

# *A Treatise upon the Passion*

by

Sir Thomas More

Page and line numbers correspond to  
*The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*  
(Yale University Press), volume 13.

A complete concordance to this work can be found at  
[www.thomasmorestudies.org/publications.html#Concordance](http://www.thomasmorestudies.org/publications.html#Concordance).

Spelling standardized, punctuation modernized, and glosses added  
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## **Punctuation**

The only punctuation marks found in the earliest versions of this text are the period, comma, colon, question mark, slash, or “virgule” (/), and parentheses. Quotation marks, semicolons, dashes, exclamation points, and italics have been made use of with the goal of making the text more readily understood by present-day readers. As for the suspension points ( . . . ), these are substitutes for many of More’s slashes. He often used a slash where we would use a comma, a semicolon, a dash, or italics; but he also, quite often, used one to indicate whether a certain phrase was meant to be connected more closely with the one preceding it or with the one following it; to call attention to parallel elements in different phrases; or simply to facilitate serious reflection. He also sometimes used a slash for dramatic purposes—to indicate, perhaps, a coming sly comment, or some possibly surprising conclusion. The evident thoughtfulness with which More punctuated this book leads one to suspect that he anticipated its being often read aloud, and wanted to make sure the reader got the cadence right. He writes as though he were speaking.



*A treatise upon the Passion of Christ (unfinished), made in the Year of our Lord 1534 by Sir Thomas More, Knight, while he was prisoner in the Tower of London. To which he made this title following:*

5 A treatise historical containing the bitter Passion of our Savior  
Christ, after the course and order of the four Evangelists; with an exposition  
upon their words... taken, for the more part, out of the sayings of  
sundry good old holy doctors, and beginning at the first assembly  
of the bishops, the priests, and the seniors of the people... about the  
10 contriving of Christ's death—written in the twenty-sixth chapter of Saint  
Matthew, the fourteenth of Saint Mark, and in the twenty-second of Saint Luke. And it  
endeth in the committing of his blessed body into his sepulchre, with the  
frustrate provision of the Jews about the keeping thereof with soldiers  
appointed thereto—written in the twenty-seventh of Saint Matthew, the fifteenth of  
Saint Mark, the twenty-third of Saint Luke, and the nineteenth of Saint John.

15 First, an introduction into the story:

*Hebrews 13:14* “Non habemus hic civitatem manentem, sed futuram  
inquirimus”—“We have not here a dwelling-city, but  
we seek the city that is to come.”

20 If it be, good Christian reader, true—as out of doubt it is even very  
true—that, as Saint Paul in the afore-rehearsed words saith, we  
have not here any city to dwell in, but we be seeking for the city  
that we shall dwell in hereafter: then seemeth me that many men  
are very far overseen; such men, I mean, as I am (alack!) myself,  
that so much time and study beset about their night's  
25 lodging here, in passing by the way, and so little remember to  
labor and provide that they may have some house commodious for  
their ease, and well-favoredly trimmed to their pleasure, in that place  
whither once go we shall... and when we come once there, dwell there  
we shall, and inhabit there, forever.

30 *Sir Thomas More wrote no more of this introduction.*

### The First Point: The Fall of Angels

**T**he glorious Blessed Trinity... the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,

1 *made*: written    3 *made*: i.e., gave    5 *an exposition*: a commentary  
6 *more*: i.e., most    7 *old holy doctors*: early theologians // *at*: with  
8 *bishops*: The men referred to in Scripture as high or chief priests. // *seniors*: elders  
11 *in*: with    12 *frustrate*: thwarted; rendered ineffectual // *keeping*: guarding  
13 *appointed*: assigned    19 *even very*: quite literally    20 *afore-rehearsed*: above-quoted  
22 *seemeth*: it seems to    23 *very far overseen*: making a huge mistake    24 *beset*: expend  
26 *commodious*: serviceable    27 *ease*: comfort  
27 *well-favoredly trimmed*: handsomely furnished    28 *whither once*: to which one day  
29 *inhabit*: be inhabitants; have our abode    31 *point*: point of discussion

three distinct and diverse equal and like-mighty Persons, and all three nevertheless one indivisible and undistinct infinite, almighty God, being from before all time eternally established in the infinite perfection of their incomprehensible and undecayable glory... did when it

5 pleased them—not of any necessity, nor for increase of any commodity that their full and perfect and not increasable bliss could receive thereby, but only of their mere liberal goodness—create, of nothing, the noble, high, beautiful nature of angels, to make some creatures partners of the Creator’s goodness. And albeit that in that

10 excellent company of angels all were not of like perfection, but ordinally divided into diverse orders and degrees, the higher in excellence of nature far surmounting the lower: yet did the lowest far pass and excel the natural state that mankind afterward had in its creation. But yet had not the angels

15 forthwith in their creation given unto them the perfect bliss, heaven, nor were forthwith endowed with the very fruition and plain beholding of the glorious Trinity, but were left in the hand of their own free will and liberty... either, with help of God’s grace, by turning to God with laud and thanks for that they had already of his gift,

20 to be received by grace unto that glory... or else, willingly declining from grace and turning themselves from God, as graceless caitiffs frowardly to fall into wretchedness. For if they had once already had the very sight of God at that time... in such wise as the glorious company of angels and saved souls blessedly have it now, the

25 heavenly beholding thereof must needs have been so delectable and so joyful unto them, and so should have pierced and fulfilled them thoroughly with sweetness, that it should not have left any place in them for any contrarious appetite or affection to enter. But now standing thus, in the liberty of themselves... with those excellent, beauteous

30 gifts of their nature, and being by grace moved to turn unto God and love him, and give him condign thanks, for the same: great multitude followed that instinct of grace and so *did*—and were of God therefore exalted into the clear sight of the Godhead, and by grace

1 *like-mighty*: equally powerful    2 *one*: i.e., one same  
 2 *undistinct*: undifferentiated (in divinity)    4 *incomprehensible*: illimitable; boundless  
 4 *undecayable*: incorruptible / undiminishable    6 *commodity*: good; benefit  
 7 *mere*: sheer // *liberal*: generous; bountiful // *of*: out of    8 *noble*: magnificent  
 9 *partners*: partakers    10 *excellent*: lofty; exalted // *like*: the same  
 11 *ordinally*: in an ordered sequence // *orders*: classes // *degrees*: ranks  
 12 *surmounting*: transcending    13 *pass*: surpass    15, 16 *forthwith*: right away  
 16 *fruition*: satisfying enjoyment    19 *laud*: praise // *that*: what // *gift*: giving  
 20 *willingly declining*: deliberately turning aside    21 *from*: i.e., away from  
 21 *graceless caitiffs*: depraved villains    22 *frowardly*: perversely // *once*: ever  
 26 *pierced*: penetrated // *fulfilled*: satisfied    28 *contrarious*: oppositional  
 28 *appetite*: interest / longing // *affection*: inclination    31 *condign*: fitting  
 31 *the same*: i.e., those excellent, beauteous natural gifts of theirs  
 31–32 *great multitude*: a great number (of them)    32 *instinct*: prompting  
 32 *were of*: were by    33 *Godhead*: Supreme Being

confirmed and established in the full surety of joyful, perfect bliss and everlasting glory.

5 *Lucifer*, on the other side, an angel of excellent brightness, willingly letting slip the grace and aid of God... wherewith he was stirred to look *upward*, unto his *Maker*, began in such wise to look  
 10 *downward*, upon *himself*, and so far forth to delight and dote in the regarding and beholding of his own beauty, that albeit he well wist he had a Maker infinitely far above him... yet thought he himself meet to be his match! And as wise as he was of nature, yet pride  
 15 made him so frantic... that he boasted that he would be God's fellow in deed, saying unto himself, "In caelum conscendam, super astra Dei. Exaltabo solium meum, et sedebo in monte testamenti, in lateribus aquilonis. Ascendam super altitudinem nubium: similis ero Altissimo"—"I will ascend into the heavens,  
 20 above the stars of God. I will exalt my seat, and will sit in the hill of the testament, in the sides of the North. I will ascend above the height of the clouds... and I will be like unto the Highest." But, as he used this blasphemous presumption in his mind against the great majesty of God, he was suddenly cast out... and  
 25 *thrown down*, with an infinite number of the like traitorous angels, as the prophet Isaiah toucheth him in these words:  
 30 *Isaiah 14:12* "Quomodo cecidisti de caelo, Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris! Corruisti in terram!"—"How art thou fallen out of the heavens, Lucifer, that sprang in the morning! Thou art fallen  
 35 *Isaiah 14:15* into the earth!" And afterward he saith, "Veruntamen, ad infernum detraheris, in profundum lacu"—"Howbeit, thou shalt be drawn down into *hell*—into the depth of the lake!" These words, with others, the prophet Isaiah rehearseth (in the fourteenth chapter) in resembling the fall of Nebuchadnezzar  
 40 unto the ruin of Lucifer. And as well of his fall as the fall of his fellows... may well be verified the words of Saint John in his Apocalypse...

1 *surety*: assurance    3 *side*: i.e., hand // *excellent*: superlative; unsurpassed  
 3 *brightness*: splendor    4 *willingly*: deliberately    5 *wise*: a way    7 *wist*: knew  
 9 *meet*: fit; qualified // *match*: equal / rival // *wise*: intelligent / sane // *of*: by  
 10 *frantic*: delirious; wildly deranged    11 *fellow*: peer // *deed*: actuality  
 15 *exalt my seat*: set my throne on high    15, 16 *in*: on    16 *hill*: mount  
 16 *testament*: covenant    18 *used*: was engaging in; was carrying on  
 20 *infinite*: incalculable // *like*: similarly    21 *toucheth*: says of / taunts  
 24 *that*: who    27 *howbeit*: however    28 *rehearseth*: relates    29 *resembling*: likening  
 30 *of his fall*: by his fall    31 *fellows*: cohorts // *verified*: proven fulfilled

*Revelation 12:7-9*      where he saith (in the twelfth chapter), “Et factum est praelium magnum in caelo: Michael et angeli eius praeliabantur cum dracone. Et draco pugnabat, et angeli eius; et non valuerunt, neque locus inventus est eorum amplius in caelo. Et proiectus est draco ille magnus... serpens antiquus qui vocatur ‘Diabolus’ et ‘Satanas,’ qui seducit universum orbem; et proiectus est in terram, et angeli eius cum eo missi sunt”—“There was a great battle in heaven: Michael and his angels fought with the Dragon. And the Dragon and his angels fought, and were not able; nor their place was no more found in heaven. And out was thrown that great dragon—the old serpent which is called ‘the Devil’ and ‘Satan,’ which seduceth and deceiveth the whole world—and he is thrown down into the earth, and his angels be cast down with him.”

Thus the inflexible justice of Almighty God cast out of heaven Lucifer and all his wicked, proud spirits, and deprived them from his grace forever... and thereby from all hope and comfort of recovery of any manner attaining to the celestial glory... but forever condemned to pain. Howbeit, not to the uttermost part of their pain at the first, nor all to pain alike; but as their offenses were not all alike, but some part of them, by reason of their more noble nature and greater gifts of God received, their unkindness so much the more—and their sin so much the more—grievous; and in diverse angels also diverse degrees of malice... in some the more, in some the less: so did the righteousness of God temper and proportion their punishments, driving the great devil down into the deep-dark den of hell, into the very bottom and center of the earth, and others hover about... into the air, and over parts of the earth and the sea... which (with continual recourse and counsel had with their chief prince and ruler, Lucifer, that reigneth as king over all the children of pride) do, and shall do till the Day of Doom, persecute, attempt, deceive,

9 *were not able*: i.e., didn't have what it would have taken for them to win out

14 *the . . . God*: i.e., Almighty God in his inexorable justice

15 *deprived*: debarred      20 *noble*: exalted / magnificent

21 *unkindness*: ingratitude      21, 22 *so*: that

23–24 *the righteousness of God*: i.e., God in his righteousness

25 *great*: chief      27 *which*: who      29 *that*: who

30 *the Day of Doom*: Judgment Day // *attempt*: try with temptations

trouble, vex, and punish such as they can catch into their claws...  
of the seely, sinful kind of man. And then at the Final Judgment  
they shall all (as they, to their further discomfort, be surely shown  
already) lose all their authority and rule over man... and enter  
5 *with* evil men into the selfsame infernal fire that was first and  
principally prepared for themselves; and therein shall they, with the  
sinful souls that have left God and followed them, in torments  
intolerable burn in hell forever.

Let us here now, good readers, before we proceed further, consider  
10 well this matter, and ponder well this fearful point: what horrible  
peril there is in the pestilent sin of pride; what abominable  
sin it is in the sight of God when any creature falleth into the  
delight and liking of itself—as the thing whereupon continued... inevitably  
faileth not to follow, first the neglecting, and after the contemning,  
15 and finally... with disobedience and rebellion... the very full  
forsaking, of God.

If God was so wroth with pride... that he spared not to drive down  
into *hell* for pride... the noble, high, excellent angels of *heaven*:  
what state can there be so great in *this wretched* world... that hath not  
20 high cause to tremble and quake, every joint in his body, as soon  
as he feeleth a high, proud thought enter once into his heart,  
remembering the terrible commination and threat of God in Holy  
*Wisdom 6:7* Scripture, “Potentes potenter tormenta patientur”—“The  
mighty men shall mightily suffer torments”?

And then, if it be so sore a thing, and so far unsitting in the sight of  
God, to see the sin of pride in the person of a great estate, that  
hath, yet, many occasions of inclination thereunto: how much *more*  
abominable is that peevish pride in a lewd, unthrifty *javel*...  
that hath a purse as penniless as any poor peddler, and hath, yet, a heart  
30 as high as many a mighty prince? And if it be odious in the sight of  
God that a woman beautiful indeed... abuse the pride of her beauty

1 *vex*: harass; pester    2 *seely*: weak // *kind of man*: human race  
3 *discomfort*: unhappiness    3–4 *surely shown already*: let know already for a definite fact  
11 *pestilent*: pernicious; deadly    13 *delight . . . of*: delighting in and admiring of  
14 *after*: afterward // *contemning*: disrespecting    16 *forsaking*: renouncing; repudiating  
17 *wroth with*: wrathful at    18 *noble*: high-ranking / magnificent // *high*: exalted; august  
18 *excellent*: superior    19, 26 (*e*)*state*: dignitary    20 *high*: great  
21, 30 *high*: puffed-up; conceited    22 *commination*: denunciation  
25 *sore*: grievous; terribly bad  
25 *far unsitting in the sight of*: extremely incongruous in the eyes of / far from sitting well with  
26 *that*: who    28 *peevish*: senseless; foolish // *lewd*: low-class // *unthrifty*: shiftless  
28 *javel*: good-for-nothing    29 *purse*: money bag    31 *abuse*: misuse  
31 *pride*: treasure; asset

to the vainglory of herself: how delectable is that dainty damsel  
to the Devil... that standeth in her own light and taketh herself for  
fair, weening herself well liked for her broad forehead... while the  
young man that beholdeth her... marketh more her crooked nose?  
5 And if it be a thing detestable for any creature to rise in pride  
upon the respect and regard of personage beauty, strength, wit,  
or learning, or other such manner thing as by nature and grace are  
properly their own: how much *more* foolish abusion is there in  
that pride by which we worldly folk look up on height and  
10 solemnly set by ourselves, with deep disdain of other, far better  
men, only for very vain worldly trifles that properly be not our  
own? How proud be men of gold and silver!—no part of *ourselves*,  
but of the *earth*; and of nature no better than is the poor copper or  
tin, nor to man's use so profitable as is the poor metal that  
15 maketh us the plowshare, and horseshoes, and horse nails.  
How proud be many men of these glistening stones... of which the  
very brightest, though it cost thee 20£, shall never shine half so  
bright, nor show thee half so much light, as shall a poor halfpenny  
candle! How proud is many a man over his neighbor... because  
20 the wool of his gown is finer?—and yet, as fine as it is, a poor sheep  
wore it on her back before it came upon his; and all the while she  
wore it... were her wool never so fine... yet was she, pardie, but a *sheep*!  
And why should he be now better than she by that wool... that, though  
it be his, is yet not so verily his... as it was verily hers? But, now, how  
25 many men are there proud of that that is not theirs at all? Is there  
no man proud of keeping another man's gate? Another man's  
horse? Another man's hound or hawk? What a bragging maketh  
a bearherd... with his silver-buttoned baldric... for pride of another  
man's bear! Howbeit, what speak we of "other men's" and "our  
30 own"? I can see *nothing* (the thing well weighed) that any man may  
well call his own; but as men may call him a fool that beareth  
himself proud because he jetteth about in a borrowed gown, so

2 *standeth in her own light*: i.e., blocks out the light by which she could see herself clearly,  
and thus sabotages herself    3 *fair*: lovely // *weening*: thinking  
3 *well liked*: much admired // *broad forehead*: An effect achieved by a tight binding up  
of the hair; see *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, 2.17.    3 *while*: when  
4 *marketh more*: i.e., is noticing more than he did before  
6 *personage beauty*: beauty of personal appearance; physical beauty // *wit*: intelligence  
8, 11 *properly*: in a strict sense; strictly speaking    8 *abusion*: impropriety  
9 *look up on height*: look at others as though from above; adopt a haughty air  
10 *solemnly*: seriously // *set by*: make much of    11 *for*: on account of  
11 *very vain*: really worthless    14, 18, 20 *poor*: lowly; measly  
16 *glistening*: glittering / glistening    22 *never so*: no matter how  
22 *pardie*: by golly    23 *by*: on account of  
26 *keeping*: guarding / taking care of    29 *what*: i.e., why  
30 *weighed*: considered    30–31 *may well*: can rightly  
31–32 *beareth himself proud*: adopts a proud demeanor    32 *jetteth*: struts

may we be well called very fools *all*... if we bear us proud of anything  
 that we have here. For nothing have we here of our own—  
 not so much as our own bodies!—but have borrowed it all of God, and  
 yield it we must again, and send our seely soul out naked, no man can  
 5        *1 Corinthians 4:7*        tell how soon. “What hast thou,” saith Saint  
    Paul, “that thou hast not received? And if  
 thou have received it, whereof gloriest thou, as though thou hadst  
 not received it?” *All* that ever we have, of God we have received—  
 riches, royalty, lordship, beauty, strength, learning, wit,  
 10        body, soul, and all. And almost all these things hath he but *lent*  
    us. For all these must we depart from, every whit, again... except  
 our soul alone. And yet that must we give God again also, or else  
 shall we keep it still with such sorrow... as we were better lose it.  
 15        And for the misuse thereof, and of our bodies therewith, and of all  
    the remnant of that borrowed ware... whereof we be now so proud,  
 we shall yield a full strait account, and come to a heavy  
 reckoning, and many a thousand body and soul together burn in hell  
 eternally... for the peevish pride of that borrowed ware so  
 gloriously boasted before in the transitory time and short, soon-passed  
 20        life of this fond, wretched world. For surely this sin of  
    pride, as it is the first of all sins, begun among the angels in  
 heaven, so is it the head and root of all other sins... and of them  
 all, most pestilent. But it is not my purpose to declare here... by the  
 manifold branches thereof... all the kinds of mischief that proceedeth  
 25        upon it (for that would occupy more time than were meet for this  
    present matter), but only will I counsel every man and woman  
 to beware even of the very least spice thereof. Which seemeth to be  
 the bare delight and liking of ourselves for anything that either is  
 in us... or outwardly belonging to us. Let us every man lie well in  
 30        await of ourselves, and let us mark well when the Devil first  
    casteth any proud, vain thought into our mind, and let us  
 forthwith make a cross on our breast and bless it out by and by...

1 *bear us proud of*: take pride in     3, 8 *of*: from  
 4 *yield it we must again*: give it back we must // *seely*: poor  
 7 *whereof*: for what reason     9 *richesse*: wealth // *wit*: intelligence  
 12 *yet*: even // *again*: back     13 *sorrow*: grief  
 13 *were . . . it*: would be better off losing it     15 *remnant*: rest  
 15, 18 *ware*: stuff     16 *full*: quite // *strait*: rigorous // *come to*: arrive at  
 16–17 *heavy reckoning*: steep bill     18 *peevish*: senseless; ridiculous // *of*: in  
 20 *fond*: fatuous; inane     23 *pestilent*: destructive; deleterious  
 23 *purpose*: intention // *declare*: elucidate     24 *mischief*: harm  
 24–25 *proceedeth upon*: issue from     25 *occupy*: take up // *were*: would be  
 25 *meet*: fitting     27 *spice*: trace; smidgen     28 *bare*: mere  
 28 *delight*: i.e., delight in // *liking*: admiring  
 29 *outwardly*: externally // *us every man*: every one of us  
 29–30 *lie well in await*: remain very watchful  
 32 *forthwith*: at once; promptly // *cross*: i.e., Sign of the Cross  
 32 *it*: i.e., that proud thought // *by and by*: right away

and cast it at his head again. For if we gladly take in one such  
 guest of his, he shall not fail to bring in two of his fellows soon  
 after—and every one worse than other. This point expresseth well  
 the Spirit of God by the mouth of the prophet... where he noteth the  
 5 perilous progress of proud folk, in the person of whom he saith in  
     *Psalm 12:5*            this wise: “Dixerunt, ‘Linguam nostram magnificabimus;  
                                     labia nostra a nobis sunt; quis noster dominus est?’”—  
 “They have said, ‘We will magnify our tongues; our lips be our own;  
 who is our lord?’” First they begin, lo, but, as it were, with a vain  
 10 delight and pride of their eloquent speech, and say they will set it  
 out goodly to the show; wherein yet seemeth little harm, save a  
 fond, foolish vanity, if they went no farther. But the Devil, that  
 bringeth them to that point first, intendeth not to suffer them rest  
 and remain there; but shortly he maketh them think and say  
 15 further, “Labia nostra a nobis sunt”—“Our lips be our own; we have  
 them of ourselves.” At what point are they now, lo? Do they not  
 now... the thing that *God* hath *lent* them... take for their own, and  
 will not be acknown that it is his? And thus become they thieves unto  
 God! And yet, lo, the Devil will not leave them thus, neither, but  
 20 carrieth them forth farther... unto the very worst point of all.  
 For when they say once that their lips be their own, and of themselves,  
 then against the truth (that they have their lips *lent* them, of  
 our *Lord*) their proud hearts arise, and they ask, “Quis noster  
 dominus est?”—“Who is our lord?”—and so deny that they have any  
 25 lord at all! And thus, lo, beginning but with a vain pride of their  
 own praise, they become, secondly, thieves unto God... and, finally,  
 from thieves they fall to be plain rebellious *traitors*, and refuse  
 to take God for their God—and fall into the detestable pride that  
 Lucifer fell to himself! Let us therefore (as I said, good Christian  
 30 readers) beware of this horrible vice, and resist well the very first  
 motions thereof; and the first suggestions of the Devil... as the young  
     *Psalm 137:8-9*          infants of Babylon... let us allto frush and break  
                                     in pieces against the “stone” that is our sure,  
 strong Savior Christ... with consideration of his great *humility*...

1 *cast it at his head again*: throw it back at his head // *gladly*: willingly  
 2 *fellows*: companions; associates  
 3-4 *expresseth*... *God*: i.e., the Spirit of God expresses well  
 4 *the prophet*: i.e., David   5-6 *saith in this wise*: speaks thusly  
 8 *magnify*: glorify   10, 25 *of*: in   11 *goodly to the show*: on great display  
 11 *yet*: so far // *save*: except for   12 *fond*: fatuous   13 *suffer*: let  
 18 *be acknown*: acknowledge   22 *of*: by   23 *arise*: i.e., rise in rebellion  
 25-26 *of their own praise*: i.e., in praise they’re getting from their own selves  
 31 *motions*: stirrings // *suggestions*: promptings; temptations  
 31 *of*: from   32 *allto*: soundly // *frush*: smash

by which he—being as verily God as man—humbled himself for our sake (to redeem us out of the proud Devil’s dominion!) unto the vile death of the cross. Which is the matter, of his bitter Passion, whereof I have taken in hand to treat... and have, for the first point  
 5 toward it, told you the sore fall of the proud angels, whereby, in part, the occasion of our damnation... and consequently, for our redemption, the occasion of Christ’s Passion... grew.

*A Prayer*

**O** glorious Blessed Trinity, whose justice hath damned unto  
 10 perpetual pain... many proud, rebellious *angels*, whom thy goodness had created to be partners of thine eternal glory: for thy tender mercy, plant in *my* heart such *meekness* that I so may, by thy grace, follow the motion of my good angel... and so resist the proud suggestions of those spiteful spirits that fell... as I may, through the  
 15 merits of thy bitter Passion, be partner of thy bliss... with those holy spirits that stood... and now, confirmed by thy grace, in glory shall stand forever.

The Second Point: The Creation and Fall of Mankind

**T**he glorious Majesty of Almighty God, after the afore-rehearsed ruin  
 20 and fall of angels, not willing to suffer the malice of his proud, envious enemies... make such a diminishment in his glorious court of heaven, determined, of his great goodness, to create a new kind of creature... wherewith he would make up and fulfill, with glorious blessed *people*, the number of all those evil angels... that were, through  
 25 their high, malicious pride, thrown out of wealth into wretchedness.

This new kind, then, that he would for this purpose create, the deep wisdom of God determined marvelously to mingle and temper. For since it should be able (with help of his grace) to attain unto such high, heavenly glory, he would have it spiritual and

3 *vile*: ignominious // *the cross*: i.e., crucifixion // *matter*: subject  
 5 *told you*: i.e., told you about // *sore*: terrible // 7 *grew*: came about  
 9 *whose*: i.e., who in thy // 10 *thy*: i.e., thou in thy  
 11, 15 *partner(s)*: partaker(s); sharer(s) // 13 *motion*: prompting  
 13–14 *proud suggestions*: temptations to pride  
 16, 17 *stood/stand*: remain(ed) standing; remain(ed) unfallen  
 19 *afore-rehearsed*: above-related // 20 *willing*: wanting  
 20 *suffer*: let // 22, 27 *determined*: decided // 23 *fulfill*: fill to the full  
 23 *glorious*: glorified // 24 *blessed*: holy // 25 *high*: great; extreme  
 25 *wealth*: well-being // 26–27 *the deep wisdom of God*: God in his deep wisdom  
 27 *marvelously*: wondrously // *mingle*: make as a mixture of elements

immortal; and yet, to refrain it from the proud heart... that Lucifer had, and his fellows, in *their* spiritual and immortal substance: God determined that this new kind of creature... should also be bodily gross and mortal. And thus, after this visible world made, and air,  
 5 earth, and sea furnished with fowl and fish, and beasts, grass, herbs, trees, and fruit: he made the *body* of man... of the slime of the earth; and created of nothing... the *spiritual* substance, of the soul, after the image and similitude of *himself*... in that he endowed it with the three great gifts memory, understanding, and will, in a  
 10 certain manner of resemblance of the glorious Blessed Trinity—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

*This* kind, of *man*, created God of a marvelous convenience also... with all other manner of creation. For he made it have a *being*, as hath the dead stone; a *life*, as hath the insensible tree; a *sensible*  
 15 *feeling*, as hath the unreasonable beast; a *reasonable understanding*, as hath the celestial angel.

Thus, our forefather Adam being created of the earth, and our mother Eve formed and framed out of the rib of his side  
 20 *Genesis 2:7, 21–22* (as in the first and the second chapter of Genesis is declared); albeit that they were ordained unto the high, pleasant palace of heaven: yet, lest over-sudden enhancing so high might make such pride spring in their hearts as might be the cause of their driving down again, the great goodness of God *measured* their state and wealth, setting them... not on high in heaven,  
 25 but beneath, in the pleasant garden, or orchard, of earthly Paradise. And for the further safeguard of their persons from pride... he gave them precepts and commandments—whereby they should remember and consider themselves to be but servants. And therefore he both bade them there to be occupied, and *work*, in the keeping of that  
 30 pleasant garden... and also forbade them the eating of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. And yet unto their farther acknowledging of subjection, and repressing of all occasion of pride, he set upon the breaking

1 *refrain it from*: i.e., keep it from having    2 *fellows*: cohorts    3 *determined*: decided  
 3–4 *bodily gross*: physically bulky    4 *made*: i.e., was made    5, 15 *beast(s)*: animal(s)  
 6 *of the slime*: out of the slime    7 *created of*: created out of    8 *similitude*: likeness  
 12 *kind*: i.e., kind of creature // *created God of*: i.e., God gave in its creation  
 12 *marvelous*: wondrous // *convenience*: correspondence    14 *dead*: inanimate  
 14 *(in)sensible*: (in)sensate; (un)endowed-with-sensation  
 15 *(un)reasonable*: (un)endowed-with-reason; (non)rational    20 *declared*: stated  
 20 *ordained unto*: i.e., meant to end up in    21, 25, 30 *pleasant*: delightful  
 21 *enhancing*: lifting    23 *driving down again*: i.e., being driven back down  
 23 *the great goodness of God*: God in his great goodness    24 *measured*: moderated  
 24 *wealth*: well-being; prosperity

of his behest... the threat of a very sore pain: that is to wit, that  
 whensoever they did eat of the forbidden tree, they should die.  
 That is to wit, that—whereas they had now their bodies such as,  
 though they might die by their *own* default, yet such as without  
 5 their default should never die—there should after that his commandment  
 were by them broken... enter into their bodies, and into  
 the bodies of all their posterity, an inevitable necessity of dying. Thus  
 had God, of his high goodness, set them in the possession of a right  
 wealthy state... and in the expectation of yet a far passing better... of  
 10 which they could never fail without their own default. And to keep  
 them from falling into the fault, he was ready to assist them with his  
 grace; and against proud disobedience that might make them fly from  
 his grace, he graciously fenced and hedged in their hearts with fear.  
 Now stood our father Adam and our mother Eve—lords of all the whole  
 15 earth, had full dominion over all the beasts of the same—out of dread  
 of death or any bodily hurt. And authority they should have  
 had over all their own offspring... with which they were, with the  
 blessing of God, commanded to “increase and multiply, and replenish  
 the world.” Their palace was the most pleasant place, of Paradise.  
 20 Their apparel was the vesture of innocence—more glorious than cloth  
 of gold! Their nakedness as far from dishonesty, and all cause of shame,  
 as their bodies were far from all filthy tokens of sin. Their sensual parts  
 conformable unto reason. Against their souls... no rebellion in their  
 obedient bodies. Which for a season should have endured there... without  
 25 age, weariness, or pain, without spot or wem or any decay of  
 nature... preserved continually by the wholesome fruits and help of  
 God’s hand. And all their children forever, after the same rate. And  
 each, at sundry times, when God’s pleasure were, should have  
 had their bodies changed suddenly into a glorious form... and, without  
 30 death, depart out of the earth... carried up with the soul into the bliss  
 of heaven, there to reign in joy and bliss eternally with God, fulfilling  
 the places from which the proud angels fell. This was, lo, the state in

1 *behest*: command // *sore pain*: severe punishment

3 *that is to wit*: that is to say; in other words    4 *might*: could // *by*: through

4 *default*: fault

4–5 *such . . . default should*: i.e., those without personal guilt would; those who did not  
 do so through their own fault would    5 *should after that*: would after

8–9 *right wealthy*: very prosperous    9 *passing*: surpassing

9–10 *of which they could never fail*: which they could never miss out on

10 *without their own default*: i.e., except through their own fault

11 *fault*: blameworthiness; guilt    13 *graciously*: through divine grace / benevolently

15 *out of*: free from    21 *dishonesty*: indecency

22 *filthy*: nasty // *tokens*: vestiges; telltale signs

23 *conformable unto*: compliant with    24 *a season*: a while; a certain length of time

24 *endured*; remained    25 *age*: ageing // *spot*: blemish // *wem*: disfigurement

25 *decay of nature*: natural deterioration    26 *of*: from

27 *after the same rate*: in the same manner    28 *sundry*: varying

29 *suddenly*: instantly // *glorious*: glorified    30 *out of*: from

31 *fulfilling*: filling up

which our first father stood—a state full of heavenly hope of eternal joy  
 to come, and a state for the meanwhile... full of present wealth. But oh,  
 woe worth wicked envy, the daughter of pestilent pride! For the proud,  
 hateful enemy of God... and traitorous *wretch*, the Devil, beholding  
 5 this new creature, of mankind, set in so wealthy state, and either  
 conjecturing by his natural understanding... or, to the increase of his  
 grief for his proud, envious stomach, having it revealed unto him... that  
 of this kind should be restored the ruin that was happed in  
 heaven... by the fall of himself and his fellows, conceived so great  
 10 heart-burning against the kind of man therefor... that he rather would  
 wish his own damnation doubled so that he might destroy them...  
 than suffer God honored in them, and them so to proceed and prosper...  
 that their gross, mingled nature, so base in respect of his, should  
 ascend up to that height of heaven that himself was fallen from.  
 15 The Devil then devising with himself upon some mischievous  
 means by which he might bring mankind unto destruction... called  
 to mind the means by which he had before wretchedly destroyed  
 himself. And as he saw his own damnation grown by the occasion  
 of pride, so wist he well that if he might, by some wily suggestion,  
 20 bring pride into the kind of man... and make the first fathers disobey  
 God's commandment—then would God, of his justice, keep his  
 promise in their punishment, and take from the posterity the gift that  
 he promised their forefather for them, if the condition were broken  
 upon which he gave it. Upon this, this old serpent the Devil, being,  
 25 *Genesis 3:1* as the Scripture saith, wiler than all the beasts  
 of the earth, would not begin at the man, whom  
 he perceived to be wiser, and more hard to beguile, but first began at  
 the woman, as the kind in wisdom more weak, more light of belief,  
 and more easy to be beguiled; whom if he might make on his side, then  
 30 should he and she together... be twain against one. And the wily  
 wretch perceived well also... the tender mind that the man had to his  
 make; and thereby guessed (as it there happed, and elsewhere happeth

2 *wealth*: well-being; prosperity    3 *woe worth*: cursed be // *pestilent*: pernicious  
 5 *so wealthy*: so prosperous a    6 *conjecturing*: guessing    7 *for*: on account of  
 8 *stomach*: disposition    8 *kind*: species // *was happed*: had taken place  
 9 *fellows*: cohorts    10, 20 *the kind of man*: humankind; the human race  
 10 *therefor*: on that account    11 *so*: provided    12 *suffer*: i.e., bear with having  
 13 *gross*: inferior // *mingled*: composite // *in respect of*: in comparison to  
 14 *himself*: he himself    15 *devising*: deliberating // *mischievous*: evil  
 18 *grown*: having come about    19 *wist*: knew // *might*: could  
 19 *suggestion*: temptation    20 *fathers*: parents    22 *in*: regarding  
 26 *begin at*: start with    27 *wiser*: more intelligent / more sensible // *at*: with  
 28 *kind*: gender // *wisdom*: intelligence / good sense  
 28 *light of belief*: unstable of belief; credulous    29 *easy*: ready  
 29 *might make*: could get to be    30 *twain*: two    31 *to*: toward    32 *make*: mate

oft) that to bring man to woe, the woman may do more... than, with all his craft, the Devil can do himself. This wily serpent, therefore, the Devil, devising to entice this woman to this deadly deed, took his time for his wretched wooing... when her husband was not with her.

5 And then began to fall familiar with her... and inquisitive of such things as pertained to her husband and her, and nothing at all to himself. For

*Genesis 3:1* there he asked her this question: “Wherefore did God,” quoth he, “command you that ye should

10 not eat of every tree of Paradise?” Or, as it rather seemeth by the Greek phrase (usual in many places of Scripture), he asked her thus: “Why did God command you that you should eat of no tree in Paradise?” And that his question was such... appeareth by the manner of her answer. Howbeit, if she had shown herself unwilling to fall familiar with him, and had said again, “What is that for you?”—or had answered him

15 and said, “My husband shall answer you”—all his wretched wooing had been at end, and he confounded and gone. But while she was content to be talkative with a stranger... and wax a proper entertainer (which property some gentlewomen ween were a goodly praise), mark well what followed thereon. She answered the serpent and said, “Of the fruit

20 of the trees that are in Paradise we eat. But of the fruit of the tree that is in the midst of Paradise... God hath commanded us that we shall not eat, and that we should not touch it, lest we may hap to die.” Mark here... that in these words, the contagious conversation of this wicked serpent... with his questioning and her ear-giving thereto...

25 wrought not, as it seemeth, outwardly only, with her eyes and her ears, but inwardly also, with some subtle suggestion in her heart. For by this answer of hers it appeareth... that forthwith upon his questioning she began to stagger, and half to doubt of the truth and steadfastness of God’s word. For whereas God had precisely promised that if they did eat

30 of the fruit of that tree, they *should* die—she, by the inward leaning to

1 *may*: can    2 *craft*: ingenuity / cunning    3 *devising*: scheming  
 3 *deadly*: lethal / damnable // *took*: i.e., took as    5, 13 *fall familiar*: get chummy  
 6 *nothing*: not in the least    7 *wherefore*: why    10 *phrase*: phraseology; wording  
 10 *usual*: in use // *places*: passages    12, 27 *appeareth*: is made apparent  
 12 *manner of her answer*: i.e., way she answered it  
 13 *howbeit*: however    14 *again*: in reply  
 14 *What . . . you?*: What is that to you? / What business is that of yours?  
 15 *had*: would have    16 *while*: when    17 *wax*: become  
 17 *entertainer*: i.e., entertainer of a guest    18 *property*: attribute  
 18 *gentlewomen*: ladies of the upper middle class  
 18 *ween . . . praise*: i.e., consider it quite a compliment to be credited with  
 23 *contagious*: noxious; toxic // *conversation*: company  
 25 *wrought*: worked; acted    26, 30 *inward(ly)*: interior(ly) // *subtle*: insidiously sly  
 26 *suggestion*: temptation    28 *stagger*: waver; falter // *doubt of*: call into question  
 29 *precisely*: in no uncertain terms    30 *should*: would

the Devil's instigation, and not cleaving to the grace of God, by this  
her answer turned it into a doubt, saying "ne forte moriamur"— "lest  
*peradventure* we die." By reason of which doubting, and thereby  
but half dreading, she made half the way herself... for the Devil to  
5 walk farther with her. For thereupon he letted not boldly to  
*Genesis 3:4-6* blaspheme God before her, and say, "Nay, ye  
shall *not* die; but God doth know... that whatsoever  
day you shall eat of that tree, your eyes shall be opened... and  
you shall be as gods, knowing both good and evil." And upon  
10 these words... she "seeing that it seemed a good tree to eat of, and fair to  
the eye, and delectable to behold"—she by and by plucked off the  
fruit thereof, and ate it... and gave it to her husband, and he ate it too.  
O wretched, wicked serpent! How much of thy deadly poison  
hast thou put into the seely soul of this woeful woman at once! For  
15 here had he made her believe... that of his *own*, devilish conditions...  
*God* had had twain: that is to wit, falsehood and envy. For he made  
her think that God had told them a *lie*... in that he said that whensoever  
they ate thereof, they should die; and also that God were  
*envious*... and could not, for envy, suffer it that they should have so  
20 high a thing as the knowledge of good and evil.  
Then struck he into her heart the poison of proud curious appetite...  
and inordinate desire... to know the thing which for *her weal* God  
had forbidden her to know. For God would, of his goodness, she should  
have known but *good*. But she, by the Devil's enticement, would needs  
25 know evil too! And when her curious mind... had made her once  
set her fair hands unto the feeling of that foul pitch, she could  
never rub the filth from her fingers after. What should I speak  
of the other, lesser evils that he allured and allected her with, as the  
pleasure of the eye in the beholding of that fruit, with lickerous  
30 desire of the delicious taste?—sins not small in themselves... but small  
in respect of the far-passing greater: when he made her desire and  
long... by reason of high knowledge to be like a *goddess*; and for that  
cause, proudly to disobey *God*... and eat of the forbidden fruit. And  
she—being thus infected, and so sore envenomed, with so many poison

1 *cleaving*: holding fast      1-2 *this her answer*: this answer of hers  
2 *a doubt*: a matter of doubt; something questionable      3 *peradventure*: perhaps  
4 *dreading*: fearing      5 *walk*: go // *letted not*: did not forbear  
6 *before*: right in front of      11 *by and by*: immediately      14 *seely*: poor  
15 *conditions*: attributes      16 *twain*: two // *falsehood*: dishonesty  
18 *should*: would // *were*: i.e., was      19 *suffer*: allow      20 *high*: lofty / great  
21, 25 *curious*: inappropriately inquisitive  
22 *inordinate*: unrestrained / unlawful / disordered // *weal*: well-being; good  
23-24 *she . . . but*: i.e., have had her know only      24 *would needs*: i.e., just had to  
27-28 *speak of*: say about      28 *allected*: enticed // *as*: such as  
29 *lickerous*: lip-smacking      31 *in respect of*: in comparison to  
31 *far-passing*: far-surpassing      34 *sore*: badly

spots—infected her husband forthwith. For at her enticement—and  
 not so much for credence giving to the serpent’s words... as to content  
 his wife (whose request he could not find in his heart to contrary)—  
 he kept her company in her lewdness, and letted not to eat  
 5 with her. But the wallow-sweet pleasure of that fruit... soon turned  
 to displeasure and pain. For scant was the fruit passed down both  
 their throats... when it so began to wamble in their stomachs... that  
 they wished it out again... and in his belly that counseled them to  
 eat it. For anon was there such a marvelous change... spread  
 10 through both their bodies... that whereas when they put it in their  
 mouth, they were such as it was a great pleasure each of them to  
 behold other, and be beheld of the other: as soon as they both had  
 eaten it, they felt such filthy sensual motions of *concupiscence* arise,  
 and rebel against reason, in their flesh... that their hearts abhorred  
 15 to be beheld and seen—either of any other or themselves either—  
*Genesis 3:7* and, for shame of their nakedness, covered their  
 flesh with fig leaves.

Now is there no doubt but that their wicked enemy the serpent  
 (which, as appeareth by the Bible, abode still by them, till the sentence  
 20 given by God upon their all three punishment) in his mischievous  
 manner highly rejoiced to see his devilish device brought unto  
 such pass, and had a great game to behold them come forth so  
 comely, appareled so richly in their royal robes of fig leaves.

Oh, what a confusion was this unto them—to see their feigned friend,  
 25 their very deadly enemy, the Devil, first by their own folly so harmfully  
 deceive them... and then so spitefully sit and laugh them  
 to scorn! But they had no long leisure left them to take heed to that...

*Genesis 3:8* ere that great confusion was overwhelmed with  
 a greater. For suddenly, lo, they heard our  
 30 Lord coming; and therewith, for shame, they fell in a fear... and  
 fled and hid themselves from the face of God in the midst of a  
 tree! And our Lord, as though he saw them not, called for Adam

1 *spots*: pustules; pocks    2 *content*: please    3 *contrary*: go against  
 4 *lewdness*: evil behavior // *letted not*: did not forbear  
 5 *wallow-sweet*: cloyingly sweet    6 *scant*: scarcely    7 *wamble*: churn  
 8 *out again*: back out // *his belly*: the belly of him    9 *anon*: at once  
 9 *a marvelous*: an astonishing    12 *of*: by    13 *filthy*: nasty  
 13 *motions*: stirrings // *concupiscence*: lust    14 *abhorred*: found it repugnant  
 15 *either of any other*: by either anyone else    19 *appeareth*: is shown  
 19 *abode*: stuck around    20 *given*: was given  
 20 *their all three punishment*: the punishments of all three of them  
 20 *mischievous*: evil    21 *device*: scheme    22 *pass*: an outcome  
 22 *game*: amusement    24, 28 *confusion*: discomfiture; embarrassment  
 25 *very*: actual // *deadly*: mortal // *folly*: foolishness    28 *ere*: before  
 28 *overwhelmed*: overcome

*Genesis 3:9–11* and said, “Adam, where art thou?” And he answered, “Lord, I heard thy voice... and was afeard to come before thee, because I was naked; and therefore I hid me.” “Who showed thee,” quoth our Lord, “that thou were  
5 naked... but because thou hast eaten of the tree... of which I commanded thee thou shouldst not?”

Then took Adam a way far awry from forgiveness. For he confessed not his fault, but began to excuse himself... and lay the fault from him to his wife—and, in a manner, unto God too! “The woman,”

10 *Genesis 3:12–13* quoth he, “that thou gavest me for my companion—she gave it me, and so I ate it.”

Then said our Lord God unto the woman, “Why didst thou so?” And she, in like wise, never acknowledged her fault, nor asked forgiveness, but excused her by the serpent, and said, “The serpent  
15 deceived me, and so I ate it.” Then gave God the sentence of punishment upon all three, using like order in declaring of his doom...

*Genesis 3:14–24* as they did in the doing of their sin. For first he began at the serpent—the first, malicious contriver of all this mischief. And unto him he  
20 said: “Because thou hast done this, accursed be thou among all the living things and beasts of the earth. Upon thy breast shalt thou creep, and earth shalt thou eat, all the days of thy life. Enmity will I put between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and hers; and she shall frush thy head in pieces, and thou shalt lie in await to  
25 sting her heel.” Then gave he the woman her judgment, and said unto her: “I shall multiply thy *miseries* and thy conceptions, and in sorrow shalt thou bring forth thy children... and thou shalt be under the power of the man, and he shall be lord over thee.” Then, finally, said he to Adam: “Because thou hast given ear unto thy  
30 *wife’s* words... and hast eaten of the tree of which *I forbade* thee to eat—accursed be the earth in thy work. With labor shalt thou eat of the earth, all the days of thy life; it shall burgeon thorns and briars, and thou shalt eat the herbs of the earth. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread... till thou return again into the earth,

4 *showed*: told    7 *awry*: off course    8 *lay the fault*: i.e., shift the blame

12 *so*: that    13 *wise*: manner    16 *like*: the same

16 *declaring of his doom*: the pronouncing of his sentence

17 *doing*: committing    18 *at*: with    19 *mischief*: evildoing    22 *earth*: dirt

24 *frush*: smash // *await*: ambush    27 *sorrow*: suffering; anguish

32 *burgeon*: sprout; put forth

out of which thou were taken. For dust art thou, and into dust shalt thou return.” Then our Lord made them coats of skins, and clothed them therein, and said, “Lo, Adam is like one of us now—knowing both good and evil!” And God, with that angry scorn, to  
 5 keep him from the tree of everlasting life, put them both forthwith out of that pleasant Paradise into the wretched earth.

Long were it here, and not of necessity pertaining to this present point (that is to wit, the fall of our forefather), to note and declare such things as in the discourse of this matter men may note and  
 10 mark upon this part of the Scripture. As, for example, that in these words of God with which he scorned Adam, saying, “Ecce, Adam factus est sicut unus ex nobis” (“Lo, Adam is now made one of us”), may be well marked that... like as by all the words of the whole text appeareth plain that there is but one God—so is there in that God more  
 15 Persons than one. For else could he not conveniently say, “Lo, Adam is now... as *one of us*”—that is to wit, “. . . a God as *we be*”—but he would have said, “Lo, Adam is now as *I am*.”

Those words also seem well to declare that though Adam were not so fully deceived by the persuasion of the serpent as Eve was  
 20 *1 Timothy 2:14* (for which Saint Paul saith, “The *man* was not seduced, but the *woman*”... whereupon Saint Augustine, at good length, declareth certain differences between them), yet was Adam by the means of his *wife*... *somewhat* seduced, and brought into a foolish hope... to be, through the eating of that  
 25 fruit, by the knowledge of good and evil... made like a god. For God, speaking to *Eve* no word of that foolish proud affection, taunted and checked *Adam* therewith... specially by name, saying,  
*Genesis 3:22* “Ecce, *Adam* quasi unus ex nobis factus est, sciens bonum et malum”—“Lo, *Adam* is now made as one  
 30 of us, knowing both good and evil.” But this was not by the *serpent*’s persuasion—whom Adam would not have regarded, but shortly shaken him off—but the seducing of Adam... was by that that

1 *into*: unto    4, 11 *scorn(ed)*: taunt(ed)    7 *were it*: would it be  
 8 *declare*: expound    9 *discourse*: discussion  
 13–14 *appeareth plain*: it is clearly shown    15 *conveniently*: appropriately  
 16 *that is to wit*: that is to say; in other words  
 18 *declare*: make it known // *were*: i.e., was    22 *declareth*: sets forth  
 26 *of*: about // *affection*: aspiration    27 *specially*: explicitly  
 31 *regarded*: paid any mind to    32 *that that*: reason of the fact that

the serpent's shrewd words... came to his ear out of his *wife's* mouth, whom he *would* suffer to speak. And therefore our Lord

*Genesis 3:17* in declaring his punishment unto him... laid for the cause, "Quia audisti vocem uxoris tuae,

5 maledicta terra in opera tuo," etc.—"Because thou hast given ear to the words of thy *wife*... accursed be the earth in thy work," and so forth. And because that the woman's preaching and babbling to her husband... did so much harm in the beginning, and would if it were

*1 Timothy 2:11-12* suffered to proceed... do always more and more:

10 therefore Saint Paul commandeth that a woman shall not take upon her to teach her husband, but that her husband should teach her—and that she should learn of him "in silentio" (that is, in silence); that is to wit, she should sit and hear him... and hold herself her tongue. For Saint Paul well foresaw...  
15 that if the wife may be suffered to speak too, she will have so many words herself... that her husband shall have never one.

There may be marked also, in the aforesaid discourse, the marvelously mischievous nature of envy. For the Devil so well knew the justice of God, and by his own destruction so sore had  
20 assayed it, that he doubted not but that his malicious deceit should not pass unpunished. And yet was he rather content to take harm himself... than suffer another take good. And such a devilish delight he took in beholding their harm and shame... that he voided not at God's coming, but abode to see the sentence of their damnation...  
25 till he took his own with him too.

In this discourse is to be considered also... that when God punisheth the sinner by and by, he showeth him thereby more favor than when he deferreth it longer; and oftentimes when he delayeth it, he doth it not of favor, but of indignation and anger. For if he had  
30 here punished Eve as soon as herself had broken his commandment, both had Adam been warned by it... and their offspring

1 *shrewd*: maliciously cunning 2, 9, 15 *suffer(ed)*: allow(ed)

3 *declaring*: announcing 12 *of*: from 13 *hear*: listen to

14-16: Cf. *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, 2.1.

17, 26 *discourse*: narrative 18 *marvelously mischievous*: astonishingly evil

19 *sore*: terribly 20 *assayed it*: i.e., acquired that knowledge by experience

21 *pass*: go 22 *suffer another*: let someone else 23 *voided not*: did not go away

24 *abode*: stuck around // *the . . . damnation*: what sentence they were condemned to

27 *by and by*: right away 30 *herself*: she herself

31 *had Adam*: would Adam have

by her sin alone, as holy doctors declare, had not lost original justice, nor fallen in damnation of death. But forasmuch as though she was created to be Adam's fellow, she was yet of less perfection, and more frail, and more easy to fall than he: albeit he had as then no *dominion* given him over her, yet his reason might show him... that to give her good *counsel*, he should have kept her company; which if he had done, the serpent had not deceived her. Therefore, since he did not, but by wandering another way from her... he suffered her to miscarry and be infected: God suffered the contagion of the selfsame infection... to stretch unto himself too... and thereof to grow his destruction.

And this may be a warning to every man in this world... to do the diligence that he possibly can... to keep every other man from  
*Sirach 17:12* hurt. For as the Holy Scripture saith, "Et mandavit illis unicuique de proximo suo"—"God hath given every man cure and charge of his neighbor." And harm creepeth from one to another... by more means than men be aware of. And he that care not though his neighbor's house fall afire... may hap to lose his own. Howbeit, as this lesson generally pertaineth to every man, for the natural love and Christian charity that every Christian man is bound to bear other—yet pertaineth it most specially to those... that have over other men that special charge given unto them... that our Lord therefore, by the mouth of Ezekiel, terribly  
*Ezekiel 3:18* threateneth them in this wise: "Si dicente me ad impium, 'Morte morieris,' non annuntiaveris ei, neque locutus fueris uti avertatur a via sua impia et vivat, ipse impius in impietate sua morietur; sanguinem autem eius de manu tua requiram"—"If when I say to the wicked man, 'Thou shalt die,' thou do not show it him, nor do not speak unto him, that he may turn from his wicked way and live, both shall that wicked man die in his wickedness... and yet the blood of him shall I require of thy hands." This is a fearful word, lo, to those that have the cure over other folk... and a necessity to take good heed to their *flock*, to guide them well, call

1 *holy doctors*: theologians // *declare*: assert 1, 7 *had not*: would not have  
 2 *justice*: righteousness // *fallen in damnation of*: incurred condemnation to  
 3 *fellow*: spouse / counterpart 4 *easy*: ready 5 *as then*: as yet 6 *show*: tell  
 8–9 *another way from her*: i.e., in a direction other than the one she was walking in  
 9 *suffered*: allowed // *miscarry*: go astray / come to harm 10 *stretch*: extend; reach  
 11 *grow*: come 12, 13, 21 *man*: person 14 *hurt*: harm  
 16 *cure*: responsibility (for) 19 *generally*: in a general way 24 *in this wise*: thusly  
 28 *show it*: tell this to 31 *require of thy hands*: hold you accountable for  
 32 *cure*: responsibility / curacy; pastoral charge // *over*: for / over

upon them and give them warning of such ways as they may perish  
 in. For else shall the *sheep* not perish and be punished only, but the  
 scab of the flock... shall catch and consume shepherd and all, for his  
 negligence. This is here another thing specially to be marked: that  
 5 like as the kind of man was not corrupted with original sin, nor  
 lost the state of innocence, by the fault of Eve alone, which was but  
 the feebler and inferior party, till Adam, that was the stronger and  
 superior party, made himself partner to the same sin also—so  
 is there no man accounted before God for an offender in any  
 10 deadly actual sin... by any manner motion or suggestion of the  
 Devil unto the sensual part... as long as the will after the judgment  
 of reason resisteth and refuseth to consent. But when reason giveth  
 over to sensuality, whereby the man whole and entire falleth into  
 the consent... either to *do* a deadly sin... or to delight in the *devising*  
 15 and *thinking* upon any such sinful act, for the pleasure that  
 he taketh in that thought—all were it so that he thought therewith  
 he would not do the deed, yet were the full consent to the pleasure  
 of that only thought... full and whole deadly sin. Howbeit, a  
 sudden, surreptitious delight... cast by the Devil into the sensual part... is  
 20 no sin at all, but may be matter of *merit*, except the will, with  
 reason, giving over thereto... either consent to delight therein... or else is  
 so negligent in looking to sensuality... that he letteth her over-long  
 alone therein... and listeth not to do his diligence in driving that  
 sinful suggestion from her. For surely such manner negligence... is  
 25 before the face of God accounted for a *consent*—and so for a deadly  
 sin.

It is also specially to be marked that the stubborn manner of  
 Adam and Eve—not praying God of forgiveness, but excusing their  
 sin—was, in manner, more displeasure to God than was their sin  
 30 itself.

This is also notably to be marked: that as tenderly as Adam  
 loved Eve, rather content to displease God than her—yet when he  
 saw that sorrow should come thereon... he would fain have laid it  
 from himself unto her. And thus will it fare by these fleshly, wretched

1–2 *they may perish in*: i.e., could land them in hell    3 *scab*: mange  
 5 *kind of man*: human race    6 *which*: who    7 *inferior*: subordinate // *that*: who  
 8 *partner*: accomplice    9, 13 *man*: person  
 9 *for an offender in*: i.e., as being guilty of    10, 14, etc. *deadly*: mortal  
 10 *actual*: personally committed (as opposed to inherited original) // *by*: by reason of  
 10 *manner*: kind of // *motion*: stirring; prompting    10, 24 *suggestion*: temptation  
 11 *after*: in accord with    14–15 *devising . . . upon*: planning of and thinking about  
 16 *all were it so*: even if it were the case    18 *only*: mere  
 19 *surreptitious*: swift-onset    20 *except*: unless // *with*: along with  
 22 *looking to*: keeping an eye on; watching out for    23 *listeth not*: does not choose  
 24 *from*: away from    25 *before the face*: in the eyes  
 28 *praying God of*: begging God for    29 *in manner*: in a way  
 29 *more displeasure*: more of an offense to    31 *notably*: particularly; especially  
 33 *sorrow*: grief; affliction // *thereon*: as a consequence of that  
 33 *fain*: i.e., if he possibly could // *laid it*: i.e., shifted the blame for it  
 34 *fare by*: happen with

lovers here: when they come in hell together, they shall curse each  
 other full fast. Howbeit, letting pass, as impertinent to my  
 matter, many things that might be marked more, let us not forget  
 to mark this one point well... which is the sum of all the Second Point:  
 5 that is to wit, let us consider deeply... from what weal into what  
 wretchedness, by the folly of our forefathers, mankind is woefully  
 fallen... through the false, wily suggestion of our mortal enemy the  
 Devil. On which thing when I bethink me, methinketh I may well  
 10 *Revelation 12:12* say the words of Saint John in the Apocalypse...  
 with which he bewaileth this wretched world...  
 by reason of that the Devil fell out of heaven thereinto: “Ve terre et  
 mari, quia descendit diabolus ad vos, habens iram magnam, sciens quia  
 modicum tempus habet!”—“Woe to the earth and to the sea, for the Devil is  
 15 come down to you, having great anger, knowing that he hath  
 but a little time!” This woe well found our forefathers... when the  
 Devil, full of ire for his own fall, and envy that they should  
 succeed him, labored to bring them to the place of his final damnation—  
 from which he saw well he had but a little time left; that is to  
 wit, the time of this present world, which is transitory and soon  
 20 shall pass, and is a time in all together very short, from the first  
 creation to the final change thereof at the Day of Doom, if all that  
 time be compared with his everlasting fire that followeth. He found  
 them innocents joyful and merry, much in the favor of God... and oft  
 rejoicing his visitation and company; the man and his wife each  
 25 delighting in other, finding nothing to mislike in themselves; lords  
 of all the world, all beasts obedient unto them; their work without  
 weariness, their meat pleasant at hand; no necessity to die, nor any  
 bodily hurt; high pleasure in hope of heaven—and all their children  
 after them.  
 30 All this hath this false serpent bereft them by his deceitful train,  
 poisoning them with his own pride... that threw himself out of  
 heaven. For as himself would have been God’s fellow—so made he  
 them ween they should. But while they went to be gods by the

1 *come in hell together*: come to be together in hell    2 *full*: very  
 2 *fast*: zealously / assiduously // *impertinent*: irrelevant    3 *matter*: subject matter  
 3 *many . . . more*: many more things that could be called attention to  
 4 *sum*: upshot // *all the*: the whole    5 *weal*: well-being    11 *that*: the fact that  
 16 *for*: on account of; over    17 *succeed him*: take his place (in heaven)  
 21 *at the Day of Doom*: on Judgment Day    24 *rejoicing*: enjoying  
 24–25 *each . . . other*: delighting in each other    25 *mislike*: dislike  
 26 *beasts*: animals    27 *meat*: food  
 27 *pleasant at hand*: nicely available / tasty just as it came  
 30 *false*: dishonest; dastardly // *them*: i.e., them of // *train*: line of argument / trickery  
 31 *threw himself*: i.e., got himself thrown    32 *himself*: he himself  
 32 *would have been*: i.e. had aspired to be // *fellow*: counterpart; equal  
 33 *ween*: think // *should*: would // *while*: when // *went*: thought

knowledge of good and evil both... they lost, alas, the good that they had... and got but evil alone. They lost their innocence, and became sinful; God's favor they lost, and fell in his displeasure; his visitation they rejoiced not, but were afraid to come near him—each of  
 5 them ashamed to behold the other, or themselves either. All beasts were at war with them... and each of them with themselves—their own bodies in rebellion and battle against their souls. Thrust out of pleasant Paradise into the wretched earth; their living gotten with sore sweat, their children borne with pain. Then hunger, thirst,  
 10 heat, cold, sicknesses sundry and sore; sure, sorry looking... for the unsure time of death; and dread after all this... of the fearful fire of hell—with like pain and wretchedness to all their offspring forever.

This is, lo, good readers, the wretched change that our forefathers made... with falling into pride at the Devil's false suggestion. In honor they *were*—and would not see it. Honor they sought... and thereby fell to shame. They would have waxed gods... and were turned into  
 15 *Psalm 49:13* beasts, as the Scripture saith: “Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit, comparatus est iumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis”—“When man was in honor, he  
 20 perceived it not, but he was compared unto the foolish beasts, and to them was he made like”... and yet brought, indeed, into far worse condition. For many beasts live with less labor, and less pain, too, than man; and none of them go to hell. In danger whereof  
 25 all the kind of man stood, by the occasion of their fall, if the goodness of God had not by his grace helped with his merciful hand. And unto heaven had no man gone... had not our Blessed Savior redeemed man, and paid his ransom, by his bitter, painful Passion—whereof  
 30 the occasion was this wretched fall of man. And thus finish I the second point that I said I would show you... before I come to the woeful history of Christ's bitter Passion.

### *A Prayer*

**A**lmighty God, that of thine infinite goodness didst create our

3 *fell in*: fell into; incurred      4 *rejoiced not*: did not feel joy on account of  
 9 *sore*: serious      10 *sicknesses*: illnesses // *sore*: severe // *(un)sure*: (un)certain  
 10 *sorry* . . . *for*: sorrowful anticipation... of      14 *suggestion*: intimation  
 15 *would not*: refused to      16 *would have waxed*: aspired to become  
 17, 20, 22 *beasts*: animals      20 *compared*: comparable // *foolish*: unintelligent  
 24 *all the kind of man*: the whole human race // *stood*: i.e., would have stood  
 24–25 *the goodness of God*: God in his goodness  
 26 *had no man*: would no man have      28 *occasion*: initial cause  
 29 *show you*: call your attention to // *history*: account      32 *that*: who

first parents in the state of innocence, with present wealth and hope of heaven to come, till, through the Devil's train, their folly fell by sin to wretchedness: for thy tender pity of that Passion that was paid for their and our redemption, assist me so with thy gracious help... that unto the subtle suggestions of the serpent I never so incline the ears of my heart... but that my reason may resist them... and master my sensuality and refrain me from them.

The Third Point: The Determination of the Trinity  
for the Restoration of Mankind

10 **W**hen the Devil had thus guilefully betrayed, and thus falsely betrayed, our first father and mother by their own oversight and folly, and thereby brought into miserable estate and damnable... themselves with all their posterity: neither would the mighty *majesty* of God endure and suffer his malicious, proud enemy the  
15 Devil to rejoice the withdrawing of the kind of man from doing him honor... nor the marvelous *mercy* of God abide and sustain to see the frail kind of man eternally destroyed by the deceit and circumvention of the false, wily Devil. For though his justice was content forever to lose all thankful service (for thankless they serve  
20 him still) of those malicious angels, that without other motion than their own malice willfully turned from him; and that his mercy no cause had to counterplead his justice... in abridging the eternity of the proud spirits' pain... that, of obdurate heart, would *never* be sorry for their sin: yet in beholding the wretched, decayed kind of man  
25 brought into sin... not all of himself, but by the subtle suggestion of his false, envious enemy; and that would after wax meek, and repent, and pray for pardon—the sharp justice of God and his tender mercy... entered into counsel together. And by the deep wisdom of God... was the means found... that man should so be restored... as they should  
30 both twain be satisfied; that is to wit, both man, by justice, for his sin somewhat punished... and yet, upon repentance, by means of mercy... should his fault be paid for, and from all eternal bondage

1 *wealth*: well-being    2 *train*: trickery // *their folly*: i.e., they in their foolishness  
5, 25 *subtle*: insidiously sly // *suggestion(s)*: intimation(s); temptation(s)  
7 *refrain me*: hold me back    10 *falsely*: underhandedly; treacherously  
11 *oversight*: heedlessness / miscalculation    12 *folly*: foolishness  
12 *estate*: condition    15 *rejoice*: have the satisfaction of  
15, 17 *kind of man*: human race    16–17 *sustain to see*: i.e., put up with seeing  
18 *circumvention*: chicanery // *false*: underhanded / dastardly  
19 *thankful*: credit-deserving; meritorious  
19 *thankless*: unmeritoriously; without deserving any credit for it    20 *that*: who  
20 *other motion*: any other provocation    21 *willfully*: deliberately  
21 *from*: away from // *that*: i.e., despite the fact that  
23 *the proud spirits' pain*: the punishment of the proud spirits  
24 *decayed*: deteriorated // *kind of man*: race of man  
25 *of himself*: by himself    26 *false*: treacherous // *after*: later // *wax*: become  
27 *sharp*: punctilious; strict    32 *fault*: transgression

man redeemed and saved—and, in spite of the Devil, enhanced to more *honor*... than ever he was entitled to before he took the fall.

To devise this way, lo, was a wonderful thing... far passing the capacity of all the angels in heaven. For since the *amends* must needs  
 5 be made, and in maintenance of the true justice of God... the *ransom* must needs be paid, for the kind of man, that was by sin addicted and adjudged to the Devil... as his perpetual thrall, never to come in heaven: whosoever should pay this ransom... must, and was most conveniently to, be such as would and were able... and owed it. Now, *owed*  
 10 there this ransom no creature but *man*. And therefore, since by him that owed it... of reason it should most conveniently be paid: man must he be that should of duty pay it. But now was there no one man... able to pay the ransom for the whole kind of man. For since all the whole *kind* had lost heaven, and were all, in one damnation,  
 15 condemned all to bodily death already: any of them all, though he should willingly suffer death in recompense of the sin, it could nothing serve his fellows... nor yet himself neither; for he paid but his debt of death for his own part—in which debt and much more... himself was condemned already.

Now, as for angels, neither can we know that any *would* then do  
 20 so much for man, man being fallen by sin from God's favor... nor any of them all was *able*, being but a creature, to satisfy for the deadly trespass done unto the Creator. And yet was it, over this, far from good *convenience* that any angel should have been suffered to  
 25 do it. For the redemption of man after his fall... was a greater benefit unto him... than was his creation. For as our mother Holy Church singeth in the Paschal Service, "Quid enim nasci profuit, nisi redimi profuisset?"—"What availeth it man to be born, were not the profit of his redemption?" And therefore if angel had by payment of man's ransom,  
 30 and recompense made for his trespass, redeemed him—then would man have thought himself more, in a manner, beholden to angel than to God! And the occasion thereof had been a very foul disorder.

1 *enhanced*: elevated    3 *wonderful*: wondrous // *passing*: exceeding; beyond  
 6, 13 *kind of man*: human race    6 *that*: which // *by*: by reason of  
 6 *addicted*: put into the legal custody of    7 *adjudged*: awarded judicially  
 7 *come in*: enter; get to    9, 11 *conveniently*: fittingly; appropriately  
 9 *would*: wanted to // *were*: would be    14 *all the whole kind*: the whole entire race  
 14 *one damnation*: the same condemnation    15 *though*: even if  
 16 *willingly*: voluntarily  
 17 *nothing serve his fellows*: i.e., do nothing for his fellow human beings // *yet*: even  
 18 *in*: i.e., to    21–22 *nor . . . was*: i.e., nor was any of all of them    23 *deadly*: mortal  
 23 *over*: in addition to    24 *convenience*: propriety // *suffered*: allowed  
 27 *in the Paschal Service*: i.e., in the Easter Vigil service—in the Exsultet.  
 28 *were not*: i.e., were it not for    31 *manner*: way    32 *had*: would have  
 32 *foul*: wretchedly bad

Thus was, as I say, therefore, the device of a means convenient for man's redemption... the thing that far passed the wisdom of all the wise angels of heaven. But the deep and infinite high wisdom of Almighty God... devised the marvelous merciful just means himself:  
 5 that is to wit, that by the cruel, painful death of that innocent person... that should be both God and man... the recompense should be made unto God for man. For that person both being God... should be of that nature that was *able* to do it... and being man... should be of that nature that was *bound* to do it. And the Devil (unaware that  
 10 he were) unrighteously procuring that righteous man's death... should righteously lose the power upon man... that God had for man's unrighteousness... righteously given unto him before.

This excellent means of man's redemption... the deep wisdom of *God* devised; and in time convenient... the *Second Person*, the *Son*,  
 15 of God—the Wisdom of the Father, and the Father's express, absolute image, and brightness of his Father's glory—being sent, by his Father and himself and the Holy Ghost, down here into the earth (and nevertheless abiding still above in heaven), and in the blessed womb of the pure Virgin Mary, taking into unity of Person... the  
 20 poor nature of man (by the obumbration of the Holy Ghost, of the pure blood of her body, without man's seed or fleshly delectation, and therefore without original sin), conceived; and without help of midwife, or pain of travail, born; living here in pain and labor, fasting, watch, preaching, and prayer; and finally, for the truth of  
 25 his doctrine, by the procurement of the Devil, the treason of Judas, the malice of the Jews, and cruel hands of the paynims, through the painful, bitter Passion and death of his innocent manhead... not bound or subject unto death, neither by nature or sin... but by death for *man's* sake *willingly* suffered: *that excellent means*, I  
 30 say, of man's redemption so by himself devised... himself most graciously fulfilled; and by the pleasant, acceptable sacrifice of himself... obediently offered, on the cross, up to the Father, he pacified the wrath and indignation of God against man; and... by his glorious Resurrection and marvelous Ascension... sitting in the nature of man

1 *device*: devising; coming up with // *convenient*: suitable

2 *far passed*: was far beyond    4 *marvelous*: wondrous    9 *bound*: obligated

10 *were*: would be (doing this)    11, 12 *righteously*: rightfully    11 *upon*: over

13, 29 *excellent*: superlative    14 *in time convenient*: when the time was right

20 *obumbration*: overshadowing    23 *travail*: labor    24 *watch*: keeping vigil

25 *doctrine*: teaching    26 *paynims*: pagans

27 *manhead*: i.e., self in his human nature    31 *willingly*: voluntarily

31 *graciously*: benevolently // *fulfilled*: provided to the full // *pleasant*: pleasing

upon the Father's right hand, hath reduced mankind (in such as will take the benefit) to more joy, more wealth, and far more honor, too... than ever the fall of our first father lost us.

5 Now, albeit (as I suppose) few men have less lust to move great questions, and put manner of dispicions in unlearned laymen's mouths, than I—which rather would wish every man to labor for good affections... than to long for the knowledge of less necessary learning, or delight in debating of sundry superfluous problems—yet of some such demands as I now see many men of much less than mean  
10 learning... have oft right hot in hand, I shall not let one or twain myself here a little to touch.

A question. First be they commonly willing to search this thing: wherefore mankind should... more than Adam and Eve themselves... need any redemption at all. For how could it (say they) stand with the  
15 justice of God that for the fault of only Adam and Eve, all that ever *came* of them should fall into such miserable fault? This question, and many such others like, when they be of a curious, bold presumption demanded, be not to be hearkened unto and answered, but with the words of the blessed apostle Paul rather to be  
20 *Romans 9:20* rejected and rebuked: “O homo, tu quis es, qui respondeas Deo? Numquid dicit figmentum ei qui se finxit, ‘Quid me fecisti sic?’”—“O man, what art thou, to take upon thee to dispute with God? Is there any workman's work that asketh the workman, ‘Wherefore hast thou made me thus?’ And must Almighty  
25 *God*, then, of his work wrought *in* man... give a reckoning *to* man, that is but his handwork?” Howbeit, on the other side, where such questions are not demanded of frowardness, of a vain pride, nor of blasphemous purpose, it is not only no displeasure to God... but is also a *good* disposition of the mind... in that a man delighteth to think  
30 upon heavenly things, rather than upon earthly. And many a holy man hath of no vain curious mind, but of very pure devotion, beset much study upon the aforesaid question. And of those

1 *upon*: at // *reduced*: brought 2 *wealth*: prosperity 4 *lust*: desire  
4 *move*: raise 5 *put manner*: put a kind of; put, as it were, a  
5 *dispicions*: disputation; debate 6 *which*: who // *labor*: strive  
7 *affections*: attitudes 8 *superfluous*: inconsequential; immaterial  
9 *demands*: questions; issues // *mean*: average 10 *let*: forbear // *twain*: two  
11 *touch*: discuss 12 *willing*: wanting // *search*: examine; investigate  
13, 24 *wherefore*: why 13 *more*: i.e., other 14 *stand*: be in keeping  
16 *fall into*: incur // *fault*: guilt 17, 27, 28, 31 *of*: out of  
17, 31 *curious*: inappropriately inquisitive 17 *presumption*: presumptuousness  
18, 27 *demanded*: asked 18 *hearkened unto*: paid heed to 26 *side*: i.e., hand  
27 *frowardness*: perversity; obstreperousness 28 *purpose*: intent  
28 *displeasure*: offense 31 *devotion*: piety 32 *beset*: expended

holy men hath diverse had diverse opinions. One sort have thought  
 that by the fall of Adam, the whole kind of man... not only lost  
 original justice, and became subject unto the necessity of temporal  
 death, and therewith lost also the joyful bliss of heaven... but, over  
 5 that, by the filth of original sin (with which every man born  
 into this world... by natural propagation... is infected in the vicious,  
 sinful stock, in that we were all in, of Adam, as the fruit is in the tree,  
 or the ear of corn in the grain, that it came of) was also damned  
 unto perpetual pain, and sensible torment, in hell, although it were  
 10 a child that died in the cradle—which to the original sin taken  
     *Psalm 51:7* of his parents (of which the prophet saith, “Lo,  
                     in wickedness was I conceived, and my mother  
 conceived me in sin”) never added actual sin of his own. And  
 from this eternal damnation—of sensible pain in the fire of hell—  
 15 they thought that never any of the kind of man should be preserved...  
 but by the merits of the Passion of Christ, and faith in  
 him come or to come.

Faith, I say, actual or habitual; and in infants (by the faith of  
 their parents and the faithful church) with certain sacraments  
 20 or sacrifices duly referred to God, after the sundry laws and ceremonies  
 of sundry diverse times... wherewith these infants have habitual  
 faith infused.

And as touching the faith of Christ: that he should once come by  
 whom they should be saved... revelation was given to Adam, Noah,  
 25 Abraham, and all the old fathers... and by them to the people of  
 every generation... before the Law written; and at the Law written,  
 revelation given to Moses, and by him to the people; and after, to  
 all the prophets, and by them to the people of Jews of every  
 generation... unto the coming of our Savior Christ himself. Now,  
 30 as for such folk, either now or then, as among the paynims lived  
 well according to nature, so that they lacked nothing to keep them  
 from the perpetual fire of hell but the faith of Christ: some holy  
 doctors have thought that God, of his merciful goodness, by one  
 means or other failed not to *give* them the faith—as he that is of so

1, 21 *diverse*: different (ones)    1 *sort*: set    2, 15 *kind of man*: human race  
 3 *justice*: righteousness    4 *over*: in addition to    6 *vicious*: vice-ridden  
 7 *that*: that which    9, 14 *sensible*: sensorily experienced    9 *although*: even if  
 10 *which*: who // *taken*: received; contracted    11 *of his*: from his  
 11 *of which*: about which // *the prophet*: i.e., David    18 *actual*: active  
 18, 21 *habitual*: latent    18 *infants*: i.e., infants who are  
 19 *faithful*: faith-filled / right-believing // *church*: people of God  
 20 *referred to*: brought into relation with // *after*: in accord with  
 20, 21 *sundry*: various    23 *as touching*: as regards  
 23, 32 *the faith of Christ*: the Christian faith / belief in Christ  
 23 *once*: one day    25 *old fathers*: patriarchs    28 *people of Jews*: Jewish people  
 30 *paynims*: pagans    31 *well*: uprightly    32–33 *holy doctors*: theologians

merciful goodness... that he will fail no man in thing necessary...  
without the man's own fault.

5 But then other doctors that were in *this* point of opinion with  
them—that original sin damned every man to sensible pain of  
hell... without the faith of Christ—were not in *that* point agreed with  
them (that unto such paynims as in any place lived naturally well,  
and kept themselves from idolatry, God sent the faith of Christ to  
keep them from hell... as not suffering any man to be perpetually  
10 damned to the sensible pain of fire without his own actual  
fault)... since they themselves denied not but that the *infants* of paynims,  
and of the christened, both, that deceased without Baptism... *were*  
damned unto perpetual sensible pain in hell... and yet had they  
none actual sin of their own, but only the sin original.

15 Now, whereas this thing might haply seem hard... in the  
hearts of some such as direct their eye to the merciful nature of God,  
and cannot also perceive, by *any* rule of justice taught unto man,  
either by reason or Scripture, how this thing could agree with the  
merciful justice of God: these good men answer that hell is the  
20 place for sinful folk, and that pain *is due* to sin, and that  
those children and all *be* sinful—in *original* sin. For all are  
sinful... that are, through filthy concupiscence, brought by propagation  
out of that sinful stock of our first, sinful father. For in that  
stock were we all, and were infected with sin in the same, in such  
a certain manner as all the sour crabs that ever come of the crab  
25 tree... do take their sourness of the kernel whereof the tree grew. And  
*Romans 9:21* if a poor potter may without reproach, and  
uncontrolled, make (as Saint Paul saith) of  
one self piece of clay two vessels, the one to serve in honest use, the  
other in vile and filthy, where the clay whereof he maketh the vile  
30 vessel was nothing faulty, but *good*: who should be so bold, and so  
blasphemous, as to think that God doth wrong to make and use all  
those vessels for vile... that is to wit, all the kind of man... whereof  
the clay that they all came of—that is to wit, their first father and

2 *without*: i.e., without its being 3, 5 *in*: on 3 *of opinion*: i.e., in agreement

4, 9, 12 *sensible*: sensorily experienced

5 *without the faith of Christ*: i.e., who lacked belief in Christ / who was without the Christian faith

6, 10 *paynims*: pagans 6 *naturally well*: uprightly on a natural level

7 *faith of Christ*: Christian faith / belief in Christ 8 *suffering*: allowing

9–10 *own actual fault*: i.e., having incurred any guilt by his own volition

10 *denied not but that*: did not deny that 14 *haply*: perhaps // *hard*: harsh / problematic

17 *agree*: be consonant 19 *pain*: punishment 21 *filthy*: i.e., the uncleanness of

24 *crab(s)*: crabapple(s) 24, 25 *of*: from 25 *take*: get 26 *poor*: humble; lowly

27 *uncontrolled*: i.e., without getting criticized for it // *of*: out of

28 *self*: same // *honest*: respectable 29, 32 *vile*: ignominious 29 *filthy*: nasty

30 *nothing*: not at all 32 *all the kind of man*: all of humankind



should abound. But where sin hath abounded—there hath grace also *more* abounded, that likewise as sin hath reigned unto death, so grace should also reign by justice unto everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.” By these words of “wrath,” of “sin,” of “condemnation,”

5 of death grown by the sin and “disobedience” of Adam into all his offspring—that is to wit, into all the kind of man... by natural propagation engendered and begotten of him—and by the contrary words of “justice,” of “obedience” in Christ, and of “justification” and “righteousness” in man through “grace” growing into “everlasting

10 life,” it well appeareth (say some doctors) that Saint Paul meant that the death grown to all mankind, contracted by original sin from Adam, should be the death of everlasting pain. From which Saint Paul well, by all the process of the same words, declareth that no man can be saved but by our Savior Christ. Which

15 thing Saint Peter showeth yet more expressly, where he saith,  
*Acts 4:12* “Non aliud nomen est sub caelo datum hominibus... in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri”—“There is none other name under heaven given to men... in which we must be saved.” And that no man shall be saved without faith... Saint Paul declareth,

20 *Hebrews 11:6* where he saith, “Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo”; that is to wit, either actual or habitual, infounded in the Sacrament of Baptism... or otherwise, if God be so pleased, whose power is at liberty not so bound to his holy sacraments... but that he may beside them give his grace, where he list.

25 But with his sacraments he hath by his *promise* bound himself to do; and without them he doth unto few men; and with contempt of them, to no man. And for this cause say those holy doctors... infants be received to Baptism to keep them from the peril of eternal damnation and perpetual pain in the fire of hell. And

30 of this opinion was holy Saint Augustine, as in sundry plain places of his works well appeareth.

Now, since it is so (say they) that by the Scripture this point so

3, 8 *justice*: righteousness    5, 11 *grown*: come  
 6 *all the kind of man*: the whole human race    9 *growing into*: culminating in  
 10, 31 *well appeareth*: is (made) quite obvious    10 *doctors*: exegetes  
 12, 29 *pain*: punishment    13 *all the process*: the whole drift  
 15 *showeth*: states    21 *actual or habitual*: active or latent (faith)  
 22 *infounded*: infused    24 *beside*: apart from // *list*: wants to; so chooses  
 26 *contempt*: purposeful disregard; blowing-off    27 *holy doctors*: theologians

plainly appeareth, what should we dispute the *righteousness* thereof? As though that man might attain to see the bottom of God's righteousness! How many things be there very well done, and righteously, by *men*—which yet seem unto *children* to be no right at all? And infinitely farther asunder be the wisdom of God and the wisdom of the wisest man... than is the wisdom of the wisest man above the wisdom of the most foolish child. The prophet, in *Isaiah 55:8–9* the person of God, saith, “Non enim cogitationes meae cogitationes vestrae, neque viae me viae vestrae; quia sicut exaltantur caeli a terra, sic exaltatae sunt viae meae a viis vestris, et cogitationes meae a cogitationes vestris”—“My thoughts be not like your thoughts, nor my ways be not like your ways; for as high as heaven is above earth, so high are my ways above your ways, and my thoughts above your thoughts.” And therefore saith Saint Paul, “O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei! Quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius, et investigabiles viae eius! Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini, aut quis consiliarius eius fuit?”—“Oh, the altitude” (or “height”) “of the riches of the wisdom and cunning of God! How incomprehensible” (or “unable to attain unto”) “be his judgments, and how investigable” (that is to wit, “how unable to be sought and found out”) “be his ways! Who hath known the mind of our Lord, or who hath been of his counsel?” God hath no rule of justice to be ruled by, but is himself the rule by whose will all justice must be measured and shaped. And therefore he can do none injustice. And when we be discharged once of this gross, corruptible body, that aggrieveth and beareth down the soul, and oppresseth the mind, that many things thinketh upon: then shall such folk as shall be saved... behold and see in the glorious Godhead... the very clear solutions of such inexplicable problems.

With such things as this, and many more that were too long to rehearse here, have those good fathers answered this matter—those, I

1 *what*: why // *dispute*: call into question    2 *that man might*: man could

2 *attain*: manage    3 *well*: rightly    4 *no right*: no right things / not right

18 *cunning*: astuteness    19 *attain unto*: grasp / arrive at

25 *none*: no // *discharged*: unburdened; freed

25 *once*: one day / once and for all    26 *gross*: material / bulky

26 *aggrieveth*: gives trouble to // *bearth*: weighs    29 *Godhead*: Supreme Being

29 *inexplicable*: baffling; mystifying    31 *were*: would be    32 *rehearse*: relate

say, that have thought that by the sin of Adam... every man,  
old and young, though he deceased with none other sin than  
original only, was in like wise, and in like reason, damned to perpetual  
sensible pain in the fire of hell... as by the bondage of the  
5 father, all his offspring is in this world bound unto perpetual  
*Saint Augustine* thralldom. Howbeit, to tell you the whole  
truth, holy Saint Augustine, which was  
(among others) of this mind and opinion—for all the reasons with  
which he answered other men therein, concerning the justice of  
10 God in the damnation of infants unto perpetual sensible pain...  
for that only sin original, that they contracted by the natural  
propagation of the first, condemned father—with all those  
reasons, I say, with which he contented other men... he could never,  
yet, satisfy and content himself. For in a certain epistle which he  
15 writeth unto Saint Jerome, he debateth this matter at length, very  
substantially, and with great erudition. And in that epistle he confesseth  
the defense and maintenance of that opinion for so hard...  
that, as he there toucheth, some great, cunning men for the defense  
thereof... have been driven to the devising of a very great, perilous  
20 *error*. For they, to maintain the justice of God in that point, said  
that the souls which every man have put in their bodies by  
succession of time... were all created at once, before the seventh day,  
in which God rested. And of those words, that “God in the seventh  
day rested,” they took a foundation for that error, forgetting the  
25 *Genesis 2:2; John 5:17* words of our Savior “Pater meus usque modo  
operatur, et ego operor” (“My Father worketh still  
yet, and I work still also”)—but in the seventh day God rested from  
the creating of any new *kind* of creature. Then said they that  
the souls offended God before they came into the bodies, and that  
30 they were put into the bodies... some to be *purged in* them, and some  
to be *damned with* them; so that the infants that die with  
original sin... have the *bodies* worthy damnation... because they  
naturally proceed out of the damned stock, with lack of original  
justice, and the *soul* was worthy to come *into* that body... by the

1 *man*: human being    2 *though*: even if    3 *wise*: manner // *and in*: and with  
4, 10 *sensible*: sensorily experienced    7 *which*: who    8, 13 *reasons*: arguments  
11 *for that only*: just for that; only on account of that    14, 16 *epistle*: letter  
15 *debateth*: discusses    16 *substantially*: thoroughly // *confesseth*: acknowledges  
18 *toucheth*: mentions // *cunning*: learned  
26–27 *worketh still yet*: continually goes on working  
27 *I work still also*: I, too, work continually // *in*: on  
31 *die with*: i.e., die in the state of    32 *worthy*: deserving of  
34 *justice*: righteousness // *was worthy*: deserved

society whereof it should be bound unto eternal pain—the  
*soul*, they said, was worthy for that *other* sin... with which it had  
offended God before it came into the body. This fantasy were some  
fain to find, for maintenance of God's justice, of those that held  
5 the aforesaid way in the damnation of infants unto sensible pain  
in hell. But this erroneous opinion, as reason is, Saint Augustine rejected  
and confuteth. Howbeit, that yet notwithstanding, he confesseth himself  
to find such difficulty in the maintaining of God's justice to  
stand with his own opinion of condemning infants to sensible  
10 pain in hell... that himself seemeth to doubt whether God create  
always every soul of new... or else that as well the soul as the body...  
be produced and propagated of the father and the mother—as well as  
the body. For if they so were, he thought that then the answer were  
more easy, if the whole person of the man were taken by natural  
15 propagation of the substance of our first father and mother... being  
subject unto that damnation. And therefore he desireth Saint  
Jerome to consider well that point, and search whether it might  
stand with the Scripture or not. And if it might, he thought it meet  
that Saint Jerome should take that way too. And if not, himself would  
20 not hold it neither. Howbeit, if that way would not be maintained,  
he then desired Saint Jerome to write unto him by what reason he  
thought that the justice of God *might* be maintained in the  
damning of infants unto sensible pain in hell. For he said that himself  
could not see how it could stand with justice... that God should  
25 create a new soul, that never offended, and put it, without any desert  
of itself, into that body... by whose company it should contract forthwith  
such an infelicity... that the body dying, and the soul departing  
therefrom unchristened, before it came to discretion, it should be  
damned to perpetual torment. And then layeth he forth there  
30 certain reasons... with which himself was wont to answer other  
men in that point for the time, for lack of better. But there he  
requireth Saint Jerome to devise him better. For he plainly confesseth  
that those answers which himself was wont to make other folk  
in the matter... never satisfied nor contented himself. Would God

1 *society whereof*: connection with which

2 *was worthy for*: i.e., deserved this on account of     3 *fantasy*: idea

4 *fain to find*: constrained to come up with     5, 9, 23 *sensible*: sensorily experienced

5, 19, 20 *way*: view     5, 22 *in*: regarding     6 *as reason is*: as stands to reason

9, 18, 24 *stand*: be compatible; square     9 *of condemning*: i.e., that God condemns

10, 19, 23, 30 *himself*: he himself     10 *doubt*: be in doubt as to; wonder

16 *desireth*: wants     17 *point*: thesis // *search*: find out; see     17, 18 *might*: could

18 *meet*: fitting; right     20 *would not*: was not to     21 *desired*: wanted

21, 30 *reason(s)*: argument(s)     22 *maintained*: defended

25 *offended*: committed a sin     25–26 *desert of itself*: deserving on its part

26 *contract*: incur     27 *an infelicity*: a misfortune     28 *discretion*: the age of reason

31 *the time*: i.e., the time being     32 *requireth*: asks

32 *devise him*: think him up; come up with for him // *better*: i.e., some better one

there remained the answer of Saint Jerome again. But whether ever he made any or not, we none find.

And thus have I, good readers, shown you the mind of some good holy doctors... which were of the opinion that original sin, without  
5 actual adjoined thereto, damned the kind of man, naturally descended from Adam, unto perpetual sensible pain in the fire of hell.

Now shall ye farther understand... that there are others which have another manner mind therein, whereupon there ensueth nothing so great difficulty concerning the righteousness of God.

10 Their mind in the matter is this: that God in the creation of man... gave to him two states. One, competent and convenient for his mortal nature; another, of special grace, a farther state of special prerogative: that is to wit, the possibility of immortality, put in his  
15 own hands, and of the obtaining of eternal bliss in heaven; of which two things there was neither nother naturally pertaining to him. If God had given him only the first—that is to wit, only natural—his soul, yet, should have been immortal; for God created the *nature* such. But unto the bliss of heaven, the fruition of the Godhead, he did not create it to attain by nature—  
20 nor, as it seemeth, angels neither—but by a special gift and prerogative of his grace. The body, being made of the earth... and mixed with other elements, was of nature dissoluble and mortal, as the bodies of other beasts be. Howbeit, if God had given Adam no farther gift than competent unto his nature, he had yet had a *good* state,  
25 far above all beasts—and yet a state far under the state that he stood in by God's farther gift. For first, if man had had but his natural state, albeit he should have had (as some men think) the rebellion of his sensuality against his reason, yet had he had (while he lived) the use of the reasonable soul, and should have had  
30 knowledge of God, and cause to love him, honor him, and serve him, and had been bound to master his sensuality and resist the Devil, and by the doing of the contrary... should have deserved hell, and by doing his duty to God... should have deserved to have after this

1 *of*: ... *again*: i.e., that Saint Jerome gave him back      3 *shown*: told  
3 *mind*: thinking      4 *holy doctors*: theologians      4, 7 *which*: who  
5 *the kind of man*: the human race      8 *manner mind*: way of thinking  
8–9 *nothing so*: i.e., nowhere near as      10 *mind in*: thinking on  
11, 24 *competent*: correspondent (to)      11 *convenient*: fitting  
13, 20 *prerogative*: privilege      15 *nother*: the one nor the other  
15 *pertaining*: belonging  
19 *fruition of the Godhead*: i.e., enjoyment of the Beatific Vision  
22 *of*: by // *dissoluble*: subject to decomposition  
24 *had yet had*: would yet have had      25 *under*: lower than  
28 *had he had*: he would have had // *while*: as long as  
29 *reasonable*: reason-endowed // *should*: would      31 *had*: would have  
31 *bound*: obliged      32, 33 *deserved*: merited

life... not the fruition of the Godhead (that is, the bliss of heaven), but  
 a life good, quiet, and restful, with spiritual delight... in such knowledge  
 of God and his wonderful works... as reason, at the least,  
 without revelation, might attain unto. Which should have been a  
 5 pleasure far above the pleasure that ever any man had... by only  
 natural means... in this world since this world first began; and such  
 as I suppose whosoever might attain it... would not change that  
 state... with the state of the greatest king that ever reigned on earth.  
 And yet, though they call this the “natural” state of man, they mean not,  
 10 I think, thereby... that man was, or should have been, able to have  
 lived well after his nature, and have attained the end of that state,  
 by his own only natural power, without special aid and help of  
 God... since there is *no* creature, neither high nor low, but as it could not  
 15 without God be created, no more can it without God be conserved;  
 and *man*—if he never had had but his natural state, he should have  
 been in danger to do sin... more than he was with the state of  
 innocence that God gave him farther... and yet in that state he  
 20 sinned. And therefore, if not only we, which now (by more means than  
 one) have our naturals vitiated, but also Adam, that had *more*  
 than his naturals in Paradise whole and in good plight, had need,  
 yet, of God’s grace to help him there to stand: it must needs be, as I  
 said, that he must have needed the help of God’s grace to maintain  
 him... if he had had his only natural state. And if any man marvel  
 25 that God made all his creatures such... as they should always need aid  
 of his grace: let him know that God did it of his double goodness. First,  
 to keep them from pride, by causing them to perceive their feebleness  
 and to call upon him; and secondly, to do his creatures honor and  
 comfort. For the creature that wise is... can never think himself  
 30 in so noble condition—nor should take so great pleasure, or so much  
 rejoice—that he were made able to do a thing well enough himself...  
 as to remember and consider that he hath the most excellent Majesty  
 of God, his Creator and Maker, evermore attendant himself,  
 at his elbow, to help him.

1 *fruition of the Godhead*: i.e., enjoyment of the Beatific Vision  
 2 *quiet*: trouble-free; peaceful    3 *wonderful*: wondrous  
 4, 10 *should*: would    7–8 *change* . . . *with*: exchange . . . for  
 11 *lived well*: lived a morally upright life // *after*: in accord with  
 16 *in danger to do*: at risk of committing    18 *which*: who  
 19, 20 *naturals*: natural endowments    20 *plight*: condition  
 21 *stand*: stand firm / remain    22 *must*: i.e., would have had to  
 22 *maintain*: support    23 *marvel*: wonder  
 27 *do*: give    28 *comfort*: encouragement

If any man will here take a contrary part, and affirm that man in the state of innocence, and the angels that fell, were able of themselves to have stood in their former state, and by natural liberty of their will, without peculiar help of God, to have chosen the better and to have refused the worse; and that their strength therein then...  
 5 and our feebleness in this state corrupted now... have their differences by reason of their nature then whole and unhurt... and ours now sore impaired and wounded; and that the cause why we cannot now without help of grace choose the good, but willingly apply the freedom  
 10 of our will to the choice of the evil, is the corruption of our nature... grown by the sin of Adam; and that, therefore, *before* that sin, Adam was, before that fall, able to choose the good of his own natural power; and angel yet more able than he, before the fall of Lucifer; and thereupon list to conclude that neither angel nor man in the state  
 15 of their first creation needed unto the resisting of sin none other help of God but only their natural power: to him that thus list to reason, mine answer will I temper thus. That they were of nature stronger, and better able naturally, than we—that will I gladly grant. But that they were so able to resist sin of their own nature then... that  
 20 they needed for their assistance no help of God at all—that can I full hardly consent. Howbeit, if any man affirm stiffly *yes*, I will keep no schools upon the matter, nor almost in nothing else, but leave off and be content with that that I trust he will grant me: that is to wit, that they were never so able to withstand sin by their  
 25 own natural power... but that, at the leastwise, yet *with* God's help (which was ready when they would ask it) they should have been able the *better*.

Thus have I somewhat shown you... of what mind some men be... concerning the only natural state given by God unto Adam. And  
 30 now shall I farther somewhat show you... what mind they be of... concerning that state which he had by the reason of the other gifts given him conditionally, by special prerogative, *above* his natural state; which things he lost by the condition broken.

1 *part*: stance    2 *of themselves*: on their own    3 *stood*: remained  
 4 *peculiar*: particular; special    4, 16, 20 *of*: from    6 *feebleness*: weakness  
 7 *unhurt*: undamaged // *sore*: badly    9 *willingly*: deliberately  
 11 *grown*: come about    12, 17, 19 *of*: by    14, 16 *list*: wants  
 15 *unto*: i.e., for  
 20–21 *that . . . consent*: that I would find very hard to go along with  
 21–22 *keep no schools*: engage in no academic disputation  
 24 *withstand sin*: keep away from sin; overcome temptation  
 26 *ready*: instantly available    28 *somewhat shown you*: told you something  
 28 *what . . . be*: i.e., the thinking that some men are of    29 *only*: merely  
 30 *somewhat . . . of*: i.e., go on to tell you something... of the thinking they are of  
 32 *prerogative*: privilege    33 *condition broken*: i.e., condition's being broken

They say that above the natural condition and state of his body...  
 God gave him this gift: that his body should never have died.  
 He gave him this gift also: that his sensual parts should never have  
 rebelled against his reason. He gave him also therewith... that he  
 5 should never have had dolor or pain in body, nor heaviness or  
 sorrow of mind, but allthing necessary without weariness or grief.  
 He had farther given him above his nature... this excellent, high gift  
 very far surmounting all the remnant: that is to wit, undeceivable  
 hope and ability... both body and soul, through grace, to  
 10 come to glory—the bliss, I say, of heaven, the joyful fruition of the  
 glorious Trinity—forever. *All* these gifts God gave him above his  
 naturals—and not for himself only, but for him and for all his  
 posterity. But all these supernatural gifts he gave him with the  
 knot of this condition: that is to wit, that if he broke his commandment,  
 15 then should he lose them all. And that was understood  
 by the promise of *death*. And not only the necessity of  
*temporal* death—the dissolution of the soul and the body, by which  
 the man doth in deed but *half* die, since his far better part, that is  
 to say, the soul, by that death dieth not at all—but by the loss of  
 20 *heaven*... the *whole entire* man hath a *very* sore death, in that he is  
 separated and departed from the fruition of the very *fountain* of life:  
 almighty, glorious God!

Now say there, as I told you, therefore some good men... that Adam  
 by his sin lost from himself and all his posterity... all those  
 25 gifts that God gave him *above* his nature—and therein could his  
 posterity have no wrong, nor any cause to complain upon God,  
 but upon Adam only. For they were all given unto *us* but upon condition  
 hanging on *his* hand; which condition when he broke, those  
 gifts could by no reason belong or be due unto us. But yet remained  
 30 there high cause for us to thank God for the remnant. For the  
 gifts only pertaining to the natural state of man (which I showed

5 *dolor*: suffering    6 *allthing*: everything    7 *excellent*: sublime; superb  
 8, 30 *remnant*: rest    8 *undeceivable*: undisappointable; sure  
 10–11 *fruition* . . . *Trinity*: i.e., possession of the Beatific Vision  
 11 *above*: i.e., over and above    12 *naturals*: natural endowments  
 14 *knot*: attachment / catch    15–16 *that* . . . *by*: by that was understood  
 17 *dissolution*: breaking apart; separation    18 *deed*: actuality    20 *sore*: terrible  
 21 *fruition*: full enjoyment    26 *no wrong*: i.e., no suffering of an injustice  
 27 *they*: i.e., those gifts    29 *reason*: rational argument    30 *remnant*: rest  
 31 *pertaining*: belonging // *showed*: i.e., named

you before)—*those* gave not God unto the kind of man... upon condition,  
to be lost by the sin of Adam; nor no man to be perpetually  
damned by sensible feeling of the fire of hell... for *original* sin,  
contracted without his witting, but only for *actual* sin, freely  
5 committed by his own vicious will. And then, if the truth thus be,  
this matter may partly be resembled unto some great, good prince  
which, giving to a poor man, for him and his heirs of his body forever,  
lands to the yearly value of one hundred pounds... frank and  
free, *simpliciter* and without any condition, would give him farther  
10 other lands to the yearly value of ten thousand pounds—with  
the honor of a dukedom also to him and his said heirs—forever,  
restrained, nevertheless, with this condition: that if he committed any  
treason against this prince's Majesty... this duchy, with all those  
lands of the yearly ten thousand pounds, should be forfeited and  
15 lost from him and his said heirs perpetually; and that yet the other  
lands should still remain in the blood... and every man of  
them, if he do either treason or other great crime against the king,  
should stand unto his personal peril of death or other pains,  
according to justice, for his personal fault, without the loss of the  
20 land from the stock for the fault of any their ancestor. If, now, this  
man committed treason... and lost this duchy from his heirs by his  
deed; and yet left them this hundred-pound lands of the king's gift  
beside: there were, ye wot well, none of his heirs that ever could  
have cause to blame the king for the loss of the duchy... but had yet  
25 greater cause to thank him for their living of the yearly hundred  
pounds... which they still enjoy of his liberal gift—more, by every  
groat, than ever the good king owed them!

Lo, thus say they... that likewise, God took from the posterity of  
Adam the royal duchy—that is to wit, the joys of heaven, with  
30 the commodities of those other gifts above man's nature...  
which he gave Adam for himself and them upon condition, which  
condition Adam broke. But yet he left them still the good, honest  
living of the yearly hundred pounds—that is to wit, the commodities

1 *gave not God*: God gave not // *kind of man*: human race    3 *by*: i.e., to  
3 *sensible*: sensory    4 *witting*: knowing    5 *vicious*: vice-ridden  
6 *resembled*: likened    7 *of his body*: biological; natural  
7, 11 *forever*: in perpetuity    8–9 *frank and free*: free and clear  
9 *simpliciter*: simply; unqualifiedly // *farther*: in addition  
12 *restrained*: restricted    13 *this prince's Majesty*: i.e., His Majesty this prince  
16 *in the blood*: in that bloodline  
16–17 *every man of them*: i.e., every one of those heirs    17 *do*: (were to) commit  
18 *stand unto*: face // *pains*: penalties    19 *fault*: transgression / guilt  
20 *stock*: progeny // *any their ancestor*: any ancestor of theirs  
23 *were*: would be // *wot*: know    24 *had yet*: would have even  
27 *groat*: fourpence    30, 33 *commodities*: goods / benefits  
32 *honest*: respectable; decent

of man's competent state natural, which I have before partly shown you; which state *also* man hath without his desert received, of the only mere liberal goodness of God; and which commodities by infliction of perpetual pain felt in fire... God never taketh from any man... for the original sin, contracted from his forefather, without *actual, deadly* sin of himself. Now, to that that the whole kind of man are called in Scripture "the children of wrath by nature," and "put under condemnation and death by the sin of Adam," and such other words like, they answer that those words are, and well may be, meant of the loss and condemnation of mankind in the loss of the inheritance of heaven, and of those other gifts that God had *conditionally* given it, above the competent state of man's nature... for the wrath of the condition broken by the sin of Adam; as it were a great condemnation to lose a duchy with ten thousand pounds, and retain only a mean man's living of one hundred pounds. And they further declare that there are two manner of pains: that is to wit, "poena damni et poena sensus" ("pain of loss and pain of feeling")—as a man may be pained by loss of money or loss of his hand. Pain of loss may be also by two means: either by the losing of a thing that he hath in possession, or by duty *should* have come unto him, or by the losing of a thing that should have come unto him... and yet of no duty, but of the mere liberality of some other man... which, for displeasure given, changeth his will and withdraweth it. Now say they that for actual, deadly sin, every man that impenitent dieth therein... is damned both to the pain of loss and to the pain of feeling; that is to wit, to the pain of the loss of the joys of heaven—the fruition of the glorious sight of the Godhead forever—and to the perpetual sensible pain of feeling the fire of hell perpetual. But for only *original* sin... they say that no man is damned unto the pain of *feeling*, but only unto the pain of the said *loss* alone. And whereas the same pain of loss (of the fruition of the Godhead) is yet unto those Christian

1 *competent*: proper; particular // *shown*: named 2 *desert*: deserving  
 3 *the only*: only the 3, 22 *mere*: sheer 3 *liberal*: generous; bountiful  
 3 *commodities*: goods; benefits  
 6, 24 *actual, deadly*: personally committed, mortal 6 *of himself*: i.e., of his own  
 6 *that that*: i.e., that claim that 7 *kind of man*: human race  
 9 *such other words like*: other suchlike expressions 10 *well*: rightly  
 10 *meant of*: meant to refer to 12–13 *competent state of*: state correspondent to  
 13 *for . . . broken*: i.e., on account of God's wrath at the condition's having been broken  
 14 *as it were*: just as it would be  
 14 *condemnation*: i.e., penalty assigned upon conviction of a crime  
 15 *a mean*: an average 16 *declare*: explain 17 *manner*: kinds  
 21 *should*: would 22 *liberality*: generosity 23 *which*: who  
 23 *for*: on account of // *displeasure*: offense // *will*: i.e., mind  
 24 *withdraweth*: withholds 27 *fruition*: enjoyment 28 *Godhead*: Supreme Being  
 28 *sensible*: sensorily experienced 32 *fruition of the Godhead*: i.e., Beatific Vision

people that are damned for actual, deadly sin... a greater grief  
 than is their intolerable feeling of the hot fire of hell, because  
 they were, by regeneration of their baptism, made inheritors of  
 heaven, and have lost it by their own fault—yet unto those that  
 5 die *unchristened*, with none other sin than original, the pain of  
 that loss is not grievous, because it was the thing which though it  
*might* have come to them, yet were they never *entitled* thereto  
 in deed, nor were not by their own fault the cause of their own  
 loss. And thus say some, as I show you, concerning all folk, old  
 10 and young, that never being christened... nor nothing hearing of  
 Christ, carry no deadly sin with them out of this world, but sin  
 original only. And as for infants dying unbaptized, albeit that in  
 many of these things that I have rehearsed by the way, many men  
 will peradventure think otherwise, yet in the effect and substance of  
 15 the point whereunto all the matter draweth—that is to wit, that  
 those infants be damned only to the pain of loss of heaven, and  
 not unto the pain of feeling by any sensible pain in the fire of  
 hell—to this point I think the most part of all Christendom, both  
 learned and unlearned, agree.  
 20 Now, as for such as die unchristened at *man's* state... and never  
 heard of Christ: some say one and some say another, as I have  
 shown you before. And some say that without the faith of Christ,  
 if they come to discretion... they must, besides original sin, die, of  
 necessity, in *actual* sin... and be damned to sensible pain. For  
 25 they say that “all the deeds that ever they do be sin.” Which  
 saying me seemeth hard; but I will not dispute it here. Howbeit, well  
 I wot that some texts of Scripture that they lay therefor... nothing  
 prove for their purpose. Yet shall I not leave unshown you one  
 comfortable saying... that Master Nicholas de Lyra toucheth upon:  
 30 those words of Saint Paul (in the eleventh chapter of his Epistle  
*Hebrews 11:6* to the Hebrews), “Sine fide autem impossibile est  
 Deo placere quemquam. Credere enim oportet accedentem  
 ad Deum... quia est, et inquirentibus se remunerator sit”—“Without faith,” saith  
 Saint Paul, “it is impossible any man to please God. For every

1 *actual*: personally committed    1, 11 *deadly*: mortal  
 3 *of their*: from their    4, 8 *fault*: committing of sin    7 *might*: could  
 8 *deed*: fact; actuality    9 *show*: tell    10 *nothing hearing of*: i.e., never having heard of  
 12, 14 *in*: with regard to    13 *rehearsed*: mentioned // *by*: along  
 14 *peradventure*: perhaps    15 *all the matter draweth*: the whole issue comes (down)  
 18 *to this point*: with this thesis    19 *agree*: are in agreement  
 20 *at man's state*: i.e., having reached adulthood    21 *one*: i.e., one thing  
 22 *shown*: told // *the faith of Christ*: the Christian faith / belief in Christ  
 23 *discretion*: the age of reason    23–24 *of necessity*: necessarily  
 26, 29 *saying*: assertion    26 *me seemeth*: seems to me // *hard*: problematic  
 27 *wot*: know // *lay therefor*: adduce for that  
 27–28 *nothing prove for their purpose*: do not at all prove their point  
 28 *unshown you*: not called to your attention    29 *comfortable*: consoling / encouraging  
 29 *saying*: thing said

man that cometh to God... must believe that God is, and that he is the rewarder of them that seek him." Upon these words saith Master Lyra that although the people of the Jews, to whom the Law was given, were bound to the belief of more than this; and the learned  
5 men of the Jews, to the belief of more than the common people; and we Christian people, and those that are the priests and learned among us, be rateably bound to the belief of more things than were the Jews, or they that were learned among them: yet unto the paynims and Gentiles (to whom the Law was not given, nor never  
10 had heard of Christ), it was sufficient for their salvation to believe those two points only which Saint Paul here rehearseth; that is to wit, that there is one God, and that he will reward them that seek him. And those two points be such... as every man may attain by natural reason... helped forth with such grace as God keepeth  
15 from no man... but from him that by his own default... either will not receive it or deserveth to have it withdrawn. So that if this be true that Master Lyra saith, then is there no man of discretion among the Gentiles or paynims... unsaved without his own default. And so no color of quarrel against the justice of God in this matter. And it is to  
20 be considered... that Master Lyra there saith that in the belief of those two points... is implied the belief of *Christ*—which is the *means* of our salvation—in that he which believeth that God will *reward* them that seek him... hath therein implied that God hath a respect unto man's salvation, and provideth a means thereunto... and  
25 so believeth he that there is *a* means of man's salvation and reward, though he know not that the means is Christ. And there, though he believe not on Christ by the *name* of Christ, yet believeth he and hopeth for the *means* of *salvation*—which is in deed Christ. And that belief sufficeth (saith Master Lyra) for his salvation, though  
30 he think not on Christ, of whom he never heard. Thus have I shown you, concerning the necessity of man's redemption, and the manner of man's fall, and the things that he lost thereby, and the justice of God used therein, and as well his justice as his mercy tempered together... in the marvelous means of man's redemption, sundry diverse

1 *is*: exists    2 *upon*: about    7 *rateably*: proportionately

9, 18 *paynims*: pagans    11 *rehearseth*: mentions    13 *may attain*: can arrive at

15 *but*: except // *default*: fault / misdeed    16 *receive*: accept

16 *withdrawn*: withheld

17 *man of discretion*: person having attained the age and use of reason

18 *his own default*: i.e., its being his own fault    19 *color of*: plausible ground for

21 *of*: in    21, 22 *which*: who    24 *respect unto*: concern about

26 *though*: even if    27 *on*: in    28 *deed*: fact    30 *on*: about

30–31 *shown you*: called to your attention    33 *used*: exercised

34 *marvelous*: wondrous // *sundry*: several // *diverse*: different

things. And concerning Adam's gifts, and his losses for his posterity, I have shown you sundry things of divers other men's opinions... in which I will bind myself to the defense of neither part. But this thing am I very sure of: that by the fall of Adam, every man and  
 5 child that by natural propagation came of him... had so verily lost and forfeited the bliss of heaven... that never should nor never shall any of them all attain again thereto... without the means of our Mediator and Savior, Jesus Christ. The merits of whose bitter  
 10 Passion hath redeemed us and thereto made us inheritable again—as many of us, I mean, as by his faith, without contempt of his sacraments, use ourselves in such wise... as by our own sin we do not willfully and finally fall again from the benefit. And thus upon this first question, without any bold affirmations or opinion that I will hold or maintain, I have somewhat shown you divers things that divers  
 15 doctors say.

### *Another Question*

**T**hen are there many men in hand with another question, and therein demand they this. While our Savior Christ (say they) bestowed upon the redemption of man... all the blessed blood of his body, to  
 20 the very following of the water after; and that not only being an innocent, sinless man and a good, but also being, besides that, very *God*, too, by reason whereof the least *drop* of his blessed blood might have sufficed to recompense and satisfy for the sins of seven whole worlds: wherefore be not *all* men by the virtue of his such *painful*  
 25 *death*... either taken up into heaven, glorified in body and beautified in soul, forthwith as soon as they be born... or else, at the leastwise, restored to the state that Adam by his sin lost them before in Paradise? That is to wit, that their bodies might be preserved from death, and the reasonable soul from rebellion of the sensual body,  
 30 and have but the Devil alone left it to strive with, and man discharged of all pain and vexation... and live here in such pleasant plight as we should have lived if Adam had not sinned; and by

2, 14 *shown*: made known to    2 *sundry*: several    2, 14 *divers*: various  
 3 *part*: side    4 *man*: adult    10 *contempt*: disregard; blowing-off  
 11 *use*: conduct // *wise*: a way    12 *willfully*: deliberately  
 16, 17 *question*: subject of debate    17 *in hand*: occupied    18 *demand*: ask  
 18 *while*: given that    18–20: See John 19:34.    18 *bestowed*: expended  
 20 *that*: i.e., did that    21 *a good*: i.e., a good one    22 *might*: could  
 24 *wherefore*: for what reason    29 *reasonable*: reason-endowed; rational  
 30 *strive*: fight // *discharged*: unburdened; freed    31 *such*: i.e., such a  
 32 *plight*: state // *lived*: i.e., lived in

serving God in such wise, then in such time or times after as  
 God should think convenient, all men to be translated out of earth  
 into the joys of heaven. In this question are there more things than  
 one. But for the first, we must mark and consider well... that Christ  
 5 willingly would—by the ordinance of the whole Trinity—suffer more  
 pain for our redemption than was of necessity requisite; howbeit,  
 though he so did without *necessity*, yet did he it not without a great  
 good *cause*. For the pleasure of God was... that by the hideous torment  
 and willingly taken pain of that holy, blessed, and almighty  
 10 Person... man should two things consider. One, how much we be  
 bounden and beholden to him... that would endure and sustain  
 such horrible affliction for our sake. The other, that we should  
 thereby consider the burden and weight of *sin*, and well remember in  
 ourselves, since that *innocent, almighty* Person willingly suffered so  
 15 sore, bitter pain for the sins of *others*, how much we very *sinful*  
*wretches* should of reason be well content... every man to suffer for  
 our *own*. For unto sufferance for our sin... how loath and irksome  
 would we be of ourselves, when we be so scantily stirred yet thereto... for  
 20 all that wonderful example? And whereas our hard hearts are so despiteous  
 that many, for all the consideration of Christ's bitter  
 Passion and most painful death, cannot, yet, with compassion relent  
 into tears and weep: if he had paid our ransom but with one  
 drop of his blessed blood pricked out with a pin, what doubt is  
 there but that thereat, then, many a wretch would *laugh*? Now, as for  
 25 bringing every man unto heaven forthwith upon his birth, without  
 any more ado: why God would not the effect of his Passion to weigh to  
 such purpose... there are more causes than one. First, that thing had been  
 impertinent to the nature of *redemption*—the nature whereof were, at  
 the farthest, but to restore men to the liberty and freedom of their  
 30 *former* state. But man in the state of innocence living in Paradise...  
 should not have been in that case to have been forthwith translated  
 into heaven, but should first have served God in Paradise—and  
 somewhat have *done*, therefore—and in all that while... have stood

2 *think convenient*: think suitable; see fit    2, 31 *translated*: conveyed still alive  
 3 *question*: subject of debate // *things*: i.e., things to consider  
 13–14 *in ourselves*: of our own accord    14 *so*: such    15 *sore*: extreme / terrible  
 16 *of*: by // *well content*: quite willing // *every man*: i.e., every one of us  
 17 *sufferance*: suffering // *loath*: averse // *irksome*: indisposed; antagonistic  
 18 *of ourselves*: i.e., just on our own    19 *all that*: that whole  
 19 *wonderful*: wondrous // *whereas*: given that // *dispiteous*: pitiless; cold  
 21 *compassion*: sympathy / empathy // *relent*: melt; break down  
 25 *forthwith upon*: immediately after    26 *would*: willed    27 *had*: would have  
 28 *impertinent*: i.e., something not belonging // *were*: would be    29 *farthest*: utmost  
 31 *case*: situation // *forthwith*: right away    33 *somewhat*: something  
 45/33—46/1 *stood* . . . *abearing*: i.e., continued to have his winning or losing of heaven  
 be contingent on his conduct

still upon the winning or losing of heaven after his abearing. For if  
 he had abided in Paradise untempted many years more than he  
 did, and had afterward, before his translation, upon the suggestion  
 of the old serpent the Devil... and of the young serpent the woman... eaten  
 5 of the fruit as he did: he had—in any time of his life—had the selfsame  
 fall. And peradventure any of his *sons*, if he had happed any  
 to beget before his fall, might for himself and the posterity  
 coming after of his own body... have lost, by the like fall, the selfsame  
 state. And therefore I say that to bring man to heaven by and  
 10 by upon his birth... was nothing belonging to the nature of *redemption*,  
 which nature is to restore him only to the freedom of his first  
 state—which was not, as I show you, man to go forthwith to heaven.

“But then why be we not at the leastwise restored unto the *same*  
 state—the state of innocence—that Adam had in Paradise, with all the  
 15 commodities thereunto pertaining?” To this I answer you: Christ,  
 when he redeemed us, how much pain soever himself took thereabout...  
 was yet at his own liberty to temper the fruit that we should  
 take thereby. And therefore, if we took thereby much less fruit than  
 we do... there could no man in reason find any fault therein. Howbeit,  
 20 as there is no doubt but that God *could* by the Passion of Christ have  
 redeemed and restored us... not only to the conditional title of inheriting  
 heaven at length, but also to the immediate attaining of  
 heaven forthwith upon our birth, or to the state of innocence in  
 Paradise first for the meanwhile, if he had would: so doubt I nothing  
 25 also... but likewise as he restored us not straightways to heaven...  
 because his high wisdom wist it was not for *God* convenient, so  
 restored he us not to the state of innocence... because his high wisdom  
 well wist it was for *ourselves* not best. To be established in the  
 possession of eternal wealth... without any manner pain taken, or  
 30 anything done, toward the deserving thereof... was and is so proper  
 to God alone, the three Persons of the glorious Trinity—the *Creator*—  
 that God would never communicate that thing with any other  
 person being but a creature: neither man in earth nor yet angel in

2 *abided*: remained    3 *translation*: transference into the next life

3 *suggestion*: i.e., being tempted    4 *of*: i.e., by    5 *he had*: he would have

6 *peradventure*: perchance    6–7 *happed any to beget*: happened to beget any

9–10 *by and by*: immediately    12 *show*: tell // *forthwith*: right away

15 *commodities*: advantages // *pertaining*: attached    16 *himself*: he himself

17 *temper*: set limits to    17, 18 *fruit*: profit    22 *at length*: eventually

23 *forthwith upon*: immediately after    24 *would*: wanted to // *nothing*: not at all

26, 28 *wist*: knew    26 *convenient*: suitable; good    29 *wealth*: well-being

32 *communicate* . . . *with*: impart . . . to    33 *in earth*: on earth // *yet*: even

heaven. And therefore, man to look for that point as the effect of his redemption... were full unreasonable, and far over proud a request.

Now, man to be restored to the state of *innocence*—God saw that

*Psalm 49:13*

for man it was not best. For as the Scripture

5 saith, “Homo cum in honore esset, non intellexit”—“When

man was in honor, his understanding failed him; he could not know himself.” And therefore to the keeping of him from sin—

and especially from pride, the root of all sin—a more base state was better. And better was it also for him to have two enemies—that is to

10 wit, the Devil and his own sensuality, both—than for to lack the

one. For the having of *both* is a cause of double fear, and therefore of double diligence... to set his reason to keep sure watch to resist them,

and, for double help, to call double so much upon Almighty God for grace. And then, with his so doing, he is more able, and more sure, now

15 to subdue them both... than with less looking for God’s help... he was

before the one; and hath yet also thereby... for his double victory against his double enemies... the occasion of double reward.

Besides this, if God should by his Passion have restored them that came to his faith... both in the Old Law and in the New... unto the

20 state of innocence, so that the children circumcised or christened... should never have died... till they were come to discretion and had

done some deadly sin; and that then their nature should change... and by the Sacrament of Penance yet be restored again:

*Saint Augustine*

then should it (as holy Saint Augustine saith)

25 have been a great occasion to make folk come

to the faith and sacraments... for the commodities of this present

life; whereas God will have heaven so sore desired and sought for... that he will have the desirers thereof... set by the pleasures of this

world... not only nothing at all, but also seek for the *contrary*, and

30 suffer displeasure and pain!

Moreover, if it so should have been, every person’s secret sinful state... should by the sudden, open change of his nature... have been, to his open shame, detected and disclosed in the sight of all the people. And over this, if it should thus have been, then must there have been

1 *man . . . as*: i.e., for man to expect that upshot to be      2 *were*: would be

2 *full*: completely // *over*: beyond; more than

10–11 *the one*: either the one or the other      16 *the one*: i.e., the Devil

18 *them that*: those who      21 *discretion*: the age of reason

22 *done some deadly sin*: committed some mortal sin

24 *as holy Saint Augustine saith*: See *City of God*, 13.4.      26 *commodities*: goods

27 *sore*: strongly; intensely      28 *set by*: care about      32 *open*: visible

33 *open*: public // *detected*: revealed

34 *over this*: furthermore // *must there*: there would have had to

so many common, open miracles continually... that man should, in manner, have been drawn to the faith by *force*—and by that means have lost more than half the merit; which God would in no wise, of his great goodness, suffer. And yet besides this, God, that well wist what thing the bliss of heaven is, saw that it was not convenient... to give  
 5 so great a gift to every slothful javel that nothing did set thereby. And he well showeth himself to set nothing by it... that  
*Matthew 10:24; 16:24* can find in his heart to do nothing for it.  
 10 Finally, God wist that it was nothing meet... the servant to stand in better condition than his master, as our Lord saith himself in the Gospel. And therefore would he not suffer that while he came to his own kingdom not without travail and pain, his servants should be slothful, and sit and pick their nails... and be carried up to heaven at their ease; but biddeth every  
 15 man that will be his “disciple” or “servant”... take up his cross upon his back, and therewith come forth and follow him. And for this cause, lo, though the painful Passion of Christ, paid for all mankind, was of the nature of the thing... much more than sufficient for the sins of us all... though we nothing did but sin all our whole life:  
 20 yet God, not willing to fill heaven with hellhounds, limited, of his own wisdom and goodness, after what rate and stint... the *commodity* thereof should be employed upon us—and ordinarily devised... that the merits of his pain taken for us... should make our labor and pain taken for ourselves meritorious; which else, had  
 25 we taken for our sin never so much, and done never so many good deeds toward the attaining of heaven, could not have merited us a rush. And this, I say, *ordinarily*. For by special privilege... his liberal hand is yet, nevertheless, at liberty... to give remission of sin, and to give grace and glory, where and when soever  
 30 he list.

And thus have I somewhat touched the answer unto this question... wherefore the painful Passion of Christ restored not man again unto the former state of innocence that Adam before had in Paradise.

1 *common*: well-known    1–2 *in manner*: in a way    3 *in no wise*: by no means  
 4 *suffer*: allow // *that*: who    4, 9 *wist*: knew    5 *convenient*: befitting  
 6 *javel*: lowlife    6–7 *nothing did set thereby*: placed no value on it  
 9 *nothing*: not at all // *meet*: fitting; right  
 10 *stand in better condition*: be in a better position; have it better  
 11 *suffer*: allow it to be the case    12 *while*: whereas    14 *nails*: i.e., fingernails  
 18 *was of*: was by    19 *though*: even if    20 *willing*: wanting  
 21 *stint*: measure // *commodity*: benefit    22 *employed*: bestowed  
 22, 27 *ordinarily*: as the general rule    25 *never so*: no matter how  
 27 *rush*: straw    30 *list*: (so) chooses    31 *touched*: touched upon; gone into  
 32 *wherefore*: (of) why    33 *again*: back

Now, albeit that sundry other questions both may be moved and are... which might be induced and treated here, yet lest I should therewith make this work too tedious, and the introduction longer than the principal process, of the Passion, we shall be content with these few...  
 5 as those that most properly pertain unto the matter of the Redemption; and beseeching Almighty God, of his great grace, that all curious appetite of vain problems put apart, we may with meekness... give our hearts... to the very fruitful learning of those necessary things that we be bound to know, we shall hasten us to the matter  
 10 of the blessed Passion itself.

### *The Prayer*

**O** holy, blessed Savior Jesus Christ, which willingly didst determine to die for man's sake: mollify my hard heart... and supple it so by grace... that through tender compassion of thy bitter Passion, I  
 15 may be partner of thy holy Redemption.

**W**hereas I have herebefore shown you three points... that is to wit, the ruin of angels, the fall of man, and the determination of the Trinity for man's redemption by means of Christ's Passion... as three things that were causes going before, whereupon his bitter  
 20 Passion followed: I doubt not but that such as are *learned* will like also... that ere I begin with the lamentable story of the Passion itself, I should first show farther some other points: that is to wit, by what means this determination of the Trinity was notified unto man. And also the other causes of Christ's death and Passion,  
 25 as the malice of the Jews, the treason of Judas, and the obedient will of his own holy manhead. And verily, these points might well and conveniently have been declared before, and in the treating of these three other points... somewhat have I made mention of all these points too. But I have not thought it like requisite... to declare them before

1 *moved*: raised    2 *induced*: brought up    3 *tedious*: wearisome  
 4 *process*: discussion    5, 9 *matter*: subject    7 *curious*: inquisitive  
 7 *appetite of*: appetite for / interest in    // *vain*: unprofitable / vanity-serving  
 7 *problems*: debate topics; matters of contention    // *put apart*: set aside  
 12 *which*: who    // *willingly*: voluntarily    13 *determine*: decide  
 13 *mollify*: soften    13–14 *supple it so*: so make it pliant  
 14 *compassion*: fellow feeling    15 *partner*: partaker  
 16 *shown you*: called to your attention    21 *ere*: before  
 21 *lamentable*: tear-inducing; heartbreaking    22 *show*: set out  
 23 *notified*: given notice of    25 *as*: such as  
 26 *manhead*: i.e., self in his human nature  
 26–27 *well and conveniently*: quite suitably  
 27, 29 *declare(d)*: present(ed)    29 *like*: equally

so fully as those others, because the words of the Gospel itself... give us more occasion to declare these points in the process of the Passion itself... than those other three points which I have as a preamble touched more at large before.

5 *A Warning to the Reader*

Here I will give the reader warning that I will rehearse the words of the Evangelists—in this process, of the Passion—in Latin... word by word, after my copy, as I find it in the work of that worshipful father Master Jean Gerson... which work he entitled *Monotessaron* (that is to wit, “One of All Four”), as I have declared you before (in my preface), because I will not in any word willingly mangle or mutilate that honorable man’s work, but so rehearse it... that learned which shall read it here... may have the selfsame commodity thereby... that they may have by the reading of the same among his own other works; as in considering such doubts as he sometimes moveth concerning the contexture of the story, and in searching (if their pleasure be) every word in its own proper place... where it was gathered and taken out of any of the four Evangelists, and for their own learning... list confer the place and use their own judgment in the allowing or in the controlling of any part of his contexture, in the gathering and compiling of his present work. But yet will I not fully follow the same fashion in the rehearsing of the same thing in *English*. For if I should, there neither could any such fruit grow thereof... and also, the contexture of the story should in the eye of the English reader— and yet much more in the ear of the English hearer—seem very far unsavory, by reason of the often interposition of the initial letters signifying the names of the four Evangelists, and some one sentence with so little change so often repeated, and in some places the contexture so diversely intricated, in his collection... that himself, with a note in the margin, declareth himself to doubt and stand unsure whether in that place he join and link well in one the sundry words of the Evangelists, or no. And therefore in the rehearsing of his contexture in English...

2 *declare*: present 2, 7 *process*: discussion

4 *touched more at large*: addressed at greater length 5, 6 *warning*: advance notice

6, 12 *rehearse*: quote 8 *after*: according to // *worshipful*: eminent

9 *father*: priest 10 *of*: (Gospel text) from 10–11 *as . . . preface*: There is no previous mention of Gerson in the manuscript as it has come down to us.

10 *declared*: explained (to) 11 *willingly*: deliberately 13 *which*: (people) who

13 *have*: receive // *commodity*: benefit 15 *doubts*: questions // *moveth*: raises

16, 20, etc. *contexture*: weaving together into one text; conflation

16 *searching*: looking up 16–17 *if their pleasure be*: if they so please

19 *list*: want to // *confer*: compare // *place*: passage // *allowing*: approving

20 *controlling*: criticizing 22, 32 *rehearsing*: quoting 23 *fruit*: profit

23 *grow*: come 26 *unsavory*: distasteful; unpalatable // *often*: frequent

29 *intricated*: entwined; involved // *collection*: collation // *himself*: he himself

nothing will I put in of mine own; but out will I not let to leave... any such thing as I shall think to be unto the English reader no *furtherance*, but a *hindrance*, to the clear progress of this holy story; which we shall, with help of God, in this wise now begin.

## 5 The First Chapter

The contexture of Master Gerson; whereof first, the rubric “De Festo Azimorum appropinquante: M. xxvi, R. xiiii, L. xxii, I. xiii.”

*Nota lector quod Marcum  
semper signat Gerson per  
hanc litteram R.*                      “Appropinquabat **L.** autem dies Festus Azimorum,  
qui dicitur Pascha. Erat **R.** autem Pascha, et Azima  
biduum. Et **M.** factum est cum consummasset  
10 Iesus sermones hos omnes, dixit discipulis suis: Scitis  
quia post biduum Pascha fiet, et Filius Hominis tradetur ut crucifigatur. Tunc  
congregati sunt principes sacerdotum et seniores in atrium principis sacerdotum  
qui dicitur Caiaphas, et consilium fecerunt. Et **R.** querebant **L.** summi  
15 sacerdotes et scribe, quomodo eum dolo tenerent et occiderent. timebant. **L.**  
vero plebem. dicebant. **M. R.** autem. Non in die festo, ne forte tumultus fiat  
in populo. Intravit **L.** autem Satanas in Iudam qui cognominatur Scariot,  
unum de duodecem. Tunc **M.** abiit **R. L.** unus de duodecem ad principes  
sacerdotum et summos **R.** sacerdotes, ut proderet eum illis. Et **L.** locutus est  
20 cum principibus sacerdotum et magistratibus, quemadmodum illum traderet  
illis, et ait **M.** illis: Quid vultis michi dare et ego vobis eum tradam? Qui  
**R. L.** audientes gavisi sunt, et promiserunt, et pacti **L.** sunt pecuniam illi  
dare. At illi constituerunt ei triginta argenteos, et spondit. Et **M.** exinde  
**R. L.** querebat oportunitatem ut eum opportune. **R.** traderet sine **L.** turbis. Ante  
25 **I.** diem festum Paschae, sciens Iesus quia venit hora eius ut transeat ex hoc mundo  
ad Patrem, cum dilexisset suos qui erant in mundo, in finem dilexit eos”—  
“Of the Feast of the Unleavened Loaves approaching: Mt 26, Mk 14, Lk  
22, Jn 13.  
“There approached near (Lk) the holy day of the Unleavened Loaves,

1 *let:* forbear      4 *wise:* way      6 *contexture:* text-interweaving

6–7 *De . . . xiii:* See lines 27 and 28.

27 *of the feast:* about the feast // *approaching:* (that was) coming up

29 *approached near:* was coming up soon

which feast is called Pasch. For (Mk) the Pasch and the Unleavened  
 Loaves was two days after. (Mk/Mt) And so was it that when Jesus had  
 ended all these sermons, he said unto his disciples, ‘You know that  
 after two days shall be the Pasch; and the Son of Man shall be  
 5 delivered to be crucified.’ Then gathered there together the  
 princes of the priests, and the ancients of the people, into the  
 palace of the prince of the priests which is called Caiaphas, and  
 took counsel together. And (Mk) they sought the ways, (Lk) both the  
 chief priests and the scribes, how they might with some wile take  
 10 him and put him to death. For they were afraid of the people. (Lk)  
 They said, therefore, (Mt/Mk) ‘Not on the holy day, lest there arise some  
 seditious ruffle among the people.’ But there entered (Lk) Satan into  
 Judas whose surname is Iscariot—one of the Twelve. Then (Mt/Mk/Lk)  
 went he to the princes of the priests, and to the chief priests, to  
 15 betray him to them. And he (Lk) had communication with the princes  
 of the priests, and with the rulers, in what manner he should betray  
 him to them. And he said (Mt) unto them, ‘What will ye give me  
 and I shall deliver him to you?’ Who, (Mk/Lk) when they heard him,  
 were well apaid, and (Lk) promised and covenanted with him to give  
 20 him money, and appointed to give him thirty groats. And he made  
 the promise. And (Mt) from that time forth, (Mk/Lk) he sought opportunity  
 that he might commodiously betray him, out of the presence  
 (Lk) of the people. Before (Jn) the holy day of the Pasch, Jesus, knowing  
 that his hour came on to go out of this world unto his Father—whereas  
 25 he had loved those that were his, unto the *end* he loved them.”

#### *A Prayer*

**G**ood Lord, give us thy grace... not to read or hear this Gospel, of thy  
 bitter Passion, with our eyes and our ears... in manner of a pastime,  
 but that it may with *compassion* so sink into our hearts... that it  
 30 may stretch to the everlasting profit of our souls.

1, 4, 23 *Pasch*: Passover    3 *sermons*: discourses  
 6, 7, etc. *prince(s) of the priests*: i.e., high priest(s)    6 *ancients*: elders  
 7 *which is called*: whose name is    9 *wile*: devious stratagem  
 9 *take*: seize    12 *ruffle*: tumult    15 *had communication*: i.e., discussed  
 19 *well apaid*: very pleased // *covenanted*: contracted; made a formal agreement  
 20 *appointed*: resolved; arranged // *groats*: denarii  
 22 *commodiously*: conveniently; without difficulty  
 24 *his hour came on*: his time was coming    30 *stretch to*: redound to; serve for

## The First Lecture

“(M<sup>t</sup>) There approached near (Lk) the holy day of the Unleavened Bread, which is called Pasch; (Mk) for the Pasch and the Unleavened Loaves was two days after.”

5 These words, good Christian readers, be the words of Saint Matthew, Saint Luke, and Saint Mark—three of the four Evangelists—which, by the mention-making of the Pasch and the Unleavened Bread, give us here, in the beginning, occasion to speak of the point  
10 which I before touched: that is to wit, in what wise the merciful, just, and high-devised means of man’s redemption, the deep-secret mystery of the Blessed Trinity... which, till God revealed it unto them, none *angel* in *heaven* knew or could think upon, was, of God’s comfortable goodness, signified and declared to man. For which ye shall understand... that albeit our first parents, Adam and Eve, were  
15 *Genesis 3* disobedient... and thereby broke God’s commandment; and were also stubborn in the beginning (whereby they rather excused their default, and each of them put it from him to some other, than meekly confessed their fault and asked for pardon and mercy); for which demeanor, besides the  
20 *Genesis 2:17* sentence of death conditionally pronounced (before mentioned, in the second chapter of Genesis: that whatsoever day Adam did eat of the Tree of Knowledge, he should die), God (as is recited in the third chapter) declared after... certain other punishments that either of them should have for them and their offspring too (the one, with sore travail about the getting  
25 of his daily living; the other, with sore travail in bringing forth of her children; and either of them some other things besides, as you have in the Second Point heard rehearsed before)—yet never find we that of God’s mercy they fell into despair; as we find of Cain, and  
30 of Judas. And therefore after their... not desperate, but *fruitful* repentance, taken upon God’s inward motion, and thereby calling to God for remission and mercy (with taking great wreak willingly themselves

2 *approached near*: was coming up soon    3, 7 *Pasch*: Passover  
4 *after*: i.e., from then    6 *which*: who    9 *touched*: touched upon // *wise*: ways  
10 *high-devised*: sublimely devised    13 *comfortable*: consoling  
13 *declared*: made known    17 *default*: transgression  
18 *put . . . other*: deflected the blame for it from himself to someone else  
19 *fault*: guilt // *demeanor*: behavior    23 *recited*: related  
23 *chapter*: i.e., chapter of Genesis // *declared*: announced    24, 27 *either*: each  
25, 26 *sore travail*: hard labor    28 *the Second Point*: See 11/18—25/7.  
28 *rehearsed*: mentioned    30 *desperate*: despairing    31 *inward*: interior  
31 *motion*: prompting    32 *wreak*: vengeance // *willingly*: voluntarily

upon themselves, as well with inward heaviness and sorrow... as outward labor and pain) for their heinous offenses committed against God by the bold breaking of his high commandment: the great goodness of God, giving them knowledge of the means of their  
 5 salvation, and of that Mediator by whose death they and their offspring should be redeemed again to bliss, did in the faith of the said Mediator... remit and forgive them the eternality of the pain due unto their offense, reserving their actual enhancing into heaven until the great mystery of Christ's Passion should be  
 10 performed, and thereby the ransom paid, in such time as the high foresight and providence of God had from the beginning, before the world wrought, laid up out of sight... in the deep treasure of his unsearchable knowledge... little and little, at sundry seasons, to be signified and insinuated conveniently to man before.

15 And therefore this great secret mystery did God reveal in diverse wise; that is to wit, partly with inward inspiration, partly with outward means, as well by words as other outward tokens. The first mention that we find made thereof is in the third chapter of Genesis, where God unto the serpent said, among other things, thus:

20 *Genesis 3:15* "Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius. Ipsum conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo illius"; "I shall put enmity," said our Lord to the serpent, "between thee and the woman, and between the seed of thee and the seed of her. That seed shall tread and allto frush thy head, and thou shalt lie in await for his heel." In these  
 25 words was there a secret insinuation (and, as men might say, a watchword) given of Christ, which should be the seed of the woman—and the *only* seed of *only woman*, without man—which seed should allto tread and frush in pieces the Devil's head and his  
 30 power upon man; and that all that ever the Devil should do again against Christ... should not be able to reach his head (that is to wit, his Godhead), but only to fumble about his foot (that is to wit, his

1 *inward*: interior / heartfelt // *heaviness*: grief 2, 17 *outward*: exterior  
 2 *heinous*: serious 4 *the great* . . . *giving*: i.e., God, in his great goodness, giving  
 6 *in the faith of*: i.e., in their belief in 8 *pain*: punishment  
 8 *enhancing*: elevating; raising 10 *performed*: carried out  
 12 *wrought*: (was) made 13 *and*: i.e., by 14 *insinuated*: intimated  
 14 *conveniently*: appropriately; suitably 16 *wise*: ways  
 16 *that is to wit*: that is // *inward*: interior 17 *tokens*: indications / portents  
 23, 24, etc. *seed*: offspring 24, 29 *tread*: trample // *allto*: completely  
 24 *frush*: crush 25 *in await for*: i.e., in ambush, waiting for a chance to strike at  
 26 *secret*: hidden // *insinuation*: intimation // *men*: i.e., one  
 26–27 *a watchword*: an identifying sign; a clue 27 *which should*: who would  
 29 *frush in*: smash into 30 *upon*: over // *again*: in turn  
 31, 32 *that is to wit*: that is to say; in other words  
 32 *his Godhead*: him in his divine nature

manhead)... and yet rather lie in *await* to hurt it... than able to hurt it in deed. For all that ever the Devil (when with long lying in await therefor, he could nothing prevail by himself) caused by his wily train the Jews and the Gentiles to do against his holy  
5 manhead... was yet the thing, well weighed and considered, not able to  
*Psalm 63:8 (Vulgate)* do it hurt, but, as the prophet saith, “Sagittae parvulorum factae sunt plagae eorum”—“The wounds  
that they gave him... were like as they had been made with the arrows that are shot out of a little boy’s bow.” For all the wounds that they  
10 gave him in his body... could not so take hold... but that within three days after, all his flesh was rid of all manner pain, and in far better health—and incomparably better condition—after, forever, than it was five days before. And here, good reader, marvel not though I rehearse you the text of Genesis otherwise here than I did in the  
15 Second Point, before. For whereas I there rehearsed it after the Latin translation—whereof the sentence may stand very well—yet seemeth *this* letter, after the *Hebrew* text, to serve more meet and more proper for the matter... in that by the Latin text, the treading down of the Devil seemeth applied unto our Blessed *Lady*; which she did, indeed, by means  
20 of her holy seed, our Savior; but by the Hebrew text it is, as you see, referred, as more meet is, unto her holy Son himself. But, now, when this mystery of man’s redemption was thus prophesied by God—I doubt it not but that of this watchword the Devil gathered somewhat, and ever gnawed after upon that bone... from that time to the  
25 coming of Christ, as a matter of his grief and torment. But yet will I not warrant that he very well *understood* it. And Adam (would I ween) at the first hearing... understood that word yet much less. For though God suffered the *serpent*, whom he threatened therewith to his grief and displeasure, somewhat to guess thereat: yet  
30 while *man* was at that time nothing yet reconciled, but in his heinous offense stubbornly stood at his defense; and his sorrow shortly after, thereupon, declared unto him—it seemeth me not likely

1 *manhead*: i.e., human side // *to*: i.e., for a chance to 1, 6 *hurt*: harm  
2 *deed*: fact 3 *therefor*: for that // *nothing prevail*: i.e., get nowhere at all with that  
4 *train*: trickery 5 *manhead*: humanity 6 *the prophet*: i.e., David  
13–15: See 18/22–25. 13 *marvel not though*: don’t be surprised that  
14, 15 *rehearse(d)*: quote(d) 15, 17 *after*: in accord with 16 *sentence*: meaning  
16 *stand*: hold good 17 *letter*: wording // *serve*: i.e., serve as; be  
17, 21 *meet*: fitting 20 *seed*: offspring 23 *of*: from // *watchword*: identifying sign  
23 *somewhat*: something 25 *matter*: ground 26 *warrant*: guarantee  
27 *would I ween*: I would suppose // *word*: statement 28 *suffered*: allowed  
30 *while*: given that // *nothing*: not at all // *in*: with regard to  
31 *heinous offense*: high crime // *sorrow*: affliction; inflicted suffering  
32 *thereupon*: i.e., immediately following God’s speaking of these words to Satan  
32 *declared*: announced // *seemeth*: seems to

that God gave him the knowledge of his pardon... before the full knowledge of his punishment... or the acknowledging and repentance of his fault. Howbeit, upon his repentance after, I nothing doubt but that God gave him farther understanding what was by those

5 words meant. Besides this, he signified this mystery to them by the sacrifice. For by the killing and offering up unto God the innocent beast in sacrifice... was betokened the death of our innocent Savior, and offering up of his body by the hot, fervent pain of the cross. And thus, by divers ways, was there revelation given of this great

10 mystery unto others of the old fathers, as Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, and Joseph—by sundry diverse tokens, too long here to rehearse—before the Law given in writing. Then was there in the Law written... express warning given by Moses unto the children of Israel in desert, when

15 *Deuteronomy 18:15* he wrote unto them (in the eighteenth chapter of the Deuteronomy), “Prophetam de gente tua et de fratribus tuis, sicut me, suscitabit tibi Dominus Deus tuus: ipsum audies”— “A prophet of thine own people and of thy brethren, like unto me, shall thy Lord God raise up unto thee: and that prophet shalt thou hear.” Here, in these words, Moses gave them warning of Christ...

20 that he should be a very man, coming lineally of one of their own tribes; and that he should be a bringer of a new law to them, as himself was; and that they should therein, upon the pain of the vengeance of God (as after followeth in the text), be bound, when he should come, to hear and obey him. Now, to bring

25 them a new law as Moses did... God never sent none after... but only Christ. And therefore *him* were they, by those words of their old lawyer, Moses, commanded for to hear and obey... in those words “*ipsum audies*” (“him shalt thou hear”). And therefore,

30 since they so were commanded of God by the mouth of Moses, though there had been before Christ’s coming... no word spoken of his Godhead—yet when *himself* so plainly declared it unto them, they were, I say, by the said commandment of God given them by Moses, bound to give therein full faith and credence to him. Howbeit, that Christ was the very Son of God, and himself very God,

3 *fault*: guilt    3–4 *nothing doubt but*: have no doubt at all

4–5 *those words*: See 54/22–25.    7 *beast*: animal // *betokened*: presaged

8 *hot*: intense // *fervent*: burning    9 *divers*: several

10 *old fathers*: patriarchs // *as*: such as

11 *Israel*: i.e., Jacob; see Genesis 35:9–10. // *sundry diverse*: many different

11 *tokens*: foreshadowings / indications // *too long*: too long a list / it would take too long

11 *rehearse*: recount    12 *the Law given*: i.e., the giving of the Law

13, 19 *warning*: advance notice    19, 24, etc. *hear*: listen to

20 *very man*: real human being    22, 31 *himself*: he himself    25 *none*: anyone

27 *old lawyer*: former lawgiver    29 *of God*: by God    30 *though*: even if

30–31 *of his Godhead*: i.e., about his being divine    31 *himself*: he himself

31 *declared*: made it known

besides the figures and prophecies of the Old Law very plain and plenteous... the Father of heaven himself, present with the Holy Ghost at Christ's baptism, testified, and recognized him for his very

*Matthew 3:17* Son, saying: "Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo

5 mihi complacui"—"This is my well-beloved Son, in

whom hath been my delight." Besides this, of his birth, of the place and the time of his doctrine, and his miracles, and the malice conceived against him by the Jews, and the false treason of his familiar enemy; of his Passion, his death, his Resurrection, and his

10 glorious Ascension... was warning given by sundry wise: as well by the words of the holy prophets as by tokens and figures of things done among the Chosen People... both before the Law written and after,

and by things also commanded to be done among the children of Israel... in their sacraments, rites, ceremonies, and sacrifices—commanded

15 them, I say, by God by the mouth of Moses... in the law

*1 Corinthians 10:11* given them by writing. For as saith Saint

Paul, "Omnia in figura contingebant illis"—"Allthing came to them in figures."

But forasmuch as I wot well no wise man would look that I should in this place rehearse *all* those things—which would make a long book alone—I will, therefore, letting all the remnant pass, only with a word or two show you what feast the Evangelists here speak of in these words of theirs which I have rehearsed you: that is to wit, the feast of Pasch, and of the Unleavened Bread.

25 That the children of Israel were in servitude and thralldom in Egypt under the proud prince Pharaoh; and that God conducted them thence in strong and mighty hand, and made that high, stubborn king, maugre his teeth, fain to let them go; and that when he farther followed them, of his heart-burning malice, through the

30 Red Sea... the same way where God had sent his own people through safe, this fierce, furious king, with all his whole main, mighty

1, 11, 18 *figures*: prefigurements; types    3 *testified*: attested

7 *doctrine*: teaching    8 *false*: dastardly    9 *familiar*: close-associate

10 *warning*: advance notice // *wise*: ways    11 *tokens*: portents

17 *allthing*: everything    19 *wot*: know // *no wise man*: no one with any sense

19 *look*: expect    20 *should*: would // *rehearse*: mention    21 *remnant*: rest

22 *show*: explain to    23 *rehearsed*: quoted    24 *Pasch*: Passover

26 *conducted*: led    27 *thence*: out of there // *high*: arrogant

28 *maugre his teeth*: despite all his resistance / in spite of himself

28 *fain*: constrained / quite willing    31 *furious*: raging // *main*: numerous

*Exodus 14*                      army, was... with the waves of the water (which  
    water while the children of Israel passed  
 through... stood up, like high walls of crystal, on both sides,  
 leaving a great, broad space of dry ground all the midst) suddenly  
 5    relented and fallen, and flowing shortly together again... involved  
      and tossed up, overthrown and tumbled down, overwhelmed  
      and wretchedly drowned—all this process, I say, shall I nothing need  
      to speak of, as things so commonly known... that for the atrocity of  
 10    the story, and the wonderful work of God therein, almost every  
      child hath heard. And every man, almost, is, I trust, instructed also...  
      that though these things be no feigned tales, told for parables, but  
      were things verily done in deed—yet did they, by the provident  
      ordinance of God, serve also to signify certain great secret mysteries...  
 15    concerning the redemption of man. As, for example, the thralldom  
      of the children of Israel under King Pharaoh and the Egyptians... signifieth  
      the bondage of mankind under the prince of this dark world—the  
      Devil—and his evil spirits. Their delivery thence under the leading  
      of Moses... betokeneth the delivery of man from the Devil and his  
      evil angels... under our captain, Christ. The safe passage of the  
 20    children of Israel through the Red Sea, and all the power of Pharaoh  
      drowned in the same, signifieth mankind passing out of the Devil's  
      danger... through the water of Baptism—the sacrament taking its  
      force of the red blood of Christ... that he shed in his bitter Passion; and  
      all the Devil's power usurped upon us before, and laboring to keep  
 25    us still, drowned and destroyed in the water of Baptism... and the  
      red blood of Christ's Passion. And by all the course after, of the people  
      conveyed from the Red Sea... by the desert... toward the Land of Behest—  
      and their waywardness... and many punishments, with manifold  
      mercy shown again, by the space of forty years together... ere any of  
 30    them came there—is there signified and figured... the long, painful  
      wandering of men in the wild wilderness of this wretched world ere  
      we can get hence to heaven... and the frowardness of ourselves, that so

1, 2 *water*: body of water; sea    4 *all the midst*: throughout the middle  
 5 *relented*: broken loose // *involved*: enveloped    7 *all this*: this whole  
 7 *process*: narrative    8 *speak of*: say about // *for*: because of  
 8 *atrocity*: savage enormity    9 *wonderful*: wondrous  
 11 *feigned*: made-up // *for*: as    13 *secret*: hidden    17 *thence*: from there  
 18 *betokeneth*: presages    20 *all the power*: the whole army    22 *danger*: dominion  
 24 *usurped upon us*: i.e., gained over us by usurpation  
 24–25 *laboring to keep us still*: i.e., striving to go on keeping us in its grip  
 26 *all the course*: the whole sequence of events    27 *by*: by way of  
 27 *Land of Behest*: Promised Land    29 *together*: on end    29, 31 *ere*: before  
 30 *came*: arrived // *figured*: represented; imaged    32 *hence*: out of here  
 32 *frowardness*: perversity // *that*: which

sore keepeth us from it that, with great help of God's grace, in respect of the multitude... that by their evil desert eternally perish in this worldly desert... very few, I fear, and with much work, attain unto it. But for the perceiving of these words of the Gospel

5 "There approached near... the festival day of the Unleavened Loaves, which feast is called Pasch," ye shall understand that the Jews, among all their feasts and holy days through the year, had one feast, the most solemn, that was called "Pasch" and "the Feast of the Unleavened Bread," which God specially commanded them to celebrate yearly

10 *Exodus 12:14, 17* forever; as appeareth, at length, in the twelfth chapter of Exodus. For after that the proud, stiff-necked Pharaoh, being by Moses in the name of God... commanded to suffer the children of Israel to depart out of his land

15 into desert (with all their wives and their children, and all their cattle), would in no wise suffer it; but, albeit that by the force and constraint of sundry sore strokes and plagues... wherewith God wonderfully smote him... he granted their delivery for the time that he stood in dread, the rod of God laying the lashes upon him, yet after the rod scant removed... evermore his stubborn pride

20 sprang into his hard heart, and made him forbid their passage again... and hold them in thralldom still: our Lord at the last commanded Moses... that the tenth day of that month, they should take, every household, "a lamb without spot"; and the fourteenth day of the same month, in the evening, offer it and eat it up altogether,

25 head and guts and all, so that they should leave nothing thereof—but if anything were left, they should burn it up. And of this lamb should they nothing eat raw nor sod, but only roasted at the fire. And they should eat it with wild lettuce and unleavened bread—and should have no leaven... neither that night nor in seven days

30 following... within their *house*—upon pain of death. And they should eat it having their gowns girded, or tucked up about the reins of their back, and their shoes upon their feet, and their walking staffs in their hands, and so eat it in haste... as folk that had made

1 *sore*: strongly // *from it*: i.e., away from heaven

1–2 *in respect of*: in comparison to 2 *evil desert*: demerit(s)

4 *attain unto it*: i.e., make it there // *perceiving*: comprehending

5 *approached near*: was coming up soon 6 *Pasch*: Passover

9 *specially*: expressly 11 *that*: i.e., it happened that 13, 15 *suffer*: allow

14–15 *with . . . cattle*: See Exodus 10:8–11. 15 *in no wise*: by no means

16 *sore*: severe // *strokes*: acts of divine chastisement

17 *wonderfully*: wondrously 18 *dread*: fear 19 *scant*: barely

23 *spot*: defect 27 *sod*: boiled

29–30 *should . . . death*: See Exodus 12:18–19.

31–32 *about the reins of their back*: around their loins

59/33—60/1 *made them*: gotten themselves

them ready to be going... and therefore might not tarry, because  
 they were upon their passage. And then God showed them of *two*  
 passages: the one, of theirs; the other, of his. For he showed them  
 that the twenty-first day of the same month, which should be at the end  
 5 of the said seven days of the Unleavened Bread, they should all  
 pass and depart out of Egypt, over the Red Sea. And he showed  
 them that in the night of the said fourteenth day... in which they  
 should offer in sacrifice and eat the unspotted lamb... *himself*  
 10 would make a passage *through* Egypt, and by his angel kill in that  
 one night... all the first-begotten of the Egyptians, as well men as  
 cattle, in every house—from the first-begotten son of Pharaoh, that  
 sat in his seat, to the first-begotten son of the poorest and most  
 simple slave that lay in prison. And he commanded them that with  
 a “bundle of hyssop” they should besprinkle the posts and the hance  
 15 of their doors with the blood of the lamb; which blood should be  
 the mark unto him that should strike these first-begottens that  
 should that night be slain—so that upon the sight of that mark,  
 the striker should pass by their houses so marked, and not enter  
 thereinto to do there any harm. But he warned them that there  
 20 should that night none of them come out of their doors. And likewise  
 as God had promised, so performed he that great, sore slaughter  
 and vengeance through all Egypt in that one night; so that thereupon,  
 Pharaoh with all the Egyptians were so daunted that both  
 Pharaoh and all his people... not only licensed but also *required*  
 25 and *prayed* the children of Israel to get them out of Egypt, into the  
 desert, about their sacrifice—and in all that they might, they also  
 hastened them forward. And not only let them carry and convey  
 out with them all their own, but lent them also so great substance  
 30 *Exodus 12:36* of *theirs*... that the Hebrews, as the Scripture  
 saith, in their going with that plenteous borrowing,  
 “despoiled the Egyptians”—and that by the special commandment  
 of God; either in recompense of the wrongful oppression that  
 32 *Psalms 24:1* the Egyptians had done them before... or because  
 that, since “Domini est terra et plenitudo eius: orbis

1 *going*: traveling // *might*: could // *tarry*: dawdle

2 *upon their passage*: on their journey 2, 3, 6 *showed*: told 2 *of*: about

3–6: See Exodus 11:1 and 12:17. 4, 5 *should*: would 6 *over*: by way of

7–13: See Exodus 11:4–5. 8 *unspotted*: defectless; unblemished

8 *himself*: he himself 11 *house*: household

11–12 *that sat in his seat*: i.e., who was already enthroned 13 *simple*: lowly

13–15: See Exodus 12:22. 14 *hance*: lintel 19 *warned*: cautioned; instructed

21 *performed he*: did he carry out // *sore*: massive

24 *licensed*: allowed // *required*: entreated

25 *prayed*: begged 26 *in all that they might*: in every way that they could

28 *own*: i.e., own stuff 31 *special*: explicit; express 32 *wrongful*: unjust

terrarium, et universi qui habitant in eo” (“The earth belongeth to our Lord, and allthing that is therein: the whole roundel of the world, and all the people that dwell therein”), God might well with reason take what he would from whom he would, and give it where he would... and  
5 make their possession lawful.

But now was this feast, of the Unleavened Bread, yearly kept holy... the space of the said seven days, by the special commandment of God, and called “dies Azymorum” in the Greek tongue; that is to say, the days of the Unleavened Bread. And the first  
10 day of them... was the great, solemn day. And that first day... began always the night before, in the evening, in the feast of Pasch—wherein was immolated and offered in sacrifice the unspotted lamb. For, as I have shown you, that lamb were they commanded to eat with unleavened bread... and so forth, from that time, to continue the  
15 unleavened bread seven days after. This feast, therefore, of the sacrifice of the unspotted lamb... is that feast that “is called Pasch”... whereof the Evangelists here speak. And they call it also the Feast of the Unleavened Bread, because that feast began the same night in which the lamb was sacrificed.

This feast which was in the Greek called “Pascha”—and which name the Latins have taken of the Greeks and continued—was in  
20 *Saint Jerome* the Hebrew tongue called “Phase”... and, as Saint Jerome saith, “Pascha” too. It was called “Phase” for that “phase,” in Hebrew, signifieth passing, or going, and the feast was, as I have shown you, ordained in remembrance of God’s passing through  
25 Egypt... in doing the vengeance upon the Egyptians by the slaughter of all their first-begottens... to compel them to suffer the Hebrews pass out of their thralldom. It is also called “Pascha” for that that, as  
*Saint Jerome* Saint Jerome saith, “Pascha” in Hebrew signifieth  
30 immolation; and therefore, for the immolation of the lamb, that feast hath in Hebrew that name. The Greeks, as I have told you, have taken the name “Pascha”; and that,

2 *allthing*: everything // *roundel*: sphere    3 *might well*: could in good accord

7 *space*: duration // *special*: express

11 *in the feast of Pasch*: on the feast of Passover

12, 16 *unspotted*: unblemished; defectless    13 *shown*: told    21 *of*: from

24 *going*: traveling    27 *suffer*: let    28 *for that*: for the reason

30 *for*: because of

peradventure, the rather for that that the same Hebrew word  
 signifieth also, in their tongue, another thing very consonant  
 and convenient for the season and the matter. For “pascha” in the  
 Greek tongue... signifieth passion. And because that in that night  
 5 of his Maundy, in which he immolated the lamb, he began his  
 bitter Passion—the immolation of the *very* “unspotted lamb,” his  
 own blessed body—which immolation and Passion he finished on  
 the morrow: therefore they took and used the name of “Pascha,”  
 wherein the Latin church followeth them.

10 Thus have I somewhat shown you, good Christian readers, the  
 first point that I spoke of arising of the text: that is to wit, in what  
 wise the determination of the Trinity for man’s redemption was  
 notified unto man; that is to say, by the inspiration and prophecies  
 in words and writing and by figures contained... as well in other  
 15 things done among the Chosen People... as in their rites, sacraments,  
 ceremonies, and sacrifices. I have also shown you somewhat  
 concerning this feast of the Unleavened Loaves and the Pasch. But  
 as I said before, all these things which then were verily done... foreshadowed  
 in Christ and his Church things after to be done. For  
 20 that innocent “lamb without spot”... was a figure betokening our  
 Savior Christ, the *very* Innocent Lamb... of whom Saint John the  
     *John 1:29*                      Baptist witnessed, “Ecce Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata  
    mundi”—“Lo, the Lamb of God, which taketh  
 away the sins of the world.” By whose immolation and sacrifice  
 25 on the cross—and by his holy body received into ours... as that  
 lamb was into theirs—his faithful folk should be delivered  
 out of thralldom of the Devil’s dominion. And therefore may we  
 to the fruit of our souls consider, in the aforesaid figure, by these  
 Egyptians that in Egypt (which signifieth, by interpretation, darkness)  
 30 do labor to keep in captivity the children of Israel, the people  
 which God calleth from their thralldom into the liberty of his service—  
 we may, I say, understand by the proud king Pharaoh and his  
 chief captains... the great high, proud prince the Sultan of Babylon:

1 *peradventure*: perhaps // *the rather*: the more readily // *for that*: for the reason  
 2 *consonant*: suitable    3 *convenient*: appropriate    5 *Maundy*: Last Supper  
 6 *unspotted*: unblemished; defectless    8 *morrow*: next day  
 9 *followeth*: goes along with    10 *shown*: set out to    11 *of the*: from the  
 12 *wise*: ways    13 *notified*: given notice of    14 *words*: i.e., spoken words  
 16 *shown you somewhat*: told you something; done some explaining to you  
 18 *verily*: actually    20 *spot*: blemish; defect // *betokening*: presaging  
 23 *which*: who    26 *faithful*: believing    28 *fruit*: profit    30 *labor*: strive

the Devil; and as two the special pashas of that proud souterly sultan may we well consider the world and the flesh. And the whole people of the Egyptians under them... may well betoken the devilish people, and the worldly people, and the fleshly people, that  
 5 follow them and willingly be governed by them. For verily, all these labor to draw into their service, and to make their thrall-servants, bondsmen, and slaves, all those whom the goodness of God calleth out of the dark, devilish worship and fleshly subjection... into the lightsome liberty of his celestial service. For surely the  
 10 Devil himself, nor the world, nor a man's own flesh... do not so much by their *own* strength in the bringing of good folk into their bondage... as they do by the means and help of the devilish, worldly, and fleshly *people*—by occasions of pride, envy, wrath, and covetousness; gluttony, sloth, and lechery. To which one vice of  
 15 lechery, for an example, how oft hath an old wily, wretched bawd... brought and betrayed a good simple maiden... whom else neither the lust of her own flesh nor the rewards of all the world nor the labor of all the devils in hell should never have drawn thereto. By the first-begotten children of the Egyptians... we may well understand  
 20 the first motions of sin, as the subtle inward suggestions of the devil, and the inward incitation of the flesh, and the outward occasions and provocations of the world and evil people; by all which manner of motions... good, well-disposed folk be many sundry wise solicited unto sin. And surely, killed *must* there be these first-begotten  
 25 children... not only of the “Egyptian” *people* (that is to wit, the first motions unto such vices as have their springing of the soul), but also the first-begotten of their *beasts*, too—that is to wit, the first motions unto such vices as specially spring of the sensual, beastly body—or else it will be very hard for the “children of Israel,”  
 30 the well-disposed people, to escape well out of bondage of these “Egyptians.”

1 *the special*: of the main // *souterly*: low-class; ignoble    3 *betoken*: represent  
 7 *the goodness of God*: God in his goodness    9 *lightsome*: enlivening / bright shining  
 14 *covetousness*: avarice; greed    14, 15 *lechery*: lust    15 *bawd*: procurer  
 16 *betrayed*: led astray    17 *labor*: striving  
 20 *motions of sin*: pulls toward sin; sinful urges // *as*: such as // *subtle*: insidiously sly  
 20, 21 *inward*: interior    20 *suggestions*: temptations    21 *outward*: exterior  
 23, 26, 28 *motions*: pulls; urges    23 *sundry*: different    24 *wise*: ways  
 24 *solicited*: lured    26 *springing of*: i.e., origin in    27 *beasts*: animals  
 27 *that is to wit*: that is to say    28 *specially*: mainly // *of*: from  
 29 *beastly*: animalistic    30 *of these*: i.e., to these

But, now, to destroy those “first-begotten children of the Egyptians”...  
 the “children of Israel” are of themselves not sufficient, but it  
 must needs be the work of *God* for them. And yet will God... that themselves  
 shall do somewhat too. For he will that they shall make and receive  
 5 *this* sacrifice of the Paschal lamb; and then, if they do worthily the  
 one for him, he will do the other for them. And therefore he will  
 that we shall receive the holy Paschal Lamb, his own blessed  
 body, both bodily in the Blessed Sacrament... and *spiritually*, with  
 faith, hope, and charity, receive it *worthily*—and in such wise also  
 10 virtually—when we receive it not sacramentally. But he will we shall  
 eat it with no leavened bread—that is to wit, with no sour taste of  
 malice or sin—but with the sweet unleavened loaves of sincere love  
 and virtue. We must also with a bundle of the low-growing  
 herb of hyssop, that signifieth humility, mark the posts and the  
 15 hance of the door of our house with the blood of the Lamb; that is  
 to wit, have remembrance of his bitter Passion... and his blessed  
 blood shed therein. And likewise as with a bundle of hyssop... the  
 bitter eisel and gall was given him to drink in the painful thirst  
 of his Passion, which he so humbly suffered: we should with a  
 20 bundle of humility, as it were with a painter’s pencil... dipped in the  
 red blood of Christ, mark ourselves on every side, and in the  
 hance of our forehead, with the letter of *tau*—the sign of Christ’s  
 holy cross. And then will God himself with his holy angels... pass  
 by, and kill and destroy for us those first-begotten of the Egyptians, from  
 25 the first-begotten child of the king, that sitteth in his seat—that  
 is to wit, of *pride*, which is of all sins the prince—unto the first-begotten  
 child of the poorest imprisoned slave, that is covetousness, lo, the  
 very caitiff knave. For he is yet, of all wretched vices, the most base,  
 by setting and binding his affection... neither unto God nor man,  
 30 nor woman, nor unto himself neither... but only made in the  
 pleasure of possessing a great heap of round metal plates... which  
 while he liveth he loveth better than himself, and cannot find in  
 his heart to break his heap to help himself. And when he goeth,

3 *will God*: i.e., will God have it; it is the will of God // *themselves*: they themselves

4 *somewhat*: something // *he will*: i.e., he will have it; it is his will

9 *wise*: a way // 10 *virtually*: efficaciously

10 *he will we shall*: it is his will that we shall; he will have us

12 *sweet*: wholesome // 15, 22 *hance*: lintel // 17–19: See John 19:29.

18 *eisel*: vinegar // 20 *as it were*: as if // *pencil*: brush // 21 *in*: on

22 *tau*: The Greek letter corresponding to the letter *T*.

25 *that sitteth in his seat*: who is seated on his throne // 26 *prince*: sovereign

27 *that*: which // *covetousness*: avarice // 28 *caitiff*: ignoble // *knave*: menial

31 *great*: big // *plates*: pieces // 32 *while*: as long as // 33 *goeth*: departs

he carrieth none hence with him, but is while he liveth... in like wise

*Psalm 76:5-6* rich (as the prophet saith) as a poor man  
is in a dream—which, when he waketh, hath  
never a penny of all the treasure that he was so glad of in his sleep.

5 And covetousness is a very prisoner; for he cannot get away. Pride  
will away with shame; envy, with his enemy's misery; wrath, with  
fair entreating; sloth, with hunger and pain; lechery, with sickness;  
gluttony, with the belly too full. But covetousness can nothing  
get away. For the more full, the more greedy; and the elder, the  
10 more niggardly; and the richer, the more needy.

And while God killeth *those* Egyptians, that mark of Christ's  
bloody cross upon the post of our house shall defend us, and be  
the mark by which we shall be marked from harm... as were the  
twelve thousand marked with the same sign (of the letter *tau*),

15 *Revelation 7:2-4* mentioned in the seventh chapter of the  
Apocalypse (Saint John). But yet we must remember

that in that perilous time... we may not walk out abroad... but keep  
ourselves close (God biddeth us), within our so-marked house, from all  
evil outward occasions. We must also have our garments girt,

20 and our walking staff in our hand, and eat apace, for token of haste,  
in consideration of Christ's passage to kill the "Egyptians" for us by  
his own bitter Passion... and in remembrance, also, that we may  
not tarry here long about our meat, nor take leisure as we

25 list at our meal, but, with our gear girt and tucked up for letting  
us by the way, and our shoes upon our feet, for defiling of our affections  
with the dirt of sin, and with our walking staff in our hand (the  
remembrance of Christ's cross) to stay us with... and beat from us  
venomous worms, get us forward apace upon our way out of the  
Egyptians' danger.

30 *A Prayer*

**G**ood Lord, which upon the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb didst  
so clearly destroy the first-begotten children of the Egyptians... that  
Pharaoh was thereby forced to let the children of Israel depart out of  
his bondage: I beseech thee give me the grace in such faithful wise

1 *hence*: out of here // *while*: as long as // *wise*: manner 3, 31 *which*: who  
4 *never a*: not one 5, 8 *covetousness*: avarice 6 *away with*: i.e., go away as a result of  
7 *fair*: nice // *lechery*: lust 9 *nothing get away*: in no way get away / nothing get rid of  
10 *niggardly*: miserly; stingy 13 *marked*: i.e., marked off  
17 *abroad*: at large; on the loose // *keep*: i.e., must keep 18 *close*: closed off  
19 *evil outward occasions*: i.e., external occasions of sin 20, 28 *apace*: quickly  
20 *token*: indication // *haste*: being in a hurry 23 *tarry*: stick around // *meat*: food  
23-24 *leisure as we list*: the leisure we would like to 24 *gear*: clothing  
24-25 *for . . . way*: i.e., lest it should hinder us along the way; so it won't get in our way  
25 *for . . . affections*: lest our dispositions should get defiled 27 *stay*: steady; support  
28 *worms*: snakes; serpents 29 *danger*: dominion 32 *clearly*: thoroughly  
34 *give*: i.e., to give // *faithful wise*: i.e., a faith-filled and devout way





and maketh us poor, miserable wretches forever. Let us, then, evermore  
 make ourselves so ready for death, nothing left undone, that  
 whereas our Savior said after all his sermons ended... that after two  
 days he should be delivered to be crucified: we may, by help of his  
 5 grace, say to ourselves and our friends every day, "I have done all my  
 business that I am come into this world for. For I shall—I wot ne'er  
 how soon, but peradventure this day—be delivered by God unto the  
 cross of painful death. From which if I die naught... I depart from  
 death to the Devil, as did the blasphemous thief that hung on his  
 10 cross beside Christ. And if I die well, as I trust in God to do, I *may*  
 with his mercy straight depart into Paradise, as did the penitent  
 thief that hung on his other side." And God give us all the grace so  
 to do all our business in time... that we spend not our time in  
 vanities, or worse than vanities, while we be in health, and drive  
 15 off the things of substance that we *should* do... till we lie in our  
 deathbed—where we shall have so many things to do at once, and  
 everything so unready, that every finger shall be a thumb... and  
 we shall fumble it up in haste so unhandsomely that we may hap, but  
 if God help the better, to leave more than half undone.

20 *A Prayer*

**G**ood Lord, give me the grace so to spend my life... that when the  
 day of my death shall come, though I feel pain in my body, I  
 may feel comfort in soul... and with faithful hope of thy mercy, in  
 due love toward thee, and charity toward the world, I may, through  
 25 thy grace, depart hence into thy glory.

### The Third Lecture

**"T**hen gathered there together the princes of the priests, and the  
 ancients, into the palace of the prince of the priests which is  
 called Caiaphas, and took counsel together. And they sought the  
 30 ways, both the chief priests and the scribes, how they might

3 *whereas*: given that // *ended*: i.e., were at an end  
 5 *friends*: relatives and friends; loved ones    6 *wot ne'er*: have no idea  
 7 *peradventure*: perhaps    8 *naught*: badly    14 *vanities*: frivolities  
 14 *drive*: put    15 *in*: on    17 *unready*: unarranged; not taken care of  
 18 *unhandsomely*: ineptly // *hap*: turn out    18–19 *but if*: unless  
 19 *help the better*: i.e., give us extra help    22 *though*: even if  
 23 *faithful*: faith-filled    25 *hence*: from here  
 27, 28 *prince(s) of the priests*: high priest(s)    28 *ancients*: elders  
 28–29 *which is called*: whose name is

with some wile take him and put him to death. For they were  
afear of the people. They said, therefore, ‘Not on the holy day, lest  
there arise some seditious ruffle among the people.’”

5 Upon these words, good Christian reader, ariseth there occasion  
to speak of another point, that I touched also before: that is to  
wit, the other cause of Christ’s death... arising upon the malice of  
the Jews. For in these words is touched (as you see) their malicious  
assembly... in devising and compassing his death. Howbeit, before  
10 this council assembled here, which was the day before his Maundy  
(that is to wit, the Wednesday before his Passion, and the morrow  
after the afore-remembered warning of his Passion given unto his disciples),  
there was another council gathered together among them

*John 11:47–53* for the selfsame purpose, whereof mention is  
made in the eleventh chapter of Saint John. For  
15 whereas our Savior Christ had oftentimes reprov’d the priests,  
the scribes, and the Pharisees for their pride and their hypocrisy,  
their avarice and their evil constitutions made unto the commodity  
of themselves... in derogation of the law and commandment of God;  
with which admonitions their part had been to have amended their  
20 manners, and to have given him thank for his good doctrine: they, on  
the other side, took so far the contrary way... that for his goodness they  
so maliciously hated him... that albeit they perceived well (by the  
prophecies fulfilled in his birth, and his living and his doctrine,  
with the manifold marvelous miracles which he continually  
25 wrought) that he *was Christ*—yet so mighty was, I say, their malice...  
that they labored to destroy him. But especially after that he had  
raised Lazarus from death to life—the thing so well and openly known,  
and the wonder so far spread, and so much in every man’s  
mouth, and the man well known once for four days dead and  
30 buried, and so many men seeing him alive again, and eating  
and drinking and talking with him, for which the people fell so  
thick unto Christ... that the priests, the scribes, and the Pharisees  
were afear to lose their authority—they waxed so wood therewith...  
that they thereupon devised both to have slain Lazarus... and also

1 *wile*: devious stratagem // *take*: take him captive 3 *ruffle*: tumult  
5 *touched*: i.e., touched upon; mentioned 6 *upon*: from  
7 *touched*: discussed / criticized 8 *assembly*: gathering together  
8 *devising*: plotting // *compassing*: contriving 9 *Maundy*: Last Supper  
10 *morrow*: next day 11 *afore-remembered*: above-mentioned  
11 *warning*: advance notice 17 *evil constitutions*: bad decrees  
17 *commodity*: advantage; benefit 19–20 *their part . . . given*: i.e., what they  
should have done was mend their ways, and give 20 *thank*: thanks / credit  
20–21 *on the other side*: to the contrary 21 *contrary way*: opposite course  
23 *living*: i.e., way of living; personal conduct 24 *marvelous*: astonishing  
25 *mighty*: great 26 *labored*: endeavored  
31–32 *fell so thick*: i.e., flocked in such great numbers  
33 *to*: i.e., that they would // *waxed so wood*: became so furious  
34 *devised*: plotted // *have slain Lazarus*: have Lazarus killed

to destroy Christ. For without *his* death they thought it in vain to slay Lazarus, since he that raised him once... was able to raise him again.

5 But because they never read of any man in the Scripture before... that ever after his death raised again himself (for of raising *others*, they *had* read), therefore if they slew Christ too... they thought they should make all the matter safe. Whereupon (as Saint *John 11:47–48* John, in the eleventh chapter of his Gospel, remembereth) the bishops and the Pharisees

10 gathered together a council and said, “What do we? This man doth many miracles... and if we leave him thus, all shall believe in him... and then shall the Romans come and destroy both our town and our people!” Thus the wily wretches, lo, the mischievous deed that they went about for the maintenance of their own worldly winning

15 and in revenging of their own private malice—that would they color under the pretext of a great zeal unto the common wealth of all the people. And in this saying... they very well wist that they lied. For the Romans nothing rought what, or on whom, the Jews believed—whose true belief in one God they counted for superstition.

20 And for *nothing* cared they among the Jews... but that the emperor of Rome should be their chief temporal governor, and have them his tributaries, and that they should have no king... but under him and at his assignment. Now, that Christ went about no temporal authority, nor would take upon him as king (albeit in deed

25 he *was* king), was well enough known unto them... by that he not only fled from being king when the people would have made him king, but also refused to be so much as a judge, or an arbitrator, in a temporal matter concerning the dividing of a private inheritance between two brethren—saying to the one, “Who hath appointed me

30 judge or divider between you?”

But yet, for all this, one of that council, called Caiaphas (which was bishop for that year), well allowed their false, lying motion... and was angry that it went not farther, straight unto Christ’s *death*. And therefore himself sharply, by the authority of his office, reproveth

35 them, and said unto them, “You know nothing” (as though he would say, “You be fools”); “you consider not that it is expedient for you that

1 *death*: i.e., dying; being put to death // *in vain*: useless 5 *again*: back up  
 7 *make all the matter safe*: render that whole affair innocuous 9 *remembereth*: records  
 9, 32 *bishop(s)*: See note for 3/8. 10 *what do we*: i.e., what do we do  
 13 *mischievous*: wicked 14 *went about*: undertook // *winning*: advantage  
 15 *revenging*: satisfying 16 *color*: misrepresent 17 *wealth*: good  
 17 *saying*: i.e., thing they said // *wist*: knew 18 *lied*: i.e., were lying  
 18 *nothing rought*: did not at all care // *on*: in 20 *for*: about  
 20 *among*: i.e., with respect to 21, 24 *temporal*: civic; worldly  
 22 *his tributaries*: i.e., as tribute-payers of his // *but*: except 23 *assignment*: appointment  
 23 *went about*: sought after 24 *take upon*: i.e., take it upon / assume it // *deed*: actuality  
 25 *that*: i.e., the fact that 25–30: See John 6:15 and Luke 12:13–14.  
 26 *would have made*: i.e., wanted to make 28 *temporal*: worldly; nonreligious  
 29 *brethren*: brothers 31 *one*: i.e., one member // *called*: named // *which*: who  
 32 *allowed*: approved; sanctioned // *you consider not*: you’re not taking into consideration  
 35–36 *as . . . say*: as if to say 70/35—71/15: See John 11:49–57.

one man die for the people, and not all the people to perish.” These words, as the Evangelist saith, he spoke not of himself, but... like as, though he were an *evil* bishop, yet he *was* a *bishop*... so, though *he* meant but to further his malicious purpose, yet *God* so framed his

5 words that, unawares to himself, they should be a very, true, profitable prophecy—signifying that that one man, our Savior Christ, should die for all the people; and not only for *that* people, but also, as Saint John farther saith, to “gather together in one... the children of God that were dispersed abroad.” And “from that day” did

10 they purpose to kill our Savior Christ. For which, for a while, our Savior forbore to walk abroad among the Jews, withdrawing himself into the city of Ephraim, with his disciples, near unto the desert; because the bishops and the Pharisees “had given a commandment that if any man might wit where he was, he should

15 show them, that they might make him be taken.”

But yet, for to declare that this withdrawing of Christ... was to give his disciples example... according to his own commandment to flee from persecution when they conveniently can (lest in temerarious and foolhardy offering themselves thereto, their bold pride

20 might turn into cowardice... and take a foul, shameful fall)—that *their instruction* was, I say, the cause of his withdrawing, and not any fear of himself—he declared well on Palm Sunday after, when he letted not openly to ride into the city, with his disciples about him; where without dread of his enemies... all the people received him with

25 procession and reverence; where all the people cried out as he went,  
*Matthew 21:8-9* “Hosanna filio David! Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini! Hosanna in altissimis!” (“Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he that is come in the name of our Lord! Hosanna in the high places!”). (“Hosanna,” in Hebrew, signifieth, “I beseech thee, save me!”)

30

But when the bishops, the priests and the scribes, and the Pharisees... heard and saw this, and that the people came so

2 *of himself*: on his own    3 *were*: was // *an evil*: a bad  
 3, 13, 31 *bishop(s)*: See note for 3/8.    4 *framed*: formed  
 5 *unawares to himself*: without his being aware of it // *very*: real  
 10 *which*: i.e., which reason    11 *abroad*: publicly  
 13, 17 *commandment*: command; order    14 *wit*: know  
 15 *show*: tell // *make him be taken*: have him arrested  
 16 *for to declare*: in order to show    17–18: See Matthew 10:23.  
 18 *conveniently*: with propriety // *temerarious*: rash; reckless  
 20 *foul*: disgraceful / wretchedly bad  
 20–21 *their instruction*: i.e., the motivation of teaching them  
 22 *of*: for // *declared well*: made quite clear    23 *letted*: forbore  
 24 *dread*: i.e., his being afraid    29 *signifieth*: means

many with him, and among them so many of those that had seen Lazarus both quick and dead (and four days buried, too, and after yet now alive again)—they thought again upon the killing of Lazarus and our Savior too. And because they durst at that time not meddle with him... for fear of the people: some of the Pharisees would have had him cease that voice of the people himself; and said unto him, “Master, make thy disciples here hold their peace!”—as though that cry were but the cry of his disciples, and not the common voice of the people. But our Savior soon answered

10 *Luke 19:39–40* them far of another fashion... and said unto them, “Though these would hold their peace... the very *stones* shall cry it out!” And this word proved true upon the (Good) Friday following. For when the bishops, the priests, the scribes, and the Pharisees had made the people leave off crying out of

15 Christ’s praise... and also turned them to the crying out *against* him, to have him crucified: then, after all their cruelty spent out, upon his *death* the very stones, in their manner, cried him out for

*Matthew 27:51–52* Christ; when, as the Gospel saith, “*velum templi scissum est a summo usque deorsum . . . et petrae scissae sunt, et monumenta aperta sunt,*” etc.—“the veil of the Temple rived from the height down unto the ground . . . and the stones broke, and the graves opened, and after that, out of them rose many holy men’s bodies.”

20 But, as I began to tell you, when Christ came riding into Jerusalem so royally upon Palm Sunday... his enemies said unto themselves,

25 “You see we prevail nothing! Lo, all the world is fallen to him!” And upon this arose this new counsel taken upon the Wednesday after, whereof our present lecture speaketh; in which there were gathered together against Christ... the princes of the priests, and the ancients of the people, into the palace of Caiaphas (that was, as you have heard,

30 bishop for that year), to devise and study the means to take and destroy our Savior.

Where the Gospel saith “the princes of the priests,” ye shall understand that it was ordained in the Law... that there should be but *one*

2 *quick*: alive    4–5 *durst* . . . *him*: i.e., dared not at that time interfere with him  
 6 *cease*: put an end to; quell    6, 9 *voice*: vociferation; clamor    9 *common*: unanimous  
 9–10 *answered* . . . *fashion*: responded to them in a far different way    11 *though*: even if  
 12 *word*: statement    13, 30 *bishop(s)*: See note for 3/8.    14 *leave off*: i.e., quit their  
 16 *all their cruelty*: i.e., the cruelty of all those persons was    17 *manner*: (own) way  
 20 *rived*: split    25 *we prevail nothing*: (that) we’re not at all winning out; we’re getting nowhere  
 25 *all the*: everyone in the  
 25 *is fallen to him*: has succumbed to him; has become a follower of his  
 26 *counsel*: consultation    28, 32 *princes of the priests*: i.e., high priests    28 *ancients*: elders  
 29 *that*: who    30 *devise*: think up; come up with // *study*: plan out  
 30 *take*: i.e., take captive    33 *ordained*: stipulated

prince of the priests—bishop, or chief priest—and he to continue  
 his office during his life. But afterward... by ambition of the priests,  
 usurpation and covetousness of the kings... the right order of the making  
 or choosing of the bishop was changed, and they were put in and put  
 5 out by the kings—sometimes for pleasure, sometimes for displeasure,  
 and sometimes for money, too—so that instead of one, now were they  
 waxen many. The “ancients” of the people... were seventy... which by  
*Numbers 11:16–17* Moses, at the special commandment of  
*Exodus 18:21–22* God, were (as it appeareth in the eleventh chapter  
 10 of Numbers) instituted and ordained to be judges over the people,  
 and in great causes wherein their sentences varied, to refer the  
 matter unto the chief priest... and stand to his determination in the  
 matter. This number was still continued in Jerusalem, and these were  
 their ordinary judges upon the people, and these were those whom  
 15 he calleth here the “ancients of the people.”  
 Here was, as you see, now a solemn, great assembly—but then  
 consider whereabout. About nothing else... but to seek the ways and  
 the means... how they might by some wile take and put an innocent  
 unto death! So may we see that every *great* council is not always  
 20 a *good* council; but as two or three be a good council... that come  
 together in God’s name... to commune and counsel about good (and  
*Matthew 18:20* among them is God; witnessing our Savior,  
 where he saith, “Wheresoever are two or three  
 25 gathered together in my name, there am I too, myself, in the midst  
 of them”), so when men assemble them together... to devise and  
 counsel about *mischief* and *wretchedness*: the more that are at it, the  
 worse is the council, and the less to be regarded, be their personages  
 in the sight of the world never so seemly, and their  
 authority never so great; as these that here assemble about the  
 30 death of Christ... were the chief heads and rulers of the people... and  
 specially the chief of the spirituality—so that those to whom it

2 *his office*: i.e., to hold that position; to serve in that capacity  
 2 *during*: for the duration of    3 *order of*: protocol for    7 *waxen*: become  
 7 *ancients*: elders // *seventy*: i.e., seventy older men // *which*: who  
 8 *special*: express / limited-application    11 *great causes*: important cases  
 11 *sentences*: judgments    12 *stand to*: submit to; go by    14 *upon*: over  
 15: See Matthew 26:3.    17 *whereabout*: what about  
 18 *wile*: devious stratagem // *an innocent*: i.e., an innocent person  
 19 *great*: high; important    20 *as*: just as    21 *commune*: converse  
 21, 26 *counsel*: deliberate    21 *good*: i.e., something good  
 25 *devise*: scheme    26 *mischief*: wrongdoing    27 *regarded*: esteemed  
 27 *personages*: personal appearances    28, 29 *never so*: no matter how  
 28 *seemly*: good / impressive    31 *specially*: in particular // *spirituality*: clergy  
 73/31—74/1 *to . . . belonged*: on whom it was especially incumbent

specially belonged to provide for an innocent's surety, they were those, lo, that specially gathered together to compass an innocent's death. Out of such council God keep every good man! For that holy king and prophet David, speaking of blessedness, putteth  
 5 in the beginning of all his Psalter... for a principal blessedness...

*Psalm 1:1*

“Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilium impiorum”—

“Blessed is that man that hath not gone into the council of wicked men”; that is to wit, that unto their wicked council hath not been partner nor given his assent. For likewise  
 10 as God is in the midst of the good council—so in the midst of an evil council... is there undoubtedly the Devil.

But why went they about so busily to take him by some wily train... rather than boldly by force? The Gospel showeth the cause: for they were afraid of the people. His living was so holy, his  
 15 doctrine was so heavenly, his miracles were so many and so marvelous, that though the priests, the scribes, and the Pharisees... that bore the rule... deeply desired his death, for their malicious anger and envy: yet the *people*, of their own minds, so highly did esteem  
 20 him... that if he had been taken in their company, they would not have failed to fight for him. And therefore agreed this great assembly... that they would not take him “on the holy day”... “ne forte tumultus fiat in populo”—“lest there should arise some seditious business among the people.” The *people* they feared; but *God* they feared not at all!

*Psalm 14:5*

And as the prophet saith, “Illic trepidaverunt

25 timore... ubi non fuit timor”—“There trembled they for dread... where the dread was not.” For as for the *people*—they might, perchance, by policy have found the means to master. But *God* might they *never* master. The wavering people... they found the means on the morrow so to turn against Christ... that as fast as they honored  
 30 him and lauded him within five days before (and not long before that, would fain have made him king!), as fast on the morrow they mocked him, and cried out to have him crucified. But *God*, when all this great council had done their uttermost—the Godhead, I

1, 2 *innocent's*: i.e., innocent person's    1 *surety*: safety    2 *compass*: contrive

3 *council*: i.e., a council    5 *all his*: his whole    9 *partner*: (an) accomplice

12 *busily*: particularly / assiduously    13 *train*: stratagem

14 *living*: i.e., way of living; personal conduct

15 *his doctrine*: his teaching / what he taught // *marvelous*: amazing

16–17 *bore the rule*: were the ones in authority    17 *for*: on account of

18 *people*: i.e., the common people    19 *taken*: arrested    22 *business*: commotion

24 *the prophet*: i.e., David    25–26 *for dread*: for fear    26 *the dread*: the danger

26 *they*: i.e., the religious leaders    27 *perchance*: perchance

27 *policy*: political savvy // *master*: i.e., master them

27 *might*: could    28 *wavering*: fickle    29, 31 *morrow*: next day

29, 31 *fast*: zealously; vigorously

31 *would fain have made*: wanted badly to make; would, if they could, have made

74/33—75/1 *the . . . himself*: Christ himself, I say, in his divine nature

say, of Christ himself (for his Father and himself and their Holy Ghost are, all three, but one God)—raised up his dead body again; and, maugre their men whom they set to keep his grave, he rose and went out through the hard stone... and after sent such a

5 vengeance upon them all... that from their misused liberty they be fallen ever since, in every part of the world, into perpetual thralldom.

And on this great assembled council against Christ, that thought themselves so strong, and their wily devices so wise, that they would with the provision of that assembled council... utterly

10 destroy the innocent, are also well verified the words of the prophet

*Psalm 2:4*

“Qui habitat in caelis irridebit eos, et Dominus subsanabit eos”—“He that dwelleth in heaven shall

laugh them to scorn, and our Lord shall make them a mow.” For soon after was their council dissolved, and their council house drawn down, and all the city destroyed; and he whom they killed with their counsel... in despite of their council liveth and reigneth in heaven, while the foolish, wretched, wily councillors (such as die in their sins) lie weeping and wailing, the Devil’s burning

15 prisoners, in the deep dungeon of hell.

20

#### *The Prayer*

**G**racious God, give me thy grace so to consider the punishment of that false great council that gathered together against thee... that I be never to thy displeasure partner, nor give mine assent to follow

25 the sinful device, of any wicked council.

#### The Fourth Lecture

“**B**ut there entered Satan into Judas whose surname is Iscariot—one of the Twelve. Then went he to the princes of the priests, and to the chief priests, to betray him to them. And he had communication

30 with the princes of the priests, and with the rulers, in what manner he should betray him to them. And he said unto them, ‘What will you

3 *maugre*: despite all the efforts of // *keep*: guard    4 *after*: afterward

9 *devices*: schemes // *wise*: brilliant

10 *provision of*: resolution adopted by / arrangement made by

14 *make them a mow*: make a mockery of them    16 *drawn*: pulled

16 *all the*: the whole    17 *in despite*: in spite / in disdain

22 *consider*: think about    23 *false*: despicable

24 *partner*: participant / accomplice // *follow*: go along with

25 *device*: plan / scheme    27 *Judas*: i.e., the Judas

28, 30 *princes of the priests*: i.e., high priests

29 *had communication*: i.e., discussed

give me and I shall deliver him to you?’ And they, when they heard him, were well apaid, and promised and covenanted with him to give him money, and appointed to give him thirty groats. And he made them promise, and from that time forth he sought opportunity  
 5 how that he might at most commodity betray him, out of presence of the people.”

Upon these words, good Christian people, is there given us the occasion to speak yet of the third cause of Christ’s Passion; that is to wit, upon what occasion the false traitor Judas was first moved to  
 10 fall to this heinous treason. For the perceiving whereof... we must here repeat you one thing that was done a few days before. As it is remembered in the twenty-sixth chapter of Saint Matthew, and in the fourteenth of Saint Mark, and in the twelfth of Saint John, our Savior six days  
 15 before the feast of Pasch... went into Bethany, where he had before raised Lazarus from death to life. There had he supper prepared for him in the house of “Simon the leper”... whom Christ had cured. Martha served them, and Lazarus was one of the guests that sat at the supper. Then came there Mary Magdalene, sister unto Lazarus and Martha, and she took a pound-weight of ointment of nard...  
 20 truly made and very dear... and therewith anointed she Christ’s feet, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. And over that, she broke the alabaster in which she brought it... and poured all the remnant on his head. And all the house smelled sweet, of the savor of that sweet ointment. Then Judas (which after fell to the  
 25 treason and betrayed his Master) grudged therewith, and was wroth therewith, and said, “Wherefore was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to poor folk? It might have been sold for a great deal—yea, *more* than for three hundred pence—and given to poor folk!” And thus said the “thief” not  
 30 for “anything that he cared for poor folk,” but, as the Gospel saith, “because he was a thief and bore the purse”—into which he would fain

2 *well apaid*: very pleased // *covenanted*: contracted; made a formal agreement  
 3 *appointed*: resolved; arranged // *groats*: denarii 4 *promise*: (the) commitment  
 5 *at most commodity*: in the most convenient way; with the least amount of difficulty  
 8–9 *that is to wit*: that is to say 9 *false*: dastardly  
 10 *fall to*: resort to; embark on (the committing of) // *heinous*: high  
 11 *repeat you*: remind you of 12 *remembered*: recorded 14 *Pasch*: Passover  
 20 *truly*: genuinely // *dear*: costly 21 *over*: on top of  
 22 *alabaster*: i.e., alabaster container 23 *remnant*: rest // *savor*: aroma  
 24 *which after fell to*: i.e., the one who later embarked on  
 25 *grudged therewith*: complained about that 26 *wroth therewith*: angry about it  
 26 *wherefore*: why 28 *might*: could 31 *bore the purse*: carried the money bag  
 31 *fain*: i.e., have loved to

have had the price of that ointment, so that he might thereof, after  
 his customable manner, have stolen out a part. Our Savior mildly  
 answered for Mary Magdalene, and said, “Why reprove you this  
 woman? As for poor men, you shall have ever with you; but me  
 5 shall ye not ever have.” And then opened he the mystery secretly  
 wrought by God... in the open work of her good affection: that, whereas  
 she did it to show how glad she was of his presence there (as the  
 manner was that folk at feasts... with pleasant, sweet odors used  
 to gladden their guests), God wrought therein, as our Savior there declared,  
 10 the signification of his *burying*. For the manner then was, in  
 that country, to anoint the dead corpse with sweet odors, as we  
 dress the winding-sheet here with sweet herbs and flowers. And then,  
 whereas the rude, grudging words of Judas were spoken to her  
*reproof*, and in manner of her *rebuke*: our Savior, on the other  
 15 side, even there openly showed... that for that deed should she forever,  
 with the preaching of that gospel, be *renowned* and *honored*  
 throughout all the world—so pleasant is to God the good affection of the  
 heart... declared by the frank outward deed! For him must we serve...  
 though especially with the mind (which if it be not good... vitiateth  
 20 altogether)—yet are we bound to serve him also with body and  
 goods and all; for *all* have we received of *him*. But Judas, the covetous  
 wretch, when he saw that this ointment was *not* sold... so that  
 he might steal a piece of the price; and then saw our Savior allow  
 her devotion in the deed, and disallow his finding of that fault—as  
 25 mildly as his Master touched him, yet could not the proud beast  
 bear it, but, besides his covetousness, fell unto malice too. And the Devil  
 took his time and entered into his heart... and thereunto did put the  
 suggestion of his horrible treason, and made him to devise and  
 determine... that the money which he lost by the anointing of his  
 30 Master—he would get it up again by the *betraying* of his Master.  
 And thereupon came he to this assembly that we speak of now...  
 and, unsent for, presented himself unto them... to help forward their  
 ungracious counsel.

1 *had*: gotten    1, 23 *might*: could    1 *after*: in accord with    2 *customable*: usual  
 4 *have ever*: always have (some of them)    5 *ever*: always // *opened*: revealed  
 6 *open*: out-in-the open; visible    8, 11 *odors*: scented oils  
 10 *burying*: burial // *manner*: custom    13 *rude*: impolite / harsh  
 13 *grudging*: complaining    13–14 *to her reproof*: in criticism of her  
 14 *her rebuke*: reprimanding her; telling her off  
 14–15 *on the other side*: to the contrary    15 *even*: right // *showed*: stated  
 17 *pleasant*: pleasing    18 *declared*: made manifest // *frank*: bounteous; unstinted  
 18 *outward*: external    19 *mind*: mind / disposition / intention  
 19 *vitiateth*: ruins; destroys the worth of    20 *altogether*: the whole thing  
 21 *goods*: possessions // *of*: from // *covetous*: greedy  
 23 *a piece of the price*: a part of the proceeds    23, 24 *(dis)allow*: (dis)approve  
 24 *devotion*: piety // *finding of that fault*: i.e., finding fault with that deed  
 25 *touched*: rebuked    26 *covetousness*: greediness    27 *time*: opportunity  
 29 *determine*: decide    33 *ungracious*: ungodly; wicked // *counsel*: deliberation

And therefore, good reader, here we may well consider... that when men are in device about mischief, if they bring their purpose properly to pass... cause have they none to be proud and praise their own wits. For the *Devil* it is, *himself*, that bringeth their matters about... much more, a great deal, than they. There was once a young man fallen in a lewd mind toward a woman, and she was such... as he could conceive no hope to get her—and therefore was falling to a good point in his own mind... to let that lewd enterprise pass. He mishapped, nevertheless, to show his mind to another wretch... which encouraged him to go forward and leave it not. “For begin thou once, man, the matter,” quoth he, “and, never fear it, let the Devil alone with the remnant—he shall bring it to pass in such wise as thyself alone canst not devise how.” I trow that wretch had learned that counsel of these priests, and these ancients, assembled here together against Christ at this council. For here you see that while they were at their wits’ end... how to bring their purpose about in the taking of Christ, and were at a point to defer the matter and put it over till some other time—the Devil sped them by and by. For he entered into Judas’ heart... and brought him to them to betray him forthwith, out of hand.

And therefore at his first coming... he went roundly to the matter, and said unto them, “What will ye give me and I shall deliver him to you?” Here shall you see Judas play the jolly merchant, I trow. For he knoweth how fain all this great council would be to have him delivered. He knoweth well also... that it will be hard for any man to deliver him... but one of his own disciples. He knoweth well also that of all the disciples, there would none be so false a traitor to betray his Master but himself alone. And therefore is this ware, Judas, all in thine own hand. Thou hast a monopoly thereof. And while it is so sought for, and so sore desired, and that by so many, and them that are also very rich... thou mayest now make the price of thine own ware thyself, even at thine own pleasure. And therefore ye shall, good readers, see Judas wax now a great rich man with this one bargain. But, now, the

2 *device*: conference // *mischief*: evildoing

2–3 *bring* . . . *pass*: thoroughly succeed in attaining their objective 5, 11 *matter(s)*: thing(s)

8 *falling*: coming // *point*: decision 9 *mishapped*: unfortunately happened

9 *show his mind*: i.e., reveal what he was thinking about 10 *which*: who

10 *forward*: ahead (with it) // *leave*: abandon 11–12 *never fear it*: have no fear

12 *remnant*: rest 13 *wise*: a way // *devise*: imagine // *trow*: trust; suppose

14 *of*: from 15 *ancients*: elders 17 *bring* . . . *in*: bring about their objective of

17 *the taking of Christ*: i.e., having Christ arrested 17–18 *were at a point*: had decided

18 *over*: off 19 *sped them*: brought them success // *by and by*: right away; then and there

20 *out of hand*: without preliminaries 21 *at his first coming*: i.e., as soon as he arrived

21 *went*: i.e., came // *roundly*: bluntly; straight // *matter*: point

23 *jolly*: cocky; arrogantly bold 23–24 *I trow*: I suppose; I’m sure 24 *fain*: eager

28 *false*: despicable; dastardly // *to*: as to 29, 32 *ware*: merchandise; commodity

30 *thereof*: i.e., on it // *while*: since // *sore*: intensely 32 *make*: set

32–33 *even* . . . *pleasure*: i.e., at just whatever amount you please 33 *wax*: become

34 *bargain*: transaction

priests and these judges were, on the other side, covetous too; and as glad as they were of this ware, yet while it was *offered* them to sell... they thought the merchant was needy, and that to such a needy merchant... a *little* money would be welcome; and money they offered

5 him, but not much. For “thirty groats” they said they will give; which amounteth not much above ten shillings of our English money. Now would we look that the fool would have set up his ware—namely being such ware as it was: so precious in itself that all the money and plate in the whole world were too little to give for it. But now what

10 did the fool? To show himself a substantial merchant and not a huckster... he genteelly let them have it even at their own price. I wot it well that of the value of the money that Judas had... all folk are not of one mind, but whereas the text saith “triginta argenteos,” some men call *argenteus* a coin of one value, and some of another. And some

15 put a difference between *argenteus* and *denarius*, and say that *denarius* is but the tenth part of *argenteus*. But I suppose that *argenteus* was the same silver coin which the Romans at that time used... *stamped* in silver, in which they expressed the image of the emperor’s visage, and the superscription of the emperor’s name—and was in Greek called

20 *drachma*... being in weight about the eighth part of an ounce. For of such coins there are yet many remaining, both of Augustus’s days and Tiberius’s—and of Nero’s, too. So that if the coin *were* that (for greater silver coin I nowhere find that the emperor coined at that time)—then was Judas’s reward the value of ten shillings of our English

25 money, after the old usual groats used in the time of King Edward III... and long before and long after.

The ointment was of nard of the true making, as the Gospel declareth in this word “nardi pistici.” And that ointment truly made... was very costly; which was the cause that the true making was less

30 used, and folk for the great cost thereof... used another making thereof, that was called “counterfeit ointment of nard.” But *this* was of the *true* making, and was, as the Gospel saith, precious—and that so

1 *side*: i.e., hand // *covetous*: greedy; avaricious  
 2, 7, 8 *ware*: merchandise; commodity  
 2 *while* . . . *sell*: i.e., since he *offered* to sell it to them     3 *needy*: impoverished  
 4 *welcome*: acceptable     5 *groats*: denarii     6 *not much above*: to not much more than  
 6, 24 *ten shillings*: A shilling was worth twelve pence; 1/20 of a pound.  
 7 *look*: expect // *set up*: raised the price of // *namely*: especially  
 8 *precious*: valuable     9 *plate*: precious metal; bullion // *were*: would be  
 10 *substantial*: respectable / well-heeled     11 *even*: just // *wot*: know  
 12 *that of*: that as to; that concerning // *had*: got  
 13 *one mind*: the same opinion; in agreement // *whereas*: granted that  
 15 *put*: posit     16 *but the tenth part*: just one-tenth  
 16 *I suppose*: I believe; it is my understanding     18 *expressed*: imprinted  
 18 *visage*: face     19 *superscription*: inscription  
 20 *the eighth part*: one-eighth     25 *after*: in accord with  
 25 *groats*: fourpence coins     27, 29, 32 *true*: genuine; bona fide  
 28 *declareth*: makes clear // *word*: expression // *truly*: genuinely  
 30 *for*: because of     31 *counterfeit*: imitation; simulated     32 *precious*: costly

far forth that Judas valued it at “three hundred denarii”; which I take for three hundred pieces of the selfsame coin that was called *argenteus*.

For if it were but a coin (as some take it) that were worth but the tenth part of that, then had all the ointment not been much  
 5 above the value of four groats; which had been no such thing as had been likely that the Evangelists would have called precious. And therefore I reckon that ointment to have been esteemed by Judas at a hundred shillings. And now was his reward *ten* shillings—  
 10 which is the tenth part of that hundred shillings, as thirty groats is the tenth part of three hundred. And thus hath he by the *betraying* of his Master’s body... the tenth part of the value of that ointment... whereof he lost his advantage by the *anointing* of his Master’s body.

Now, if it be, as some doctors reckon, that he minded to win as much by his treason... as he reckoned for his own *part* lost in that  
 15 ointment: then seemeth it, after *this* count and reckoning, that of such as came in his keeping... he was, after his customable manner, wont to steal the tenth. And then was Judas a figure of two false shrews at once: the one, the parishioner that stealeth his tithe from his curate, to whom his duty were to *pay* it... in God’s stead; the other—yet the  
 20 worse thief of them both—the evil curate himself... which, when he receiveth it, misspendeth, upon himself, such substance thereof as... above his own necessary finding... God putteth him in trust to bestow upon the poor, needy people.

It is a world also to mark and consider how the false, wily  
 25 Devil hath in everything that he doth for his servants... evermore one point, of his envious property: that is to wit, to provide (his own purpose obtained) that they shall have of his service, for their own part, as little commodity as he can... even here in this world. For like as he got here unto Judas... no more advantage of his heinous  
 30 treason (the occasion of his final destruction!) but only this poor ten shillings, whereas if his master *Christ* had lived, and he still carried his purse, there is no doubt but that he should at sundry times... have

4, 9, etc. *the tenth (part)*: one-tenth    5, 9 *groats*: fourpence coins  
 5 *had*: would have    6 *precious*: costly; valuable    7 *esteemed*: appraised  
 10 *hath*: gets    12 *advantage*: monetary profit    13 *doctors*: biblical exegetes  
 13 *minded*: thought // *win*: gain    14 *part*: share    15 *after*: according to  
 15–16 *such as*: whatever (money)    16 *in*: into  
 16 *after . . . manner*: i.e., as a habitual practice    17 *false*: dishonest / dastardly  
 17 *shrews*: scoundrels    18, 20 *curate*: pastor  
 19 *to whom . . . stead*: i.e., to whom (as God’s representative) his duty would be to *pay* it  
 20 *evil*: bad // *which*: who    21 *substance*: amount    22 *above*: beyond  
 22 *finding*: support; maintenance    24 *world*: i.e., marvel // *mark*: note  
 24 *false*: deceitful / dastardly    26 *point*: determination  
 26 *envious property*: malicious nature // *provide*: see to it    27 *purpose*: objective  
 27 *have of his service*: get from serving him    28 *commodity*: benefit; good  
 28 *can*: i.e., can manage to have them get    29 *advantage of*: gain from  
 29 *heinous*: high    30 *poor*: measly    32 *purse*: money bag

stolen out for his part far above five times that: so fareth he  
with all his other servants.

Look for whom he doth most in any kind of filthy fleshly delight,  
or false wily winning, or wretched worldly worship; let  
5 him that attaineth it in his unhappy service... make his reckoning  
in the end of all that feast... and count well what is come in, and  
what he hath paid therefor—that is to wit, lay all his  
pleasures and his displeasures together—and I dare say he shall find  
in the end... that he had been a great winner if he had never had  
10 had any of them both; so much grief shall he find himself to have  
felt, far above all his pleasure, even in those days in which his  
fantasies were in their flowers and prospered... besides the pain and  
heaviness of heart that now, in the end, grudgeth and grieveth his  
conscience, when the time of his pleasure is past and the fear of  
15 hell followeth at hand.

Let us, therefore, *leave* the Devil's false, deceitful service, and take  
nothing at his hand. For he nothing giveth but trifles—nor never  
giveth half an inch of pleasure... without a whole ell of pain. And  
yet had Judas not the wit to disdain their simple, niggardous reward,  
20 but continued for it in his treason still... till he had wretchedly  
done it. And from that time of that reward promised him—with  
which, yet, as it seemeth, they would not trust him till they had the  
ware in their own hand—he studied and sought the time in which  
he might peaceably deliver our Lord, when the people were out of the  
25 way.

In this, as the great clerk Origen declareth, this Judas was a  
figure also of many another Judas. For in many places, when the  
people be out of the way... and gone aside from the faith, then shall  
there some false wretch that hath been with Christ many a fair  
30 day, and hath been his disciple, and among other true disciples hath  
faithfully preached the Truth... come forth in the Devil's name among  
the people, and for wretched worldly winning to be gotten by their  
favor... shall falsely betray the Truth... and cause to be spitefully

1 *part*: share // *fareth he*: does he act    4 *false*: dishonest    4, 32 *winning*: gain

4 *worship*: honor; prestige    5 *unhappy*: unholy; accursed

5 *make his reckoning*: do his accounting    6 *in the*: at the

6 *all that feast*: that whole series of entertainments    7 *therefor*: for it

7 *wit*: i.e., say    9 *had been*: would have been // *great*: big

12 *fantasies*: fancies; whims // *in their flowers*: in full bloom; in their heydays

13 *grudgeth*: pang // *grieveth*: trouble    15 *at hand*: immediately

16 *false*: deceptive / treacherous    18 *ell*: A length roughly equivalent to a yard.

19 *wit*: good sense // *simple*: paltry // *niggardous*: stingy    23 *ware*: merchandise

24 *might*: could // *peaceably*: i.e., without resistance    26 *clerk*: scholar

28 *out of the way*: off of the pathway; i.e., off-course    29 *false*: deceitful / despicable

30 *true*: bona fide / orthodox    33 *falsely*: treacherously / despicably

killed... the faithful, true doctrine of Christ. But woe may that wretch be by whom the Truth is betrayed!

*A Prayer*

5 **O** my sweet Savior Christ, whom thine own wicked disciple,  
entangled with the Devil, through vile, wretched covetousness betrayed:  
inspire, I beseech thee, the marvel of thy majesty, with the love  
of thy goodness, so deep into my heart that in respect of the least  
point of thy pleasure, my mind may set always this whole  
wretched world at naught.

10 The Fifth Lecture

“**B**efore the feast of the Pasch, Jesus, knowing that his hour came on to go out of this world unto his Father—whereas he had loved those that were his, unto the *end* he loved them.”

15 In these words the holy Evangelist Saint John—whom Christ so tenderly loved... that “on his breast” he leaned, in his Last Supper, and to him secretly he uttered the false dissembled traitor; and into whose custody he commended on the cross his own dear, heavy mother; and which is, for the manifold tokens of Christ’s special  
20 *John 19:26* favor, specially called in the Gospel “discipulus ille quem diligebat Iesus” (“the disciple that Jesus loved”)—declareth here what a manner of faithful lover our holy Savior was... of whom himself was so beloved. For unto those words he putteth and forthwith joineth... the rehearsing of his bitter Passion, beginning with his Maundy (and therein his humble washing of his  
25 disciples’ feet), the sending forth of the traitor, and after that... his doctrine, his prayer, his taking, his judging, his scourging, his crucifying, and all the whole piteous tragedy of his most bitter Passion. Before all which things he setteth these afore-rehearsed words... to declare that all these things that Christ did, in all this—

5 *entangled*: in involvement; in cahoots // *vile*: base // *covetousness*: avarice; greed  
6 *inspire*: i.e., instill as if by thy holy breath // *marvel*: awe  
7 *respect of*: comparison with 8 *point*: detail; particular // *set*: appraise  
9 *naught*: (a worth of) zero 11 *Pasch*: Passover  
11–12 *his hour came on*: his time was coming 15 *his*: i.e., Christ’s  
15 *he*: i.e., Saint John 16 *uttered*: revealed the identity of // *false*: despicable  
16 *dissembled*: dissembling; hypocritical 17 *heavy*: sorrowful 18 *which*: who  
18 *for*: on account of // *tokens*: signs 21 *declareth*: makes known  
23 *rehearsing*: relating 24 *Maundy*: Last Supper 26 *doctrine*: teaching  
26 *taking*: capture // *judging*: trial // *scourging*: being scourged  
27 *crucifying*: crucifixion // *all the whole*: the whole entire  
27 *piteous*: heartrending 28 *afore-rehearsed*: above-quoted  
29 *declare*: make it known

he did it for very love. Which love he well declared unto his disciples  
 by many manner means at the time of his Maundy—giving  
 them in charge... that in loving each other, they should follow the example  
 of himself. For *he*—those that *he* loved, he loved unto the *end*; and  
 5 so would he that *they* should. He was not an inconstant lover, that  
 doth as many do—love for a while, and then upon a light occasion  
 leave off... and turn from a friend to an enemy (as the false traitor  
 Judas did)—but he still so persevereth in love unto the very  
 end... that for very love he *came* to that painful end; and yet not  
 10 only for his friends... that were already his, but for his enemies, to  
*make* them friends of his; and that not for his benefit, but only for  
 their own. And here shall we note that where the Gospel saith,  
 in this place and divers others, that Christ should go out of this  
 world unto his Father (as where he said, “Poor  
 15 *John 12:8* men shall ye always have, but me shall you  
 not always have”), it is not meant that he shall be no more with his  
 Church here in the world, nor come no more here till the Day of  
 Doom. For himself promised and said, “I am with you  
 all the days, even unto the end of the world.” He is here in his  
 20 Godhead, he is here in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and sundry  
 times hath here, since his Ascension, appeared unto divers holy men.  
 But those other words, as Saint Jerome saith (and Saint Bede too),  
 are understood... that he will not be here in corporeal conversation  
 among *us*... as he was before his Passion among his disciples... with  
 25 whom he commonly did eat and drink and talk.  
 Let us here deeply consider the love of our Savior Christ,  
 which so loved his unto the end... that for their sakes he willingly  
 suffered that painful end... and therein declared the highest point  
 of love that can be. For as himself saith,  
 30 *John 15:13* “*Maiorem hac amorem nemo habet... quam ut animam  
 suam ponat quis pro amicis suis*”—“A greater love no

1, 28 *declared*: made manifest    2 *Maundy*: Last Supper    3 *in charge*: as a precept  
 6 *upon a light occasion*: for some trivial reason; upon some slight provocation  
 7 *false*: despicable    8 *still*: continually    9 *yet*: even / moreover  
 10 *already his*: i.e., already friends of his    13, 21 *divers*: several    13 *should*: would  
 14 *as*: such as    17–18 *the Day of Doom*: Judgment Day    18 *himself*: he himself  
 20 *Godhead*: Godhood; divinity    23 *understood*: i.e., rightly understood as meaning  
 23 *conversation*: interaction    25 *commonly*: in an ordinary way    27 *which*: who  
 27 *willingly*: voluntarily    28 *point*: degree; level

man hath... than to give his life for his friends.” This is indeed the greatest love that ever any *other* man had. But yet had our Savior a greater. For he gave his, as I said before, both for friend and foe.

5 But what a difference is there, now, between this faithful love of his... and other kinds, of false and fickle “love” used in this wretched world. The flatterer *feigneth* to love thee... for that he fareth well with thee. But, now, if adversity so diminish thy substance... that he find thy table unladen: farewell, adieu, thy brother flatterer is gone, and  
10 getteth him to some other board—and yet shall turn, sometimes, to thine enemy, too, and wait thee with a shrewd word.

Who can in adversity be sure of many of his friends, when our Savior himself... was at his taking left alone and forsaken of his? When thou shalt go hence, who will go with thee? If thou were  
15 a *king*... will not all thy realm send thee forth alone and forget thee? Shall not thine own flesh let thee walk away naked, seely soul, thou little wottest whither? Howbeit, if thou die in the Devil’s danger, some fleshly lover of thine... may soon after hap to follow thee—some such as in lecherous love hath borne thee filthy company.

20 But if such a lover of thine happen there to come to thee, there will there be no love-touches between you, but cursing and banning shall you lie together wretchedly burning forever, where each of you shall be a hot fagot of fire to your filthy fellow.

Let us every man, therefore, in time... learn to love as we  
25 should... God above allthing, and all other things for him. And whatsoever love be not referred to that end (that is to wit, to the pleasure of God)—it is a very vain and an unfruitful love. And whatsoever love we bear to any creature... whereby we love God the less: *that* love is a *loathsome* love, and hindereth us from heaven. Love  
30 no child of thine own so tenderly... but that thou couldst be

*Genesis 22:1–10* content so to sacrifice it to God... as Abraham was ready with Isaac, if it so were that God would so command thee. And since God will *not* so do: offer thy child

6 *false*: inauthentic // *used*: practiced 7 *feigneth*: pretends  
7 *for that*: because // *fareth*: does / dines 8 *substance*: wealth 9 *unladen*: not set  
10 *board*: dining table // *yet*: even // *to*: into  
11 *wait thee*: serve you (as if as a waiter) // *shrewd word*: malicious remark (about you)  
13 *taking*: being seized // *of*: by 14 *go hence*: depart from here  
16 *flesh*: blood relations / body // *seely*: poor 17 *wottest*: know // *whither*: to where  
17–18 *in . . . danger*: in the Devil’s dominion; i.e., subject to the Devil  
19 *lecherous*: lustful 21 *banning*: anathematizing; excoriating 23 *fagot*: stick bundle  
23 *fellow*: companion 24 *us every man*: every one of us 25 *allthing*: everything  
26 *referred to*: directed to; ordered toward 27 *vain*: i.e., much in vain; futile  
29 *loathsome*: repulsive / hateful // *from*: i.e., from getting to 31 *content*: willing

otherwise to God's service. For whatsoever thing we love... whereby  
 we break God's commandment: that love we better than God;  
 and that is a love deadly and damnable. Now, since our Lord hath  
 "so loved" us... for our *salvation*: let us diligently call for his grace, that  
 5 against his great love we be not found unkind.

*A Prayer*

**O** my sweet Savior Christ, which of thine undeserved love toward  
 mankind... so kindly wouldst suffer the painful death of the cross:  
 suffer not me to be cold nor lukewarm in love again toward thee.

10 **The Second Chapter**

*Of the sending of Saint Peter and Saint John... the first day  
 of the Unleavened Loaves; specified in the twenty-sixth of Saint  
 Matthew, the fourteenth of Saint Mark, the twenty-second of Saint  
 Luke, and the thirteenth of Saint John.*

15 **“(Jn)** The first (Mt/Mk) day of the Unleavened Loaves, when (Mk) the Paschal  
 lamb was offered, in which (Lk) the Paschal lamb must needs be  
 killed, there came (Mt) the disciples to Jesus, and (Mt/Mk) say to him,  
 ‘Whither wilt thou that we go and make ready for thee, that thou  
 mayest eat the Paschal lamb?’ And he sendeth of his disciples Peter  
 20 (Lk) and John, saying, ‘Go you and make ready for us the Paschal lamb,  
 that we may eat it.’ But they said, ‘Where wilt thou that we shall make  
 it ready?’ And he said unto them, ‘Go you (Mt) into the city, (Mk) to a  
 certain man. (Mt) Lo, (Lk) as you shall be entering into the city, there  
 shall meet you a man bearing a pot of water; follow you him  
 25 into the house into which he entereth. And ye shall say to the

2 *better than*: i.e., more than we love    3 *deadly*: mortally sinful

5 *against*: in the face of // *unkind*: coldhearted    7 *which*: who

8 *so kindly*: so warmheartedly; with so much natural affection

9 *suffer not me to*: do not let me // *again*: in return / ever again    11 *of the*: on the

12 *specified*: related in detail // *twenty-sixth*: i.e., twenty-sixth chapter

18 *whither . . . go*: what place do you want us to go to    18, 20 *make ready*: prepare

21–22 *where . . . ready*: where do you want us to prepare it    24 *bearing*: carrying

goodman of the house, “The Master saith to thee, (Mt) ‘My time is near; with thee I make my Pasch; where (Mk) is my refectory? Where is my place (Lk/Mk) where I may eat my Pasch with my disciples?’” And he shall show you a great supping place, paved; and there make you it ready.’ And (Mk) his disciples went, and came into the city. And as they (Lk/Mk) went, they found as Jesus had said unto them. And they made ready the Paschal lamb. When the evening (Mk) was come, he came with the Twelve. And (Lk) when the hour was come, he sat down at the table, and the twelve apostles with him.”

## 10 The Homily, or Lecture, upon the Second Chapter

I have before, good Christian readers, shown you (in the exposition of the first chapter) the ordinance and institution of the Feast of the Paschal Lamb, and of the Feast of the Unleavened Bread, and how the offering of that lamb was a figure of the offering up of Christ, the *very* Unspotted Lamb... that should be offered up to cleanse and wash away the spots of our sin... with the innocent blood of himself, that had no spot of sin of his own. The Paschal lamb was commanded to be sacrificed and eaten after the equinox *in vere*... the fourteenth day of the month. And on the morrow, and so forth seven days after—that is to wit, beginning the fifteenth day—was the Feast of the Unleavened Bread; during which space they were commanded that they should have no leaven in their house. Ye must understand also that though the first day of the Feast of the Unleavened Loaves was the fifteenth day, yet likewise as we begin every feast from the noon before, so did the Jews begin that first day of the Feast of the Unleavened Loaves in the evening before—when they might see the moon and the stars appear in the element. And so, though the eating of the Paschal lamb was the fourteenth day of the month, and the

1 *goodman of the house*: man of the house; man who is the head of the household  
 2 *Pasch*: Passover // *refectory*: dining hall    3 *Pasch*: Passover meal  
 4 *great*: large // *supping*: dining // *paved*: furnished  
 4–5 *make you it ready*: you are to prepare it  
 6 *found . . . them*: i.e., found everything to be as Jesus had told them it would be  
 10 *homily*: lesson    10, 12 *chapter*: scriptural text (quoted from Gerson)  
 11 *shown*: explained to // *exposition of*: commentary on    12 *ordinance*: foundation  
 14 *figure*: prefigurement    15 *very*: real // *unspotted*: unblemished; defectless  
 15 *should*: would; was to    16, 17 *spot(s)*: stain(s)  
 17–18 *the . . . to*: it was commanded that the Paschal lamb  
 18–19 *equinox in vere*: vernal equinox    19 *morrow*: next day  
 21 *space*: interval    24 *day*: i.e., day of the month    26 *might*: could  
 27 *element*: sky

first day of the Feast of the Unleavened Loaves was on the fifteenth day, yet  
 by reason that the same first day of the feast... began at the evening  
 before (that is to wit, in the evening of the fourteenth day), in which  
 evening the Paschal lamb was to be sacrificed and eaten—these  
 5 two feasts were, as you see, coincident together. For the one fell in  
 the beginning of the other. And for this cause were each of them  
 called by the both names; that is to wit, by the name of “the Feast of  
 the Pasch” and also by the name of “the Feast of the Unleavened  
 Bread.” For since the Feast of the Paschal Lamb was the chief  
 10 feast... and was also the beginning of the other, all the Feast of the Unleavened  
 Loaves was called “the Pasch.” And, again, because the  
 first day of the Feast of the Unleavened Loaves, though it were the  
 fifteenth day of the month—yet since *it* began, I say, in the evening of  
 the *fourteenth* day, at such time as the Paschal lamb was sacrificed  
 15 and eaten: the Feast of the Paschal Lamb was also called “the Feast  
 of the Unleavened Bread”... and “the first day of the Feast of the Unleavened  
 Bread.” And for this cause do both Saint Matthew and  
 Saint Mark call the (Sheer) Thursday in which Christ made his  
 Maundy... “the first day of the Unleavened Bread,” saying, “The first day  
 20 of the Unleavened Loaves, in which the Paschal lamb must be killed  
 and sacrificed, the disciples came to Jesus and asked him, ‘Whither  
 wilt thou that we shall go to make ready the Paschal lamb?’” And,  
 as I said, the Jews called also the Feast of the Unleavened Bread the  
 “Feast of Pasch.” And especially they called and hallowed by that name  
 25 of “Pasch” the *first* day of the Unleavened Bread, which was the  
 morrow after the eating of the Paschal lamb. And after that  
     *John 13:1*                      manner, of their naming that day the “Feast of  
    Pasch,” Saint John in the thirteenth chapter of his  
 Gospel, “Ante diem festum Paschae, sciens Iesus quia venit hora eius ut  
 30 transeat ex hoc mundo ad Patrem,” etc.—“Before the holy day of Pasch,  
 Jesus, knowing that his time was come that he should go out of this  
 world unto his Father,” and so forth—here, lo, Saint John calleth

2 *at*: in      5 *were* . . . *together*: i.e., did, as you see, overlap each other

10 *all the*: the whole      12 *were*: i.e., was      18 *Sheer*: i.e., Holy

19 *Maundy*: Last Supper      21–22 *whither* . . . *go*: where do you want us to go

22 *make ready*: prepare      24 *hallowed*: sanctified / solemnized

26 *morrow*: next day      26–27 *after that manner*: in accord with that custom

27 *naming*: calling

Sheer Thursday, in the evening of which day the Paschal lamb was eaten... he calleth it, I say, by the name of the day “before” that festival day of the Pasch... because the Jews did celebrate the morrow after the Pasch eaten... very solemnly, and called (as I have  
 5 told you) that feast “the Feast of the Pasch.” And therefore Saint John here saying “ante diem festum Paschae,” and calling Sheer Thursday the day *before* the “festival day of Pasch”... because the Jews so used to call the first day of the Unleavened Bread, that began in the evening before, in which the Paschal lamb was killed, used such a  
 10 manner of speaking... as we might call “Christmas” even the day before the festival day of Christmas.

I would not, good readers, stick so long upon the declaration of this point (as a thing wherein some shall peradventure take little savor), saving that I thought it not a time all lost... to let you  
 15 know that upon the Scripture in this point mistaken... the church of Greece fell from the church of the Latins in a point or twain. For upon their own wrong construing this place of Saint John... they say that Christ did *anticipate* the time of eating his Paschal lamb with his apostles, and whereas the *very* day was  
 20 the fourteenth day after their vernal equinox (in the evening), he did it (say they) the day before.

For the understanding whereof, ye shall note that among the Jews’ *neomeniae*, the first day of the new moon next after the equinox *in vere* (that is to wit, after the entering of the sun  
 25 into Aries; which is the eleventh or the twelfth day of March)—the day of the next change of the moon after that... is the first day of the year, with the Jews. And the fourteenth day after (which is *Quartadecima luna*) is the eating of their Paschal lamb at night—and that day is not holy day till night. And on the morrow is their great feast

1, 6 *Sheer*: i.e., Holy    3, 7, 11 *festival*: feast    3, 5, 7 *Pasch*: Passover  
 3, 29 *morrow*: next day    4 *the Pasch eaten*: the eating of the Passover meal  
 12 *stick*: dwell // *declaration*: explanation    13 *peradventure*: perhaps  
 14 *savor*: interest // *a time all lost*: a complete waste of time  
 15 *mistaken*: taken wrongly    16 *fell*: fell away  
 16–17 *a point or twain*: i.e., one or two articles of faith  
 17 *upon*: on the basis of // *place*: verse    18 *anticipate*: i.e., move up  
 19 *very day*: actual day (of Passover)  
 23 *neomeniae*: feasts connected with the new moon  
 24 *equinox in vere*: vernal equinox  
 27–28 *Quartadecima luna*: the fourteenth of the month

day (that is to wit, the first day of the Unleavened Bread); but it  
 beginneth in the evening before. And so do all their feasts and  
 their Sabbath days begin in the evening... and endure to the  
 evening following: “A vespere ad vesperum  
 5 servabitis sabbata vestra.” The year in which  
 our Savior was crucified, *Quartadecima luna* fell in *Feria quinta*; that is to  
 wit, upon the Thursday. And therefore in the evening of that  
 Thursday, Christ made his Maundy—and so did all the Jews. For  
 10 that was the very day appointed by the Scripture,  
 in Exodus. And on the morrow, which was  
 Good Friday, and which was *Quintadecima luna*, was the first day—  
 and the chief day—of the Unleavened Bread. Which feast began  
 in the evening before; that is to wit, on Sheer Thursday, when the  
 eating of the Paschal lamb was. And therefore was it eaten with  
 15 unleavened bread. And so, consequently, Christ did consecrate  
 in unleavened bread. For in that evening began *primus dies Azimorum*—  
 as appeareth plainly by Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, and  
 Saint Luke.

But the posterior Greeks say that Christ did not eat his  
 20 Paschal lamb in the day appointed by the Law—that is to wit,  
*in vespere xiiii lunae*—but they say that he did prevene the time by a  
 day... and did eat it *in vespere xiii lunae*. But yet they said not that  
 he ate it on the Wednesday; but they say that the Thursday was *xiii*  
 25 *luna*, and that *xiiii luna*—in which the Pasch *should* be eaten, by  
 the Law—was on Good Friday, and that the Jews did eat it then...  
 and that in *that* evening (upon Good Friday, in which day Christ  
 died), *then* the Jews did eat the Paschal lamb. And that on the  
 morrow, which was the Sabbath day, was *xv luna*; and so therefore  
 on that day was there great feast—that is to wit, the first day  
 30 of the Unleavened Bread; which began, they say, on Good Friday,  
 in the evening, at the rising of the moon. And for that cause they  
 say that Christ did consecrate in *leavened* bread... because he consecrated  
 on the *Thursday*, which was, they say, not *xiiii luna*, but

3 *endure to*: last until

4–5 “A . . . vestra”: “From evening to evening shall you keep this Sabbath of yours.”

6 in *Feria quinta*: on the fifth day of the week

8 *Maundy*: Passover observance 9 *very*: actual 9, 20 *appointed*: stipulated

10, 28 *morrow*: next day 11 *Quintadecima luna*: the fifteenth of the month

13 *Sheer*: i.e., Holy 14 *was*: took place

16 *primus dies Azimorum*: the first day of Unleavened Bread

17 *appeareth*: is shown 19 *posterior*: later 20 *in*: on

21 *in vespere xiiii lunae*: in the evening of the fourteenth of the month

21 *prevene*: act in advance of 23–24 *xiii luna*: the thirteenth of the month

24, 33 *xiiii luna*: the fourteenth of the month 24 *by*: according to

28 *xv luna*: the fifteenth of the month 29 *feast*: festivity

*xiii*—and that the unleavened bread came not in until the evening  
 in *xiiii luna*, that was (say they) not till Good Friday, in the evening.  
 Which they prove by the words of Saint John (13) “ante diem festum  
 Paschae.” And they say *festum Paschae* was the feast of eating of the Paschal  
 5 lamb. And so our Lord, they say, made his Maundy *before* the  
*feast* of the eating of the Paschal lamb; that is to wit, the day  
 before *xiiii luna*. And so Sheer Thursday was, they say, *xiii luna*. And  
 therefore they say that the *very* day thereof (that is to wit,  
 10 *xiiii luna*) was, they say, on Good Friday; and the Jews, they say,  
 did eat it that day (after Christ’s death)—and that *therefore* they  
 would not come “in praetorium... ut non contaminarentur, sed ut manducarent  
 Pascha.” And that Christ because he knew that he should that day  
 be crucified... did *prevene* the day... and did eat it the day before;  
 and therefore (say they) he had none unleavened bread. And you  
 15 shall understand that this is the cause for which *they* consecrate  
 the Body of Christ in *leavened* bread, contrary to the Latin  
 Church, which consecrateth in unleavened bread. For they say (and  
 truth it is) that the Feast of the Unleavened Loaves began the fifteenth  
 day. And then (say they) he consecrated his Blessed Body, at his  
 20 Maundy, on the *thirteenth* day—that was, say they, Sheer Thursday—  
 and therefore he consecrated then with leavened bread. Now, to this  
 we have shown you... that the first day of that feast of Unleavened  
 Bread—*began* the feast in the evening *before*; that is to wit, on  
 Sheer Thursday, at night; and that Christ made, then, his Maundy  
 25 in the very time that was by the Law appointed to the eating the  
 Paschal lamb. And since he intended to fulfill the Law... so was it  
 most convenient that he *should*, and most likely that he *would*,  
 and so, of truth, he *did*—as the three Evangelists Saint Matthew,  
 Saint Mark, and Saint Luke plainly do declare. For they three agree  
 30 together... that it was in the first day of the Unleavened Bread—and in  
 which day the Paschal lamb must be killed. And so it appeareth

1, 7 *xiii (luna)*: the thirteenth (of the month)

2 in *xiiii luna*: i.e., of the fourteenth of the month // *that*: which 3 13: i.e., chapter 13

3–4 *ante diem festum Paschae*: before the day of the Feast of Passover

5, 20, 24 *Maundy*: Last Supper 7, 20, 24 *Sheer*: i.e., Holy 8, 25 *very*: actual

11–12 “in . . . *Pascha*”: “into the praetorium, so as not to be defiled, but to be able to eat  
 the Passover lamb” (John 18:28). 12 *should*: would (on)

13 *prevene*: go ahead in advance of; jump the gun on 21 *to*: i.e., in answer to

22 *shown*: explained to 23 *began the feast*: i.e., the feast began

25 *appointed to the eating*: designated for the eating of

26 *he intended*: it was his intention 27 *convenient*: fitting; appropriate

28 *of truth*: in fact 30 *in*: on 31 *appeareth*: is shown

by them... that though the first day of that feast was the fifteenth day,  
 yet the feast of that fifteenth day began in the evening *before*, in  
 which the Paschal lamb was eaten—and eaten, as it appeareth  
 plainly, with unleavened bread. And verily methinketh that if it  
 5 so had been (as it was not) that Christ had made his Maundy a day  
 before the time, yet would not that sufficiently serve for the proof of  
 their purpose that he consecrated in leavened bread. For though  
 it be a good proof that since he consecrated in the Feast of the Unleavened  
 Loaves, he consecrated *not* in leavened bread, because the  
 10 Law forbade them to have any leaven in the house: yet if he had  
 consecrated five days before that feast began, it would not prove  
 that he consecrated in leavened bread. For they might then and at  
 all times have *unleavened* bread... since *that* was at *no* time forbidden.  
 “Ante diem festum Paschae” is meant by the first day of the Feast  
 15 of the Unleavened Loaves, which was on Good Friday; that was *xv*  
*luna*. And that feast was called *festum Paschae*... because it began in  
 the evening (on Sheer Thursday) wherein the Paschal lamb was eaten.  
 “Quod abstinebant a praetorio ut mundi, manducarent Paschae” upon Good  
 Friday... was for the Unleavened Bread, which was also called by the  
 20 name of Pasch... and continued seven days. Burgensis maketh another  
 manner of reckoning, with which we shall not need to meddle;  
 this much is perplex enough.

But surely the church of Greece was far overseen in this point...  
 and divers others, in which they partly acknowledged their errors  
 25 after, and were reformed in general councils... and yet returned,  
 of frowardness, to their errors again... and in conclusion we see  
 whereto they be come.

But ye shall understand that when I speak of the “church of  
 Greece” in this error, I speak but of the posteriors. For the old

5 *Maundy*: Last Supper    7 *purpose*: thesis; contention    8 *good*: valid; sound

8 *in*: on    12 *might*: could

14 “*ante diem festum Paschae*”: “before the day of the Feast of Passover”

14 *is meant by*: refers to    15–16 *xv luna*: the fifteenth of the month

16 *festum Paschae*: the Feast of Passover    17 *Sheer*: i.e., Holy

18 “*quod . . . Paschae*”: “that they stayed away from the praetorium to remain clean,  
 so as to be able to eat the Passover lamb” (see John 18:28).

19 *for the*: i.e., on account of the Feast of    20 *Pasch*: Passover

20 *Burgensis*: Paul of Burgos (d. 1435).

21 *with . . . meddle*: which we won’t need to go into

22 *perplex*: involved; complicated    23 *surely*: definitely

23 *was far overseen*: was very much mistaken; blundered badly    24 *divers*: several

25 *after*: later    26 *of*: out of // *frowardness*: perversity; refractoriness

29 *in*: i.e., being in // *posteriors*: i.e., later Greeks

91/29—92/1 *old . . . Greeks*: early Greek theologians

holy doctors of the Greeks were of the contrary mind—as appeareth

*Eusebius, Chrysostom* in this point by the plain words of  
Saint Eusebius and Saint Chrysostom both.

5 And that you may the more plainly perceive what peril it was  
unto them... to fall to an opinion contrary to the Church... by construing  
the Scripture after a few folks' fantasies: those Greeks  
that began this opinion... were fain in conclusion, for the defense  
of their error, to say that Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, and  
10 Saint Luke... wrote in that point *wrong*, all three. And that *therefore*  
Saint John wrote otherwise... and *corrected* them. Which  
untrue saying of theirs is so far out of all frame... that it is among  
Christian men more than shame to say it—that any of the four  
Evangelists should in the story write anything false. For then  
15 which of them might we trust?... since we can be no more sure  
of the one than of the other!

But now let us proceed forth in the letter:

“When his disciples had asked him where his pleasure was that  
they should make ready the Pasch for him, he sent two of his  
apostles—that is to wit, Peter and John—and said unto them, ‘Go  
20 you and prepare the Paschal lamb for us, that we may eat it.’”

Our Savior, which said of himself, “Non veni solvere legem, sed  
adimplere” (“I am not come to break the Law, but to fulfill it”)—likewise as  
he would be circumcised first, before he changed *that* sacrament into  
the more perfect sacrament of Baptism—so, for the fulfilling of the Old  
25 Law, before he would offer up his own blessed body (the very  
Unspotted Lamb) upon the cross; and before, also, that he would  
institute the eating of his own blessed body, in form of bread and  
wine, in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar: he would first fulfill  
the precept of the Law... by the eating of the Paschal lamb in time  
30 and manner appointed by the Law... and so fulfill and finish the  
figure, and institute in the stead thereof... the sacrament of highest  
perfection, the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and offer up  
for the spots of our sin... his own unspotted body, as the most  
sweet sacrifice, unto the Father... upon the altar of the cross.

35 It followeth: “Then they said unto him, ‘Where wilt thou that we

5 *fall to*: fall into      6 *after*: in accord with

6 *fantasies*: wild-eyed notions / instances of wishful thinking

7 *fain*: constrained // *conclusion*: the end      11 *saying*: assertion

11 *out of all frame*: out of the bounds of all right thinking

13 *the story*: i.e., his account      14 *might*: could      16 *letter*: text

17–18 *where . . . Pasch*: where he would like for them to prepare the Passover meal

21 *which*: who      22 *break*: abolish; do away with

26 *unspotted*: unblemished; defectless

28, 32 *Blessed Sacrament of the Altar*: i.e., Holy Eucharist      30 *appointed*: stipulated

30 *so*: thus      31 *figure*: prefigurement      33 *spots*: stains

33 *unspotted*: uncontaminated (by sin); innocent      34 *sweet*: agreeable; acceptable

92/35—93/1 “*Where . . . ready?*”: “Where do you want us to prepare it?”

shall make it ready?’ And he said unto them, ‘Go you into the city, to a certain man. Lo, as you be entering into the city, there shall a man meet you bearing a pot of water; follow you him into the house into which he entereth. And you shall say to the goodman of the house, “The Master saith to thee, ‘My time is near; with thee I make my Pasch. Where is my place where I may, with my disciples, eat the Pasch?’” And he shall show you a great supping place—on high, paved—and there do you make it ready.”

In these words it appeareth well that our Lord, when he sent Saint Peter and Saint John unto the house where they should prepare his Maundy, he would neither name them the dweller of the house... nor tell them any known token of the house. Of which thing divers of the old doctors conjecture and tell divers causes. Some say he sent them to a man not named... in token that God will come not only to men that are in the world famous, and of great name, but also to folk of none estimation in the account of the world, nor of no name. Some others say (and both twain may well be true) that forasmuch as our Savior (to whom nothing was unknown) knew the promise of the false traitor Judas made unto the Jews upon the day before, to betray him... and that he went about ever after that to seek a time fit therefor, where he might betray him to them out of sight of the people—if he should have named the man or the place, the traitor might have caused him (and his disciples) to be taken before his Maundy made... and his Holy Body consecrated in the Blessed Sacrament. And therefore, albeit that if the traitor had come and all the whole town with him, our Savior could have kept them all off with one word of his mouth, or with one thought of his holy heart—yet this way liked his high wisdom, as the most meet and convenient... by which he would keep the traitor from the accomplishment of his traitorous purpose... till the time should come in which himself had determined to suffer it. And therefore our Savior used himself in this point wonderfully. For albeit that

3 *bearing*: carrying

4–5 *goodman of the house*: man of the house; man who is the head of the household

5–6 *with . . . Pasch*: i.e., I’ll be making my Passover with you

7 *Pasch*: Passover meal // *great*: large // *supping*: dining

7 *on high*: i.e., one on an upper level // 8 *paved*: furnished

8 *there . . . ready*: i.e., that’s where you are to prepare it

11, 24 *Maundy*: Last Supper // 11 *dweller*: resident

12 *token of*: i.e., distinguishing characteristic of; way to identify

13 *divers*: various (ones) // *old doctors*: early exegetes

14 *in token*: as an indication; to get across indirectly // 16 *estimation*: reputation

17 *both twain*: i.e., both of these two interpretations // 18 *true*: correct

19 *of*: (that was) by // 20–21 *went about*: was trying // 21 *seek*: find

21 *a time fit therefor*: i.e., a good opportunity for that // 24 *taken*: i.e., taken captive

25 *made*: i.e., was made // *Blessed Sacrament*: Holy Eucharist

29 *liked*: pleased // *meet*: fitting // *convenient*: suitable // 32 *himself*: he himself

32 *determined*: decided // 33 *used*: conducted // *wonderfully*: in an astonishing way

the two disciples whom he sent were, of all his apostles, the most specially chosen... and most in trust and favor with him—Saint Peter (which, as it appeareth in Scripture, and as the doctors say, specially loved him) and Saint John (which, as the Scripture saith, and the doctors thereon, specially was beloved of him)—yet would he not take them aside and tell them the name of the man, lest he might thereby have given occasion of envy or suspicion to Judas, or peradventure grief to the remnant, if Christ should have seemed to trust them with that errand secretly... with which he would trust none of *them*. He gave them, therefore, their errand in so strange a fashion... that neither themselves nor any of the other ten could wit what to think therein. For he answered them as though he would say, “Where you shall prepare I will not tell you; nor who shall bring you thither I will not show you; but, to let you see what I can do when me list, such a token shall I tell you to bring you thither... as neither no man knoweth nor no man can know... but myself, that am able at the time to make it so.”

Then it followeth, “And his disciples went forth, and came into the city, and they found as Jesus had said unto them, and prepared there the Pasch.”

Here had his apostles, and by them we too, a proof of his glorious Godhead... secretly conveyed, and unseen, under the cloak of his seeming feeble manhead. And that not in this thing alone, but in this among many more—some of other kind of miracle, and some, also, like unto this. For as he did here show his disciples where they should meet the man with the water pot, and then what he would have them do further, and that his bidding should surely be fulfilled and obeyed—so did he on the Palm Sunday before, when he sent his disciples... and told them where they should find the ass and the colt tied, and bade them take them boldly, without any leave of the owner, and whosoever would say aught unto them therefor... they should say that their Master must

3, 4 *which*: who    3 *it appeareth*: i.e., is evidenced    3, 5 *doctors*: exegetes  
 8 *peradventure*: perhaps // *remnant*: rest (of the apostles)  
 9, 10 *errand*: mission    11 *strange*: unusual / bizarre-sounding  
 12 *wit*: figure out    13 *prepare*: i.e., do the preparing  
 14 *thither*: to that place    14–15 *show you*: let you know  
 15 *me list*: I want to    16 *token*: prognostic / means of identification  
 20 *found* . . . *them*: i.e., found everything to be as Jesus had told them it would be  
 21 *Pasch*: Passover meal    23 *Godhead*: Godhood; divinity  
 24 *seeming feeble*: seemingly powerless // *manhead*: manhood  
 25 *other*: a different    26 *show*: tell    27, 28, 30 *should*: would  
 27 *meet*: encounter; come across    29 *surely*: definitely // *fulfilled*: carried out  
 32 *leave of*: permission from // *aught*: anything    33 *therefor*: i.e., about that

occupy them. A much like manner of message he gave his two apostles now, telling them where they should meet with a strange man, and so forth; what they should do further.

5 Now, who but *God* could surely send men on such manner messages... in which they should be sure to find such things as are unto all creatures unsure and uncertain, as things accounted to fall under chance and hap? And therefore, while they found everything come to pass as he had before told them, they might and we may... surely know him for God. For who could  
10 tell that the man with his pot of water walking on his errand... and the two apostles going forth on theirs... neither party looking for other... should so begin to set forth... and in such wise hold on their way... that they should at a place which neither of the both parties appointed... so justly meet together? This could none do but  
15 he... that not only beheld both parties at once... but was able also to put in both their minds to set forth in time... such as should serve therefor—and to moderate and measure their paces himself... in such wise as themselves wist not why—and by his sure providence (seeming to themselves hap, fortune, or chance)  
20 suddenly to meet together. This thing can there of himself none other do... but he that hath the acts and the deeds of all creatures in his  
*Matthew 10:29* own hand; that of two sparrows (being both not worth a halfpenny), not so much as the one falleth, as our Savior saith, upon the ground without him.

25 Then it followeth further: “When the evening was come, Christ came with his Twelve. And when the hour was come, he sat him down at the table, and his twelve apostles with him.”

Notwithstanding that the bishops and the Pharisees had before given commandment (as appeareth in the eleventh chapter of  
30 the Gospel of Saint John) that if any man wist where Christ were, he should give them knowledge, that they might take him;

1 *occupy*: make use of // *a . . . message*: a very similar kind of mission

2 *meet with*: encounter; come across 3 *strange man*: stranger

4 *surely*: with assurance; with certainty of the outcome

4–5 *manner messages*: i.e., kinds of missions

6 *unsure*: unsettled; undeterminable 7 *fall under*: occur by

7, 19 *hap*: accident 7 *while*: when 9 *might*: could // *may*: can

9 *surely*: with certainty 12, 16 *forth*: i.e., out 12, 18 *wise*: ways

12 *hold*: continue 14 *appointed*: i.e., had arranged for them to do this

14 *justly*: exactly 14, 20 *meet together*: meet up with one another

14 *none*: no one 17 *therefor*: for that purpose

18 *themselves*: they themselves 18, 30 *wist*: knew 18 *sure*: failproof

19 *fortune*: luck 20–21 *none other*: no one else 22 *both*: i.e., together

23–24 *the one*: i.e., either one of them

24 *him*: i.e., his knowing about it and letting it happen 26 *hour*: i.e., right time

28 *bishops*: See note for 3/8. 29 *commandment*: an order 31 *were*: was

31 *take*: arrest

and notwithstanding also that his own disciple Judas had promised them to do that traitorous deed himself: yet our Savior, since his time came on... in which he was determined willingly to die, letted not to come into the city—and came also not alone, but  
 5 with his twelve apostles waiting upon him, whereby his coming was well likely to be noted. But he wist well enough what would befall, and that upon any marking of that coming... he should not be taken. For he *would* not so be taken, nor would not so prevent his traitor of his purpose—nor so disturb him of his promise, nor  
 10 so make him lose his reward—but, benignly suffering him and taking patience with him, and yet offering him grace and kindness to win him, brought him to the Maundy with him. And therefore saith Saint Mark, “He came, and his Twelve with him.” Whereby it should seem that Saint Peter and Saint John, after their errand done,  
 15 resorted unto Christ again, and made him report of their speed, and so came in company with the other ten unto the Maundy with him.

Judas the traitor, in such places as the Evangelists make mention of his going to the council and assembly of the priests...  
 20 to offer them his service in the treason—both Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, and Saint Luke make specially mention that he was one of the Twelve. And here we see, therefore, by the Evangelists, not only mention that he *came* with our Lord, but also that he sat at the *supper* with our Lord—and so, for all the treason that the traitor wrought,  
 25 yet was the traitor Christ’s apostle still. And this point the Evangelists again and again rehearse... not only to the shame of his traitorous falsehood, in betraying such a Master (with whom he was so taken forth, to be so near about him; one of that few chosen number, and so specially put in trust), but also that we should note  
 30 well and mark thereby... that the vice of a vicious person... vitiateth not the company, or congregation. For Christ with his twelve apostles were a holy company as a company... though one companion of the company was a very false, traitorous wretch. And for all his falsehood—both before that, in theft, and then in treason too—Christ  
 35 abode still with him among his other apostles, and his ungraciousness

3 *came on*: was getting near // *was determined*: had decided // *willingly*: of his own free will  
 4 *letted not*: did not forbear / did not hesitate 5 *waiting upon*: accompanying  
 6 *well likely*: very likely // *wist*: knew 6–7 *would befall*: was going to happen  
 7 *marking*: noticing 7, 13 *should*: would 8 *taken*: seized / arrested  
 8 *would not*: did not will / did not wish 8, 9, 10 *so*: i.e., thus to  
 9 *of his purpose*: i.e., from carrying out his resolve  
 9 *disturb him of*: i.e., deprive him of getting to keep 10 *suffering*: bearing with  
 11 *yet*: even // *win*: convert / regain 12, 16 *Maundy*: Last Supper  
 14 *errand done*: i.e., mission was accomplished; assignment was completed  
 15 *resorted unto Christ again*: betook themselves back to Christ  
 15 *made him report*: gave him a report // *speed*: success 16 *so*: thus  
 18 *places*: verses 21 *make specially mention*: pointedly make mention  
 26 *rehearse*: reiterate 27 *falsehood*: disloyalty 30 *vice*: immorality  
 30 *vicious*: morally corrupt 30–31 *vitiateth not*: does not render corrupt  
 33 *false*: dishonest / dastardly 34 *falsehood*: dishonesty / dastardliness  
 35 *ungraciousness*: unholiness

letted not... but that of that company, as evil as he was, yet one he was. Nor now, likewise, the vices of vicious folk in Christ's church... cannot let but that his Catholic Church, of which they be part, is, for all their unholiness, his *holy, catholic* church... with which he hath promised to be unto the end of the world.

5 Upon this chapter, among many things that men may take occasion to note, I note specially twain. One, the example that our Savior here giveth us... to be diligent and studious in the keeping of his New Law (which he hath ordained to endure in this world as long as the world shall last)... while himself was so diligent in the observing of the Old Law (which, given unto Moses, himself came to change into so far the better, and to deliver us from the sore yoke thereof). But surely I fear me sore... that with a great part of Christian people... the law of Christ is worse kept, a great deal, than was with the Jews the law of Moses at the coming of Christ—when it was kept worst! As for the sovereign points, of patience and charity and contempt of the world—wherein our Savior saith (in the sixth chapter of Saint Matthew) that he would have his new church far pass and excel the old synagogue—  
10 be so far, I fear me, let slip and forgotten... that even in the very plain *precepts*... we be more negligent than they. The Jews were in the keeping of the *spirit* of the Law so negligent... that God therefore, by the mouths of his prophets David and Isaiah, showed himself to reject and set at naught... their *outward* ceremonies, sacrifices, and observances of their law; wherein he confessed them diligent, and said that with so little as they used of the other, he had of them so much... that he was fully thereof... fastidious and weary. Not that those things misliked him... either done of their private devotion... or for the fulfilling of the Law; but for that they  
15 rested and satisfied their hearts in them, and both left the better things undone... and also did much evil, too, trusting that those outward works, of their ceremonies and sacrifices, should recompense it... and before God bear it out. Which erroneous

1 *letted* . . . *but*: i.e., did not keep it from being the case

2 *vicious*: vice-ridden; morally corrupt

3 *let but*: keep it from being the case; negate the fact      4 *catholic*: universal

4–5: See Matthew 28:20.      6 *chapter*: scriptural text

7 *specially twain*: in particular two      9–10: See Matthew 24:35.      10 *while*: when

10, 11 *himself*: he himself      13 *sore yoke*: hard-to-bear burden

13 *fear me sore*: am very much afraid      13, 15 *with*: i.e., by

13 *great part*: i.e., whole lot      14 *worse*: less well      16 *worst*: the least well

17 *contempt of*: detachment from

18 *in . . . Matthew*: Actually, starting in Matthew 5:20.      19 *pass*: surpass

20 *be*: i.e., those are // *I fear me*: I'm afraid      23 *David*: See Psalm 50:16.

23 *Isaiah*: See Isaiah 1:10–17; 58:2–7. // *showed*: professed

24 *set at naught*: regard as worthless      24, 32 *outward*: external

25 *confessed them*: admitted them to be      26 *used*: practiced

26 *the other*: i.e., the keeping of the spirit of the Law

27–28 *fastidious and weary*: sick and tired      28 *misliked*: displeased

29 *private devotion*: personal piety      32–33 *should recompense it*: would make up for it

33 *before . . . out*: i.e., make it okay with God

mind of theirs... our Lord by the prophets reproved, declaring that on their fasting days... they would, while they fasted from meat, *not* fast from *sin*, but strive and chide and fight, and sharply sue their debtors. He bade them amend those faults...

5 and be charitable and forgive and give—and then would he better allow their bare offering and sacrifice by word... than now, with these fashions used, he would their sacrifice in offering up of their beasts, unto their no little cost. This tale that I tell you doth  
 10 *Psalm 50; Isaiah 58* well appear upon the forty-ninth psalm of David and upon the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah; whose words to rehearse here were very long.

But, now, methink that we *Christian* folk wax in *worse* case. For in the deeds of charity... we walk, I fear me, nothing before them; and in those evil things... we be nothing behind them;  
 15 and yet in the outward ceremonies, also, I ween we be nothing matches with them. For surely they did much more cost, and used more devotion, than we do. Of the cost... there can no man deny but that their offerings, and their sacrifices, were—besides their tithes—far more chargeable and costly to them... than the  
 20 rites and ceremonies of Christendom are unto the Christian people. Of their diligence and devotion therein... we may well perceive both by the places that I have spoken of... in which our Lord *rejecteth* their diligence therein (because of their negligence of charity, and their froward, malicious manners besides)... and also by many other  
 25 places in the Old Law... where the *commendable* devotion of their costly ceremonies and sacrifices appear. Their fastings were also very painful and precise—and ours negligent, slack, and remiss... and now almost worn away. Their Sabbaths and their feasts kept they very solemn. How slackly we keep ours in many  
 30 places, and in what manner fashion, I cannot, for sorrow and very shame, rehearse. As for their faith, from those that among them held on the truth... the Jews were fallen into sects one or twain. But now if we should count and reckon the sundry sects which

1 *mind*: idea // *declaring*: pointing out    3 *meat*: food // *strive*: behave contentiously  
 3 *chide*: cuss people out    4 *sharply*: mercilessly // *sue*: go after / take to court  
 5–6 *better allow*: regard with more favor; consider more acceptable  
 6 *their bare*: their mere; just their    7 *fashions*: behaviors // *used*: engaged in  
 8 *beasts*: animals // *this . . . you*: this thing that I'm telling you  
 8–9 *doth well appear*: is well evidenced    9, 10 *upon*: i.e., by    11 *rehearse*: quote  
 11 *were very long*: i.e., would take a very long time / would take up a lot of space  
 12 *wax in worse case*: are getting into a worse state    13 *I fear me*: I'm afraid  
 13, 14, 15 *nothing*: not at all / in no way    13 *before*: ahead of    15 *yet*: even  
 15 *outward*: external // *ween*: think    16 *matches*: i.e., on a par // *surely*: certainly  
 16 *did . . . cost*: went to much more expense    17 *used*: exercised    17, 21, 25 *devotion*: piety  
 19 *chargeable*: burdensome    21 *may well perceive*: can get a good idea  
 22, 25 *places*: (scriptural) texts    24 *froward*: perverse; obstreperous  
 24 *manners*: ways    25 *Law*: i.e., Testament    27 *painful*: painstaking  
 27 *precise*: strictly observed // *negligent*: careless    28 *worn*: faded  
 31 *rehearse*: mention // *from*: i.e., away from    31–32 *held on*: continued to hold  
 32, 33 *sects*: i.e., heretical sects    32 *twain*: two    33 *reckon*: take into consideration

from the true faith are fallen about in divers parts of Almaine... I  
 fear me we should find almost as many *score*! I can no more but  
 pray God, therefore, that we may have the grace to follow the  
 example of our Savior... and observe his New Law (which *we* be  
 5 *bound* to keep) as he observed the Old Law—which though he came  
 to change it, yet he would first *fulfill* it, for all that he was not  
 bound to keep it. The other thing that I note in this chapter... is  
 10 *Theophylact, St. Bede,* that it appeareth thereupon (as  
*St. Chrysostom* Theophylact and Saint Bede say, and Saint  
 Chrysostom also) that Christ had no house  
 of his own, nor none of his apostles neither; as himself said of himself  
 15 *Luke 9:57–58* (in the ninth chapter of Saint Luke), “Filius  
*Hebrews 13:14* hominis non habet ubi caput suum reclinet”—“The Son  
 of Man hath not where to lay his head.” And *therefore* his apostles  
 20 asked him in what house he would eat his Pasch. And our  
 Savior again, to let them see that whoso for God’s sake is content  
 to lack a house... shall not be disappointed when they should  
*need* it, sent them to another man’s house, they neither wist  
 whose nor where, and yet were they there welcome and well received.  
 25 In this we may take example also... that those that will be the  
 disciples of Christ and followers of his apostles... should not long  
 to be great possessioners, and build up great palaces, in this wretched  
 wilderness of the world. Wherein to show that we have, as Saint  
 Paul saith, no dwelling *city*, our Savior and his apostles would  
 30 have no dwelling *house*. One of the most special things to move  
 us to the contempt of this world... and to regard much the world  
 to come... is to consider that in *that* world we shall be forever at  
 home, and that in *this* world we be but wayfaring folk. And  
 verily, though it be (as indeed it is) easy enough for any man to  
 35 say the word... that he is “here but a pilgrim,” yet is it hard for  
 many a man to let it fall feelingly, and sink down deep, into his heart...  
 which against that word slightly spoken once in a year... useth to

1 *divers*: various // *Almaine*: Germany 1–2 *I fear me*: I fear; I’m afraid  
 2 *as many score*: i.e., as one or two times twenty. // *can*: i.e., can do  
 3 *pray*: implore 5 *which*: who 7 *in*: with regard to  
 7 *chapter*: scriptural text 11 *as himself*: as he himself  
 11 *of himself*: about himself 15 *Pasch*: Passover meal 16 *again*: in reply  
 16 *whoso*: whoever 17 *disappointed*: i.e., without one to be in 18 *wist*: knew  
 20 *will*: aspire to / are to 21 *followers*: emulators / successors  
 22 *possessioners*: property holders 23 *wherein*: in which (wretched wilderness)  
 24, 25 *dwelling city/house*: city/house to consider our home  
 25 *special*: particular / excellent 26 *the contempt of*: i.e., a detachment from  
 29 *though it be*: even if it is 30 *say*: i.e. make 30, 32 *word*: statement  
 32 *which against*: who in contrast to // *slightly*: offhandedly // *useth*: is wont

rejoice and boast many times in a day, by the space, peradventure, of many years together, what goodly places in this world he hath of his own... in every of which, continually, he calleth himself "at home." And that such folk reckon themselves *not* for pilgrims here... they  
 5 feel full well at such time as our Lord calleth them hence. For then find they themselves much more loath to part from this world... than pilgrims to go from their inn.

*The Prayer*

10 **A**lmighty Jesus Christ, which wouldst for our example observe the law that thou camest to change, and, being Maker of the whole earth, wouldst have, yet, no dwelling house therein: give us thy grace so to keep thy holy law, and so to reckon ourselves for no *dwellers*, but for *pilgrims*, upon earth, that we may long and make haste, walking with faith in the way of virtuous  
 15 works, to come to the glorious country... wherein thou hast bought us inheritance *forever*, with thine own precious blood!

*De Ablutione Pedum: Ioannis 13*  
*Capud Tertium*

20 **“E**t caena facta, cum diabolus iam misisset in cor Iudae ut traderet eum (Iudas Simonis Scariotis): sciens quia omnia dedit ei Pater in manus, et quia a Deo exivit, et ad Deum vadit, surgit a caena et ponit vestimenta sua, et cum accepisset linteam, praecinxit se. Deinde misit aquam in pelvim, et coepit lavare pedes discipulorum suorum, et extergere linteo quo erat praecinctus.  
 25 Venit, ergo, ad Simonem Petrum, et dicit ei Petrus, ‘Domine, tu mihi lavas pedes?’ Respondit Iesus et dixit ei, ‘Quid ego facio, tu nescis modo; scies, autem, postea.’ Dicit ei Petrus, ‘Non lavabis mihi pedes in aeternum!’ Respondit ei Iesus, ‘Si non laveri te, non habebis partem mecum.’ Dicit ei Simon Petrus, ‘Non tantum pedes, sed et manus et capud!’ Dicit ei Iesus, ‘Qui lotus est non indiget nisi ut

1 *by the space*: over the course // *peradventure*: perhaps    2 *goodly*: splendid  
 3 *every*: every one; each    5 *hence*: i.e., to depart from here    6 *part*: depart  
 7 *from*: away from    9 *which*: who    14 *in the way*: on the path

pedes lavet, sed est mundus totus. Et vos mundi estis—sed non omnes.’ Sciebat namque quisnam esset qui traderet eum; propterea dixit ‘Non estis mundi omnes.’ Postquam, ergo, lavit pedes eorum, accepit vestimenta sua; et cum recubisset iterum, dixit eis, ‘Scitis quid fecerim vobis? Vos vocatis me Magister et Domine—  
 5 et bene dicitis; sum etenim. Si, ergo, ego lavi pedes vestros—dominus et magister— et vos debetis alter alterius lavare pedes. Exemplum enim dedi vobis, ut quemadmodum ego feci vobis, ita et vos faciatis. Amen, amen, dico vobis: Non est servus maior domino suo, neque apostolus maior eo qui misit illum. Si haec scitis, beati eritis si feceritis ea.”

## 10 The Third Chapter

*Of the Washing of the Feet; specified in the thirteenth chapter of the Gospel of Saint John*

“**A**nd when supper was done, when the Devil had put into the heart of Judas (the son of Simon of Scariot) to betray him,  
 15 Jesus... knowing that his Father had given him all things into his hands, and that he was come from God, and goeth to God... ariseth from supper, and putteth off his clothes, and took a linen cloth and did gird it about him. Then he did put water into a basin... and began to wash the feet of his disciples, and  
 20 wipe them with the linen cloth that he was girded with. Then cometh he to Simon Peter, and Peter saith unto him, ‘Lord, washest thou my feet?’ Jesus answered and said unto him, ‘What I do, thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know after.’ Peter saith unto him, ‘Thou shalt never wash my feet!’ Jesus answered  
 25 unto him, ‘If I wash thee not, thou shalt have no part with me.’ Simon Peter said unto him, ‘Lord, not only my feet, but my hands and my head too!’ Jesus saith unto him, ‘He that is washed needeth no more but that he wash his feet, but is all clean. And you be clean—but not all.’ For he knew who he was should betray  
 30 him; therefore he said, ‘You be not clean all.’ Then, after that he had washed their feet, he took his clothes again. And when he was set down again at the table, he said unto them, ‘Wot ye what I have done to you? You call me Master and Lord—and you say

11 *Of the*: On the // *specified*: related in detail 16 *goeth*: is going

17 *putteth*: takes // *clothes*: outer garments. (See 106/14.)

22 *washest thou*: are you washing 23 *do*: am doing

25 *part*: association / inheritance 29 *should*: i.e., that would

31 *took . . . again*: put his outer garments back on 32 *wot ye*: do you know

101/33—102/1 *say well*: speak rightly



that painful, terrible death, the *more* he remembered his twelve apostles, whom he had specially loved in the world, and the *more* tenderly took he thought for them when he was parting out  
 5 *John 6:37* of this world. And for to show that, as himself said, ‘Qui ad me venit, non eiciam foras’ (‘He that cometh to me, I will not cast him out’): our Savior would not cast out Judas the traitor... till he cast out himself; but, for all his traitorous purpose, tenderly went about to amend him—and brought him to the supper with him.”

10 Some expound also those words “He loved them into the end”... to signify that the love that he bore them... was not such a kind of love as worldly-minded folk use to bear each to other—that is to wit, either for their commodity to take pleasure by  
 15 them... while that in this passage toward the “end” (that is to wit, the world to come) they be by the way walking with them... or else to *do* them some such kind of commodity as may serve *them*, and stand them in some stead, for their use in the way—but our Savior, those that he loved in the world, he loved not into the  
 20 way (that is to wit, not only unto their worldly commodities, that are transitory and shall pass from them; which they shall leave behind them in the way), but he loved them into the *end*; that is to wit, toward the bringing of them to the end that he, by his precious blood, bought them to.

25 And thus you see how all these expositions of the old holy doctors... are very meet for the matter which Saint John here beginneth to treat; which, in this thirteenth chapter, beginneth to enter toward the treating of Christ’s *Passion*... by which our Lord declared well that he loved unto the end; that is to wit, as I told you, to the uttermost. And first he beginneth therein  
 30 to treat of his *Last Supper*... wherein he declared by many things, as shall after appear, that he loved his apostles to the end; that is to wit, that the nearer he drew to his death, the more tenderly he remembered them. He declared also at that supper... that he loved

3–4 *parting out of*: departing from    4 *himself*: he himself  
 8 *purpose*: intent // *went about*: endeavored    10, 18, 21 *into*: unto  
 11 *to signify*: i.e., as meaning    12 *use*: are wont // *each to*: to each  
 13 *commodity*: i.e., own benefit    15 *by*: along  
 16 *commodity*: favor    17 *stand . . . stead*: be of some avail to them  
 17, 21 *in the*: on the    17, 19, 21 *way*: road (toward the world to come)  
 18, 21 *into*: unto    19 *commodities*: goods    23 *bought*: redeemed  
 24 *expositions of*: explanations given by    24–25 *old holy doctors*: early theologians  
 25 *are . . . matter*: i.e., fit in very well with the subject    26 *treat*: treat of  
 26 *which*: who // *chapter*: i.e., chapter of his Gospel  
 27 *enter toward*: take in hand    28 *declared well*: made it very clear  
 29, 32 *wit*: i.e., say    30, 33 *declared (also)*: (also) made manifest  
 31 *appear*: be shown    32 *drew*: came  
 33 *remembered them*: thought of them; kept them in mind

them *into* the end; that is to wit, into the world to come, to the bliss of *heaven*—the end that he by his death prepared for them. This he declared specially at the Last Supper, both by the institution of the Blessed Sacrament... and by the godly doctrine that he taught  
 5 them... to conduit them thitherward. Of which the very entry and open gate... our Savior showed them in these words of the Gospel that I have herebefore rehearsed you, as you shall well perceive by the perusing of the letter; which in this wise beginneth:

10 “When the supper was done, when the Devil had put into the heart of Judas (the son of Simon of Scariot) to betray him,” etc.

In these words “when the supper was done,” it is not to be taken that it was *all* done. For (as you see here) our Lord and all his apostles after their feet washed... sat down at the table again.  
 15 But you shall understand... that the “supper” of the *Paschal lamb* was done. For that was then eaten—before that our Lord rose from the table to go about the washing of the apostles’ feet.

“Whereas the Devil had put into the heart of Judas (the son of Simon of Scariot) to betray him. . . .”

20 By this—that the Devil did “put” that treason in his “heart”—is meant the secret suggestion of the Devil... by which he stirred the traitor Judas thereunto. By which we be learned to know and consider... that when an ungracious purpose falleth in our mind, we may well think that the Devil is then even busy about us—  
 25 and not, as it is commonly said, at our *elbow*, but even at our very *heart*. For into the fleshly body can the Devil enter... and cast imagination in our mind—and offer us outward occasions, also—to illect, stir, and draw us to his purpose.

Judas was called not “Scariot,” but “*Iscariot*”—that is to wit, *Iscariotes*;  
 30 of a *place*... named “*Iscariot*.”

“Jesus... knowing that the Father had given him all things into his hands, and that he was come out from God, and goeth to God... ariseth

1 *into*: unto    3 *declared*: made known    4 *Blessed Sacrament*: Holy Eucharist  
 5 *conduit*: lead // *thitherward*: i.e., to heaven    6 *showed*: revealed to  
 7 *rehearsed*: quoted    8 *perusing*: examining // *letter*: text // *wise*: way  
 14 *their feet washed*: i.e., the washing of their feet  
 16 *before that*: i.e., before the time when    21 *secret*: interior  
 21 *suggestion of*: temptation from    22 *learned*: taught  
 23 *ungracious*: ungodly; unholy // *purpose*: proposition // *falleth in*: pops into  
 24 *even*: quite    25 *even*: right    27 *imagination*: an idea // *in*: into  
 27 *outward*: external // *occasions*: opportunities    28 *illect*: entice    29 *wit*: i.e., say  
 30 *of . . . named*: i.e., after a *place* . . . was he named    32 *goeth*: is going

from the supper, and putteth off his garments, and took a linen cloth and girded it about him, and then put water into the basin... and began to wash the feet of his disciples, and wipe them with the linen cloth with which he was girded.”

5 We need, I trust, to put no man in remembrance... that our Savior Christ was as verily God as man. And therefore, where the Evangelist saith that he “came out” from his Father and “goeth again” to his Father... it is not meant that his *Godhead* was at any time *departed* from the Father; but by his “going from” the Father... was  
10 nothing meant but his being incarnate in the world; and his “going again” to the Father, the taking up of his manhead into heaven with him. For by his coming into the earth he left not heaven, but ever was (and ever is, and ever shall be—with his Father and their Holy Spirit) both in heaven and in earth, and everywhere else, at  
15 once. Nor by that he saith “his Father had given him all things into his hands” is not meant that God the Father *giveth* anything unto (the equal) God the Son; but, like as he hath been eternally begotten *of* him, so hath he *had* eternally... equal dominion of all things *with* him. I mean not only as *much* dominion, but also the *selfsame*  
20 dominion; in like manner as he is equally God with his Father and the Holy Ghost... not by being *another* God, as great, but by being, albeit another, distinct Person, yet the *selfsame* God that they be. And therefore the Father hath nothing in *time* given the *Son*, but eternally, *before* all time, gave him all (if a man may call it  
25 “giving”) by his only begetting. Howbeit, Christ as *man* might receive of God’s gift in time... as he was created in time. And therefore is there in these words expressed... Christ’s marvelous, excellent humility; as though the Evangelist had, in more words, declared it in this manner: “Our Savior Christ (whereas Judas had by the suggestion  
30 of the Devil... made promise to betray him, and continually persevered in that traitorous purpose), notwithstanding that he was very God, and descended from heaven to be incarnate, and should ascend thither again in the glorious body and soul of his blessed

1 *putteth*: takes // *garments*: i.e., outer garments. (See 106/14.) 7 *goeth*: is going  
8, 11 *again*: back 8 *his Godhead*: i.e., he in his divine nature  
11 *manhead*: human nature; humanity 12 *into the earth*: to earth; into this world  
14 *in earth*: on earth 15 *he*: i.e., John 24 *a man*: one  
25 *by his only begetting*: i.e., simply by his begetting of him // *might*: could  
26 *as*: i.e., inasmuch as 27 *marvelous*: astounding // *excellent*: superlative  
28 *declared*: stated 29 *suggestion*: instigation 31 *purpose*: intention / resolve  
32 *should*: would 33 *glorious*: glorified

manhood; and that his Godhead had ever had of his Father (by his eternal generation)... and to his manhood (by the unity of person with his Godhead) belonged also... of allthing the whole dominion—so that with the traitor and all those *to* whom he should be betrayed, he was  
 5 able to do what himself list—yet would he, not only to his other apostles, but also to that very traitor too (whereby he should give his high, stubborn heart... occasion to relent and repent and amend, if it would be), so far humble himself... that being their master, their lord, and their God... he would vouchsafe to do them lowly  
 10 service, in the washing... not of their heads or their hands, but even of their very *feet*... and wipe them, too, his own hands. And therefore he would have nobody help him therein, nor do a piece himself as for a countenance... and let another do the remnant; but he would put off his overgarments himself, put the water  
 15 into the basin himself, wash all their feet himself, and wipe their feet all himself.

Then followeth it in the letter:

“He came, then, unto Simon Peter, and Peter saith unto him, ‘Lord, washeth thou my feet?’”

20 Saint Peter, having our Savior in such estimation and honor as it well became him to have, thought it in his mind unmeetly that his Lord and Master should wash his feet. And *therefore* he said unto him, “*Lord*, washest thou my feet?” To whom our Savior said, “That that I do, thou knowest not now. But thou  
 25 shalt know afterward.” As though he would say, “Though thou think it not convenient... because thou canst not see for what cause I do it, yet I (all whose deeds are of such perfection that I do nothing for naught) know a great cause, necessary and convenient, for which I do it, which thou canst not conjecture. But when we  
 30 have done, thou shalt know it. And therefore, suffer me first to do it.” But Saint Peter had so deep imprinted in his breast... the

1, 3 *his Godhead*: i.e., he in his divine nature    1 *ever*: always  
 2 *manhood*: i.e., him in his human nature    3 *allthing*: everything  
 5 *what himself list*: whatever he wanted to    7 *high*: puffed-up  
 7 *relent*: soften / back off    10 *even*: indeed    11 *his*: i.e., with his  
 12 *piece*: part (of it)    13 *for a countenance*: for appearance’s sake  
 13 *another*: someone else // *remnant*: rest    14 *put*: take  
 15 *all their feet*: i.e., the feet of every one of them    17 *letter*: text  
 19, 23 *washeth thou*: are you washing    20 *estimation*: esteem  
 21 *unmeetly*: unfitting    24 *that that I do*: what it is that I’m doing  
 26, 28 *convenient*: appropriate    27 *I do it*: I’m doing it  
 28 *for naught*: to no purpose    29 *conjecture*: guess; imagine  
 30 *suffer*: allow

marvelously high majesty of the Person of Christ... being the very  
 Son of God, and with his Almighty Father and his Holy Ghost equal  
 and one God, and therefore infinitely more in dignity above him...  
 than the heaven is in distance above the earth—could not, for all  
 5 that word of our Savior, find in his heart to suffer him do  
 such simple, humble service unto him. And therefore with plain  
 refusing thereof... he withdrew his feet, and answered our Savior  
 in this wise: “Thou shall never wash my feet in this world!” Our  
 Lord then, as he sometimes did in other things touch and  
 10 temper the zeal of Peter... through fervor and heat somewhat indiscreet,  
 so to show him here that there could no virtue stand in  
 stead without a humble obedience, but that it would work unto  
*damnation* (seemed the thing never so good) if it were joined with  
 disobedience against the will of God, spoke sharply to him and said,  
 15 “But if I wash thee, thou shalt have no part with me.” When Saint  
 Peter heard that word, he cast off his indiscreet courtesy... and  
 turned it into perfect obedience, submitting himself whole unto  
 the will of Christ; and said, “Lord, not only my feet, but also my  
 hands, and my head too!” As though he would say, “Though I  
 20 would, for mine unworthiness, be loath to have thy most excellent  
 Person do such simple service unto me: yet since I see that,  
 for cause unknown to me, of which it becometh me not to ask thee  
 a reckoning, thou hast so determined to wash mine unworthy  
 feet... that if I therein obey not thy high pleasure, I shall by  
 25 disobedience fall in thy displeasure, and be departed from thee and lose  
 my part of thy glory—I rather will be content to suffer thee... not  
 only, Lord, to wash my feet, but over that, my hands, and  
 my head too!”  
 “Jesus answered and said unto him, ‘He that is washed needeth  
 30 not to wash... but his feet, but is all clean.’  
 Forasmuch as Saint Peter offered himself to suffer to be of  
 Christ’s holy hands washed... not his feet only, that are the lowest

1 *marvelously*: stupendously    4–5 *all that word of*: that whole thing said by  
 5 *suffer*: let    6, 21 *simple*: menial    7 *withdrew*: withheld  
 8 *in this wise*: i.e., words to this effect    9 *touch*: rebuke  
 10, 16 *indiscreet*: injudicious    11–12 *stand in stead*: be of any avail  
 13 *never so*: no matter how    15 *but if*: unless // *part*: association / inheritance  
 16 *word*: statement // *courtesy*: politeness    20 *for*: because of  
 23 *a reckoning*: an account  
 23 *thou . . . determined*: you have so decided / you are so determined  
 25 *fall in*: incur // *be departed*: get separated    26 *part of*: share in  
 26, 31 *suffer*: allow    27 *over*: in addition to    30 *but*: except for    31 *of*: by

part, but his hands also, that are about the midst, and his head too, which is the highest part—by which three he signified himself content that Christ should wash all his whole body—Christ answered him that that thing were more than needed. For he that is washed once already by Baptism... is so clean washed altogether from all sin, both actual and original, that he never needeth to be *all* washed again—nor never *shall* be all washed again by Baptism. For *baptized* shall no man be but once; the character and spiritual token by Baptism imprinted in the soul... is indelible, and never can be put out. But in them that for their unfaithfulness, or for their evil living, *after* their Baptism... shall finally be damned, that token shall in their soul perpetually remain to their harm and shame... by which it shall evermore appear... that they be neither paynims, Jews, nor Saracens, but (which worst is of all) false and unkind Christian men. But there is none washed so clean by Baptism but that (if he live) he shall have need to have his feet washed often. For by his “feet” are meant his affections. For likewise as our feet bear our body hither and thither, so do our affections carry us to good works or bad. For look which way that our affections lead us, and that way commonly walk we. And therefore said our Savior to Saint Peter when he offered to be all washed again, both feet, hands, and head, “He that is washed is all clean, and needeth to have no more washed but his feet”—that is to wit, his affections—“and then is he all clean.” And with that... our Savior considering the traitor Judas (the filthy feet of whose wretched covetous affection... had carried him to the council of the Jews... to offer them his Master for money to sell; and from which traitorous affection... Christ’s great, marvelous humanity washing the traitor’s filthy feet... had not cleansed him), “he said unto them all, ‘You be clean; but yet *all* you be not clean.’ For he knew who it was that should betray him; and therefore he said, ‘*All* you be not clean.’”

Upon the aforesaid words of Christ unto Peter “He that is washed needeth but to wash his feet”... and those words “You be clean”...

1 *about the midst*: at about the middle

2–3 *signified* . . . *should*: showed himself willing to have Christ

3 *all his whole*: his whole entire      4 *were*: would be

4 *needed*: i.e., what was needed      9, 12 *token*: mark      10 *put out*: expunged

10 *unfaithfulness*: infidelity; unbelief      11 *finally be*: end up being

13 *appear*: be obvious      14 *paynims*: pagans // *Saracens*: Muslims

15 *false*: unfaithful // *unkind*: degenerate; not-true-to-the-name / wicked

15 *none*: no one      16 *live*: i.e., live past early childhood

18, 19, etc. *affection(s)*: disposition(s); mindset(s)

18–19 *hither and thither*: here and there      26 *covetous*: greedy

27–28 *offer* . . . *sell*: i.e., offer to sell them his Master for money

29 *marvelous*: wondrous      31 *should*: would

108/33—109/1 *upon* . . . *appeareth*: from . . . is evident

it appeareth, as the old holy doctors say, that the apostles were before that all baptized and clean. But Judas had by his filthy affection of his wretched covetousness... defiled himself by his false treason again.

5 “Then, after that he had washed their feet, he took his clothes again, and when he was set at the table again, he said unto them, ‘Wot ye what I have done to you?’”

Our Savior here giveth us, in these words, a good occasion to perceive that his outward works... had, besides those visible, apparent things which every man might behold and see, such secret spiritual mysteries meant and signified—and not only signified, but also wrought and done—in them... that those spiritual things unseen... were so much the more principal parts of his deed... that whoso know not them, though they know his outward deed, yet may it be said that they know not what he did.

10 So where our Savior healed a man in his body outwardly... and inwardly also in his soul; whereof it is said, *John 7:23* “Totum hominem sanum fecit in Sabbato” (“He made all the man whole in the Sabbath day”; that is to wit, not the body only—  
20 for the body alone is not *all* the man—but the soul, too): they that looked on, though they wist what he had *outwardly* done, in the healing of the body, yet was that *inward* work of his, in healing of the soul, so far passing that... that it may well be said they wist not what he did. And so was it in his works that he wrought  
25 in the Blessed Sacrament. As when he consecrated his Blessed Body and Blood, in the form of bread and wine, at this his Last Supper—had he not told them that point himself, who could have told what he did? And therefore here, in the washing of his  
30 disciples’ feet, albeit that they could not but both see and feel what he did, yet because his outward work therein... was not in such a special manner his deed... as was the inward mystery that he did and meant therein, he asked them:

35 “Know you what I have done to you?” As though he would say, “I have done more than you know. For by the outward washing of your feet, I have given you example of *humility*”...

1 *old holy doctors*: early theologians      2 *affection*: disposition; mindset

3 *covetousness*: greediness // *false*: despicable

5–6 *took his clothes again*: put his outer garments back on

7 *wot ye*: do you know      8 *occasion*: opportunity

9, 14, etc. *outward(ly)*: external(ly); exterior(ly)      9 *works*: acts

10 *might*: could // *behold*: look at // *secret*: hidden      12 *done*: actualized

13 *whoso*: whoever      17, 22, 31 *inward(ly)*: interior(ly)

18–19, 20 *all the*: the entire      19 *in*: on      21, 24 *wist*: knew

23 *passing*: beyond // *may well*: can rightly      24 *in*: with

25 *Blessed Sacrament*: i.e., Holy Eucharist

which thing he declared unto them with most effectual words. For first—to the intent that they should consider of what weight and authority... both his deed *and* his word should be with them—he plainly declared... taking occasion upon their own confession...  
 5 that he was their very lord and their very master. And therefore he said unto them, “You call me Master and Lord—and you say well. For so I am indeed.”

He was very *lord* of them as of his creatures; he was very *master* of them as of his disciples. Now, putting this first in their remembrance for a foundation, thereupon he built them a marvelously fruitful lesson... with the declaration of his former deed,  
 10 saying unto them, “Therefore, if I have washed your feet... being your Lord and your Master: you must also wash one another’s feet.” Then goeth he farther and declareth *wherefore* he washed their feet—  
 15 as he before said to Saint Peter... that he should know it afterward. And therefore now he telleth that he did it to give example by his own deed unto them... that they should each to other do the like. And therefore he said:

“An example have I given you, that likewise as I have done to you, so should you do also; that is to wit, do each of you to other as I have done to you all.” Then goeth our Savior further yet... and enforceth his doctrine *and* his example with a strong, mighty reason, saying:

“Verily—*verily*, I tell you—the bondsman is not greater than his  
 25 lord, nor a messenger more than he that hath sent him.” As though he would say, “Since the bondsman is no better than his lord—and I, that am your Creator, am more highly lord over you, that are my creatures, than any earthly lord is over his bondsman—  
 30 how should you disdain to wash your *fellows’* feet, when I, your high lord, have not disdained to wash yours? And since the messenger is not better than he that hath sent him... and all you be but my apostles (that is to wit, but my messengers, to do my message in preaching my word about the world); since I that *send* you...

1 *declared*: explained // *effectual*: potent    4 *declared*: stated  
 4 *confession*: profession of belief    6 *say well*: speak rightly  
 11 *declaration*: explication    14 *declareth*: explains // *wherefore*: why  
 20 *each of you to*: you to each    22 *enforceth*: reinforces  
 22 *mighty*: forceful    23 *reason*: argument    24 *verily*: truly  
 29 *your fellows’ feet*: your peers’ feet; the feet of your equals  
 32 *do*: i.e., relay

and therefore so far your *better*... and yet have not disdained to wash your feet—there can none of you without very sinful and shameful pride... disdain to wash the feet of his *fellow*.” And, finally, Christ knitteth up all the whole matter with a very short, substantial lesson:

5 “If you *know* these things... blessed shall you be if you *do* these things.” In which words our Savior well declareth... that the bliss of heaven will not be gotten by *knowing* of virtue, but by the *use* and *doing* thereof. For as no man can come at Canterbury by the bare knowledge of the way thither, if he will sit still at  
10 home: so by knowing the way to heaven... we can never the more come there... but if we will walk therein. And therefore saith our Lord by the  
*Psalm 119:1, 3* mouth of the prophet, “*Beati immaculati qui ambulantes in lege Domini. Non enim qui operantur iniquitatem in viis eius ambulaverunt*”—“Blessed are they that are undefiled,  
15 that walk in the law of our Lord. But they that work wickedness... walk not in his ways.” And our Savior saith his own mouth... that the knowledge without works... not only doth no profit, but also causeth increase of a man’s *punishment*... in respect that his punishment should be if (without his willful ignorance) his  
20 knowledge had been much less. For thus saith our Lord: “The  
*Luke 12:47–48* bondsman that knoweth not the will of his lord and doth it not... shall be beaten with few stripes. But the bondsman that *knoweth* his lord’s will and doth it not... shall  
25 be beaten with many stripes.” And therefore, with this necessary, fruitful doctrine, our Lord did knit up all, and said, “If you know these things (that is to wit, that my washing of your feet is done for your example; that since I am indeed, as yourselves do call me, your Lord and your Master, and that the bondsman is not better than his lord, nor the messenger more than his master that sent  
30 him, you should not be so proud as to disdain to do as lowly service each of you to other... as I have done to you all)—if you know this and *do* it, in *deed*, then shall you be blessed; or else for the bare knowledge... shall you be but the worse.”

1 *and*: i.e., and am    3 *fellow*: equal  
4 *knitteth* . . . *matter*: finishes off the whole entire affair // *substantial*: pithy  
6 *well declareth*: makes very clear    8 *use*: practice  
8 *come at*: arrive at; get to    9, 32 *bare*: mere    9 *sit still*: continue to sit  
10–11 *we* . . . *there*: we’ll have no more ability to get there  
11 *but if*: unless    16 *saith*: i.e., says with    17 *works*: deeds  
17 *doth no profit*: i.e., yields no profit; does one no good  
18 *in respect that*: in comparison to what    19 *should*: would  
19 *his willful ignorance*: his ignorance having been deliberate  
22, 24 *stripes*: lashes of the whip    25 *doctrine*: teaching  
25 *knit up all*: finish off the whole thing / tie everything together  
26–27 *for your example*: as an example for you  
33 *but the worse*: only the worse off

Note

Upon these words before-rehearsed... had  
 between our Savior and Saint Peter, that  
 refused for reverence the thing that our Lord would do to him,  
 holy doctors note that no man lawfully may for any private  
 5 mind of reverence or devotion to God... do the thing that God  
 forbiddeth, nor leave the thing undone that God biddeth. For  
 it is an indiscreet “devotion” and an irreverent “reverence,” and no  
 right humility, but an unperceived pride, to stand stiff against  
 God’s will and disobey his pleasure. For, as the Scripture saith,  
 10 *1 Samuel 15:22* “Better is obedience than sacrifice.” Nor never  
 shall God’s precepts be obeyed... if every man  
 may boldly frame himself a conscience... with a gloss of his own  
 making... after his own fantasy put unto God’s word. For of such  
 manner dealing, whereby folk will, of their private “devotions,” against the  
 15 commandment of God... follow their own way, may these  
*Proverbs 14:12* words of the Scripture be verified: “Est via quae  
 videtur hominibus iusta... et novissima eius tendit ad  
 infernum”—“There is a way that unto men seemeth just... and the last  
 end thereof leadeth unto hell.”  
 20 King Saul thought, after his own mind, that he did very well...  
 when he kept and spared the goodly oxen for sacrifice. But while  
 he broke, in his so doing, the commandment of God, this false-framed  
 devotion helped him not... but that he lost his kingdom  
 therefor.  
 25 Saint Peter here thought *he* did well... when he for reverence  
 toward Christ... would not suffer him wash his feet. But our  
 Savior showed him that if he would for any such-framed  
 “reverence” of his own... stand obstinately disobedient unto God’s  
 pleasure—he should have no part with him. And therefore, while  
 30 Christ was presently conversant with him... *he* was the interpreter  
 of his own precept! And King Saul should not have  
 followed *his* own wit, but should have asked the prophet by  
 whom that precept came to him. And in like wise, if a man  
 doubt of the sentence and understanding of anything written in

1 *before-rehearsed*: above-quoted    2 *that*: who    3 *would*: wanted to  
 4 *holy doctors*: theologians // *lawfully*: licitly // *private*: personal / idiosyncratic  
 5 *mind*: intent // *to*: toward    6 *biddeth*: commands  
 7 *indiscreet*: injudicious; ill-advised    8 *right*: true; authentic    12 *frame*: form  
 12 *gloss*: interpretation    13 *making*: inventing    13, 20 *after*: according to  
 13 *fantasy*: idea / wishful thinking // *of*: by    14 *manner dealing*: a way of behaving  
 16 *verified*: borne out    18 *last*: ultimate    20–24: See 1 Samuel 15:1–26.  
 20, 25 *did (very) well*: was acting (very) rightly; was doing a (very) good thing  
 21 *goodly*: i.e., nice fat // *while*: since  
 22 *false-framed*: falsely formed / badly constructed    24 *therefor*: on account of it  
 26 *suffer*: let    27 *showed*: told // *such-framed*: such-contrived  
 29 *part*: association / inheritance // *while*: given that  
 30 *presently*: in person // *conversant*: speaking    32 *wit*: intellect  
 33 *in like wise*: likewise    33–34 *a man doubt of*: one is in doubt as to  
 34 *sentence*: meaning // *understanding*: i.e., correct understanding

the Scripture, it is no wisdom for him then to take upon him  
 such authority of interpretation himself... as that he shall therein  
 boldly stand unto his own mind; but lean unto the interpretation  
 of the old holy doctors and saints, and unto that interpretation that is  
 5 received and allowed by the universal church... by which church  
 the Scripture is come to our hands and delivered unto us, and without  
*Saint Augustine* which we could not (as Saint Augustine  
 saith) know which books *were* Holy Scripture.

Our Savior here saith, "I have given you an example, that likewise as I  
 10 have done to you... so should you do also."  
 Would God that all the prelates, and all curates, and all preachers—  
 yea, and fathers and mothers, and all masters of households, too—would  
 here of our Savior take example... for to *give* good example. There  
 are many that can be well content to be preaching—some to show  
 15 their cunning... and some to show their authority—but would God they  
 would use the fashion that our Savior used; that is to wit, the  
 things that they bid other men do... do it first themselves. The  
*Acts 1:1* Scripture saith of our Savior, "Cepit Iesus  
 20 *facere et docere*"—"Jesus began to do and to  
 teach"; so that he not only *taught* men to do this or that,  
*"Cum ieiunatis nolite fieri sicut hypocritae tristes"* (Matthew 6:16). but he gave them also the example... and did the  
 thing first himself. To stir us to fast, he  
 not only taught us what fashion we should use  
 25 in fasting, but also for our example fasted  
 forty days himself. To stir us to wake and pray, he not only  
 taught us by word, but used also by night to go forth into the  
 Mount of Olives... and there to wake and pray by night himself;  
 by which custom the traitor knew where to find him. To set  
 naught by the royalty of the world... he not only taught us by  
 30 word, but also by his poor birth—and all the course of his poor  
*life*—he gave us the example himself. To stir us to patience and  
 suffering of tribulation, he not only taught us and exhorted us by word...

3 *stand . . . mind*: abide by his own view; go by his own thinking  
 3 *but lean*: i.e., but rather, he should defer 4 *old holy doctors*: early theologians  
 5 *received*: accepted // *allowed*: approved  
 5–8: See Saint Augustine, *Against the Fundamental Epistle of Manichaeus*, 5.6.  
 11 *curates*: pastors 12 *masters*: heads 15 *cunning*: learnedness  
 16, 23 *fashion*: approach 25, 27 *wake*: keep vigil 26 *used*: was wont  
 26 *into*: unto 28–29 *set naught by*: place no value on; care nothing about  
 29 *the royalty of the world*: worldly splendor  
 30 *his poor birth*: i.e., the circumstances of poverty that he was born in  
 30 *all the*: the whole 30–31 *poor life*: life of poverty  
 32 *suffering of*: bearing with

but gave us the example by his own cross, his own Passion, and his own painful death. And surely, albeit that the best is, for him that hath a good thing taught him by one whom he seeth do the contrary himself, to do as he is well taught, and not follow the lewd example  
 5 of his evil deed—yet is our common condition such... that whereas word and deed *both*... be scant able to draw us to do *good*, every one of the both is able enough to draw us to *naught*. And therefore he that biddeth other folk do well... and giveth evil example with the contrary deed himself... fareth even like a foolish weaver that  
 10 would weave apace with the one hand and unweave as fast with the other.

The example of Christ in washing the apostles' feet... with his exhortation unto them by his example to do the like... bindeth not men to follow the literal fashion thereof, in washing of folks' feet...  
 15 as for a rite or a ceremony, or a sacrament, of the Church. Howbeit, much it hath been used, ever since; and yet in every country of Christendom, in places of religion used it is—and noble princes and great estates use that godly ceremony very religiously. And none, I suppose, nowhere more godly than our sovereign lord the King's Grace here  
 20 of this realm—both in humble manner washing and wiping, and kissing also, many poor folks' feet... after the number of the years of his age... and with right liberal and princely alms therewith.

And surely, if the interpretation of the Scripture... were not by the Spirit of God put in the whole corps of the Catholic Church—  
 25 he that would upon his own head... stick upon the letter of the Gospel... and his own exposition thereto... might contend that the Washing of the Feet were a *sacrament*, unto which our Savior bound his Church of necessity. But as the universal church believeth... so is it not. Howbeit, in time and place convenient it *is*  
 30 *Saint Augustine* (as Saint Augustine saith) a thing of the more perfection... if we not only do not disdain in

3 *one*: someone    4 *well*: rightly // *lewd*: sorry    5, 8 *evil*: bad    6 *scant*: scarcely  
 6–7 *every one of the both*: i.e., either one of the two by itself    7 *naught*: wickedness  
 8 *do well*: act rightly    9 *fareth*: acts // *even*: just    10 *apace*: at a good speed  
 15, 29 *howbeit*: however    16, 17 *used*: observed; practiced    16 *yet*: still to this day  
 17 *places of religion*: i.e., monasteries, convents, and the like    18 *estates*: dignitaries  
 18 *use*: perform // *very religiously*: very devoutly; with great piety  
 21 *after*: in accord with    23 *surely*: assuredly    24 *in*: into // *corps*: body  
 25 *upon his own head*: on his own authority / of his own volition // *stick upon*: adhere to  
 25 *letter*: text / literal meaning    26 *exposition*: interpretation // *thereto*: of it / as well  
 29 *convenient*: suitable

114/29—115/2: See Saint Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, 58.4.

our hearts... but do it also in deed with our hands, as our Lord did with his.

When our Lord said, “You be clean—but not all,” he meant that the congregation and company of his twelve apostles... *as* a congregation and a company... was a clean company, though Judas, one *of* the company, was not clean. For many a right honest company is there... that hath, yet, some not-honest among them. And so is the Catholic Church called *Sancta Ecclesia* (Holy Church)... because that *out* thereof there is no holiness... *and* for those that are holy therein; which are always many—both priests and laymen, too—though there be therein besides... many bad, of both sorts, also.

Finally, where our Savior saith, “Si haec scitis, beati eritis si feceritis ea”—“If you *know* these things... you shall be blessed if you *do* them”—two things in those words he giveth us warning of. The one, that without faith there can be no good work that can be meritorious touching the bliss of heaven. The other, that have we the faith never so great, yet if we will not work well... our faith shall fail of the bliss. And therefore, to give us warning of the necessity that we have of faith, he said not these words alone—“If you do this, you shall be blessed”—but he began with these words: “If you *know* these things.” Now, the knowledge of those things that pertain to such kind of well-doing... as shall stand us in stead toward salvation—*that* knowledge have we not but by faith. As the apostles there, though they saw him wash their feet, yet that he did it to give them an example of *humility*... and that such humility should be requisite to help them to heaven... and to be rewarded there—*this* knew they not but by the faith that they gave therein

*Romans 10:17* unto Christ’s word. For “fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Dei”—“Faith,” saith Saint Paul, cometh of hearing, and the hearing thereof is by the word of God.” Therefore, as I say, our Lord began their blessedness with faith. For *Hebrews 11:6* faith is the very gate and first entry toward heaven. “Accedentem ad Deum oportet credere”—“He that is coming to God must give credence and believe.” For if a man that

5 *one*: someone; a member      6, 7 *honest*: honorable  
 8 *because*: i.e., because of the fact // *out*: outside      9 *for*: on account of  
 10 *which*: who      11 *sorts*: classes; groups      14, 18 *give(th) us warning of*: alert(s) us to  
 16 *touching*: with respect to; as regards  
 16–17 *have* . . . *great*: no matter how greatly we have the faith  
 17 *work well*: act rightly; do good deeds      18 *of the bliss*: i.e., to get us into heaven  
 18 *necessity*: need      22 *well-doing*: right-doing; doing of good  
 26 *to heaven*: i.e., get to heaven

believeth not... do the selfsame thing, either by chance or of some  
 other affection... which thing done by a faithful man in faith...  
 were meritorious—that deed done by the faithless is not meritorious  
 at all. But yet, though faith be the first gate into heaven, he that  
 5 standeth still at the gate... and will not walk forth in the way  
 of good works... shall not come where the reward is. And therefore  
 our Savior left not with these words—“Si haec scitis, beati eretis” (“If  
 you know these things, you shall be blessed”)—but went further, and  
 to make up his tale perfect, he added “si feceritis ea” (“if you do them”).  
 10 I fear me there be many folk that for delight of knowledge... or,  
 for a foolish vainglory, to show and make it known how  
 much themselves know... labor to know the law of God (and know  
 it right well indeed, and can well preach it out again) that  
 shall yet see many a poor simple soul... with a gross, plain faith,  
 15 with no learning, but good, devout affection, walking the way of  
 good works in this world... sit after full high with our Lord in  
 heaven, when those great clerks wandering here in evil works... shall,  
 for all their great knowledge, and for all gay preaching in the  
 name of Christ, hear our Lord say to them (as in the thirteenth chapter of  
 20 *Luke 13:27* Saint Luke he saith he will say to such),  
 “Discedite a me, operarii iniquitatis!”—“Walk you  
 from me, you workers of wickedness!”  
 And for conclusion, all the work with this example of his and  
 all his declaration thereupon... our Savior instructeth and exhorteth  
 25 his apostles to... is the work of humility. For likewise as pride  
 threw down the Devil out of heaven, so shall there never none  
 ascend but with meekness thither. And since the Devil, that fell  
 himself by pride, is ever most busy to tempt every man to the  
 same sin—and especially those that he seeth aspire toward any  
 30 excellence in spiritual kind of virtue, or that he espieth put in  
 prelacy and authority over other men, whereby he hopeth to find  
 a gate open to enter—our Savior therefore, to keep against the ghostly  
 enemy that gate well warded and sure, in sundry places again and

1 of: out of    2 affection: motivation // faithful: faith-possessing; believing  
 3 were: would be    5 standeth still: continues to stand // in the way: on the pathway  
 6 come: get to; arrive at    7 left not: did not leave off  
 9 make . . . perfect: i.e., make this speech of his complete  
 10 fear me: am afraid // delight of: delight in; enjoyment of    12 themselves: they  
 14 gross: rudimentary // plain: unsophisticated    15 affection: disposition; attitude  
 17 clerks: scholars // wandering: going morally astray  
 18 and for all: i.e., and for all their // gay: showy / good-sounding  
 21 walk you: get yourselves away    23 with: i.e., that with  
 24 all his declaration thereupon: his whole elucidation thereof    26 none: i.e., anyone  
 28 busy: eager; industriously endeavoring    32 ghostly: spiritual  
 33 warded: guarded // sure: secure // places: (scriptural) passages

again giveth his apostles (whom he made prelates and spiritual  
governors of his flock) special counsel against the prick of  
pride; and with words, and with this example of washing their  
feet his own hands, exhorteth them by meekness and humility... to  
5 account and reckon and use themselves as far *under* others... as himself  
doth in order and authority prefer and enhance them  
*above*; and would that *we* should, of duty, for their degree, do  
great honor unto them... and that they should themselves, of meekness,  
as fast again put it from them.

10 *The Prayer*

**A**lmighty Jesus, my sweet Savior Christ, which wouldst vouchsafe...  
thine own almighty hands to wash the feet of thy twelve  
apostles—not only of the good, but of the very traitor, too: vouchsafe,  
good Lord, of thine excellent goodness, in such wise to wash  
15 the foul feet of mine affections... that I never have such pride  
enter into my heart... as to disdain, either in friend or foe, with  
meekness and charity... for the love of thee... to defile my hands with  
washing of their feet.

## The Fourth Chapter

20 *Of the institution of the Sacrament; written in the twenty-sixth of Saint  
Matthew, the fourteenth of Saint Mark, and in the twenty-second of Saint Luke*

### The First Lecture upon the Blessed Sacrament (The Fourth Chapter)

25 **“**And as they were sitting at the table and (Mk) eating, Jesus saith,  
‘With desire (Lk) have I desired to eat the Pasch with you, before I  
suffer. I say to you that from this time I shall not eat it... till it be  
fulfilled in the kingdom of God.’ As (Mt) they were at supper, Jesus  
took bread, gave thanks, (Lk) and blessed (Mt) and broke it, (Mt/Lk)  
and gave it to his disciples, and saith, ‘Take, you, and eat, you: this is (Mk)

2 *prick*: spur; impetus    4 *his*: i.e., with his  
5 *use themselves*: comport themselves (as being) // *under*: beneath  
5 *himself*: he himself    6 *order*: rank // *prefer*: advance // *enhance*: elevate  
7 *would*: wills // *for*: on account of // *degree*: position; office  
9 *fast*: firmly; fixedly // *again*: in turn // *put*: deflect    11 *which*: who  
12 *thine*: i.e. with thine    14 *excellent*: superlative // *wise*: a way  
15 *affections*: dispositions    20 *Of the*: On the    20, 22 (*Blessed*) *Sacrament*: Holy Eucharist  
20 *twenty-sixth*: i.e., twenty-sixth chapter    25 *Pasch*: Passover meal

my (Lk) body (Mk), the which for you shall be delivered. This do you for  
 the remembrance of me.’ Likewise taking the chalice... after that  
 he had supped, (Mt) gave thanks and gave it them, saying, ‘Take, (Lk)  
 and divide it among you, and drink (Mt) of this, all: this is my blood,  
 5 of the new testament. This (Lk) is the chalice the new testament in  
 my blood, (Lk) which for you and (Mt) for many shall be shed for remission  
 of sins. I say verily to you that I shall not drink from hence forth  
 of this generation of the vine... until that day when I shall  
 drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father God.’ And  
 10 they drank all thereof.”

Albeit, good readers, that I have rehearsed you this chapter in  
 such wise as the right famous clerk Master Jean Gerson rehearseth it  
 in his work called *Monotessarion*—gathered of the words of all the  
 three Evangelists Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, and Saint Luke, and,  
 15 in a convenient order, linked and chained ensuingly together—yet  
 seemeth me that for the beginning, the thing shall somewhat the  
 better appear if we rehearse the words of Saint Luke somewhat  
 more fully... which words he writeth upon the end of the eating of the  
 Paschal lamb... and before the institution of the Blessed Sacrament  
 20 of the Altar. For, in his twelfth chapter, thus beginneth he this  
 matter: “Et cum facta esset hora, discubuit, et duodecim apostoli cum eo. Et  
 ait illis, ‘Desiderio desideravi hoc Pascha manducare vobiscum, antequam  
 patiar. Dico enim vobis quia ex hoc non manducabo illud... donec impleatur in  
 regno Dei.’ Et accepto calice, gratias egit, et dixit, ‘Accipite, et dividite inter vos.  
 25 Dico enim vobis quod non bibam de generatione vitis... donec regnum Dei veniat’”—  
 “And when the hour was come, he sat down at the table, and his  
 twelve apostles with him. And he saith unto them, ‘With desire have I  
 desired to eat this Paschal lamb with you, before I suffer. For I  
 tell you that from this time I shall not eat it... till it be fulfilled in the  
 30 kingdom of God.’ And the cup taken, he gave thanks and said,  
 ‘Take, you, and divide you it among you. For I say to you that I shall  
 not drink of the generation of the vine... till the kingdom of God  
 come.’”

These words hath Saint Luke whole together... of the finishing

3 gave thanks: i.e., he gave thanks    5 chalice: i.e., chalice of; chalice that is  
 5 testament: covenant    7 verily: with literal truthfulness  
 7 from hence forth: from now on    8, 32 generation: fruit    10 drank all: all drank  
 11–15: See 50/6–11.    11, 17 rehearse(d): quote(d)    11 chapter: scriptural text  
 12 clerk: scholar // rehearseth: quotes    13 gathered of: culled from  
 15 convenient: fitting // ensuingly: sequentially    16 seemeth me: it seems to me  
 19–20 Blessed Sacrament of the Altar: Holy Eucharist

of the old Pasch... before he entereth into the rehearsing of the new Pasch, whereof the old was a figure; that is to wit, before he beginneth to rehearse the institution of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar—of which he beginneth to speak forthwith after these words ended.

In the beginning of these words (written in the twenty-second chapter of Saint Luke), our Savior expresseth the great desire that he had to eat the Paschal lamb at that time with his apostles, saying: “Desiderio desideravi hoc Pascha manducare vobiscum, antequam patiar”—“With desire have I desired to eat this Paschal lamb with you, before my Passion.” These words “with desire have I desired” are spoken after the manner of the Hebrew speech... in which speech our Savior spoke at the time himself. For the Hebrews, to express a thing vehemently, use oftentimes (as it appeareth in sundry places of Scripture) to double a word, sometimes by the participle and the verb, sometimes by the *noun* and the verb... as our Savior did here, saying, “With *desire* have I desired”; that is to wit, “Very sore have I desired”—or “Very desirously have I longed for”—“to eat this Paschal lamb with you.”

Two causes there were for which our Savior so sore longed at that time to eat the Paschal lamb with his disciples. The one appeareth upon that I have shown you before; that is to wit, because that, as Saint John saith, “Cum dilexisset suos qui erant in mundo, usque in finem dilexit eos”—“Whereas he had loved his that were in the world, he loved them to the *end*”—and therefore, since he was now so near drawing to his Passion, which he had determined to suffer on the morrow, he, like a most tender lover, longed with that last supper... to make them his farewell, at his departing from them.

Wherein, as I before have said, appeared his wonderfully loving heart. For had he been after the manner of other men (since himself saw his Passion drawing so near, to which he should be so violently taken... so shortly upon his supper, and that Passion so bitter as himself well wist it should... of which he was so afeard, and for which he was so sorrowful within so few hours after), he would have

1, 2 *Pasch*: Passover celebration      1 *rehearsing of*: telling about

2 *figure*: prefiguration      3 *rehearse*: relate

3–4 *Blessed Sacrament of the Altar*: Holy Eucharist      4 *forthwith*: immediately

5 *ended*: i.e., are at an end      12 *speech*: vernacular; parlance

14 *vehemently*: emphatically // *it appeareth*: is evident      15, 16 *by*: i.e., by use of

18, 20 *sore*: intensely      22 *appeareth upon that*: is shown by what

22 *shown you*: called to your attention      24 *whereas*: given that

26 *determined*: decided      27 *morrow*: next day      29 *wonderfully*: wondrously

30 *after the manner of*: similar in comportment to      31 *himself*: he      32 *upon*: after

33 *wist*: knew // *should*: would (be) // *for*: on account of

taken little pleasure or comfort in the company of his apostles, nor list to make them a supper at that time.

5 But he loved them so tenderly... that all the pain, sorrow, dread, and fear that was toward him... could not so master and overwhelm his kind, loving affection toward them... but that the desire and longing to make his last supper with them... so much increased *greater*... as he surely saw that his bitter Passion drew nearer. And that was, therefore, as I say, one of the causes for which he said unto them at the eating thereof, “With *desire* have I desired”—that is to say, 10 “*Sore* have I longed”—“to eat this Paschal lamb with you, before my Passion.”

The other cause for which he longed so sore to eat that Paschal lamb with them... was because that he longed for the time in which he should, with his bitter Passion, pay the price of our 15 redemption... and restore the kind of man unto the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven. And because that he would before the offering up of his own blessed body (the *very* Lamb innocent and immaculate) unto the Father... institute the new Pasch (the very eating of the selfsame holy, unspotted Lamb, his own blessed body and 20 blood... to be continually sacrificed, offered up unto the Father, and eaten, in remembrance of his bitter Passion, under the form of bread and wine), he would, as was convenient, before the institution of the new, very Pasch... reverently finish the old Pasch, that was the figure thereof.

25 And therefore at the Last Supper, to declare the desire that he had so to do—that is to wit, to institute his new Pasch by the finishing of the old—he said unto them, “With *desire* have I desired to eat this Paschal lamb with you, before my Passion.”

30 And for to declare the more clearly that the cause of his “desire” was to the intent that he would finish it... and offer up himself (the *very* Lamb, whereof the other was the figure), and would by that pleasant sacrifice bring the nature of man into the kingdom of heaven, he therefore said farther unto them, “Dico enim vobis quia ex hoc non manducabo illud... donec impleatur in regno Dei”—“I say verily to you

2 *list*: cared    3 *make*: provide    4 *toward him*: coming his way  
 4 *master*: predominate over; get the better of // *overwhelm*: overpower  
 5 *affection*: feeling    6–7 *increased greater*: grew greater / increased the more greatly  
 7 *surely*: clearly    10, 12 *sore*: intensely    13 *longed*: was yearning  
 15 *the kind of man*: humankind; the human race    18, 23, 26 *Pasch*: Passover celebration  
 22 *convenient*: fitting    24, 31 *figure*: prefigurement  
 25, 29 *declare*: express    30 *it*: i.e., the old Passover celebration  
 32 *pleasant*: pleasing (to God); acceptable // *nature*: species  
 34 *verily*: with literal truthfulness

that from this time I shall eat that no more... till it be performed in the kingdom of God.”

5 The fulfilling, or performing, of the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb being a figure... was the offering of his own blessed body in sacrifice... by which the nature of man was restored unto the kingdom of heaven. And by that new offering up of that innocent Lamb so offered... which offering was the *verity*... was that old offering of the Paschal lamb in Jerusalem... that was the *figure*... fully performed—and thereupon took its full perfection in the  
10 kingdom of heaven.

But here must we consider that our Savior, in saying that he would eat the old Paschal lamb no more... *till* it were performed in the kingdom of heaven, did not mean that after that the figure were performed and had its perfection in heaven, he  
15 would then use, or have used, the same figure again in earth; but he meant that he would no more eat *it* at *all*. For this word *donec*, in Latin—that is to say, “until” in English—when it limiteth a time before which it denieth a certain thing to be done... doth not always mean or imply (though sometimes it do) the doing of the same

20 *Note* thing *after* that time. As when the Gospel saith  
*Matthew 1:25* “Non cognovit eam... donec peperit filium suum primogenitum” (“Joseph knew not her... *till* she had brought forth her first-begotten son”)... meaneth not that he “knew” her *after*. Nor where

25 the prophet speaketh as in the person of the Father unto Christ,  
*Psalms 110:1* “Sede a dextris meis... donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum” (“Sit on my right hand...  
till I put thine enemies for a footstool under thy feet”)—the

30 prophet there meaneth not... that when the enemies of Christ be thrown under his feet, he shall then sit on the Father’s right hand no longer! Nor here, in like wise, our Savior meant not... that after the *verity* fulfilled and perfected in the kingdom of God... he would use, or have used, the *figure* here still in earth.

And that appeareth plainly by two things. One, by this word *impleatur*—till “it be fulfilled.” For since “it” was but a *figure*, and he

1, 9, etc. *performed*: brought to completion    4 *being*: i.e., which was  
4, 8, etc. *figure*: prefigurement    5 *nature*: species    7, 31 *verity*: i.e., real thing  
14 *had*: received    15, 32 *have used*: i.e., have people use // *in*: on    17 *limiteth*: specifies  
24 *speaketh*: says    26, 29 *on*: at    30 *in like wise*: likewise  
31 *fulfilled and perfected*: i.e., had fulfilled and perfected it    33 *appeareth*: is shown

said he would use “it” no more till it were *fulfilled*: he must needs mean that he would use *it* no more at all. For being but a figure, it had no cause of use after that it was by the verity fulfilled.

5 And therefore, as touching the Paschal lamb... when our Savior said, “I will from hence forth eat this no more till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God”... was as much as to say, “After this, I will *never* eat it more”... after such manner of speaking as one might say that looked for to die, or that were entering into the Charterhouse, “I will  
10 never eat flesh more in this world,” or thus: “I trust to be in heaven ere I eat any more flesh,” or such other kind of speaking like... not meaning that he *would* eat flesh in *another* world; but that he would eat *none here*... and, consequently, never eat flesh more.

15 The other thing by which it appeareth plainly that our Savior intended not to have the figurative, old Paschal lamb any longer continue... is that he forthwith instituted the *verity* thereof: the new sacrifice, his Blessed Body and Blood, the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

20 But before the institution of his own, Christian sacrament, to the intent it should appear that he would fully finish the old Pasch of the Jews and, as who say, wash it away: himself with his apostles, as for a final end thereof, after the eating thereof... drank thereunto. Whereof Saint Luke proceedeth farther,  
25 and saith: “Accipite calice, gratias egit, et dixit, ‘Accipite et dividite inter vos’”—“He took the cup, and gave thanks, and said, ‘Take and divide among you.’”

Our Savior, as man, gave thanks unto God the Father... that the old sacrifice of the Paschal lamb was now come to an end... and  
30 that he was now come to the institution of the *new* sacrifice: his own blessed body, in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar.

Then our Lord commanded them to take and divide the cup of wine among them and drink, all, thereof... as the farewell of the old Pasch. And then said he further unto them, “Dico enim vobis

3 *figure*: prefigurement // *verity*: i.e., real thing

5 *as . . . Savior*: i.e., when with reference to the Paschal lamb, our Savior

6 *from hence forth*: from now on 8, 10, 14 *more*: again 8 *one*: someone

9 *looked for to die*: i.e., expected to die soon // *Charterhouse*: Carthusian monastery

10, 11, etc. *flesh*: meat 11 *ere*: before 15 *appeareth*: is shown

16 *figurative*: prefiguring; representative

17 *verity thereof*: i.e., the reality that it prefigured

18–19, 31 *Blessed Sacrament of the Altar*: (Holy) Eucharist

21 *appear*: i.e., be made evident 22, 34 *Pasch*: Passover celebration

22 *as who say*: as one might say // *himself*: he himself

33 *all*: i.e., all of them // *of*: i.e., to

quod non bibam de generatione vitis... donec regnum Dei veniat”—“I say to you that I shall not drink of the generation of the vine... till the kingdom of God come.”

- “The kingdom of God” he calleth here... the state of his glory after his  
 5 Resurrection—in which he rose immortal, impassible, and glorious.  
*Before* which time he said here, unto them, that he would drink  
 no wine. As though he would say, “Such drink as I now drink  
 with you to the old sacrifice of the Paschal lamb... will I drink no  
 more till I arise again in my glory, after my Passion.”
- 10 But after his Resurrection, he did verily eat and drink with  
 them again—as appeareth plainly by the Evangelists, and as Saint  
*Acts 10:41* Peter beareth witness where he saith, “Qui manducavimus  
 et bibimus cum illo postquam resurrexit a  
 mortuis” (“We have eaten and drunk with him... after that he was arisen  
 15 from death”).
- After this done, our Savior Christ by and by... in the stead of that  
 old sacrifice of the Paschal lamb so ended... did institute the new  
 sacrifice, and the *only* sacrifice, to be continued in his Church: the  
 Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. Which new sacrifice in stead of  
 20 that old sacrifice... and of *all* the old sacrifices which among the  
 Jews forefigured the very, fruitful sacrifice of Christ’s blessed body  
 upon the cross... should in his own church, of Jews and Gentiles  
 together, continually with the selfsame body and blood offered  
 in the Mass under the form of bread and wine... represent that  
 25 sacrifice in which on Good Friday Christ once for ever... offered the  
 selfsame body and blood in their proper form... to the Father,  
 upon the cross.
- And therefore, after the old sacrifice of the Paschal lamb  
 clearly finished (as ye have heard), ere ever they rose from the  
 30 board... our Savior forthwith went in hand with the instituting  
 of that that should be the new sacrifice: the Blessed Sacrament  
 of the Altar—his own holy body and blood, under form of bread  
 and wine.

2 *generation*: fruit    5 *impassible*: incapable of suffering  
 5 *glorious*: glorified    10 *verily*: really    16 *by and by*: immediately; right away  
 16, 19 (*the*) *stead*: place; substitution  
 19, 31–32 *Blessed Sacrament of the Altar*: Holy Eucharist    21 *very*: real  
 24 *represent*: represent / make present / re-present / reenact    26 *proper*: own / natural  
 29 *clearly*: (was) completely // *ere*: before // *rose*: got up  
 30 *board*: dining table // *went in hand with*: proceeded with; undertook

The manner of which institution... in the Gospel of Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, and Saint Luke... is rehearsed in this wise:

“Jesus took bread, gave thanks and blessed it, and broke it, and gave it his disciples, saying, ‘Take, you, and eat, you: this is my body, which shall be delivered for you.’”

First our Savior, in the beginning of this excellent work, gave thanks and blessed the bread... to give us example, as saith

*Saint Bede*

Saint Bede, that in the beginning of every good work, we should give thank to God.

10 Then he broke it, and gave it unto them, himself... to signify, saith Saint Bede, that he gave himself to his Passion of his own free will. But to the intent they should well understand that this holy sacrament that himself instituted in his own holy person... wonderfully far passed the old sacrifice of the Paschal lamb... instituted  
15 by the ministry of Moses in the Old Law; lest they might, peradventure, take it for a far lesser thing than it was (as they should have had a great cause to do... if it had been none other substance than the substance of bread, as to their eyes it seemed; for then had the *lamb*, which was a living, sensible creature,  
20 been, of the proper nature, much more excellent than the insensible substance of bread!): our Savior therefore, to give them sure knowledge how great a gift it was that he there gave them, and how incomparably far above all the merit of man to receive, that they should thereby consider how deeply they were  
25 bounden and beholden to him therefor... and with devout thanks inwardly remember his inestimable bounty therein, he gave them knowledge that though it was bread when he took it in hand, and that to their bodily senses seemed yet bread still—yet it was now his own very body in deed. And therefore he said unto them, “Take,  
30 you, and eat, you: this is my body.” As though he might say, “Think not that for my special, new sacrifice that I institute... to represent forever in mine own Church (till I return to the General Judgment) my most precious Passion... I give you a thing of more base nature than was the thing that was wont to be sacrificed to forefigure

2 *rehearsed*: related // *in this wise*: as follows 4 *it*: i.e., it to 6–12: See Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea*, lesson 5 on Luke 22.

6 *excellent*: superlative 9 *thank*: (the) credit

13 *wonderfully*: wondrously; astoundingly 14 *passed*: surpassed

16 *peradventure*: perhaps 19, 20 (*in*)*sensible*: (in)sensate

20 *of the proper nature*: of its own nature; intrinsically

25 *therefor*: on account thereof 26 *inwardly*: intently; feelingly

26 *inestimable*: incalculable; unfathomable // *bounty*: generosity

29 *deed*: actuality 32 *represent*: represent / re-present / make present // *to*: i.e., for

it in the short and soon-passing Synagogue—which you *might* think... if my sacrifice of representation were but insensible bread, whereas their forefiguring sacrifice was celebrated in a living creature (a fair unspotted lamb!)—but I will that you shall understand  
 5 and know that the thing which I give you here to eat... is of a nature above all measure more excellent. For though it *seem bread*, yet *is it flesh*. And though it seem dead, yet is it *living*. The lamb, though it was quick taken to the sacrifice, yet was it eaten dead. But *this* shall you eat *quick*—and it shall rest and abide  
 10 quick in you. And the lamb did feed and nourish your bodies; but *this* shall feed and nourish your *souls*. For this is mine *own body*—and not my *dead* body, but animated, and living, with my *soul*. And mine own body shall never be separated from my *Godhead*; so that if you receive and eat virtuously the one into your body...  
 15 you receive the other graciously into your souls.”

In these few compendious words of our Savior “this is my body” is all this long tale included... and many a long holy process more. And albeit that in these words alone he told them the thing plainly enough; and notwithstanding that he had also  
 20 declared them *before* that he would give them his own body to eat, inculcating that point into them with many words, at length  
*John 6* mentioned in the sixth chapter of Saint John: yet, to make them the more clearly perceive that this was the thing that he *then* told them of, he said not  
 25 only “this is my body,” but he farther also added thereunto... “which shall be delivered for you.” As though he would say, “If any would be so far from believing of the truth... that, rather than believe this to be my very body, he would seek a gloss against mine own word... and say that by this word ‘my body’ I meant but a sign, or  
 30 a figure, or a token, of my body: to put all such folk out of doubt, I say that this which I give you here to receive and eat... is that selfsame body that shall be delivered for you to the Jews and to Gentiles... and by them to the cross and to the death.”

1 *might*: i.e., could justifiably    2 *representation*: re-presentation; reenactment  
 2 *insensible*: insensate    4 *fair*: nice // *unspotted*: defectless  
 4 *will that you shall*: want you to    6 *above*: beyond    7 *dead*: inanimate  
 8 *quick taken*: taken alive    9 *quick*: (its being) alive    10 *quick*: alive  
 13 *Godhead*: Godhood; divinity    15 *graciously*: holily  
 16 *compendious*: succinct    17 *all this*: this whole // *tale*: speech  
 18 *process*: discourse    20 *declared*: stated to; made it known to  
 22 *mentioned*: related    26 *any*: anyone    28 *very*: actual  
 28 *seek a gloss*: i.e., resort to an interpretation that goes  
 28–29 *own word*: own statement    29 *this word*: this expression  
 30 *figure*: representation / metaphor // *token*: symbol

Now, to the intent that it should appear plainly... that he gave them not his body for that only time, as a special show of kindness to their own persons alone, but that they should perceive that he did it to begin and institute a new sacrament (in stead of the old Pasch), which should endure in his Church (in the stead of the other, there finished): he said unto them, “Hoc facite in meam commemorationem”—“This do you in the *remembrance* of me.” As though he would say to them, “Likewise as the synagogue of the Jews... have hitherto used for a *figure* of my Passion... the old sacrifice of the Paschal lamb: so do *you* use, in my Church, from hence forth, in *remembrance* of my Passion, this new sacrifice... of mine own body, that shall *suffer* that Passion... and be sacrificed once for ever upon the cross.”

Which sentence of our Savior’s words is also declared by *1 Corinthians 11:25–26* Saint Paul, in the eleventh chapter of his First Epistle to the Corinthians; of which we shall speak hereafter. But first shall we peruse the words of our Savior himself.

After that he had thus given them his own blessed body to eat in the form of bread, he gave them likewise his blessed blood to drink in the form of wine, whereof it followeth in the Gospel:

“And likewise taking the chalice after supper, he gave thanks and gave it to them, saying, ‘Take you and drink, all you, of this: this is my blood, of the new testament. This is the chalice the new testament in my blood—which for you and for many... shall be shed into the remission of sins.’”

Our Savior, at the converting and turning of the wine into his own precious blood... which he should so shortly after shed for our sins upon his painful cross, murmured not... nor grudged not... at the remembrance of his bitter Passion, but was *glad*, and gave God the Father *thanks*, that he vouchsafed to suffer him by his pain to pay our ransom... and buy our souls from pain; as say *Remigius; Chrysostom* Saint Remigius and Saint Chrysostom. And our Savior in his so doing (saith Saint

2 *that only time*: that time only      4, 5 *stead*: place  
 5 *Pasch*: Passover celebration      9 *figure*: prefigurement // *old*: former  
 10 *from hence forth*: from now on      14 *sentence*: meaning // *declared*: made clear  
 17 *peruse*: carefully examine      24, 25 *testament*: covenant  
 24 *chalice*: i.e., chalice of; chalice that is      26 *into*: unto  
 29 *grudged not*: i.e., had any misgivings      31 *suffer*: allow      32 *buy*: redeem  
 126/27—127/2: See Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea*, lesson 8 on Matthew 26.

Chrysostom) teacheth us what pain soever we suffer, to suffer it in such wise... as we give God thank therefor.

5 “And after his thanks given to God, he gave the chalice to his apostles... and commanded them all drink thereof, saying, “This is my blood, of the new testament; this is the chalice the new testament in my blood.””

10 In these words our Savior showed them what thing it was that he gave them to drink in the chalice (that is to wit, that it was his own blood), saying “This is my blood, of the new testament,” as Saint Matthew rehearseth it, or “This is the chalice the new testament in my blood,” as Saint Luke rehearseth it—either for that our Savior spoke both the one words and the other... or else for that both of the one words and the other the sentence is all one. For  
 15 *Exodus 24:6–8* in the twenty-fourth chapter of Exodus is it specified how that Moses in the confirmation of the Old Law... put half the blood of the sacrifice into a cup, and the other half he shed upon the altar; and after the volume of the Law read... he besprinkled the blood upon the people, and said unto them, “Hic est sanguis federis, quod pepigit Dominus vobiscum  
 20 super cunctis sermonibus his”—“This is the blood of the league that our Lord hath made with you upon all these words.” And so was the old testament ratified and confirmed with blood. And in like wise was the *new* testament confirmed with blood—saving that, for to declare the great excellence of the new testament brought by the  
 25 Son of God... above the old testament brought by the prophet Moses, whereas the old testament was ratified with the blood of a brute beast... the new testament was ratified with the blood of a reasonable man... and of that man that was also God; that is to wit, with the blessed blood of our Holy Savior himself. And the  
 30 selfsame blood gave our Lord here unto his apostles in this blessed sacrament—as he plainly declared himself, saying, “Hic est sanguis meus novi testamenti” (“This is my blood, of the new testament”), or “Hic est calix novum testamentum in meo sanguine, qui pro vobis et pro multis fundetur in remissionem peccatorum” (“This is the chalice

2 *wise*: a way // *thank*: credit / thanks // *therefor*: for it 5, 6, etc. *testament*: covenant  
 7 *showed*: made known to; told 8 *gave*: i.e., was giving 10, 11 *rehearseth*: relates  
 10, 34 *chalice*: i.e., chalice of; chalice that is 11, 12 *for that*: for the reason that; because  
 12, 13 *words*: set of words / utterance 13 *sentence*: meaning // *all one*: entirely the same  
 14 *specified*: related in detail 17 *volume*: scroll 18 *read*: i.e., was read  
 20 *league*: pact; alliance 22 *wise*: manner 23 *saving*: except 24 *declare*: show  
 24 *excellence*: superiority 25 *above*: over 27 *brute*: reasonless  
 28 *reasonable*: reason-endowed 30 *gave our Lord*: i.e., our Lord gave  
 31 *declared*: stated

the new testament in my blood—which shall be shed for you and for many, for remission of sins”).

Here you see... that by the words of our Savior rehearsed by Saint Matthew... *and* upon his words rehearsed by Saint Luke, our Lord very plainly declared unto his apostles that in that cup was the *same* blood, of his *own*, with which he could ratify his new testament... and which blood should be shed upon the altar of the cross for the remission of sins... not of themselves alone, but also of many more.

When our Lord said, “This is the cup of the new testament in my blood—which shall be shed for you and for many into remission of sins,” he declared therein the efficacy of the new testament above the old, in that the Old Law in the blood of beasts... could but promise the remission-of-sin *afterward* to come; for as Saint

*Hebrews 10:4* Paul saith, it was “impossible that sin should be taken away with the blood of brute beasts”; but the New Law with the blood of Christ... *performeth* the thing that the Old Law promised: that is to wit,

remission of sins. And *therefore* our Savior said, “This is the chalice the new testament in my blood”—that is to wit, “. . . *to be confirmed* in my blood”—“which shall be shed into remission of sins.”

His words also declared the wonderful excellence of this new, blessed sacrament above the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb... in these

*Chrysostom* words “pro vobis et pro multis” (“for you and for many”). For in these words our Savior spoke (saith

Saint Chrysostom) as though he would say, “The blood of the Paschal lamb was shed only for the first-begotten among the children of Israel; but this blood of *mine* shall be shed for remission of sins of all the whole world!” And so *was* it, according as Saint Chrysostom saith, shed for the sins of the whole world. For sufficient it was for the sins of the whole world... and as many more, too.

But it was *effectually* shed for those only that shall take the effect thereof; which are only those that shall be saved thereby; which

*Remigius* shall be, as Saint Remigius saith, and as the truth is, not the apostles only... but also many

1, 7, etc. *testament*: covenant    3, 4 *rehearsed*: related    5 *declared*: stated  
 7 *should*: would    11, 21 *into*: unto    12, 22 *declared*: made known  
 17 *performeth*: brings to fulfillment; accomplishes    22 *wonderful*: wondrous  
 22 *excellence*: superiority    23 *above*: over    32 *effectually*: efficaciously  
 128/25—129/4: See Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea*, lesson 8 on Matthew.

others of many regions, according to the aforesaid words of our Savior “This is the chalice the new testament in my blood—which shall be shed for *you* and for *many*, into remission of sins.”

5 Then, likewise as he had before said (as you have heard rehearsed by Saint Luke) that when he had with his disciples drunk after the Paschal lamb, he would drink no more of “the generation of the vine” till the kingdom of God were come, so said he here again to them after the institution of his holy Blessed  
10 Sacrament, “Dico enim vobis quia non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis usque in diem illum cum illud bibam novum vobiscum in regno Patris mei Dei.”

These words diverse doctors do declare diversely. Some take this saying of our Savior, rehearsed by Saint Matthew and Saint Mark, to be the selfsame that Saint Luke rehearseth—and  
15 that they were spoken only after the institution of the Sacrament; and that Saint Luke observed the verity of the saying... and not  
*Gerson* observed the time. And of this mind seemeth Master Gerson to have been, as appeareth by his rehearsing of the matter.

20 But divers other doctors take them as spoken at diverse times: the one after the Pasch finished; the other after that—at the institution of the Blessed Sacrament. And so seemeth it most plainly to appear upon the words of Saint Luke. And albeit that the first words, rehearsed by Saint Luke, and these others rehearsed  
25 by Saint Matthew and Saint Mark... may be both understood in one sentence, and as one thing twice said; that is to wit, that in *both* the times of that saying, our Savior meant that he would no more drink with his apostles after that time in which they should then depart, after that supper, until himself  
30 were risen again from death, and his body forever immortal and impassible... which glory of his he called the kingdom of his Father; after which entry thereinto by his Resurrection, he would both eat and drink with them again... and so, would drink with

2 *testament*: covenant    3 *into*: unto    6, 13, 24 *rehearsed*: related  
7 *after*: i.e., in connection with    8 *generation*: fruit  
9–10, 22 *Blessed Sacrament*: Eucharist    10–11: See 133/24–26.  
12, 20 *diverse(ly)*: different(ly) // *doctors*: exegetes    12 *declare*: interpret  
13 *saying of*: thing said by    14 *rehearseth*: relates    16 *observed*: adhered to  
16 *the verity of the saying*: the truth of what was said  
16–17 *not observed*: did not adhere to    19 *rehearsing*: relating  
20 *divers*: several    21 *Pasch*: Passover celebration  
21 *finished*: i.e., was finished    23 *words of*: i.e., wording given by  
24 *words*: set of words    26 *in one sentence*: i.e., as having the same meaning  
27 *that saying*: i.e., his saying such words    31 *impassible*: incapable of suffering

them the wine new in the kingdom of his Father (that is to wit, himself being in the kingdom of his Father... should drink the wine with them in a new manner; that is to wit, when he should be forever immortal and impassible); and that he  
 5 would no more drink of that kind of wine of which he consecrated, and which he turned into his Blessed Blood, till his Passion were past and his new life come—albeit, I say, that I deny not but that thus they *may* be taken, and by some of the old holy  
 10 doctors thus *are* declared indeed—yet are they by divers others of those old holy doctors expounded divers other wise... and, as it seemeth, may well be declared thus.

In the words rehearsed by Saint Luke—when our Savior said, “Dico enim vobis quod non bibam de generatione vitis donec regnum Dei  
 15 veniat” (“I say verily to you that I shall not drink of the generation of the vine till the kingdom of God come”)—our Savior meant in these words that not only not after the supper... but also not after the time of that draught there drunk to the Paschal lamb... he would drink no more of “the generation of the vine” till the  
 20 “kingdom of God” were come; that is to wit, that he would before his Resurrection drink no more wine after that draught of wine which he drank next before those words spoken. And so did he, then, by *those* words also teach them to know and perceive well afterward... that the wine which before his *other* words (that  
 25 Saint Matthew and Saint Mark rehearse, spoken at the institution of the Blessed Sacrament) was in the *chalice*—and which wine he there converted into his own precious blood—was at the time of the drinking thereof... not *wine*, but his own holy *blood* under the *form* of wine. Which thing they were, I say... besides his other,  
 30 plain words “This is my blood, of the new testament, which shall be shed for you and for many into remission of sins”... well shown and taught in that he told them before the drinking of *that* (of which, as I shall after show, he drank himself with them)... that before his Resurrection (which was not then come), he would drink no *wine*.

4 *impassible*: incapable of suffering      7 *were past*: was over      8, 10 *old*: early  
 8–9, 10 *holy doctors*: theologians / exegetes  
 9, 11 *declared*: explained; interpreted      9, 10 *divers*: several      10 *wise*: ways  
 11 *thus*: as follows      12, 24 *rehearse(d)*: relate(d)  
 14 *verily*: with literal truthfulness      14, 18 *generation*: fruit      17, 20 *draught*: drink  
 21 *drank* . . . *spoken*: last drank before speaking those words  
 25 *Blessed Sacrament*: Holy Eucharist      29 *testament*: covenant      30 *into*: unto

Now, in his second words (rehearsed by Saint Matthew and Saint Mark; which words he spoke at the institution of the Blessed Sacrament); when that, after the wine turned into his blood... and taken to his apostles, he said, “Dico autem vobis quia non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis usque in diem illum cum illud bibam novum vobiscum in regno Patris mei Dei”—in *these* words (gathered together in one, out of the Gospels of the two aforesaid Evangelists) our Savior meant that he would after *that* draught... no more drink with them of his own Blessed *Blood* (which he drank with them then)... until his bitter Passion and his glorious Resurrection were performed.

For after his glorious Resurrection... it is very probable (both upon these words and some other places of the Scripture, too) that he not only did eat with them common meat, but also did consecrate and eat with them the Blessed Sacrament, also.

Now, that he should call here his own Blessed *Blood* by the name of “the generation of the vine” is nothing to be marveled, while we see it the common manner of Holy Scripture... to call his Blessed Body and Blood by the former names of the things which he converted *into* them—as God in the Scripture calleth Adam *Genesis 3:19* “earth” because he was made of the earth, saying, *Exodus 7:10–12* “Terra es, et in terram reverteris”; and the Scripture calleth the serpent into which the rod of Aaron was turned... by the name of a rod (or a yard), while it was not rod but a serpent: “Virga Aaron... devoravit virgas magorum Aegyptiorum.” And over this, our Savior in those second words, as some holy doctors declare, by the “vine” meant himself—which afterward unto his apostles he declared himself, saying (in the fifteenth chapter of Saint *John 15:1* John), “Ego sum vitis vera” (“I am the very vine”).

And so may every way... these words of our Savior spoken after the conversion of the wine into his Blessed Blood be well thus understood: “I say verily to you that I shall not from this time, in which I drink now thereof with you,

1 *his second words*: i.e., that second thing he said // *rehearsed*: related  
 3 *Blessed Sacrament*: Holy Eucharist // *turned*: i.e., was turned 4 *taken*: given  
 4–6: See 133/24–26. 6–7 *in one*: i.e., into one utterance 8 *draught*: drink  
 11 *performed*: accomplished 12 *probable*: tenable // *upon*: on the basis of  
 13 *places*: verses 14 *common meat*: ordinary food 17 *generation*: fruit  
 17 *marveled*: surprised by; wondered at 18 *while*: given that  
 20 *converted*: turned; changed 24 *yard*: staff // *while*: when  
 25–26 *over this*: besides this; furthermore  
 26 *those second words*: that second utterance (see lines 4–6).  
 26 *holy doctors*: theologians / exegetes 27 *declare*: i.e., expound them  
 28 *declared*: made clear 29 *very*: true 32 *verily*: with literal truthfulness

drink again of the generation of the vine—that is to wit, of my blood which I have here consecrated, and into which I have here converted and turned the generation of the vine (that is to say, the wine that came of the vine, and was in the chalice before)—  
5 until that day when,” etc.

Or else, after those other holy doctors that expound the “vine” to be himself, they may be well understood thus: “I say verily to you that I shall not from this time, in which I drink thereof with you now, drink any more of this ‘generation of the vine’ that we  
10 now drink of—that is to say, of mine own blood of the new testament (as I have told you), which is the generation of that vine...

*John 15:1* of which these other words of mine are verified, ‘Ego sum vitis vera’ (‘I am the very vine’),

for of mine own body is mine own blood—of *this* ‘generation of the vine’ will I no more drink after this time... until that day  
15 in which I shall drink it with you new; that is to wit, when it shall be new in the kingdom of my Father God. That is to say that, I being in the kingdom of God (my very, natural father)—that is to wit, after my Resurrection, when my body shall be forever  
20 immortal and impassible, and in eternal glory—until *that* day will I not after *this* time drink any more of this generation of the vine... that is myself, which am the very vine. And then, after that, will I drink it again with you—at which time it shall be new.”

Now, that with those words *this* exposition (by which they be  
25 understood not of wine, but of his Blessed Blood) most properly should agree—it appeareth both by divers other things that well may be gathered upon the circumstance of the matter... and also upon this latter saying of our Savior compared with the former. For in the former, he said that he would after that draught of wine  
30 that he drank to the Paschal lamb... drink no more wine till after his Resurrection. And now had he drunk wine again after that and *before* his Resurrection... if that which he drank the second time had been *wine*—as it was not, but was only his

1, 3, etc. *generation*: fruit    4 *of*: from    6 *after*: in accord with  
6 *holy doctors*: theologians / exegetes    7 *verily*: with literal truthfulness  
11 *testament*: covenant    12 *of which*: i.e., by which    13 *verified*: borne out  
13, 22 *very*: true    18 *very*: actual    20 *impassible*: incapable of suffering  
22 *which*: who    24 *exposition*: interpretation  
25 *not*: i.e., to refer not // *of*: i.e., to // *properly*: truly; well  
26 *agree*: be in accord // *it appeareth*: i.e., this is made evident  
26 *divers*: several // *well*: rightly    27 *may be gathered*: can be inferred  
27, 28 *upon*: i.e. from    27 *circumstance*: context  
28 *saying of*: utterance of; thing said by    29 *draught*: drink  
31 *had he*: would he have    33 *only*: solely

own Blessed Blood. And therefore is it very probable that in his second saying, by these words “this generation of the vine” he meant not any wine... but the blessed blood of himself.

5 Also, in the words that he spoke before of the Paschal lamb, when he said he would eat the Paschal lamb after that no more... till it were “fulfilled and perfected in the kingdom of God,” he meant that the Mosaic sacrifice, of the Paschal lamb that was the only *figure*, he would never eat more.

10 But the *very* Paschal lamb, that was the verity of that figure; that is to wit, his own Blessed Body and Blood: after that the figure were (by his new sacrament instituted, and by his Passion suffered, and by his glorious body risen again from death) fulfilled in the kingdom of God—*that would* he then eat again with them, in the Blessed Sacrament, under the form of bread, as he now  
15 would when he instituted it... and as he did after indeed.

And so are these words of the “chalice” understood, in like wise, of his Blessed Blood in the Sacrament—which it seemeth that he, by those words, in like wise promised to drink again with them after his Resurrection.

20 Finally, for this exposition, I note this word *novum*; that is to say, “new.” Where our Savior, in the said latter saying, saith, “Dico autem vobis quia amodo non bibam de hoc genimine vitis usque in diem illum cum illud bibam novum vobiscum in regno Patris mei Dei”—  
25 “I say verily to you that from hence forth I shall not drink of this generation of the vine until that day when I shall drink it with you new in the kingdom of my Father God”—  
in these words, I say, I note and mark this word *novum* (“new”). For albeit that divers doctors expound it “*novum*: id est, ‘novo modo’” (“new”: that is to wit, ‘in a new manner’”), because our Lord after  
30 his Resurrection... did both eat and drink with his disciples such common meat and drink as he was before wont to do, but yet in a new manner; that is to wit, now immortal and impassible, and not for the necessary food of the body, but for the proof of that he was risen with his very body—albeit, I say, that some  
35 doctors expound that word *novum* thus—yet seemeth me that the

1 *probable*: tenable    1–2 *his second saying*: i.e., that second thing he said  
2, 25 *generation*: fruit    8 *the only*: only the    8, 9, 11 *figure*: prefigurement  
8 *more*: again    9 *very*: true // *verity of*: i.e., reality being represented by  
12 *glorious*: glorified    14 *Blessed Sacrament*: Holy Eucharist  
16 *of*: about // *understood*: i.e., to be understood  
17, 18 *wise*: manner    17 *of*: i.e., to refer to    20 *exposition*: commentary  
21 *saying*: statement    24 *verily*: with literal truthfulness  
24 *from hence forth*: from now on    28 *divers*: several    28, 35 *doctors*: exegetes  
31 *common*: ordinary // *meat*: food    32 *impassible*: incapable of suffering  
33 *food*: nourishment    34 *of that*: of the fact that // *very*: actual  
35 *seemeth me*: it seems to me

other exposition is much more apt and consonant thereunto. For this word *novum* seemeth not there to be put for an adverb, but is a noun adjective—and therefore it signifieth some kind of newness in the drink itself; whereas by that exposition, all the  
 5 newness is in the drinker (that is to wit, in the person of Christ)... and in the act of drinking (as done for a new cause), but no manner of newness in the drink itself at all.

For in the common wine that our Savior drank with them after his Resurrection... was there none other manner of newness than  
 10 there was therein before. And therefore, as I said, this other exposition that I have here shown seemeth much more agreeable unto the text; that is to wit, that after that time he would no more drink with them his own Blessed Blood, which he drank with them then in the Blessed Sacrament, until that day when he  
 15 should in the kingdom of God his Father... drink that Blood with them *new*. For after his glorious Resurrection, that holy blood of his—and *all* his blessed body—was waxen new; that is to wit, of a new condition... other than it was at *that* time in which they received it in the Blessed Sacrament.

For albeit that his body so delivered them at that time... suffered  
 20 not, nor by their eating and receiving into their bodies was not pained: yet was it such... that afterward it did suffer pain and death upon the cross.

But when they received it again sacramentally after his  
 25 Resurrection—then was it in eternal glory so confirmed, and in such wise immortal and impassible, that it should never die, nor never suffer pain, after.

And so, though there were in his Blessed Body and his Blood given them in the Sacrament before his Passion... such a secret  
 30 wonderful glory of impassibility for the time... as was in his body, for the time, a visible, open glory at his marvelous Transfiguration: yet in the sacramental receiving after his glorious Resurrection, it had that point of newness... which it had not actually before—that is to wit, without loss, diminishment, or intermission,  
 35 eternal enduring of impassible and immortal glory.

1, 4, 11 *exposition*: interpretation

1 *apt and consonant thereunto*: i.e., apposite thereto and consonant therewith

3 *a noun adjective*: a noun modifier (now simply called an adjective)

4 *that*: i.e., that first    8 *common*: ordinary    11 *shown*: set forth

11 *agreeable*: correspondent    17 *waxen*: become

20 *at that time*: i.e., the time of the Last Supper    22 *pained*: afflicted with pain

25 *confirmed*: firmly established    26 *impassible*: incapable of suffering

28 *were*: i.e., was    29 *secret*: hidden; unperceivable    30 *wonderful*: wondrous

30 *impassibility*: immunity to suffering

30, 31 *for the time*: for the time being; temporarily    31 *marvelous*: astounding

33 *point*: aspect // *actually*: i.e., except only potentially

34 *intermission*: temporary cessation    35 *enduring*: perduring / experiencing

35 *impassible*: suffering-free; uninjurable

And so should, as I say, that generation of that vine (that is to wit, the blessed blood of his own holy person) which he drank with them—consecrated of the generation of the common vine, and in the likeness and form of common wine—be new after his  
 5 glorious Resurrection; before which time... he there told them that he would drink no more thereof after that time... in which, at his Maundy, in the first institution, he and all they did drink thereof together; of which their drinking with him... Saint Mark maketh mention, saying, “Et biberunt ex eo omnes” (“And they drank  
 10 thereof, all”; that is to wit, all the twelve apostles).

That *all* the apostles drank thereof appeareth well by these words; at the leastwise, as many as were present at the time—and that were they all twelve. For though some have doubted, and some also thought, that Judas was gone before, yet is it the most  
 15 common sentence of all the old holy men, and most received for the truth among all Christian people, that the traitor received it too; whereof we shall have occasion to speak after, in other places.

But, now, that our Savior did receive and eat his own blessed body, and drink his own blessed blood, in the Blessed  
 20 Sacrament, at his Maundy, with his apostles, himself... if any man doubt: it seemeth me that his own holy words afore-rehearsed will well declare it... in which words he said that *himself* would drink no more thereof... till he would drink it with them “new” in “the kingdom of God”; that is to wit, in his glory, as I have before  
 25 shown you.

And that he called his *glory* “the kingdom of God” appeareth both by other places of Scripture... and also by his own words where, intending to show to some of his disciples (that is to wit, Saint Peter, Saint James, and Saint John) a sight and show  
 30 *Mark 9:1* of his glory in his Transfiguration, he said, “Sunt quidam de hic stantibus qui non gustabunt mortem donec videbunt regnum Dei”—“There be some here standing that shall not taste the death till they shall see the kingdom of God.”

Besides this, likewise as he did himself... both eat and drink  
 35 with them of the old Paschal lamb, that was but the figure: so is

1 *so*: thus    1, 3 *generation*: fruit    3, 4 *common*: ordinary  
 7, 20 *Maundy*: Last Supper    7 *institution*: i.e., celebrating of the Eucharist  
 8 *their drinking*: drinking of theirs    11 *appeareth well*: is made very obvious  
 13 *doubted*: suspected    15 *sentence*: understanding; opinion // *old*: early  
 15 *holy men*: churchmen // *received*: accepted    17 *after*: later  
 17 *in other places*: i.e., in connection with other verses of Scripture  
 19–20 *Blessed Sacrament*: Eucharist    21 *seemeth*: seems to  
 21 *words afore-rehearsed*: above-quoted words    22 *declare it*: i.e., make that clear  
 22 *himself*: he himself    25 *shown*: explained to    26 *appeareth*: is shown  
 27 *places*: verses    34–35 *both . . . of*: i.e., with them both eat of and drink to  
 35 *figure*: prefigurement

it none other to be thought but that in the instituting of this new,  
blessed sacrament, the verity of that figure, he did himself  
eat and drink with them too.

5           *Saint Chrysostom*           And that he so did indeed... holy Saint  
Chrysostom declareth; which in a homily  
upon these words of Christ “Bibite ex hoc omnes” (“Drink you of  
this, all”) saith thus:

10           “Ne autem hoc audientes turbarentur, primum ipse sanguine suum bibit,  
inducens eos sine turbatione in communionem mysteriorum”—“Lest that they  
hearing that word should be troubled therewith, he  
drank his Blood first himself, inducing them into the communion  
of the Sacraments without abashment” (or “trouble”).

15           *Saint Jerome*           Holy Saint Jerome also, in his book  
against the great heretic Helvidius, writeth  
in this wise: “Sic igitur Dominus Iesus fuit conviva et convivium; ipse  
comedens et qui comeditur”—“So, therefore, was our Lord Jesus both the  
guest and the feast. He was both the eater... and was also he that was  
eaten.”

20           Now, forasmuch as we shall somewhat farther enter into the  
treating of this blessed sacrament, let us pray him that hath  
instituted it... that we may in such wise treat thereof... that it may  
both in the writer and the reader... stretch to the fruit of their  
souls.

### *The Prayer*

25   **O**ur most dear Savior Christ, which after the finishing  
of the old Paschal sacrifice... hast instituted the new sacrament  
of thine own Blessed Body and Blood... for a memorial of thy  
bitter Passion: give us such true faith therein, and such fervent  
devotion thereto, that our souls may take fruitful ghostly food  
30   thereby.

### The Second Lecture upon the Blessed Sacrament

1 *none other*: not otherwise   2 *verity of*: i.e., the reality represented by  
4–12: See Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea*, lesson 8 on Matthew 26.

5, 25 *which*: who   10 *word*: pronouncement; thing (he) said

11 *inducing them*: i.e., getting them to come

12 *Sacraments*: i.e., consecrated elements

12 *abashment*: discomfiture // *trouble*: perturbation

13–18: See Saint Jerome, Letter 120 (to Hedibia), question 2.

13 *book*: i.e., letter   15 *in this wise*: as follows   20 *pray*: pray to / implore

22 *stretch*: redound // *fruit*: profit   28 *therein*: in it   29 *ghostly*: spiritual

29 *food*: nourishment

So excellent is, good Christian readers, this holy, blessed sacrament above all others... that neither is there any man able to enter, pierce, and perceive so many great, wonderful things as are to be noted therein... nor those that of the old holy doctors are *already* noted, and of all Christian regions already received and believed, able (as the dignity of the thing requireth) well to declare or worthily to speak of. For in this holy sacrament... is the very body and the very blood of him... of whom all other sacraments receive their virtue and strength. For it is (as you have heard of Christ's own words) the selfsame sacred body of Christ, and the selfsame blessed blood of his, that was delivered and shed for our sins.

Now, albeit that there are in divers countries of Christendom some (and hard it is to find any country so fortunate as to be clear and clean without) that labor in this blessed sacrament to subvert the very, true Christian faith... and would make men ween that those plain words of Christ "This is my body," etc., were otherwise meant than they were indeed, and that our Savior in his so saying... did not affirm or intend... that the thing which he gave his apostles to eat and to drink was his very body and his very blood; but that they were still bread and wine, which he *called* then (say they) by the names of his "body" and his "blood"... because he would institute them for to stand as *tokens* of his body and his blood, for perpetual remembrance of his Passion—albeit there lack not, I say, some that labor to bring good faithful folk out of the true belief into this erroneous mind—yet is it not my present purpose to dispute the matter with them... but to show and set forth the truth before the eyes of the reader, that he may rather of the truth read... increase in faith, and conceive devotion, than with much time bestowed in the reading of their erroneous fallacies... misoccupy his ears, and heap up in his heart a dunghill of their devilish vanities.

Howbeit, *somewhat* of theirs is it, good readers, in my mind necessary

1 *excellent*: preeminent    2 *enter*: gain intellectual access to  
 2 *pierce*: see thoroughly into    3 *perceive*: understand // *wonderful*: wondrous  
 4, 5, 9 *of*: by    4 *old holy doctors*: early theologians    5 *received*: accepted  
 6 *requireth*: calls for // *declare*: explicate    9 *virtue*: power    12 *divers*: several  
 14 *clear and clean*: completely and absolutely    14, 24 *labor*: strive  
 14 *in*: with regard to    15 *ween*: think    18 *intend*: mean    19, 20 *very*: actual  
 22 *would*: intended to // *tokens*: symbols    24 *faithful*: right-believing  
 25, 32 *mind*: view    28 *of the truth read*: i.e., by having read the truth  
 29 *bestowed*: spent    30 *misoccupy*: misuse    31 *vanities*: inanities  
 32 *howbeit*: however // *somewhat of theirs*: i.e., something of their inanities

that you know, to the intent you may the better beware of their wiliness.

5 Three special engines use these manner of folk... with which they busily, with all their might, oppugn the inexpugnable person of our Savior Christ, enforcing themselves by force... to put out his glorious body out of the Blessed Sacrament.

10 First, using the name of "sacrament of Christ's body" with us, whereby good simple folk would ween they meant as we do, they *misuse* the meaning of that word *against* us, and in corners corrupt some well-minded men... before they perceive the train of their crafty purpose.

15 For they make them ween that since we call it all... the "blessed *sacrament* of Christ's body and blood," therefore it is none other but "a bare sacrament only"; that is to wit, a token, a figure, a sign or memorial of his body and his blood crucified and shed... and not his own very body and his blood in deed.

20 Secondly, they say that those words of Christ... may be well and conveniently expounded in such wise as they may serve to prove the Sacrament a figure. And upon *that* they conclude that since they may be so expounded, conveniently, by an allegory... there is no necessity to expound them otherwise; nor that those words *should* not be so taken and declared... as to say that they signify... that in the Sacrament is Christ's blessed body in deed.

25 Thirdly, they enforce that reason with the expositions of old holy men... which have expounded those words in an allegory sense... and have, in their writings, called this blessed holy housel by the name of a "sacrament," a "sign," a "memorial," and a "figure." By which words of those old holy *saints*... those new folk labor to blear the unlearned reader's eye... and make him therewith ween that those old  
30 holy men, in that they called it a "sign," a "token," or a "figure," did well declare that they took it not for the very body in deed, for that body cannot be (they say), by no means, a figure of itself.

3 *special*: main // *engines*: ploys // *use*: i.e., are used by 4 *busily*: assiduously  
 4 *oppugn*: assail // *inexpugnable*: invincible  
 5 *enforcing themselves*: strongly exerting themselves; trying hard // *put out*: eject  
 8, 12, 29 *ween*: think 9 *misuse*: use wrongly // *word*: term  
 9 *in corners*: in secluded places that escape notice; i.e., furtively  
 10 *well-minded men*: well-intentioned people // *train*: drift 11 *purpose*: argument  
 12 *we call it all*: we all call it 13–14 *none other but*: nothing other than  
 14 *a bare sacrament only*: just a mere sacrament 14, 30 *token*: symbol  
 14, 19, etc. *figure*: representation 16 *very*: real 16, 23, 31 *deed*: actuality  
 17, 20 *may*: can 17 *well and*: quite 18, 20 *conveniently*: properly 18 *wise*: a way  
 20 *by*: i.e., as 22 *declared*: interpreted 24 *enforce*: reinforce; support  
 24 *reason*: argument // *expositions*: commentaries 24, 28, 29 *old*: early  
 24–25, 30 *holy men*: churchmen 25 *which*: who 26 *holy housel*: consecrated host  
 28 *new*: modern // *labor*: strive 28–29 *blear . . . eye*: hoodwink the unlearned reader  
 31 *well declare*: make it quite clear // *for that*: since that

These three are, I say, good reader, their three special darts.  
 For I deny not but that they use more: as the words of Scripture  
 whereby they would prove Christ's body not in earth... because he  
 said, before his ascension to heaven, that they should not have  
 5 him here still in earth—but he meant of his corporeal conversation as  
 they had him *before*—

And where they would also by the words of Scripture... prove the  
 Blessed Sacrament *bread*. But the custom of the Scripture is so  
 common in that point—to call a thing not as it *is*, but as it *was*, or  
 10 as it *seemeth* (whereof I have told you an example or two before)—that  
 all the hold they can take thereof... slippeth out of their hand.

I deny not also but that they lay against the Sacrament... and  
 say that Christ's blessed body *is* not there... because, they say, it *cannot*.  
 For it cannot be, they say, in so many places at once. But, now,  
 15 since the truth is... that *himself* saith it *is* there, and in his so  
 saying... so meant in very deed (as both before is proved and yet  
 shall hereafter): all that reason of theirs (that it cannot be so) hath to  
 any Christian man (that taketh Christ for God) no manner taste of  
 any reason at all. For it standeth, you see well, upon this ground  
 20 only: that God is not able to perform his word!

Therefore, albeit that, as I say, they say such other things too: yet are  
 those three things that I have rehearsed you... the special things—and,  
 in effect, the *only* things—with which they have their special hope to  
 deceive unlearned folk.

Now purpose I not, yet, in this present treatise upon the Passion,  
 to enter much in dispicions with them upon these three points  
 neither—for that thing would require a whole volume alone  
 (the labor whereof, if God hereafter give me time and opportunity  
 thereto, I purpose not to refuse)—but I will, in effect, for this while,  
 30 only rehearse you some of those things that holy cunning men  
 before my days... have of this holy, blessed sacrament, concerning  
 this matter, left us behind them in writing. Which things if the

1, 22, 23 *special*: main      1 *darts*: weapons  
 2, 12 *deny not (also) but*: (also) do not deny      2 *as*: such as  
 2–5: See John 16:4, 10.      3 *not*: i.e., not to be      3, 5 *in*: on  
 4 *should*: would      5 *meant of*: was referring to  
 5 *corporeal conversation*: being physically in their company  
 8, 12 (*Blessed*) *Sacrament*: consecrated host      8 *bread*: i.e., to be bread  
 8–10: See 131/20–25.      11 *hold*: support // *take thereof*: get from that  
 12 *lay against*: assail      13 *cannot*: i.e., cannot be      14 *so*: that  
 15 *himself*: he himself      17 *shall*: i.e., will be  
 17 *all that reason*: that whole argument      18 *manner*: kind of  
 18 *taste*: smack; semblance  
 20 *perform his word*: i.e., make good on his word; do what he says he is doing  
 21 *such other*: i.e., other such      22 *rehearsed*: related to  
 23, 29 *in effect*: in fact      26 *in dispicions*: into disputations  
 30 *rehearse*: quote // *cunning*: learned      31 *of*: about

reader diligently consider... shall, I trust, be able somewhat to serve and suffice him to spy the fallacies, and soil the subtleties, of all those folks' false arguments and objections by himself.

5 Consider now, good readers, and remember... that since this excellent, high sacrament... under a form and likeness so common, and so simple, in sight... covertly containeth in it a wonderful secret treasure... and signifieth and betokeneth, also, manifold marvelous mysteries: the holy cunning fathers before our days... have had much ado to find names enough and convenient... with which  
10 they might in any wise insinuate and show so many such manner things of this blessed sacrament... as are partly contained therein... and partly signified thereby. And therefore, by the secret instinct of the Spirit of God... by which the Catholic Church of Christ is in such things led and ruled, the old holy, virtuous  
15 fathers... have not only called (upon effectual causes) this holy sacrament by sundry diverse names... to signify thereby sundry singular things thereof, but have also for the same intent (upon divers effectual respects that they saw and considered therein) called some two sundry things... both by one common name.

20 For the better perceiving thereof, we must mark and consider that in this blessed sacrament... there are *two* things actually and really contained. One... that is a very, bodily substance; and that is the very Blessed Body and Blood of our Savior himself. The other... that is not any substance, but *accidents*; that is to wit,  
25 those accidents that were before in the bread and wine... which bread and wine are converted, by the almighty power of God, into the very Body and Blood of Christ. Those *accidents*, I say, of whiteness, redness, hardness, softness, weight, savor, and taste, and such other like, remain and abide in the Blessed Sacrament...  
30 and, by the mighty power of almighty God, they remain without the body of which they be the accidents. Which while they be now neither accidents in the bread and wine (since bread or wine none is there) nor accidents *unto* the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ

2 *soil the subtleties*: i.e., clear away the smoke screens

4 *excellent*: superlative      6 *simple*: lowly / insignificant // *wonderful*: wondrous

6 *secret*: hidden      7 *betokeneth*: points to      8 *cunning*: learned

9 *convenient*: befitting      10 *might*: could // *wise*: way // *insinuate*: intimate; hint at

10 *show*: call attention to      11 *manner*: kinds of      12 *secret*: mysterious; unperceivable

13 *instinct*: prompting      14 *old*: early

15 *upon effectual causes*: i.e., for sound, substantial reasons

16 *sundry*: various // *diverse*: different      17 *singular*: individual

17 *upon*: on the basis of      18 *divers*: several

18 *effectual respects*: i.e., solid, real connections      19 *sundry*: separate

22, 23 *very*: real; actual      24, 25, etc. *accidents*: nonsubsistent, nonintrinsic properties

28 *savor*: smell      31 *while*: since

(which two things are the only corporeal substance that are there); and accidents are not naturally, nor the mind of a living man cannot well imagine how any accident can be, but in a bodily substance whereunto it is accident, and whereupon it dependeth: much folly were it, therefore, much to muse thereupon...  
 5 how, and in what wise, and wherein, these accidents abide and are conserved; but that question (with many such others more... wherewith a proud curious mind hath carried many a man out of faith) let us remit unto God. For as he only... can *make* those miracles,  
 10 so can he only... tell *how*.

Now, albeit that an accident, by a general manner of speaking, is a thing (since it is not nothing)—and in such wise I mean by this word “a thing”... when I say there are in the Blessed Sacrament two “things”—yet, forasmuch as the name of “sacrament” properly signifieth  
 15 a sign, or token, which betokeneth a holy thing, the “thing” of a sacrament... is properly called... that holy thing that the sacrament *betokeneth*. As in Baptism, the washing of the body with water, signifying the washing of the soul by grace, is, properly, the *sacrament*, and the washing of the soul from sin is called the  
 20 *thing* of the sacrament; that is to say, the thing that the sacrament, or sacramental sign... I mean the washing in the water... betokeneth.

Now, in this holy Sacrament of the Altar (which hath, as reason is, above all other sacraments sundry special prerogatives) there  
 25 are two “sacraments,” or sacramental signs, of sundry kinds: the one an *outward* sacrament, or sacramental sign *sensible* (as Baptism hath, and Confirmation, and the other four), the other an *inward* sacrament, or sacramental sign *unsensible*; which none of the remnant have.

30 The outward, sensible sacrament, or sacramental sign, is the form of bread and the form of wine.

The inward sacrament and sacramental sign unsensible... is the very Blessed Body of Christ under that form of bread, and the very Blessed Blood of Christ under the form of wine.

5 *much folly were it*: very foolish would it be      6 *wise*: way  
 6 *abide*: remain      8 *curious*: inappropriately inquisitive  
 9 *remit unto God*: refer to God; leave it to God to answer // *make*: work; do  
 9, 10 *only*: alone      12 *in such wise*: i.e., something like this is what  
 13 *word*: expression      14 *name*: term // *properly*: in the strict sense  
 15 *token*: indicator      15, 17, 22 *betokeneth*: points to / gives evidence of  
 16 *properly*: with strict correctness      18 *properly*: strictly speaking  
 23–24 *as reason is*: as stands to reason      24 *sundry*: several  
 24 *prerogatives*: marks of distinction      25 *sundry*: distinct  
 26, 28, etc. *(un)sensible*: (not) sensorily perceivable; (not) visible, audible, etc.  
 28, 32 *inward*: inner      29 *remnant*: rest (of the sacraments)  
 33, 34 *very*: actual; really-for-real

Now are there likewise in this blessed sacrament—above the nature, also, of all the other six—two *things* of the sacrament, or two *sacramental things*; that is to wit, two things that are by the two sacramental signs betokened. And those two things—

5 though they be *both* secret and unsensible—yet are they of diverse, sundry kinds too. For the one is both *by* the sacrament (that is to wit, by the sacramental sign) *signified*... and also *in* the sacrament *contained*. The other is only by the sacrament signified, but in the sacrament is it not contained.

10 The “thing” of the sacrament that is both signified and contained... is the very Body and the very Blood of our Savior himself... therein actually and really present.

The “thing” of this blessed sacrament that is signified thereby and *not* contained therein... is the unity, or society, of all good, holy

15 folk... in the Mystical Body of Christ.

For this must we now first understand: that the first kind of “sacrament” that we spoke of (that is to wit, the outward sacramental signs) be sacraments (that is to wit, signs and tokens) of both these two sacramental *things*; that is to wit, of

20 the very, natural body of Christ, that is in the Sacrament contained, and also of the society of all saints in the Mystical Body of Christ—that is not contained in it, but signified and betokened by it. For the outward sacramental signs (that is to wit, the forms of bread and wine) betoken the very, natural body and blood of

25 Christ being in the Sacrament. For as the holy doctors declare, likewise as bread specially refresheth and sustaineth the body—

*Psalm 104:14–15* whereof the Scripture saith, “Panis confirmat cor hominis” (“Bread strengtheneth a man’s heart”)—and

30 wine gladdeneth the heart (whereof the Scripture saith also, “Vinum laetificat cor hominis”): so the very Blessed Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament received worthily... doth specially, above all other sacraments, refresh, make strong, and confirm the soul in grace, and so fulfilleth in some good folk the soul with spiritual consolation...

2 *six*: i.e., six sacraments      4, 22, 24 *betoken(ed)*: point(ed) to  
 5 *they be both*: i.e., both of them are // *secret*: hidden  
 5 *unsensible*: not sensorily perceivable // *diverse*: different      6 *sundry*: distinct  
 11, 20, etc. *very*: actual; really-for-real      14, 21 *society*: togetherness; communion  
 19 *tokens*: representations; symbols      20, 22 *that*: which  
 20, 25, 31 *Sacrament*: i.e., Eucharist      25 *holy doctors*: theologians  
 25 *declare*: explain      33 *fulfilleth*: satiates

that the soul is in a certain manner of a heavenly drunkenness.

In proof whereof... our Savior saith of his body in the Sacrament,

*John 6:51, 58*

“Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea est: qui manducat hunc

5 panem... vivet in aeternum” (“The bread that I shall

give... is *my flesh*: he that eateth this bread... shall *live everlastingly*”);

and of his blessed blood in the Sacrament... he saith by

*Psalms 23:5*

the mouth of the prophet, “Calix meus inebrians,

quam praeclarus est!” (“My cup—that maketh men

10 *drunk*—how noble it is!”).

These outward sacramental signs... the forms of bread and wine...

do also signify and betoken unto us the other sacramental thing, or

the other “thing of the sacrament”; that is to wit, that “thing of the

sacrament” that is signified by the Sacrament, but not contained

15 therein: that is to wit, the society of all saints in the Mystical Body

of Christ. For likewise as the bread which is, in this holy sacrament,

turned into Christ’s very Body (of which bread the form still

remaineth) was made of many corns of wheat into one loaf, and

the wine that is converted into his Blessed Blood (of which wine the

20 form remaineth) was made of many grapes flowing into one wine:

so be all holy saints gathered together in one... into the unity of

*1 Corinthians 10:16–17*

Christ’s holy Mystical Body, as Saint Paul

toucheth in his Epistle to the Corinthians, saying,

“Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus, omnes qui de uno pane et de uno

25 calice participamus” (“We many be one bread and one body—as many as

be partakers of one bread and one cup”).

Saint Augustine also, upon the sixth chapter of Saint John, in his

twenty-sixth treatise saith thus:

*Saint Augustine*

“Propterea quippe, sicut etiam ante nos hoc intellexerunt

30 homines Dei, Dominus noster Iesus Christus corpus

et sanguine suum in eis rebus commendavit quae ad unum aliquid rediguntur

ex multis. Namque aliud in unum ex multis granis conficitur, aliud in unum ex

multis acinis confluit. Denique iam exponit quomodo id fiat quod loquitur, et

1 *manner*: kind 3, 7, 14 *Sacrament*: i.e., Eucharist 9 *that*: which

10 *noble*: splendid 15 *society*: togetherness; communion

18 *of many corns*: from many grains 23 *toucheth*: mentions in passing

27–28 *his . . . treatise*: i.e., his *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, 26.17–18.

quid sit manducare corpus eius, et sanguine bibere: ‘Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguine, in me manet, et ego in illo.’ Hoc est ergo manducare illam escam, et illum bibere potum: in Christo manere, et illum manentem in se habere. Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non

5 manet Christus, proculdubio nec manducat spiritualiter carnem eius, nec bibit eius sanguine, licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi sed magis tantum rei sacramentum ad iudicium sibi manducat et bibit, quia immundus praesumpsit ad Christi accedere sacramenta; quae aliquis non digne sumit nisi qui mundus est, de quibus

10 dicitur, ‘Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt’” —

“Therefore, verily, as also before us the men of God understood this, our Lord Jesus Christ commended” (or “left”) “his Body and Blood in such things as of many are brought unto some one thing. For of many corns” (or “grains”) “together... there cometh one

15 other thing; and out of many grapes” (or “berries”) “there followeth one other thing. Finally he declareth how it may come to pass, that which he speaketh, and what it is to eat his body and drink his blood: ‘He that eateth my flesh... and drinketh my blood... *dwelleth* in me, and I in him.’ Then, this it is to eat that flesh and to drink

20 that drink: to dwell in Christ, and to have Christ dwelling in him. And by this thing, he that dwelleth *not* in Christ, and in whom Christ dwelleth not—without doubt, *he* neither eateth *spiritually* his flesh... neither drinketh he *spiritually* his blood... though he do

25 carnally and visibly tear or gnaw with his teeth the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; but rather, he eateth and drinketh the Sacrament of so worthy a thing unto his own judgment” (or “condemnation”); “the which no man receiveth worthily but such as are clean and pure, of whom it is written, ‘Blessed are the clean of heart, for they shall see God.’”

30 The other kind of sacrament (or sacramental sign)—that is to wit, the sacrament (or sacramental sign) secret and unsensible—is, I say, the very, natural body and blood of our Savior in the form of bread and wine. For his *very body*, and his *very blood*, in these forms so known and seen unto us... not by our senses,

35 but by the truth of our faith, do betoken and represent unto us the selfsame body and the selfsame blood... crucified and shed upon the cross. For our Savior at his Last Supper, at the institution

11 *verily*: truly    13 *of*: from    16 *declareth*: explains // *may*: can  
 21 *by this thing*: i.e., accordingly; consequently    23 *neither*: nor    31 *secret*: hidden  
 31 *unsensible*: not sensorily perceivable    32, 33 *very*: actual; real  
 35 *betoken*: symbolize // *represent*: represent / render present

of the Blessed Sacrament, did ordain, institute, and appoint them... to signify, betoken, and represent unto his Church, under those forms, the selfsame body crucified, and the selfsame blood also shed, for remission of man's sins at his bitter Passion.

5       And *therefore*, when our Savior gave his Blessed Body, in  
       *Matthew 26:26–28*           form of bread, unto his apostles, saying  
       *Mark 14:23; Luke 22:19–20* unto them, “Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis  
   tradetur,” and “Hic est sanguis meus, qui pro vobis et  
 10       multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum” (“This is my body, which  
       shall be delivered for you”; “this is my blood, which for you and for  
       many shall be shed into remission of sins”), he said unto them  
       *Ibid.*                           farther: “Hoc facite in meam commemorationem”—“This  
   do ye in the remembrance of me.”

15       So that there we may see that he there instituted the *same body*  
       of his... that should be delivered for us unto death, and the *same*  
       *blood* that should be shed for our sins, to be in his Church  
       continually consecrated and celebrated... as a monument, and a  
       memorial, representing to us himself.

20       Now, in what wise those secret, invisible sacraments his own  
       very, natural Blessed Body and Blood... under those visible sacraments  
       those forms of bread and wine... should signify, betoken,  
       and represent unto us *himself*—that is to say, the same body and  
       blood in their proper form—the Apostle explaineth in the eleventh  
       *1 Corinthians 11:26*       chapter of his First Epistle to the Corinthians,  
 25       saying, “Quotiescumque manducabitis panem hunc  
   et calicem bibetis, mortem Domini annuntiabitis  
       donec veniat” (“As often as you shall eat this bread and drink this  
       cup, you shall show the *death* of our Lord till he come”).

30       Here we see that whereas our Savior in his own words  
       ordained his own, very Body and Blood in the Sacrament... to signify,  
       betoken, and represent himself unto our “remembrance”:  
       Saint Paul showeth here... that it is the remembrance of him as in  
       his *Passion*; and so betoken his Body and his Blood in the Sacrament...  
       the selfsame body in its own likeness hanging on the

1, 30, 33 (*Blessed Sacrament*): i.e., Eucharist   1 *appoint*: establish / destine  
 2, 21, etc. *betoken*: symbolize   2, 22, 31 *represent*: represent / render present  
 11 *into*: unto   15, 16 *should*: would   17 *a monument*: an enduring testimonial  
 19 *wise*: way // *secret*: hidden   20 *very*: actual   23 *proper*: (own) natural  
 23 *the Apostle*: i.e., Saint Paul   28 *show*: proclaim   29 *whereas*: while  
 31 *represent*: present   32 *showeth*: points out

cross, and the selfsame blood in the proper likeness... on the same... shed for our sins.

5 The selfsame unsensible sacrament also (the natural body of Christ, that is under the sensible “sacrament” of bread) signifieth and betokeneth the other aforesaid sacramental *thing*: that is to wit, the society of saints. For like as the natural body of Christ is many members in one natural body—so is that society of saints many lively members in the unity of Christ’s Mystical Body.

10 And thus we see, good Christian readers, that the outward, sensible sacraments—the forms of bread and wine—be in such wise figures, tokens, and sacramental signs... that they be *only* sacramental signs, and not sacramental *things*.

15 And, on the other side, the secret sacramental thing... which is, both by the outward, sensible sacraments and by the secret, unsensible sacraments, signified and *not* contained—that is to wit, the society of saints in the unity of Christ’s Body Mystical—is *only* the thing of the sacrament (or the sacramental thing), and not a sacramental *sign*—neither sensible nor unsensible. For it is signified, *only*, and *signifieth* not. But the very, natural Body and Blood of Christ in the form of bread and wine... be both  
20 sacramental *signs*, because they *signify*, and also sacramental *things*, because they *be* signified.

25 Yet must we further know... that albeit we speak only of the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ... that are verily present in form of bread and wine, yet is there with them... the *soul* of our Savior, also. For his Blessed Body and Blood in the Sacrament... though they *seem* dead (for the more full representation and figuring of the same body and blood remaining dead on the cross... after his holy soul given up to the Father; whereby his  
30 bitter Passion was fully performed and finished)—yet *be* they not dead in the Sacrament, but quick and animated with his blissful soul; which after the return thereof, and copulation again with his immortal and impassible body, never departed after from it, nor never shall.

1 *proper likeness*: natural guise // *same*: i.e., same cross

3, 4, etc. (*un*)*sensible*: (not) sensorily perceivable

4 “*sacrament*”: i.e., sign by way of appearance 6, 7 *society*: communion

8 *lively*: living 10 *wise*: ways 11 *figures*: representations

11 *tokens*: symbols 13 *side*: i.e., hand 13, 14 *secret*: hidden

16 *society*: togetherness 19 *very*: actual 27, 31 *Sacrament*: i.e., Eucharist

27, 28, 30 *dead*: lifeless 30 *performed*: accomplished 31 *quick*: alive

31 *blissful*: sacred 32 *copulation again*: rejoining; reunion

33 *impassible*: unsusceptible-to-suffering

There is with it also, besides his blessed soul, his Almighty-Godhead.  
For the Godhead from the first time of his Incarnation...  
never departed neither from the soul nor from the body.

5 But when they two were by death parted and severed asunder,  
the Godhead (that is to wit, the almighty, natural Son of the almighty  
Father; the Second Person in Trinity; of which Father and  
Son... the third almighty Person of the coeternal Trinity proceeded)  
was still in unity of person... both with the blessed soul delivering the  
old fathers in hell... and with the body lying dead in the sepulchre, too.

10 Moreover, albeit that the Blessed Blood is consecrated severally,  
under the form of wine, to signify and represent unto us that in  
the Passion (of which the Blessed Sacrament is a memorial) the blood  
was severed from the body: yet is there in the Blessed Sacrament...  
both the blood with the body that is in the form of bread...  
15 and the body with the blood that is under form of wine; that is  
to wit, the Body under the form of bread immediately... as by  
the form of bread most especially signified, and the Blood by concomitance...  
because the Body is never without it; and likewise, under  
the form of wine... the Blessed Blood immediately—because there, by  
20 that form of wine, the *Blood* is chiefly signified—and the whole  
Blessed Body is there with it by concomitance, because that the Blood,  
since his glorious Resurrection, never was nor is, nor never shall be,  
separate from his whole Blessed Body.

25 If men ask then the question what we may think of the  
holy blood of Christ *out* of the Sacrament... continually kept and  
honored in divers places, and with many great miracles approved:  
methinketh it may be answered in two manner wise without any  
peril of our faith. For I see no necessity to say that all the blood  
that Christ had in his body at any time here in earth... is in his body  
30 now. And so may some part of his very holy blood... that hath been  
*sometime* in his blessed body... be now remaining in earth. And also,  
since his blessed body may be where it will, his very glorious blood  
may be by miracle... in sundry places sensible where it pleaseth himself—  
and his blessed body, invisible, also therewith.

1, 2, 5 (*Almighty-)*Godhead: being as Almighty God; divine element  
2 *time*: moment 9 *old fathers*: patriarchs / early ancestors of the faith  
9 *in hell*: i.e., who were in the Limbo of the Fathers 10 *severally*: separately  
11 *represent*: be a reminder 12, 13 *Blessed Sacrament*: i.e., Eucharist  
13 *severed*: separated 16 *immediately*: directly; without intermediary  
21 *because*: by reason of the fact 23 *separate*: parted; detached 24 *of*: about  
25 *out of the Sacrament*: i.e., not obtained by way of the Eucharist 26 *divers*: various  
26 *approved*: attested; vouched for 27 *manner wise*: kinds of ways  
28 *peril*: i.e., imperiling 29, 31 *in earth*: on earth 30, 32 *very*: actual  
32, 33 *may*: can 32 *glorious*: glorified 33 *sensible*: perceivable by the senses

In a crucifix struck... God may also create *new* blood which is *none* of his. And over this, the blissful soul of Christ... and his Almighty-Godhead, also... be both twain, I say, not *immediately* contained in the Sacrament, because they be neither immediately

5 signified by those sensible sacramental signs the forms of bread and wine... nor be there as secret, unsensible signs appointed to signify any other things, as the Blessed Body and the Blood be; but be, therefore, there by *concomitance*, because from the body and the blood... neither the soul nor the Godhead is at no time

10 since the Resurrection asunder.

And by concomitance are there also... both the *Father* and the *Holy Ghost*. For since the Godhead of the Son... and the Godhead of *them* both... is all one self Godhead: neither of them both can be severed from him, but it must needs be that where he is, there be

15 they both—not only by a general manner of being (by which each of them is ever with any of all the things that they have created), but also by that special manner of being by which (whatsoever manner that be) any of those Three Persons is with himself... except the only personal distinction.

20 It seemeth also that by concomitance—though not a concomitance following of like necessity, yet by a certain concomitance following of convenient congruity—there is everywhere evermore about this blessed sacrament... a glorious heavenly company of blessed angels and saints, as divers holy doctors declare.

25 Now, forasmuch as under any of the two outward, sensible sacraments (the forms either of the bread or the wine)... the whole inward, unsensible sacrament (the very Body and Blood of Christ) is, as I have shown you, verily and fully contained; and also under every part thereof, be it divided into never

30 so many: therefore, whosoever worthily do receive his Holy Housel under any one of those two forms only... doth verily and sufficiently receive *both* the Blessed Body *and* Blood of our Savior—and therewith his blessed soul, and his Godhead, too... yea, and all the whole Trinity—together.

1 *a crucifix struck*: i.e., a man-made image of the crucified Christ // *may*: can  
 2 *over this*: besides this; furthermore // *blissful*: sacred  
 3, 9, 33 (*Almighty-*)*Godhead*: being as Almighty God; divine element  
 3, 4 *immediately*: directly; without intermediary  
 5, 6, etc. (*un*)*sensible*: (not) sensorily perceivable      6 *secret*: hidden  
 6 *appointed*: destined; ordained      12, 13 *Godhead*: divine being      13 *self*: selfsame  
 14 *severed*: separated      16 *ever*: always // *any*: every one  
 18–19 *any . . . distinction*: i.e., each of those three (consubstantial) Persons is just with his own self . . . in being with the other two—except only for their distinction as Persons.  
 22 *convenient*: befitting; good      24 *divers*: several // *holy doctors*: theologians  
 25 *any*: either      27 *inward*: inner // *very*: real      28 *shown*: told  
 29–30 *never so*: no matter how  
 30 *worthily*: i.e., in the state of grace and with due reverence // *Housel*: Communion  
 31 *any . . . only*: only either one of those two forms      33 *all the whole*: the whole entire

And albeit that of old time, lay people did commonly receive their Housel under both the forms, yet always—from the beginning—did they sometimes receive it some under the one form... and some under the other... alone, as by the old writings of the old holy saints it doth, in divers places, appear. Howbeit, when they received their Housel under the one kind alone, it was most commonly under the form of bread... because that under that form, it was most able both to be carried without peril of spilling... and longest to be kept without peril of turning.

Upon which thing so long ago begun and used, it came to that point afterward that—for divers inconveniences which many times mishapped in the Blessed Blood under the form of wine... when the common people were houseled under both the forms—the whole people through Christendom fell in a custom uniform... all in one fashion to receive their Holy Housel: that is to wit, the very, whole Body of Christ... and Blood, both... under the form of bread only. Of which custom no man hath heard or read any beginning; which thing alone may well suffice to make indifferent men perceive... that it began even forthwith after Christ's death... and that the lawfulness thereof was known and taught by the tradition of the apostles themselves. For surely if it had not been known for lawful of old, the whole people of all Christendom would never have taken it up of new... being a thing of neither pleasure nor winning... nor being nothing forced unto it. For law was there none made to command it.

*Bohemia* Howbeit, when that the country of Bohemia, falling into many heresies, began... not only to do the contrary, receiving it under both the forms (wherein the body of Christendom would not have stuck to suffer them, as a thing lawful to them that would), but also took upon them farther... to reprove, and reproach for damnable, the common, long-continued custom of the whole corps of Christendom—upon *this* demeanor of

1 *of old time*: in days of old    2, 6, 15 *Housel*: Communion    4 *old*: early  
 5, 11 *divers*: various    6 *the one kind alone*: just the one species or the other  
 9 *turning*: spoiling; going bad (on the accident level)    10 *upon*: from  
 10 *used*: practiced    11 *for*: on account of // *inconveniences*: improprieties  
 12 *mishapped in*: unfortunately took place in connection with  
 13 *houseled*: given Communion    14, 22 *whole people*: entire population  
 14 *through*: throughout // *fell in*: settled into  
 14 *custom uniform*: i.e., uniform custom    15 *one*: the same  
 18 *indifferent*: impartial; unbiased  
 19 *even forthwith after*: i.e., all the way back to right after  
 20, 21 *lawful(ness)*: licit(ness)    23 *being*: i.e., it being // *winning*: (any) gain  
 24 *being nothing*: i.e., they being in any way    29 *stuck*: hesitated  
 29 *suffer*: bear with    30 *them that would*: i.e., whoever wanted to do it  
 31 *reprove*: criticize // *reproach for*: censure as    32 *whole corps*: entire body  
 32 *demeanor*: conduct

theirs, the General Council of Constance... condemned *in their*  
*so doing* their over-arrogant error. For, upon that point of theirs,  
 if the whole body of Christendom may damnably be deceived in  
 matter concerning our faith or the use of the sacraments, then  
 5 followeth there an inevitable confusion, and *nothing* can there in  
 the Catholic Church be sure: neither Tradition, law, custom, nor  
*Scripture*—neither to know how it is to be understood... nor yet so  
     *Saint Augustine*           much as which the very books *be*; as holy  
   Saint Augustine, against the great heretics the  
 10 Manichaeans, doth very clearly declare.  
     Now is this custom (and long was ere their heresies began in  
 Bohemia) so universal... that neither lay nor priest, man nor woman,  
 good nor bad, either otherwise used in receiving the Holy Housel  
 beside the Mass... or anything repugned thereat.  
 15 Howbeit—though, as I say, this guise and custom was universal,  
 both with lay people and priests, in being houseled of another  
 man's hand (as the priests be themselves always, save only when  
 they say Mass)—yet did there never priest *in* the Mass... use to consecrate  
 in the one form alone. And the cause is because that in the  
 20 Mass, the Blessed Sacrament is (as the old holy doctors all with one  
 voice agree; and all the corps of Christendom with them, from the apostles'  
 days) not only a sacrament, but also a *sacrifice*... that, by the offering  
 of the Body and Blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine  
 upon the altar, representeth the sacrifice in which the selfsame  
 25 body and blood in their own proper form... was offered upon the  
 cross.  
     And therefore, albeit that in each of the two forms is the whole  
 Sacrament (both for the thing that it *signifieth* and for the thing  
 that it *containeth*), yet under the one kind only was it never used  
 30 to offer that Holy Sacrifice, but under the both twain together,  
     *Genesis 14:18*           that the thing should be correspondent unto  
   the figure. For this Holy Sacrifice was forefigured  
 in the offering of Melchizedek—that offered both bread  
 and wine.

2 *over-arrogant*: beyond-arrogant

2 *upon . . . theirs*: i.e., supposing that tenet of theirs to be correct   3 *may*: can  
 3 *be deceived*: go wrong   4 *matter*: something // *use*: celebrating   7 *yet*: even  
 7–10: See Saint Augustine, *Against the Fundamental Epistle of Manichaeus*, 5.6.  
 8 *very books*: i.e., actual books of it   10 *declare*: state   11 *ere*: before  
 13 *used*: behaved // *the Holy Housel*: Holy Communion   14 *beside the*: outside of  
 14 *anything repugned thereat*: made any objection to it   15 *guise*: practice  
 16 *houseled of*: given Communion by   16–17 *another man's*: someone else's  
 18 *use*: make it his practice   19 *the one form alone*: just the one form or the other  
 20 *Blessed Sacrament*: i.e., Eucharist // *old holy doctors*: early theologians  
 20–21 *with one voice*: unanimously   21 *all the corps*: the whole body  
 24 *representeth*: makes present / reenacts   25 *proper*: natural   29 *kind*: species  
 29 *used*: i.e., the practice   30 *the both twain*: both of the two   33 *that*: who

Yet is there, also, put into the wine before the Consecration... a little water, always; whereof we find no word written in the Gospel, nor any plain place in all the Scripture for it. And yet may it not be lawfully left out, as all the old holy doctors teach us. And divers causes

5 they lay of that institution—partly for that out of the holy heart of Christ, when it was pierced with the spear, there issued both blood and water. And some allege that it is done for to signify the  
*Revelation 17:15* joining of the people with Christ. For as it  
 10 “*Aquae populi sunt.*” appeareth in the Apocalypse, by water is signified people. And finally, some holy saints say that it is done because that our Savior himself at his Maundy...  
 15 tempered his wine with water.

And all these may be good causes... with the truth, and the will of God, well known; but *else* I verily believe that no good man, upon  
 15 any of these considerations (or any other), when he should consecrate... would presume or adventure to put water into his wine, where the Gospel of the institution... speaketh of no water at all, but only of wine, alone.

And therefore it well and clearly appeareth, both by this point  
 20 and divers others more (as in the very words and manner of Consecration), that the rites and the manner of this holy sacrament... were more at large shown, and more fully taught, by Christ’s apostles by mouth... than afterward written by their pen.

And so appeareth it also by Saint Paul, which first taught it the  
 25 Corinthians without any book written thereof, and after writing  
*1 Corinthians 11:34* them somewhat thereof... saith, yet, finally:  
 “*Cetera cum venero ipse disponam*”—“The remnant  
 I will order when I come myself.” And never wrote he those orders  
 after... that he took further at his coming, as far as ever I could  
 30 *Origen* hear proved. Origen saith also (and divers other old holy doctors) that many things of the Mass were taught by the apostles by tradition, without writing;

3 *may*: can // *lawfully*: licitly    4, 31 *old holy doctors*: early theologians  
 4 *divers causes*: various reasons    5 *lay of*: adduce for    5–7: See John 19:34.  
 8–9 *it appeareth*: i.e., is made clear    11 *Maundy*: Last Supper    13 *good*: valid  
 16 *adventure*: dare // *where*: given that    17, 32 *of the*: regarding the  
 19 *well and*: good and; quite    20, 30 *divers*: several    20 *as*: such as  
 21–22 *at large*: extensively    22 *shown*: communicated    24 *which*: who  
 24 *the*: i.e., to the    25 *book*: i.e., documentation; textual instruction  
 26 *somewhat*: something    27 *remnant*: rest  
 28 *order*: set in order; give the directives about  
 28 *orders*: directives    29 *took*: gave

*Saint Dionysius* by mouth. Saint Dionysius also, in his book *De Ecclesiastica hierarchia*, saith that the apostles taught the manner of consecrating in the Mass... by mouth.

5 Now, because of these wonderful things (and many others) wherein this most blessed sacrament so far excelleth all others, as that sacrament that not only signifieth and betokeneth... but also verily and really *containeth*... the holy and blessed blood of him... of whom all the other sacraments take their strength (for he is, as I have said, not only man but also *God*, and with his holy body and blood is also his holy *soul*, and with both his body and 10 soul... joined his inseparable Godhead; and of him, his Father, and their Holy Spirit is all one Godhead... and therefore there present all three)—for these causes, I say, for which this blessed sacrament so many manner ways differeth from all others, the old holy 15 doctors have accustomed to speak of this holy sacrament in diverse wise... and, to signify and insinuate thereby the diverse properties thereof, by sundry diverse names have been accustomed to call it.

Whereas the Sacrament of Baptism is not called “the Sacrament” alone, but “the Sacrament of Baptism”; nor any of the remnant 20 without the addition of their own proper name (as “the Sacrament of Confirmation,” “the Sacrament of Penance,” and so forth the remnant)—only *this* blessed sacrament is called and known by the name of “Sacrament” alone; signifying and showing thereby... that *this* blessed sacrament is the most excellent, and of all holy sacraments the 25 chief. And *that* I see not why it were... if it were not (as it is) the very body of Christ. For the Sacrament of Baptism is unto salvation of more necessity than it; and the Sacrament of Penance, too.

This blessed sacrament, of the Body and Blood of Christ, is called also distinctly by the name of either form—“Sacramentum panis” and 30 “Sacramentum vini” (“the Sacrament of Bread” and “the Sacrament of Wine”)—because that the form of bread betokeneth and immediately containeth the one, and the form of wine the other. And albeit that they be indeed two distinct “sacraments”—that is to wit, both two distinct sacramental outward signs (for neither is the form of

4 *wonderful*: wondrous      7 *verily and really*: really and truly

11 *Godhead*: Godhood; divinity      12 *one Godhead*: one same divine being

14 *manner*: kinds of      14–15 *old holy doctors*: early theologians

15, 17 *accustomed*: (been) wont      15, 16, 17 *diverse*: different

16 *insinuate*: intimate; subtly call attention to

18–19 “*the Sacrament*” *alone*: i.e., just “the Sacrament”

19, 21 *remnant*: rest (of the sacraments)      20 *proper*: distinctive // *as*: such as

23 *alone*: by itself      25 *why it were*: why it would be // *very*: actual

26 *unto*: with regard to; for      27 *and*: i.e., and so is

31 *immediately*: directly; without intermediary

bread the form of wine... nor the form of wine the form of  
 bread) and two distinct sacramental *inward* signs, too (and two  
 distinct sacramental *things*, also), of that kind of thing that is  
 contained therein (for neither is the Body the Blood... nor the Blood  
 5 the Body)—yet is altogether called by the name of “the Blessed *Sacrament*,”  
 in the singular number; *Sacramentum altaris* (“the *Sacrament* of  
 the Altar”); and yet is it never used at the altar but in both the  
 forms. But for because that the very, real thing that is contained  
 under *both* those forms... is one entire body (that is to wit, the  
 10 very, lively, natural, glorious body of our Savior Christ himself),  
 to the integrity whereof... the blood of the same pertaineth, and  
 whereof it is now an inseparable part; which Blessed Body  
 and Blood—though they, being in the Sacrament under several  
 forms, severally do signify, and therefore be well and with good  
 15 reason called several sacraments—be yet never severally separated  
 asunder in deed: therefore, to give us knowledge that all that is really  
 contained in both those sacramental forms... is one very, real  
 thing (that is to wit, the very, blessed, one entire Body of Christ), *all* the  
 whole, under the both forms together, is called by the name of “the  
 20 *Sacrament* of the Altar,” in the singular number.

It is called *Sacramentum panis* (“the Sacrament of Bread”), and it is  
 called also *Panis* (that is to say, “Bread”), because that of bread it  
 was consecrated... and that after the bread converted and turned  
 into the Body of Christ, the form and accidents of the bread  
 25 *Genesis* 2:7; 3:19 abide and remain—as I before have shown  
 you that in Scripture a man is called “earth”...  
*Exodus* 7:12 because he was *made* of the earth; and in the  
 Scripture Moses’ yard was called still a “yard”  
 when it was turned from a dead yard into a quick serpent... that  
 30 devoured all the serpents that the witches of Egypt had by their  
 enchantment brought forth before Pharaoh, their king.

But yet, lest the naming it “Bread” might make some men ween  
 it were but bread in deed, it is called also plainly by the name of the  
 thing that it is in deed: the Body and Blood of our Lord.

5 *altogether*: all of this; the entirety      7 *used*: celebrated  
 8 *for because*: by reason of the fact      8, 17 *very, real*: real, true  
 10, 18 *very*: real      10 *lively*: living // *glorious*: glorified  
 11 *pertaineth*: belongs      13, 15 *several*: distinct      14 *severally*: distinctively  
 15 *severally*: distinctively / disjointedly      16, 33, 34 *deed*: reality; actuality  
 17 *one*: i.e., one same      22 *because*: by reason of the fact  
 23 *converted*: i.e., has been changed      25 *shown*: pointed out to      28, 29 *yard*: staff  
 29 *dead*: lifeless; inanimate // *quick*: live      30 *witches*: sorcerers  
 32 *naming*: i.e., calling it by the name of // *ween*: think

It is also called *Sacramentum communionis* (“the Sacrament of Communion”), because that the thing that all the “sacraments,” or sacramental signs, both outward signs and inward, both sensible and unsensible, do signify... is, as I showed you, the communion—that is to wit, the union together—of all holy saints in one society, as lively members in the Mystical Body of Christ.

It is also called... not only the *sacrament* of communion, but, over that, the communion itself; which is called in Latin *communio*, and *synaxis* in the Greek. And this blessed sacrament is called the communion—that is to say, the union, or gathering together in one—because that this sacrament doth not only *signify* that communion, but that the very, real thing that is in this blessed sacrament... besides the signification thereof... doth also effectually *make* it. For the blessed person of our Savior Christ, being verily both God and man, doth... as God, of his almighty power; by his manhead, as by his instrument (not an instrument dead and separate, as are all his other sacraments, but by his instrument lively, quick, conjoined, united, and forever inseparable)... in special manner, by grace that he giveth with the joining of his own Holy Body and Blood unto them that effectually receive it—doth work, I say, this wonderful work of this communion of men together with God.

And over this, our Savior, that is *in* the sacrament, is not only the *worker* of this communion; but since that this communion is a gathering together of all saints *into* his *own Mystical Body*: this holy sacrament, therefore, in which his own very body is... may be well called the communion.

And so, by their calling this blessed sacrament by the name of Communion, the old holy doctors and all the congregation of all Christian people... have, and do, put every man and woman of the same congregation in remembrance that in that blessed sacrament is the very body and blood, and by concomitance (as I have before declared)... the very whole *person*, of our sovereign Lord and almighty Savior Christ—from whom, as I have said, neither his almighty Father nor their almighty Spirit either is or can be sundered.

2, 11 *because*: by reason of the fact    3, 4 *(un)sensible*: (not) sensorily perceivable  
 4 *showed*: told    6, 17 *lively*: living    6 *in*: i.e., of    7, 22 *over*: in addition to  
 12 *very, real*: real, true    13 *effectually*: as the effect of a cause  
 15 *manhead*: manhood; human nature    16 *dead*: inanimate  
 16 *separate*: i.e., separate from himself    17 *quick*: animate; active  
 18 *special manner*: a special way  
 20 *effectually*: efficaciously; i.e., in the state of grace and with the right dispositions  
 20 *wonderful*: wondrous    22 *that*: who    25, 31, 32 *very*: actual  
 28 *old holy doctors*: early theologians // *all the*: the entire  
 32 *declared*: explained    35 *sundered*: separated

This blessed sacrament is also called *Eucharistia*—which in the Greek tongue signifieth “Giving of Thanks”—to put us in remembrance how high, hearty thanks we be bounden of duty to give unto God for this inestimable benefit.

5 This holy sacrament is also called *Sacrificium* (“the Sacrifice”), because it is, as I have told you, the only sacrifice betaken by Christ unto his Christian church... in stead of the old Pasch (which was the figure thereof)... to be offered up while the world standeth: instead of  
10 flesh and blood of beasts, the very flesh and blood of our Savior himself... immortal and impassible, under the forms of bread and wine... representing the most acceptable Sacrifice of the same flesh and blood offered up once for ever... mortal and passible, upon the cross, at his bitter Passion.

This holy sacrament is also called of the old holy doctors  
15 *Cena Dominica* (“the Supper of our Lord”)—by which name there are signified unto us two things. One is the excellence of this blessed sacrament... this new, very Paschal Lamb, the Sacred Body of our Savior himself... over and above the old Paschal lamb of the Jews. For that Pasch being but the figure; and this, of that figure  
20 the verity: the figure past and finished, this only *verity*—the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ—beareth now the name alone... of “the Supper of the Lord,” to signify the other to be nothing in the respect of this.

The other thing which that name signifieth and representeth  
25 unto us... is the verity of the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament. For it is called “the Supper of our Lord” to put us in mind, and to let us know, that it is not *another* thing... but the *selfsame* thing... that our Lord gave there to his apostles; not *another* supper, but the *selfsame* supper. For his Body is the selfsame body now... that it  
30 was then; and his Blessed Blood the selfsame in like wise. And that was the supper that he *last* gave unto them—after the Paschal lamb eaten. And that selfsame Body and Blood... is the thing that he giveth us. And therefore is it called *the* Supper of the Lord—to let us, as I say, perceive that the thing that we receive at God’s board now... is the very selfsame

4 *inestimable*: incalculable; invaluable      7 *stead*: place; substitution

7 *Pasch*: i.e., Passover sacrifice      8, 19, 20 *figure*: prefigurement / representation

8 *while*: as long as // *standeth*: lasts      9 *beasts*: animals // *very*: actual

10, 12 (*im*)*passible*: (in)capable of suffering

11 *representing*: representing / rendering present      14 *of*: by

14 *old holy doctors*: early theologians      16 *excellence*: superiority      17 *very*: true

19 *Pasch*: i.e., Passover meal      20, 25 *verity*: actuality; reality

22–23 *in the respect of*: in comparison to      24 *representeth*: manifests

30 *in like wise*: likewise // 31 *the . . . eaten*: i.e., the eating of the Paschal lamb

34 *board*: dining table

thing that the apostles received then. And that is not the same bread and the same wine that were then turned... but the very selfsame Body and Blood into which they were then turned.

5 Finally (besides yet divers other names diversely signifying the manifold great graces thereof), it is, as I have said, both by the Scripture and all the holy doctors... plainly and clearly called... by the proper name of the thing that in deed it is: that is to wit, *Corpus Domini et Sanguis Domini*—“the Body and Blood of our Lord.” And likewise as by all these names afore-rehearsed (and yet others more), for the cause above  
10 remembered, this blessed sacrament is called by the old holy doctors and all the corps of Christendom... not in Latin only, and in Greek, but in other, vulgar tongues, too: so in our English tongue is it also called “the Holy Housel.” Which name of “Housel” doth not only signify  
15 unto us the Blessed Body and Blood of our Lord in the sacramental form, but also, like as this English word “God” signifieth unto us not only the unity of the Godhead, but also the trinity of the Three Persons, and not only their supersubstantial substance... but also every gracious property, as justice, mercy, troth, almightiness, eternity... and every good thing more than we can  
20 imagine: so doth unto us English folk this English word “housel”... though not *express*... yet *imply*, and under a reverent, devout silence *signify*, both the sacramental *signs* and the sacramental *things*—as well the things contained... as the things holily signified—with all the secret, unsearchable mysteries of the same. All which holy  
25 things... right many persons very little learned, but yet in grace godly-minded... with heart humble and religious, not arrogant, proud, and curious... under the name of “Holy Housel,” with inward heavenly comfort, do full devoutly reverence; as many a good poor, simple, unlearned soul... honoreth God full devoutly under  
30 the name of “God”... that cannot, yet, tell such a tale of God as some great clerks can... that are, yet, for lack of like devotion, nothing near so much in God’s grace and favor.

35 Here have I, good Christian readers, rehearsed you some of those many names by which, for the manifold mysteries contained therein and signified thereby, this blessed sacrament is called. And

4 *divers*: several // *diversely*: in different ways 6, 10 *holy doctors*: theologians  
7 *proper*: exact // *deed*: fact 9 *names afore-rehearsed*: afore-mentioned names  
9 *remembered*: related; noted 10 *old*: early 11 *all the corps*: the whole body  
12 *vulgar*: vernacular 13, 20, 27 *Housel*: Host 16 *Godhead*: Supreme Being  
17 *supersubstantial*: substance-transcending 18 *gracious property*: divine attribute  
18 *as*: such as // *troth*: truthfulness 19 *more than*: i.e., beyond what  
24 *secret*: unperceivable 26 *religious*: pious  
27 *curious*: inappropriately inquisitive // *inward*: interior / heartfelt  
28, 29 *full*: very 30 *tell . . . God*: give such a talk about God 31 *clerks*: scholars  
31 *devotion*: devoutness // *nothing*: i.e., nowhere 33 *rehearsed*: related (to)  
34 *for*: on account of

this have I done... to the intent that if it hap you at any time hereafter  
to hear or read... any of these things that are said or  
written by them that use of some of these names to take occasion of  
oppugning the truth, you may have ready before, at your hand,  
5 the fallacy of their sophism soiled.

As, for example, because it is called (as it is in deed) “the *sacrament*  
of Christ’s Body”—that is to wit, a figure, a token, or a representation  
of his body—they labor to make men ween that it cannot  
be his very body in deed. But I have herebefore shown you...  
10 in what wise it is a *sacrament*... and doth *betoken*, and in what wise  
it is the *thing* of the sacrament... and *is* betokened.

Howbeit, whereas *we* say that the *very* Body in form of bread  
betokeneth and representeth unto us the selfsame body in its own  
proper form hanging upon the cross: *they* say that nothing  
15 can be a figure or a token of itself—which thing I marvel much  
that any man taketh for so strange. For if there were but even in a  
play or an interlude... the personages of two or three known princes  
represented; if one of them now liked, for his pleasure, to play his own  
part himself: did he not there—his own person, under the form  
20 of a player—represent his own person in form of his own estate?

*Saint Augustine* Our Savior (as Saint Augustine saith) walking  
*Luke 24:13–32* with his two disciples toward the castle of  
Emmaus in form of a wayfaring man... betokened,  
and was a figure of, himself in form of his own person

25 glorified... going out of the corporeal conversation of this world by his  
*John 20:15* wonderful ascension unto heaven. And in  
like wise our Savior appearing to Mary  
Magdalene in the form of a gardener... was a figure of himself in his  
own proper form... planting the faith and other virtues in the  
30 garden of our souls.

Now, as you see, good readers, that these folk trifle in this point—  
so do they (as earnest and as great as the matter is) but in a manner  
*utterly* trifle in the remnant! As, for another example, because

1 *it hap you*: i.e., you happen    3 *use*: are wont    4 *oppugning*: controverting  
5 *soiled*: refuted    6, 9 *deed*: fact; reality    8 *labor*: try // *ween*: think  
9 *very*: actual // *shown*: explained to    10 *wise*: ways    14 *proper*: natural  
16 *strange*: outlandish    18 *liked*: chose    20 *estate*: (actual) social status  
22 *castle*: village    25 *conversation*: society; social intercourse  
26 *wonderful*: wondrous    27 *like wise*: a similar way    29 *proper*: natural (glorified)  
31, 33 *trifle*: play silly games    32 *earnest*: serious    33 *remnant*: rest

the Sacrament is called in Scripture “bread”... they say it is bread in deed. And surely, if that argument be so sure as they would have it seem... the selfsame reason must of reason serve sufficiently (since it is in Scripture as plainly called “flesh”) to drive them to grant that it is very

5 *flesh* in deed.

Howbeit, in deed the most part of these that are fallen from the right belief of the Sacrament... are not yet in that point fallen fully so foul... but that they let not to confess that in the Blessed Sacrament is Christ’s very flesh in deed. But then say they that it is very bread

10 too. Howbeit, the custom of Scripture in calling it “bread” though it be not bread—that have I twice touched before.

But then say the other sort (the far worse sort) again, “If the calling it ‘bread’ in Scripture prove it not bread in deed—then, by the same reason, the calling it ‘flesh’ in Scripture... proveth it not flesh in deed.” To that we say that if it were but a bare word spoken, it *might*

15 be taken for an allegory, or some other trope or figure of common speaking; but in *this* point so *many* things in Scripture agree together upon the very thing... that it is very clear and plain that in

20 calling it “bread,” the Scripture meaneth not that it *is* bread, but calleth it by the name that it did bear before... and that it seemeth still; but in calling it the Body of Christ... though it useth (as it doth in many places) an allegorical sense *besides*—yet appeareth it, I say, plainly upon the circumstances... that the Scripture meaneth that it is the very Blessed

25 Body of our Savior himself in deed. To this say they again, “Yea, but we can, and do, construe all those texts another way, with an allegory sense—and prove by the old doctors that our exposition is true.”

To this we answer them and say, “If you construe all those texts divers other *good* ways with your allegories, so that you do not with any of those ways take away the true sense of the letter: we will not withstand

30 your allegories, but will well allow them; for the old holy doctors did the same. But, on the other side, if with any of your ‘allegorical expositions’ you deny the very literal sense besides, and say that the body of our Savior is not really, under the form of

1, 7 *Sacrament*: i.e., consecrated host    1, 5, etc. *deed*: reality; actuality

2 *sure*: solid; sound    3 *selfsame reason*: the very same reasoning

3 *of*: i.e., according to // *it*: i.e., the consecrated host

6 *most part*: majority    7 *of*: about

7 *fallen fully so foul*: gone quite so horribly wrong    8 *let not*: do not forbear

8 *confess*: profess    10–11: See 131/16–25 and 153/21–31.    11 *touched*: discussed

12 *sort*: group    12, 24 *again*: in reply    14 *reason*: reasoning

15 *a bare word spoken*: i.e., something said only once, and without any elaboration

18 *the very thing*: i.e., what the thing really is

22–23 *yet . . . circumstances*: yet, I say, it is plain to see from the context    24 *yea*: well

26, 30 *old*: early    26 *doctors*: exegetes    26, 32 *exposition(s)*: interpretation(s)

26 *true*: correct    27 *divers*: various    29 *sense of the letter*: literal meaning

29 *withstand*: gainsay; contradict    30 *allow*: approve; sanction

30–31 *holy doctors*: theologians    31 *side*: i.e., hand    32 *very*: actual

bread, in the Sacrament: then say we that in your such expounding,  
you plain expound it false. For we say that such manner of your ‘expositions’ ...  
is plain *against* the very sentence and the meaning of the  
text. And we say... that in this point you report the old holy doctors  
5 untruly. For *all* the holy doctors and saints, from the apostles’  
days to your own, declare the Scripture clear *against* you.” I will  
not here enter into the declaring of all the places of Scripture... by  
which places opened and explained with the circumstances of the  
letter, good Christian people may well and plainly perceive that  
10 the very meaning of the Scripture is against these folk, and  
proveth plain for the Catholic Church. For that were both a very  
long work... and also a digression somewhat too long from my present  
purpose, which is only to declare those words that I have already  
declared—that is to wit, the words of our Savior himself...  
15 rehearsed by the three aforesaid Evangelists Saint Matthew, Saint  
Mark, and Saint Luke, and spoken by our Savior at the institution of  
the Blessed Sacrament—and not to declare here all his *other* words  
*John 6:51, 55* that he spoke thereof *before* (rehearsed in the  
sixth chapter of Saint John), where  
20 he said, “Panis quem ego dabo vobis, caro mea est, pro mundi vita” (“The  
bread that I shall give you is my flesh, for the life of the world”), and  
“Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus” (“My flesh is verily  
meat, and my blood is verily drink”), with many more plain words  
further; nor to declare the words of Saint Paul either, where he saith  
25 *1 Corinthians 11:23–24* (in the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the  
Corinthians), “Dominus Iesus, in qua nocte tradebatur,  
accepit panem, et gratias agens fregit, et dixit, ‘Accipite et manducate: hoc est  
corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur’” (“Our Lord Jesus, in the same night that  
he was betrayed, took bread and, giving thanks, broke it, and said,  
30 ‘Take and eat: this is my body, which shall be betrayed for you’”), and  
*1 Corinthians 11:26–29* “Quicumque manducaverit panem hunc et biberit  
calicem Domini indigne... reus erit corporis et sanguinis

1, 17 (*Blessed*) Sacrament: Eucharist    2 *expositions*: interpretations  
3, 10 *very*: actual    3 *sentence*: import    4 *old*: early    4, 5 *holy doctors*: theologians  
5 *untruly*: inaccurately / untruthfully    6 *declare*: interpret    7 *declaring*: explicating  
7, 8 *places*: passages    8 *opened*: elucidated  
8–9 *circumstances of the letter*: contexts surrounding the text  
9 *well and*: good and; quite    11 *were*: would be    13 *purpose*: objective  
13, 14, 17, 24 *declare(d)*: explicate(d)    15, 18 *rehearsed*: related    23 *meat*: food

Domini” (“Whosoever eateth this bread and drinketh the cup of our Lord unworthily... shall be guilty of the body and blood of our Lord”). And by and by after, he saith also: “Probet autem seipsum homo... et sic de pane illo edat, et de calice bibat. Qui enim manducat et bibit indigne... iudicium sibi manducat et bibit, non diiudicans corpus Domini”—“Let a man examine and judge himself... and so eat of this bread, and drink of the cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily... eateth and drinketh judgment and *damnation* to himself... not discerning and esteeming the body of our Lord.”

10 These places of Scripture, and yet others more, plainly proving the presence of Christ’s *very* Body and Blood in the Blessed Sacrament... is not, as I say, my present purpose to declare.

But yet, to the intent you shall see that in the aforesaid exposition of those words of our Savior at the institution of the Blessed Sacrament... where he calleth it his own body and his own blood, I have not told you a tale of mine own head, but that the old holy doctors and saints (contrary to these new men’s tale) do plainly declare the same, and plainly do affirm that in the Blessed Sacrament is the *very* body and blood of our Savior Christ himself: I shall rehearse you the plain words of some of them.

20 *Saint Ignatius* Saint Ignatius writeth in his Epistle to the Ephesians, “Festinate ergo frequenter accedere ad Eucharistiam et gloriam Dei; quando enim assidue hoc ipsum agitur, expelluntur potestates Satanae, qui actus suos convertit in sagittas ignitas ad peccatum”; *et ad Romanos*, “Non comedam escam corruptionis, neque voluptates huius mundi desidero. Panem Dei volo, panem caelestem, panem vitae, qui est caro Christi filii Dei vivi. Et potum volo sanguinis eius qui est dilectio incorruptibilis et vita aeterna”—“Wherefore, make haste to come oftentimes to this Eucharist” (or “Sacrament of the Altar”) “and the glory of God. For when we do that thing diligently, the power of the Devil is expelled, who turneth his doings into fiery darts to drive man to sin”; and in his Epistle to

3 *by and by*: immediately    8 *discerning*: taking cognizance of // *esteeming*: respecting  
 10 *places*: passages    11, 18 *very*: actual    11, 14, 18 *Blessed Sacrament*: Eucharist  
 11 *is*: i.e., it is    12 *purpose*: objective; intention // *declare*: explicate  
 13 *exposition of*: commentary on  
 16 *a . . . head*: i.e., a story coming out of my own head; something I thought up  
 16 *old holy doctors*: early theologians    17 *new*: modern // *tale*: assertion; claim  
 17 *declare the same*: i.e., say the same thing I do    19 *rehearse*: quote  
 20 *plain*: unambiguous; unequivocal

the Romans saith thus: “I will not eat the meat of corruption, nor I desire not the pleasures of this world. I long for the bread of God, the heavenly bread, the bread of life... which is the flesh of Christ the Son of the living God. And I long for the drink of his blood... who is love incorruptible and life everlasting.”

*Justin Martyr*

Justin, the holy martyr, writing of our faith (in his *Second Apology*) to the unfaithful

emperor Antoninus, saith thus of this blessed sacrament: “Neque vero haec pro pane potuve communi sumimus, imo quemadmodum verbo Dei Iesus Christus, Servator noster incarnatus, habuit pro salute nostra carnem et sanguine: ita per orationem illius verbi consecratum hoc alimentum (quo sanguis et carnes nostrae per immutationem enutriuntur) eiusdem incarnati Iesu carnem et sanguine esse sumus edocti. Siquidem apostoli, in illis suis quae vocantur Evangelia monumentis, ita sibi Iesum imperasse docuerunt: accepto nimirum pane, peractisque gratiis dixisse, ‘Hoc facite in meam commemorationem; hoc est corpus meum,’ ad eundem modum, accepto poculo, postquam egisset gratias dixisse, ‘Hic est sanguis meus’... illis quae solis ea tradidisse”—“We do not take these things for common bread or common drink, but, like as by the word of God... Jesus Christ our Savior, being incarnate, had flesh and blood for our salvation, so this food wherewith our flesh and blood by alteration be nourished after it be consecrated by the same word... we be taught that it is the flesh and blood of the same Jesus incarnate. For the apostles, in their books which they call gospels, did teach that Jesus did so command them... when he, taking the bread and giving thanks, said, ‘Do this in remembrance of me; this is my body,’ and likewise, taking the cup, when he had given thanks said, ‘This is my blood’... and to them alone did he give them.”

*Saint Irenaeus*

Saint Irenaeus writeth thus (in his Fourth

Book and thirty-fourth chapter): “Quomodo autem constabit eis eum panem in quo gratiae actae sunt corpus esse Domini sui, et calicem, sanguinis eius, si non ipsum fabricatoris mundi Filium dicant?”; *et paulo post*: “Quomodo autem rursus dicunt carnem in corruptionem devenire... et non percipere vitam... quae corpore Domini et sanguine alitur? Ergo aut sententiam mutant, aut abstineant offerendo ea quae praedicta sunt”—“How shall it appear to them to be true that the [Eucharistic] bread upon which thanks be given is the Body of their Lord, and the cup... of his Blood, except they say that he is the Son of him that made the world?”;

1 *meat*: food      4 *his blood*: the blood of him

7 *Second*: Actually, the first (in More’s day thought to be the second).

7 *unfaithful*: infidel      18 *common*: ordinary      23 *books*: writings

29 *thirty-fourth*: Actually, the eighteenth (of Book 4 of *Against Heresies*).

37 *except*: unless

and a little after, he saith: “How do they affirm that man’s flesh goeth to corruption... and receiveth not life again... which is nourished of the Body and Blood of our Lord? Therefore, either let them change their opinion... or abstain from offering of those aforesaid things.”

*Tertullian*

Tertullian also writeth, in a book concerning the resurrection of our flesh, in this

manner: “Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur... ut et anima de Deo saginetur”—“The flesh eateth the Body and Blood of Christ... that the soul also may be made fat of God.”

*Origen*

Likewise Origen writeth, in his like homily, after this manner: “Quando sanctum cibum illudque

incorruptum epulum accipis; quando vitae pane et poculo frueris, manducas et bibis Corpus et Sanguine Domini: tunc Dominus sub tectum tuum ingreditur. Et tu, ergo, humilians temetipsum, imitare hunc centurionem... et dicito, ‘Domine, non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum.’ Ubi enim indigne ingreditur, ibi ad iudicium ingreditur accipienti”—“When thou dost receive this holy meat... and incorruptible food; when thou does take and enjoy the Bread and Cup of Life, and dost eat and drink the Body and Blood of our Lord: then our Lord entereth under thy house. And therefore, humbling thyself, imitate [and follow] this centurion... and say [with him], ‘Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my house.’ For where he entereth *unworthily*... there he entereth to the damnation of the receiver.”

*Cyprian*

Saint Cyprian, in his sermon which he made of the Supper of our Lord, writeth thus: “Significata

olim a tempore Melchisedech prodeunt sacramenta, et filiis Abrahae facientibus opera eius, Summus Sacerdos panem profert, et vinum. ‘Hoc est,’ inquit, ‘corpus meum.’ Manducaverunt et biberunt de eisdem pane et vino, secundum formam visibilem. Sed ante verba illa, cibus ille communis tantummodo nutriendo corpora commodus erat, et vitae corporalis subsidium ministrabat; sed postquam a Domino dictum est, ‘Hoc facite in meam commemorationem; haec est caro mea, et hic est sanguis meus,’ quotiescumque his verbis et hac fide actum est... panis ille supersubstantialis et calix benedictione solemniter consecratus...

1, 2 *that man’s flesh*: i.e., that the flesh of that person    2 *which*: who    3 *of the*: by the

6–10: See Tertullian, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, 8.

7–8 *in this manner*: words to this effect    10 *be made fat of*: fatten on

11–24: See Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea*, lesson 2 on Matthew 8.

11 *Origen*: Actually, Pseudo-Origen.    17 *meat*: food    18 *food*: nourishment

20, 22 *house*: roof    23 *unworthily*: i.e., without the communicant’s being in the state of grace

25 *Saint Cyprian*: Actually, Arnold of Bonneval (Pseudo-Cyprian), in *The Cardinal Works of Christ*.

25–26 *made of*: wrote on

ad totius hominis vitam salutemque proficit, simul medicamentum et holocaustum, ad sanandas infirmitates et purgandas iniquitates existens”—

5 “The sacraments which of old were signified from the time of Melchizedek... are now set abroad, and to the sons of Abraham doing the works of Abraham... the Most High Priest bringeth forth bread and wine. ‘This is,’ saith he, ‘my body.’ Of the same bread and wine, according to the visible form, they did eat and drink. But before those words, that common bread did only  
10 serve for the nourishing of the body, and did relieve and sustain corporeal life; but after that our Lord said, ‘Do this in remembrance of me; this is my flesh, and this is my blood,’ as often as it is done with these words and with this faith... that heavenly and supersubstantial bread, and cup being consecrated with that solemn benediction, is profitable to the life and salvation of the  
15 *whole* man, being both a medicine to heal infirmities... and a sacrifice to purge iniquities.”

*Hilary*

Saint Hilary, also, in his (Eighth Book) *De Trinitate*, writeth in this wise: “Eos qui inter

20 Patrem et Filium non naturae sed voluntatis ingerunt unitatem, interrogo utrumne per naturae veritatem hodie Christus in nobis sit... an per concordiam voluntatis. Si enim vere Verbum caro factum est, et nos vere Verbum carnem cibo Dominico sumimus, quomodo non naturaliter manere in nobis existimandus est... qui et naturam carnis nostrae iam inseparabilem sibi homo natus assumpsit, et naturam carnis suae ad naturam aeternitatis sub sacramento nobis communicandae  
25 carnis admiscuit? Ita enim omnes unum sumus . . .”; *et paulo post*: “Si vere igitur carnem corporis nostri Christus assumpsit, et vere homo ille qui ex Maria natus fuit... Christus est; nosque vere sub mysterio carnem corporis sui sumimus, et per hoc unum erimus (quia Pater in eo est, et ille in nobis): quomodo *voluntatis* unitas  
30 asseritur, cum naturalis per sacramentum proprietates perfectae sacramentum sit unitatis? Non est humano aut saeculi sensu in Dei rebus loquendum, neque per violentam atque impudentem praedicationem caelestium dictorum sanitati alienae atque impiae intelligentiae extorquenda perversitas est. Quae scripta sunt legamus, et quae legerimus intelligamus, et tunc perfectae fidei officio fungemur. De naturali enim in nobis Christi veritate quae dicimus... nisi ab eo discimus... stulte atque  
35 impie dicimus. Ipse enim ait, ‘Caro mea vere est esca, et sanguis meus vere est potus’; ‘Qui edit carnem meam et bibit sanguine meum... in me manet, et ego

3 *of old*: formerly    8 *common*: ordinary    9 *relieve*: fuel

13 *supersubstantial*: substance-transcending / life-sustaining

17–18 *his* . . . *Trinitate*: i.e., Book 8 of his *De Trinitate*    18 *in this wise*: as follows

in eo.’ De veritate carnis et sanguinis Domini non relictus est ambigendi locus.  
 Nunc enim et ipsius Domini professione et fide nostra, vere caro est et vere sanguis  
 est. Et haec accepta atque hausta id efficiunt... ut et nos in Christo, et Christus in  
 nobis sit”—“These men that between the Father and the Son bring us in... not  
 5 a unity of nature, but of will: them ask I now whether that Christ  
 be in us, at this day, by unity of nature... or only by a concord  
 and agreement of will. For if the Word was verily made flesh...  
 and if we also verily receive that Word-being-flesh in our  
 Lord’s Meat, how shall he be thought not to be in us naturally...  
 10 who both, being born man, hath taken upon him the nature  
 of our flesh (which is now inseparable from him)... and hath also  
 put together the nature of his flesh and the nature of eternity under  
 the sacrament of his flesh to be communicated unto us? And so  
 be we all one . . .”; and a little after: “If Christ, therefore, hath verily  
 15 taken upon him the flesh of our body... and also, that man  
 which was born of Mary be verily Christ; and if we also verily  
 receive, under a sacrament, the flesh of his body, and shall thereby  
 be one with his Father and him (because his Father is in him, and  
 he in us): how affirm they the unity to be only in *will*, considering  
 20 that the propriety of nature by the Sacrament... is the  
 sacrament of perfect unity? We may not speak after man’s  
 fantasy, or the imagination of the world, in the things of God; nor  
 we may not by a violent and shameless ‘exposition’ of heavenly  
 things wring out a wicked and a false understanding wrested  
 25 away from the truth. Let us read the words as they be written;  
 and the things that we read, let us understand aright; and then  
 shall we exercise the duty of perfect faith. For the things that  
 we say of the natural, very being of Christ in us, except we learn  
 them of himself, foolishly and wickedly do we speak. Thus, he  
 30 himself saith: ‘My flesh is verily meat, and my blood is verily

4 *bring us in*: propose to us    5 *that*: i.e., it is the case that

9 *Meat*: Supper    16 *which*: who

20 *that . . . is*: i.e., that it is the distinctive nature of the Eucharist... to be

21 *after*: according to    22 *fantasy*: ideation; forming of notions

22 *imagination*: thinking    23 *violent*: forced // *exposition*: expounding

27 *exercise*: carry out    28 *very*: actual // *except*: unless    29 *of*: from

30 *meat*: food // *verily*: truly; literally

drink'; 'He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood—he dwelleth in me, and I in him.' Of the truth and verity, therefore, of his flesh and his blood... is there now no place left for any man to doubt. For now both by the word of our Lord himself... and by our faith also...  
 5 verily is it his flesh, and verily is it his blood. And these two received and drunk bring this to pass: that both we be in Christ and Christ is in us."

*Eusebius Emesenus*

Eusebius Emesenus, in his oration of this

sacrament, writeth thus: "Recedat omne infidelitatis

10 ambiguum; quandoquidem qui author est muneris, ipse est etiam testis veritatis. Nam invisibilis Sacerdos visibiles creaturas in substantiam corporis et sanguinis sui verbo suo secreta potestate convertit, ita dicens: 'Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum.' Et sanctificatione repetita: 'Accipite et bibite, hic est sanguis meus';  
 15 *et paulo post*: "Nec dubitet quisquam primarias creaturas nutu potentiae, presentia maiestatis, in Domini corporis transire posse naturam, cum ipsum hominem videat artificio caelestis misericordiae Christi corpus effectum. Sicut autem quicumque ad fidem veniens ante verba baptismi adhuc in vinculo est veteris debiti; his vero commemoratis mox exuitur omni faece peccati: ita quando benedicendae  
 20 verbis caelestibus creaturae sacris altaribus imponuntur, substantia illic est panis et vini; post verba autem Christi, corpus et sanguis est Christi. Quid autem mirum est si ea quae verbo potuit creare, verbo posset creata convertere? Imo iam minoris miraculi videtur esse si id quod ex *nihilo* agnoscitur condidisse... iam conditum in melius valeat commutare"—

25 "Let all doubt of infidelity pass away; for he that is the author of the gift... is also witness of the truth of it. For the invisible Priest by his word and secret power... doth change and convert the visible creatures into the substance of his body and blood, saying thus: 'Take and eat, this is my body'; and, repeating the consecration, saith: 'Take and drink, this is my blood'; and a little  
 30 after, he saith: "Let no man doubt but that the former creatures *may* be turned into the nature of Christ's body, by his almighty power, and the presence of his Majesty... seeing he seeth *man*

8 *Eusebius Emesenus*: Not the actual author, who is now believed to have been Caesarius of Arles.

8 *of*: on 24 *of*: i.e., that really constitutes 26 *secret*: hidden; unperceivable

27 *creatures*: created things 31 *may*: can 32 *seeing*: i.e., seeing that

*himself* made the body of Christ by the workmanship of his heavenly mercy. For like as any man that cometh to the faith... before the words of Baptism is yet still under the bond of his old sin; but when the words be spoken, by and by is he  
 5 delivered from all dregs of sin: even so, when the creatures which are to be consecrated by the heavenly words... are set upon the holy altars, there is the substance of bread and wine; but after the words of Christ, there is the body and blood of Christ. For what marvel is it for him to be able to *convert* and *change*  
 10 those creatures with his words... which he was able to *create* and make of *nothing*... with his word? Yea, rather it seemeth to be less miracle... if that thing which he is known to have made of nothing, he be now able to change the same thing already made... into a better.”

15 *Basil* Saint Basil, in his book of short questions, asked this question, and answereth it himself by and by after, in these words: “Quanto cum timore, qualive cum fide et animi persuasione, corpus et sanguinem Christi communicemus? Responsio: De timore, quidem habemus Apostolum, qui ait, ‘Qui manducat et  
 20 bibit indigne... iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.’ Fidem autem faciunt verba Domini, qui dixit, ‘Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datus; hoc facite in meam commemorationem’”—“With what fear, and with what faith and persuasion of mind, should we receive the Body and Blood of Christ? The answer: Concerning our fear, we have the Apostle, that saith,  
 25 ‘He that eateth and drinketh unworthily... eateth and drinketh damnation to himself.’ And as concerning our faith, it is taught and framed by the words of our Lord, who said, ‘This is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.’”

30 *Hesychius* Hesychius, an old author, writeth thus (in his Sixth Book, the twenty-second chapter, *Upon Leviticus*): “Sanctificationem mystici sacrificii, et a sensibilibus ad intelligibilia translationem, sive commutationem, ei qui verus est sacerdos, videlicet Christo, oportet dari; id est, ipsi de eis miraculum cedere et imputare: quia per eius virtutem et prolatum ab eo verbum tam sanctificata sunt, quam cunctum carnis excedant  
 35 sensum”—

“The sanctifying of the mystical sacrifice, and the translation, or

4, 17 *by and by*: immediately    5 *even*: just    5, 10 *creatures*: created things  
 9 *marvel*: wonder; amazing thing    11, 12 *of*: out of    11 *less*: i.e., less of a  
 15 *short questions*: i.e., *Lesser Rules*    24 *the Apostle*: i.e., Saint Paul // *that*: who  
 27 *framed*: formed    29 *old*: early  
 30 *his . . . chapter*: i.e., Book 6, chapter 22, of his

changing, of it from things sensible to things intelligible, ought to be given and ascribed to *Christ*, who is the true priest; that is to say, we ought to grant and impute to *him* the miracle wrought in them. For by *his* virtue, and the word pronounced of *him*, they be sanctified so, as they exceed and pass all the senses of the flesh.”

*Ambrose*

Saint Ambrose saith (in the fifth chapter of his Fourth Book of *The Sacraments*): “Antequam

consecratur, panis est; ubi autem verba Christi accesserunt, corpus est Christi. Denique audi dicentem: ‘Accipite et edite ex eo omnes: hoc est corpus meum.’ Et ante verba Christi, calix est vini et aquae plenus; ubi verba Christi operata fuerint, ibi sanguis efficitur, qui plebem redemit. Ergo videte quantis generibus potens est sermo Christi... universa convertere. Deinde ipse Dominus Iesus testificatur nobis quod corpus suum accipiamus, et sanguinem. Numquid debemus de eius fide et testificatione dubitare?”—

“[The sacrament] before it be consecrated is bread; but when Christ’s words be come to it, it is the body of Christ. Last of all... hear him saying, ‘Take and eat of this, all you: this is my *body*.’ And before the words of Christ, the cup is full of wine and water; but when the words of Christ have wrought, there is made the blood... that redeemed the people. Therefore, see by what manner and sort... the word of Christ is able to convert all things. Also, our Lord Jesus himself doth testify unto us that we receive his body and blood. Ought we to doubt of his fidelity and testimony?”

*Chrysostom*

Saint John Chrysostom, in his eighty-third homily upon Saint Matthew, writeth thus: “Credamus, itaque,

ubique Deo, nec repugnemus ei, etiamsi sensui et cogitationi nostrae absurdum esse videatur quod dicit. Superet et sensum et rationem nostrum... verbum ipsius. Quod in omnibus, et praecipue in ministeriis, faciamus: non illa quae ante nos iacent solummodo aspicientes, sed verba quoque eius tenentes. Nam verbis eius defraudari non possumus; sensus vero noster deceptu facillimus est. Illa falsa esse non possunt; hic saepius atque saepius fallitur. Quoniam ergo ille dixit, ‘Hoc est corpus meum,’ nulla teneamur ambiguitate, sed credamus, et oculis intellectus id prospiciamus”—“Therefore, let us believe God in all things, and not repugn against him, although that which he saith seemeth to our senses and thoughts to be against reason. Let *his word* exceed and overcome our sense and reason! Which thing we ought to do in all things, and especially in the sacraments: not beholding only those things which lie before us, but also understanding and remembering his words. For we cannot be deceived by his words;

1 *sensible*: sensorily perceivable

1 *intelligible*: perceivable only by the intellect, not by the senses

4 *virtue*: power // *of*: by 5 *exceed*: transcend the limits of

5 *pass*: i.e., bypass 6–7 *the . . . Book of*: i.e., Book 4, chapter 5, of

15 *sacrament*: i.e., host 19 *wrought*: taken effect 20 *sort*: way

23 *doubt of*: call into question // *fidelity*: veracity

34 *repugn against*: contend against; contradict // *although*: even if

35 *exceed*: trump 36 *overcome*: win out over // *sense*: i.e., sense perception

36, 37 *in*: with regard to 38 *remembering*: keeping in mind

yet our senses be most easy to be deceived. His words cannot be false; but our sense is deceived very oftentimes. Therefore, because *he said*, ‘This is my body,’ let us remain in no doubt or ambiguity, but let us believe and look upon it with the eyes of our understanding.”

5 *Jerome* Saint Jerome, in his epistle *ad Heliodorum*, writeth thus: “Absit ut de his quicquam sinistrum loquar qui apostolico gradu succedentes... Christi corpus sacro ore conficiunt, per quos et nos Christiani sumus, qui claves regni caelorum habentes... quodammodo ante diem iudicii iudicant”—“God forbid that I should speak anything  
10 amiss of them who, in degree succeeding the apostles, do consecrate Christ’s body with their holy mouth; by whose ministry we be also Christian men; who also having the keys of the kingdom of heaven... after a certain manner do judge us before the Day of Judgment.”

15 *Cyril* Saint Cyril also writeth (in his Tenth Book, the thirteenth chapter, *Upon Saint John’s Gospel*) after this manner: “Quemadmodum si quis igne liquefactam ceram alii cerae liquefactae ita miscuerit, ut unum quid ex utrisque factum videatur: sic communicatione corporis et sanguinis Christi... ipse in nobis est, et nos in ipso. Non poterat aliter corruptibilis  
20 haec natura corporis ad incorruptibilitatem et vitam perducere, nisi naturalis vitae corpus ei coniungeretur”—“Like as if a man should mingle one wax melted by the fire with another piece of wax likewise melted, so that one [mass or lump] be made of them both: even so, by communicating and receiving of Christ’s Body and Blood... he is in us, and we in  
25 him. For otherwise it is not possible for this corruptible nature of our bodies to be brought to life and incorruption, except the body of natural life be joined unto it.”

*Augustine* Saint Augustine, upon the thirty-third Psalm, writeth thus: “‘Ferebatur in manibus suis.’ Hoc vero, fratres, quomodo  
30 possit fieri in homine, quis intellegat? Quis enim portatur in manibus suis? Manibus aliorum potest portari homo; manibus suis nemo portatur. Quomodo intellegatur in ipso David secundum litteram, non invenimus. In Christo autem invenimus. Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis... quando commendans ipsum corpus suum, ait, ‘Hoc est corpus meum.’ Ferebat enim illud corpus  
35 in manibus suis. Ipsa est humilitas Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ipsa multum commendatur hominibus”—“‘He bore himself in his own hands.’ How

1 *be most easy to*; i.e., can most easily    2 *oftentimes*: frequently    3 *ambiguity*: uncertainty  
5 *epistle ad Heliodorum*: letter to Heliodorus. (This letter of Saint Jerome’s is now numbered as his fourteenth.)    9 *anything*: at all    10 *in . . . apostles*: i.e., succeeding the apostles in rank and office  
15 *Cyril*: i.e., Cyril of Alexandria    15–16 *his . . . chapter*: i.e., Book 10, chapter 13, of his  
21 *wax*: i.e., piece of wax    23 *even*: just    26 *except*: unless  
36 “*He . . . hands*”: This is from Psalm 119:109. // *bore*: carried; i.e., held  
168/28—169/9: See Saint Augustine, *Commentary on Psalm 34*, 2.

and by what means, my brethren, this might be possible, who  
 can perceive and understand? For who is borne in his own hands?  
 A man may be borne in the hands of another; but with his own  
 hands no man is borne. How it might be understood literally  
 5 of David, I cannot find nor perceive. But how it might be verified  
 of *Christ*, we find. For Christ bore himself in his own hands... when  
 he commended his body and said on this wise: ‘This is my body.’  
 For Christ bore that body in his hands. This is the humility of our  
 Lord Jesus Christ; and his humility is greatly commended unto men.”  
 10 *Augustine* Saint Augustine in his 118<sup>th</sup> epistle, to Januarius,  
 writeth thus: “Liquido apparet quando primum  
 acceperunt discipuli corpus et sanguine Domini, non eos accepisse  
 ieiunos. Numquid tamen propterea calumniandum est universae ecclesiae, quod a  
 ieiunis semper accipitur? Ex hoc enim placuit Spiritui Sancto ut in honorem  
 15 tanti sacramenti in os Christiani prius Dominicum corpus intraret quam exteri  
 cibi. Nam ideo per universum orbem mos iste servatur”—  
 “It appeareth clearly that when the disciples first of all received  
 the Body and Blood of our Lord, they received it not fasting. But  
 what then? Should we therefore wrongfully accuse the Church because  
 20 it is always received of none but such as are fasting? For from that time  
 so forth, it hath pleased the Holy Ghost that in the honor of that  
 so high a sacrament, the Body of our Lord should be received and  
 taken into the mouth of a Christian man before any bodily meat.  
 For upon this cause... this custom is kept... throughout all the world.”  
 25 *Gregory* Saint Gregory writeth (in his twenty-second homily)  
 thus, alluding to the Paschal lamb, which was  
 the figure of this sacrament: “Quid namque sit sanguis Agni... non iam audiendo,  
 sed bibendo didicistis. Qui sanguis super utrumque postem ponitur...  
 quando non solum ore corporis, sed etiam ore cordis hauritur. In utroque enim  
 30 poste sanguis Agni positus est... quando sacramentum passionis illius cum ore ad  
 redemptionem sumitur, ad imitationem quoque intent mente cogitator. Nam  
 qui sic redemptoris sui sanguine accipit, ut imitari passionem  
 illius necdum velit, in uno poste sanguine posuit, qui etiam in superliminaribus  
 domorum ponendus est”—“What is the blood of the Lamb... ye have  
 35 learned not now by hearing, but by *drinking*. Which blood is put

2, 3, etc. *borne / bore*: carried / held      7 *commended*: presented

7 *on this wise*: i.e., the following      9 *commended*: recommended

10 *his 118<sup>th</sup> epistle*: Now numbered as his Letter 54

17 *appeareth clearly*: is clearly evident; is quite obvious.

17 *first of all*: for the very first time      19 *what then?*: so what?

19 *wrongfully accuse the Church*: accuse the Church of wrongdoing; find fault with the Church

20 *of*: by      22 *high*: exalted; sublime      23 *meat*: food

25 *his twenty-second homily*: i.e., the twenty-second of his forty homilies on the Gospel

27 *figure*: prefigurement

- upon both the posts... when it is drunk and received not only by the mouth of the body, but also by the mouth of the heart. For the blood of the *Lamb* is put upon both the posts... when the sacrament of his Passion is received with the mouth, for redemption, and
- 5 also is thought upon with a mindful and attentive mind... for imitation. For he that so receiveth the blood of his Redeemer... that he will not, yet, imitate and follow his Passion: he hath put the blood but upon *one* post... which *ought* to be put upon *both* the posts of the house.”
- 10 *Bede* Saint Bede, in his book *De mysteriis*, saith thus:  
 “Ibi forma panis videtur... ubi substantia panis non est. Nec est ibi alius panis quam panis qui de caelo descendit”—“There appeareth the *form* of bread... where the *substance* of bread is not. Neither is there any other bread... than the Bread which descended from heaven.”
- 15 *Theophylact* Theophylact, upon the twenty-sixth chapter of Saint Matthew, writeth thus: “Porro, dicens ‘Hoc est corpus meum,’ ostendit quod ipsum corpus Domini est panis qui sanctificatur altario, et non respondens figura. Non enim dixit, ‘Hoc est figura,’ sed ‘Hoc est corpus meum.’ Ineffabili enim operatione transformatur, etiamsi
- 20 nobis videatur panis, qui infirmi sumus et abhorremus crudas carnes comedere, maxime hominis carnem, et ideo panis quidem apparet, sed caro est”—  
 “Furthermore, saying ‘This is my body,’ he showeth that the bread which is sanctified upon the altar... is the very body of our Lord, and not a figure answering to it. For it is changed by an unspeakable
- 25 working, although it seem bread to *us*... that be weak, and abhor to eat raw flesh, especially the flesh of man... and therefore it appeareth bread—but it is flesh.”
- Anselm* Saint Anselm (in the Second Book of *The Body and Blood of our Lord*, and in the
- 30 second chapter) saith thus: “In illis speciebus panis et vini... aut nulla est substantia aut Dominici corporis et sanguinis substantia est; aut fides nostra irrita est”—“In those kinds of bread and wine... either there is no substance or else it is the substance of our Lord’s Body and Blood; or else our faith is of no effect or force.”
- 35 Here have you, good Christian readers, heard the very plain, open

7–8 *the . . . post*: i.e., on just *one* post the blood

10 *Saint . . . mysteriis*: Actually, Pope Innocent III (d. 1216), in *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*.

14 *there*: i.e., there present

15 *upon*: i.e., in his *Explanation of the Gospel of Matthew*, upon

24 *figure*: representation // *answering*: corresponding

24 *unspeakable*: inexpressible; ineffable 25 *abhor*: i.e., find it abhorrent

28–34: No such work seems to have survived. But this quote, with the same attribution, does appear in Jan van den Bundere’s *Compendium rerum theologicarum quae hodie in controversia agitantur* (1562). 35 *open*: clear; unambiguous

words of divers of the old holy doctors... by which we may plainly perceive and see that they were of the selfsame belief of old... that we be now—and which hath *ever* been the belief of Christ's *whole* church, since the institution of the Blessed Sacrament unto this day.

5 And many years was it ere ever any man began to doubt, but that as well Catholics as all others... that were, yet, in sundry other points heretics... agreed together, all in one, that in this blessed sacrament is the very Body and the very Blood of Christ. For, like as it was known to the apostles by the teaching of our Savior Christ himself, and so forth unto the primitive Church, or congregation of Christian people that were gathered together in many parts of the world in the apostles' days: so was the selfsame truth taught by the apostles themselves... first, fully and thoroughly, by mouth and tradition (or delivery without writing), and afterward by writing, conveniently, also. Of the understanding of which writing... there could at that time no doubt or debate arise, forasmuch as the *whole people* knew the truth of the thing *before* the writing of the apostles and Evangelists... by the faith that the apostles and Evangelists had taught them before by mouth;

20 And so using and teaching the sacraments, and understanding without any difficulty the words of the Scripture therein... by their before-taught and from time to time kept and continued faith, lived in unity and concord of belief concerning *this* blessed sacrament—no man gainsaying the very Blessed Body and Blood to be therein—even after that many folk were fallen in many other points from the true, Catholic faith.

And this appeareth very plain by that we see both  
*St. Irenaeus, St. Hilary,* Saint Irenaeus confound the Valentinians...  
*St. Augustine* and Saint Hilary confound the Arians... and  
 30 Saint Augustine confound the Manichaeans... by certain arguments grounded upon the verity of the very Body and Blood of our Blessed Savior in this holy sacrament; which had been, you wot well, nothing to the purpose... if those three sects of heretics had not agreed with those three holy saints, and with

1 *divers*: several // *old holy doctors*: early theologians // *may*: can  
 4 *Blessed Sacrament*: i.e., Eucharist 5 *ere*: before 7 *all in one*: unanimously  
 8, 24 *very*: real; actual 14 *conveniently*: appropriately; i.e., as they saw fit  
 17 *before* . . . *Evangelists*: i.e., before the apostles and Evangelists did their writing of it  
 20 *using*: celebrating / receiving 21 *therein*: i.e., about them  
 22 *time to time*: age to age 24 *gainsaying*: denying 25 *after that*: after  
 27 *appeareth* . . . *that*: is made very obvious by the fact that  
 31–32 *verity* . . . *Blood*: i.e., truth of the Real Presence  
 32–33 *had* . . . *purpose*: i.e., would, you well know, have gotten them nowhere at all

the Catholic Church, that in the Sacrament is the very Body and Blood of Christ.

Howbeit, *after* that... began there some among their other heresies... to fall then unto some of these concerning the Blessed Sacrament.

5 For when men began once to take the bridle in the teeth and run forth at rovers out of the common trade of the before taught and received... and by the whole Catholic Church believed and professed... faith: then could there not... nor yet can... with such manner of folk the letter of Holy Scripture be any bridle to refrain them back. For,  
10 setting the authority of the whole corps of the known Catholic Church at naught, and challenging the Spirit of God from the same... and ascribing that Holy Spirit, some to such a known church of heretics as themselves assigned, and the more part of them ascribing that Spirit to an only unknown church—and challenging, yet, nevertheless,  
15 contrary to their own position, the truth of understanding and interpreting of Holy Scripture (to which they confessed the inspiration of that Holy Spirit requisite) every man of them to *himself*—using, I say, themselves in this wise... the Scripture could not hold them. For they would and did, and yet such folk do, deny for Scripture  
20 which books of Scripture they list; and such as they list to receive, interpret and construe as they list. By reason whereof, at sundry times sundry heresies sprang and spread abroad, and— with great trouble of the good Catholic folk, and great decay of the true Catholic folk, and eternal destruction of their souls that took  
25 those wrong ways—flowered for a little while. Howbeit, our Lord (laud and thanks be to him!) ever provided with his Holy Spirit... that all these heresies were in short space by his Catholic Church condemned and suppressed. And so hath his Catholic faith in his Catholic church... as well in this article, of the Blessed Sacrament, as  
30 in all the remnant... this fifteen hundred years continued—and ever continue shall while this world lasteth, what wrestling soever the infidels shall make with it.

Howbeit, men may gather upon the Scripture... that like as Christendom hath now in some places lost many lands, and in  
35 some others won many lands again: so shall it be after the

1, 4, 29 (*Blessed*) *Sacrament*: Eucharist    6 *at rovers*: helter-skelter; wild  
6 *out*: i.e., off // *trade*: track    7, 21 *receive(d)*: accept(ed)    9 *letter*: text  
9 *refrain them back*: restrain them; hold them back  
10–11 *setting*... *at naught*: appraising... at zilch / treating... as of no account  
10 *corps*: body    11 *challenging*: claiming // *from*: i.e., to be away from; to not be with  
12, 13 *ascribing*: allocating; attaching    13 *themselves*: they themselves  
13 *assigned*: designated; specified // *more part*: majority    14 *an only*: only an / a single  
14 *challenging*: arrogating    15 *truth*: correctness    16 *confessed*: admitted  
17 *requisite*: i.e., to be requisite // *man*: one    18 *using*: conducting // *wise*: way  
18 *hold*: restrain    19 *yet*: still (to this day)    20 *which*: whichever  
20, 21 *list*: choose/chose (to)    22 *sprang*: sprouted up    23 *trouble*: affliction; harassing  
23 *decay*: decline in numbers    24 *true*: orthodox // *their souls that*: the souls of those who  
25 *flowered*: flourished    26 *laud*: praise    27 *in short space*: within a short amount of time  
29, 30 *in*: with regard to    29 *of*: about    30 *remnant*: rest    31 *while*: as long as  
31 *wrestling*: fighting; opposition    32 *make with*: put up against  
33 *upon the*: from    35 *again*: in turn; on the other hand

faith spread so full round about it... that there shall be no land in any part thereof, in which part people are dwelling, but that they shall have heard of the name and faith of Christ. Which was not all done, as Saint Augustine saith, in the time of the apostles themselves; but like these words of Christ (saith Saint Augustine) “Qui vos audit... me audit” (“He that heareth you... heareth me”), though they were spoken only to the apostles, were not, yet, only meant for the apostles’ persons only, but spoken to them in the name of the *Church*, as *governors* of the same, and therefore to those *governors* of the Church, also, as to the world’s end should succeed in their places: so this prophecy of “In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum” (“Into all the world is gone out the sound of them, and into the ends of the roundel of the earth, the words of them”)—which words were written by the prophet David many years ere the apostles were born, and yet prophesied by the verb of the *pretertemp*s, or time past, to signify that the thing prophesied should as surely succeed and be verified as though it were past already—were not meant that the thing should be fully performed by their own persons, but part in one time, part in other, by such as the *governors* of the Catholic Church which should succeed in their places... should, in times and opportunity convenient, send forth about it and appoint thereunto. But afterward, when it is all preached round about upon all parts of the earth, the time shall come when it shall so sore decay again, and the Church by persecution so straited into so narrow a corner, that in respect of the countries into which Christendom hath been and shall be dilated and spread before, it shall seem that there shall be then no Christian countries left at all. Whereof our Savior said, “Cum venerit Filius Hominis, putas inveniet fidem in terra?”—“When the Son of Man shall come” (that is to wit, at the Day of Doom, to judge the world), “trowest thou that he shall find faith in the earth?”

But that time shall be but short. For our Savior saith,

1 *spread*: i.e., is spread // *it*: i.e., the world (see 172/31)

3 *the name and faith of Christ*: i.e., Christ’s name and the Christian faith

3–33: Source not found. But see Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea*, lesson 4 on Luke 10; Saint Cyprian, *Letter 26*, 1; and Saint Augustine, *On Nature and Grace*, 2.

9 *persons*: personal selves 11, 22 *succeed in their places*: i.e., be their successors

12–19 *this . . . were not*: i.e., by this . . . was not 14 *ends*: most remote regions

15 *roundel*: sphere 16 *ere*: before 18 *surely*: certainly; definitely

18 *succeed*: take place 19 *verified*: borne out 20 *performed*: accomplished

20 *persons*: selves 21 *such*: i.e., such persons 22 *which*: who // *should*: would

23 *convenient*: suitable; appropriate 25 *sore*: badly // *decay*: fall off; go into decline

26 *straited*: (be) forced // *narrow*: tight 27 *respect of*: comparison to

28 *dilated*: expanded; extended 32 *at the Day of Doom*: on Judgment Day

32–33 *trowest thou*: do you suppose 33 *in*: (anywhere) on

*Matthew 24:22* “Propter electos breviabuntur dies illi.” And then shall  
 our Lord come soon after, and finish this  
 present world, and reward every good man after his good  
*Romans 2:6* works wrought in his true, Catholic faith.  
 5 “Reddet unicuique secundum opera sua”—“He shall yield  
 every man according to his works.”  
 But yet such works we must understand as are wrought in faith.  
*Hebrews 11:6* For as Saint Paul saith, “Sine fide impossibile est  
 placere Deo”—“Without faith it is impossible to  
 10 please God.”  
*Matthew 16:27* But, finally, this Catholic faith of the presence  
 of Christ’s very Body and Blood in the Blessed  
 Sacrament... hath, as I have shown, been the faith of Christ’s whole  
 Catholic Church... ever since Christ’s first institution thereof until  
 15 this present time, and ever shall be while the world endureth. Whereagainst  
 whoso wrestleth... cannot fail in conclusion to take a  
 very foul fall—as far down, except he repent, as from the place  
 that he walketh on in earth... into the deep pit of hell. From which  
 fall our Lord, of his goodness, defend every Christian man!

## 20 The Third Lecture of the Sacrament

**I** have in the First Lecture, good readers, expounded you the words  
 of our Savior at the institution of the Blessed Sacrament. And after  
 have I, in the Second, shown you somewhat of the sacramental  
*signs...* and of the sacramental *things...* that are either contained therein...  
 25 or signified thereby; and have also somewhat rehearsed you the very  
 words of the old holy doctors... whereby we may plainly perceive  
 that the old holy saints believed the presence of the very Body and  
 Blood of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament in like wise as we do.

30 Now is it convenient that we somewhat speak... in what manner  
 wise we ought to use ourselves in the receiving. We must understand  
 that of this holy sacrament... there are three manners of receiving. For  
 some folk receive it only sacramentally... and some only spiritually...  
 and some receive it both.

1 “Propter . . . illi”: “For the sake of the elect those days will be shortened.”  
 2 *finish*: bring to an end 3 *after*: according to 5 *yield*: render to; recompense  
 11 *of*: i.e., in 12, 25, 27 *very*: actual  
 12–13, 20, 22, 28 (*Blessed Sacrament*): i.e., Eucharist 14 *institution*: establishment  
 15 *while*: as long as // *endureth*: perdures; lasts  
 16 *whoso wrestleth*: whoever puts up a fight 17 *foul*: bad; terrible // *except*: unless  
 18 *on in*: i.e., around in on 19 *defend*: keep 20 *of*: on  
 23 *shown you somewhat*: told you something 23, 24 *of*: about  
 25 *somewhat rehearsed you*: i.e., quoted you some of 26, 27 *old*: early  
 26 *holy doctors*: theologians // *may*: can 27 *believed*: i.e., believed with regard to  
 28 *in like wise*: in the same way 29 *convenient*: fitting  
 29 *somewhat speak*: say something about 29–30 *manner wise*: kind of way  
 30 *use*: behave



sacramental receiving: yet for his receiving it in deadly sin... he receiveth it not *spiritually*. That is to say, though he receive Christ's holy flesh into his body... he receiveth not, yet, Christ's Holy Spirit into his soul.

5 And therefore this manner, of deadly receiving his quick flesh, giveth no quickness or life unto the soul. And in such a receiver of Christ's  
*John 6:63* flesh... are these words of Christ verified: "Spiritus est qui vivificat; caro non prodest quicquam"—"The flesh availeth nothing; the *spirit* is it that giveth life."

10 And therefore I say... that without the *spiritual* receiving, the *sacramental* receiving nothing availeth. And not only that it nothing *availeth*... but, over that, it sore noyeth and hurteth. For Saint Paul, after that he hath plainly told and shown the  
 Corinthians that the thing which they did eat and drink was the body

15 *1 Corinthians 11:27–29* and blood of Christ, he said unto them: "Quicumque manducaverit panem et biberit calicem Domini indigne... reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini . . . [et] iudicium sibi manducat et bibit, non diiudicans corpus Domini"—"Whosoever eat the bread and drink the cup of our Lord unworthily... shall be guilty of the body and blood of our  
 20 Lord . . . [and] eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself, for that he discerneth not the body of our Lord"; that is to wit, considereth it not and useth it like as he ought to do: it being the body of our Lord, as it is.

Here we see that, notwithstanding that he that receiveth the  
 25 Blessed Sacrament receiveth the very body of our Lord, yet receiving it unworthily and therefore not *spiritually*—though he be by the only sacramental receiving of Christ's body... incorporated as a member, in a certain manner, in the mystical body of his Catholic Church—yet, for lack of the *spiritual* receiving by cleanness of spirit,  
 30 he attaineth not the *fruitful* thing of the sacrament: that is to wit, the society of saints. That is to say, he is not by the *spirit* of Christ... animated and quickened... and made a lively member in the pure Mystical Body... the fellowship and society of saints.

Some, as I said before, receive this blessed sacrament only  
 35 *spiritually*, and not sacramentally; and so do all they receive it which are in clean life... and are at their High Mass devoutly.

1 *for* . . . *he*: i.e., if he receives it in the state of mortal sin, he therefore  
 5 *deadly receiving*: receiving in the state of mortal sin / committing a mortal sin in receiving  
 5 *quick*: i.e., very-much-alive    6 *quickness*: vitality    7 *verified*: borne out  
 11, 12 *nothing availeth*: does no good    12 *over that*: furthermore  
 12 *sore noyeth and hurteth*: is extremely detrimental and harmful  
 13 *shown*: pointed out to    20 *for*: by reason of the fact  
 21 *discerneth not*: does not take cognizance of  
 21–22 *considereth . . . do*: i.e., does not consider and treat it as he ought to  
 26–27 *by the only*: just by the    31, 33 *society*: communion    32 *quickened*: vivified  
 32 *lively*: living // *in*: i.e., of    36 *which*: who // *clean life*: i.e., the state of grace

For there the curate offereth it for him and them too. And although  
 that only himself receive it sacramentally (that is to wit, the Very  
 Body and Blood under the sacramental signs the forms of bread  
 and wine), yet as many of them as are present at it... and are in clean  
 5 life... receive it spiritually; that is to wit, the fruitful thing of the  
 sacrament. That is to wit, they receive grace...by which they be, by the  
 Spirit of Christ, more firmly knit and united quick, lively members  
 in the spiritual society of saints.

10 *Sir Thomas More wrote no more in English of this treatise of the  
 Passion of Christ. But he (still prisoner in the Tower of London) wrote  
 more thereof in Latin, after the same order as he wrote thereof in  
 English.*

1 *curate*: parish priest

1-2 *although* . . . *receive*: i.e., even when he is the only one who receives

4-5 *clean life*: i.e., the state of grace    7 *knit*: joined // *quick*: vivified

7 *lively*: living    8 *in*: i.e., of // *society*: communion    9 *of the*: on the

11 *after the same order*: i.e., along the same lines