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 tale following.

A treatise by the same, containing the bitter passion of our Saviour Christ, after the court and order of the same evangelist, with an exposition upon the words, taken for the more part, out of the sayings of sundrie old holy doctors, beginning at the first assembly of the bishops, the priests, and the scribes of the people, about thecontents of Christ's death, written the rev. Chapter of S. Matthew, the rev. of S. Mark, and the rev. of S. Luke. And it enchanteth in the committing of his blessed body in to his sepulchre, with the fructuous passion of the Jews, about the keeping thereof with foulborders appointed thereto, written in the rev. of S. Matthew, the rev. of S. Mark, the rev. of S. Luke, and the rev. of S. John.

Introduction into the story.

Then bide we the chaste manum, sed futurum inveniuntur. We have not here a dwelling city, but we seek the city that is to come.

It is good, when true, as true as I am (which is also) my selfe, that it was to be said, and to be spoken of, that they may have some house commodious for their ease, as well for the pleasure, in case whether once we have, or when we come once, there dwell there, or inhabit there for ever.

Sir Thomas More wrote no more of this introduction.

The first portion, the fall of Angelles.

The glorious bishop of Christ, his father, the Sonne and the holy ghost, the distinct thunders and quills like my千里 per sones, al. i.e. the creatures infinite unable & unable infinite almighty God, being freed before all time eternally abolished, in infinite perfection of their incomprehensible, imbeddable glory, did when they pleased, for of any necessity, not for increase of any comodity, of their fall, for profit, not for the recreation of their God, but only of their own goodnesse, and the high, beautiful nature of angels, to make, some creatures partners of their creatures goodnesse. And albeit they so excellent company of angels, all not being of the pleasing, but ordainably divided into divers orders and degrees, higher in excellence of nature, making the lower, yet never be the lowest farre pate and exceed, the natural state that mankind after...
A treatise upon the passion.

...afterward had in his creation. But yet had not the Angels susth in their creation, given unto the perfect bliss of heaven, nor that susth in the very fruition and pleasure beholding of the glorious Trinity: but were left in the hand of their own free will a heritage, either with the hope of God's grace, by turning to God with love and thanks, for that they had already of his grace, to be received by grace unto that glory, willing to be begotten from grace, a turning from God, as graciously captives towardly to fall into wretchedness. For, if they had once already had the mercy of God at that time, in such wise as the glorious company of Angels and saved souls blissfully have it now, the truly beholding thereof, might never have been so delightable to them as to be full unto them, and so should have perchance been killed them both with delight, that they should not have any place in them, for any contrary or affection to enter. But now standing thus in the liberty of themselves with those excellent beatuful gifts of their nature, and being by grace moved to come unto God and love him, why should God also not have with him confound the same, and all thine multitude followed the instinct of grace, and to abide, and were of God therefore exalted into the clearer light of the godhead, by grace confirmed in all blessedness, in full surety of itself full perfections and everlasting...

Lucifer on the other side a Angel of excellent brightness, was fully setting up the grace a spide of God, wherewith he was so farre to look up ward as to a maker began in such wise in which all beholding of God, he notwithstanding the same, yet more than of the nature, yet yet could not be brought that he should be made void in these, being without...
A treatise upon the passion.

At the earth and the sea: which with continual records and coustneple had with their chief princes ruler Lucifer, that reigned as king over all the children of pride, was a Palse there till the day of some perfecting attempt, decoy, trouble, here and punish, such as they can catch into their claves of a link in all kind of ma. And then at the final judgement, they shall all, as they to their further oncomforth be truly showed already, lose all their authority and rule over man, and enter with all men into the self same infernal fire, that was first principal prepared for themself: and therein shall they with their sinful soules that have left god's followed them in torments intolerable burn in hell for ever.

Let us here nowe god readers before we proceed further, consider well this matter, and ponder well this fairefull point, what possible peril there is in these laste tyme of pypte, what abominable thing is it in the light of god, what any creature fall in the selfe into the helpless and lying of it self, as the thing thereupon continued, insusceptibly sapient not to solowe, first the neglecting, after contenting, and finally with disobedience and rebellion, the very full forsaking of God.

If god was so much with pypte, that he spared not to dyeue downe into helie for pypte, the noble high excellent Angelles of heaven: what maye any other be so great in this world; where God hath not high cause to tremble and quakes every soul in his body, as soon as he seeth an high proud thought enter once into her heart, remembering the terrible commination and threat of God in holy scripture, Potentes potenti tormenta patienter.

The mighty men shall mightily suffer comites. And this if his be so faire a thing, so faire unsetting in the sight of god, so the sinne of pypte in the persons of a great estate, that hath yet many occasion of inclinacion thereof: how much more abominable is that pleasir pypte in a lowe with itre tailor, that hath a purse as penelues as any poore pedler, and hath yet an hert as high as man a might prince. And if it be odious in the sight of god, that a woman beautifull in deede abuse the pypte of her beauty to a barn glory of her selfe: how delectable is that banite damesell to the devil, that standeth in her own light, and taketh herself for a pypte, tuming hersel he well impres for her tode forhead, while she young man that beholdest her, marketh more her cursed nose. And if it be a thing detestable; any creature to pypte in pypte, upon the respect and regard of personage beaute, strength, withe, or learning, other such manner thing as by nature's grace are properlie they own: bowe much more solowly abaid is ther in that pypte, by which we would despise loke by on height, and solemnely set by our selfe, with despise disdain of other farre better men, onely so; very barn wouldily replyes that properly be not our own? For how proud be men of golde and silver, no part of our self, but of hearth, and of nature no better then is the poxe or in of time, no man maye be so profitable, as at the poxe mettall that made by plowth our, and horses more, and boise naples. Poxe proud be many menne of these glistening bone, of which is very brightenes, though he rost the ry. It will never goe high to bright noe; they were high so much lighter, as at a poxe hals pery cannel. How proud is many a man and ouer his neighbour, because the wall of hys golone is gye; and yet as gyne as it is, a poxe hepe ware it on her backe before it came upon his; and all the while the ware it, over her wall never to fine, yet was the partie but a hepe. And why should he be now better then she by that wall, that though it be his, is yet not so desirous, as it was derebly hers. But now how many men are there poxand of that that is not their: at ale. Is there no man poxand of keeping another mannes gate? another mannes house? another mannes bound or buke is what a bagging make a hearward to his other buttered bawdlike, for pride of another mannes here? but weith what speake we of other mannes and our own? I can be nothing (the thing well yped) that any man maye wel call his own. But as me maye call him a sole that beareth himself proud, because he is lorded about in a borrowed gown, so maye we well call very soles all, if we beare us proud of any thing that we have here. For nothing have we here of our owne, so much as our owne bodies, but have borrowed it all of god, and yeld it we must again, and send our selfe soule out naked no man can tell howe some. What hast thou faith Saint Paul, that thou hast not received? And if thou have received it, whereof gloses thou, as though thou haddest not received it? All that ever we haue, of God we have receiued; richesse, royal
A treatise upon the passion.

A paralyse, lordship, beauty, strength, learning, hope, hope, foule and all. And almost all things hath he lent us. For all these that we depart from every thing agayne, excepte sure foule alone. And yet that must we gyue God againe also, or els shall we kepe it still in suche a soule, as we were better lefte it. And for the myneuse thereof and of our bodies then, and of all the remnant of that soule were, whereof we bee now to proude, we haie yeles a full straunge accomplish, and come to an haupre reueng, and many a thousand thousand foules together burned in hell eternally, for the pernicious prude of that soule were, so glorious, fouled before in the transtrowerlyme and lyhte of this sondre wretched world. For surely this soule of pride, as it is the first of all soules, began among the angels in heaven, so is it the head and root of all other soules, and of them all most pestile. But it is not my purpose to declarers by, the many soules that beare thereof, all the kinds of mishief that proceede by on it so, that would occupy more time (that were meete for this present matter) but oncely will I countaine every man and woman to beware even of the berpest spire thereof, which is the soule to be the bare delit and lyding of sure soules, for anything that either is in by, or outwardly belonging to us. Let every man make well in a soule of our soule, and let us marke well what when the yuel spiste catcheth any proud baume thought into our ounde, and let us doth with make a crose on our heart, and bless it oute by and by, and caste it at his head againe. For ther gladely take in one such gelt of his, he shall not fail to dying in two of his tribes some after, and every one wasteth thereon. This point exprestly doth the spirit of God by the mouth of the prophet, where he saith the perpe take the progress of soul of the soul, in the person of whom be faith in this world: vertere

Glorious blessed trinity, whose justice hath damped into perpetual pain, many proud rebellious angels, whom the goodnes had created to be partners of thine eternal glory; for the tender mercy, plait in myne harte remeke, that I so may by the grace solove the motion of my good angel, and so till the proud soul of those spirits that so, as I may the, with the merits of the byter passion, be the partner of the byple, with those holy spirits that soode, and nowe confirmed by the grace, in glorye that stande for ever.
A treatise upon the passion.

The second point, the creation, and fall of mankinde.

Glories masterpiece of Almighty God, after the fire consumed ten, and fall of angels, not willing to suffer the malice of his proud envious enemies, make such a manner in his glorious course of heaven, determined of his great goodness, to create a newe kynde of creature, whereby he would make by a fulfillment of glorious blessed people, the number of all those suppliant angels, that wer throw they high malicious pride, shown out of weality into wychednes,

This newe kynde than, that he wold for this purpose create, the hope of his grace, determined many ways to mingle and temper. For (as it shoule be able, with help of his grace) to attain unto such high heavenly joy, he would have it spiritual, and immortall. And yet to remove it from the precious base, that be before had and this flames in this spiritual and immortall substance, God determined that this new kynde of creature shoulde also be bodye grosse and unstable. And thus after this visible world was made, and sone earth, and sea, furnished with souls and spirits, and beasts, grasse, herbs, trees, and fruit, he made the body of man of the frame of the earth, and created of notynge, the spiritual substance of the soul, after the image and similitude of himselfe, in that he endued, with the three great gifts, memory, understanding, and will. In a certain maner of resemblance of the glorious blessed tripony, the father, the sonne, and the holy God.

This kynde of man created God of a meruounce concyience also, with all manner of creatures. For he made it have a begun, as hath the dead stone. A lyfe, as hath the insensible tree. A sensible feeleinge, as hath the unreasonable beast. A reasonable understanding, as hath the celestial angel.

This sore for father Adam began created of the earth, sone mother Eve joined and framed out of the ryb of his lyfe (as in the first and the second chapter of Genesis is declared) al be it they were o dyed unto the highest pleasure of heaven, yet left their honde in bearing to high might make such price in them; partes, as might be the cause of their dying downe againe, their great goodnes of God measured their rate of wealt, letting them not on high in heaven, but beneath in the pleasent gardeyn of earthly paradise. And for the farther fancierdes of their possess from paradise gave the percepts and commandements, therby that shoulde remember and confide themselves to be but servantes. And therefore he borde them there, to be occuped and worke in the keeping of that pleasante garden and also for bode them the eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. And yet into their farther knowledge and subjection, and repelling of all occasion of pryde, he set upon the breaking of this begin, that is to say, that when to ever they beate fate of the bough bren tree, they shoulde bye that is to say, that where as they had none they bodies such, as though the might bye by they owne byrte, yet suche as without they deast shoulde never bye, there should, after that they commandments were by them baken, enter into them bodies, as into the bodies of all their posterity, an inevitable necessity of dying. Thus had God of his high goodnes let them in the possession of a right noble state, and in the perspecyion of perpetuitye, of a faire passage better, of which they could never escape without they owne deast. And to the extremitye falling into the fate, he was rejoyced at the sight with his grace, and against proud disobedience might make them lyfpe from his grace, be graciously sented and judged in theye harts with fear. Now nodde our father Adam our mother Eve to all the whols world, had full dominion over all the beastes of the same, out of head of death on any bodye hucte. And authorirop ye shoulde haue had one al theye owne offspring, with which they were with the blessing of God command to encrease and multiply, and replenish the worde. Their palce was the most pleasent place of paradise. Their apparel was the best of innocence, more glorious then cloth of gold. Their nakednes as farre frrd offor their bodye was al cause of shame, as theye bodies were far from all filthy toberish of this. Their sensual partes confoumabile unto reason. Against their foules, no rebellion in their obedient bodies, which for a sea son shoulde have endured ther, about age, sorrows, sorrows, our paine, without spot or wound of any decay of nature, preferred continually by the holy holy frutes help of God. And all their children for ever after the same rate. And eche at sundrye tymes when God scitured wer, theye
A tractice upon the passion.

A hante had the body changed to body into a glorious form, without death depart out of the earth, earbd by with the soule into the bussic of heaven, there to remaine in top, bliss eternally to God fulfilling the placis from which the proud angels fell. This was to be a state in which our first father stood a state ful of heusl of eternal top, to come, a state for the meanes whole, full of present welthe. But oh to woth wicked envy made the pestilece pvpbe. For the proud hateful enemy of God, and traitorous wretch yp dyuel, beholding this new creature of mankicy, set to do wothly state, 4 either contrecyding by his natural underristadning, 4 to the shame of his grieve for his proud enimous foracie, having it creased unto him, that of this kindt should be resorted to the scene that was happped in heaven, by the fate of himselfe and his fellowes, concened to great bar burning against the hynde of man.Therefore, that he rather wold with his own damnation double, so that he might destroy them, then suffer God honoured in them, and the to proceede and prosper, that their grosslyungied nature be base in respect of his, should ascend up to that height of heaven that himself was fallen fro.

The iutel that besitizing with himselfe upon soin mischevous mans, by which he might byng makynge unto defru-uc-iod, called to monde the scene by which hee before wretchedly destroyed himselfe. And as he saw his own damnation grown by the occassion of pypve, so wold he well that he might by some byng trysting, bying pride into the hynde of man, make the first fathers disobey Gods commandement, then would God of this cuttie keps bys promise in their punishment, take from the polecyte, the greif he promised theses father for them, if the condition were broken. Upon which he gave it. Upon this, thys old serpent the dyuel, bying as the scriptur to thy wother than all the beeates, of the earth, would not begin at the maw, wone he perceived to be wiser and more hard to beeple: but first bega at the wone, as the kind in wisdom more weak, more light of bellesse, more eth to be yngled, whos if he might make on byng side, then should he st the together, be twicen against one. And the wille which perceiued wel also, the reader make that the man had to byng make, thereby getted as it there happep a els while happep oft 4 to byng man to wo, the woman ma be more, then byng at his craft, the dyuell 4 can do bymselte. This wil serpent therefore the dyuell, desying to enter the woman to this bealle befe, toke his time for his wretched woe, whether his husband was not with her. And then can he fall familiar with her, a iniquitie of suche thinnges as pertenied to her husband and her, nothing at all to himself. 4 Fa ther he asked her this question: wherefore byd God (whof he) comand you ye thundre not eat of every tre of paradise, 22 as if it rather semeth by the grehe phalsh blas- mal in many places of scripture, he asked her thus: why bid God comand you that you should eate of no tre in paradise. And that his question was suche, spredeth by the maner of her answer. Howbeit if he had asked her selfe a willing to fall familice with byn, he had said again, what is that for you, 22 had answered byn 4 said, my husband ha anwer you, all his wretched woe had ben at end, 4 he co-added and gone. But while she was content to be talkative with aя Traungue, 4 was a proper enterterner (which property some gentlepowe were ver a gosp-ly yale) marke the well that followed ther- on. She answered the serpent 4 said: Of the fruit of the trees that are in paradise the eate. But of the fruits of the tre that is in the mids of paradise, God hath comanded us that we shall not eate, 4 that we thould not touch it, lest we may ha to dye. Markes here, that in these words, the contagious cwarluation of thys wicked serpent, wyth his quessioning and her ear gyning thereto, wought not as is meth, not outwardly onely wyth her eye and her ear, but inwardly also wyth some substil sygnete in her hart. 4 by this answer of hers it appeareth, that earth upon his questioning, she began to gage, and hale to bout of the truth: frexi- faltines of Gods wood. 4 Fo when as god had preciety poummed, that if they byd eate of the fruit of that tre, they thould 4 dye, the by the inward leaning to the dyuels instigation, and not cleaving to the grace of God, byys byns aunwer tur ned it into a bout, saying: forse mortemor, lest peradventure we dye. By reasen of whyche doueting, and thereby but halfe deed, the mahe halte the way her selfe, for the dyuell to wilke father wyth her. 4 Fo therefore he lette not holde to blasphome God before her, and say: forse halte not dye. But God dothe knowe, Gene. 3 that what so ever dare you shall eate of that tre, your eyn shall be opened, and.
A treatise upon the passion.

Upon that he as gods, knowing both god and man. And upon these words, the seeing that it seemed a good tree to eat of, so as to the eye, and delectable to behold, she esp and by plucked of the fruit of, and ate it, and gave it to her husband and he ate it too.

O ye witched worketh Serpent, how much of thy deadly poison hast thou put into the self soul of this woful woman at once? For here hadst he made her be, that of his own divelisty conscious god had had twaine: that is to wit, sable head and envy. For he made her think, that God had told them a lie, that he said that when so ever they eat thereof they should die; and also that God were envious, and could not so enuele suffer it, that they should have to lig a thing, as the knowledge of the good and evil.

Thus sheeke he into her hart the pop of proud curious appetite, and inordinate desire to know the thing, which so her weale God had forbidden her to know. For God would be of his goodness she should have known but God. But by the divestment, would needs know enuile too. And when her curious mente, had made her once let her sary handes into the feelynge of that bowle the cup, she could not rubbe the spyle from her fingers after. What sheeke she of the other lette evils, that she aweiord and alicest her with, as the pleasure of the eye in the beholding of that fruite, with likeous descend of the delectous taste? they not small in themselfe, but small in respect of the sarce passynp gling, when he made her desire and long by reason of high knowledge, to be like a goddelse, so that cause proudie to disobey God, and eate of the bowde fruite. And she being thus infected, and so enuomned with some pest spottes, infected her husband too.

For at her enticement, and so much for credence going to the serpentes words, to cast his wife (whose request he could not spye in his hard to conrude) he kept her company in her loundnes, and letted not to eate with her. But the wowe was the pleasure of that fruite, to returne to deplasure and payne. For fast was the fruite passed downe both they: theye, when it so began to mumble in their stomakes, that they washed it oute agayne, and in these help that counterfled them to eate it. For anone was there suche a merueles chaunge, spred thowe bothe they bo
dyes, that where as when they put it in they mouth, they were such as it was a great pleasure on the of them to behold oth, and beheld of the other: as saxe as they both had eaten it, they felt suche filthy sensual motions ofocupulence, ype and rebell against reason in they? selves, that they heartes abhorred to be behelde and seen, either of any other or them selfe either, and so one of them themselves, covered their selfe with figge leaves.

Now is there no dout, but that they witched enymer the serpent (whosch as appere thy by the spyle, abode stille by them. For the sentence given by God by them all three punishment in his mischevous manner highly arose, to see by divine deceite brought into such pate, and had a great game to beholde them come forth to comple, apperell to richlye in them: to tal of robes of figge leaves.

What a confusio was thys unto them, to see their sapned friens, they by deadly enmy the dutie, first by their owne sol to harmfully destroy them, and then to spitefully hate and laughe them to fone. But they had no longe lefte left them to take helde to that, cee that great confusio was overthrown with a greare. For so brake the hearde oute Lordes commynge, and thereof for shame they fell in a scare, and styd and hyde them selfe from the face of God in the mydes of a tree. And our Lord as though he sate there not, calle to Adam and sayde: Adam wher art thou? And he anuwere: Lord I habbe thy bovce, and was averse to come before thee, because I was naked, and therefore I hyde me. Who blesed the quoth oute Lord, that thou wert naked, but because thou bale eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee thou shoulde not.

Then toke the Adam away sarce a wip fro to giuene. For he confessed not his fault, but began to excuse hym selfe, and lay the faute from hym to his wife, and in a maner unto God to the womanne (quoth hee) that thou gaute me for my companion, the shee gave it me, and so I eat it. Then sayde our Lord God unto the woman: why dydest thou so? And thee in thwy wife never knewed her fault, no; asked for; giuene, but excused her by the Serpent and sayde: The Serpent deceived me, and so I eate it. Then gave God the sentence of punishment upon all three, using the order in declarange of his dome, as they dyd in the daping of their
A treatise upon the passion.

A they spynne, for first he beganne at the Serpent, the serpant malicious countrer of all thise meylechie. And hote byn be f kayd; because thou hast done thise, accurd by thee among all the living things and beastes of the earth. Upon the first Hat thou crepe, and earth Halte thou eate all the dates of thy life. Emptuyt will I put between thee and the woman, and between thy seve and her, and the hal fruitil thyne head in peeces, a thon Halt I in a wape to fynge her heele. Than guae be the woman her judgement, and tayde into her: I shall multiply thy mysteries and thy concepctions, and in so uwe that thou byng Jost thy children, and thou shalt bee under the power of the man, and he shalt have Nad over the. That finall I sayd to Adam, because that halst yow rayre into thy wyves yowres, and halst eate of the tree of which I forboade thee to eate, according to the earth in thy wyse: wipth labour Halte thou eate of the earth all the dates of thy life: it shall be thongh thones and blerters, a thon Halte eate the herbes of the earth. In the sweate of thy face Halt thou eate thy breaze, till thou returne againe into the earth, out of whiche thou wast taken, for duste art thou, and into duste Halte thou returne, than oute Loade made them cotes of skinnes, and clothed them therein, and sayd: Lo Adam is like one of us nowye, knowing both god and engl. And God wyth that anger seone, to kepe hym from the tree of everlastung lyfe, put them bothe spooythwyth oute of that pleauntent paraplyde, into the wresched earth.

Long were it here, and not of necessity perteyning to thise pyeles point, that is to wyte the fall of oure fore father, to note and declare suche thinges as in the ducours of thise matter men mape note and marke byn thise partes of the sercture. As for exampyle, in these woe des of God wyth which he fount AAd fayng: Exe Adam, factus essechus es tue vos es nobis. Lo Adam is nowe made as one of oure, mappe he well merked, that lyse by all words of the whole wyte appeard plain, that there is but one God, so is there in that God no persones than one. For els couthe he not conenviently faye: Lo Adam is nowe as one of oure, that is to wyte a God as we be, but he would have fayd: Lo Adam is nowe as I am.

Those wydes also some well to declare, that though Adam were not so fully deceived by the persuasion of the Serpent as Eve was (for which saynge Paul, Pape, the man was not seduced, Timo., but the woman, whereupon Saint Au- rine at good length declared certaine difference between them yet was Abiam by the meanes of his wyfe, somewhat seduced and brought into a foolhe hope, to the thowde the entynge of that fruite, by the knowledge of good and evill, made lyke a God. For God speaking to Eve no wonder of that foolishly youre affection, taunted and chesed Abiam therswith specially by name, Lapenge; Ecce Adam quaifi vos ex nobis factus es, siens bonum et meliam. Lo Adam to nowye made as one of oure, knowynge bethe good and evill. But this was not by the Serpentes pers- puation, whom Abiam would not have fayned regarded but shortly take hym of. But the seducing of Abiam, was by that that the Serpentes lyued woodes, came to hym out of his wyves mouth, whom he would suffer to speake. And therefore our Loade in declairing his punishment, fayng: Unto hym, layde for the cause: Obis audi!" Serpentes inu, de elices terrae in operae tuo, etc.

Because thon halst guen eare to the woordes of thy wyfe, accurd be he s eare in thy woode, and so forth. And because that the womenes praetyng and babbling to her husband, did so much harms in the beginning, and thould thife it were suffered to proceed, do always more. And more, therefore Saint Paulus commanad, 1 Timo., that a woman that not take upon her to teach her husband, be that her husband shoude teach her; and that the shoude learne of hym insentio, that is in silence, that is to wryte, he shoude spere and hear hym, and holde her festa her tongue. For saith Paulus well for seelaw, that if the wife may be suffered to speak, to the wyll have to manype woordes her festa, that her husbande shall have neuer one.

There may be marked also in the se fayde dypecourte, the memerous mys- chenous nature of eupe. For the dype was so well knewe the suffrey of God, and by his owne destruction in se he had allayed it, that he doubted not, but that his malicious deceit should not passe unpunished. And yet he was rather comte to take harme him selfe, than suffer another to take good. And suche a diuellish de- ley he tooke in beholdeying theyr harme and shame, that he would not at Gods comming, but abode to see the sentence of theyr; damnacion, till he tooke his owne wyth hym to.
A treatise upon the passion.

In this discourse is to be confirmed also, that when God punisheth the sinner by and by, he suffereth him thereby more favour, then when he suffereth it longer. And oftentimes when he believeth it, he doth it not of favour, but of indignation and anger. For if he had here punished Eve as soon as her life had been broken by commandment, both bad Adam bene warned by it, so her obeying by her sinner alone, as holy doctors declare, had not lost original justice, if fallen in damnation of death. But so as much as though he was created to be Adam's fellow, he was yet of lesser feeble, and more frail, and more eke to fall then he, albeit he had as then no dominion given him over her, yet by reason of God's heave, that to give her good conversable, he should have kept her company, whereby if he bad done, the serpent had not deceived her. Therefor she he bath not, but by wandring another way from her, he suffered her to mix care and be infected, God suffered the contagion of the sinner infection, to spread unto himselfe, and thereof to grow by destruction.

And this may be a warning to every man in this world, to do the diligence that he possible can, to keep every other man from hurt. For as the holy scripture saith in the mandamus: hee viviique de proximo suo, God hath given every man cure and charge of his neighbour. And because thereof he one to another, by no means then me beware of. And that care not though his neighbours house fall a type, may happen to leele bys owne. Howbeit, as this lesson generally pertaineth to every man, so for the natural love and christian charity that every citizen must be bounden to beare other, yet pertaineth most specially to those, that have other other men that special charge given unto them, that our Lord willed by the mouth of Scehel to terys them in bys vype, sidentent eam ad impium, morte mieritis, non annuncinato eis, neque locutione sui: nisi fuerit in sae simplici o rius, injust impius in impie aet mortelet, subutam etiam eum de manu tua requeste. If what I say to the wicked man thou that say, and do not the will him, nor do not speak unto hym, that hee may turne from bys wicked vype and lyce, both that all wicked man be in bys vypchannes, and yet the bloud of hym that I require of bym handes. Thus is a fearful woe de in, to those that have the cure over other folk, and a necessity to take good heed to thyself, to give them well, call upon them and give them warning of such wapes as they may perishe in. For els shall the where not perishe be punished onely, but the scab of the doth, that catcheth consume these, and at this negligence. This is here a notther thing specially to be marketh, that lyke as the kind of man was not corrupted with bys original sin, nor lost the state of innocencie by the fault of Eve alone, which was but the febber and inferior part, yet Adam that was the stronger and superier part, made hym selfe partener to the same sinne also, so there is no manne accounted of God for an offender in any deadly actual sinne, by any manner <omission> of the souell unto the sensual part, as long as the will after the judgement of God on resititution and restitutio to content. But when reason grueth over to sensualitie, whereby the man whole and entire falleth into the content, either to be a deadly sinne, or to delpe in the desisting and thinkynge upon any such finall act, for the pleasure that he taketh in that thought, all were to do that he thought therwith he would not do the deeds, yet were the full content to the pleasure of that onely thought, fall and whole deadly sinne. Howbeit if a seditious delpe, calle by the dual into the sensual part, is no sinne at all, but may be matter of merite, except the will with reason giving over thereto, neither consent to be there therein, or els is so negligent in looking to sensualitie, that he lettereth her over longe alone therein, and liseth not to do hym bielice, in despising that finnall suggestion from her. For freely suche manner negligence, is a dote the face of God accored for a consent, and so for a deadly sinne.

It is also specially to be marked, that the sabbage of man of Adam and Eve, not paying God of fowgyne, but exculing they sinne, was in manner more displeasure to God, than was they signe for thei selfe. Thus is also notable to be marked, that as tenderly as Adam loved Eve, rather content to byplease God than her, yet when he lave that to; ow should come thereon, he woulde faine have lade it from him selfe unto her. And thus will it fare by these tenderly bypched lover's here, when they come in hell together, they shall curse each other full fast, how hell lettynge passe as inexpert to my matter.
A treatise vpon the passion.

A matter, many things that might be marked no, let us not forget to mark this one point well, which is the name of all the second point, that is to wit, let us consider deeply, from what weale into what wretchedness, by the yole of our forefathers, mangende is wholly fallen, therefore the false yol suggestion of our mostal enemy diuell. In which thing when I beholde it, I thinketh I may well lay the yolde of our Saint John in the Apocalypse, wyth which he bewolveth this wretched wyolde, by reason of that the diuell fell out of heaven therein: as terre et mari, quia defendit diabolicus et vos, habens in se magnum fieri; quia medium tempus habet. Who to the earth and to the sea, for the diuell is come downe to you, haueing greater anget, knowing that he had the little yone. This be so well sounde of forefa-thers, when the diuell fell of for these wyll of man, and enuie that they shoule succeede him, leverd to bringe them to the place of his finaly damnation, from where he faw well he had but a little time left, that is to wit the time of this present wyolde, which is transitory and soone shall passe, and is a tyme in all together very yshort, from the first creation to the finaly change thereout at the day of dome. If all that time be compared with his suerlasting yfire that followeth, ye found them innocent joyful and merry, much in the favoure of God, and oft yreligion his ydolation and company, the man and his wife also joying in other, finding nothing to myselfe in them selues. Lodes of al the world, al beastes obedi-ent unto them, their workes without wo-ries, their meanes pleasant at hande, no necessity to die, no any bodely hurt, their pleasure in hope of heauen, and all their children after them.

Altho this hath this false Serpente biraft them by his deceitful ytrain, poisoning them with his owne pride, that the we himselle out of heauen. For as hime selfe would have bene Gods felowe, to made he the weere they soould. But whilst they went to be Goddes by the knowledge of good and euill both, the lost alas the good that they had, a gat but euill alone. They lost their innocency, and became sinfull: Gods favoure they lost, and fell in his displeasure, his ynitiation they reporteth not, but were afraid to come near him, eche of them allamed to behold the other, and soe fell either: al beastes were warie with them, and eche of them with them selues, their owne bodies in re-bellion and batteling against their soules, so thicke out of pleasant paradise into the wretched earth, they living gaten with forswearing, their children borne wyth paine. Then hunger, thirst, heat, cold, lyekeenes lindy and yole. Sure soe lusting, for the unsure time of death: and dead after all this, of the scareful fire of hell, with lyke paine and wretchednesse to al they; offing for ever.

This is so goddy the readres the wretched charge that our forefathers made, with falling into pride at the diuelles false sug- gestion. In honoured they were, and wold not see it. Honour they sought, and there-by let to Shame. They shoule have was-sed Gods, and were turned into bestees, as the scripture lyth: Homo cum in honore est, non interdixit, comparatus est lumen est, sicut etiam factus est illi. When man was in ho-nour, he perceived it not, but he was ca-pared unto the foulest beastes, to them he was made lyke, and yet broughte in decede into carre wylly condition. For man beastes lyue with lesse labour and lesse paine, than man, and none of the go to he. In daunger whereof al ykine of man Yode, by the cause of their fall if the goodlyne of God hadde not by his grace holpe with his mercifull hand. And unto heauen had no man gone, had not our blessed Saviour redeemed man, and paid his ransome by his hitte pape- nel plession: whereof the cause was this wretched fall of man. And thus I know the second point that I said Iuelo thed you, before I come to the wofull ystory of Chihles bitter plession.

A prayer.

I might ye God, that of thyn infinite goods, didst creare our first parents in the face of innocency, wyth present wealth and hope of heauen to come, till thesowe the diuelles traine their folly sel by sinne to wretchednes, for thy tender pity of that plession that was paid for them and our rerepents, assiste me with the gracious helpe, that unto the subtil suggistion of the Serpente, I never so encynghe heares of mine hart, but that my reale may relieve them, I matter my sentuality restraine me from them.

The third point, the determination of the trinity, for the restauration of mannynde.
A treatise upon the passion.

When the diuell had thus gelyially betrayed, & thus sallie betrayed, our first father and mother by their owne owne sight & folly, and thereby brought into insupportable estate & damnable torment, them selues with all their posterity, neither would the majesty of god endure and suffer his malicious proude enemy the diuell, to rejoice the wicked drawing of the kinde of man for doing him honour, no; the marvellous mercy of God abide & suffice to see the treable kinde of man eternally destroyed, by the decreet & circumstancion of the fall of the vile diuell. For though his justice was content, for ever to see all thankfull service (for thankes they serve him still) of those malicious angels, that without another motion then their owne maliac will fullly turned from him, and that his mercy no caule had to counterpese his justice, in abidiging the eternite of the proude spirits paine, that of abodrate harts wold never be toisie to; their lyne, yet in beholding the wectred decayed kinde of man brought into sinne, not al of himself where by the su licence of his false enemious enmy, and that wold after warre meere & repent and paine for pardes, the sharpe justice of God and his tender mercy, entered into countay together, And by the deep wisdom of God, was the meane founde, that man should to be restored, as they should both twain be satisfied, that is to write, both man by justice for his sinne somewhat punished, and yet upon repentance by means of mercy, should his faute be paied fo, and from al eternall bondage made redeemed and sauc and the light of the diuell, enhanced to more honour, then ever he was entised to before he tooke the fall.

To deuile this may so, was a wonderfull thing, farre past the capacite of all the angels in heauen. For the chaunces must notes be made, in mainstanciance of the true justice of God, the ransome must needs be paiide for the kinde of man, that was by sinne addicted and abjured to the diuell, as his perpetually all never to come in heauen, who for ever should pape this ransome, muske and was moste convenient to bee such as would were able and ought it. Now ought ther this ransome no creature but man, and therefore thie by hym that ought it, of reason it should moste conveniently be paiide, man muske he be that should of duty pai it. But now was there no one man, able to pape the ransome for the whole kinde of mannes. For the al the whole kinde had lost heauen, and were al in one damnacon, confounded to bloody death already any of the al, though he should willingly suffer death in recompence of the kinde, it could nothing terme his felowes, no yet hymselfe, for he paiied but his owne death for his owne part, in which better and much more him selfe was condemned already.

Now as for angels, neither can wee know that any would be than so much for man, man bringe fallen by sinne fro Gods favour: no any of them al was able, being but a creature, to satisfy for the deadly trepasson done into the creature. And yet was it over this farce for good conveniece, that any angel should have been suffered to do it. For the redemption of man after his fall, was a greater beneftise unto him, then was his creation. For as our mother holy church singeth in the Psalme terete: "Salus nostra propter te, misericors proficis, sicut redempropie." That anglysh it man to be borne, were not the profit of his redemption, And therefore if angel had by payment mans ransome and recompence made for his trepas, redeemed him, then would man have thought himselfe more in a maner beholden to angel then to God, And the ocation thereof had been a very foule disorder.

Thus that so far the, the benefit of a meanere convenient for mans redemption, the thing that farre past the wisdom of all the wise angels of heauen. But the deep and infinite high wisdom of all mightie God, despised the merciful just meanes he himselfe, that is to wit, that by the cruel painfull death of that innocens person, that should be both god and man, the recompence should be made unto God for man. For that perfo both being God, should be of that nature that was able to do it, and bringe man, should be of that nature that was bound to do it. And the diuell unware that he were unrightouesly procuring that righteous mans death, should rightouesly seize the power upon man, that God had for mans unrightouesnes, righ toues given unto him before.

This excellent meanes of mans redemption, the deep wisdom of God beloued, and in some convenient, the second person, the soule of God, the wisedome of the father, and the fathers express absolute...
A treatise upon the passion.

5. lute image and brightness of his fathers glory, being lent by his father and his selfe and the holy god, bowne here into the earth and never the leste abding stil abode in heaven, and in the blessed dove of the pure virgin Mary, taking into body of person, the poore nature of man by the oblation of the holy ghoste, of the pure blood of her bodye, without mans seede or freely delection, therefore without original sinne conceived, and without holpe of mydwife or paine of travall borne, living here in payne labour, fasting, watch, preaching and prayer, and finally for the truth of his doctrine, by the procurement of the psalter, the treason of Judas, the malice of the Jews, and cruel hands of the patrions, those the painfull hyster pangs and death of his innocent manhead, not bounden to subject unto death, neither by nature not sinne, but by death for may same as yppinghe suffred, that excellent means I saye of mens redemption is by himselfe deuised, hymselfe most graciously fulfilled: and by the pleasant acceptable sacrifice of himselfe, obediently offered on the crosse to the father, he pacified the wrath and indignation of God against us, and by his glorious resurrection and meritorious atonence, arising in the nature of man upon the fathers right hand, had reduced mankind (in such as will take the benefit) to more top, more wealth, and farre more honour to, the ever the fall of our first father lost.

Now albeit (as I suppose) seve men have leste but too many great questions, so many of diffinitions in unlearned lay mens mouthes than I, which rather would have every man to labour for good afections, the to long for knowledge of lese necessity learning, or desite in debating of sundry superfluous problems, yet of some such demauntes as I nowe many men of much leste the means learning, have oft right horte in hand. I that not leste one so twayne my selfe here a little to tych.

A question. First be they comalyfe willing to search this thing, wherefore mankinde should no then Adam & Eve them selfe, neede any redemption at all; for how could it (say they) stande with the justice of God, that so saue of one by Adam and Eve, at that ever came of them, should fall into such miserable fault? This question and many suche other lyke, when they be of a curious bold presumption demanded, he not to be hardened unto and aumenited, but with the woordes of the blessed Apostol Paul, rather to be rectified & rebuked.

O homo requies qui resedes de montium dis locutus est a nobis et a nobis dicitur per Sachas, (O man, he that dwelleth in the mountains & thinketh that he is known & is kept secret, saith unto us, & saith unto us by South.) what art thou to take uppon thee to dispurte with God? Is there any workes amaine that ather the workes, whereof sith heath me thus? And must almyth be his work wrought in man, give a reckoning to man that is but his hand work, howbeit on to the lyke where suche questions are not demanded of strowarde, of a vayne pyde, of blasphemous purpose, it is not only no displeasure to God, but also a good occupation of the minde, in that a man delighteth to thinke upon heavenly things, rather than upon earthly. And many an holy man hath of no vayne curious pyde, but of very pure devotion, hyer and suche judge upon the forefaire question. And of his holy me bath burnes hadde dutiesoppins. For, sooth I thought, that by the fall of Adam, the whole lyke of man, not onely lost original justice, and became subject unto the necessite of temporal death, and therewith lost also the joyful bliss of heaven, but one that by the fruit of this original sinne (with which every man alive into this world, by natural propagation, is infecte in the viscous sifull birth, in that we were all in Adam, as in the tree, as the ear of corn in the graine that it came of) was also daimned unto perpetual payne, and sensible torment in hell, although it were a childe that dyst in the cradle, which to the original sinne taken of hy's parents (of which the prophet fapteth: Lo in wre,his name was I conceived, and my mother conceiveth me in sinnne) never added actual sinne of hy's owne. And from thiss eternal damnation of sensibl payne in the eye of hell, they thought that never any of the kynde of man should be preserved, but by the merites of the passion of Christe, and faptys in hym comen to come.

Faith I saye, actual o, habylual, and in infantes by the faith of their parents and the faithfull church not certaine sacramentes of sacrifices dulye referred to God, after the sundry lawes and ceremonies of sundry divers times, wherewith these infantes have habituall faptys intuall.
And as touching the faith of Christ, that he should once come by whom the soul be saved, revelation was given to Adam, Isaac, Habakuk, and all the old fathers, and by them to the people of every generation before the law went, 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 Israel of every generation, unto the coming of our Saviour Christ baptized. Now as for the folk of either side or the other, among the Phainims, they used well according to nature, so as they lacked nothing to keep them from the perpetual fire of hell, but the faith of Christ, some hold doctors have thought, that God is of his merciful goodness, by one man and by another, as he doth, that is of so merciful goodness, that he will give no man in thing necessarie, without the mans owne fault. But other doctors that were in this opinion by faith, that original sinne dampt every man to sensible paine of hell, without the faith of Christ, were not in that opinion agreed with them, that unto all such Phainims, as in any place lived naturally well, and kept them from strafrity, God sent the faith of Christ to keep them from hell, as not suffering any man to be perpetually dampt to the sensible paine of hell, without by some actual fault, the they then felt despised not, but that the infants of PhainIMS and of the christians both, by cause of without baptism, were dampt unto perpetual sensible paine of hell; and yet had they none actual sinne of their owne, but are the sinne original. Some where as this thyng might haply seeme hard, in the hartes of some suche as direct their eye to the merciful nature of God, and can not also perceive by any rule of justice taught unto man, either by reason or scripture, how this thyng could agree with the merciful suffre of God, these good men answer, that hell is the place for sinnetall folkes, and that paine is due to the, and that all chyldren and all be sinnenfull in original sinne, for all are sinnenful, that are thou, thelike concurrence bought by propagation out of that first stroke of our first sinnenfull father, for that stroke were there at, and were in effect with sinne in the same, in such a certaine manner as all the lowe crables that ever come of the crabbetree, do take per whose cornes of the carnell whereof the tree grew. And if a poor potter may without 책임 and bitctorial, make (as ascetics Panist faith, or any self sect) of clap, two belles, the cone to live in honest life, the cester in byle and spitty, where the clause whereby he macheth the byle belles was nothing saute but god, who should be so belles and to blasphemous, as to think that God both wroung to make and be all those belles for byle, that is to byle, at the lynde of manne whereof the claves that they all came of (that is to byle they lyght father and mother) were ere they came of them, wean by thelyne bothe bywagenbyle and nowe.

Besides this, (as they do holy doctors) the scripture declareth us, that God doth both in deedes, for Saint Paul calleth at the offspring of Adam, by nature the children of wrath, saying: etc. Eph. 2.8. natura sine illis. We were (art fecit he) by nature the children of wrath. And that we became suche by the corruption of ours nature in our sire father Adam, he theweth v. 1 where he saith: Per quin bo, Romas. 3. minem pectorum in bune mundum introitus, et per pecatum mortis, et in saepe hominum mortem per suam, in quo omnes necequentur. By one man sinnen entered into the world, and by sinnen death, and so palled death thowow in to all men, thowow that one man in whom all men have sinnen. And after he saith: Sicut enim vinius delicto, nova regnavit per quin, malis magis abundanse gravi tie et donationis in infectoribus, in urbe regnavit hanc per quin, vsum Chrysum. Iglesias fecit per quin delictum in omnes homines in condensation, sic et per quin infirmitat in omnes homines in infirmitatem vicit. Sicut enim per quin homines inædilitatem pectorum conficiunt, sum multis, etc. et per quin obedientiam infi congregantur multi. Lex autem salutaris, ut absque daret deficitum. Vide autem abundantia delictum, superba banditia & gratia, ut sic: regnavit pectorum in mortem, sita & gratis reges; per infirmitatem in vitam eternam, per vsum Chrysum dominum nostrum. Lrypticly, as by the sinnen of one man, death hath entered by one, much more men recieving the abundance of grace and of justice, that reign in lyse by one Jesu Christ.

Therefore, lyphetis, as by the sinnen of one man, it went into all menne unto condemnation, so by the justice of one man also, it goeth into all menne into indulgacion of lyse. For lyphetis as by the disobedience of oneman, many becons
A treatise upon the passion.

She be constitute and made sinners, so shall also by the obedience of one, many men be constitute and made righteous. The law truly hath entered, thatlyne shoulde abound. But loberlyne hath abounded, ther hath grace also more aboundeth, that likewise aslyne hath regnyed into death, so lyne shoulde also reigneth bylysticke into eternall life, theow Being Christ our Lord. By these words of wrath of lyne, of condemnation, of death grown in the lyne and disobedience of Adam into al hyss offspring, that is to wryte into all the kinde of man by natural propagation engendered and begotten of lyne, and by the contrary words of justiye, of obedience in Christ and of justification, and righteousnes in man those grace growing into eternall lyfe, it well appeareth (lave some doctors) that saint Paul wryte, that the death grown to all mankinde contracted by original lyyne from Adam, shoulde be the death of eternall pain. From which Saint Paul wryte also all the pieces of the same words declaredeth, that no man can be saued but by our sauiour Christ. Whiche thing Saint Peter sheweth yet more expresse, where he saith: Non est diuturnum spem habere eum qui exercet justitiam. There is none other name under heaven given to men, in which we muste be saued. And that no man shall be saued without faith Saint Paul declared, where he saith: Sine sace impossibile est praeter deos, that is to wryt, either actual or habituall infounded in the sacrament of baptism, or otherwise if God be pleased, whose power is at liberty not to bounden to his holy sacramentes, but that he may beleeve the, give his grace where he list. But with his sacramentes he hath his promise bounde him selfe to doe, and without them he both unto fewe men, and with contempt of them to no man. And to: thy caufe fals these holy doctours, infantes be ressed to baptism, to keepe them from the peril of eternal damnyacion and perpetuall paine in the fire of hell. And of this opinion was holy Saint Auftine, as in sundry plaine places of his workes well appeareth.

Now stehe it is so (lave they) that by the scripture this point to plainlyy appeareth, what should we bypute the rightouesnesse thereof, as though that man might attaine to see the botome of Godes rightouesnesse? How many thinges be there verely done and rightouly by men, which yet some vnto children be no right at all. And infinitely farther be the wisdom of god and the wisdom of the wise man about the wisdom of the most foolish childe. The prophet in the person of God lath, No enim cognizioni mee cognitiones vulte, necum mea mea vulte, quia iste exaltatus ego, non est quis sit exaltatus mea vulte, et cognitiones meae, quia iste exaltatus mea vulte, no my thoughts be not lyke your thoughts, no my waies be not lyke your waies, for as high as heaven is above earth, so high are my waies above your waies, and my thoughts above your thoughts. And therefore sayth the Rome, Saint Paul: O attondo ditionem septem et scientiam dei, quam incomprensibilem sunt judicia eius, et incomprensibilem sunt actiones eius. But therebe no such causes thus. B the altitude or heighth of the riches of the-tooltipdome cunning of god. How incomprehensible or unknowable to attain unto his indetermines and how incomprensible be his bondage that is to wryte, how unknowable to be sought and found out, who hath known the minde of our Lord, who hath ben of his cysstise: God hath no rule of lustige to be powerd, b ruled by, but is himselfe the rule by whose will al lustige must be measured and thallen. And therefore he can do none lustige. And when we be discharged once of this grete corruptible bodie, that aggreueth and beareth downe the soule, oppresseth the minde that many thinges thinketh upon, then shall suche folke as that be saued, behalde and fee in the glorious goddheads, the very cleare solucions of fudie in explicable problems.

With such thinges as this, and many more that were to long to rehearse here, have these good fathers answered this matter. Tho I sake that hath thought, that by the sence of Adam, every mans obie and poyng, though he decaeded with none other sinne than original onelep, was in like wise and in like caution, daned to perpetuall senible paine in the fire of hell, as by the bondage of the father, all hyss offspring is in this world bounde unto perpetuall chaldoun. Both be it to tell you the whole trouble, helps Saint Auftine which was among othe of this minde and opinion, for all the reason wher with he answered other men therein, concerning the minde of God in the damnyacion of sinnes unto perpetuall senible poyng, so that onleone sene arguizeth that they contracted by the natural propagation of the
A treatise upon the passion.

3 of the first condemned father, which all
those other men, he could not be
"natural propagation of the substance
of our first father and mother, being sub-
ject unto that damnation. And there-
fore he despised him to consider any
point, and therefore he thought it might
be with the scripture of no. And
for lest he thought it was the last
Hermode should take that way to. And
if not, him selfe wold not hold it neither.
How be it if that way wold not be main-
tained, he then desired saint Hierome to
"implynt to him by what means he thought
that the justice of God might be
maintained, in the burning of infants
"sensible paper in hel. For he said
that hyn feile could not be how it could
"sensible paper in hel, that God should
create a new soul that never offended, and
put it without any desert of it left in
to that body, by whose company it would
contract with such an insinuation, that
the body dyed, and the soul depart-
ing therfrom, was suffered before it come
to diffusion, should be damned to
perpetual torment. And then layeth he
for there certain reasons, with which
him selfe was wont to answer oth-
er men in that point for the body, for
lacke of better. But there he required
saint Hierome to entitle him better. For
he playly confesseth that those answers
which himselfe was wont to make other
to the matter, never satisfied any
contented himselfe. Woulde God there
remayed the answer of saint Hierome
against. But whether euer he made any
not, we none bynde.

And thus have I good readers shewed
the mynde of those good holy do-
ctors, which were of the opinion that a
original sin is abut disposed thereto, damned the body of man natural-
ly descended from Adam, but perpetu-
all sensible paper in the type of hel. Both
shall ye farther understande, that there
are other which have an other manner
mynde therein, whereby there ensu-
eth nothing to great difficulty concerning
the righteousnesse of God.

Wherein in the matter is thus,
that God, the creatur of man, gave
to the two states; one, competent and
convenient for hys mortal nature, a no-
ther, of special grace a farther state of
special prerogative, that is to saye, the
possibility of immortalite put in hys
owne hande, and of the obtaining of
diernall bliss in heaven, of which twoo
things there was neither other na-
tural pertappynge to hyn.

As God
A tract of the passion,

If God had given him one eye the stile, that is to wit one eye natural, his soul should have been immortal, for God created the nature such. But unto the bliske of heaven the frution of the godhead, he did not create it to atayne by nature, nor as any angel neither, but by a speciall gift and prerogative of his grace. The body being made of the earth, and meste with other elements, was of nature dissoluble and mortal, as the bodies of other beastes he. Howebeit if God had given Adam no farther gift than competent unto his nature, he had yet had a godstate farre above all beastes, and yet a state farre under the state that he bowde in by Gods farther gift. For if man had had but his natural state, albeit he should have had (as some men thinke) the rebellion of his faculties against his reason, yet had he had (while he lived) the use of the reasonable soul, and should have had knowledge of God, and cause to love him, honour him, and serve him, and had been bounden to manifest his sobillity and respect the bliss, and the doing of the contrary, should have beirereb hel, and by voting his dutie to God, should have deserved to have after this life, not the fruition of the godhead that is the bliske of heaven, but a liue god, quiet and restfull, with spiritual delight, in such delight of God and his wonderful woorkes, as reason at the least without revelation might attain unto. Which should have been a pleasure farre above the pleasure that ever any man had, by one natural means in this world, but this world else hinges, and fuche as I suppose who so ever might attain it, could not change that state, with the state of the greatest bliss that ever reigned on earth. And yet though he cal this the natural state of man, thee meanes nos I thinke therby, that man was or should have been able to have lived well after his nature, and have attained the end of state by his own onely natural power, without speciall grace and help of God, for there is no creature either hym nor love, but as it could not without God be created, no more can it without God be conferre. And man, if he never had had but his natural state, he should have been in danger to do synne, most then he was with the state of innocency that God gave him farther, and yet in that state he sinned. And therefore if not one we which now by no meanes than one, have our naturalles violented, but also Adam ther made thee to do synne the his naturalles in paradise whole and in godlie plighte, had neede yet of Gods grace to help him thereto stand, it must needs be as I said, that he must have needed the helps of Gods grace to maintain him, if he bad had his one state of natural state. And if any man meruelles that God made all his creatures such, as they should always neede of his grace, let him know God by it of his double goodness. First to keep them from pride, by causing them perceive their feasabillities and to call upon him, secondly to do his creatures honour and comaste. For the creature that wise is can never thinke him selfe in so noble condition, as he should take to desire pleasure or so much revioce, that he were made to do a thing wil enough himself as to remember and consider, that he is the most excellent asteple of God his creator and maker, ever more attendante himselfe at his elbow to help him. If any man will herein take contrary part, and affirme that man in the state of innocency, and the angels that fell were able of them selfe to have stayed 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 they strength their then, and our reason and this state correct they now, have they differences of reason of their nature the whole and unburst, and ours now so engaged & wounded, and that the cause why we can not now without help of grace chuse the god, but willingly apply the freedom of our will to the choise of evil, is the corruptior of our nature grown by the sinne of Adam, and that therefor before that sin, Adam was before that fall able to choose god of his own natural power, & angels yet more able then, before the fall of Lucifer, therupon yth to conclude, that neither angel nor man in the state of their first creation, nedeth unto the effluence of synne, none other help of God but only their natural power, to him that this life to reason, mine answer will I temper thus, that the oner of nature stronger a better able naturally thy the, that will I gladly grant. But that they were able to resist sin of their own nature then, that they needed for their assistance none else of God all, I can I ful hardly content. Yow be it as ny man affirme lyke yes, I will keps no scales upon the matter nor almoast in nothing
A treatise upon the passion.

Nothing els, but leave of and be content with that that I trull he will grant me, that is to wrye, that they were never to able to withsande synne by theys owne natural power, but that at the last ypes yet lyved Gods helpe (which was respee when they woule ake it) they hould haue bene able the better.

Thus have I somewhat thewe you, of what minde some men be, concerning the onely natural all fate gyuen by God unto Adam. And now halle I farther somewhat thewe you, what minde they be of concerning that state which he had by the reason of the other giftes gyuen hym conditionally, by special persoga-riage above his natural state, which thin-ges be lost by the condition broken.

They say that above the natural condi- tion and fate of his body, God gave hym this gift, that his bodye shoulde never have dyed. He gave him this gift also, that his sensual partes shoulde never have rebelled against his reys. He gave hym also therewith, that he shuld never have had dolore or paine in bodye, nor heaunines or sorrow of mind, but all thing necessary without weyne or griefe.

He had farther given hym above his nature, this excellent high gift very farre, surmounting all the remanaunt, that is to wrye, undeniable hope and ability, both bodye and soule therowhe grace to come to glory, the blissful day of haue, the topfal frution of the glorious trium- ps forever. All these giftes God gave hym above his natuurall, and not for himself alone, but for him and for all his povertie. But all these supernaturall giftes he gave hym with the knoy of his condition, that is to wrye, thate his heale and his commandement, then shuld he loose them all. And that was unberfain by the promie of death, and not onely the necelie of temporal beaute, the dissolution of the soule and the body: by which the man dieh in deye but half die, sith his farre better part, that is to see the soule, by that death death not at all) but by the love of heaue, the whole entire man hath a very fose death, in that he is separate and departed from the frution of the very foundayne of life, almighty glorious God.

Now take there as I tolde you therefor some good men, that Adam by his synne lost from hym selfe and al his povertie, all those giftes that God gave hym above his nature. And therein coulde hym povertie have no wronge, no anpe cause to complayn upon God, but upon Adam onely. For they were al gyuen unto him, but upon condition hangeing on his hand: which condition why se he thake, those giftes coulde by no reason beong o or be due unto him. But yet remaied there hypphe cause for to shan the God for the remanaunt. For the giftes onely perteyning to the natural state of man (whiche I tolde you before) those gave not God unto the knnde of man, on condition to be lost by the sinne of Adam, no man to be perpetually hap- pened by sensefull feeling of the hypphe, for original synne contracted without his willing, but onely for actual synne freely committed by hym owne vioce why. And that if the crouth thus be, this matter maye partly be resembled unto some great good pyrruce, whiche gyuing to a poore man for; him and his heires of his body for euer, landes to the pyerce value of one hundred pounde, famine and free/inghicle and pythour anpe con- dition woulde gyue hym farther other landes to the pyerce value of tenne thousand pounde, with the honoure of a dukedom alio to him and his said heires for euer, rest Franken nevertheless why this condition, that if he compent any treason against this princes ma- gnyce, this buschye with all those landes of the pyerce in thousand pounde, shuld be forsake and losse from him and his said heires perpetually, and that yet the other landes shoule he shali remayn in the bloude, and that evere man of them shulde not in any other creation or other great crime against the king, shoule shand unto this personal parcel of death; other paines, accorging to instye for; his personal faut, without the losse of the land from the focke for the faut of any theye annu- celer. If I nowe this was committted treason, and lost this buschye from his heires by his beare, and yet left them this hun- dred pound landes of the kinges gift brye, there were ye not welle none of his heires, that evere coulde have cause to blame the king for; the losse of the buschye, but had yet great cause to blame hym for; their losse of the pyerce hundred pounde, which they dyly enjoy of his ile- gale giftes, more by evere gyve than euer the godlye ought them.

Let us say then, that lykeously God toke from the povertie of Adam, the roial buche, that is to wyse, the tos of heauen, with the commodityes of those other giftes above mannes nature, which
A treatise upon the passion.

For which he gave Adam for a sake, and then upon condition, which condition Adam brake. But yet he left the Israel good honest living of the purely buried pond, that is to say, the commodities of mankind, and that state natural, which I have before partly showed you, why the state also man hath without the delit receiv'd, of the only pure liberal goodnesse of God, and which commodities he afflic's of perpetual patience felt in the, god never taketh from any man, for thy penitent self thesou, without actual deadly synne of him selfe. How to that that the whole bynde of man, are called in scripture the children of wrath by nature, and put under condemnation and death, by the synne of Adam, and such other wooses as the, they answer that those wooses are and become may be merite, of the losse and condemnation of man in his in the losse of the submersion of heaven, and of those other gifts that God had conditionally given it, above the conditionate state of mankind for the wrath of the condition broken by the synne of Adam, as it were a great condemnation to lese a ducie with ten thousand pounde, and retayne only a meane man yninge of one hundred pounde. And the farther declare, that there are two maner of pains that is to wry, pena damni, et pena senex, pain of losse, and paine of synne. As a man may be pained by losse of money, or losse of bys hand, paine of losse, may be also by two maner, either by the losse of a thinge that he hath in possession, or by duty honde have come into him, or by the losse of a thinge that shoulde have come into hym, and yet of no dutie but of the mere liberality of some other man, which by pleasure given, hathgeth by wpl and with wafe with it. I now say they for actual deadly synne, every man that impentent lyth therein, is daimned both to the pain of losse, and to the paine of synne, that is to write, to the paine of the losse of the hope of heaven, fruction of the glorious light of the Godhead for ever, and to the perpetual sensible paine of living the fire of hell perpetually. But for only original sin, they lappe that no man is daimned into the paine of synne, but only byto the paine of the losse alone. And where as the same paine of losse of the fruction of the Godhead, is yet unto those christl people that are baptized for actual deadly synne, a greater griece than is the intollerable seelyng of the hope of heaven, because they were by regeneration of their baptism, made inheritours of heaven, and have losse by theye owne fault, yet unto those that die bichristened with none other sinne than original, the paine of that losse is not greater, because it was the thinge which though it might have commen to them, yet were they never entred thereinto in deede, nor were not by theye owne faulte the cause of theye owne losse. And thus lasse as I showed you, concerning all sort olde and yonge, that never being christened by nothing hearing of Christ, any no deadly synne with the out of this world, but synne original onely. And as for infantes dying unbaptised, at be that in manye of these thinges that I have rehearsed by the way, many men will peradventure thus think otherwys, yet in the effect and subinance of the point whereunto al the matter hawe, that is to wrye, that those infants be daimned only to the paine of losse of heaven, and not into the paine of synne by anie fensible paine in the synne of hell, to this point I thinke the most part of al Christendom both learned and unlearned agree.

Now as for such as die unchristened at mans state, and never heard of Christ, some say one and some say another, as I have showed you before. And some say that without the faith of Christ, if they come to differenc, they must beside original synne, ype of necessite in actual synne, be daimned to sensible paine. For they say, that al the devils that euere they do, be synne. Wherby saying me seemeth hard, but I will not dispute it here. Yowe do it well I wot, that some tretes of scripture that they lapre therefore, not synne, yone for their purpose. Pet hall I not leave unheued you one comfortabe lapere, that Papist Nicholas de Lyza toucheth upon those wooses of baptiste Paulus in the eleventhe chapter of his epistle to the Hebrues. sine fine acutum ins. habet 16 possibille est des placere quenquam. Credere enim opus est inciderem ad deum, quis est, et inipensitas sere munaboris. Ut quibus saphe(saphe Saint Paulus) it impossible ane manne too please God. For euere man that commeth into God, must bu lieue that God is, and that he is the rewarder of them that seek him. Upon these wooses saith master Lyza, that all though the people of the Jewes to whos the land was given, were bolden to the beliefe of more then this, the learned me of the Jewes, to the
A treatise upon the passion.

Aro the belief of more then the same people, and we Christen people, those that are the prelates and learned among us, be ratably bounden to the belief of more things the were the Jewes, or that were learned among them, yet into the Papynus and Gentils, to who the law was not given, no sooner had heard of Christ, it was sufficient for them saluacion to believe those two points onely which saynt Paulus here retheth, that is to wit, that there is one God, and that he woul reward them that fele him. And those two points be such, as every man may attayne by natural reason, namely forth with suche grace as God keepeth the man, but it is him that by his own deuance, either woul not receyve it, or be never to have it by any meanes. So that if thys be true that mayster Lyce faith, the is there no man of discrecion among the Gentils or Papynus, unfaune without his owne deuance. And so no couloure of quarel against the justitce of god in this matter. And it is to be confirme to that mayster Lyce ther fathe, that in the belieth of those two pointes, is implied the belialfe of Christ which is the mean of our saluacion, in that that woul beleue that God woul reward the that fele hym, haue therin implied that God had a respect unto mans saluacion, and produceth a meanethereunto, and so beleue that there is a mean of mans saluacion and reward, though he know not that the mean is Christ. And there though he beleue not on Christ, by the name of Christ, yet beleue acle of hope for the mean of saluacion, wherefore in behde Christ. And that beleue sufficeth (saynt mayster Lyce) for his saluacion, though he thinke not on Christ of whom he never heard. Thus haue I helued you, concerning the necessity of mans redemption, and the manner of mas sal, and the things that he lost thereby, and the justitce of God bid therin, so as well by justitce as by mercy tempered together, in the mercifull mean of mans redemption fund by dyuers things. And concerning Adames gifts and his fall, for his poyson. I haue helued you shyp things of libe, and other mens opinione, in which I woul hynde my selfe to the defence of neyther parte. Unthyshang are I very sure of, that by the fall of Adames, every man and childe that by natural propagation came of hym, haue so bereply lost and losten the byple of heare, that never should nor never shall any ofthem al attayne agayne thereto, without the mean of our mediators sauvour Jesus Christ. The merites of whole byter passion hath redeemed us, and thereto made vs entertaing again, as many of us I meane, as by hygly without contempt of his sacrificing, be our felow in such way, as by our owne sin we do not willfull & finally fall again for the benefit. And thus upon this first question without any bold afirmancia; or opinion that I will hold; or maintain, I haue somewhat helued you dyuers thynges that dyuers doctors taye.

A nother question.

You are there many men in had byth a nother question, ther is in demaunde the thys. Whyle our sauvour Christ (say they) be flowed upon the redemption of man, all the blessed bloud of his body, to the very folowing of the water after, and that not only being an innocent lynelle ma and a good, but also byngye befere that, very God to, by reason whereof the least droppe of his blessed bloud might have sufficte to recompense and satisfie for the synne of licne whole worldes, wherefore be not al men by the vertue of his suche paineful death, either taken by into heaven, glorified in body, and benified in soule to eternite as long as they be born, or elles at the least wyle, reduc to the said that Adam by his synne lost them befoe in paradise; that is to worte, that theys bodys might be piletured from death, and the reasonable soule for rebellion of the falsal body, and hau blyp yeuel alone let hym to Erynwychal, man discharged of a pain and heracas, and lyu here in suche pleasant plight as we shoul haue pleted if Adam had not synned, and by surrenge God in suche wyle, then in suche soule of tymes after as God shoul think convenient, at me to be traslated out of earth into the toyes of heaven. In this question are ther no thynges than one. But for the first, we must marke & consider well, that Christ is willingly putth by the obedience of the whole trinity, under more paines for our redemption the was of necessities requisite. How be it though he do byd our neccessity, yet I may be not without a great good cause. For the pleasur of God was, that by hyppeny tomente and hyppening taken papes of that holy blased and almyghty person, man shoulde two thynges consider. One, how much we be bouden and behelthen to him, that
A treatise upon the passion.

I would endure and sustain such horrible affliction for our sake. The other, that we should thereby consider the burden and weight of time, and well remember in our soul, that innocent, almighty person willingly suffered so for the sake of the sinner, of whom we very sinnful witches, to be our selle, when we be so scantily apparel'd yet thereto, for all that wonder full example. And where as our hard hearts are so obstinate, that man or for all the consideration of Christ's bitter passion and most painfull death, can not yet with compassion relent into tears, weep, if he had payed our ransom, but with one droppe of his blessed blood picked one with a pin, why is our dout ther but that there is, many a witchet wold laugh: Now as for bringing every man into heaven despite of his birth without any more do, why God would not the effect of his passion to way to such purpose, there are no causes the one, first that thing had bene impertinent to the nature of redemption, the nature wherein were at the farthest, but to restore men to the libertie and freedome of the former state. But man in that state of innocency living in paradise, should not have been in that case, to have bene forthwith translated into heaven, but should first have sinned God in paradise, and somewhat done therefore, and in all that while, have standen Baph upon the upwaiing of looking of heaven after his absolute. For if he had abbed in paradise untempted many peares no then he dyd, and had afterward before the transciption upon the suggestion of the old serpent the devil, and of the poynt perpent the woman, eaten of the fruit as he bid, he had in any time of his life had the selfe same fall. And peraduenture any of his sones he had happed any to bigger before his fall, might he have selfe and the posterity coming after of his owne body, have lost by the plentie, the selfe same state. And therefore I say that to bring man to heaven by and by was his hydeth, was nothing belonging to the nature of redemption, whereby nature is to restore him only to the first estate of his first estate, whereas he was not as we owe you, man to go forthwith to heaven.

But then why we bere not at the least restored into the same state of innocency that Adam had in paradise, with all the commodities therunto pertenning. To this I answe are, Christ when he redeemed us, how much pain to at his owen liberty to tempt the fruit what he should take thereby. And therefore we do thereby much lesse fruit, then we do, there could no man in reality vnde any fault therein. Howbeit ther is no doubt, but that God could by the passion of Christ have redeemed and restored us, not onely to the conditionall title of inheriting heaven at length, but also to the immediate attaining of heaven forthwith upon our by; by the state of innocency in paradise first, for the meanes while it had would, so dout nothing else, but likewise he restored by not straightly vnder heaven, because his high wisdome willed it was not for God's puissance, to restored he not to the state of innocency, because his high wisdom well it was for our selle not best To be established in the possession of eternal wealth, without any manner payne taken or anything done toward the descerning thereof, was and is so proper to God alone, the three persons of the glorious trinittie the creator, that God would neuer communicate that thing with any other person having but a creature, neither man in earth nor yet angel in heaven. And therefore man to know for that point as the effect of his redemption, were full unreasonable and farre over proud a request.

Now man to be restored to the state of innocency, God saith that for man it was not need. For as the scripture faith: Homo cum in honore est, non intellectus. When man was in honour, his understanding faileth him, he could not know himselfe. And therefore to the keeping of hym feynne, and specially soprope the route of all synne, a more base estate was better. And better was it also for hym to have two enemies, that is to wyse the byvel and his owne sensuality both, than for to lacke the tone. For the hauing of both, is a cause of double fear; therefore of double diligence, to set his resolute to keep sure warre to resist them, all for double help to cal double to much bapo almighty God for grace. And then wyth his help doing, he is more able a more sure note to subdue them both, than with lesse looking for. ODDS helps be, was be before the tone: hath yet also thereby for his double ydesty against his double enemies.
A treatise upon the passion.

A season of double reward.

Blesses this if God shuld by his passion have restored them that came to him as the old lawes and in the newe, unto the state of innocency, so that the children circumcised of Christ made, though he never dyed, till they were come to dissension and had done some beaute on him, and that then they should change, and by the sacrament of penance yet be restored againe, than shoulde it (as holy saint Anfryme saith) have bene a great occasion to make folks come to the fayth and sacramentes, so: the commodities of this present life: where as God will have heuen so soze desyred and sought for, that he will have the deliverers thereof, lest by the pleasures of this worlde, not only nothing at all, but also the contrary and suffer displeasure and paine.

Moreover if it so shoulde have bene, every persones soul full estate, shuld be the lode on change of his nature, shuld bene to his open shame, detected and disclosd in the sight of all the people. And over this, if it shoulde thus have bene, than must there have bene to many common open mysteries continually, that man shuld in maner have bene drawen to the faith by force, and by that means have lofte more than halfe of the merite, which God would in no wyle of his great goodnes suffre. And yet besides this, God shuld have what thing the bishop of heuen is, saw that it was not convenient, to gyue to great a gift to evry soulefull soule that nothing doste therby. And he well the best hym selue to sette nothing by it, that can synne in his heart to do nothing for it.

Finally God wille that it was nothynge meete, the servaunt to Stander in better condition than his matter, as our kyng with hym selue in the Gospel. And therefore wolde he not suffre, that whyle he came to his owne kyndgome not without travaile and paine, his servaunte shuld be soulefull, and feste and plese their nastes, and be carped by to heuen at their ease: but bydeth every manne that will be his disciple or servaunt, take by his crossd upon his backe, and therefore with some feste and solowe him. And for this causeth, though the payntynge passyon of Christes paide for all mankinde, was of the nature of the byngage, much more the sufficient for the synnes of us all, though we nothynge doste but synne alone whole life: yet God not will

lyng to soyl heauen with hell houndes, limited of his owne willsome and godnes, after what caste and syn, the commodite thereof should be employed upon: and; ordinarily despised, that the mortyes of his payne taken for vs, shuld make our love and payne taken for our false meritness, whereas els had we taken vs: our synne never so much and done newe to many good behoves towarde the attayning of heauen, could not have merited vs at all. And this I save evidently. For by speciall privileinge, his liberall hande is per never the lesse at libertie, to gyue remission of sin, and to grace grace and glory, where and when issuuer belde.

And they have some what touched the souldiers were under this question, whereas the payntynge passyon of Christes, restored not man agayne into former state of innocency, that Adam before had in Paradys.

Now albeit that sondry other questions, both may be moued and are, which might be induced & entreated here, yet lest I shulde therwith make this wordes to tedious, and the introduction longer then the principal poyntes of the passion, we shall be content with these, as those that mooste properly perteyne bin to the matter of the redemption: and bespeching almighty god of his great grace that all curious appetite of payne poylls put a parte, we may with meenes, gene our heartesse, to the very frute full learning of those necessary thinges that wee bee bounde to knowe, wee that hast ba to to the matter of the blissest passyon it selfe.

The paper.

Doly blisful saynour the feast Christke, which willingly did determin to ope to man: take, inlyse smyne harde blest, and complete it by grace, that the ouer tender compassion of thyne bitter passyon.

I may be parterner of thyne holy redemp.

Where as I have here before shewed you these points that is to wypte, the ruines of angell, the fall of man, and the determinacion of the Erinite for mans redemption by means of Christes passyon, as the thinges that were caused goynge before, topoyned to his bitter passyon followed, I doubt not but that such as are leerned, will like all, that ere I be

grues
A treatise upon the passion.

A gyntte with the lamentable dole of the passion selfe: I should first shew farther some other points, that is to wyte by what means this determination of the trinitie was notified unto man. And also the other causes of Christes death and passion, as the mallice of the Jews, the treachery of Judas, and the obstinate will of his owne holy manhood. And hereby these points might well and conningently have been declared before, and in the treating of these, all other points, somewhat have I made mention of these points too. But I have not thought it requisite, to declare them before so fully as those other, because the woes of the gospel fell, give us more occasion to declare these points in the places of the passion selfe, then those other three points which I have as a preamble touched more at large before.

To the Reader.

Sire, I will gyntte the reader warneynge, that I will recollecte the woes of the angellistes in this places of the passion, in layte, word by word after my coppy, as I finde it in the works of that wonderful father, maister John Cermon, which was entituled Mabathfron, that is to wit, one of all four, as I have declared you before in my preface, because I will not in any wode willingly mangle or mutulate that honourable manes worke: but to rehearse it, that learned which shall read it here, may have the false same commodite thereby, that they may have by the reading of these among his owne other woes, as in collecting such dothes as he sometime moveth concerning the context of the fayl, and in searching if their pleasure be very word in his own proper place, when it was gathered and taken out of any of the foure angellistes, and so they owne learning, by confer the place and the owne judgement in thallowing or in the controlyng of any part of this context, in the gathering and compyting of this present worke. But yet I will not fully follow the same faibis in the rehersey of the same thing in englyshe, for I hate, there neither can any suche straite grounde be of, and also the context of the fayl built in the eye of the englyshe reader, and yet much more in the eye of the englyshe reader, some very farre bnaucty, by reason of the often interposition of the initial letters, signifying the names of the four angellistes, thus one sentence wyth so little change to often repeated, in some place he sette to diversly entrysted in his collection, he himselfe with a note in the margine declared himselfe to dout and sayd unoare, whether in that place he sayne & think well in one, the lyke wyth boso of the angellistes or no. And therefore in the rehersey of this context in englyshe, nothing will I put in of mine owne: but out will I not let to leave, any such thing as I hath think to be unto those thyngs, no furtherance but an hint of suche, to declare progrete of this holy story, which wee hall wyth help of God in this wyte nowe begunne.

The first chapter.

The context of maister Cermon whereof of his shuttue. The fift axioms.

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