beholde of the other: as sone as they both had eaten it, they felt suche filchy sensual motions of concupiscence, ryle and rebell againtse reason in theyr fleshe, that their heartes abbozred to be beholden and sene, either of any other or them selfe either, and for shame of theyr nakednes, couered their fleshy with figge leaves.

Now is there no dout, but that theyr wycked enemy the serpent (whyche as appeareth by the byble, abode stil by them, vntill the sentence giuen by God vnto theyr al three punishment) in his mischeuous maner highly reioysed, to see hys diuelish deuice brought vnto such passe, and had a great game to behold them come forth so comly, apparelled so richely in theyr royal robes of fygge leaves.

What a confusyon was thys vnto them, to see theyr sayned friend, theyr very deadly enemy the diuel, first by theyr owne folly so harmefullly disceiue them, and then so spitefullly slytche and laughe theym to scorn. But they had no longe leifour left them to take hede to that, ere that great confusyon was ouerwhelmed with a greater. For sodely so, they heard our Lorde commynge, and therewith for shame they fel in a scare, and fled and hydde them selfe from the face of God in the myddes of a tree. And our Lorde as though he sawe theym not, called for Adam and sayde: Adam where art thou? And he answered: Lorde I hearde thy voyce, and was afearde to come befoze thee, because I was naked, and therfore I hyd me. Who thewde thee (quoth our Lorde, that thou were naked, but because thou haste eaten of the tree, of whiche I commaunded thee thou shouldest not.

When tooke Adam away farre a wyff fro for giuenes. For he confessed not his faut, but began to excuse hym selfe, and lay the faute from hym to his wyfe, and in a maner vnto God to. The womanne (quoth hee) that thou gauest me for my companion, she gaue it me, and so I eate it. Then sayde our Lorde God vnto the woman: why dydest thou so? And shee in lykewise neuer knowledged her faut, nor asked for giuenesse, but excused her by the Serpent and sayde: The Serpent deceiued me, and so I eate it. Then gaue God the sentence of punishment vppon all three, vsing like order in declaringe of his dome, as they dyd in the doying of their

Genesid. 3. **A** thep; synne, For first he beganne at the Serpent, the fyrst malicious contrpuer of all thys mychiefe. And vnto hym he sayd: because thou hast done this, accursed be thou among all the liuing things and beastes of the earth. Upon thy brest shalt thou creepe, and earth shalt thou eate al the daies of thy lyfe. Cnempty will I put betwene thee and the woman, and betwene thy seede and hers, and she shall fruste thyne head in pceses, & thou shalt lye in a wayte to styng her heele. Than gaue he the woman her iudgement, and sayde vnto her: I shall multiply thy myseries and thy concepcons, and in sorowe shalt thou bryng forth the thy chyldren, and thou shalt be vnder the power of the man, and he shall be Lord ouer the. Than synally sayd he to Adam: because thou halfe gyuen eare vnto thy wyues wordes, & hast eaten of the tree of which I forbode thee to eate, accursed be the earth in thy woork: wyth labour shalt thou eate of the earth al the dayes of thy lyfe: it shall burgen thynges and byers, & thou shalt eate the herbes of the earth. In the sweate of thy face shalt thou eate thy bzeade, tyll thou retorne agayne into the earth, out of whych thou were taken. For duste art thou, and into duste shalt thou retorne. Than our Lord made them cotes of skynnes, and clothed them therein, and sayd: Lo Adam is like one of vs nowe, knowing both god and euyl. And God wyth that angry scozne, to kepe hym from the tree of euerlastyng lyfe, put them bothe forthwyth oute of that pleasaunt paradyse, into the wretched earthe.

Long were it here, and not of necessitye perteynyng to thys pteset point, that is to wytte the fall of our soze father, to note and declare suche thinges as in the discours of thys matter men maye note and marke vpon thys parte of the scripture. As for ensamble, that in these woordes of God wyth whych he scozned Adam saye: *Eccc Adam, factus est sicut vnus ex nobis*: Lo Adam is nowe made as one of vs, maye be well marked, that lyke as by all woordes of the whole texte appeareth plaine, that there is but one God, so is there in that God mo persons than one. For els coude he not conveniently saye: Lo Adam is nowe as one of vs, that is to wyt a God as we be, but he would haue said: Lo Adam is nowe as I am.

Those woordes also seme well to declare, that though Adam were not so fullye deceiued by the perswasion of the

Serpent as Cue was (for which Saynt Paule saythe: the man was not seduced, but the woman, whereupon Saint Augustine at good length declareth certayne differēce betwene them) yet was Adam by the meane of his wyse, some what seduced and brought into a foolishe hope, to be thowre the eatynge of that fruite, by the knowledge of good and euyl, made lyke a God. For God speakyng to Cue no woorde of that foolishe proude affeccion, taunted and checked Adam therewith specialy by name, sayenge: *Eccc Adam quasi vnus ex nobis factus est, sciens bonum et malum*. Lo Adam is nowe made as one of vs, knowynge bethe good and euyl. But this was not by the Serpentes perswasion, whom Adam woulde not haue regarded but shortly shoke hym of. But the sedusing of Adam, was by that that the Serpentes shewed woordes, came to hys eare out of his wyues mouth, whom he would suffer to speake. And therefore our Lord in declarynge hys punisshment vnto hym, layde for the cause: *Quis audisti vocem vxoris tue, maledicta terra in opere tuo, etc.* Because thou halfe gyuen eare to the woordes of thy wyfe, accursed be the earth in thy woork, and so forth. And because that the womans preachynge and babelyng to her husband, did so much harme in the begynning, and woulde if it were suffered to procede, do alway moze and moze, therefore Saynt Paule commaundeth that a woman shall not take vpon her to teache her husbände, but that her husbände shoulde teache her: and that she shoulde learne of hym in silentio, that is in silence, that is to wytte, shee shoulde lye and heare hym, and hold her selfe her tounge. For saynt Paule well foresaw, that if the wife maye be suffered to speake to, she wyll haue so manye woordes her selfe, that her husbände shall haue neuer one.

There maye be marked also in the soze sayde dyscourse, the merueylous mycheuous nature of enuye. For the diuell so well kniwe the tustyce of God, and by hys owne destruction so soze had as sayde it, that he douted not, but that hys malicious disceit shoulde not passe unpunished. And yet was he rather content to take harme him selfe, than suffer another take good. And suche a diuelysh deuyte he tooke in beholdinge the harme and thame, that he voyded not at Gods commynge, but abode to see the sentence of the dampnacion, tyll he tooke hys owne wyth hym to.

A In this discourse is to be considered also, that when God punisheth the sinner by and by, he sheweth hym thereby moze fauour, then when he dyffereth it longer. And often tynies when he delateth it, he doth it not of fauour, but of indignacion and anger. For if he had here punished Cue as soone as her selfe hadde broken hys commaundement, both had Adam bene warned by it, & her offsprynge by her synne alone, as holy doctours declare, had not losse of originall iustice, nor fallen in dampnacion of death. But for as muche as though she was created to be Adams felow, she was yet of lesse perfeccion, and moze frayle, and moze ethe to fall then hee, albeit he had as then no dominion gyuen hym ouer her, yet hys reason myghte shewe him, that to gyue her good counsaile, he should haue kept her company, whyche if he had done, the Serpent had not deceiaed her. Therfore sythe he dyd not, but by wandryng another way from her, he suffered her to miscarpe and be infected, God suffered the contagion of the selfe same infection, to stretch vnto himselfe, and thereof to growe hys destruction.

C And this maye be a warning to every man in thys worlde, to do the diligence that he possible can, to keepe every other man from hurte. For as the holpe scripture saythe: *et mandauit illis unicuique de proximo suo.* God hath giuen every man cure and charge of hys neighbour. And harne creepeth fro one to another, by mo meanes then me beware of. And he that care not though his neighbours house fall a fyre, maye happe to lese hys owne. Howbeit, as thys lesson generally pertaineth to every man, for the naturall loue and charyte that every charyte man is bounden to beare other, yet pertaineth

D most specially to those, that haue ouer other men that special charge giuen vnto the, that our Lord therfore by the mouth of Ezechiel terriblye threatheth them in thys wyse: *si dicente me ad impium, morte morieris, non annunciaueris ei, neque locutus fueris nisi auertatur a via sua impius et uiuat, ipse impius in impietate sua morietur, sanguinem autem eius de manu tua requiram.* If when I sape to the wycked man thou shalt dye, thou do not shewe it him, nor doe not speake vnto hym, that hee maye turne from hys wycked waye and lyeue, bothe shall that wycked man dye in hys wyckednes, and yet the bloude of hym that I require of thyme handes. Thys is a fearefull woorde so, to those that haue the cure ouer other folke, and a necessity

to take good heede to theyr flock, to gyde them wel, call vpon them and giue them warning of such wayes as they may perishe in. For els shall the sheepe not perishe & be punished onely, but the scabbe of the flock, that catche & consume theyr heard and al for his negligence. This is here a nother thing specially to be marked, that lyke as the kynde of man was not corrupted wyth original synne, nor lost the state of innocencye by the faute of Cue alone, which was but the febler and inferiour part, tyll Adam that was the stronger and superiour parte, made hym selfe partener to the same synne also, so is there no manne accounted a sinner God for an offender in anye deadlye actual synne, by any maner mocion or suggestion of the dyuell vnto the sensuall part, as long as the wyll after the iudgement of reason resisteth and refuseth to consent. But when reason gyueth ouer to sensualltye, whereby the man whole and entyre falleth into the consent, eyther to do a deadlye synne, or to delyte in the deuyssing and thynking vppon anye suche synnefull act, for the pleasure that he taketh in that thoughte, all were it so that he thought therewith he would not do the deede, yet were the full consent to the pleasure of that onely thoughte, full and whole deadlye synne. How be it a so de surreptitious delyte, cast by the diuel into the sensuall parte, is no sinne at all, but maye be matter of merite, except the will with reason giuing ouer therto, either consent to delite therein, or els is so negligent in looking to sensualltye, that he letteth her ouer longe alone therein, and listeth not to do hys diligence, in dyuyssing that synnefull suggestion from her. For surelye suche maner negligence, is a foze the face of God accounted for a consent, and so for a deadlye synne.

It is also specially to be marked, that the stubborne maner of Adam and Cue, not prayinge God of soz gyuenes, but excusinge theyr sinne, was in maner moze displeasure to God, than was theyr synne it selfe.

Thys is also notable to be marked, that as tenderlye as Adam loued Cue, rather content to dysplease God than her, yet when he sawe that sozow should come thereon, he woulde faine haue laid it from him selfe vnto her. And thus wil it fare by these fleshye wretched louers here, when they come in hell together, they shall curse eche other ful fast. Howbeit lettynge passe as impertinent to my matter

Eccle. 7.

Ezechel. 3.

A matter, manye thinges that myghte be marked vnto, let vs not forgette to marke this one point wel, which is þe summe of al the second point, that is to witte, lette vs consider deepely, from what weale into what wretchednesse, by the folpe of oure foze fathers, mankinde is wofully fallē, thowtwe the fals wily suggestiō of our moztal enemy þe diuell. On which thing when I bethinke me, me thinketh I mai wel say the woꝛdes of saint Iohn in the Apocalippes, wyth which he bewapleth this wretched woꝛlde, by reason of that the diuel fell out of heauen thereinto: *Ve terre & mari, quia descendit diabolus ad vos, habens irā magnam, sciens quia modicum tempus habet.* **W**ho to the earth and to the sea, toz the dyuell is come downe to you, hauyng greate anger, knowyng that he hath but a litle tyme. This too well founde oure foze fathers, when the diuell fell of pze for þys owne fall, and enuyed that they shoulde succede him, labored to bzyngē them to the place of his final dampnacion: from which he saw wel he had but a litle time left, that is to wit the tyme of thys pꝛesēt woꝛlde, which is transitoꝛy and soone shall passe, and is a tyme in all together very thort, from the first creacion to the final chaunge therof at the day of dome, if all that tyme be compared with his euerlasting fire that foloweth. He found them innocents loyful and inery, much in the fauour of God, and oft reioyngē his byꝛtacion and companye, the man and his wife eche deluyng in other, synning nothing to myselke in themselves, Loꝛdes of al the woꝛld, al beastes obedient vnto them, their woꝛke without weyrynes, their meate pleasant at hande, no necessity to die, noz any bodely hurt, hie pleasure in hope of heauen, and all their children after them.

At this hath this false Serpent bꝛast them by his discreiteful train, poisoning them with his owne pride, that thꝛewe himselfe out of heauen. For as himselfe woulde haue bene Gods selawe, so made he thē wene they shoulde. But while they went to be Goddes by the knowlege of god and euil both, they lost alas the god that that they had, & gat but euill alone. They lost their innocēcy, and became synneful: Gods fauour they lost, and fell in his displeasure, his visitation they reioyced not, but were as feard to come nere him: eche of them ashamed to behold the other oꝛ them selfe either: al beastes wer at warre with theym, and eche of theym with them selfe, their owne bodies in re-

belliō and battaile agaynst their soules, & thꝛust out of pleasaunt paradise into the wretched earth, they liuyng goten with soze sweate, their chyldꝛen borne wyth paine. Then hunger, thurst, heate, cold, sykēnes sundꝛy and soze. Sure soꝛy loꝛking, for the vnsure tyme of death: and deead after al this, of the feareful fire of hel, with like paine and wretchednes to al theyꝛ ofspꝛyng for euer.

This is to good readers the wretched chaunge that our foze fathers made, with falling into pꝛide at the diuels false suggestiō. In honour they were, and wold not see it. Honour they sought, and they by sel to shame. They woulde haue warred Gods, and were turned into beastes, as the scripture saith: *Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit, comparatus est iumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis.* **W**hen man was in honour, he perceiued it not, but he was compared vnto the foolish beastes, & to them was he made lyke, and yet broughte in deede into farre wurse condiciō. For many beastes liue with lesse labour and lesse paine to, than man, and none of thē go to hel. In daunger wherof al þe kinde of man stode, by thocasiō of their fall if the goodwille of God hadde not by his grace holp with his merciful hand. And vnto heauen had no man gone, had not our blessed sauour redeemed man, and paid his raunsome by his bitter payneful passion: wherof thocasiō was this wretched fall of man. And thus finish I the second point that I said I wold shew you, befoze I come to the woful historye of Chꝛistles bitter passion.

A prayer.

A mightye God, that of thyne infinite goodnes, didest create our first parentes in the Gate of innocēcy, wyth pꝛesente wealth and hope of heauen to come, til thowtwe the diuels traine their folp sel by synne to wretchednes, for thy tender pity of that passion that was paid for their and our redempciō, assist me so with thy gracious helpe, that vnto the subtil suggestiōs of the Serpent, I neuer so encline heares of mine hart, but that my reaso may resist them, & master my sensuality & restraine me from them.

The third point, the determinacion of the trinity, for the restawraciō of mankinde.

¶¶¶¶. When

When the diuell had thus gylefully betrayed, & thus falsly betrayed, oure first father and mother by their owne ouersyght and folpe, and therby brought into inferable estate and dampnable, them selfe with all their posteritye, neyther woulde the mighty maiesty of god, endure and suffer his malicious proude enemye the dyuell, to reioyce the wythdrawing of the kinde of man fro doinge him honour, noz the maruiculous mercy of God, abide & sustaine to see the fragile kinde of man eternally destroyed, by the deceit and circumuention of the false wylye diuel. For though his iustice was content, for euer to leese al thankful seruice (for thankles they serue him still) of these malicious angels, that without other motion then their own malice willfull turned from him, and that his mercy no cause had to counterpleade his iustice, in abiding the eternitie of the proude spirites paine, that of obdurate hart wold neuer be soze for their synne, yet in beholding the wretched decayed kinde of man brought into sinne, nor al of himself but by the futtle suggestion of his false enuious enemy, and that wold after ware meeke and repent and praye for pardō, the sharpe iustice of God and his tender mercy, entred into counsaile together. And by the deepe wisdom of God, was the meane founde, that man should be restozed, as thei should both twaine be satisfied, that is to witte, both man by iustice for his sinne somewhat punished, and yet vpon repentaunce by meane of mercye, should his fault be paid for, and from al eternall bondage mā redented and saued, and in spight of the diuel, enhaunced to moze honoure, than euer he was entyled to befoze he tooke the fall.

To deuise this way lo, was a wonderfull thing, farre passing the capacite of al the angels in heauen. For si the thā mendes must nedes be made, & in maintenance of the true iustice of God, the raunsome muste needes be paid for the kinde of man, that was by synne addicted and adyudged to the diuel, as his perpetuall thall neuer to come in heauen, who so euer should paye this raunsome, muste and was moste conuenient to bee such as wold & were able and ought it. Now ought ther this raunsom no creature but man, and therfoze si the by hym that ought it, of reason it should be moste conueniently be paid, man muste be

that should of duty paye it. But now was there no one man, able to paye the raunsome for the whole kinde of manne. For si the al the whole kinde had lost heauen, and were al in one dampnacion, condempned al to bodely death alredy, anye of the al, though he should be willynglye suffer death in recompēce of the sinne, it could nothing serue his felowes, noz yet hym selfe neither, for he paid but his dette of death for his owne part, in whiche dette and much moze him selfe was condempned alredy.

Now as for angels, neither can wee know that any woulde than do so much for man, man beinge fallen by synne fro Gods fauour: noz any of them al was able, beinge but a creature, to satisfie for the deadly trespas don vnto the creatour. And yet was it ouer this farre fro good conueniēce, that any angel should haue be suffered to do it. For the redemption of man after his fall, was a greater benefite vnto him, then was his creation. For as our mother holy church singeth in the Paschal seruice: *Quid enim nisi profuit, nisi redemi profuisse?* What auayleth it man to be bozne, were not the profit of his redemption? And therfoze if an angel had by payment mans raunsome and recompēce made for his trespas, redemed him, then wold man haue thought himselfe moze in a maner beholden to angel then to God. And thoccastion therof had bene a very foule disorder.

Thus was as I sai therfoze, the deuise of a meane conuenient for mans redēpcion, the thing that farre passed the wisdom of al the wise angels of heaue. But the dep2 and infinite high wisdom of al myghtre God, deuised the merueylous merciful iust meane him selfe, that is to wit, that by the cruel painefull death of that innocēt person, that should be both god and man, the recompence should be made vnto God for man. For that persō both beinge God, shuld be of that nature that was able to do it, and beinge man, should be of that nature that was bounden to do it. And the diuell (vntware that he were) vnrightroulye procuring that rightuous mā's death, should rightuouslye lese the power vpon man, that God had for mans vnrightroufnes, ryghtuouslye given vnto him befoze.

This excellent meane of mans redēpcion, the deepe wisdom of God deuised, and in tyme conuenient, the second person, the sonne of God, the wylsdom of the father, and the fathers expresse absolute,

Solute ymage and brightnes of his fathers
 glozy, being sent by his father and hym
 selfe and the holy gost, downe here into
 the earth and neuer the lesse abiding stil
 aboue in heauen, and in the blessed wōbe
 of the pure virgin Marye, taking into v
 nitie of person, the poore nature of man
 by the obumbracion of the hoipe ghōste,
 of the pure blood of her bodye, withoute
 mans seede or fleshly delectacion, & ther
 fore without original synne conceived,
 and without helpe of myddwyse or paine
 of trauaile borne, liuing here in payne &
 labour, fasting, watch, preachynge and
 prayer, and finallye for the truth of hys
Doctrine, by the procurement of the dy
 nel, the treason of Judas, the malyce of
 the Jewes, and cruel handes of the Pain
 nims, choow the painefull bytter passio
 and death of hys innocent manhead, not
 bounden or subiect vnto deathe, neyther
 by nature nor sinne, but by death for mā
 sake wyllynglye suffered, that excellent
 meane I saye of mans redempcion so by
 himselfe deuised, hymselfe moste graci
 ously fulfilled: and by the pleasaunt ac
 ceptable sacrifice of himselfe, obedient
 lye offered on the crosse vp to the father,
 he pacified the wyathe and indignacion
Cof God against mā, and by his glorious
 resurreccion and merueilous ascencio,
 sitting in the nature of man vpon the fa
 thers right hand, hath reduced mākinde
 (in such as wil take the benefite) to moze
 ioy, moze welth, and farre moze honour
 to, thē euer the fal of our first father lost
 vs.

How albest (as I suppose) fewe men
 haue lesse lust to moue great questions,
 & put maner of dispicions in vnlearned
 lay mens mouthes than I, which rather
 would wythe euerye man to labour for
 good affections, thē to long for h know
 ledge of lesse necessarye learning, or de
Mlite in debating of sundrye superfluous
 problemes, yet of some such demaundes
 as I now se many men of much lesse the
 meane learning, haue oft right hotte in
 hand, I shal not lette one or twayne my
 selfe here a litle to touche.

A question. First be they comonlye
 willing to searche this thing, wherefore
 mankind should mo then Adam & Eue
 them selfe, neede any redempcion at al.
 For how could it (say they) stande wyth
 the iustice of God, that for h faut of one
 ly Adame and Eue, al that euer came of
 them, shoulde fall into suche myserable
 faute? Thys question and manye suche
 other lyke, when they be of a curious

bold presumption demaunded, be not to
 bee harkened vnto and answered, but
 wyth the woordes of the blessed Apostle
 Paule, rather to be reiectted & rebuked.

O homo tu quis es qui respondeas deo? Numquid dicit fig
mentum ei quis se finxit, quid me fecisti sic? **Roma, 9.**

What art thou to take vpon thee to dis
 pute with God? Is ther any wo:kemā
 wo:ke that asketh the wo:kemā, where
 fore haste thou made me thus? And must
 almighty God thē of his wo:k wo:gought
 in man, giue a reckening to man that is
 but his hand wo:ke? Howe beit on the o
 ther syde, where suche questions are not
 demaunded of frowardnesse, of a bayne
 pryde, nor of blasphemous purpose, it is
 not onely no displeasure to God, but is
 also a good occupacion of the minde, in
 that a man deliteth to thincke vpon hea
 uenly thinges, rather then vpon earth
 lye. And many an holy man haie of no
 vayne curious mynde, but of very pure
 deuacion, byset muche studye vpon the
 foresaide quest ion. And of those holy mē
 hath diuers hadde diuers opinyōs. One
 so:rt haue thought, that by the fall of A
 dam, the whole kynde of man, not onely
 lost original iustice, and became subiect
 vnto the necessiti of temporal death, and
 therewith losse also the ioyfull blysse of
 heauen, but ouer that by the fylth of ori
 ginal synne (with whych euerye manne
 borne into this wo:ld, by natural propa
 gacion, is infected in the vicious sinfull
 stocke, in that we wer all in of Adam, as
 the fruit is in the tree, or the eare of co:rn
 in the grapne that it came of) was also
 dampned vnto perpetual payn, and sen
 sible to:ment in hel, althoughe it were a
 chylde that dyed in the cradel, whych to
 the original synne taken of hys parents
 (of whych the prophet sayth: Lo in wyc
 kednesse was I conceived, and my mo
 ther conceiued me in synne) neuer added
 actuall synne of hys owne. And from
 thys eternall dampnacion of sensyble
 paine in the fyre of hel, thei thought that
 neuer any of the kynde of man shoulde
 be preferued, but by the merytes of the
 passion of Ch:riste, and saythe in him co
 ment or to come.

Faith I saye, actual or habytual, and
 in infantes by the faithe of their paren
 tes and the faithfull church, wyth cer
 tayne sacramentes or sacrifices duelye
 referred to God, after the sundry lawes
 and ceremonies of sundry diuers times.
 wherewith these infantes haue habitu
 al faythe infused.

And

A And as touching the faith of Christ, that he shoulde once come by whom they shoulde be saued, reuelacion was giuen to Adam, Noe, Habzaham, and all the olde fathers, and by them to the people of euery generacō before the law wrytē: and at the law wrytten, reuelacion giuē to moises, and by him to the people, and after to al the prophetes, and by them to the people of Jewes of euery generacō, vnto the cōming of our Sauoure Christ hymselfe. Now as for suche folke which lyued wel according to nature, so that they lacked nothing to keepe them from the perpetuall fyre of hell, but the faith of Christ, some holi doctours haue thought, that God of his merciful goodnes, by one meane or other sayled not to giue the faith, as he that is of so merciful goodnes, that he wyll sayle no man in thing necessarye, withoute the mans owne faute.

But than other doctours that wer in this poynt of opinion wyth them, that original synne dampned euerye man to sensible paine of hel without the faith of Christe, were not in that poynte agreed wyth them, that vnto al such Pagnims as in any place liued naturallly wel, and kept them selfe from idolatry, God sent the faith of Christ to keepe them frō hel, as not suffering any man to be perpetuallye dampned to the sensyble payne of fyre, without hys owne actual fault, sith they them selfe denyed not, but that the infantes of Pagnims and of the chryste ned bothe, y deceased without baptysme, were dampned vnto perpetual sensyble paine in hel: and yet had they none actual synne of theyr owne, but onelye the synne originall.

D Howe where as thys thyng myghte happely seme hard, in the hartes of some suche as direct their eye to the mercifull nature of god, and can not also perceiue by any rule of iustice taught vnto man, eyther by reason or scripture, how thys thyng coulde agree wyth the mercifull iustice of God, these good men answer, that hell is the place for synnefull folk, and that payne is dewe to synne, and that those chyldzen and all be synnefull in originall synne. For al are synnefull, that are thowye sylthye concupiscence brought by propagation out of that sinful stocke of our first synfull father, for in that stocke were wee al, and were infected wyth synne in the same, in suche a certayne maner as all the sowze crabes

that euer come of the crabbe tre, do take the: sowzenes of the carnell whereof the tree grew. And if a pooze potter may without reproch and vncouctoled, make (as saynte Paule sayth) of one self peece of clay, two vessels, the one to serue in honest vse, the other in vyle and sylthy, where the claye whereof he maaketh the vyle vessel was nothing faulty but god, who shoulde bee so bolde and so blasphemous, as to think that God doth wrong to make and vse al those vessels for vyle, that is to wytte, al the kynde of manne whereof the claye that they all came of (that is to wytte theyr fyrr father and mother) wer ere they came of them, wayen by theyr synne bothe twayn very vyle and nought.

Wesydres this (say these god holy doctours) the scripature declareth vs, that God thus doth in deede. For saint Paul calleth al the offspring of Adam, by nature the chyldzen of wrath, sayinge: *Etamus naturis filii ire. Ubi uere (sayth he) by nature the chyldzen of wrath. And that we became suche by the corrupcion of our nature in oure firste father Adam, he sheweth w:l where he sayth: Per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum introiuit, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines mors pertransiit, in quo omnes peccauerunt.* Wp one man synne entred into the wo:ld, and by synne deathe, and so palled death thowow in to al men, thowowe that one man in whom al men haue synned.

And after he saith: *Sicut enim unus delictum mors regnauit per unum, multo magis abundantia gratie et donationis et iusticie, accipientes in uita regnabunt per unum Iesum Christum. Igitur sicut per unius delictum in omnes homines in condemnationem, sic et per unius iusticiam in omnes homines in iustificationem uite. Sicut enim per unius hominis inobedientiam peccatores constituti sunt multi, ita et per unius obedientiam iusti constituentur multi. Lex autem subintravit, ut abut daret delictum. Vbi autem abundauit delictum, superabundauit et gratia. Ut sicut regnauit peccatum in mortem, ita et gratia regnet per iusticiam in uitam eternam, per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum.* Lykewyse as by the synne of one man, deathe hath entered by one, muche moze men receyvinge the aboundaunce of grace and of the gyfte and of iustice, shall reygne in lyfe by one Iesu Christ.

Therfore lykewyse as by the synne of one manne it went into all menne vnto condemnacion, so by the iustice of one manne also, it goeth into all menne vnto iustificacion of lyfe. For lykewyse as by the disobedience of one manne, many be con-

Be constitute and made synners, so shall also by the obedience of one, many men be constitute and made ryghteous.

The law trulye hath reigned, that synne shoulde abound. But wher sinne hath abounded, ther hath grace also more abounded, that likewise as sinne hath reigned vnto death, so grace shoulde also reigne by iustice vnto euerlasting life, thozow Iesus Chzist our Lord. By these wordes of wyath, of synne, of condemnacion, of death growen bi the sinne and disobedience of Adam into al hys offsprig, that is to witte into al the kinde of man by natrall ppropagacion engendred and begotten of hym, and by the contrarye wordes of iustice, of obedience in Chzist and of iustificacion, and rightuoulnes in man thozowe grace growing into euerlasting lyfe, it well appeareth (save some doctours) that saynt Paule ment, that the death growen to all mankynde contracted by original synne from Adā, shoulde be the death of euerlasting pain.

From which saynt Paule well by all the proces of the same wordes declareth, that no man can be saued but by our sauour Chzist. Whiche thing saynt Peter sheweth yet more expressely, where he saith: *Non aliud nomen est sub celo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat nos saluos fieri.*

There is none other name vnder heauen giuen to men, in whiche we muste be saued. And that no man shal be saued without faith saynt Paule declareth, where he sayth: *sine fide impossibile est placere deo*, that is to wyl, either actuall or habituall infounded in the sacrament of baptysme, or other wise if God bee so pleased, whose power is at liberty not so bounden to his holy sacramentes, but that he may beside the, giue his grace whers he list. But with his sacramentes he hath bi his promise bound himselfe to doe, and without theyn he doth vnto fewe men, and with contempt of theyn to no man. And for thys cause sai those holy doctours, infāces be receiued to baptysme, to keepe them from the peril of eternall dampnacion and perpetual paine in the fire of hell. And of this opinion was holy Saint Austine, as in sundry plaine places of his workes wel appeareth.

Howe lithe it is so (saye they) that by the scripture this point so plainely appeareth, what shoulde wee dyspute the rightuoulnesse thereof, as though that man might attaine to see the botome of Gods rightuoulnes: Howe many thinges be there verie wel dons and rightu-

ouslye by men, which yet seme vnto chyl- dzen to be no right at al. And infinitely farther a sunder be the wysedome of god and the wysedome of the wylest man, the is the wysedome of the most foolthe childe.

The ppropet in the person of God saith, *Nō enim cogitationes mee cogitationes vestre, neque viae meae viae vestrae, quia sicut exaltantur caeli a terra, sic exaltatae sunt viae meae a viis vestris, et cogitationes meae, a cogitationibus vestris.*

By thoughtes bee not lyke your thoughtes, nor my wayes be not like your wayes, for as high as heauen is aboue earth, so high are my wayes aboue your wayes, and my thoughtes aboue your thoughtes. And therefore saythe

Roma, 11. saynt Paule: *Altitudo diuinarum sapientie & scientie dei, quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius, et inuestigabiles viae eius: quis enim cognouit sensum dominis? aut quis consiliarius eius fuit?*

Whiche altitudo or heigth of the riches of the wysedome & cunning of god. How incōprehensible or vnable to attain vnto be his iudgements: and how inuestigable be his wayes: that is to witte, how vnable to be sought and found out, who hath knowen the minde of our Lord, or who hath ben of his counsile: God hathe no rule of iustice to bee

ruled bi, but is himselfe the rule bi whose wil al iustice must be measured and shal pen. And therefore he can do none vniu-

stice. And when we be dischaged once of this greue corruptible bodye, that agreueth and beareth downe the soule, & oppresseth the minde that many thinges thinketh vpon, then shall suche folke as shal be saued, beholde and see in the glorious godheade, the very cleare solucions of suche inexplorable problemes.

With suche thinges as this, and many mo that were to long to reherse here, haue those good fathers answered thys matter, those I saye that haue thoughte, that by the synne of Adam, euerye man olde and yong, though he deceased with none other sinne than original onelye, was in likewise and in like reason, dāpned to perpetuall sensyble payne in the fire of hell, as by the bondage of the father, all hys offsprynge is in this worlde boundē vnto perpetuall thzardom. How be it to tell you the whole trouthe, holye Saint Austine whiche was amonge other of this minde and opinion, for all the reasons with whych he answered other men therein, concerning the iustice of God in the dampnacion of infantēs vnto perpetuall sensyble paine, for that onelye synne or yggynall that they contracted by the naturall ppropagacion of the

Cap. 55. b

Roma, 11.

&

Proverb, 7,

Actes. 4.

Heb. 11.

S. Austine.

A of the first condemned father, wyth all those reasons I laye wyth which he contented other men, he coule neuer yet satisfise and content hym selfe.

Foz in a certain epistle whyche he wyryteth vnto saint Hierom, he debateth this matter at length, very substanciallye, & wyth great erudicion. And in that epistle he confesseth the defence and mayntenance of that opinio foz so hard, that as he ther toucheth, som great cunning men foz the defence therof, haue ben diuened to the deuising of a very great perperous error. Foz they to maintain y iustice of God in that poynt, sayd that the soules whyche euerye man haue put in theyr bodies by succession of tyme, were all created at once, befoze the seuenth daye in whych God rested. And of those wordes that God in the seuenth daye rested, they toke a foundation foz that error, fozgetting the wordes of our Sauour:

John. 5.

pater meus usque modo operatur, & ego operor. My father woorketh still yet, and I woorked still also, but in the seuenth daye God rested from the creating of any newe kynde of creature. Then sayd they that the soules offended God befoze they came into the bodies, and that they were put into the bodies, some to be purged in them, and some to be dampned wyth them: so that the infantes that dye wyth original sin, haue the bodies woorthy dampnacion, because they naturalllye proceede out of the dampned stocke wyth lacke of original iustice, and the soule was woorthy to come into that body, by the society wherof, it shoulde bee bounden vnto eternall payne: the soule they saide was woorthy foz that other synne, with whyche it had offended God befoze it came into y bodi.

Thys fantasie were some sayne to finde, foz mayntenance of Gods iustyce, of those that held the foresaide waye in the dampnacion of infantes vnto sensyble payne in hel. But this erroneous opinio as reaso is, saint Austine reiected & confuteth. How be it that yet notwithstanding, he confelleth hym self to finde such difficulty, in the mainteyning of Gods iustice to stand wyth his owne opinion of condemnynge infantes to sensyble payne in hell, that him selfe seemeth to dout, whither God create alway euerye soule of new, oz els that aswel the soule as the body, be produced and propagate of the father and the mother, as well as the body. Foz if they so were, he thought that than the answer were moze easy, yf the whole person of the man, were taken

by naturall propagation of the substance of our first father and mother, being subject vnto that dampnacion. And therefore he despyeth saynt Hierome to consider wel that point, and searche whether it might stand with the scripture oz not. And if it might, he thought it mete yf saynt Hierome shoulde take that way to. And if not, him selfe wold not hold it neither. How be it if that way wold not be maintained, he then desired saint Hierome to wyryte vnto him, by what reaso he thought that the iustice of God myghte bee maintained, in the damning of infantes vnto sensible payne in hel. Foz he sayde that hym selfe could not se how it coulde stande wyth iustyce, that God shoulde create a newe soule that neuer offended, and put it without any desert of it self into that body, by whose company it shuld contract forthwith suche an infelicite, that the body dyeng, and the soule departing therfro vnchrystened befoze it come to discrecion, it shoulde be dampned to perpetuall tozment. And then layeth he forth there certayne reasons, with whyche hym selfe was wont to answer other men in that pointe foz the tyme, foz lacke of better. But there he requireth saint Hierome to deuise him better. Foz he playnely confelleth that those answers which himselfe was wont to make other folke in the matter, neuer satisfied noz contented hymselfe. Woulde God there remayned the answer of Saint Hierom agayne. But whether euer he made any oz not, we none synde.

And thus haue I god readers shewed you the mynde of some good holye doctors, which were of the opinion that original syn wout actual adioyned thereto, dampned the kynde of man naturallye descended from Adam, vnto perpetuall sensyble paine in the fyre of hel. Now shall ye farther vnderstande, that there are other whych haue an other manner mynde therein, whereuppon there ensueth nothyng so great difficultye concerning the ryghtuousnesse of God.

Theyr mynde in the matter is thys, that God in the creation of man, gaue to hym two states: one, competent and conuenient foz hys mortall nature, another, of speciall grace a farther state of speciall prerogative, that is to wyt, the possibilitye of immortallitye put in hys owne hande, and of the obtaynyng of eternall blyss in heauen, of whych two thynges there was nether nother naturalllye pertaynyng to hym.

If God

A If God had giuen him onely the firſte, that is to wit onely naturall, his ſoule yet ſhould haue bene immortall, ſoꝛ god created the nature ſuche. But vnto the blyſſe of heauen the fruition of the gods heade, he dyd not create it to attayne by nature, noꝛ as it ſemeth angell neyther, but by a ſpeciall gift and prerogatiue of hys grace. The body being made of the earth, and miſte wyth other elementes, was of nature dyſſoluble and mortall, as the bodies of other beaſtes be. Howe beit if God had giuen Adam no farther gift than competent vnto his nature, he had yet had a god ſtate farre aboue all beaſtes, and yet a ſtate farre vnder the ſtate that he ſtoode in by Gods farther gift. For firſt if man had had but his natural ſtate, albeit he ſhould haue had (as ſome men thinke) the rebellion of his ſenſualty againſt his reaſon, yet had he had (while he liued) the viſe of the reaſonable ſoule, and ſhoulde haue had knowledge of God, and cauſe to loue him, honour him, and ſerue hym, and had bene bounden to maiſter his ſenſualtie and reſyſt the diuel, and bi the doing of the contrary, ſhould haue deſerued hel, and by doing his dutie to God, ſhould haue deſerued to haue after this liſe, not the fruition of the Godheade that is the blyſſe of heauē, but a lyſe god, quyet and reſtful, wyth ſpiritual delite, in ſuch knowledge of God and his wonderful wooꝛkes, as reaſon at the leaſt wythoute reuelacion might attaine vnto. Which ſhould haue bene a pleaſure farre aboue the pleaſure that euer any man had, bi onely natural meanes in this woꝛld, ſithe this woꝛlde firſt began, and ſuche as I ſuppoſe who ſo euer might attain it, wold not chaūge that ſtate, wyth the ſtate of the greateſt kynge that euer raigned on earth. And yet though thei cal this the natural ſtate of man, thei meane not I thinke therby, that man was oꝛ ſhoulde haue bene able to haue lyued well after his nature, and haue attayned the ende of y ſtate by his own onely natural power, without ſpeciall ayde and helpe of God, ſith there is no creature nother hye noꝛ lowe, but as it could not without God be conſerued. And man, if he neuer had had but his natural ſtate, he ſhould haue bene in danger to do ſynne, moꝛe then he was wyth the ſtate of innocenye that God gaue him farther, and yet in that ſtate he ſinned. And therfoꝛe if not onely we which now by mo meanes than one, haue oure

naturalles bſciated, but alſo Adam, that had moꝛe the his naturalles in paradise whole and in god plighte, had neede yet of Gods grace to helpe him thereto ſtād, it muſt needes be as I ſaid, that he muſt haue needed the helpe of Gods grace to maintaine him, if he had had his onely natural ſtate. And if any man merueille that God made al his creatures ſuch, as they ſhuld alway nebe aide of his grace, let him know y God dyd it of hys double godnes. Firſt to keepe them from pride, by cauſing theym perceiue their ſeablenes and to call vpon him: & ſecondlye to do his creatures honour and comfoꝛte. For the creature (that wiſe is) can neuer thincke him ſelſe in ſo noble condicion, noꝛ ſhoulde take ſo greate pleaſure oꝛ ſo much reioyce, that he were made able to do a thing wel inough him ſelſe as to remember and conſider, that he hath the moſt excellent maieſtye of God his creator and maker, euer moꝛe attendaunt himſelſe at his elbowe to helpe him.

If any man wil hereſin take a contrary part, and affirme that mā in the ſtate of innocenye, and the aungels that folwere able of them ſelſe to haue ſtander in their foꝛmer ſtate, and by natural liberty of their wil without peculiar help of God, to haue choſen the better and to haue reſuſed the warke, and that they ſtrength therin than, and our ſeablenes in this ſtate coꝛruptcd nowe, haue they differences bi reaſon of their nature the whole and vnhurt, and ours nowe ſoze empayzed & wouided, and that the cauſe why we can not nowe wythout helpe of grace chuſe the good, but willingly aply the freedome of our wil to the choiſe of y euil, is the coꝛruptio of our nature growen by the ſinne of Adam, and that therfoꝛe befoꝛe that ſin, Adā was befoꝛe that ſal able to choſe y god of his own natural power, & angell yet moꝛe able the he, befoꝛe the ſal of Lucifer, & therupon lyſt to concludde, that neither angel noꝛ man in the ſtate of their firſt creation, neded vnto the reſiſtyng of ſynne, none other help of God but onely their natural power, to him that this liſt to reaſon, mine anſwer wil I temper thus: that thei wer of nature ſtrōger & better able naturally the we, that wil I gladly graūt. But that they wer ſo able to reſiſt ſin of their owne nature then, that they needed ſoꝛ their aſſiſtence none help of God at al, y can I ſul hardly conſent. Howe be it if any man affirme ſtꝛylye yes, I wyll kepe no ſcoles vpon the matter noꝛ almoſt in nothing

Nothing els, but leaue of and be content with that that I trust he will graunt me, that is to wytte, that they were neuer so able to withstande synne by theyr owne natural power, but that at the lest wyle yet wpyth Gods helpe (whych was redye when they woulde aske it) they shoulde haue bene able the better.

Thus haue I somewhat shewed you, of what minde some men be, concerning the onely natural state gyuen by God vnto Adam. And nowe shall I farther somewhat shewe you, what mynde they be of, concerning that state which he had by the reason of the other gyftes gyuen hym conditionally, by special prerogative aboute his natural state, which thynge he lost by the condicion broken.

They say that aboute the naturall condicion and state of hys body, God gaue hym thys gyfte, that hys bodye shoulde neuer haue dyed. He gaue him this gyfte also, that his sensual partes shuld neuer haue rebelled agaynst his reaso. He gaue hym also therewith, that he shuld neuer haue had dolour or payne in bodye, nor heauines or sojow of mind, but al thing necessary withoute wearynes or grieffe. He had farther giuen hym aboute his nature, this excellent high gift very farre, surmounting al the remanaunt, that is to wytte, vndeceivable hope and abiliti, bothe bodye and soule thozowe grace to come to glozy, the blysse I say of heaue, the ioyful frucion of the glorious trinite for euer. All these gyftes God gaue hym aboute hys naturales, and not for himself onely, but for him and for al his posteritye. But all these supernaturall gyftes he gaue hym with the knot of thys condicion, that is to wytte, that yf hee brake hys commaundement, then shuld he lese them al. And that was vnderstanden by the promise of death, and not onely by the necessity of tempoal deathe, the dissolucion of the soule and the bodye by which the man doth in dede but half die, sithe his farre better part, that is to save the soule, by that deathe dieth not at all) but bi the losse of heaue, the whole entyre man hath a very soze death, in that he is seperate and departed from the frucion of the very souerayne of life, almighty glorious God.

Nowe saye there as I tolde you there, soze some good men, that Adam by hys synne lost from hym selfe and al hys posteritye, all those gyftes that God gaue hym aboute hys nature. And therein coulde hys posteritye haue no wronge,

nor anye cause to complayne vpon God, but vpon Adam onely. For they were al gyuen vnto vs, but vpon condicio hanging on hys hand: which condicion wye hee brake, those gyftes could by no reason belong or be due vnto vs. But yet remained there hygge cause for vs to thancke God for the remanaunt. For the gyftes onely pertainyng to the natural state of man (whych I shewed you befoze) those gaue not God vnto the kinde of man, vpon condicion to be lost by the sinne of Adam, nor no man to be perpetually dappened by sensible feeling of the fyre of hel, for originall synne contracted withoute his witting, but onely for actuall synne freely committed by hys owne vicious wyl. And thā if the trowth thus be, thys matter maye partely be resembled vnto some great good pynce, whych gyuing to a pooze man for him and hys heires of hys body for euer, landes to the yearelye valure of one hundred pounce, franke and free simpliciter and wythout anye condicion woulde gyue hym farther other landes to the yearelye valure of tenne thousande pounce, with the honour of a dukedome also to him and hys said heires for euer, restrayned neuer theles wyth thys condicion, that if he coumyt any treason agaynst this pynces maiestie, this duchye with all those landes of the yearelye ten thousand pound, shuld be forsayted and losse from him and hys sayd heires perpetually, and that yet the other landes shoulde styll remain in the bloude, and that euerye man of them yf he do either treason or other great crime agaynst the king, shoulde stand vnto his personal paryl of death or other paines, accoꝝpunge to iustyce for his personall faut, without the losse of the land from the troke for the faut of any theyr successor. If nowe this mā committed treason, and lost this duchie from his heires by his deede, and yet lest them this hundred pound landes of the kinges gift besyde, there were ye wot well none of hys heires, that euer coulde haue cause to blame the king for the losse of the ducht, but had yet greate cause to thancke hym for their lyuing of the yearelye hundred pounce, whych they styll enioye of his liberal gyfte, moze by euerye grote then euer the good king ought them.

Lo thus say they, that lykewylse God tooke from the posteritye of Adam, the roiall duchye, that is to wytte, the lopes of heauen, wyth the commodyttes of those other gyfts aboute mannes nature, which

A whych he gaue Adam for hym selfe, and then vpon condicion, which condicio Adam brake. But yet he left the styll good honest liuyng of the verely hūdzd pouē, that is to wyt the commodities of mans competent state natural, whych I haue befoze partly shewed you, whych state also man hath wythout hys desert receiued, of the onely mere liberal goodnesse of God, and which comodities by affliction of perpetual payne felt in fyze, god neuer taketh from anye man, for thozz geynal syn contracted fro his foze father, wythoute actuall deadly synne of hym selfe. Now to that that the whole kynde of man, are called in scripture the chyl-
B dzen of wyache by nature, and put vnder condempnacion and death, by the synne of Adam, and suche other woordes lyke, they answer that those woordes are and well maye be ment, of the losse and condempnacion of mankynde in the losse of thenheritaunce of heauen, and of those other giftes that God had condicionallt gyuen it, aboute the competent state of mans nature, for the wyach of the condicion broken by the synne of Adam, as it were a greate condempnacion to leese a duchye wyth ten thousand pounce, and retayne onely a meane mane lyuinge of one hundred pound. And thei farther de-
C clare, that there are two maner of paines that is to wyt, *pena dampni, et pena sensus*: pain of losse, and payne of feelyng. As a man may be payned by losse of money, or losse of hys hand. Payne of losse, may be also by two meanes, eyther by the leeling of a thyng that he hath in possession, or by duty shoulde haue come vnto him, or by the leelyng of a thyng that shoulde haue come vnto hym, and yet of no duty but of the mere liberal lity of some other mā, whych for dyspleasure gyuen, chaūgeth hys wyl and withdzaueith it. I trow say they that for actual deadly synne, euer
D man that impenyent dyeth therein, is dampned both to the pain of losse, and to the payne of feelyng, that is to wytte, to the payne of the losse of the ioyes of heaue, & fructiō of the glorious sight of the Godhead for euer, and to the perpetuall sensible payne of feelyng the fyze of hell perpetuall. But for onely originall syn, they saye that no man is dampned vnto the payne of feelyng, but onely vnto the payne of the sayd losse alone. And where as the same payne of losse of the fructiō of the Godhead, is yet vnto those chryste people that are dāpned for actuall deadly synne, a greater grieve than is theyz

intollerable feelyng of the hote fyze of hell, because they were by regeneracion of theyz baptyne, made inheritous of heauen, and haue losse it by theyz owne faut, yet vnto those that die vnchrystened with none other sinne than originall, the payne of that losse is not greuous, because it was the thyng whych though it myght haue comen to theym, yet were they neuer entyted thereto in deede, nor were not by theyz owne faute the cause of theyz owne losse. And thus saye some as I shewe you, concernyng al folk olde and yonge, that neuer being chrystened nor nothyng hearpyng of Chryst, carpy no deadly sinne with the out of thys world, but synne originall onely. And as for infantes dyeng vnchrystened, al be it that in
F manye of these thynges that I haue reherfed by the way, many men wil peradventure thynk otherwys, yet in the effect and substance of the poynt whereunto al the matter dzaueith, that is to wytte, that those infantes be dampned onely to the payne of losse of heauen, and not vnto the payne of feelyng by anye sensible payne in the fyze of hel, to this poynte I thynke the most part of al Chrystendom both learned and vnlearned agree.

Now as for such as dye vnchrystened at māns state, and neuer heard of Chryst, some say one and some say a nother, as I haue shewed you befoze. And some saye that wythout the sayth of Chryst, if they come to discrecion, they must beside originall synne, dye of necessite in actuall synne, and be dampned to sensible pain. For they say, that al the deedes that euer they do, be synne. Whych saying me seemeth hard, but I wil not dispute it here. Howe be it well I wot, that some textes of scripture that they laye therfore, nothyng pzooue for theyz purpose. Yet shall I not leaue vnshewed you one comfortablc sayeng, that Maister Nicholas de Lyza toucheth vpon those woordes of saynte Paule in the eleuenth chapter of his epistle to the Hebrewes: *Sine fide autem im-*
H *possibile est deo placere quinquam. Credere enim oportet accedentem ad deum, quis est, & inquirentibus se res munerator sit.* Whychout sayth (sayth Saint Paule) it is impossible anye manne to please God. For euerpe man that cometh vnto God, must belieue that God is, and that he is the rewarder of theym that seeke hym. Whychon these woordes sayth maister Lyza, that all thoghe the people of the Jewes to who the law was gyuen, were bounden to the belief of moze then this, & the learned mē of the Jewes,
 to the

As to the beliefe of moze then the comō people, and we Chyristen people, & those that are the pytelles and learned among vs, he ratable bounden to the beliefe of moe thinges the were the Jewes, or thei that were learned among them. yet vnto the Payntins and Gentils, to who the law was not gyuen, noz neuer had heard of Chyrist, it was sufficient for their saluacion to belieue those two pointes onely which saynt Paule here reherseth, that is to wit, that there is one God, and that he wyl reward them that seke him. And those two pointes be such, as euery man may attayne by natural reason, helper forth wyth suche grace as God keepeth fro no man, but fro him that by his own defaute, eyther wyl not receyue it or deserueth to haue it wythdrawen. So that if thys be tru that master Lye saith, the is there no man of discrecion among the Gentyls or Payntins, vnfaued without hys owne defaute. And so no couloure of quarell against the iustice of god in this matter. And it is to be consydered, that master Lye ther saythe, that in the beliefe of those twoo poynntes, is impliyed the beliefe of Chyrist whych is the meane of our saluacion, in that that he whyche beleueth that God wyl reward the that seke hym, hath therin impliyed that God hath a respect vnto mans saluacion, and prouyde a meane thereunto, and so beleueth he that there is a meane of mans saluacion and reward, though he know not that the meane is Chyrist. And there though he beliene not on Chyriste, by the name of Chyrist, yet beleueth he & hopeth for the meane of saluacion, whyche is in drede Chyriste. And that beliefe sufficeth (sayth master Lye) for hys saluacion, though he think not on Chyrist of whom he neuer heard. Thus haue I shewed you, concernyng the necessite of mans redemption, and the maner of mā sal, and the thinges that he lost thereby, and the iustice of God bled therein, & as well hys iustice as hys mercy tempered together, in the merueylous meane of mans redemption sundry dyuers things. And concernyng Adams gifts and his losses for hys posseryty, I haue shewed you sundry thinges of diuers other mens opinions, in which I wyl bynde my selfe to the defence of neyther parte. Vnt thys thynge am I very sure of, that by the fall of Adam, euery man and chylde that by natural propagacion came of hym, had so berelye lost and forfayted the blyss of heaue, that neuer should noz neuer shall

any of them al attayne againe thereto, without the meane of oure mediatour & sauoure Iesus Chyriste. The merites of whole bytter passion hath redeemed vs, and thereto made vs enheritable again: as many of vs I meane, as by hys sayth wythout contempt of hys sacramentes, vse our selfe in such wyse, as by our own sin we do not wilfulli & finalli fal again fro the benefite. And thus vpon this first question wythout any bold affirmacions or opinion that I wil hold or maintain, I haue somewhat shewed you dyuers thynge that dyuers doctours saye.

¶ A nother question,

¶ **H**en are there many men in had wyth a nother question, & there in demaunde they thys. Whyle our sauour Chyrist (say they) be flowen vpon the redemption of man, all the blessed bloude of hys body, to the very folowing of the water after, and that not onely being an innocent synlesse mā and a good, but also beyng belyde that, very God to, by reason wherof the least droppe of hys blessed blood myght haue sufficed to reconpēce and satisfie for the synne of seuen whole worldes, wherfoze be not al men by the vertue of hys suche paineful death, either taken by into heauen, glozysped in body, and beutified in soule forthwyth as sone as they be bozn, or elles at the least wys, restozed to the state that Adam by hys synne lost them befoze in paradys: that is to wytte, that theyr bodyes myght be preserued from death, and the reasonable soule fro rebellion of the sensual body, and hane but the dyuel alone left hym to stryue wythal, & man discharged of al payn and vcractio, and lyue here in suche pleasaunt plight as we shuld haue lyued if Adam had not synned, and by scrupnge God in suche wyse, then in suche tyme or tymes after as God should thinke conuenient, al mē to be trāslated out of earth into the ioyes of heauen. In thys question are ther moe thynge than one. Vnt for the firste, we must marke & consider wel, that Chyriste wyllingly woulde by thozdynaunce of the whole trinitye, suffer moze payne for our redemption the was of necessite requisite. How be it though he so dyd wout necessity, yet dyd he it not without a great good cause. For y pleasure of God was, that by the hydeous tormente and wyllingly taken payn of that holy blessed and almyghty person, man shoulde two thynge consider. One, how much we be bounden and beholden to him, that wold

A would endure and sustain such horrible affliction for our sake. The other, that we should thereby consider the burden & weight of sinne, and well remember in our selfe, si the that innocent almighty person willingly suffered so fore bytter paine for the synne of other, how muche we very synneful wretches shuld of reason be wel content. euerye man to suffer for our owne. For vnto sufferance for our synne, how lothe and irkesom wold we be of our selfe, when we be so scantly styred yet thereto, for all that wonderfull sample. And where as our hard hartes are so dispituous, that manye for all the consideracion of Chyristes bitter passion and most painefull deathe, can not yet with compassion relent into teares & weepe, if he had payed our ransom, but with one droppe of his blessed blood prickted out wyth a pinne, what dout is ther but that thereat than, manye a wretche wold laugh. Now as for hyinging euery man vnto heauen forthwith vpon his birth without any moze a do, why God would not the effect of his passion to way to suche purpose, ther are mo causes the one. First that thing had bene impertinent to the nature of redempcion, the nature wherof were at the farthest, but to restore men to the libertie and freedom of theyr former state. But man in the state of innocency liuing in paradise, shoud not haue bene in that case, to haue bene forthwith translated into heauen, but shuld first haue serued God in paradise, and somewhat haue done therfore; and in al that while, haue standen styl vpon the wyning or loosing of heauen after his abearing. For if he hadde abyden in paradys vntempted manye yeares mo then he dyd, and had afterwarde befoze his translatiō vpon the suggestiō of the old serpent the diuel, and of the yong serpent the woman, eaten of the fruit as he hid, he had in any time of his life had the selfe same fal. And peradventure any of his sonnes if he had happed any to biget befoze his fall, myghte for him selfe and the posteritye coming after of his owne bodye, haue lost by the lyke fal, the selfe same state. And therfore I saye that to hying man to heauen by and by vpon his birth, was nothing belonging to the nature of redempcion, whych nature is to restore him onely to the freedom of hys first estate, whyche was not as I shewe you, man to go forthwith to heauen.

But then why we bee not at the least wyle restored vnto the same state: y state

of innocency that Adam had in paradise with al the comodities therunto perteyning. To thys I aunswere you, Chyriste when he redemed vs, how much payn so euer him selfe toke thereabout, was yet at his owne libertie to temper the fruite that we shoud take thereby. And therfore if we toke thereby much lesse fruite then we do, there could no man in reason fynde any fault therein. Howbeit as ther is no doute, but that God could by the passion of Chyriste haue redemed and restored vs, not onely to the condicionall title of inheriting heauen at length, but also to the immediate attaining of heauen forthwith vpon our birth, or to the state of innocency in paradise first, for the meane while if he had would, so dout I nothing also, but likewise as he restored vs not straight wayes to heauen, because his high wisdom wyth it was not for God conuenient, so restored he vs not to the state of innocency, because hys high wisdome well wist it was for our selfe not best. To be established in the possession of eternal wealth, wythout anye maner payne taken or anye thyng done toward the deseruyng thereof, was and is so proper to God alone, the three persons of the glorious trinitie the creator, that God woulde neuer communicate that thing with any other person being but a creature, neither man in earth nor yet angel in heauen. And therfore, man to looke for that point as the effect of hys redempcion, were ful vnrasonable and farre ouer proud a request.

Howe man to be restored to the state of innocency, God sawe that for man it was not best. For as the scripture saith: *Homo cum in honore esset, non intellexit.* When man was in honour, hys vnderstanding failed him, he could not knowe hym selfe. And therfore to the keeping of hym fro synne, and specially fro pryde the roote of al synne, a moze base estate was better. And better was it also for hym to haue two enemies, that is to wyth the dyuel and hys owne sensuality both, than for to lacke the one. For the hauinge of both, is a cause of double fear, & therfore of double diligence, to set his reason to kepe sure watche to resist theym, & for double helpe to call double so much vpon almighty God for grace. And then wyth hys so doing, he is moze able & moze sure now to subdue them both, than with lesse looking for Gods helpe, he was befoze the one: & hath yet also thereby for his double victorie against his double enemies,

A thoccafyon of double rewarde.

Besides this if god shulde by his passion haue restozed them that came to his saythe bothe the olde lawe and in the newe, vnto the state of innocency, soo that the chyldezen cꝝcumcised oꝝ chꝝristened, shoulde neuer haue dyed, tyll they were comen to discrecion and had done some deadly sinne, and that than theyꝝ nature shoulde chaunge, and by the sacrament of penauance yet bee restozed againe. than shoulde it (as holy saint Austyne sayth) haue bene a great occasion to make folke come to the saythe and sacramentes, foꝝ the commodities of this present lyfe: where as god wil haue heuen so soꝝe despyed and sought foꝝ, that he wyll haue the despyers therof, let by the pleasures of this worlde, not onely nothyng at all, but also seke foꝝ the contrary and suffer displeasure and payne.

Moreouer if it so shulde haue bene, euery persons setzete lynfull state, shulde by the sobeyne open chaunge of his nature, haue bene to his open shame, detected and disclosed in the syght of al the people. And ouer this, if it shoulde thus haue bene, than must there haue bene so many comen open myꝛacles continually, that man shuld in maner haue ben dꝛawen to the faith by foꝝce, and by that meane haue losse moꝝe than halfe the merite, whiche god woulde in no wyse of his great goodness suffre. And yet besydes this, god y well wyffe what thing the blysse of heauen is, saw that it was not conuenient, to gyue so great a gifte to euery flouthfull iauell that nothyng dyd sette therby. And he well sheweth hym selfe to sette nothyng by it, that can fynde in his heart to do nothyng foꝝ it.

Finally god wyll that it was nothyng meete, the seruaunt to stande in better condicion than his maister, as our loꝝd sayth hym selfe in the gospell. And therfoꝝe wolde he not suffer, that whyle hee came to his owne kyngdome not without trauaile and payne, his seruaunte shulde be flouthfull, and sytte and pyke their nayles, and be carped vp to heuen at their ease: but byddeth euery manne that wyll be his disciple oꝝ seruaunt, take by his crosse vpon his backe, and there with come foꝝyth and folowe him. And foꝝ this cause lo, though the paynefull passyon of Chꝝriste payde foꝝ all mankynde, was of the nature of the thyng, much moꝝe thā sufficient foꝝ the synnes of vs all, though we nothyng dyd but synne al our whole life, yet god not wil-

lyng to fyll heauen with hell hoondes, limited of his owne wisdom and godnes, after what rate and stynt, the commodity therof shoulde be employed vpon vs: and oꝝdinaryly deuised, that the myꝛtes of his payne taken foꝝ vs, shuld make oure laboure and payne taken foꝝ our selfe meritoꝝious: whiche els had we taken foꝝ our synne neuer so muche and done neuer so many good deedes towarde the attaynyng of heauen, coulde not haue merited vs a rꝑly. And this I saye oꝝdynarly. Foꝝ by speciall pꝛiuallege, his liberall hande is yet neuer the lesse at libertie, to gyue remission of sin, and to geue grace and gloꝝy, where and when soeuer he lyst.

And thus haue I some what touched the aunswere vnto this question, wherfoꝝe the paynefull passyon of Chꝝriste, restozed not man agayne vnto hꝝ former state of innocencie, that Adam befoꝝe had in Paradyse.

Now albeit that sondꝝy other questions, both may be moued and are, whiche myght be induced & entreated here, yet lest I shulde therwith make this worke to tedious, and the introduction lenger than the pꝛincipall pꝛoces of the passion, we shall be content with these fewe, as those that mooste properly perteyne vnto the matter of the redemption: and besyechyng almighty god of his gret grace that all curious appetite of bayne pꝛoblems put a parte, we may with mekenes, geue our heartes, to the very frutesfull learnyng of those necessary thinges that wee bee bounde to knowe, wee shall haue vs to the matter of the blessed passyon it selfe.

The prayer.

O Holy blyssed sauoure Iesu Chꝝriste, whiche willyngly diddest determyne to dye foꝝ mans sake, mollifye myne harde hert, and souple it so by grace, that thou woult tender compassion of thy bitter passion. I maye be partener of thyne holy redemption.

Where as I haue here befoꝝe shewed you thꝛee pointes that is to wytte, the ruine of aungell, the fall of man, and the determination of the Trinite foꝝ mans redemption by meane of Chꝝristes passion, as thꝛe thinges that were causes goyng befoꝝe, wherupon his bitter passion folowed, I doubt not but that such as are lerned, will like also, that ere I be-

gynne

S. Austine.

B.

C.

Math. 10.

D.

A gyfte with the lamentable sozpe of the passion selfe: I should first shew farther some other poyntes, that is to wyrtte by what meanes this determination of the trinitie was notified vnto man. And also the other causes of Christes death and passion, as the malice of the Jewes, the treason of Judas, and the obedient wyll of hys owne holy manhead. And verely these poyntes might wel and conueniently haue bene declared befoze, and in the treating of these. iiii. other poyntes, somewhat haue I made mencion of all these poyntes too. But I haue not thought it lyke requisite, to declare them befoze so full as those other, because the woordes of the gospel self, giue vs moze occasion to declare these poyntes in the proces of the passion selfe, then those other thze poyntes which I haue as a preamble touched moze at large befoze.

A warning to the Reader.

Here I wil gyue the reader warninge, that I wyll rehearse the woordes of the euangelistes in this proces of the passion, in latyne, word by word after my copy, as I finde it in the woork of that woorthyful father maister John Gerson, whych woork he entituled *Monastiarum*, that is to wit, one of all foure, as I haue declared pou befoze in my pzeaface, because I wil not in any woorde wyllinglye, mangle oz mutulate that honourable mans woork: but to rehearse it, that learned wyrch shal reade it here, may haue the selfe same comoditie thereby, that they maye haue by the readding of the same among his owne other woorkes, as in cōsidering such doutes as he sometime moueth concerning the cōtext of the sozpe, and in searching (if their pleasure be) every woord in his own pzo- per place, wher it was gathered and taken out of any of the foure euangelists, and soz theyz owne learning, lyst confer the place and ble their owne iudgement in thalowing oz in the controllynge of any part of hys cōtext, in the gathering and compylyng of hys pzeaface woork. But yet wil I not fully folowe the same fashio in the reherlyng of the same thing in englyshe. For if I shoulde, there neyther could any suche fruite growe thereof, and also the context of the sozpe shuld in the eye of the englyshe reader, and yet much moze in the eare of the englyshe hearer, seme very farre vnsauery, by reason of the often interposicion of the inicall letters, signifying the names of the foure

euangelistes, & some one sētence wyth so little chaunge so often repeted, & in some place y cōtext so diuersly entyphed in his colleccion, y himselfe in a note in the margine declareth himselfe to dout and stand vnsure, whether in that place he soyne & link well in one, the sūdy woordes of the euangelistes oz no. And therefore in the reherlyng of hys context in englyshe, nothing wil I put in of myne owne: but out wil I not let to leaue, any such thing as I shal think to be vnto the englysh reader, no furtheraunce but an hindzance, to the cleare pzo- gresse of thys holy sozpe, whiche wee shal wyth helpe of God in thys wyse nowe begynne.

The first chapter.

The cōtext of maister Gerson to where of lyst the rubric *De festo azimorum appropinquante. M. xxvi. R. xiiii. L. xxi. Io. xiii.*

Appropinquabat. L. autem dies festus Azimorum, qui dicitur pascha. Erat R. autem pascha & azima post biduum. Et M. factum est semper signatum quum consummasset Iesus sermones hos omnes, dixit discipulis suis: scitis quia post biduum pascha facta est, et filius hominis tradetur ut crucifigatur. Tunc congregati sunt principes sacerdotum & seniores in atrium principis sacerdotum, qui dicitur Caiphas, & consilium fecerunt. Et R. querebant L. summi sacerdotes & scribae, quomodo eum dolo tenerent & occiderent, tenebant. L. vero plebem, dicebant. M. R. autem. Non in die festo, ne forte tumultus fiat in populo. Intrauit L. autem Sathanas in Iudam qui cognominatur Scarioth, unum de duodecem. Tunc M. abiit R. L. unus de duodecem ad principes sacerdotum & summos R. sacerdotes, ut prodideret eum illis. Et L. locutus est cum principibus sacerdotum & magistratibus, quemadmodum illum traderet illis, & ait M. illis: Quid vultis michi dare, et ego vobis eum tradam? Qui R. L. audientes gauisi sunt, & prodiderunt, & pacti L. sunt pecuniam illi dare. At illi constituerunt ei triginta argenteos, & spondit. Et M. exinde R. L. querebat oportunitatem ut eum oportune, R. traderet sine L. turbis. Ante I. diem festum pasche, sciens Iesus quia venit hora eius ut transiret ex hoc mundo ad patrem, quum dilexisset suos qui erant in mundo, in finem dilexit eos:

Of the feast of the unleuened loues & pzo- ching *M. xxvi. R. xiiii. L. xxii. J. xiii.*

There appzoched neare L. the holpe day of the unleuened loues, which feast is called Pascha. For R. the pascha and the unleuened loues was two dates after. R. M. And so was it, that when Iesus had ended all these sermones, he sayde vnto his disciples: pou knowe that after twoo dayes shal be the Pascha, and the sonne of man shal be deliuered to be cru-