

out of a rock, in which never man was laid before, and by the rolling of a stone unto the door thereof, entombed there. Thus I believe that Christ *was buried*.

## ARTICLE V.

*He descended into Hell: the third day he rose again from the dead.*

THE former part of this Article, of the descent into hell, hath not been so anciently in the Creed<sup>51</sup>, or so universally, as the

<sup>51</sup> First, it is to be observed, that the Descent into Hell was not in the ancient Creeds or rules of Faith. Some tell us that it was not in the Confession of Ignatius. *Epist. ad Magnes.* But indeed there is no Confession of Faith in that Epistle; for what is read there, was thrust in out of Clemens's Constitutions. In the like manner, in vain is it objected that it was omitted by Polycarp, Clemens Romanus, and Justin Martyr, because they have not pretended any rule of Faith or Creed of their times. But that which is material in this cause, it is not to be found in the rules of Faith delivered by Irenæus, *lib. i. cap. 2.* [c. 10.] by Origen, *lib. περὶ ἀρχῶν, in Proœm.* or by Tertullian, *Adv. Prax. cap. 2. De Virg. veland. cap. 1. De Præscr. adv. Hæret. cap. 13.* It is not expressed in those Creeds which were made by the Councils as larger explications of the Apostles' Creed: not in the Nicene or Constantinopolitan; not in that of Ephesus or Chalcedon; not in those Confessions made at Sardica, Antioch, Seleucia, Sirmium, &c. It is not mentioned in several Confessions of Faith delivered by particular persons: not in that of Eusebius Cæsariensis, presented to the Council of Nice, *Theodoret. Hist. Eccles.*

\* [But Epiphanius seems to have heard of the doctrine, since he speaks of τῆς θεότητος συγκατελεύσεως τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ ἀγίᾳ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια. *Anaceph. 9. vol. ii. p. 155 B.*]

† [Though the clause is not in the Creed, Cyril says of Christ, κατῆλθεν εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, (*Cat. iv. 11. p. 57 B.*) and ἐξεπλάγη ὁ θάνατος θεωρήσας καινὸν τινα κατελεύοντα εἰς ἕδην. *Cat. xiv. 19. p. 214 B.*) It is probable therefore that Rufinus spoke of the public creeds, which were recited at baptism. See King on the Creed, p. 246.]

*lib. i. cap. 12.* [p. 37.] not in that of Marcellus bishop of Ancyra, delivered to Pope Julius, *Epiphani. Hæres. lxxii. §. 10.* not in that of Arius and Euzoius, presented to Constantine, *Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 26.* [p. 61.] not in that of Acacius bishop of Cæsarea, delivered into the Synod of Seleucia, *Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 40.* [p. 151.] not in that of Eustathius, Theophilus, and Silvanus, sent to Liberius, *Socrat. lib. iv. cap. 12.* There is no mention of it in the Creed of St. Basil, *Tract. de Fide in Asceticis*; in the Creed of Epiphanius, *in Ancorato, §. 120.\** [vol. ii. p. 122.] Gelasius, Damasus, Macarius, &c. It is not in the Creed expounded by St. Cyril (though some have produced that Creed to prove it)†; it is not in the Creed expounded by St. Augustin, *De Fide et Symbolo*; not in that *De Symbolo ad Catechumenos*, attributed to St. Augustin; not in that which is expounded by Maximus Taurinensis, nor that so often interpreted by Petrus Chrysologus; nor in that of the Church of Antioch, delivered by Cassianus, *De Incarn. lib. vi. [c. 3.]* neither is it to be seen in the MS. Creeds set forth by the learned Archbishop of Armagh. Indeed it is affirmed by Ruffinus, that in his time it was neither in the Roman nor the Oriental

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rest. The first place we find it used in was the Church of Aquileia; and the time we are sure it was used in the Creed of that Church was less than four hundred years after Christ. After that it came into the Roman Creed<sup>52</sup>, and others<sup>53</sup>, and hath been acknowledged as a part of the Apostles' Creed ever since.

Indeed the descent into hell hath always been accepted<sup>54</sup>, but with a various exposition: and the Church of England at the Reformation, as it received the three Creeds, in two of which this Article is contained, so did it also make this one of the Articles of Religion, to which all who are admitted to any benefice, or received into holy orders, are obliged to subscribe. And at the first reception it was propounded with a certain explication, and thus delivered in the fourth year of King Edward the Sixth, with reference to an express place of Scripture interpreted of this descent: *That the body of Christ lay in the grave until his resurrection: but his spirit, which he gave up, was with the spirits which were detained in prison, or in hell, and preached to them, as the place in St. Peter testifieth*<sup>55</sup>. So likewise after the same manner in the Creed set forth in metre after the manner of a<sup>19</sup>.

Creeds; 'Sciendum sane est, quod in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum, descendit ad inferna; sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic sermo.' *Ruffin. in Symb. [§. 18. p. cccxii.]* It is certain therefore (nor can we disprove it by any acknowledged evidence of antiquity), that the article of the Descent into Hell was not in the Roman, or any of the Oriental Creeds.\*

<sup>52</sup> That the Descent into Hell came afterwards into the Roman Creed appeareth, not only because we find it there of late, but because we find it often in the Latin Church many ages since: as in that produced by Etherius against Elipandus in the year 785; in the 115th Sermon *de Tempore*, falsely ascribed to St. Augustin, where it is attributed to St. Thomas the Apostle; in the Exposition of the Creed falsely ascribed to St. Chrysostom.

<sup>53</sup> As in the Creed attributed to St. Athanasius, which though we cannot say was his, yet we know was extant

about the year 600, by the epistle of Isidorus Hispalensis *ad Claudium Ducem*. It was also inserted into the Creed of the Council of Ariminum, [A.D. 359.] *Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 37.* and of the fourth Council of Toledo, held in the year 633; and of the sixteenth Council of the same Toledo, held in the year 693.

<sup>54</sup> 'Quis nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud Inferos Christum?' *S. August. Epist. xcix. cap. 2. §. 3.* [al. Ep. clxiv. vol. ii. p. 574 C.]

<sup>55</sup> 'Nam corpus usque ad resurrectionem in sepulchro jacuit, spiritus ab illo emissus cum spiritibus qui in carcere sive in Inferno detinebantur fuit, illisque prædicavit, quemadmodum testatur Petri locus, &c.' *Articuli an. 1552.* Which place was also made use of in the Exposition of the Creed contained in the Catechism set forth by the authority of King Edward, in the seventh year of his reign.

\* [Concerning this clause, see King's *Critical History of the Apostles' Creed*, c. iv. Grabe in *Bulli Jud. Eccl. Cath. ad c. iv, v, et vi. §. 12.* Lavater, *de Descensu Jesu Christi ad inferos.*]

Psalm, and still remaining at the end of the Psalms, the same exposition is delivered in this staff:

And so he died in the flesh,  
But quickened in the spirit:  
His body then was buried,  
As is our use and right.

His spirit did after this descend  
Into the lower parts,  
Of them that long in darkness were  
The true light of their hearts.

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But in the Synod ten years after, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, the Articles, which continue still in force, deliver the same descent, but without any the least explication, or reference to any particular place of Scripture, in these words: *As Christ died for us and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went down into hell.* Wherefore being our Church hath not now imposed that interpretation of St. Peter's words, which before it intimated; being it hath not delivered that as the only place of Scripture to found the descent into hell upon; being it hath alleged no other place to ground it, and delivered no other explication to expound it: we may with the greater liberty pass on to find out the true meaning of this Article, and to give our particular judgment in it, so far as a matter of so much obscurity and variety will permit.

First then, it is to be observed, that as this Article was first in the Aquileian Creed, so it was delivered there not in the express and formal term of *hell*, but in such a word as may be capable of a greater latitude, *descendit in inferna*: which words as they were continued in other Creeds<sup>56</sup>, so did they find a double interpretation among the Greeks; some translating *inferna*, *hell*; others, the *lower parts*<sup>57</sup>: the first with relation to

<sup>56</sup> 'Descendit in Inferna,' or 'ad Inferna,' is the general writing in the ancient MSS.; as the learned Archbishop testifieth of those in the Benedictine and Cottonian Libraries; to which I may add those in the Library at Westminster; we see the same likewise in that of Elipandus, 'Descendit ad Inferna.' Which words are so recited in the Creed delivered in the Catechism set forth by the authority of Edward VI. *An. Dom.* 1553.

<sup>57</sup> So the ancient MSS. in Bene't College Library, *κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ κατώτατα* and the Confession made at Sir-

mium, *εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα*. Since that it is, *Descendit ad Inferos*, and *κατελθόντα εἰς ἄδου*, or *Descendit ad Infernum*, as Venantius Fortunatus. *Expos. in Symb.* [xi. 1.] For *τὰ κατώτατα* is a fit interpretation, if we take *Inferna* according to the vulgar etymology; as St. Augustin, '*Inferi* eo quod infra sint, Latine appellantur.' *De Gen. ad lit. lib.* xii. cap. 34. [§. 66. vol. iii. p. 322 B.] or as Nonius Marcellus, '*Inferum* ab imo dictum, unde *Inferi*, quibus inferius nihil.' *Cap. i.* §. 221. Again, *Inferna* may well be translated *ἄδης*, if it be taken according

St. Peter's words of Christ, *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell*; Acts ii. 27. the second referring to that of St. Paul, *He descended into the lower parts of the earth.*

Secondly, I observe that in the Aquileian Creed, where this Article was first expressed, there was no mention of Christ's burial; but the words of their confession ran thus, *crucified under Pontius Pilate, he descended in inferna*<sup>58</sup>. From whence there is no question but the observation of Ruffinus, who first expounded it, was most true, that though the Roman and Oriental Creeds had not their words, yet they had the sense of

to the true origination, which is from the Greek *ἔνεροι*, with the Æolick digamma, from which dialect most of the Latin language came, *Ἐνεφοι, Inferi*. Now *ἔνεροι*, according to the Greek composition, is nothing else but *ὑποχθόνιοι*. '*Ἐνεροι, οἱ νεκροί, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἔρα κείσθαι, ὃ ἐστίν, ἐν τῇ γῆ. Etym.* and Suidas, '*Ἐνεροις, νεκροῖς, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἔρα κείσθαι.*' *Ἐρα* is anciently the earth, from whence *ἔραζε, χαμάζε, to the earth*: *ἔνεροι* then are in the earth, as they supposed the manes or spirits of the dead to be: from whence Homer,

— *Αἰδῆς ἐνέροισιν ἀνδρῶσων,*  
— *Ἰλ. δ. 188.*

of Pluto; and Hesiod,

*Τρέσο' Αἰδῆς ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνδρῶσων* *Θεογ. v. 850.*

and in imitation of them Æschylus,  
*Γῆ τε καὶ Ἑρμῆ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρων,*  
*Πέμψατ' ἐνερθεν ψυχὰν εἰς φάος.*

*Pers. v. 631.*

Thus *ἔνεροι* are those which Æschylus elsewhere calls *τοὺς γὰρ νέρθεν* and *τοὺς γῆς ἐνερθεν*. And as *ἔνεροι* are the souls of the dead in the earth, so are *Inferi* in the first acception, that is, *Manes*. Pomponius Mela, '*Augylæ manes tantum deos putant*;' *De Situ Orb. lib. i. cap. 9.* [c. 8. §. 8.] which Pliny delivers thus: '*Augylæ Inferos tantum colunt.*' *Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. 8.* and Solinus, '*Augylæ vero solos colunt Inferos.*' *Polyhist. cap. 34.* *Inferi* were then first *ἔνεροι, the souls of men in the earth*: and as *manes* is not only taken for the souls below, but also for the place, as in the poet;

— *Manesque profundi,*  
— *Virg. Georg. i. 243.*

and

— *Hæc manes veniat mihi fama sub imos;*  
— *Æneid. iv. 387.*

so *Inferi* is most frequently used for the place under ground where the souls departed are; and the *Inferna* must then be those regions in which they take up their habitations. And so *Descendit ad Inferna, κατήλθεν εἰς ἄδου*, and *Descendit ad Inferos*, are the same.

<sup>58</sup> So are the words cited in Ruffinus, '*Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, descendit in Inferna.*' And his observation upon them is this: '*Sciendum sane est, quod in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum, Descendit ad Inferna; sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic sermo: vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo quod sepultus dicitur.*' *Expos. Symb.* [§. 18. p. cexii.] The same may also be observed in the Athanasian Creed, which has the Descent, but not the Sepulture; *Who suffered for our salvation, descended into Hell, rose again the third day from the dead.* Nor is this only observable in these two, but also in the Creed made at Sirmium, and produced at Ariminum, in which the words run thus, *Σταυρωθέντα, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα.* [Socr. ii. 37.] Where though the Descent be expressed, and the Burial be not mentioned, yet it is most certain those men which made it (heretics indeed, but not in this) did not understand his Burial by that Descent: and that appears by addition of the following words; *Εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε οἰκονομήσαντα, ὃν πυλῶροι ἄδου ἰδόντες ἐφρίξαν.* For he did not dispose and order things below by his body in the grave, nor could the keepers of the gates of Hell be affrighted with any sight of his corpse lying in the sepulchre.

them in the word *buried*. It appeareth therefore that the first intention of putting these words in the Creed was only to express the burial of our Saviour, or the descent of his body into the grave. But although they were first put in the Aquileian Creed, to signify the burial of Christ; and those which had only the burial in their Creed, did confess as much as those which without the burial did express the descent: yet since the Roman Creed hath added the descent unto the burial, and expressed that descent by words signifying more properly hell, it cannot be imagined that the Creed, as it now stands, should signify only the burial of Christ by his descent into hell. But rather, being the ancient Church did certainly believe that Christ did some other way descend beside his burial; being Ruffinus himself, though he interpreted those words of the burial only, yet in the relation of what was done at our Saviour's death, makes mention of his descent into hell, beside, and distinct from, his sepulture<sup>59</sup>; being those who in after-ages added it to the burial, did actually believe that the soul of Christ descended: it followeth that, for the exposition of the Creed, it is most necessary to declare in what that descent consisteth.

Thirdly, I observe again, that whatsoever is delivered in the Creed, we therefore believe because it is contained in the Scriptures, and consequently must so believe it as it is contained there; whence all this exposition of the whole is nothing else but an illustration and proof of every particular part of the Creed by such Scriptures as deliver the same, according to the true interpretation of them and the general consent of the Church of God. Now these words, as they lie in the Creed,

<sup>59</sup> For having produced many places of Scripture to prove the circumstances of our Saviour's death, and having cited those particularly which did belong unto his Burial, he passes farther to his Descent, in these words; 'Sed et quod in Infernum descendit, evidenter prænuntiatur in Psalmis, ubi dicit, *Et in pulverem mortis deduxisti me; et iterum, Quæ utilitas in sanguine meo dum descendero in corruptionem?* et iterum, *Descendi in limbum profundi, et non est substantia.* Sed et Joannes dicit, *Tu es qui venturus es, in infernum sine dubio, an alium expectamus?* Unde et Petrus dixit, *Quia Christus mortificatus carne, vivificatus autem spiritu. In*

*ipso, ait, eis qui in carcere inclusi erant in diebus Noe: in quo etiam quid operis egerit in Inferno declaratur. Sed et ipse Dominus per Prophetam dicit tanquam de futuro, Quia non derelinques animam meam in Inferno, nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem: quod rursus prophetice nihilominus ostendit impletum, cum dicit, Domine, eduxisti ab Inferno animam meam, salvasti me a descendentibus in lacum.*' [§. 28. p. cccvii.] Whence it appeareth, that though Ruffinus thought that the sense of *descendit ad Inferna* was expressed in *sepultus est*; yet he did distinguish the doctrine of Christ's descent into Hell from that of his burial.

*He descended into hell*, are nowhere formally and expressly delivered in the Scriptures; nor can we find any one place in which the Holy Ghost hath said in express and plain terms, that Christ as he died and was buried, so *he descended into hell*. Wherefore being these words of the Creed are not formally expressed in the Scripture, our inquiry must be in what Scriptures they are contained virtually; that is, where the Holy Ghost doth deliver the same doctrine, in what words soever, which is contained, and to be understood in this expression, *He descended into hell*.

Now several places of Scripture have been produced by the ancients as delivering this truth, of which some without question prove it not: but three there are which have been always thought of greatest validity to confirm this Article. First, that of St. Paul to the Ephesians seems to come very near the words themselves, and to express the same almost in terms<sup>60</sup>; Now Eph. iv. 9. 228 *that he ascended, what is it but that he descended first into the lower parts of the earth?* This many of the ancient Fathers understood of the descent into hell<sup>61</sup>, as placed in the lowest parts of the earth: and this exposition must be confessed so probable, that there can be no argument to disprove it. Those *lower parts of the earth* may signify hell; and Christ's descending thither may be, that his soul went to that place when his body was carried to the grave. But that it was actually so, or that the Apostle intended so much in those words, the place itself will not manifest. For we cannot be assured that the descent of Christ which St. Paul speaketh of, was performed

<sup>60</sup> For the first expression which we find in Ruffinus, 'Descendit in Inferna,' comes most near to this quotation; especially if we take the ancient Greek translation of it, *κατελθὼν εἰς τὰ κατώτατα*. For if we consider that *κατώτερα* may well have the signification of the superlative, especially being the LXX. hath so translated Psalm lxiii. 9. *Εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὰ κατώτατα τῆς γῆς* and Psalm cxxxix. 15. *Καὶ ἡ ὑπόστασις μου ἐν τοῖς κατώτατο τῆς γῆς* what can be nearer than these two, *κατελθὼν εἰς τὰ κατώτατα*, and *καταβάς εἰς τὰ κατώτατα*? or these two, *κατελθὼν εἰς τὰ κατωχθῶνια*, and *καταβάντα εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρος τῆς γῆς*?

<sup>61</sup> This appeareth by their quotation

of this place to prove, or express, the Descent into Hell, as Irenæus does, *lib. v. cap. 31.* Origen, *Homil. 35. in Matt.* Athanasius, *Epist. ad Epictetum*, Hilarius, *in Psal. lxxvii.* St. Jerom upon the place; 'Inferiora autem terræ Infernum accipitur, ad quem Dominus noster Salvatorque descendit.' [vol. vii. p. 613 E.] So also the Commentary attributed to St. Ambrose, and St. Hilary; 'Si itaque hæc omnia Christus unus est, neque alius est Christus mortuus, alius sepultus, aut alius descendens ad Inferna, et alius ascendens in cælos, secundum illud Apostoli, *Ascendit autem quid est, &c.*' *De Trin. lib. x. cap. 65.* [p. 1077 B.]

after his death; or if it were, we cannot be assured that *the lower parts of the earth* did signify hell, or the place where the souls of men were tormented after the separation from their

John iii. 13. bodies. For as it is written, *No man ascendeth up to heaven, but he that descended from heaven*; so this may signify so much, and no more, *In that he ascended, what is it but that he descended first?* And for *the lower parts of the earth*, they may possibly signify no more than the place beneath: as when our Saviour

John viii. 23. Acts ii. 19. said, *Ye are from beneath, I am from above; ye are of this world, I am not of this world*: or as God spake by the Prophet, *I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath*.

Ps. cxxxix. 15. Nay, they may well refer to his incarnation, according to that of David, *My substance was not hid from thee when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth*; or to

Ps. lxxiii. 9. his burial, according to that of the same Prophet, *Those that seek my soul to destroy it, shall go into the lower parts of the earth*: and these two references have a great similitude, according to

Job i. 21. that of Job, *Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither*.

The next place of Scripture brought to confirm the descent is not so near in words, but thought to signify the end of that descent, and that part of his humanity by which he descended.

1 Pet. iii. 18, 19. For Christ, saith St. Peter, was *put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit*; by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison: where *the spirit* seems to be the soul of Christ; and *the spirits in prison*, the souls of them that were in hell,

or in some place at least separated from the joys of heaven: whither because we never read our Saviour went at any other time, we may conceive he went in spirit then when his soul departed from his body on the cross. This did our Church first deliver as the proof and illustration of the descent, and the ancient Fathers<sup>62</sup> did apply the same in the like manner to the

<sup>62</sup> As Hermas, *lib. iii. Simil. 9.* Irenæus, *lib. iv. cap. 45.* [c. 27.] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom. [lib. iii. c. 4. p. 526.] lib. vi. [c. 6.]* Origen, *Homil. 35. in Matt.* St. Athanasius, *Cont. Apoll. lib. ii. et Epist. ad Epictetum.* Epiphanius, *Hæres. lxxvii. §. 7.* St. Cyril, *De recta fide ad Theodosium.* [vol. v. part ii. p. 20 B.] In Joan. *lib. xii. cap. 36.* [vol. iv. p. 1068 D.] Orat. Pasch. et alibi scriptus. Auctor Com. Ambros. ascript. ad Rom. 10. Ruffin in *Symb.\**

\* [To these may be added Tertull. *de Anima*, c. 7. 55. Origen, cont. Cels. II. 43. in Exod. §. 6. in Reg. Hom. 2. vol. ii. p. 496. in Psalm. vol. ii. p. 553 D. Hippolytus, de Antichristo, §. 26, 45. The reader is also referred to an excellent Sermon of Bishop Horsley upon this text, vol. ii. Sermon. XX.]

proof of this Article. But yet those words of St. Peter have no such power of probation; except we were certain that *the spirit* there spoken of were the soul of Christ, and that the time intended for that preaching were after his death, and before his resurrection. Whereas if it were so interpreted, the difficulties are so many, that they staggered St. Augustin<sup>63</sup>, and caused him at last to think that these words of St. Peter belonged not unto the doctrine of Christ's descending into hell. But indeed *the spirit* by which he is said to preach was not the soul of Christ, but that spirit by which he was quickened; as appeareth 229 by the coherence of the words, *being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit, by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison*. Now that spirit by which Christ was quickened, is that by which he was raised from the dead<sup>64</sup>, that is, the power of his Divinity; as St. Paul expresseth it, *Though 2 Cor. xiii. he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God*:<sup>4</sup> in respect of which he preached to those which were disobedient in the days of Noah, as we have already shewn.

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The third, but principal, text is that of David, applied by St. Peter. For *David speaketh concerning him, I foresaw the Lord 26, 27, 30, always before my face; for he is on my right hand that I should 31. not be moved. Therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was*

<sup>63</sup> For in his answer to Euodius he thus begins; 'Quæstio, quam mihi proposuisti ex Epistola Apostoli Petri, sollet nos, ut te latere non arbitror, vehementissime commovere, quomodo illa verba accipienda sint tanquam de Inferis dicta. Replico ergo tibi eandem quæstionem, ut, sive ipse potueris, sive aliquem qui possit inveneris, auferas de illa atque finias dubitationem meam.' Epist. xcix. cap. i. [Epist. clxiv. vol. ii. p. 573 D.] Then setting down in order all the difficulties which occurred at that time in that exposition of the Descent into Hell, he concludes with an exposition of another nature: 'Considera tamen, ne forte totum illud quod de conclusis in carcere spiritibus, qui in diebus Noe non crediderant, Petrus Apostolus dicit, omnino ad Inferos non pertineat, sed ad illa potius tempora, quorum formam ad hæc tempora transulit.' Ibid. cap. 5. §. 15. p. 578 G.

<sup>64</sup> 'Quid est enim quod vivificatus est spiritu, nisi quod eadem caro, qua sola fuerat mortificatus, vivificante spiritu resurrexit? Nam quod fuerit anima mortificatus Jesus, hoc est, eo spiritu qui hominis est, quis audeat dicere? cum mors animæ non sit nisi peccatum, a quo ille omnino immunis fuit, cum pro nobis carne mortificaretur.' S. August. Epist. xcix. cap. 6. [Ep. clxiv. vol. ii. p. 580 C. §. 18, 19.] 'Certe anima Christi non solum immortalis secundum cæterarum naturam, sed etiam nullo mortificata peccato vel damnatione punita est; quibus duabus causis mors animæ intelligi potest; et ideo non secundum ipsam dici potuit, Christus vivificatus spiritu. In ea re quippe vivificatus est, in qua fuerat mortificatus: ergo de carne dictum est. Ipsa enim revixit anima redeunte, quia ipsa erat mortua anima recedente. Mortificatus ergo carne dictus est, quia secundum solam carnem mortuus est; vivificatus autem spiritu, quia illo spiritu operante in quo ad quos volebat veniebat et prædicabat, etiam ipsa caro vivificata surrexit, in qua modo ad homines venit.' Ibid. cap. 7. [§. 20.]

*glad: moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope. Because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.* Thus the Apostle repeated the words of the Psalmist, and then applied them: *He being a Prophet, and seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption.* Now from this place the Article is clearly and infallibly deduced thus: If the soul of Christ were not left in hell at his resurrection, then his soul was in hell before his resurrection: but it was not there before his death; therefore upon or after his death, and before his resurrection, the soul of Christ descended into hell; and consequently the Creed doth truly deliver that Christ, being crucified, was dead, buried, and descended into hell. For as his flesh did not see corruption by virtue of that promise and prophetic expression, and yet it was in the grave, the place of corruption, where it rested in hope until his resurrection: so his soul, which was not left in hell, by virtue of the like promise or prediction, was in that hell, where it was not left, until the time that it was to be united to the body for the performing of the resurrection. We must therefore confess from hence that the soul of Christ was in hell; and no Christian can deny it, saith St. Augustin, it is so clearly delivered in this prophecy of the Psalmist and application of the Apostle<sup>65</sup>.

The only question then remains, not of the truth of the proposition, but the sense and meaning of it. It is most certain that Christ descended into hell; and as infallibly true as any other Article of the Creed: but what that hell was, and how he descended thither, being once questioned, is not easily determined. Different opinions there have been of old, and of late more different still, which I shall here examine after that manner which our subject will admit. Our present design is an exposition of the Creed as it now stands, and our endeavour is to expound it according to the Scriptures in which it is contained: I must therefore look for such an explication as may consist with the other parts of the Creed, and may withal be conformable unto

<sup>65</sup> 'Dominum quidem carne mortificatum venisse in Infernum satis constat. Neque enim contradicere potest vel prophetiæ quæ dixit, *Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in Inferno; quod ne aliter quisquam sapere auderet, in Actibus Apostolorum idem Petrus ex-*

ponit; vel ejusdem Petri illis verbis quibus eum asserit solvisse *Inferni dolores, in quibus impossibile erat eum teneri.* Quis ergo nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud Inferos Christum? *Epist. xcix.* [al. clxiv.] cap. 2. [§. 3. vol. i. p. 574 B.]

that Scripture upon which the truth of the Article doth rely: and consequently, whatsoever interpretation is either not true in itself, or not consistent with the body of the Creed, or not conformable to the doctrine of the Apostle in this particular, 230 the expositor of that Creed by the doctrine of the Apostle must reject.

First then, we shall consider the opinion of Durandus, who, as often, so in this, is singular. He supposeth this descent to belong unto the soul<sup>66</sup>, and the name of *hell* to signify the place where the souls of dead men were in custody; but he maketh a metaphor in the word *descended*, as not signifying any local motion, nor inferring any real presence of the soul of Christ in the place where the souls of dead men were; but only including a virtual motion, and inferring an efficacious presence, by which descent the effects of the death of Christ were wrought upon the souls in hell: and because the merit of Christ's death did principally depend upon the act of his soul, therefore the effect of his death is attributed to his soul as the principal agent; and consequently Christ is truly said at the instant of his death to descend into hell, because his death was immediately efficacious upon the souls detained there. This is the opinion of Durandus, so far as it is distinct from others.

But although a virtual influence of the death of Christ may be well admitted in reference to the souls of the dead, yet this opinion cannot be accepted as the exposition of this Article; being neither the Creed can be thought to speak a language of so great scholastic subtilty, nor the place of David, expounded by St. Peter, can possibly admit any such explication. For what can be the sense of those words, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*, if his being in hell was only virtually acting there? If the efficacy of his death were his descent, then is he descended still, because the effect of his death still remaineth. The opinion therefore of Durandus, making the descent into hell to be nothing but the efficacy of the death of Christ upon the souls detained there, is to be rejected, as not expositive of the Creed's confession, nor consistent with the Scripture's expression.

The next opinion, later than that of Durandus, is, that the

<sup>66</sup> 'Cum Articulus sit, Christum ad Inferos descendisse, et non possit intelligi ratione Divinitatis, secundum quam est ubique; nec ratione corporis, secundum quod fuit in sepulchro; restat

quod intelligatur ratione animæ: quo supposito, videndum est qualiter anima Christi descendit ad Infernum.' *Durand. Com. in Sentent. Theol. lib. iii. dist. 22. q. 3. §. 4.*

descent into hell is the suffering of the torments of hell<sup>67</sup>; that the soul of Christ did really and truly suffer all those pains which are due unto the damned; that whatsoever is threatened by the Law unto them which depart this life in their sins, and under the wrath of God, was fully undertaken and borne by Christ; that he died a true supernatural death, the second death, the death of Gehenna; and this dying the death of Gehenna was the *descending into hell*; that those which are now saved by virtue of his death, should otherwise have endured the same torments in hell which now the damned do and shall endure; but that he, being their surety, did himself suffer the same for them<sup>68</sup>, even all the torments which we should have felt, and the damned shall.

This interpretation is either taken in the strict sense of the words, or in a latitude of expression; but in neither to be admitted as the exposition of this Article. Not if it be taken in a strict, rigorous, proper, and formal sense; for in that acceptation it is not true. It must not, it cannot, be admitted that Christ did suffer all those torments which the damned suffer; and therefore it is not, it cannot, be true, that by suffering them he descended into hell. There is a worm that never dieth, which could not lodge within his breast; that is, a remorse of conscience, seated in the soul, for what that soul hath done: but such a remorse of conscience could not be in Christ, who though he took upon himself the sins of those which otherwise had been 231 damned, yet that act of his was a most virtuous, charitable, and most glorious act, highly conformable to the will of God, and consequently could not be the object of remorse. The grief and horror in the soul of Christ, which we have expressed in the explication of his sufferings antecedent to his crucifixion, had reference to the sins and punishment of men, to the justice and wrath of God; but clearly of a nature different from the sting of conscience in the souls condemned to eternal flames. Again,

<sup>67</sup> 'Si [Christus] ad Inferos descendisse dicitur, nihil mirum est, cum eam mortem pertulerit quæ sceleratis ab irato Deo infligitur;' which he expresseth presently in another phrase, — 'diros in anima cruciatus damnati ac perditii hominis pertulerit.' *Calvin. Instit. lib. ii. cap. 16. §. 10.*

<sup>68</sup> 'Quid igitur? Christus persona sua secundum humanitatem poenam gehennam

nalem nobis debitam passus est, anima principaliter, corpore secundo, utroque causaliter ad merendum, ad nos suo ipsius merito liberandos.' *Parkerus de Descensu, lib. iii. §. 48. Et statim, §. 49.* 'Descendisse namque Servatorem, modo supra memorato, ad Haden mortis gehennalis, innumeris patet argumentis.'

an essential part of the torments of hell is a present and constant sense of the everlasting displeasure of God, and an impossibility of obtaining favour, and avoiding pain; an absolute and complete despair of any better condition, or the least relaxation: but Christ, we know, had never any such resentment, who looked upon the reward which was set before him, even upon the cross, and offered up himself a sweet-smelling sacrifice; which could never be efficacious, except offered in faith. If we should imagine any damned soul to have received an express promise of God, that after ten thousand years he would release him from those torments, and make him everlastingly happy; and to have a true faith in that promise, and a firm hope of receiving eternal life; we could not say that man was in the same condition with the rest of the damned, or that he felt all that hell which they were sensible of, or all that pain which was due unto his sins: because hope and confidence, and relying upon God, would not only mitigate all other pains, but wholly take away the bitter anguish of despair. Christ then, who knew the beginning, continuance, and conclusion of his sufferings, who understood the determinate minute of his own death and resurrection, who had made a covenant with his Father for all the degrees of his passion, and was fully assured that he could suffer no more than he had freely and deliberately undertaken, and should continue no longer in his passion than he had himself determined, he who by those torments was assured to overcome all the powers of hell, cannot possibly be said to have been in the same condition with the damned, and strictly and properly to have endured the pains of hell.

Again, if we take the torments of hell in a metaphorical sense, for those terrors and horrors of soul which our Saviour felt, which may therefore be called infernal torments, because they are of greater extremity than any other tortures of this life, and because they were accompanied with a sense of the wrath of God against the unrighteousness of men; yet this cannot be an interpretation of the descent into hell, as it is an Article of the Creed, and as that Article is grounded upon the Scriptures. For all those pains which our Saviour felt (whether, as they pretend, properly infernal, or metaphorically such), were antecedent to his death; part of them in the garden, part on the cross; but all before he commended his spirit into the hands of his Father, and gave up the ghost. Whereas it is sufficiently evident that

the descent into hell, as it now stands in the Creed, signifieth something commenced after his death, contradistinguished to his burial; and, as it is considered in the Apostle's explication, is clearly to be understood of that which immediately preceded his resurrection; and that also grounded upon a confidence totally repugnant to infernal pains. For it is thus particularly expressed: Ps. xvi. 8, 9, 10. *I foresaw the Lord always before my face; for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved. Therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad; moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope: because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell.* Where the faith, hope, confidence, and assurance of Christ is shewn; and his *flesh*, though laid in the grave, the place of corruption, is said to *rest in hope*, for this very reason, because God would not *leave his soul in hell*. I conclude therefore, that the descent into hell is not the enduring the torments of hell: because, if strictly taken, 232 it is not true; if metaphorically taken, though it be true, yet it is not pertinent.

The third opinion, which is also very late, at least in the manner of explication, is, that in those words, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*, the *soul* of Christ is taken for his body, and *hell* for the grave, and consequently, in the Creed, *he descended into hell*, is no more than this, that Christ in his body was laid into the grave. This explication ordinarily is rejected, by denying that the *soul* is ever taken for the body, or *hell* for the grave: but in vain; for it must be acknowledged that sometimes the Scriptures are rightly so, and cannot otherwise be, understood. First, the same word in the Hebrew<sup>69</sup>, which the

<sup>69</sup> The Hebrew word is נפש, and the Greek ψυχή, וְלֹא תִּשָּׁבֵר נַפְשִׁי לְשׂוֹמְרֵי הַמָּוֶת, Οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ᾄδην. Psalm xvi. 10. But both נפש and ψυχή are used for the body of a dead man, Num. vi. 6. and it is so translated; for Moses, speaking there of a Nazarite, gives this law, *All the days that he separateth himself unto the Lord he shall come at no dead body*; in the original, וְלֹא יִבֹּא עִלְיֶיךָ מֵת לֹא יִבֹּא, and in the LXX. Ἐπὶ πάση ψυχῇ τετελευτηκυῖα οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται. In the same manner the law for the High Priest, Lev. xxi. 11. *Neither shall he go in to any dead body*, וְלֹא יִבֹּא עִלְיֶיךָ מֵת לֹא יִבֹּא, and in the LXX. Ἐπὶ πάση ψυχῇ τετελευτηκυῖα οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται. And the general law, Lev. xxii. 4. *And whoso toucheth any thing that is unclean*

*by the dead*, וְהִגַּע בְּכֹל־שִׂמְאֹת־מֵת, Καὶ ὁ ἀγγόμενος πάσης ἀκαθαρτίας ψυχῆς. Which is farther cleared by that of Num. xix. 11. *He that toucheth the dead body of any man, Qui tetigerit cadaver hominis*; and ver. 13. *Whosoever toucheth the dead body of any man that is dead, Omnis qui tetigerit humanæ animæ morticinum*. Therefore the נפש and ψυχή in Lev. xxii. 4. do signify the *cadaver* or *morticinum*; as also Num. v. 2. *Whosoever is defiled by the dead* כֹּל־שִׂמְאֹת־מֵת, Πάντα ἀκαθαρτον ἐπὶ ψυχῇ. *Pollutum super mortuo*. And נפש וְשִׂמְאֹת־מֵת, Ἀκαθαρτος ἐπὶ ψυχῇ Hag. ii. 13. is rightly translated, *One that is unclean by a dead body*. Thus several times נפש and ψυχή are taken for the body of a dead man; that body which polluted a

Psalmist used, and in the Greek, which the Apostle used, and we translate *the soul*, is elsewhere used for the body of a dead man, and translated so. And when we read in Moses of a prohibition given to the High Priest or to the Nazarite, of going to or coming near a dead body, and of the pollution by the dead; the *dead body* in the Hebrew and the Greek is nothing else but that which elsewhere signifieth the soul. And Mr. Ainsworth, who translated the Pentateuch nearer the letter than the sense, hath so delivered it in compliance with the original phrase; and may be well interpreted thus by our translation, *Ye shall not make in your flesh any cutting for a soul*, that is for Lev. xix. *the dead*. *For a soul he shall not defile himself among his people*,<sup>28</sup> Lev. xxi. 1. that is, *There shall none be defiled for the dead among his people*: *He that toucheth any thing that is unclean by a soul*, that is, by Lev. xxi. 4. *the dead*: *Every one defiled by a soul*, that is, by the dead: *He Num. v. 2. shall not come at a dead soul*, that is, *He shall come at no dead Num. vi. 6. body*. Thus Ainsworth's translation sheweth, that in all these places the original word is that which usually signifieth the soul; and our translation teacheth us, that though in other places it signifieth the soul, yet in these it must be taken for the body, and that body bereft of the soul.

Secondly, the word<sup>70</sup> which the Psalmist used in Hebrew,

man under the Law by the touch thereof. And Maimonides hath observed, that there is no pollution from the body till the soul be departed. Therefore נפש and ψυχή did signify the body after the separation of the soul. And this was anciently observed by St. Augustin, that the *soul* may be taken for the body only. 'Animæ nomine corpus solum posse significari, modo quodam locutionis ostenditur, quo significatur per id quod continetur illud quod continet; sicut ait quidam, *Vina coronant*, cum coronarentur vasa vinaria; vinum enim continetur, et vas continet. Sicut ergo appellamus ecclesiam basilicam, qua continetur populus, qui vere appellatur ecclesia, ut nomine ecclesiæ, id est, populi qui continetur, significemus locum qui continet: ita quod animæ corporibus continetur, intelligi corpora filiorum per nominatas animas possunt. Sic enim melius accipitur etiam illud, quod Lex inquirari dicit eum qui intraverit super animam mortuam, hoc est, super defuncti cadaver; ut nomine animæ

mortuæ mortuum corpus intelligatur, quod animam continebat; quia et absente populo, id est ecclesia, locus tamen ille nihilominus ecclesia nuncupatur.' *Epist. clvii. ad Optatum, de Animarum Origine, cap. 5.* [Epist. exc. 19. vol. ii. p. 705 F.]  
<sup>70</sup> The Hebrew word is נפש, the Greek, ψυχή, וְלֹא תִּשָּׁבֵר נַפְשִׁי לְשׂוֹמְרֵי הַמָּוֶת, "Ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις ψυχὴν μου εἰς ᾄδην (or εἰς ᾄδου, as it is read in the Acts and in the Psalms, also by the ancient MS. at St. James's.) And these generally run together, and sometimes signify no more than the grave, as Gen. xxxvii. 35. where Jacob, thinking that his son Joseph had been dead, breaks out into this sad expression, כִּי־אָרָר, "Ὅτι καταθήσομαι πρὸς τὸν υἱόν μου περῶν εἰς ᾄδου" which we translate *For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning*, upon the authority of the ancient Targums. For although that of Onkelos keeps the original word, לִשְׂמֹר, yet the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan render it

and the Apostle in Greek, and is translated *hell*, doth certainly 233  
 in some other places signify no more than the *grave*, and is  
 translated so: as where Mr. Ainsworth following the word, *For*  
 Genesis xxxvii. 35. *I will go down unto my son mourning to hell*; our translation  
 aiming at the sense, rendereth it, *For I will go down into the*  
 xlii. 38. *grave unto my son mourning*. So again he, *Ye shall bring down*  
*my grey hairs with sorrow unto hell*, that is, *to the grave*. And in  
 1 Sam. ii. 6. this sense we say, *The Lord killeth, and maketh alive; he bringeth*  
*down to the grave, and bringeth up*.

Now being the *soul* is sometimes taken for the body deserted  
 by the soul, and *hell* is also sometimes taken for the grave, the  
 receptacle of the body dead, therefore it is conceived that the  
 Prophet did intend these significations in those words, *Thou shalt*  
*not leave my soul in hell*; and consequently the Article grounded  
 on that Scripture must import no more than this; Christ in  
 respect of his body bereft of his soul, which was recommended  
 into, and deposited in the hands of his Father, *descended into*  
*the grave*.

This exposition hath that great advantage, that he which  
 first mentioned this descent in the Creed, did interpret it of the  
 burial; and where this Article was expressed, there that of the  
 burial was omitted. But notwithstanding those advantages,  
 there is no certainty of this interpretation: first, because he  
 which did so interpret it, at the same time, and in the tenure  
 of that exposition, did acknowledge a descent of the soul of  
 Christ into hell<sup>71</sup>; and those other Creeds which did likewise

לבי קבורה, *in domum sepulchri*; and  
 the Persian Targum, to the same pur-  
 pose, בגור, as also the Arabic transla-  
 tion, *Imo descendam ad pulverem mœstum*  
*de filio meo*. So Gen xlii. 38. והורדהם  
 ומה שיבתי ביגון שאווה, *Kai katàxeré*  
*μου τὸ γέρας μετὰ λύπης εἰς ἄδου* which  
 we translate, *Then shall ye bring down*  
*my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave*:  
 where the Jerusalem Targum and that  
 of Jonathan have it again לבי קבורה;  
 and the Persian again בגור *in sepul-*  
*chrum*; the Arabic אלי אלתרי *ad pul-*  
*verem*, or *ad terram*. And it is ob-  
 served by the Jewish Commentators,  
 that those Christians are mistaken who  
 interpret those words spoken by Jacob,  
*I will go down into Sheol*, of Hell; de-

claring that *Sheol* there is nothing else  
 but the grave.\*

71 Ruffinus, who first mentioned this  
 Article, did interpret it of the Grave,  
 as we have already observed; but yet  
 he did believe a descent distinct from  
 that, in the Exposition of the Creed:  
 ‘Sed et quod in Infernum descendit,  
 evidenter prænuñciatur in Psalmis, &c.  
 and then citing that of St. Peter, Unde  
 et Petrus dixit, *Quia Christus mortifi-*  
*catus carne, vivificatus autem spiritu. In*  
*ipso, ait, eis qui in carcere inclusi erant*  
*descendit spiritibus prædicare, qui incre-*  
*duli fuerē in diebus Noe, in quo etiam*  
*quid operis egerit in Inferno declaratur.*  
 [§. 28. p. cxxvii.] as we before more  
 largely cited the same place.

\* [The English word *Hell* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Helan*, to cover, and  
 is therefore nearly the same with ἄδης.]

omit the burial, and express the descent<sup>72</sup>, did shew, that by  
 that descent they understood not that of the body, but of the  
 soul. Secondly, because they which put these words into the  
 Roman Creed, in which the burial was expressed before, must  
 certainly understand a descent distinct from that; and therefore  
 though it might perhaps be thought a probable interpretation  
 of the words of David, especially taken as belonging to David,  
 yet it cannot pretend to an exposition of the Creed, as now it  
 stands.

The next opinion is, that the soul may well be understood  
 either for the nobler part of man distinguished from the body;  
 or else for the person of man consisting of both soul and body,  
 as it often is; or for the living soul, as it is distinguished from  
 the immortal spirit: but then the term *hell* shall signify no place,  
 neither of the man, nor of the body, nor of the soul; but only  
 the state or condition of men in death, during the separation of  
 the soul from the body. So that the prophecy shall run thus,  
*Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*, that is, Thou shalt not  
 suffer me to remain in the common state of the dead, to be long  
 deprived of my natural life, to continue without exercise, or  
 power of exercising my vital faculty: and then the Creed will  
 have this sense, that Christ was *crucified, dead, and buried*, and  
*descended into hell*; that is, he went unto the dead, and remained  
 for a time in the state of death, as other dead men do.

But this interpretation supposeth that which can never appear,  
 that *hades* signifieth not death itself, nor the place where souls  
 departed are, but the state and condition of the dead, or their  
 permansion in death; which is a notion wholly new, and con-  
 234 sequently cannot interpret that which representeth something  
 known and believed of old, according to the notions and con-  
 ceptions of those times. And that this notion is wholly new will  
 appear, because not any of the ancient fathers is produced to  
 avow it, nor any of the Heathen authors which are produced do

72 I shewed before, that in the Creed  
 made at Sirmium there was the Descent  
 mentioned, and the Burial omitted, and  
 yet that Descent was so expressed that  
 it could not be taken for the Burial:  
 besides now I add, that it was made by  
 the Arians, who in few years before  
 had given in another Creed, in which  
 both the Burial and the Descent were  
 mentioned; as that of Nice in Thracia,

Ἀποθανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ κα-  
 ταχθόνια κατελθόντα, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ ἄδης  
 ἐτρόμασε. *Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii.*  
*cap. 21.* and not long after gave in  
 another at Constantinople to the same  
 purpose, Σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα,  
 καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κα-  
 τεληλυθόντα, ὃν τινα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἄδης  
 ἐπτήξεν. *Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii.*  
*cap. 41.*



affirm it: nay, it is evident that the Greeks did always by *hades* understand a place into which the souls of men were carried and conveyed, distinct and separate from that place in which we live; and that their different opinions shew, placing it, some in the earth, some under it, some in one unknown place of it, some in another. But especially *hades*, in the judgment of the ancient Greeks, cannot consist with this notion of the state of death, and the permansion in that condition, because there were many which they believed to be dead, and to continue in the state of death, which yet they believed not to be in *hades*; as those who died before their time, and those whose bodies were unburied<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> The opinion of the ancient Greeks in this case is excellently expressed by Tertullian, who shews three kinds of men to be thought not to descend *ad Inferos* when they die; the first *Insepulti*, the second *Aoi*, the third *Bιωθανατι*. 'Creduntur est, insepultos non ante ad Inferos redigi quam justa ceperint.' *De Anim. cap.* 56. [p. 304 C.] 'Aiunt et immatura morte præventas eousque vagari isthic, donec reliquatio compleatur ætatum quas tum pervixissent si non intempestive obiissent.' *Ibid.* [p. 305 A.] 'Proinde nec extorres Inferum habebuntur, quas vi ereptas arbitrantur, præcipua atrocitate suppliciorum; crucis dico et securis, et gladii, et feræ.' *Ibid.* The souls then of those whose bodies were unburied were thought to be kept out of Hades till their funerals were performed, and the souls of them who died an untimely or a violent death were kept from the same place until the time of their natural death should come. This he farther expresses in the terms of the Magicians, whose art was conversant about souls departed. 'Aut optimum est hic retineri secundum ahoros (i. e. *ἀώρους*); aut pessimum, secundum biseothanatos (*βιωθανάτους*), ut ipsis jam vocabulis utar, quibus auctrix opiunionum istarum Magica sonat, Hostanes, et Typhon, et Dardanus, et Damigeron, et Nectabis, et Bernice. Publica jam littera est, quæ animas etiam justa ætate sopitas, etiam proba morte disjunctas, etiam prompta humatione disjunctas, evocaturam se ab Inferum incolatu pollicetur.' *Ibid. cap.* 57. Of that of the *Insepulti*, he produceth the example of

Patroclus: 'Secundum Homericum Patroclum funus in somnis de Achille flagitantem, quod non alias adire portas Inferum posset, arcenibus eum longe animabus sepulorum.' *Ibid. cap.* 56. The place he intended is that, 'Ιλ. ψ'. 71.

Θάπτε με ὅττι τάχιστα, πύλας αἰδαο  
περήσω.  
Τῆλέ με εἰργοῦσιν ψυχὰι, εἰδῶλα καμόν-  
των,  
Οὐδέ μέ πω μίσγεσθαι ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο  
ἔωσιν.

In the same manner he describes Elpenor;

Πρώτη δὲ ψυχῇ 'Ελπήνορος ἦλθεν ἐταί-  
ρου'  
Οὐ γάρ πω ἐτέθαπτο ὑπὸ χροῶδς εὐρο-  
δείης. 'Ὀδ. λ'. 51.

Where it is the observation of Eustathius, 'Ὅτι δόξα ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὰς τῶν ἀθάπτων ψυχὰς μὴ ἀναμίσγεσθαι ταῖς λοιπαῖς.' And the same Eustathius observes an extraordinary accurateness in that question of Penelope concerning Ulysses, upon the same ground;

Εἴ που εἶτι ζῶει καὶ ὄρε φάος ἡελίοιο,  
\*Ἡ ἦδη τέθνηκε, καὶ εἰν αἰδαο δόμοισι.  
'Ὀδ. δ'. 833.

Τὸ δὲ, καὶ ὄρε φῶς ἡλίου, δὲ ὀρθότητα ἐννοίας κεῖται: ὡς δυνατὸν ἂν ζῆν μὲν, μὴ βλέπειν δέ. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ, εἰν αἰδαο δόμοισι, πρὸς ἀκριβείαν λόγου ἐρρήθη: κατὰ γὰρ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς δηλωθησόμενον Ἕλλητικὸν μῦθον, οὐ πᾶς τεθνηκὼς καὶ ἐν ἔδου γίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ πυρᾷ δοθῆ, καθὰ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἐμφανεῖ Πολύδωρος: ὥστε τὸ, ἢ ἦδη τέθνηκε, καὶ εἰν αἰδαο δόμοισιν, ἀντι τοῦ, ἢ ἦδη τέθνηκε, καὶ τέθαπται. It is here very observable, that, according to the opinion of the Greeks, to be dead

Thus likewise the ancient fathers differed much concerning the place of the *infernus*; but never any doubted but that it signified some place or other<sup>74</sup>: and if they had conceived any such notion as the state of death, and the permansion of the dead in that state, they needed not to have fallen into those doubts or questions; the Patriarchs and the Prophets being as certainly in the state of death, and remaining so, as Corah, Dathan, and

is one thing, and to be in Hades is another: and that every one which died was not in Hades, Οὐ πᾶς τεθνηκὼς καὶ ἐν ἔδου γίνεσθαι, as Eustathius speaks.

'Legimus prætereā in sexto insepulorum animas vagas esse.' *Serv. Com. in Æneid.* iii. 68. The place which he intended I suppose is this,

Ἦαυ ὅμμι, δὲ πῶσι μοι,  
Ματαυε τὴρβα ἐστ;  
Πορτιτορ ἰλλε, Χαροῖν; ἡ, quos vehit  
unda, sepulti.  
Nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca  
fluenta  
Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa  
quiescent.  
Centum errant annos, volitantque hæc  
littora circum.

Virg. *Æneid.* vi. 325. Thus he is to be understood in the description of the funeral of Polydorus;

Ergo instauramus Polydoro fumus, et  
ingens  
Aggeritur tumulo tellus  
animamque sepulchro  
Condimus

*Æneid.* iii. 62.

Not that *anima* does there signify the body, as some have observed; but that the soul of Polydorus was then in rest when his body had received funeral rites, as Servius, 'Legimus prætereā in sexto insepulorum animas vagas esse; et hinc constat non legitime sepulturn fuisse. Rite ergo, reddita legitima sepultura, redit anima ad quietem sepulchri,' saith Servius; or rather, in the sense of Virgil, 'ad quietem Inferni,' according to the petition of Palinurus, *Sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam.* *Æneid.* vi. 371.

And that the soul of Polydorus was so wandering about the place where his body lay unburied, appeareth out of Euripides in *Hecuba*, where he speaketh thus,—

Νῦν ὑπὲρ μητρος φίλης  
Ἐκάβης ἀίσσω, σῶμ' ἐρημώσας ἐμόν,  
Τριταῖον ἦδη φέγγος αἰωρούμενος.

v. 30.

And in the Troades of the same poet this *ἄλη*, or *erratio vagabunda insepulorum*, is acknowledged by the Chorus in these words,

Ὡ φλόος, δὲ πῶσι μοι,  
Σὺ μὲν φθόμενος ἀλαίνεις  
Ἄθαπτος, ἀνδρος.

v. 1082.

And when their bodies were buried, then their souls passed into Hades, to the rest. So was it with Polydorus, and that man mentioned in the history of the philosopher Athenodorus, whose *umbra* or *phasma* walked after his death. 'Inveniuntur ossa inserta catenis et implicata, quæ corpus ævo terraque putrefactum nuda et exesa reliquerat vinculis: collecta publice sepelitur; domus postea rite conditis manibus caruit.' *Plin. lib.* vii. *Epist.* 27. This was the case of the *Insepulti*. And for that of the *Bιωθανατι*, it is remarkable that Dido threateneth *Æneas*,

—*Sequar atris ignibus absens;*

*Ei, cum frigida mors anima seducerit artus,*

*Omnibus umbra locis adero.*—

*Æneid.* iv. 384.

Upon which place Servius observes, 'Dicunt physici biseothanatorum animas non recipi in originem suam, nisi vagantes legitimum tempus fati compleverint; quod poetæ ad sepulturam transferunt, ut, *Æneid.* vi. 329.

*Centum errant annos.*—

Hoc ergo nunc dicit Dido, *Occisura me ante diem sum; vaganti mihi dabis pœnas: nam te persequar, et adero quam diu erravero semper.*'

<sup>74</sup> 'Αἰδης δὲ, τόπος ἡμῶν ἀειδής, ἡγοῦν ἀφανής καὶ ἀγνωστος, ὁ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδημιόσας δεχόμενος. *Andreas Caesar. in Apocal. cap.* 64.

Abiram are, or any person which is certainly condemned to everlasting flames. Though therefore it be certainly true that Christ did truly and properly die, as other men are wont to do, and that after expiration he was in the state or condition of the dead, in deadlihood, as some have learned to speak; yet the Creed had spoken as much as this before, when it delivered that he *was dead*. And although it is true that he might have died, and in the next minute of time revived, and consequently his death doth not (precisely taken) signify any permansion or duration in the state of death, and therefore it might be added, *he descended into hell*, to signify farther a permansion or duration in that condition; yet if *hell* do signify nothing else but the state of the dead, as this opinion doth suppose, then to *descend into hell* is no more than to be dead; and so notwithstanding any duration implied in that expression, Christ might have ascended the next minute after he descended thither, as well as he might be imagined to revive the next minute after he died. Being then to *descend into hell*, according to this interpretation, is no more than to be dead; being no man ever doubted but that person was dead who died; being it was before delivered in the Creed that Christ died, or, as we render it, *was dead*; we cannot imagine but they which did add this part of the Article to the Creed, did intend something more than this, and therefore we cannot admit this notion as a full or proper exposition.

There is yet left another interpretation grounded upon the general opinion of the Church of Christ in all ages, and upon a probable exposition of the prophecy of the Psalmist, taking the *soul* in the most proper sense, for the spirit or rational part of Christ; that part of a man which, according to our Saviour's doctrine, the Jews could not kill; and looking upon *hell* as a place distinct from this part of the world where we live, and distinguished from those heavens whither Christ ascended, into which place the souls of men were conveyed after or upon their death; and therefore thus expounding the words of the Psalmist in the person of Christ; Thou shalt not suffer that soul of mine which shall be forced from my body by the violence of pain upon the cross, but resigned into thy hands, when it shall go into that place below where the souls of men departed are detained; I say, thou shalt not suffer that soul to continue there as theirs have done; but shalt bring it shortly from thence, and reunite it to my body.

For the better understanding of this exposition, there are several things to be observed, both in respect of the matter of it, and in reference to the authority of the fathers. First therefore, this must be laid down as a certain and necessary truth, That the soul of man, when he dieth, dieth not, but returneth unto him that gave it, to be disposed of at his will and pleasure: according to the ground of our Saviour's counsel, *Fear not them* Matt. x. 28. *which kill the body, but cannot kill the soul.* That better part of us therefore in and after death doth exist and live, either by virtue of its spiritual and immortal nature, as we believe; or at least by the will of God, and his power upholding and preserving 236 it from dissolution, as many of the fathers thought. This soul thus existing after death, and separated from the body, though of a nature spiritual, is really and truly in some place; if not by way of circumscription, as proper bodies are, yet by way of determination and indistancy; so that it is true to say, this soul is really and truly present here, and not elsewhere.

Again, the soul of man, which, while he lived, gave life to the body, and was the fountain of all vital actions, in that separate existence after death, must not be conceived to sleep, or be bereft and stript of all vital operations, but still to exercise the powers of understanding and of willing, and to be subject to the affections of joy and sorrow. Upon which is grounded the different estate and condition of the souls of men during that time of separation; some of them by the mercy of God being placed in peace and rest, in joy and happiness; others by the justice of the same God left to sorrow, pains, and misery.

As there was this different state and condition before our Saviour's death, according to the different kinds of men in this life, the wicked and the just, the elect and reprobate; so there were two societies of souls after death; one of them which were happy in the presence of God, the other of those which were left in their sins and tormented for them. Thus we conceive the righteous Abel the first man placed in this happiness, and the souls of them that departed in the same faith to be gathered to him. Whosoever it was of the sons of Adam which first died in his sins, was put into a place of torment; and the souls of all those which departed after with the wrath of God upon them, were gathered into his sad society.

Now as the souls at the hour of death are really separated from the bodies; so the place where they are in rest or misery

after death, is certainly distinct from the place in which they lived. They continue not where they were at that instant when the body was left without life; they do not go together with the body to the grave; but as the sepulchre is appointed for our flesh, so there is another receptacle, or habitation and mansion for our spirits. From whence it followeth, that in death the soul doth certainly pass by a real motion from that place in which it did inform the body, and is translated to that place, and unto that society, which God of his mercy or justice hath allotted to it. And not at present to inquire into the difference and distance of those several habitations (but for method's sake to involve them all as yet under the notion of the infernal parts, or the mansions below), it will appear to have been the general judgment of the Church, that the soul of Christ contradistinguished from his body, that better and more noble part of his humanity, his rational and intellectual soul, after a true and proper separation from his flesh, was really and truly carried into those parts below, where the souls of men before departed were detained; and that by such a real translation of his soul, he was truly said to have descended into hell.

Many have been the interpretations of the opinion of the fathers made of late; and their differences are made to appear so great, as if they agreed in nothing which concerns this point: whereas there is nothing which they agree in more than this which I have already affirmed, a real descent of the soul of Christ unto the habitation of the souls departed. The persons to whom, and end for which, he descended, they differ in; but as to a local descent into the infernal parts, they all agree. Who were then in those parts, they could not certainly define; but whosoever were there, that Christ by the presence of his soul was with them, they all determined.

That this was the general opinion of the Church, will appear, not only by the testimonies of those ancient writers<sup>75</sup> which 237

<sup>75</sup> As Irenæus; 'Cum enim Dominus in medio umbræ mortis abierit, ubi animæ mortuorum erant, post deinde corporaliter resurrexit, et post resurrectionem assumptus est: manifestum est, quia et discipulorum ejus, propter quos et hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abibunt in invisibilem locum definitam eis a Deo, &c.' *Adv. Hæres. lib. v. cap. 26.* [c. 31. §. 2. p. 331.] Clemens Alex-

andrinus was so clearly of that opinion, that he thought the soul of Christ preached salvation to the souls in hell. *Strom. lib. vi.* [c. 6.] And Tertullian proves that the Inferi are a cavity in the earth, where the souls of dead men are, because the soul of Christ went thither. 'Quod si Christus Deus, quia et homo mortuus secundum scripturas, et sepultus secus eandem, huic quoque

lived successively, and wrote in several ages, and delivered this exposition in such express terms as are not capable of any other interpretation: but also because it was generally used as an argument against the Apollinarian heresy: than which nothing can shew more the general opinion of the Catholics and the heretics, and that not only of the present, but of the precedent ages. For it had been little less than ridiculous to have produced that for an argument to prove a point in controversy, which had not been clearer than that which was controverted, and had not been some way acknowledged as a truth by both. Now the error of Apollinarius was, that Christ had no proper

legi satisfecit, forma humanæ mortis apud Inferos functus, nec ante ascendit in sublimiora cælorum quam descendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic Patriarchas et Prophetas compotes sui faceret; habes et regionem Inferum subterraneam credere, et illos cubito pellere, qui satis superbe non putant animas fidelium Inferis dignas.' *De Anim. cap. 55.* [p. 304 A.] Γυνῆ σώματος γενόμενος ψυχῆ ταῖς γυμναῖς σαμῶτων ὁμίλει ψυχαῖς. *Orig. cont. Cels. lib. ii.* [c. 43. p. 419 D.] 'Ipsa anima, etsi fuit in abyso, jam non est; quia scriptum est, *Non derelinques animam meam in Inferno.*' S. Ambros. *de Incarn. cap. 5.* [§. 42. vol. ii. p. 713 B.] 'Si ergo secundum hominem, quem Verbum Deus suscepit, putamus dictum esse, *Hodie mecum eris in paradiso*, non ex his verbis in cælo existimandus est esse paradisu. Neque enim ipso die in cælo futurus erat homo Christus Jesus; sed in Inferno secundum animam, in sepulchro autem secundum carnem. Et de carne quidem, quod eo die in sepulchro sit posita, manifestissimum est Evangelium. Quod vero illa anima in Infernum descenderit, Apostolica doctrina prædicat. Quandoquidem B. Petrus ad hanc rem testimonium de Psalmis adhibet, ubi prædictum esse demonstrat, *Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in Inferno, neque dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.* Illud de anima dictum est, quia non ibi est derelicta, unde tam cito remeavit; illud de corpore, quod in sepulchro corrumpi celeri resurrectione non potuit.' S. August. *Epist. lvii. ad Dardanum, c. 2.* [Epist. clxxxvii. cap. 5. vol. ii. p. 679 C.]—

Καταβάς μέχρι καὶ χθονὸς  
'Ἐπίδημος ἐφαμέριος,  
Κατέβας δ' ὑπὸ τάρταρα,  
Ψυχῶν ὄθι κυρία  
Θάνατος νέμεν ἔθνεα.  
Φρίξεν σε γέρον τόντε  
'Αἶδας ὁ παλαιγενής,  
Καὶ λαοβόρος κύων  
'Ανεχάσαστο βηλοῦ.

*Synes. Hymn. ix. v. 7.*

Ψυχὴ δὲ ἡ θεία, τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν λαχούσα συνδρομὴν τε καὶ ἔνωσι, καταπεφοίτηκε μὲν εἰς ἄβου, θεοπρεπεὶ δὲ δυνάμει καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ χρωμένη, καὶ τοῖς ἐκέεισε πνεύμασι κατεφαίνετο. Cyril. Alex. *Dial. de Incarn.* [vol. v. part i. p. 693 B.] 'Ο μὲν τάφος αὐτοῦ σῶμα μόνον ὑπεδέξατο, ψυχὴν δὲ μόνην ὁ ἄβου. Anast. apud *Eulhym. Panopl. vol. ii. tit. 17.* 'Postquam igitur exaltatus est, id est, a Judæis in cruce suspensus, et spiritum reddidit, unita suæ Divinitati anima ad Inferorum profunda descendit.' *Auctor Serm. de Tempore.* 'Corpore in sepulchro seposito, Divinitas cum anima hominis ad Inferna descendens vocavit de locis suis animas sanctorum.' *Gaudentinus Briac. Tract. 10.* [p. 819 B.] 'In hoc Divinitas Christi virtutem suæ impassibilitatis ostendit, quæ ubique, semper atque ineffabiliter præsens, et secundum animam suam in Inferno sine doloribus fuit, et secundum carnem suam in sepulchro sine corruptione jacuit; quia nec carni suæ defuit, cum animam suam in Inferno dolere non sineret; nec animam suam in Inferno deseruit, cum in sepulchro carnem suam a corruptione servaret.' *Fulgent. ad Thrasim. lib. iii. cap. 31.*

intellectual or rational soul, but that the word was to him in the place of a soul: and the argument produced by the fathers for the conviction of this error was, that Christ descended into hell<sup>76</sup>; which the Apollinarians could not deny: and that this

76 What the Apollinarian\* heresy was is certainly known: they denied that Christ had a human soul, affirming that the Word was to him in the place of a soul. 'Apollinaristas Apollinaris instituit, qui de anima Christi a Catholicis dissenserunt, dicentes, sicut Ariani, Deum Christum carnem sine anima suscepisse. In qua quæstione testimoniis Evangelicis victi, mentem, qua rationalis est anima hominis, defuisse animæ Christi, sed pro hac ipsam Verbum in eo fuisse, dixerunt.' *S. August. de Hæres.* 55. [vol. viii. p. 19 B.] Against this heresy the Catholics argued from the descent into hell, as that which was acknowledged by them all, even by the Arians, (with whom the Apollinarians in this agreed,) as we have shewn before by three several Creeds of theirs, in which they expressed this Descent. This is the argument of Athanasius in his fourth Dialogue *de Trinitate*, which is particularly with an Apollinarian: 'Ὡσπερ οὐκ ἠδύνατο ὁ Θεὸς ἐν μνήματι καὶ ἐν ταφῇ γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ εἶχεν τὸ τιθέμενον σῶμα, οὕτως οὐκ ἂν ἐλέχθη κεχωρισθαι τοῦ σώματος, πανταχοῦ ὄν καὶ τὰ πάντα περιέχων, εἰ μὴ εἶχε τὴν χωριστένην ψυχὴν, μεθ' ἧς καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἔδου εὐηγγελίσαστο· διὰ γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν τοῦ σώματος λέγεται, καὶ ἐν ἔδου γεγενῆσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν ἔδου γενέσθαι διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ἐν μνήματι τεθῆναι διὰ τὸ σῶμα. But because these Dialogues may be questioned as not genuine†, the same argument may be produced out of his book *de Incarnatione Christi*, written particularly against Apollinarian: Πείσθητε οὖν, ὅτι ὁ ἔσωθεν ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ· τοῦτο καὶ τῆς πρώτης πλάσεως δεικνύουσης, καὶ τῆς δεύτερας διαλύσεως δηλοῦσης, οὐ μόνον ἐφ' ἡμῶν τούτων δεικνυμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν

αὐτῷ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδείκνυτο· τὸ μέντοι, μέχρι τάφου φθάσαν· ἡ δὲ, μέχρι ἔδου διαβῶσα· διαμερῶν δὲ ὕπτων τῶν τόπων πολλῶ τῷ μέτρῳ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν τάφου σωματικὴν ἐπιδεχομένου τὴν ἐπίβασιν, ἐκέῖσε παρῆν τὸ σῶμα· τοῦ δὲ ἔδου ἀσώματον· πᾶς ἐκεῖ παρὼν ὁ Κύριος ἀσωμάτως, ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐνομήσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου; ἵνα ψυχαῖς ταῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς κατεχομέναις μορφήν ἰδίαν ψυχῆς ἀνεπιδεκτὸν ὡς δεκτικὴν τῶν δεσμῶν τοῦ θανάτου παραστήσας, παρούσαν παρούσαις, διαρρήξῃ τὰ δεσμὰ ψυχῶν τῶν ἐν ἔδῳ κατεχομένων. *Cont. Apoll. lib. i.* [c. 13. vol. i. p. 933 C.] Thus Euthymius, in his commentary upon the words of the Psalmist, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*: Τίθησι καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος τὴν αἰτίαν· Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις, φησί, τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ἔδην, ὅπου τῶν τετελευτηκότων αἰψυχαὶ κατέχονται· τόπος γὰρ ὁ ἔδης ὑπὸ γῆν ἀποκεκληρωμένος ταῖς τῶν ἀποθνήσκόντων ψυχαῖς· ποῦ τοίνυν ὁ λῆρος Ἀπολλινάριος, ὃ τὴν προσληφθεῖσαν σάρκα δογματίζων εἰσυχον καὶ ἄνον, ὡς ἄνθρωπος; [in Theophylact. vol. iv. p. 412 A. ed. Ven. 1763.] And from hence we may understand the words of Theodoret, who at the end of his exposition of this Psalm thus concludes, [vol. i. p. 450 A.] Ὁδὸς ὁ ψαλμὸς καὶ τὴν Ἀρείου, καὶ τὴν Ἐυνομίου, καὶ Ἀπολλινάριου φρενοβλάβειαν ἐλέγχει· which is in reference to those words, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*. In the same manner Leporius Presbyter ('quod male senserat de Incarnatione Christi corrigens,' as Gennadius observeth, *Illust. Viror. Catal.* 60. and particularly disavowing that of the Arians and Apollinarians, 'Deum hominemque commixtum, et tali confusione carnis et Verbi quasi aliquod corpus effectum') does thus express the reality and distinction of the soul and body in the same Christ: 'Tam Christus filius Dei

descent was not made by his divinity, or by his body, but by the motion, and presence of his soul, and consequently that he had a soul distinct both from his flesh and from the Word. Whereas if it could have then been answered by the heretics, as now it is by many, that his descent into hell had no relation to his soul, but to his body only, which descended into the grave; or that it was not a real, but only virtual, descent, by which his death extended to the destruction of the powers of hell; or that his soul was not his intellectual spirit, or immortal soul, but his living soul, which descended into hell, that is, continued in the state of death: I say, if any of these senses could have been affixed to this Article, the Apollinarians' answer might have been sound, and the Catholics' argument of no validity. But being those heretics did all acknowledge this Article; being the Catholic fathers did urge the same to prove the real distinction of the soul of Christ both from his divinity and from his body, because his body was really in the grave when his soul was really present with the souls below; it followeth that it was the general doctrine of the Church, that

tunc mortuus jacuit in sepulchro, quam idem Christus filius Dei ad Inferna descendit; sicut beatus Apostolus dicit, *Quod autem ascendit, quid est nisi quod descendit primum in inferiores partes terræ?*—Ipse utique Dominus et Deus noster Jesus Christus unicus Dei, qui cum anima ad Inferna descendit, ipse cum anima et corpore ascendit ad cælum.' *Label. Emendationis.* [c. ix. p. 399 C.] And Capreolus bishop of Carthage, writing against the Nestorian heresy, proveth that the soul of Christ was united to his Divinity when it descended into Hell, and follows that argument, urging it at large: in which discourse among the rest he hath this passage; 'Tantum abest, Deum Dei filium, incommutabilem atque incomprehensibilem, ab Inferis potuisse concludi; ut nec ipsam adsumptionis animam credamus, aut exitiabiliter susceptam, aut tenaciter derelictam. Sed nec carnem ejus credimus contagione alicujus corruptionis infectam. Ipsius namque vox est in Psalmo, sicut Petrus interpretatur Apostolus, *Non derelinques animam meam apud Inferos, neque dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.*'

*Epist. ad Vital. et Constant.* [§. 5. p. 404 E.] Lastly, The true doctrine of the Incarnation against all the enemies thereof, Apollinarians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and the like, was generally expressed by declaring the verity of the soul of Christ really present in Hell, and the verity of his body at the same time really present in the grave; as it is excellently delivered by Fulgentius: 'Humanitas vera Filii Dei nec tota in sepulchro fuit, nec tota in Inferno; sed in sepulchro secundum veram carnem Christus mortuus jacuit, et secundum animam ad Infernum Christus descendit; ac secundum eandem animam ab Inferno ad carnem quam in sepulchro mortuus erat suam, quæ nec loco tenetur, nec fine concluditur, totus fuit in sepulchro cum carne, totus in Inferno cum anima; ac per hoc plenus fuit ubique Christus; quia non est Deus ab humanitate quam susceperat separatus, qui et in anima sua fuit, ut solutus Inferni doloribus ab Inferno vitrix rediret, et in carne sua fuit, ut celeri resurrectione corrumpi non posset.' *Ad Thrasim. lib. iii. c. 34.* [p. 140.]

\* [Apollinarius Junior was bishop of Laodicea in Syria, and flourished about A. D. 370.]

† [They are certainly not the work of Athanasius. Some have ascribed them to Maximus, who lived in the seventh century. The passage is in the second volume of the works of Athanasius, p. 529 F.]

Christ did descend into hell by a local motion of his soul, separated from his body, to the places below where the souls of men departed were.

Nor can it be reasonably objected, that the argument of the 238 fathers was of equal force against these heretics, if it be understood of the animal soul, as it would be if it were understood of the rational; as if those heretics had equally deprived Christ of the rational and animal soul. For it is most certain that they did not equally deprive Christ of both; but most of the Apollinarians denied a human soul to Christ only in respect of the intellectual part<sup>77</sup>, granting that the animal soul of Christ was of the same nature with the animal soul of other men. If therefore the fathers had proved only that the animal soul of Christ had descended into hell, they had brought no argument at all to prove that Christ had an human intellectual soul. It is therefore certain that the Catholic fathers in their opposition to the Apollinarian heretics did declare, that the intellectual and immortal soul of Christ descended into hell.

The only question which admitted any variety of discrepance among the ancients was, Who were the persons to whose souls the soul of Christ descended? and that which dependeth on that question, What was the end and use of his descent? In this indeed they differed much, according to their several apprehensions of the condition of the dead, and the nature of the place into which the souls before our Saviour's death were gathered; some looking on that name which we translate now *hell*, *hades*, or *infernus*, as the common receptacle of the souls of all men<sup>78</sup>, 239

<sup>77</sup> At first indeed the Apollinarians did so speak, as they denied the human soul in both acceptions; but afterwards they clearly affirmed the *ψυχή*, and denied the *νοῦς* alone. So Socrates testifies of them: *Πρότερον μὲν ἔλεγον ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου ἐν τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ψυχῆς ἄνευ· εἶτα ὡς ἐκ μετανοίας ἐπιδιορθούμενοι, προσέθεσαν ψυχὴν μὲν ἀνεληφέναι, νοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔχειν αὐτὴν, ἀλλ' εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν λόγον ἀντὶ νοῦ ἐἶς τὸν ἀναληφθέντα ἄνθρωπον.* *Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 46.* [p. 164.] 'Nam et aliqui eorum fuisse in Christo animam negare non potuerunt. Videte absurditatem et insaniam non ferendam. Animam irrationalem eum habere voluerunt, rationalem negaverunt: dederunt ei ani-

mam pecoris, subtraxerunt hominis.' *S. August. Tract. 47. in Joan.* [§. 8. vol. iii. part ii. p. 611 B.] This was so properly indeed the Apollinarian heresy, that it was thereby distinguished from the Arian. 'Nam Apollinaristæ quidem carnis et animæ naturam sine mente adsumpsisse Dominum credunt; Ariani vero carnis tantummodo.' *Facun. lib. ix. cap. 3.* [p. 762 C.]

<sup>78</sup> Some of the ancient Fathers did believe that the word *ἄδης* in the Scriptures had the same signification which it hath among the Greeks, as comprehending all the souls both of the wicked and the just; and so they took *Infernus* in the same latitude. As therefore the ancient Greeks did assign one *ἄδης* for all which died, Πάντας ὁμῶς θνητοὺς εἰς

both the just and unjust, thought the soul of Christ descended unto those which departed in the true faith and fear of God,

*ἄδης δέχεται· and Eis κοινὸν ἄδην πάντες ἤξουσιν βορροί·* as they made within that one *ἄδης* two several receptacles, one for the good and virtuous, the other for the wicked and unjust, (according to that of Diphilus, *apud Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v.* [c. 14. vol. ii. p. 721.]

*Καὶ γὰρ καθ' ἄδην δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν·*

*Μίαν δικαίων· χετῆραν ἀσεβῶν ὁδὸν·* and that of Plato, *Οὔτοι δὲ δὴ ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσωσι, δικάσουσιν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ, ἐξ ἧς φέρετον τὴν ὁδὸν, ἢ μὲν εἰς μακάρων νήσους, ἢ δὲ εἰς τάρταρον·* *In Gorgia* [p. 524 A.]: and that of Virgil; *Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas:*

*Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit;*

*Hæc iter Elysium nobis: at læva mælorum*

*Exercet pœnas, et ad impria Tartara mittit;* *Æneid. vi. 540.*)

as they did send the best of men to *ἄδης*, there to be happy, and taught rewards to be received there as well as punishments, (*Λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ μελικοῦ Πινδαροῦ ταυτὶ περὶ τῶν εἰσεβέτων ἐν ἄδου,*

*Τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος ἄελλου*

*Τὰν ἐνθάδε νυκτὰ κάτω·*

*Φοινικοροδία τε λειμῶνές*

*Εἰσι πρόσστειον αὐτῶν.*

*Plutarch. de Consolat. ad Apollon.*

[vol. ii. p. 120 B.]

—Ω τριστόλβιοι

*Κεῖνοι βορρῶν, οἱ ταῦτα δερχθέντες τέλη*

*Μόλοσ' ἐς ἄδου· τοῖσδε γὰρ μόνοις ἐκεῖ*

*Ζῆν ἔστι, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πάντ' ἐκεῖ κακά·*

*Sophocl. apud Plutarch. de Aud. Poet.*) so did the Jews also before and after our Saviour's time. For Josephus says the soul of Samuel was brought up ἐξ ἄδου, and delivers the opinion of the Pharisees after this manner, 'Αθανάτων τε ἰσχὴν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πίστις αὐτοῖς, εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ χθόνος δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ τιμᾶς οἷς ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἐπιτήδευσις ἐν τῷ βίῳ γέγονε·' (*Antiq. Jud. xviii. c. ii. §. 3.*) and of the Sadducees after this manner, *Ψυχῆς τε τὴν διαμονήν, καὶ τὰς καθ' ἄδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναυροῦσι.* [De Bell.

Jud. ii. 8. §. 14.] Therefore the Jews, which thought the souls immortal, did believe that the just were rewarded, as well as the unjust punished, *ἐπὶ χθόνος, or καθ' ἄδου.* And so did also most of the ancient Fathers of the Church. There was an ancient book written *de Universi Natura*, which some attributed to Justin Martyr, some to Irenæus, others to Origen, or to Caius a presbyter of the Roman Church in the time of Victor and Zephyrinus, a fragment of which is set forth by David Hæschelius in his Annotations upon Photius, delivering the state of *ἄδης* at large. *Περὶ δὲ ἄδου, ἐν ᾧ συνέχονται ψυχὰι δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων, ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν.* Here then were the just and unjust in Hades, but not in the same place. *Οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι—ἐν τῷ ἄδῳ νῦν μὲν συνέχονται, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ, ἔ καὶ οἱ ἄδικοι.* *Μία γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον κάθοδος, &c.* There was but one passage into that Hades, saith he; but when that gate was passed, the just went on the right hand to a place of happiness, (*Τούτῳ δὲ ὄνομα κικλήσκουμεν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ,*) and the unjust on the left to a place of misery, *Οὗτος ὁ περὶ ἄδου λόγος· ἐν ᾧ ψυχὰι πάντων κατέχονται ἔχρι καιροῦ, ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ὄρισεν.* Tertullian wrote a tract *de Paradiso*, now not extant, in which he expressed thus much: 'Habes etiam de Paradiso a nobis libellum, quo constituimus omnem animam apud Inferos sequestrari in diem Domini.' *De Anim. cap. 55.* [p. 304 C.] St. Jerom on the third chapter of Ecclesiastes [vol. iii. p. 416 A.]: 'Ante adventum Christi omnia ad Inferos pariter ducebantur. Unde et Jacob ad Inferos descensurum se dicit; et Job pius et impius in Inferno queritur retentari: et Evangelium, Chaos magnum interpositum apud Inferos, et Abraham cum Lazaro, et divitem in suppliciiis, esse testatur.' And in his 25th Epistle, 'Perfacilis ad ista responso est; Luxisse Jacob filium, quem putabat occisum, ad quem et ipse erat ad Inferos descensurus, dicens, *Descendam ad filium meum lugens in Infernum:* quia necdum Paradisi januam Christus effregerat, necdum flammeam illam romphæam et vertiginem præsi-

the souls of the Patriarchs and the Prophets, and the people of God.

But others there were who thought *hades* or *infernus* was never taken in the Scriptures for any place of happiness<sup>79</sup>; and therefore they did not conceive the souls of the Patriarchs or the Prophets did pass into any such infernal place; and consequently, that the descent into hell was not his going to the Prophets or the Patriarchs, which were not there. For as, if it had been only said that Christ had gone unto the bosom of Abraham, or to Paradise, no man would ever have believed that he had descended into hell; so being it is only written, *Thou shalt* 240

dentium Cherubim sanguis ejus extinxerat. Unde et Abraham, licet in loco refrigerii, tamen apud Inferos cum Lazaro fuisse scribitur.' [Ep. xxxix. vol. i. p. 179 B.] And again, 'Nequeo satis Scripturæ laudare mysteria, et divinum sensum, in verbis licet simplicibus, admirari: quid sibi velit quod Moyses plangitur; et Jesus Nave, vir sanctus, sepultus refertur, et tamen fletus esse non scribitur. Nempè illud, quod in Moyse, id est, in Lege veteri, sub peccato Adam omnes tenebantur elogio; et ad Inferos descendentes consequenter lacrymæ prosequebantur—In Jesu vero, id est, in Evangelio, per quem Paradisus est apertus, mortem gaudia prosequuntur.' [Ibid. p. 179 F.] Τὸ πρότερον ὁ θάνατος εἰς τὸν ἄδην κατῆγε· νυνὶ δὲ ὁ θάνατος πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν παραπέμπει. *S. Chrysost. Panegy. in Sanctas Mart. Bern. et Prosd.* [§. 3. vol. ii. p. 638 B.] And in his tractate proving that Christ is God, he makes this exposition of Isaiah xlv. 2. Πόλας χαλκῆς συνθλάσω, καὶ μοχλοῖς σιδηροῦς συντρίψω, καὶ ἀνοίξω σοὶ θησαυροὺς σκοτεινοὺς, ἀποκρύφους, ἀοράτους ἀναδείξω σοὶ τὸν Ἄδην οὐτῶ καλῶν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἄδης ἦν, ἀλλὰ ψυχὰς ἐκράτει ἅγιος καὶ σκεύη τέλεια, τὸν Ἀβραάμ, τὸν Ἰσαάκ, τὸν Ἰακώβ· διὰ καὶ θησαυροὺς ἐκάλεισε. [vol. i. p. 564 D.] This doctrine was maintained by all those who believed that the soul of Samuel was raised by the Witch of Endor: for though he were so great a Prophet, yet they thought that he was in Hades; and not only so, but under the power of Satan. Thus Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho: φαίνεται δὲ καὶ

ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχὰς τῶν οὐτως δικαίων καὶ προφητῶν, ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν ἐπιπτον τῶν τοιούτων δυνάμεων, ὅποια δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐγγαστριμύθῳ ἐκείνῃ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ὁμολογεῖται. §. 105. [p. 200 C.] Who was followed in this by Origen, Anastasius, Antiochenus, and others.

<sup>79</sup> St. Augustin began to doubt of that general reason ordinarily given of Christ's descent into hell, to bring the Patriarchs and Prophets thence, upon this ground, that he thought the word *Infernus* was never taken in the Scriptures with a good sense; 'Quanquam illud me nondum invenisse confiteor, *Inferos* appellat, ubi justorum animæ requiescent.' *De Genes. ad lit. lib. xii. cap. 33.* [§. 63. vol. iii. part i. p. 320 G.] 'Proinde, ut dixi, nondum inveni, et adhuc quæro; nec mihi occurrit *Inferos* alicubi in bono posuisse Scripturam, duntaxat canonicam.' *Ibid.* [§. 64. p. 321 C.] 'Non facile alicubi Scripturarum *Inferorum* nomen positum invenitur in bono.' *Epist. 57.* [Epist. CLXXXVII. 6. vol. ii. p. 679 G.] 'Præsertim quia ne ipsos quidem *Inferos* uspiam Scripturarum in bono appellatos potui reperire. Quod si nusquam in divinis auctoritatibus legitur, non utique sinus ille Abrahamæ, id est, secretæ cujusdam quietis habitatio, aliqua pars *Inferorum* esse credenda est. Quanquam in his ipsis tanti magistri verbis, ubi ait dixisse Abraham, *Inter vos et nos chaos magnum firmatum est*, satis, ut opinor, appareat non esse quandam partem et quasi membrum *Inferorum* tantæ illius felicitatis sinum. *Epist. XCIX. cap. 3.* [Epist. CLXIV. 7. p. 575 F.]

not leave my soul in hell, it seems incongruous to think that he went then unto the Patriarchs who were not there.

Now this being the diversity of opinions anciently in respect of the persons unto whose souls the soul of Christ descended at his death, the difference of the end or efficacy of that descent is next to be observed. Of those which did believe the name of *hades* to belong unto that general place which comprehended all the souls of men (as well those which died in the favour of God, as those which departed in their sins), some of them thought that Christ descended to that place of *hades*<sup>80</sup>, where the souls of all the faithful, from the death of the righteous Abel to the death of Christ, were detained; and there dissolving all the power by which they were detained below, translated them into a far more glorious place, and estated them in a condition far more happy in the heavens above.

Others of them understood no such translation of place, or alteration of condition there, conceiving that the souls of all men are detained below still<sup>81</sup>, and shall not enter into heaven until

<sup>80</sup> This is the opinion generally received in the Schools, and delivered as the sense of the Church of God in all ages: but though it were not so general as the Schoolmen would persuade us, yet it is certain that many of the Fathers did so understand it. 'Ο μὲν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἐν ἄδην ψυχῶν παρῆει ἐκ μακρῶν αἰώνων τὴν ἐπιξίν ἀποῦ περιμενουσῶν. *Euseb. de Dem. Evang. lib. x. cap. 8.* [p. 501 B.] Κατῆλθεν εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, ἵνα κἀκεῖθεν λυτρώσθαι τοὺς δικαίους. *S. Cyril. Hier. Catech. iv. cap. 11.* [p. 57 B.] Ἡμελλε γὰρ ἡ θεότης τελειῶν τὰ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ πάθους, καὶ σὺν τῇ ψυχῇ κατελθεῖν εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, ἐπὶ τὸ ἐργάσασθαι τὴν ἐκεῖ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων σωτηρίαν, φημὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατριαρχῶν. 'Translatus erat Enoch, raptus Elias; sed non est servus supra dominum. Nullus enim ascendit in celum, nisi qui descendit de cælo. Nam et Moysen, licet corpus ejus non apparuerit in terris, nusquam tamen in gloria cælesti legimus, nisi postquam Dominus suæ resurrectionis pignore vincula solvit Inferni, et piorum animas elevavit.' *S. Ambros. de Fide, lib. iv.*

*cap. 1.* [§. 8. vol. ii. p. 523 B.] 'Qui nunc vinceti estis, et inmiti atque terribili Inferno tenemini; qui solutionem vinculorum in Christi speratis adventu, &c.' *S. Hieron. in Zach. cap. 9.* [vol. vi. p. 864 E.] 'Ab illis Inferi sedibus nullus homo merito suo liberatus est, nisi gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi.' *Idem, in Job. cap. 36.\** 'In typo præfiguratur iste Angelus sive Filius Dei, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui ad fornacem descendit Inferni, in quo clausæ, et peccatorum et justorum animæ tenebantur, ut absque exustione et noxa sui, eos qui tenebantur inclusi, mortis vinculis liberaret.' *Idem, in Dan. cap. 3.* [vol. v. p. 643 B.]—'Perfossam parietem, quo Infernorum claustra perfregit—.' *Idem, in Ezech. cap. 12.* [ib. p. 115 C.]—'Terram—mortuorum, quæ diripitur atque vastatur, quando morte Christi vincetæ apud Inferos animæ liberantur.' *Idem, in Oseam, cap. 13.* [vol. vi. p. 155 D.]

<sup>81</sup> Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho first begins: Ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐδὲ ἀποθνήσκουσιν φημὶ πάσας τὰς ψυχὰς ἐγῶ· ἔρμαιον γὰρ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῖς κα-

\* [This is not the work of Jerom. See Op. vol. xi. p. 668 B.]

the general resurrection. They made no such distinction at the death of Christ, as if those which believed in a Saviour to come 241

κοῖς· ἀλλὰ τί; τὰς μὲν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐν κρείττονι ποι χάρῃ μένειν, τὰς δὲ ἀδίκους καὶ πονηρὰς ἐν χέρονι, τὸν τῆς κρίσεως ἐκδεχομένους χρόνον τότε. §. 5. [p. 107 D.] After him Irenæus; ‘Cum Dominus in medio umbræ mortis abierit, ubi animæ mortuorum erant, post deinde corporaliter resurrexit, et post resurrectionem assumptus est; manifestum est quia et discipulorum ejus, propter quos et hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abibunt in invisibilem locum, definitum eis a Deo, et ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur, sustinentes resurrectionem; post recipientes corpora et perfecte resurgentes, hoc est, corporaliter, quemadmodum et Dominus resurrexit, sic venient ad conspectum Dei. Nemo enim est discipulus super magistrum; perfectus autem omnis erit, sicut magister ejus. Quomodo ergo magister noster non statim evolans abiit, sed sustinens definitum a Patre resurrectionis suæ tempus, (quod et per Jonam manifestatum est,) post triduum resurgens assumptus est; sic et nos sustinere debemus definitum a Deo resurrectionis nostræ tempus, prænantiam a Prophetis, et sic resurgentes assumi, quotquot Dominus hoc dignos habuerit. *Adv. Hæres. lib. v. cap. 26.* [c. 31. §. 2. p. 331.] Tertullian followeth Irenæus in this particular: ‘Habes et regionem Inferum subterraneam credere, et illos cubito pellere, qui satis superbe non putant animas fidelium Inferis dignas; servi super dominum, et discipuli super magistrum, aspernati si forte in Abrahamæ sinu expectanda resurrectionis solatium capere.’ *De Anim. cap. 55.* [p. 304 A.] ‘Nulli patet cœlum, terra adhuc salva, ne dixerim clausa. Cum transactione enim mundi reserabuntur regna cœlorum.’ *Ibid.* ‘Eam itaque regionem, sinum dico Abrahamæ, etsi non cœlestem, sublimiorem tamen Inferis, interim refrigerium præbituram animabus jurtorum, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat.’ *Adv. Marcion. lib. iv. cap. 34.* [p. 450 D.] ‘Omnes ergo animæ penes Inferos? inquis. Velis ac nolis, et supplicia jam illic et refrigeria habes: pau-

perem et divitem.—Cur enim non putes animam et puniri et foveri in Inferis, interim sub expectatione utriusque judicii, in quadam usurpatione et candida ejus?’ *De Anim. cap. 58.* [p. 306 D.] St. Hilary, in his commentary upon these words of the Psalm, ‘*Dominus custodiet et introitum tuum et exitum tuum ex hoc et usque in sæculum:* Non enim temporis hujus et sæculi iste custodia, non aduri sole atque luna, et ab omni malo conservari; sed futuri boni expectatio est, cum exeuntes de corpore ad introitum illum regni cœlestis per custodiam Domini fideles omnes reservabuntur, in sinu scilicet interim Abrahamæ collocati, quo adire impios interjectum chaos inhibet, quousque introeundi rursus in regnum cœlorum tempus adveniat. Custodiet ergo Dominus exitum, dum de corpore exeuntes, secreti ab impiis interjecto chao quiescant. Custodit et introitum, nos in æternum illud et beatum regnum introducens.’ *Tract. in Psalm. cxx.* [p. 383 D.] And at the end of the second Psalm, [p. 52.] ‘Judicii enim dies vel beatitudinis retributio est æterna, vel pœnæ: tempus vero mortis habet interim unumquemque suis legibus, dum ad judicium unumquemque aut Abrahamæ reservat aut pœnæ.’ Thus Gregory Nyssen still leaves the Patriarchs in Abraham’s bosom, in expectation of admittance into Heaven: Καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ πατριάρχαι τοῦ μὲν ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχον, καὶ οὐκ ἀνήκαν ἐπιζητοῦντες τὴν ἐπουράνιον πατρίδα, καθὰς φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος· ἀλλ’ ἡμῶς ἐν τῷ ἔλπιειν ἔτι τὴν χάριν εἰσεῖ, τοῦ Θεοῦ κρείττονί τι περὶ ἡμῶν προβλεψαμένου, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Παύλου φωνήν, ἵνα μὴ, φησί, χωρὶς ἡμῶν τελειωθῶσι. *De Hom. Orific. cap. 22.* [vol. i. p. 103 C.] These therefore which conceived that the souls of the godly, now after Christ’s ascension, do go unto the bosom of Abraham, where the Patriarchs and Prophets were and are, and that both remain together till the general resurrection, did not believe that Christ did therefore descend into Hell, that he might translate the Patriarchs from thence into Heaven.

should be kept out from heaven till he came; and those which now believe in the same Saviour already come should be admitted thither immediately upon their expiration.

But such as thought the place in which the souls of the Patriarchs did reside could not in propriety of speech be called *hell*, nor was ever so named in the Scriptures, conceived, that as our Saviour went to those who were included in the proper hell, or place of torment, so the end of his descent was to deliver souls from those miseries which they felt, and to translate them to a place of happiness and a glorious condition. They which did think that hell was wholly emptied, that every soul was presently released from all the pains which before it suffered, were branded with the names of heretics<sup>82</sup>: but to believe that many

<sup>82</sup> St. Augustin in his book *de Hæresibus* reckons this as the seventy-ninth heresy: ‘Alia, descendente ad Inferos Christo credidisse incredulos, et omnes exinde existimat liberatos.’ [vol. viii. p. 23 D.] And though he gives the heresy without a name, as he found it in Philastrius, yet we find the opinion was not very singular. For Euodius propounded it to St. Augustin as a question in which he desired satisfaction, ‘An descendens Christus omnibus evangelizavit, omnesque a tenebris et pœnis per gratiam liberavit, ut a tempore resurrectionis Domini judicium expectetur, exinanitis Inferis?’ *Epist. 98. ad S. August.* [Epist. CLXIII. vol. ii. p. 573 C.] And in his answer to that question, he looks not upon the affirmative part as an heresy, but as a doubtful proposition. His resolution, first, is, that it did not concern the Prophets and the Patriarchs, because he could not see how they should be thought to be in Hell, and so capable of a deliverance from thence: ‘Addunt quidam hoc beneficium antiquis etiam Sanctis fuisse concessum, Abel, Seth, Noe, et domui ejus, Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, aliusque Patriarchis et Prophetis, ut cum Dominus in Infernum venisset, illis doloribus solverentur. Sed quoniam modo intelligatur Abraham, in cujus sinum pius etiam pauper ille susceptus est, in illis fuisse doloribus, ego quidem non video: explicant fortasse qui possunt.’ *Epist. cxix. ad Euodium, cap. 3.* [Epist. CLXIV. 6. p. 575 D.] *Et paulo post*: ‘Unde illis justis qui in sinu

Abrahamæ erant, cum ille in Inferna descenderet, nondum quid contulisset inveni, a quibus eum secundum beatificam presentiam suæ divinitatis nunquam video recessisse.’ [§. 8. p. 576 B.] And yet in another place he will not blame them that believed the contrary, nor did he think their opinion absurd. ‘Si enim non absurde credi videtur, antiquos etiam Sanctos, qui venturi Christi tenuerunt fidem, locis quidem a tormentis impiorum remotissimis, sed apud Inferos, fuisse, donec eos inde sanguis Christi et ad ea loca descensus erueret, &c.’ *De Civit. Dei, lib. xx. cap. 15.* [vol. vii. p. 593 C.] His second resolution was, that Christ did by his descent relieve some out of the pains of Hell; taking Hell in the worst sense. ‘Quia evidentiâ testimonia et Infernum commemorant et dolores, nulla causa occurrit, cur illo credatur venisse Salvator, nisi ut ab ejus doloribus salvos faceret.’ *Epist. cxix. cap. 3.* [§. 8. vol. ii. p. 576 A.] ‘Quamobrem teneamus firmissime quod fides habet fundatissima auctoritate firmata, quia Christus mortuus est secundum Scripturas, et quia sepultus est, et quia resurrexit tertia die secundum Scripturas: et cætera quæ de illo, testatissima veritate, conscripta sunt. In quibus etiam hoc est, quod apud Inferos fuit, solutisque eorum doloribus, quibus eum erat impossibile teneri, a quibus etiam recte intelligitur solvise et liberasse quos voluit.’ *Ibid. cap. 5.* [§. 14. p. 578 F.] His third resolution was, that how many these were which were delivered out of

were delivered, was both by them and many others counted orthodox.

The means by which they did conceive that Christ did free the souls of men from hell, was the application of his death unto them, which was propounded to those souls by preaching of the Gospel there<sup>83</sup>: that as he revealed here on earth the will of

the torments of Hell was uncertain, and therefore temerarious to define. 'Sed utrum omnes quos in eis invenit, an quosdam quos illo beneficio dignos judicavit, adhuc requiro.' *Ibid. cap. 3.* [§. 8. p. 576 A.] 'Hoc scilicet quod scriptum est, *Solutis doloribus Inferni*, non in omnibus, sed in quibusdam accipi potest, quos ille dignos ista liberatione iudicabat: ut neque frustra illuc descendisse existimetur, nulli eorum profuturus qui ibi tenebantur inclusi; nec tamen sit consequens, ut quod divina quibusdam misericordia justitiaque concessit, omnibus concessum esse putandum sit.' *Ibid. cap. 2.* [§. 5. p. 575 B.] 'Potest et sic, ut eos dolores eum solvisse credamus, quibus teneri ipse non poterat, sed quibus alii tenebantur, quos ille noverat liberandos. Verum quinam isti sint, temerarium est definire. Si enim omnes omnino dixerim tunc esse liberatos, qui illic inventi sunt, quis non gratuletur, si hoc possimus ostendere?' *Ibid. cap. 2.* [p. 574 D.] Thus the opinion of St. Augustin is clear, that those which departed in the faith of Christ were before in happiness and the beatifical presence of God, and so needed no translation by the Descent of Christ; and of those which were kept in the pains of Hell, some were loosed and delivered from them, some were not: and this was the proper end or effect of Christ's Descent into Hell. Thus Capreolus; 'Ipse in homine est visitare Inferorum dignatus abstrusa, et præpositos mortis presentia invictæ majestatis exterruit, et propter liberandos quos voluit, Inferorum portas reserari præcepit.' *Epist. ad Vital. et Constant.* [§. 4. p. 494 D.] St. Ambrose: 'Ipse autem inter mortuos liber, remissionem in Inferno positus, soluta mortis lege, donabat.' *De Incarn. cap. 5.* [§. 40. vol. ii. p. 712 D.] 'Όλον γάρ εὐθύς σκυλεύσας τὸν ἔθνη, καὶ τὰς ἀφύκτους τοῖς τῶν κεκοιμημένων πνεύμασιν ἀναπετάσας πύλας, ἔρη-

μόν τε καὶ μόνον ἀφείλες ἐκέισε τὸν διάβολον ἀνέστη. *S. Cyril. Homil. Pasch. 7.* [vol. v. pt. ii. p. 91 C.] who speaks full as high as those words of Euodius, or that heretic, whosoever it was, which is mentioned, though not named, by Philastrius: for ἔρημος καὶ μόνος διάβολος is as much as *Inferi excinanti*: and κενώσας τοῦ θανάτου μυχόν (which he useth in another Homily) is the same.

<sup>83</sup> This preaching of the Gospel to the dead was the general opinion of the Fathers, as the end of his descent, or means by which that good was wrought for the souls below, which was effected by his death. 'Propter hoc Dominum in ea, quæ sunt sub terra, descendisse, evangelizantem et illis adventum suum, remissione peccatorum existente his qui credunt in eum. Crediderunt autem in eum omnes qui sperabant in eum, id est, qui adventum ejus prænuñtiaverunt, et dispositionibus ejus servierunt, justi, et Prophetæ, et Patriarchæ; quibus similiter ut nobis remisit peccata.' *Iren. adv. Hæres. lib. iv. cap. 45.* [c. 27. §. 2.] 'Ἐνεργεῖ δὲ, οἶμαι, καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἐπεὶ τὸ σώσειν ἔργον αὐτοῦ ὅπερ οὖν καὶ πεποιήκεν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύσαι βεβουλημένους διὰ τοῦ κηρύγματος, ὅποι ποτ' ἔτυχον γεγονότες, ἐλκύσας εἰς σωτηρίαν. Εἰ γ' οὖν ὁ Κύριος δι' οὐδὲν ἔπερον εἰς ἔδου κατήλθεν, ἥ διὰ τὸ εὐαγγελίσασθαι, ὡσπερ κατήλθεν, ἥτοι πάντας εὐαγγελίσασθαι, ἥ μόνους Ἑβραίους. Εἰ μὲν οὖν πάντας, σωθήσονται πάντες οἱ πιστεύσαντες, κἀν ἐξ ἔθνων ὄντες τύχσωσιν, ἐξομολογησάμενοι ἡδὴ ἐκεῖ. *S. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi.* [c. 6. vol. ii. p. 763.] Τριήμερος γὰρ ἀνεβίψ, κηρύξας καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι. Πληρῆστάτη γὰρ οὕτως ἡ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἐπίδειξις ἦν, τῷ μὴ μόνον ἀνασῶσαι φημι, τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἡδὴ κατοικομένοις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀβύσσου μυχοῖς καθημένοις ἐν σκοτῷ, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, διακηρύξει τὴν ἀφεσιν. *S. Cyril. Alex. in Joan. cap. xvi. v. 16.* [lib. xi. c. 2. vol. iv. p. 933 B.]

God unto the sons of men, and propounded himself as the object of their faith, to the end that whosoever believed in him should never die; so after his death he shewed himself unto the souls departed, that whosoever of them would yet accept of and acknowledge him should pass from death to life.

<sup>242</sup> Thus did they think the soul of Christ descended into hell to preach the Gospel to the spirits there, that they might receive him who before believed in him, or that they might believe in him who before rejected him. But this cannot be received as the end, or way to affect the end, of Christ's descent: nor can I look upon it as any illustration of this Article, for many reasons. For first, I have already shewed that the place of St. Peter, so often mentioned for it, is not capable of that sense, nor hath it any relation to our Saviour after death. Secondly, the ancients seem upon no other reason to have interpreted this place of St. Peter in that manner, but because other apocryphal writings led them to that interpretation, upon the authority whereof this opinion only can rely. A place of the Prophet Jeremy was first produced<sup>84</sup>, that *The Lord God of Israel remembered his dead,*

Πολλαχοῦ διαμαρτύρεται ἡ γραφή, ὃν τρόπον τοῖς τηρικᾶδε ζῶσι, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἔδου διὰ Χριστοῦ τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν παραγενέσθαι. Λέγει γὰρ ὁ τῶν μαθητῶν κορυφαῖος, Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἀνέστη, ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ καὶ πάλιν, τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξε πνεύμασιν, ἵνα κριθῶσι μὲν σαρκί, ζῶσι δὲ πνεύματι· τουτέστιν, ὅπως οἱ μὲν ἄπιστοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἁμαρτωλοὶ μεμνηκότες κατακριθῶσιν, ἅτε δὴ ὀλοκλήρους σὰρξ γεγονότες, καὶ διχοτομηθέντες τοῦ πνεύματος· ὅσοι δὲ κἀν ἐν ἔδου Χριστῷ τῆ δικαιοσύνη πεπιστεύκασι, τῆς πνευματικῆς ἐφόρσυνῆς ἀπολαύσωσι. *Johannis apud Phot. [222.] lib. ix. cap. 38.*

<sup>84</sup> Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew; Καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἱερεμίου ὁμοίως ταῦτα περιέκοψαν· Ἐμνήσθη δὲ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χῶματος, καὶ κατέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναγγεῖλαισθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ. §. 72. [p. 170 B.] This place is first brought by Irenæus, to prove that he which died for us was not only man,

but God: 'Et quoniam non solum homo erat qui moriebatur pro nobis, Esaias ait, *Et commemoratus est Dominus sanctus Israel mortuorum suorum, quia (leg. quæ) dormierant in terra sepultionis, et descendit ad eos evangelizare salutem quæ est ab eo, ut salvaret eos.*' *Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. cap. 23.* [c. xx. §. 4. p. 214.] Only he names Isaias instead of Jeremiah, whom he rightly names again; 'Sicut Hieremias ait, *Recommemoratus est Dominus sanctus Israel mortuorum, &c.*' *lib. iv. cap. 39.* [c. xxii. §. 1. p. 259.] and as there, so more plainly, *lib. v. cap. 26.* [c. xxxi. p. 330.] applies it to the soul of Christ while it was absent from his body; 'Nunc autem tribus diebus conversatus est ubi erant mortui, quemadmodum prophetia ait de eo, *Commemoratus est Dominus sanctorum (leg. sanctus Israel) mortuorum suorum, eorum qui ante dormierunt in terra stipulationis (leg. sepultionis), et descendit ad eos, extrahere eos, et salvare eos.*' Thus did Irenæus make use of this verse, to shew Christ preached unto the dead, rather than that of St.



which slept in the land of the grave, and descended unto them, to preach unto them his salvation. But being there is no such verse extant in that Prophet or any other, it was also delivered that it was once in the translation of the Septuagint, but rased out from thence by the Jews: which as it can scarce be conceived true, so, if it were, it would be yet of doubtful authority, as being never yet found in the Hebrew Text. And Hermes in his book, called the Pastor, was thought to give sufficient strength to this opinion<sup>85</sup>; whereas the book itself is of no good authority, and in this particular is most extravagant: for he taught, that not only the soul of Christ, but also the souls of the Apostles, preached to the spirits below; that as they followed his steps here, so did they also after their death, and therefore descended to preach in hell.

Nor is this only to be suspected in reference to those pre-243 tended authorities which first induced men to believe it, and to make forced interpretations of Scripture to maintain it; but also

Peter; and yet there is no authority in it. For it is not to be found in the Hebrew text, and Justin Martyr charges the Jews only of rasing it out of the LXX: which how they could do out of those copies which were in the Christians' hands, is scarce intelligible; and yet it is not now to be found there.\*

<sup>85</sup> Clemens Alexandrinus first brings a strange place of Scripture to prove Christ's preaching in Hell; *Strom. lib. vi.* [c. 6. p. 762.] Διόπερ ὁ Κύριος εὐηγγελίστατο καὶ τοῖς ἐν ᾗδου. Φησὶ γ' οὖν ἡ γραφή, λέγει ὁ ἄδης τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ, εἶδος μὲν αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἶδομεν, φωνὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἠκούσαμεν which he thus interprets; Ὅχι δ' ἴσως δήπου φωνὴν λαβῶν, εἶπερ τὰ προειρημένα, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐν ᾗδου καταταγέντες καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἑαυτοῦς ἐκδεδωκότες, καθάπερ ἐκ τινος νεῶς εἰς θάλασσαν ἐκόντες ἀπορρίψαντες· αὐτοὶ τοίνυν εἰσὶν οἱ ἐπακούσαντες τῆς θέλας δυνάμεως τε καὶ φωνῆς and then seeming to aim at the place of St. Peter, he passes to another proof, which he had produced in his second book: Δέδεικται δὲ κἄν τῷ δευτέρῳ Στρωματεί, τοὺς Ἀποστόλους, ἀκούσθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ᾗδου εὐηγγε-

λισμένους which he there proved by the authority of the book called *Pastor*, and attributed to Hermes; Ὁ Ποιμὴν δὲ—φησὶ τοὺς Ἀποστόλους καὶ διδασκάλους, τοὺς κηρύξαντας τὸ ἄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ κοιμηθέντας, τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ πίστει κηρύξαι τοῖς προκεκοιμημένοις *Strom. lib. ii.* [c. 9. vol. i. p. 452.] which words are thus in the old Latin translation of Hermes; 'Quoniam hi Apostoli et doctores qui predicaverunt nomen Filii Dei, cum habentes fidem ejus et potestatem defuncti essent, predicaverunt his qui ante obierunt.' *Lib. iii. Simil. g.* [c. 16. p. 120.] And then Clemens supplies that authority with a reason of his own, that as the Apostles were to imitate Christ while they lived, so did they also imitate him after death: Ἐχρῆν γὰρ, οἶμαι, ὥσπερ κἀνταῦθα, οὕτως δὲ κάκεισε, τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν μαθητῶν μιμητὰς γενέσθαι τοῦ διδασκάλου *Strom. lib. vi.* [c. 6. vol. ii. p. 763.] and therefore they preached to the souls in Hell, as Christ did before them. This is the doctrine of Clemens Alexandrinus out of his apocryphal authorities.

to be rejected in itself, as false, and inconsistent with the nature, scope, and end of the Gospel (which is to be preached with such commands and ordinances as can concern those only which are in this life), and as incongruous to the state and condition of those souls to whom Christ is supposed to preach. For if we look upon the Patriarchs, Prophets, and all saints before departed, it is certain they were never *disobedient in the days of Noah*; nor could they need the publication of the Gospel after the death of Christ, who by virtue of that death were accepted in him while they lived, and by that acceptation had received a reward long before. If we look upon them which died in disobedience, and were in torments for their sins, they cannot appear to be proper objects for the Gospel preached. The rich man, whom we find in their condition, desired one might be sent from the dead to preach unto his brethren then alive, lest they also should come unto that place: but we find no hopes he had that any should come from them which were alive to preach to him. For if the living, who *heard not* Luke xvi. *Moses and the Prophets, would not be persuaded though one* 31. *rose from the dead*; surely those which had been disobedient unto the Prophets, should never be persuaded after they were dead.

Whether therefore we consider the authorities first introducing this opinion, which were apocryphal; or the testimonies of Scripture, forced and improbable; or the nature of this preaching, inconsistent with the Gospel; or the persons to whom Christ should be thought to preach (which, if dead in the faith and fear of God, wanted no such instruction; if departed in infidelity and disobedience, were unworthy and incapable of such a dispensation); this preaching of Christ *to the spirits in prison* cannot be admitted either as the end, or as the means proper to effect the end, of his descent into hell.

Nor is this preaching only to be rejected as a means to produce the effect of Christ's descent; but the effect itself pretended to be wrought thereby, whether in reference to the just or unjust, is by no means to be admitted. For though some of the ancients thought, as is shewn before, that Christ did therefore descend into hell, that he might deliver the souls of some which were tormented in those flames, and translate them to a place of happiness; yet this opinion deserveth no acceptance, neither in respect of the ground or foundation on which it is

\* [There is added in the first edition, "And if it ever were, as many additional patches have been in that translation, it could be of no authority, having no foundation in the original."]

built, nor in respect of the action or effect itself. The authority upon which the strength of this doctrine doth rely, is that place of the Acts, *whom God hath raised up, loosing the pains of hell*, for so they read it; from whence the argument is thus deduced: God did loose the pains of hell when Christ was raised: but those pains did not take hold of Christ himself, who was not to suffer any thing after death; and consequently he could not be loosed from or taken out of those pains in which he never was: in the same manner the Patriarchs and the Prophets, and the saints of old, if they should be granted to have been in a place sometimes called *hell*, yet were they there in happiness, and therefore the delivering them from thence could not be the loosing of the pains of hell: it followeth then, that those alone which died in their sins were involved in those pains, and when those pains were loosed, then were they released; and being they were loosed when Christ was raised, the consequence will be, that he, descending into hell, delivered some of the damned souls from their torments there.

But first, though the Latin translation render it so<sup>86</sup>, *the pains of hell*; though some copies and other translations, and divers of the Fathers, read it in the same manner; yet the original and authentic Greek acknowledgeth no such word as *hell*, but propounds it plainly thus, *whom God hath raised up, loosing the pains of death*. Howsoever if the words were so expressed in the original text, yet it would not follow that God delivered Christ out of those pains in which he was detained any time, much less that the soul of Christ delivered the souls

<sup>86</sup> The Vulgar Latin renders it thus, *Quem Deus suscitavit, solutis doloribus Inferni*: so also the Syriac, *ושרא חבליה ורשיו*. So some of the ancient Fathers read it; as Irenæus, or rather his Interpreter, 'Quem Deus excitavit, solutis doloribus Inferorum.' *Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. cap. 12.* Capreolus bishop of Carthage, 'Resolvere, sicut scriptum est, Inferorum parturitiones.' *Epist. ad Vital. et Constant. [§. 4.]* and before these Polycarpus—*Ὁς ἤγειρεν ὁ Θεός, λύσας τὰς ὀδύνας τοῦ ἔθου. Quem resuscitavit Deus, dissolvens dolores Inferni: Epist. qd Phil. [c. i. p. 186.]* whom I suppose Grotius understood, when he cited Barnabas: and thus St. Augustin read it, and laid the stress of his interpretation

upon this reading; 'Quia evidētia testimonia et Infernum commemorant et dolores, &c.' *Epist. xcix. cap. 3.* [*Epist. CLXIV. 8. vol. ii. p. 576 A.*] But in the original Greek it is generally written *ὀδύνας θανάτου*, and in all these many copies of it, only that of Petrus Fraxardus, and two of the sixteen copies which Robertus Stephanus made use of, read it *ἔθου*. And this mistake was very easy: for in the eighteenth Psalm, verse the fourth, there is *חבלי-מרה* *ὀδύνας θανάτου*, and verse the fifth, *חבלי-מרה*, *ὀδύνας ἔθου*. And we find twice in the Proverbs, xiv. 12. and xvi. 25. *חבלי-מרה* translated *πυθμένα ἔθου*, and 2 Sam. xxii. 6. *חבלי-מרה ὀδύνας θανάτου*.

of any other; but only that he was preserved from enduring them<sup>87</sup>.

Again, as the authority is most uncertain, so is the doctrine most incongruous. The souls of men were never cast into infernal torments, to be delivered from them. The days which follow after death were never made for opportunities to a better life. The angels had one instant either to stand or fall eternally; and what that instant was to them, that this life is unto us. We may as well believe the devils were saved, as those souls which were once tormented with them. For it is an *ever-lasting fire, an everlasting punishment, a worm that dieth not*.<sup>Matt. xxv. 41, 46. Mark ix. 44.</sup> Nor does this only belong to us who live after the death of Christ, as if the damnation of all sinners now were ineluctable and eternal, but before that death it were not so; as if faith and repentance were now indispensably necessary to salvation, but then were not. For thus the condition of mankind before the fulness of time, in which our Saviour came into the world, should have been far more happy and advantageous than it hath been since<sup>88</sup>. But neither they nor we shall ever escape eternal flames, except we obtain the favour of God before we be swallowed by the jaws of death. *We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body*; but if they be in the state of salvation now by virtue of Christ's descent into hell, which were numbered amongst the damned before his death, at the day of the general judgment they must be returned into hell again; or if they be received then into eternal happiness, it will follow either that they were not justly condemned to those flames at first, according to the general dispensations of God, or else they did not receive the things done in their body at the last; which all shall as certainly receive, as all appear. This life is given unto men

<sup>87</sup> 'Quod si movet, quemadmodum accipiendum sit Inferni ab illo solutos dolores (neque enim coeperat in eis esse tanquam in vinculis, et sic eos solvit tanquam si catenas solvisset quibus fuerat alligatus): facile est intelligere sic eos solutos esse quemadmodum solvi possunt laquei venantium, ne teneant; non quia tenuerunt.' *S. August. Epist. xcix. cap. 2. [§. 3. p. 574 C.]*

<sup>88</sup> This is the argument of Gregory the Great; 'Si fideles nunc sine bonis

operibus non salvantur, et infideles ac reprobi sine bona actione, Domino ad Inferos descendente, salvati sunt; melior illorum sors fuit, qui incarnationem Domini minime viderunt, quam horum qui post incarnationis ejus mysterium nati sunt. Quod quantæ fatuitatis sit dicere vel sentire, ipse Dominus testatur discipulis, dicens, *Multi Reges et Prophetæ cupierunt videre quæ vos videntis, et non viderunt.*' *Lib. vii. Epist. xv. [vol. ii. p. 862 A.]*

to work out their salvation with fear and trembling, but after death cometh judgment, reflecting on the life that is past, not expecting amendment or conversion then. He that liveth and believeth in Christ shall never die; he that believeth, though he die, yet shall he live; but he that dieth in unbelief shall neither believe nor live. And this is as true of those which went before, as of those which came after our Saviour, because he was the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world. I therefore conclude, that the end for which the soul of Christ descended into hell, was not to deliver any damned souls, or to translate them from the torments of hell unto the joys of heaven.

The next consideration is, whether by virtue of his descent 245 the souls of those which before believed in him, the Patriarchs, Prophets, and all the people of God, were delivered from that place and state in which they were before; and whether Christ descended into hell to that end, that he might translate them into a place and state far more glorious and happy. This hath been in the later ages of the Church the vulgar opinion of most men, and that as if it followed necessarily from the denial of the former; he delivered not the souls of the damned, therefore he delivered the souls of them which believed, and of them alone<sup>89</sup>: till at last the schools have followed it so fully, that they deliver it as a point of faith and infallible certainty<sup>90</sup>, that the soul of Christ by descending into hell did deliver from thence all the

<sup>89</sup> So Gregory the Great, after he had proved that none of the damned were released by Christ's descent, thus infers and concludes: 'Hæc itaque omnia pertractantes nihil aliud teneatis nisi quod vera fides per Catholicam Ecclesiam docet: quia descendens ad Inferos Dominus illos solummodo ab Inferni claustris eripuit, quos viventes in carne per suam gratiam in fide et bona operatione servavit.' *Lib. vii. Epist. xv.* [p. 862 B.] So Isidore Hispalensis by way of opposition; 'Ideo Dominus in Inferno descendit, ut his, qui ab eo non pœnaliter detinebantur, viam aperiret revertendi ad cœlos.' *Sentent. lib. i. cap. 16.* [p. 420 E.] So Venerable Bede upon the place of St. Peter; 'Catholica fides habet, quia descendens ad Inferna Dominus non incredulos inde, sed fideles tantummodo suos educens, ad cœlestia secum regna perduxerit; neque exutis

corpore animabus, et Inferorum carcere inclusis, sed in hac vita vel per seipsum, vel per suorum exempla, sive verba fidelium, quotidie viam vitæ demonstrat.' [vol. v. p. 981.]

<sup>90</sup> These are the words of Suarez; 'Primo ergo certum est, Christum descendendo ad Inferos animabus sanctis, quæ in sinu Abrahæ erant, essentialem beatitudinem, et cætera animæ dona, quæ illam consequuntur, contulisse. Hoc de fide certum existimo: quia de fide est illas animas non vidisse Deum ante Christi mortem—Deinde est de fide certum, Christum per mortem aperuisse hominibus januam regni—ideoque de fide etiam certum est, animas sanctorum omnium post Christi mortem decedentium (si nihil purgandum habeant) statim videre Deum: ergo idem est de prædictis animabus.' *Com. in tertiam partem D. Thomæ. tom. ii. Disp. 43. sect. 3.*

souls of the saints which were in the bosom of Abraham, and did confer upon them actual and essential beatitude, which before they enjoyed not. And this they lay upon two grounds: first, that the souls of saints departed saw not God; and secondly, that Christ by his death opened the gate of the kingdom of heaven.

But even this opinion, as general as it hath been, hath neither that consent of antiquity, nor such certainty as it pretendeth, but is rather built upon the improbabilities of a worse. The most ancient of all the Fathers<sup>91</sup>, whose writings are extant, were so far from believing that the end of Christ's descent into hell was to translate the saints of old into heaven, that they thought them not to be in heaven yet, nor ever to be removed from that place in which they were before Christ's death, until the general resurrection. Others, as we have also shewn, thought the bosom of Abraham was not in any place which could be termed *hell*; and consequently could not think that Christ should therefore descend into hell to deliver them which were not there. And others yet which thought that Christ delivered the Patriarchs from their infernal mansions, did not think so exclusively, or in opposition to the disobedient and damned spirits, but conceived many of them to be saved as well as the Patriarchs were, and 246 doubted whether all were not so saved or no<sup>92</sup>. Indeed I think

<sup>91</sup> We have shewed this before to have been the opinion of the most ancient, producing the express testimonies of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Hilary, Gregory Nyssen. So also Novatian; 'Quæ infra terram jacent, neque ipsa sunt digestis et ordinatis potestatibus vacua. Locus enim est, quo piorum animæ impiorumque ducuntur futuri iudicii præjudicia sentientes.' *Lib. de Trin. cap. 1.* [p. 767 C.]

<sup>92</sup> We have already shewn that many did believe all the damned souls were saved then; and St. Augustin had his *adhuc requiro*, when he wrote unto Euodius concerning that opinion. Beside, the doubt of that great divine, Gregory Nazianzen, is very observable, who in his second Oration *de Paschate* hath these words; 'Αν εἰς ἔθρον κατή, συγκάτελθε: γνώθι καὶ τὰ ἐκείσε τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστήρια' τις ἡ οἰκονομία τῆς διπλῆς καταβάσεως; τίς ὁ λόγος; ἀπλῶς σώζει πάντας ἐπιφανείς, ἢ κἀκεῖ τοὺς πιστεύον-

tas; [Orat. xlv. §. 24. vol. i. p. 864 E.] where his question is clearly this, whether Christ appearing in Hell did save all without exception, or did save there, as he does here, only such as believed. To this it is answered by Suarez two ways, that it is the ordinary and universal law, that none of the damned should be saved: 'An vero ex speciali privilegio sua voluntate et arbitrio aliquem damnatum a Gehenna Christus eduxerit, dubitari quoquo modo potest—Et juxta hæc possent intelligi Nazianzenus et Augustinus.' But this will by no means salve their authorities; for neither of them did doubt or question whether some of the damned were released, but whether all were released or some only: which Suarez did very well perceive, and therefore was ready in the same sentence with another answer; 'Quamquam Nazianzenus non videatur illa scripsisse verba, quoniam de hac veritate dubitaret, sed solum ut propo-

there were very few (if any) for above five hundred years after Christ, which did so believe Christ delivered the saints out of hell, as to leave all the damned there; and therefore this opinion cannot be grounded upon the prime antiquity, when so many of the ancients believed not that they were removed at all, and so few acknowledged that they were removed alone.

And if the authority of this opinion in respect of its antiquity be not great, the certainty of the truth of it will be less. For first, if it be not certain that the souls of the Patriarchs were in some place called *hell* after their own death, and until the death of Christ; if the bosom of Abraham were not some infernal mansion, then can it not be certain that Christ descended into hell to deliver them. But there is no certainty that the souls of the just, the Patriarchs, and the rest of the people of God, were kept in any place below, which was, or may be called *hell*: the bosom of Abraham might well be in the heavens above, far from any region where the Devil and his angels were; the Scriptures nowhere tell us that the spirits of just men went unto or did remain in hell; the place in which the rich man was in torments after death is called *hell*, but that into which the angels carried the poor man's soul is not termed so. There was a vast distance between them two; nor is it likely that the angels, which see the face of God, should be sent down from heaven to convey the souls of the just into that place, where the face of God cannot be seen. When God translated Enoch, and Elias was carried up in a chariot to heaven, they seem not to be conveyed to a place where there was no vision of God; and yet it is most probable, that Moses was with Elias as well before as upon the mount: nor is there any reason to conceive that Abraham should be in any worse place or condition than Enoch was, having as great a

Heb. xi. 5. *testimony that he pleased God, as Enoch had.*

Secondly, it cannot be certain that the soul of Christ delivered the souls of the saints of old from hell, and imparted to them the beatifical vision, except it were certain that those souls are in another place and a better condition now than they were before.

neret quid de hoc mysterio inquirere ac scire oporteat.' Which is as much as to say, that he was satisfied of the truth, but desired to satisfy no man else. Whereas it is clear that it was a doubt in his age, as we have before shewn, and that he would leave it still a doubt

and undetermined. And as for the other, 'Augustinus recte potest intelligi de animabus Purgatorii,' it is certainly false, unless they will enlarge that Purgatory as wide as Hell; for the question was of emptying that. *Com. in tertiam partem D. Thomæ Disp. 43. sect. 3.*

But there is no certainty that the Patriarchs and the Prophets are now in another place and a better condition than they were before our blessed Saviour died; there is no intimation of any such alteration of their state delivered in the Scriptures; there is no such place with any probability pretended to prove any actual accession of happiness and glory already past. *Many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven:* there then did the Gentiles which came in to Christ find the Patriarchs, even in the kingdom of heaven; and we cannot perceive that they found them any where else than Lazarus did. For the description is the same, *There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the Prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out.* For as the rich man *in hell lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, before the death of Christ; so those that were in weeping and gnashing of teeth, saw Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the Prophets, when the Gentiles were brought in.*

Thirdly, though it were certain that the souls of the saints had been in a place called *hell*, as they were not; though it were also certain that they were now in a better condition than they were before Christ's death, as it is not; yet it would not follow that Christ *descended into hell* to make this alteration; for it might not be performed before his resurrection, it might not be effected till his ascension, it might be attributed to the merit of his passion, it might have no dependence on his descension. I conclude therefore that there is no certainty of truth in that proposition which the schoolmen take for a matter of faith, That Christ delivered the souls of the saints from that place of hell which they call *Limbus of the Fathers*, into heaven; and for that purpose after his death descended into hell.

Wherefore being it is most infallibly certain that the death of Christ was as powerful and effectual for the redemption of the saints before him, as for those which follow him; being *they did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink*; being Abraham is the *father of us all*, and we now after Christ's ascension are called but *to walk in the steps of the faith* of that father; being the bosom of Abraham is clearly propounded in the Scriptures as the place into which the blessed angels before the death of Christ conveyed the souls of those

which departed in the favour of God, and is also promised to them which should believe in Christ after his death<sup>93</sup>; being we can find no difference or translation of the bosom of Abraham, and yet it is a comfort still to us that we shall go to him<sup>94</sup>; and, while we hope so, never fear that we shall go to hell; I cannot admit this as the end of Christ's descent into hell, to convey the souls of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and those which were with them, from thence; nor can I think there was any reference to such an action in those words, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell.*

Another opinion hath obtained, especially in our Church, that the end for which our Saviour *descended into hell*, was to triumph over Satan and all the powers below within their own dominions. And this hath been received as grounded on the Scriptures and consent of Fathers. The Scriptures produced for the confirmation of it are these two; *Having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them: and, When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts*

Col. ii. 15.  
Eph. iv. 8,  
9.

<sup>93</sup> Although the *bosom of Abraham* in express and formal terms be spoken only of Lazarus, whom Christ being yet alive in the flesh supposed dead; yet the same bosom is virtually and in terms equivalent promised to those which afterwards should believe. For the joys of the life to come are likened to a feast, in which, according to the custom then in use, they lay down with the head of one toward the breast of the other, who is therefore said to lie in his bosom, as we read of St. John, ἦν ἀνακείμενος—ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. St. John xiii. 23. Thus in that heavenly feast in the kingdom of God, Lazarus is ἐν τοῖς κόλποις Ἀβραάμ. St. Luke xvi. 23; and in St. Matt. viii. 11. Christ saith, that *many shall come from the east and from the west, καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραάμ, discumbent cum Abrahamo, sit down with Abraham*, as we translate it after our custom, at the same feast, that is, ἀνακλιθήσονται ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, &c. as Euthymius, 'Quia Deus Abraham, cœli conditor, Pater Christi est; ideo in regno cœlorum est et Abraham, cum quo accubituræ sunt nationes quæ crediderunt in Christum filium Creatoris.'

<sup>94</sup> St. Augustin often shews the comfort which he had in going to the bosom

of Abraham: as in the case of his friend Nebridius; 'Nunc ille vivit in sinu Abraham. Quicquid illud est quod illo significatur sinu, ibi Nebridius meus vivit, dulcis amicus meus, tuus autem, Domine, adoptivus ex liberto filius, ibi vivit. Nam quis alius tali animæ locus?' *Confess. lib. ix. cap. 3. §. 6.* [vol. i. p. 159 B.] And he seats that place (as uncertain as before) where it was before. 'Post vitam istam parvam nondum eris ubi erunt sancti, quibus dicetur, *Venite benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab initio mundi.* Nondum ibi eris, quis nescit? Sed jam poteris ibi esse, ubi illum quondam ulcerosum pauperem, dives ille superbus et sterilis in mediis suis tormentis vidit a longe requiescentem.' *Concio. i. in Psal. 36.* [§. 10. vol. iv. p. 263 C.] And this he must necessarily take for a sufficient comfort to a dying Christian, who seats that place 'in conspectu Domini,' *De Civit. Dei, lib. i. cap. 12.* [vol. vi. p. 13 D.], and looked upon them which were in it, as upon those 'a quibus [Christus] secundum beatificam præsentiam suæ divinitatis nunquam recessit.' *Epist. xcix.* [al. clxiv.] *cap. 3.* [§. 8. vol. i. p. 576 B.]

*unto men. Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth?* By the conjunction of these two they conceive the triumph of Christ's descent clearly described in this manner. *Ye were buried with Christ in baptism, with whom ye were also raised: and when ye were dead in sins, he quickened you together with him, forgiving your sins, and cancelling the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, and spoiling powers and principalities, he made an open shew of them, triumphing over them in himself.* That is, say they, ye died and were buried with Christ, who fastened the handwriting of ordinances to the cross, that he might abolish it from having any right to tie or yoke his members. Ye likewise were quickened, and raised together with Christ, who rising spoiled powers and principalities, and triumphed over them in his own person. So that these words, *spoiling principalities and powers*, are not referred to the cross, but to Christ's resurrection. This triumph over Satan and all his kingdom, the same Apostle to the Ephesians setteth down as a consequent to Christ's death, and pertinent to his resurrection, *Ascending on high he led captivity captive: and this, He ascended, what meaneth it, but that he descended first into the lower parts of the earth?* So that ascending from the lower parts of the earth he *led captivity captive*, which is all one with, he *triumphed over powers and principalities*. With this coherence and conjunction of the Apostle's words, together with the interpretation of the ancient Fathers, they conceive it sufficiently demonstrated, that Christ after his death, and before his resurrection, in the lowermost parts of the earth, even in hell, did lead captivity captive, and triumphed over Satan.

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But notwithstanding, I cannot yet perceive either how this triumph in hell should be delivered as a certain truth in itself, or how it can have any consistency with the denial of those other ends, which they who of late have embraced this opinion do ordinarily reject. First, I cannot see how the Scriptures mentioned are sufficient to found any such conclusion of themselves. Secondly, I cannot understand how they can embrace this as the interpretation of the Fathers, who believe not that any of the souls of the damned were taken out of the torments of hell, or that the souls of the saints of old were removed from thence by Christ's descent; which were the reasons why the Fathers spake of such a triumphing in hell, and leading captivity captive there.

B. Bilson,  
P. 294  
Col. ii. 12,  
13, 14, 15.

Eph. iv. 8,  
9.



first? The descent then, if it were to hell, did precede the triumphant ascent of the same person; and that is all which the Apostle's words will evince. Nay farther yet, the ascent mentioned by St. Paul cannot be that which immediately followed the descent into hell, for it evidently signifieth the ascension which followed forty days after his resurrection. It is not an ascent from the parts below to the surface of the earth, but to the heavens above, an *ascending up on high*, even *far above all heavens*. Now the *leading captivity captive* belongeth clearly to this ascent, and not to any descent which did precede it. It is not said, that he *descended first to lead captivity captive*; and yet it must be so, if Christ descended into hell to triumph there: it is not said, when he had *led captivity captive*, he *ascended up on high*; for then it might be supposed that the captives had been led before: but it is expressly said, *ascending up on high he led captivity captive*<sup>98</sup>; and consequently that triumphant act was the immediate effect of his ascension. So that by these two Scriptures no more can be proved than this, that Christ triumphed over principalities and powers at his death upon the cross, and led captivity captive at his ascension into heaven. Which is so far from proving that Christ descended into hell to triumph there, that it is more proper to persuade the contrary. For why should he go to hell to triumph over them, over whom he had triumphed on the cross? Why should he go to [lead] captive that captivity then, which he was to captivate when he ascended into heaven?

As for the testimonies of the Fathers, they will appear of small validity to confirm this triumphant descent as it is distinguished from the two former effects, the removal of the saints to heaven, and the delivering the damned from the torments of hell. In vain shall we pretend that Christ *descended into hell* to lead captivity captive, if we withal maintain, that when he de- 250 scended thither he brought none away which were captive there.

<sup>98</sup> The original words do manifestly shew that this triumphant act did not precede this ascent; for had it been *Αἰχμαλωτεύσας αἰχμαλωσίαν ἀνέβη εἰς ὕψος*, we might well have expounded it thus; Christ did lead Sin and Death and Satan captive; and when he had done so, ascended up on high; but being it is written *Ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος*, that is,

*having ascended up on high, ἤχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν*, he *captivated a captivity*, the ascent must here precede the captivation, though not in time (as it did the giving of gifts) yet in nature: so that it is not proper to say, by captivating he ascended; but it is proper to express it thus, by ascending he led captive a captivity.

This was the very notion which those Fathers had<sup>99</sup>, that the souls of men were conquered by Satan, and after death actually brought into captivity; and that the soul of Christ descending to the place where they were, did actually release them from that bondage, and bring them out of the possession of the Devil by force. Thus did he conquer Satan, spoil hell, and lead captive captivity, according to their apprehension. But if he had taken no souls from thence, he had not spoiled hell, he had not led captivity captive, he had not so triumphed in the Fathers' sense. Wherefore, being the Scriptures teach us not that Christ triumphed in hell; being the triumph which the Fathers mention, was either in relation to the damned souls which Christ took out of those tormenting flames, as some imagined, or in reference to the spirits of the just, which he took out of those

<sup>99</sup> So St. Jerom on that place of the Ephesians; 'Inferiora autem terræ, Infernus accipitur, ad quem Dominus noster Salvatorque descendit, ut sanctorum animas, quæ ibi tenebantur in clusæ, secum ad cælos victor abduceret.' [vol. vii. p. 613 E.] And on Matt. xii. 29. 'Alligatus est fortis, et religatus in Tartarum, et Domini contritus pede; et direptis sedibus tyranni, captiva ducta est captivitas.' [ib. p. 80 E.] So Arnoldus Carnotensis is to be understood; 'Passus est rex illudi, et vita occidi; descendensque ad Inferos captivam ab antiquo captivitatem reduxit;' *De Uctione Chrismatis*; [in the Appendix to S. Cyprian, p. cxxvi.] applying it to the custom of the Church, 'Omnino convenit, ut eo tempore quo Christus captivos eduxit ab Inferis, reconciliati peccatores ad Ecclesiam reducantur.' *Ibid.* Thus Athanasius, when he speaks of Christ's triumphing over Satan in Hell, he mentions τὸν ἄδην σκυλευθέντα, *Hell spoiled*, to wit, of those souls which before it kept in hold. Otherwise in the same oration\*, *in Passionem et Crucem* [§. 20. vol. ii. p. 96 C.], he acknowledgeth the triumph on the cross; 'Ἐδει γὰρ τὸν νικητὴν τὸν θριαμβεύοντα (not θριαμβεύοντα) κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου, μὴ ἄλλω συγχαρῶν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ βαστάζειν τὸ τρόπαιον. Thus Leo the Emperor; *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη τὸν ἄδην αἰχμαλωτίσας,*

*καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐλευθερίαν κηρύξας. Homil. de Resur.* [p. 1691 B.] And thus Macarius supposeth Christ victoriously speaking unto Hell and Death, *Κελεύω σοὶ ἄδη καὶ σκότος, καὶ θάνατε, ἐκβαλε τὰς ἐγκλεισμένας ψυχὰς. Homil. 11.* [p. 42 B.] *Auctor Libelli de Paschate*, under the name of St. Ambrose; 'Expers peccati Christus, cum ad Tartari ima descenderet, seras Inferni januasque confringens, vincetas peccato animas, mortis dominatione destructa, e diaboli faucibus revocavit ad vitam: atque ita divinus triumphus æternis characteribus est conscriptus, dum dicit, *Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus? Ubi est, mors, victoria tua?*' cap. 4. [§. 5. vol. ii. App. p. 437 E.] And the Commentaries under the same name; 'Gratia Dei abundavit in descensu Salvatoris, omnibus dans indulgentiam, cum triumpho sublatis eis in cælum.' *Ad Rom. cap. v. v. 15.* [vol. ii. App. p. 57 D.] 'Secundum animam descendit ad Inferna et spoliavit principes tenebrarum ab animabus electorum.' *Ecbert. Serm. 9. cont. Catharos.* [c. 2. p. 466 E.] Thus still the Fathers which speak of spoiling Hell, of leading captivity captive, of triumphing over Satan in his own quarters, are to be understood in respect to those souls which they thought were taken out of the custody, possession, or dominion of Satan, whether just or unjust.

\* [It is most probably spurious.]

infernal habitations, as others did conceive; being we have already thought fit not to admit either of these two as the effect of Christ's descent, it followeth that we cannot acknowledge this as the proper end of the Article.

Nor can we see how the Prophet David could intend so much, as if, when he spake those words in the person of our Saviour, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*, he should have intended this, *Thou shalt not leave my soul separated from my body, and conveyed into the regions of the damned spirits, amongst all the principalities and powers of hell*; I say, thou shalt not leave me there, battering all the infernal strength, redeeming the prisoners, leading captivity captive, and victoriously triumphing over death, and hell, and Satan. In sum, those words of the Prophet cannot admit any interpretation involving a glorious, triumphant, and victorious condition, which is not a subject capable of dereliction. For as the hope which he had of his body, that it should not see corruption, supposed that it was to be put in the grave, which could not of itself free the body from corruption; so the hope that his soul should not be left in hell, supposeth it not to be in such a state as was of itself contradictory to dereliction.

And this leads me to that end which I conceive most conformable to the words of the Prophet, and least liable to question or objection. We have already shewn the substance of the Article to consist in this, that the soul of Christ, really separated from his body by death, did truly pass unto the places below, where the souls of men departed were. And I conceive the end for which he did so was, that he might undergo the condition of a dead man as well as of a living. He appeared here in the similitude of sinful flesh, and went into the other world in the similitude of a sinner. His body was laid in a grave, as ordinarily the bodies of dead men are; his soul was conveyed into such 251 receptacles as the souls of other persons use to be. All, which was necessary for our redemption by way of satisfaction and merit, was already performed on the cross; and all, which was necessary for the actual collation and exhibition of what was merited there, was to be effected upon and after his resurrection: in the interim therefore there is nothing left, at least known to us, but to satisfy the law of death. This he undertook to do, and did: and though the ancient Fathers by the several additions of other ends have something obscured this, yet it may be

sufficiently observed in their writings<sup>1</sup>, and is certainly most conformable to that prophetic expression, upon which we have hitherto grounded our explication, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption.*

Secondly, by the descent of Christ into hell, all those which believe in him are secured from descending thither: he went unto those regions of darkness, that our souls might never come into those torments which are there. By his descent he freed us from our fears, as by his ascension he secured us of our hopes. He passed to those habitations where Satan had taken up

<sup>1</sup> Irenæus so calls his Descent, 'Legem mortuorum servare;' *Adv. Hæres. lib. v. cap. 26.* [c. 31. §. 2. p. 331.], and St. Hilary expresses that which I intend very clearly; 'Morte non interceptus est unigenitus Dei Filius; ad explendam quidem hominis naturam, etiam morti se, id est, discessioni se tanquam animæ corporisque subiecit, et ad Infernas sedes, id quod homini debitum videtur esse, penetravit.' *Tract. in Psal. 53.* [p. 101.] And before him Tertullian; 'Christus Deus, quia et homo, mortuus secundum Scripturas, et sepultus secus eandem, huic quoque legi satisfecit, forma humanæ mortis apud Inferos functus.' *De Anim. cap. 55.* [p. 304 A.] 'ἮΑθεν αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν πάντων Σωτήρ, καὶ τὰς ἡμῶν χρεωστούμενας τιμωρίας εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν, ἀνθ' ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἀναμάρτητον αὐτοῦ ὑπέδεξατο σάρκα. Καταπερόμεθα κατὰ τὸν θάνατον εἰς τὸν ἄδην ἀνεδέξατο καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ κατῆλθεν ἐκουσίας εἰς αὐτόν. *Gelas. Act. Concil. lib. ii. cap. 24.* This St. Austin calls 'proprietatem carnis': 'Scio ad Inferos Divinitatem Filii Dei descendisse proprietate carnis, scio ad cœlum ascendisse carnem merito Deitatis.' *Cont. Felician. c. 11.*\* and afterwards he calls it 'Injuriam carnis': 'Erat uno atque eodem tempore ipse totus etiam in Inferno, totus in cœlo; illic patiens injuriam carnis, hic non relinquens gloriam Deitatis.' *Cap. 14.* [p. 47 D.] 'Impleta est Scriptura quæ dicit, Et cum iniquis reputatus est. Quod et altius intelligi potest, dicente de semetipso Domino, *Reputatus sum cum descendentibus in lacum: factus sum sicut homo sine adjutorio, inter mor-* tuos liber. Vere enim reputatus est inter peccatores et iniquos, ut descenderet ad Infernum.' *S. Hieron. in Isaïæ cap. liii. v. 12.* [vol. iv. p. 624 C.] Rufinus, in his Exposition of the Creed [§. 30. p. cxcix.], descending upon that place in the Psalms, '*Factus sum sicut homo sine adjutorio, inter mortuos liber*;' Non dixit homo, sed sicut homo. Sicut homo enim erat, quia etiam descenderat in Infernum; sed inter mortuos liber erat, quia a morte teneri non poterat. Et ideo in uno natura humanæ fragilitatis, in alio divinæ potestatis majestatis ostenditur.' And yet more pertinently Fulgentius; 'Restabat ad plenum nostræ redemptionis effectum, ut illuc usque homo sine peccato a Deo susceptus descenderet; quousque homo separatus a Deo, peccati merito cecidisset, id est, ad Infernum, ubi solebat peccatoris anima torqueri, et ad sepulchrum, ubi consueverat peccatoris caro corrumpi.' *Ad Thrasim. lib. iii. cap. 30.* [p. 135.] *Εἰ οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλθοι, Κύριος ὃν τοῦ παντός καὶ Δεσπότης, καὶ φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει, καὶ ζωὴ τῶν ἀπάντων, θανάτου γεύσασθαι, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἔδου κατάβασιν ἐπέδεξασθαι, ὡς ὃν κατὰ πάντα ἡμῶν διου- ωθῆ χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας, &c. *Andreas Cret. Serm. de Vita Hum. [p. 241 D.]* I conclude this with that exposition of St. Hilary upon those words of the Psalmist, *If I go down into Hell, thou art there also*; 'Humanæ ista lex necessitatis est, ut consepultis corporibus ad Inferos animæ descendant: quam descensionem Dominus ad consumptionem veri hominis non recusavit.' *Tract. in Psal. 138.* [p. 514 C.]*

\* [This treatise is not considered genuine. Vol. viii. append. p. 44 G.]



possession and exerciseth his dominion; that having no power over him, we might be assured that he should never exercise any Heb. ii. 14. over our souls departed, as belonging unto him. *Through death he destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil;* and by his actual descent into the dominions of him so destroyed, secured all which have an interest in him of the same freedom which he had. Which truth is also still preserved (though among many other strange conceptions) in the writings of the Fathers<sup>2</sup>. Having thus examined the several interpretations of this part of the Article, we may now give a brief and safe account thereof, and teach every one how they may express their faith without any danger of mistake, saying, I give a full and undoubting assent unto this as to a certain truth, that when all the sufferings of Christ were finished on the cross, and his soul was separated from his body, though his body were dead, yet his soul died not; and though it died not, yet it underwent the condition of the souls of such as die; and being he died in the similitude of a sinner, his soul went to the place where the souls 252 of men are kept who died for their sins, and so did wholly undergo the law of death: but because there was no sin in him, and he had fully satisfied for the sins of others which he took upon him; therefore as God suffered not his Holy One to see corruption, so he left not his soul in hell, and thereby gave sufficient security to all those who belong to Christ, of never coming under the power of Satan, or suffering in the flames prepared for the Devil and his angels. And thus, and for these purposes may every Christian say, I believe that Christ *descended into hell*.

*He rose again.*

WHATSOEVER variations have appeared in any of the other Articles, this part of Christ's resurrection hath been constantly delivered without the least alteration, either by way of addition or diminution<sup>3</sup>. The whole matter of it is so

<sup>2</sup> As we read of the opinion in Tertullian's time, though not of him; 'Sed in hoc, inquit, Christus Inferos adiit, ne nos adiremus. Ceterum, quod discrimen Ethnicorum et Christianorum, si carcer mortuis idem?' *De Anim. cap. 55.* [p. 304 A.] 'Aut ipsius vox est hic, *Eruisti animam meam ex Inferno inferiori*; aut nostra vox per ipsum Christum Dominum nostrum; quia ideo

ille pervenit usque ad Infernum, ne nos remaneremus in Inferno.' *S. Augustin. in Psalm. 85.* [§. 17. vol. iv. p. 912 E.] Πάσχων γὰρ αὐτοῦς ἡμᾶς ἀνέταυσε, καὶ πειῶν αὐτοῦς ἡμᾶς ἔτρεψε, καὶ εἰς τὸν ᾄδην καταβαίνων, ἡμᾶς ἀνέφερε. *S. Athanas. in Omnia mihi trad. &c.* [§. 2. vol. i. p. 104 F.]

<sup>3</sup> For though Eusebius Gallicanus and Venantius Fortunatus leave out the

necessary and essential to the Christian faith, that nothing of it could be omitted; and in these few expressions the whole doctrine is so clearly delivered, that nothing needed to be added. At the first view we are presented with three particulars: First, the action itself, or the resurrection of Christ, *he rose again*. Secondly, the verity, reality, and propriety of that resurrection, *he rose from the dead*. Thirdly, the circumstance of time, or distance of his resurrection from his death, he rose from the dead the *third day*.

For the illustration of the first particular, and the justification of our belief in Christ's resurrection, it will be necessary, first, to shew the promised Messiah was to rise from the dead; and secondly, that Jesus, whom we believe to be the true and only Messiah, did so rise as it was promised and foretold. As the Messiah was to be the Son of David, so was he particularly typified by him and promised unto him. Great were the oppositions which David suffered both by his own people and by the nations round about him; which he expressed of himself, and foretold of the Messiah in those words, *The kings of the earth set Ps. ii. 2. themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against his Anointed, that is, his Christ*. From whence it came to pass, that *against the holy child Jesus, whom God had anointed, Acts iv. 27, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people 28. of Israel, were gathered together to do whatsoever the hand and the counsel of God determined before to be done*, which was to crucify and slay the Lord of life. But notwithstanding all this opposition and persecution, it was spoken of David, and foretold of the Son of David, *Yet have I set mine anointed upon my holy hill Ps. ii. 6, 7. of Sion. I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee*. As therefore the persecution in respect of David amounted only to a depression of him, and therefore his exaltation was a settling in the kingdom; so being the conspiracy against the Messiah amounted to a real crucifixion and death, therefore the exaltation must include a resurrection. And being he which riseth from the

last word, *a mortuis*, and some copies in Ruffinus have it not; yet it is generally expressed in all the rest, which are more ancient than Eusebius or Fortunatus: and therefore that omission is to be imputed rather to negligence either of the author or the scribe, than

to the usage of the Church in their age. 'Quod die tertic resurrexit a mortuis Dominus Christus, nullus ambigit Christianus.' *S. August. Serm. in Vigiliis Paschæ.* [Serm. ccxxi. al. lxxix. vol. v. p. 964 E.]

dead, begins as it were to live another life, and the grave to him is in the manner of a womb to bring him forth, therefore when God said of his Anointed, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, he did foretell and promise that he would raise the Messias from death to life.

But because this prediction was something obscured in the 253 figurative expression, therefore the Spirit of God hath cleared it farther by the same Prophet, speaking by the mouth of David, but such words as are agreeable not to the person, but the Son, of David, *My flesh shall rest in hope; for thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.* As for the Patriarch David, he is both dead and buried, and his flesh consumed in his sepulchre; but being a Prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne; he seeing this before spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption. They were both to be separated by his death, and each to be disposed in that place which was respectively appointed for them; but neither long to continue there, the body not to be detained in the grave, the soul not to be left in hell, but both to meet, and being reunited to rise again.

Again, lest any might imagine that the Messias dying once might rise from death, and living after death, yet die again, there was a further prophecy to assure us of the excellency of that resurrection and the perpetuity of that life to which the Messias was to be raised. For God giving this promise to his people, *I will make an everlasting covenant with you*, (of which the Messias was to be the Mediator, and to ratify it by his death,) and adding this expression, *even the sure mercies of David*, could signify no less than that the Christ, who was given first unto us in a frail and mortal condition, in which he was to die, should afterwards be given in an immutable state, and consequently that he being dead should rise unto eternal life. And thus by virtue of these three predictions we are assured that the Messias was to rise again, as also by those types which did represent and presignify the same. Joseph, who was ordained to save his brethren from death who would have slain him, did represent the Son of God, who was slain by us, and yet dying saved us; and his being in the dungeon typified Christ's death; his being taken out from thence represented his resurrec-

tion<sup>4</sup>; as his ejection to the power of Egypt next to Pharaoh, signified the session of Christ at the right hand of his Father. Isaac was sacrificed, and yet lived, to shew that Christ should truly die, and truly live again. And Abraham offered him up, *accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead*, Heb. xi. 19, *from whence also he received him in a figure.* In Abraham's intention Isaac died, in his expectation he was to rise from the dead, in his acceptance being spared he was received from the dead, and all this acted to presignify, that the only Son of God was really and truly to be sacrificed and die, and after death was really and truly to be raised to life<sup>5</sup>. What was the intention of our father Abraham not performed, that was the resolution of our heavenly Father and fulfilled. And thus the resurrection of the Messias was represented by types, and foretold by prophecies; and therefore the Christ was to rise from the dead.

That Jesus, whom we believe to be the true and only Messias, did rise from the dead according to the Scriptures, is a certain and infallible truth, delivered unto us, and confirmed by testimonies human, angelical, and divine. Those pious women which thought with sweet spices to anoint him dead, found him alive, *held him by the feet, and worshipped him*, and as the first preachers of his resurrection, *with fear and great joy ran to bring his Disciples word.* The blessed Apostles follow them, *to whom also* Matt. xxviii. 8, 9, *he shewed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs:* Acts i. 3, *who with great power gave witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus;* Acts iv. 33, *the principal part of whose office consisted in this testimony, as appeareth upon the election of Matthias into the place of Judas, grounded upon this necessity: Wherefore of these men* Acts i. 21, *which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went* Acts i. 22, *in and out among us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection.* The rest of the Disciples testified the same,

<sup>4</sup> Post duos annos dierum, tertio incipiente, de carcere educitur Joseph. Et noster Joseph Christus Dominus die tertio a mortuis resurrexit. Præsentatur Pharaoni; mundo resurrectio declaratur—Data est Joseph a Pharaone in tota Ægypto potestas. Et noster Joseph Christus Dominus post resurrectionem dicit, *Data est mihi omnis potestas in celo et in terra.* Prosper. de Promiss. et Prædict. p. i. cap. 29. [p. 13 B.]

<sup>5</sup> Ideo Isaac immolatus non est, quia resurrectio Filio Dei servata est. Prosper. de Promiss. et Prædict. p. i. cap. 17. [p. 10 C.] Οὕτως γὰρ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιμερίσαντος, τῷ τε ἡγαπημένῳ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ συμπαραδειχθέντι προβάτῳ, ὥστε δειχθῆναι ἐν μὲν τῷ προβάτῳ τὸ τοῦ θανάτου μυστήριον, ἐν δὲ τῷ μονογενεῖ τὴν ζωὴν, τὴν μὴ διακοπτομένην τῷ θανάτῳ. S. Greg. Nyss. Orat. i. in Resur. [vol. iii. p. 383 B.]

Psal. xvi. 9, 10.

Acts ii. 29, 30, 31.

Isa. lv. 3.

to whom he also appeared, even to *five hundred brethren at once*. These were the witnesses of his own family, of such as worshipped him, such as believed in him. And because the testimony of an adversary is in such cases thought of greatest validity, we have not only his Disciples, but even his enemies to confirm it. Those soldiers that watched at the sepulchre, and pretended to keep his body from the hands of his Apostles; they which felt the earth trembling under them, and saw the countenance of an angel like lightning, and his raiment white as snow; they who upon that sight did shake and became as dead men, while he whom they kept became alive; even some of these came into the city and shewed unto the chief priests all the things that were done. Thus was the resurrection of Christ confirmed by the highest human testimonies, both of his friends and enemies, of his followers and revilers.

But so great, so necessary, so important a mystery had need of a more firm and higher testimony than that of man: and therefore an angel from heaven, who was ministerial in it, gave a present and infallible witness to it. He descended down, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. Nay, two angels in white, sitting the one at the head, the other at the feet where the body of Jesus had lain, said unto the women, *Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen*. These were the witnesses sent from heaven, this the angelical testimony of the resurrection.

And if we receive the witness of men, or angels, the witness of God is greater, who did sufficiently attest this resurrection; not only because there was no other power but that of God which could effect it, but as our Saviour himself said, *The Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me; adding these words to his Apostles, and ye shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning*. The Spirit of God sent down upon the Apostles did thereby testify that Christ was risen, because he sent that Spirit from the Father; and the Apostles witnessed together with that Spirit, because they were enlightened, comforted, confirmed, and strengthened in their testimony by the same Spirit. Thus God raised up Jesus, and shewed him openly; not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before of God, even to those who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead. And thus, as it was foretold of the Messias, did our Jesus rise; which was the first part of our inquiry.

For the second, concerning the reality and propriety of Christ's resurrection, expressed in that term, *from the dead*, it will be necessary first to consider what are the essential characters and proprieties of a true resurrection; and secondly, to shew how those proprieties do belong and are agreeable to the raising of Christ. The proper notion of the resurrection consists in this, that it is a substantial change by which that which was before, and was corrupted, is reproduced the same thing again. It is said to be a change, that it may be distinguished from a second or new creation. For if God should annihilate a man or angel, and make the same man or angel out of nothing, though it were a restitution of the same thing, yet were it not properly a resurrection, because it is not a change or proper mutation, but a pure and total production. This change is called a substantial change, to distinguish it from all accidental alterations: he which awaketh from his sleep ariseth from his bed, and there is a greater change from sickness to health; but neither of these is a resurrection. It is called a change of that which was, and hath been corrupted, because things immaterial and incorruptible cannot be said to rise again; resurrection implying a reproduction; and that which after it was, never was not, cannot be reproduced. Again, of those things which are material and corruptible, of some the forms continue and subsist after the corruption of the whole, of others not. The forms of inanimate bodies, and all irrational souls, when they are corrupted, cease to be; and therefore if they should be reproduced out of the same matter, yet were not this a proper resurrection, because thereby there would not be the same individual which was before, but only a restitution of the *species* by another individual. But when a rational soul is separated from its body, which is the corruption of a man, that soul so separated doth exist, and consequently is capable of conjunction and reunion with the body; and if these two be again united by an essential and vital union, from which life doth necessarily flow, then doth the same man live which lived before; and consequently this reunion is a perfect and proper resurrection from death to life, because the same individual person, consisting of the same soul and body, which was dead, is now alive again.

Having thus delivered the true nature of a proper resurrection, we shall easily demonstrate that Christ did truly and properly rise from the dead. For, first, by a true though miraculous

generation he was made flesh; and lived in his human nature a true and proper life, producing vital actions as we do. Secondly, he suffered a true and proper dissolution at his death; his soul being really separated, and his body left without the least vitality, as our dead bodies are. Thirdly, the same soul was reunited to the same body, and so he lived again the same man. For the truth of which, two things were necessary to be shewn upon his appearing after death; the one concerning the verity, the other concerning the identity, of his body. All the Apostles doubted

Luke xxiv.  
37, 39.

of the first; for when Christ stood in the midst of them, *they were affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit.* But he sufficiently assured them of the verity of his corporeity, saying, *Handle me and see: for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have*<sup>6</sup>. He convinced them all of the identity of his body, saying, *Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself*; especially unbelieving Thomas, *Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing.* The body then in which he rose, must be the same in which he lived before, because it was the same with which he died.

John xx. 27.

And that we might be assured of the soul as well as of the body, first, he gave an argument of the vegetative and nutritive faculty, saying unto them, *Have ye here any meat? and they gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb; and he took it and did eat before them.* Secondly, of the sensitive part, conversing with them, shewing himself, seeing and hearing them. Thirdly, he gave evidence of his rational and intellectual soul, by speaking to them and discoursing out of the Scriptures, concerning those things which he spake *unto them while he was yet with them.* Thus did he shew, that the body which they saw <sup>256</sup> was truly and vitally informed with an human soul. And that

Luke xxiv.  
41-43.

Verse 44.

<sup>6</sup> Thus Ignatius disputes against the *Δοκίμα* in his days; 'Εγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα, καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. Καὶ ἔτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς, Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. Καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, κρατηθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι.—Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν, ὡς σαρκικὸς, καίπερ πνευματικῶς ἠνωμένος τῷ Πατρὶ. *Epist. ad Smyrn. cap. 3.* [p. 34.] 'Palpandam carnem [Dominus] præbuit,

quam clausis januis introduxit—ut esse post resurrectionem ostenderet corpus suum et ejusdem naturæ, et ælius gloriae.' *Greg. Magn. Homil. 26. in Evang.* [vol. i. p. 1553 D.] 'Resurrexit Christus, absoluta res est. Corpus erat, caro erat, pependit in cruce, emisit animam, posita est [caro] in sepulchro: exhibuit illam vivam, qui vivebat in illa.' *S. August. Serm. cxlvii. de Tempore, cap. 1.* [Serm. cccxlii. i. vol. v. p. 1009 A.]

they might be yet further assured that it was the same soul by which that body lived before<sup>7</sup>, he gave a full testimony of his Divinity by the miracle which he wrought in the multitude of fishes caught, by breathing on the Apostles the Holy Ghost, and by ascending into heaven in the sight of his Disciples. For being *no man ascended into heaven but he which came down from* <sup>John iii. 13.</sup> *heaven, the Son of man which was in heaven,* being the Divinity was never so united to any human soul but only in that person, it appeared to be the same soul with which he lived and wrought all the miracles before. To conclude, being Christ appeared after his death with the same body in which he died, and with the same soul united to it, it followeth that *he rose from the dead* by a true and proper resurrection.

Moreover, that the verity and propriety of Christ's resurrection may further appear, it will be necessary to consider the cause thereof, by what power and by whom it was effected. And if we look upon the meritorious cause, we shall find it to be Christ himself. For he by his voluntary sufferings in his life, and exact obedience at his death, did truly deserve to be raised unto life again<sup>8</sup>. Because *he drank of the brook in the way,* because *he humbled himself unto death, even to the death of the cross,* there- <sup>Ps. cx. 7. Phil. ii. 8.</sup> fore was it necessary that he should be exalted, and the first degree of his exaltation was his resurrection. Now being Christ humbled himself to the sufferings both of soul and body; being whatsoever suffered, the same by the virtue and merit of his passion was to be exalted; being all other degrees of exaltation supposed that of the resurrection; it followeth from the meritorious cause that Christ did truly rise from the dead with the same soul and the same body, with which he lived united, and died separated.

The efficient cause of the resurrection of Christ is to be considered either as principal or instrumental. The principal cause was God himself; for no other power but that which is omni-

<sup>7</sup> 'Ideo clausis ad discipulos ostiis introibat, et flatu suo dabat Spiritum sanctum, et dato intelligentiæ lumine, sanctarum scripturarum occulta pandebat; et rursus idem vulnus lateris, fixuras clavorum, et omnia recentissimæ passionis signa monstrabat: ut agnosceretur in eo proprietates divinæ humanæque naturæ individua permanere.' *Leo, Serm. i. de Resur.* [c. iii. vol. i. p. 305]

<sup>8</sup> 'Ut mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus resurrectione clarificaretur vel glorificaretur, prius humiliatus est passione: non enim a mortuis resurrexisset, si mortuus non fuisset. Humilitas claritatis est meritum, claritas humilitatis est præmium.' *S. August. Tract. 104 in Joan.* [§. 3. vol. iii. part ii. p. 760 A.]

potent can raise the dead. It is an act beyond the activity of any creature, and unproportionate to the power of any finite agent.

Acts ii. 32. *This Jesus hath God raised up*, saith the Apostle, *whereof we all are witnesses*. And generally in the Scriptures as our, so Christ's resurrection is attributed unto God; and as we cannot hope after death to rise to life again without the activity of an infinite and irresistible power, no more did Christ himself, who was no otherwise raised than by an eminent act of God's omnipotency; which is excellently set forth by the Apostle, in so high an exaggeration of expressions, as I think is scarce to be paralleled in any author; *that we may know what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of the might of his power which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him up from the dead*<sup>9</sup>. Being then omnipotency is a Divine attribute, and infinite power belongs to God alone; being no less power than infinite could raise our Saviour from the dead; it followeth, that whatsoever instrumental action might concur, God must be acknowledged the principal agent.

And therefore in the Scriptures the raising of Christ is attributed to God the Father (according to those words of the Apostle, *Paul, an Apostle, not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father who raised him from the dead*), but is not attributed to the Father alone. For to whomsoever that infinite power doth belong, by which Christ was raised, that person must be acknowledged to have raised him. And because we have already proved that the eternal Son of God is of the same essence, and consequently of the same power with the Father, and shall hereafter shew the same true also of the Holy Ghost, therefore we must likewise acknowledge that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost raised Christ from the dead<sup>10</sup>. Nor is

<sup>9</sup> Eph. i. 19. Καὶ τί τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ—κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ. Which words our translation comes far short of, and I doubt our language can scarce reach it. For first, here are δυνάμις and ἰσχύς, two words to express the power of God, and the validity and force of it, but not sufficient; wherefore there is an addition to each of them, μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως, and κράτος τῆς ἰσχύος, two words more to express the eminent greatness of this power and force, but not suffi-

cient yet; and therefore there is another addition to each addition; τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος, and ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦ κράτους, to set forth the eminence and activity of that greatness; and all yet as it were but flat and dull, till it be quickened with an active verb, ἦν ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐν νεκρῶν. All which he set on work, all which he actuated in Christ, when he raised him from the dead.

<sup>10</sup> 'Quis nisi solus Filius resurrexit? Quia solus mori potuit, qui carnem habuit: et tamen ab hoc opere, quo solus

this only true by virtue of this ratiocination, but it is also delivered expressly of the Son, and that by himself. It is a weak fallacy used by the Socinians, who maintain, that God the Father only raised Christ, and then say they teach as much as the Apostles did, who attribute it always either generally unto God, or particularly to the Father. For if the Apostles taught it only so, yet if he which taught the Apostles taught us something more, we must make that also part of our belief. They believe the Father raised Christ, because St. Paul hath taught them so, and we believe the same; they will not believe that Christ did raise himself, but we must also believe that, because he hath said so. These were his words unto the Jews, *Destroy this temple*, John ii. 19, *and in three days I will raise it up*; and this is the explication<sup>21</sup> of the Apostle, *But he spake of the temple of his body*, which he might very properly call a temple, because *the fulness of the God-head dwelt in him bodily*. And *when he was risen from the dead*, John ii. 22. *his Disciples remembered that he had said this unto them, and they believed the Scripture, and the word that Jesus had said*. Now if upon the resurrection of Christ the Apostles believed those words of Christ, *Destroy this temple, and I will raise it up*, then did they believe that Christ raised himself; for in those words there is a person mentioned which raised Christ, and no other person mentioned but himself.

A strange opposition they make to the evidence of this argument, saying, that God the Father raised Christ to life, and Christ being raised to life did lift and raise his body out of the grave, as the man sick of the palsy raised himself from the bed, or as we shall raise ourselves out of the graves when the trumpet should sound<sup>11</sup>: and this was all which Christ did or could do. But if this were true, and nothing else were to be understood in those words of our Saviour, he might as well have said, *Destroy this temple, and in three days any one of you may raise it up*.

Filius resurrexit, non erat Pater alienus, de quo scriptum est, *Qui suscitavit a mortuis Jesum*. An forte se ipse non suscitavit? Et ubi est quod ait, *Solvite templum hoc, et triduo suscitabo illud?* et quod *potestatem se habere dicit ponendi et iterum sumendi animam suam?* Quis autem ita desipiat, ut putet Spiritum sanctum resurrectionem hominis Christi non cooperatum, cum ipsum hominem Christum fuerit operatus? *S. Aug. cont. Serm. Arian. c. 15.* [vol. viii. p. 635 E.]

<sup>11</sup> 'Aliter Deus Christum suscitavit, aliter Christus corpus suum: Deus Christo vitam restituendo, Christus vita recuperata corpus suum levando, et e sepulchro prodeundo, seque post mortem vivum sistendo præbendoque. Sic et paralyticus ille exererat corpus suum, accepta a Christo sanitate: sic et omnes mortui surgent, et ex monumentis prohibunt, recepta ab eodem Christo vita.' *Confessionis Sociniana Vindices.*

For when life was restored unto it by God, any one of them might have lifted it up, and raised it out of the grave, and have shewn it alive.

This answer therefore is a mere shift: for to raise a body which is dead, is, in the language of the Scriptures, to give life unto it, or to quicken a mortal body. *For as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will*<sup>12</sup>. He then which quickeneth the dead bodies of others when he raiseth them, he also quickened his own body when he

<sup>12</sup> Ἐγείρειν τοὺς νεκροὺς and ζωοποιεῖν is the same thing; and therefore one in the Apodosis answereth to both in the Protasis, and sheweth that Christ raiseth and quickeneth whom he will, which demonstrateth his infinite and absolute power. Καὶ τοι τὸ, οὐδὲν δύναται ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖν, τῷ, οὐ θέλει, ἐναντίον ἐστίν. Εἰ γὰρ οὐ θέλει, δύναται ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ γὰρ θέλειν ἐξουσίας· εἰ δὲ οὐ δύναται ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐκέτι οὐ θέλει. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ, ὡς περὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγείρει, τῆς δυνάμεως δείκνυσι τὴν ἀπαραλλαξίαν τὸ δὲ, οὐ θέλει, τῆς ἐξουσίας τὴν ἰσότητα. *S. Chrysost. Homil. 38. in Joam.* [al. Hom. 37. §. 4. vol. viii. p. 223 C.] Where it is very observable that though ἐγείρειν τοὺς νεκροὺς and ζωοποιεῖν be the same in the language of the Scriptures, yet ἐγείρειν and ζωοποιεῖν are not the same. By which observation the late learned bishop of Ely hath most evidently detected that Socinian cavil. 'Si quis obstinate vocem excitabo [ἐγερῶ] urgere vult, is animadvertat quid D. Jesus alibi dicat, *Eum qui perdidit animam, vivificaturum eam.* Ubi si quis insistere vellet ipsis verbis, eum colligere oporteret, credentes etiam ipsos sese vivificaturos, et a mortuis excitaturos.' *Catech. Racov. p. 278.* [p. 218.] For ἐγερῶ hath manifest relation to the dead, but ζωογονῶ unto the living. And therefore our translation hath very well rendered those words, Luke xvii. 33. \*Ὁς ἐὰν ἀπολέσῃ αὐτὴν, ζωογονήσει αὐτήν. *Whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it:* so that ζωογονεῖν ψυχὴν is to preserve life, which interpretation is most evident out of the antithesis of the same place; \*Ὁς ἐὰν ζητήσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σώσει, ἀπολέσει αὐτήν. For σώσει and ἀπολέσει in the former part are the same with ἀπολέσῃ

and ζωογονήσει in the latter. And beside, this is the language of St. Luke, who, Acts vii. 19, says that the Egyptians ill intreated the Israelites, τοῦ ποιεῖν ἕκθετα τὰ βρέφη αὐτῶν, εἰς τὸ μὴ ζωογονεῖσθαι, *So that they cast out their young children, to the end they might not live,* that is, remain alive; *Syr.* ינחן מליך, *ne servarentur, ne viverent,* as the Arabic. In which words there is a manifest reference to that place in Exodus, where thrice this word is used in that sense by the LXX, as i. 17. ירדו ויחיהו את הבהמה, *Kal ἐξωγονῶν τὰ ἔρσενα.* *Vulg. Tr. Sed conservabant mares;* *Chald.* וקיימו ויחיהו; so verse 18. ἐξωγονεῖτε τὰ ἔρσενα; and 22. καὶ πᾶν θῆλυ, ζωογονεῖτε αὐτό. And indeed יחיהו in Piel is often used for keeping or preserving alive, and is so several times translated ζωογονῶ as well as ζωργῶ; as Jud. viii. 19. יחיהו לך, *Ei ἐξωγονήκειτε αὐτοὺς, οὐκ ἐν ἀπέκτεινα ὑμᾶς.* *Vulg. Tr. Si servassetis eos, non vos occiderem: If ye had saved them alive, I would not slay you.* i Sam. xxvii. 9. יחיהו מליך, *Kal οὐκ ἐξωγονῶντι ἀνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα.* *Vulg. Tr. Nec relinquebat viventem virum et mulierem; And left neither man nor woman alive:* and which is yet nearer to our purpose, i Kings xx. 31. יחיהו אולי, *LXX. Εἴπως ζωογονήσει τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.* *Vulg. Tr. Forsitan salvabit animas nostras; Peradventure he will save thy life.* So that ζωογονεῖν in the language of the LXX. is to save alive, and ζωογονεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν, is to preserve one's life. So that St. Luke, in the text cited by the Socinians, could intend no more than that he which was ready to lose his life for Christ should thereby preserve it, and consequently he speaks nothing of the raising of the dead.

raised that. The temple is supposed here to be dissolved, and being so to be raised again; therefore the suscitation must answer to the dissolution. But the temple of Christ's body was dissolved when his soul was separated, nor was it any other way dissolved than by that separation. God suffered not his Holy One to see corruption, and therefore the parts of his body, in respect of each to other, suffered no dissolution. Thus as the Apostle desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ, so the temple of Christ's body was dissolved here, by the separation of his soul: for the temple standing was the body living; and therefore the raising of the dissolved temple was the quickening of the body. If the body of Christ had been laid down in the sepulchre alive, the temple had not been dissolved; therefore to lift it up out of the sepulchre when it was before quickened, was not to raise a dissolved temple, which our Saviour promised he would do, and the Apostles believed he did.

Again, it is most certainly false that our Saviour had power only to lift up his body when it was revived, but had no power of himself to reunite his soul unto his body, and thereby to revive it. For Christ speaketh expressly of himself, *I lay down my life (or soul) that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again.* The laying down of Christ's life was to die, and the taking of it again was to revive; and by this taking of his life again he shewed himself to be the resurrection and the life. For he which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead. But if Christ had done no more in the resurrection, than lifted up his body when it was revived, he had done that which any other person might have done, and so had not declared himself to be the Son of God with power. It remaineth therefore that Christ, by that power which he had within himself, did take his life again which he had laid down, did reunite his soul unto his body, from which he separated it when he gave up the ghost, and so did quicken and revive himself: and so it is a certain truth, not only that God the Father raised the Son, but also that God the Son raised himself<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἄνέστησεν ἑαυτόν. *S. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn. cap. 2.* [p. 34.] 'Si peccati confessor revixit a morte, quis eum suscitavit? Nullus mortuus est sui ipsius suscitator. Ille se potuit suscitare, qui

From this consideration of the efficient cause of Christ's resurrection, we are yet farther assured, that Christ did truly and properly rise from the dead in the same soul and the same body. For if we look upon the Father, it is beyond all controversy that he raised his own Son: and as while he was here alive, God spake from heaven, saying, *This is my well-beloved Son*; so after his death it was the same person, of whom he spake by the Prophet, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*. If we look upon Christ himself, and consider him with power to raise himself, there can be no greater assurance that he did totally and truly rise in soul and body by that Divinity which was never separated either from the body or from the soul. And thus we have sufficiently proved our second particular, the verity, reality, and propriety of Christ's resurrection, contained in those words, *he rose from the dead*.

The third particular concerns the time of Christ's resurrection, which is expressed by *the third day*: and those words afford a double consideration; one in respect of the distance of time, as it was after three days; the other in respect of the day, which was the third day from his passion, and the precise day upon which he rose. For the first of these, we shall shew that the Messiah, who was foretold both to die and to rise again, was not to rise before, and was to rise upon, the third day after his death; and that in correspondence to these predictions, our Jesus, whom we believe to be the true Messiah, did not rise from the dead until, and did rise from the dead upon, the third day.

The typical predictions of this truth were two, answering to our two considerations; one in reference to the distance, the other in respect of the day itself. The first is that of the Prophet Jonas, who *was in the belly of the great fish three days and three nights*, and then by the special command of God he was rendered safe upon the dry land, and sent a preacher of repentance to the great city of Nineveh. This was an express type of the Messiah then to come, who was to preach repentance and remission of sins to all nations; that *as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so should the Son of man be*

mortua carne non mortuus est. Etenim hoc suscitavit quod mortuum fuerat. Ille se suscitavit qui vivebat in se, in carne autem sua suscitanda mortuus erat. Non enim Pater solus Filium suscitavit, de quo dictum est ab Apo-

stolo, *Propter quod et Deus eum exaltavit*: sed etiam Dominus seipsum, id est, corpus suum; unde dicit, *Solvite templum hoc, et in triduo suscitabo illud.* S. August. de Verb. Dom. Serm. viii. cap. 1. [Serm. LXVII. 2. vol. v. p. 374 D.]

*three days and three nights in the heart of the earth*: and as he was restored alive unto the dry land again, so should the Messiah, after three days, be taken out of the jaws of death, and restored unto the land of the living.

The type in respect of the day was the waved sheaf in the feast of the first-fruits, concerning which this was the law of God by Moses: *When ye come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the first-fruits of your harvest unto the priest: and he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord to be accepted for you: on the morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it. And ye shall offer that day when ye wave the sheaf an he-lamb without blemish of the first year for a burnt offering unto the Lord*. For under the Levitical Law, all the fruits of the earth in the land of Canaan were profane; none might eat of them till they were consecrated; and that they were in the feast of the first-fruits. One sheaf was taken out of the field and brought to the priest, who lifted it up as it were in the name of all the rest, waving it before the Lord, and it was accepted for them; so that all the sheaves in the field were holy by the acceptation of that: *for if the first-fruits be holy, the lump is also holy*. And this was always done the day after the sabbath, that is, the paschal solemnity, after which the fulness of the harvest followed: by which thus much was foretold and represented, that as the sheaf was lifted up and waved, and the lamb was offered on that day by the priest to God, so the promised Messiah, that immaculate Lamb which was to die, that Priest which dying was to offer up himself to God, was upon this day to be lifted up and raised from the dead, or rather to shake and lift up and present himself to God, and so to be accepted for us all, that so our dust might be sanctified, our corruption hallowed, our mortality consecrated to eternity. Thus was the resurrection of the Messiah after death typically represented both in the distance and the day.

And now, in reference to both resemblances, we shall clearly shew that our Jesus, whom we believe, and have already proved to be the true Messiah, was so long and no longer dead, as to rise *the third day*; and did so order the time of his death, that the third day on which he rose might be that very day on which the sheaf was waved, the day after that sabbath mentioned in the Law.

As for the distance between the resurrection and the death

Matt. iii. 17.

Psaln ii. 7.

Jonah i. 17. ii. 10.

Matt. xii. 40.

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Lev. xxiii. 10, 11, 12.

Rom. xi. 16.

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of Christ, it is to be considered, first, generally in itself, as it is some space of time: secondly, as it is that certain and determinate space of three days. Christ did not, would not, suddenly arise, lest any should doubt that he ever died. It was as necessary for us that he should die, as that he should live; and we, which are to believe them both, were to be assured as well of the one as of the other. That therefore we may be ascertained of his death, he did some time continue it. He might have descended from the cross before he died; but he would not, because he had undertaken to die for us<sup>14</sup>. He might have revived himself upon the cross after he had given up the ghost, and before Joseph came to take him down; but he would not, lest as Pilate questioned whether he were already dead, so we might doubt whether he ever died<sup>15</sup>. The reward of his resurrection was immediately due upon his passion, but he deferred the receiving of it, lest either of them being questioned, they both might lose their efficacy and intended operation. It was therefore necessary that some space should intercede between them.

Again, Because Christ's exaltation was due unto his humiliation, and the first step of that was his resurrection; because the Apostles after his death were to preach repentance and remission of sins through his blood, who were no way qualified to preach any such doctrine till he rose again; because the Spirit could not be sent till he ascended, and he could not ascend into heaven till he rose from the grave; therefore the space between his resurrection and passion could not be long; nor can there be any reason assigned why it should any longer be deferred, when the verity of his death was once sufficiently proved. Lest therefore his Disciples should be long held in suspense, or any person after many days should doubt whether

<sup>14</sup> 'De cruce descendere poterat, sed differebat ut de sepulchro resurgeret.' *S. August. Tract. 12 in Joan.* [§. 6. vol. iii. part ii. p. 386 D.]

<sup>15</sup> 'Ἡδύνατο μὲν καὶ παρ' αὐτὰ τοῦ θανάτου τὸ σῶμα διεγείρειν καὶ πάλιν δεῖξαι ζῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο καλῶς προιδὼν ὁ Σωτὴρ οὐ πεποίηκεν· εἶπε γὰρ ἔν τις μὴδ' ὄλωσ αὐτὸ τεθνηκέναι, ἢ μὴδὲ τέλειον αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον ἐψαικέναι, εἰ παρ' αὐτὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἦν ἐπιδείξας. Τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰσφ τοῦ διαστήματος ὄντος τοῦ τε θανάτου καὶ τῆς

ἀναστάσεως, ἔδηλον ἐγίνετο τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας κλέος. "Ὅθεν ἴνα δειχθῆ νεκρὸν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ μίαν ὑπέμεινε μέσην ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τριταῖον τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀφθαρτον. *S. Athanas. de Incarn. Verbi.* [c. 26. vol. i. p. 69 D.] Καὶ τρεῖς δὲ ἡμέρας διὰ τοῦτο συνεχάρησεν, ἵνα πιστευθῆ ὅτι ἀπέθανεν, οὐ γὰρ τῷ σταυρῷ αὐτῷ μόνον βεβαιούται, καὶ τῇ πάντων ὕψει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν ἡμερῶν. *S. Chrysost. Homil. 43. in Matt.* [al. Hom. 44. §. 2. vol. vii. p. 459 D.]

he rose with the same body with which he died, or no; that he might shew himself alive while the soldiers were watching at his grave, and while his crucifixion was yet in the mouths of the people, he would not stay many days before he rose<sup>16</sup>. Some distance then of time there was, but not great, between his crucifixion and his resurrection.

The particular length of this space is determined in *the third day*: but that expression being capable of some diversity of interpretation, it is not so easily concluded how long our Saviour was dead or buried before he revived or rose again. It is written expressly in St. Matthew, that *as Jonas was three days and three* Matt. xii.  
*nights in the whale's belly, so should the Son of man be three* 40.  
*days and three nights in the heart of the earth.* From whence it seemeth to follow, that Christ's body was for the space of three whole days and three whole nights in the grave, and after that space of time rose from thence. And hence some have conceived, that being our Saviour rose on the morning of the first day of the week, therefore it must necessarily follow that he died and was buried on the fifth day of the week before, that is on Thursday; otherwise it cannot be true that he was in the grave three nights.

But this place, as express as it seems to be, must be considered with the rest in which the same truth is delivered: as when our Saviour said, *After three days I will rise again*; and Matt.  
again, *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will build it up*, or, xxvii. 63.  
*within three days I will build another made without hands.* But Mark viii.  
that which is most used, both in our Saviour's prediction before 31.  
his death, and in the Apostle's language after the resurrection, John ii. 19.  
is, that he *rose from the dead the third day*<sup>17</sup>. Now according Mark xiv.  
58.  
Matt. xvi.  
21.

<sup>16</sup> Ἐνεκα μὲν οὖν τοῦ δειχθῆναι τὸν θάνατον ἐν τῷ σώματι, τριταῖον ἀνέστησε τοῦτο· ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ διαμείναν καὶ φθαρῆν τέλειον ὕστερον ἀναστήσας ἀπιστηθῆ, ὡς οὐκ αὐτὸ, ἀλλ' ἕτερον σῶμα φέρον· (ἐμελλε γὰρ ἔν τις καὶ δι' αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀπιστεῖν τῷ φαινομένῳ, καὶ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι τῶν γενομένων) διὰ τοῦτο οὐ πλείω τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἠνέσχετο, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς ἀκούσαντας αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως παρελλκυσεν· ἀλλ' ἔτι τῶν ἀκοῶν αὐτῶν ἔναυλον ἐχόντων τὸν λόγον, καὶ ἔτι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν ἐκδεχομένων, καὶ τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν ἠρτημένης, καὶ ζώντων ἐπὶ γῆς ἔτι, καὶ ἐπὶ τόπον ὄντων τῶν θα-

νατωσάντων, καὶ μαρτυρούντων περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος, αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱὸς ἐν τριταῖα διαστήματι τὸ γενομένον νεκρὸν σῶμα ἔδειξεν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀφθαρτον. *S. Athanasius de Incarnatione Verbi.* [§. 26. vol. i. p. 69 E.]

<sup>17</sup> These several phrases are used; first that Christ was in the heart of the earth *treis hemeras*, καὶ *treis nyctas*: secondly, that he was to rise *meta treis hemeras*: thirdly, that he would rebuild this temple *en trisin hemerai*, and *dia trion hemeron*: and lastly, that he rose *τη τριτη ημερα*, which is the most general and constant form of speech.



Matt. xvii. 23. xx. 19. Mark ix. 31. x. 34. Luke ix. 22. xviii. 33. xxiv. 7, 46. Acts x. 40. 1 Cor. xv. 4.

to the language of the Scriptures, if Christ were slain and rose the third day, the day in which he died is one, and the day on which he rose is another, and consequently there could be but one day and two nights between the day of his death and of his resurrection. As in the case of circumcision, the male child eight days old was to be circumcised, in which the day on which the child was born was one, and the day on which he was circumcised was another, and so there were but six complete days between the day of his birth and the day of his circumcision. The day of Pentecost was the fiftieth day from the day of the wave-offering; but in the number of the fifty days was both the day of the wave-offering and of Pentecost included; as now among the Christians still it is. Whitsunday is now the day of Pentecost, and Easter-day the day of the resurrection, answering to that of the wave-offering; but both these must be reckoned to make the number of fifty days. Christ then, who rose upon the first day of the week, (as is confessed by all,) died upon the sixth day of the week before: or if he had died upon the fifth, he had risen not upon the third, but the fourth day, as Lazarus did<sup>18</sup>. Being then it is most certain that our Saviour rose on *the third day*<sup>19</sup>; being according to the constant

18 Lazarus is said to be τεταρταίος, four days dead, that is counting the day on which he died, and the day on which his sister spake so to our Saviour at his sepulchre: and being he was raised then, he rose τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, *the fourth day*. Our Saviour rose τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, and therefore he was τριταίος when he arose; and so the Fathers call him, as you may observe in the words last cited out of St. Athanasius.

19 As we read in Plutarch, Σολεὺς δ' Θεσπείσιος—ἐξέθανε, καὶ τριταίος ἦδη περὶ τὰς ταφὰς αὐτὰς ἀνήνεγκε· *De his qui sero pui.* [vol. ii. p. 563 D.] and of that spirit in a boy possessed, who hated all women, Ἐπεὶ ἡ γυνὴ περὶ τὴν εὐνήν ββρισε, τριταίον κειμένον γαμηθεῖσα ἐτέρῳ. *Philostrot. de Vit. Apoll. Tyam. lib. iii. cap. 12.* [c. 38.] What this τριταίος is, the Greek grammarians will teach us: Πρὸς μὲν τὸ πόσα ἀπαντᾷ τὸ τρίτον ἢ τέσσαρα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πόσον τὸ τρίτον ἢ τεταρτὸν ἐπὶ τάδεως, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ποσταίον τὸ τριταίον ἢ τεταρταίον· οἷον πρὸς τὸ, ποσταίον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ πάρει; ἀπαντῆσει τὸ, τριταίος τυχὸν ἢ τεταρταίος, ἢ γου

τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔχω ἀφ' οὗ πάρεμι ἢ τεταρτήν. *Schol. Eurip. Hec. v. 32.* Τριταίος then, in respect of his coming to or from any place, is that person which is now the third day in or from that place; which cannot be better interpreted, as to the Greek language, than in the expression of a Tertian fever, called so because the second accession is upon the third day from the first, and the third from the second, &c. In which case there is but one day between, in which the patient is wholly free from his disease: from whence παρὰ μίαν and τριταίως is the same in the language of the physicians. This is excellently expressed by Alexander Aphrodisseus in that problematical question, Διὰ τί ὁ μὲν τριταίος ἐκ θερμοῦ χυμοῦ γιγνόμενος, καὶ ἔχων μαστίζουσαν καὶ κατελαύνουσαν χολήν, παρὰ μίαν κινεῖται· ὁ δὲ ἀμφημερινός, ἔχων πεδήσαν τὸ φλέγμα τῇ βαρύτητι καὶ ψυχρότητι καθ' ἡμέραν· ὁ δὲ τεταρταίος διὰ δύο ἡμερῶν μέσων. *Probl. 10. lib. ii.* The Quotidian ague hath its accessions καθ' ἡμέραν· the Tertian παρὰ μίαν (*sub. ἡμέραν*) after one day of perfect inter-

language of the Greeks and Hebrews, he cannot be said to rise to life on the third day, who died upon any other day between which and the day of his resurrection there intervened any more than one day: therefore those other forms of speech which are far less frequent, must be so interpreted as to be reduced to this expression of *the third day* so often reiterated.

262 When therefore we read that *after three days* he would raise the temple of his body, we must not imagine that he would continue the space of three whole days dead, and then revive himself; but upon the third day he would rise again: as Joseph and his mother *after three days found him in the temple*, that is, Luke ii. 46. the third day after he tarried behind in Jerusalem. And when we read, that he was three days and three nights in the heart of the earth, we must not look upon those nights as distinct from the days<sup>20</sup>, but as Moses spake, *the evening and the morning,*

mission; the Quartan διὰ δύο ἡμερῶν μέσων. In the same manner he mentions the πεμπταίον, the ἑβδομαίον, and ἑνναταίον: in all which this is constantly observable, that the days of perfect intermission are fewer by two, than the number in the name of the fever: for if the fever be a τριταίος, the day of intermission is but one, if τεταρταίος two, if πεμπταίος three, if ἑβδομαίος five, if ἑνναταίος seven. Thus if our Saviour were one whole day in the grave, and died the day before, and rose the day after, he did rise τριταίος; if he were two whole days in the grave, he rose τεταρταίος. So Aristotle; Διὰ τί ὁ νυκτερινὸς βορέας τριταίος λήγει; πότερον ὅτι ἀπὸ μικρᾶς καὶ ἀσθενοῦς ἀρχῆς; ἢ τρίτῃ δὲ κρίσιμος. *Probl. 14. sect. xxvi.* Τῇ τρίτῃ therefore and τριταίος is the same. For from τρίτῃ comes τριταίος, and from τετάρτῃ, τεταρταίος, in which ἡμέρᾳ is always understood. Τεταρταίος, τετραήμερος. *Suid.* Τριταίος then is τριήμερος· περὶ τρεῖς τριταίος, διὰ τρίτης· and τεταρταίος, διὰ τετάρτης. Thus being Christ did certainly rise τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, he did rise according to the Greeks τριταίος· and according to the same then he must also rise παρὰ μίαν, that is, one day only interceding between the day of his death, and the day of his resurrection.

20 A night and a day in the Hebrew language, not used to compositions, is the same with the Greek νυχθήμερον

ויהי ערב ויהי בקר יום The evening and the morning were the first day. For though God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night, yet at the same time that day and that night was called day. So that the same word יום in the same verse signifieth both the natural and artificial day. And the evening and the morning are sometimes put instead of the day; as Dan. viii. 14. עד ערב בקר אלפים Unto two thousand and three hundred days, and verse 26. כראה הערב ויהי בקר, which we translate, *The vision of the evening and the morning*, but might be rather translated in reference to the former, *The vision of the days*, viz. the 2300 days before spoken of. Now though a day be thus diversely taken, yet in the measuring of any time which containeth in it both days and nights, a day is always taken in that sense in which it comprehendeth both day and night. Thus Galen, who is very punctual and exact in all his language, and full of explications of the words he uses, to prevent mistakes, being to speak of the critical days, gives notice that by a day he understands not that space of time which is opposed to the night, but that which comprehendeth both the night and day: Ἡμέραν δηλονότι παρ' ὅλον τὸν λόγον εἰρησομένους, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἡμέρας αὐτῆς μόνης συνεστῶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς χρόνου· καθάπερ οὖν καὶ τὸν μήνα

that is, the night and the day, *were the first day*; and as the saint spake unto Daniel, *Unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings*, intending thereby so many days: nor must we imagine that those three days were completed after our Saviour's death, and before he rose: but that upon the first of those three days he died, and upon the last of those three days he rose. As we find that *eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child*; and yet Christ was born upon the first, and circumcised upon the last of those eight days<sup>21</sup>: nor were there any more than six whole days between the day of his birth and the day of his circumcision; the one upon the five and twentieth of December, the other upon the first of January. And as the Jews were wont to speak, the priests in their courses by the appointment of David were to minister before the Lord eight days, whereas every week a new course succeeded, and there were but seven days' service for each course (the sabbath on which they began, and the sabbath on which they went off, being both reckoned in the eight days); so the day on which the Son of God was crucified, dead, and buried, and the day on which he revived and rose again, were included in the number of three days. And thus did our Saviour rise from the dead

τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν εἶναι λέγομεν, οὐ μόνον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνεται, προσαγορεύοντες ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτῷ προστιθέντες· οὕτως δὲ πῶς καὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαν ἡμερῶν εἶναι φαμεν. *De Crisidus, lib. ii. cap. 2.* This is observed by St. Basil to be also the custom of the Scriptures, upon those words in Genesis, Ἐγένετο οὖν ἑσπέρα, καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ· τὸ ἡμερονύκτιον λέγει· καὶ οὐκέτι προσηγορεύσει, ἡμέρα καὶ νύξ, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐπικρατοῦντι τὴν πᾶσαν προσηγορίαν ἀπένειμε. Ταύτην ἂν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γραφῇ τὴν συνθήειαν εὔροις, ἐν τῇ τοῦ χρόνου μετρήσει ἡμέρας ἀριθμουμένας, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ νυκτὰς μετὰ τῶν ἡμερῶν. *In Hexaem. Homil. 2. [§. 8. vol. i. p. 20 C.]* Now being generally in all computations of time, as St. Basil observeth, ἐν τῇ τοῦ χρόνου μετρήσει, a day was taken for the whole space of day and night; and as the evening and the morning signifieth the same, that is, a day; and 2300 evenings and mornings no more than so many days; and so three days and three nights in the computation of

time signify no more than three days; (*For God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night, and the evening and the morning were the first day, and the evening and the morning were the second day, &c.*) being three days in the language of the Scripture are said to be fulfilled when the third day is come, though it be not wholly passed over; it followeth that to be three days dead, or to be three days and three nights dead, in the Hebrew language, cannot necessarily infer any more, than that the person spoken of did continue dead till the third day.

<sup>21</sup> As we read of the circumcision of our Saviour, Ἐπλήσθησαν ἡμέραι ὀκτώ· St. Luke ii. 21. so of Zachary, Ὅς ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ· St. Luke i. 23. and though the number ὀκτώ were not expressed, yet it is to be understood, according to the language of the Scripture in other cases, and of Josephus particularly in this; Διέταξε δὲ μίαν πατριὰν διακονεῖσθαι τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, ἀπὸ σαββάτου ἐπὶ σάββατον. *Jud. Antiq. lib. vii. cap. 11. [c. 14. §. 7.]*

upon the third day properly, and was three days and three nights in the heart of the earth synecdochically<sup>22</sup>.

263 This is sufficient for the clearing the precise distance of Christ's resurrection from his crucifixion, expressed in the determinate number of three days: the next consideration is, what day of the week that *third day* was, on which Christ did actually rise, and what belongeth to that day in relation to his resurrection. Two characters there are which will evidently prove the particularity of this third day; the first is the description of that day in respect of which this is called the *third*, after the manner already delivered and confirmed; the second is the Evangelist's expression of the time on which Christ rose.

The character of the day in which our Saviour died is undeniable, for it is often expressly called the *preparation*<sup>23</sup>; as we

<sup>22</sup> So St. Jerom on Jonas ii. 1. [vol. vi. p. 405 C.] *Et erat Jonas in ventre piscis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus.* Hujus loci mysterium in Evangelio Dominus exponit: et superfluum est vel idipsum, vel aliud dicere quam exposuit ipse qui passus est. Hoc solum quaerimus, quomodo tres dies et tres noctes fuerit in corde terræ. Quidam *παρασκευῆν*, quando sole fugiente ab hora sexta usque ad horam nonam, nox successit diei, in duos dies et noctes dividunt, et apponentes sabbatum, tres dies et tres noctes aestimant supputandas: nos vero *συνεχόχικως* totum intelligamus a parte: ut ex eo quod ἐν *παρασκευῇ* mortuus est, unam diem supputemus et noctem, et sabbati alteram: tertiam vero noctem, quæ diei Dominicæ mancipatur, referamus ad exordium diei alterius; nam et in Genesi nox non præcedentis diei est, sed sequentis, id est, principium futuri, non finis præteriti.' To the same purpose St. Augustin; 'Ipsam autem triduum non totum et plenum fuisse, Scriptura testis est; sed primus dies a parte extrema totus annumeratus est; dies vero tertius a parte prima, et ipse totus; medius autem inter eos, i. e. secundus dies absolute totus viginti quatuor horis suis, duodecim nocturnis, et duodecim diurnis. Crucifixus est enim primo Judæorum vocibus hora tertiam, cum esset dies sexta sabbati. Deinde, in ipsa cruce suspensus est hora sexta, et spiri-

tum tradidit hora nona. Sepultus est autem cum jam sero factum esset, sicut sese habent verba Evangelii, quod intelligitur in fine diei. Unde libet ergo incipias, etiamsi alia ratio reddi potest, quomodo non sit contra Evangelium Joannis, ut hora tertia ligno suspensus intelligatur: totum diem primum non comprehendis. Ergo a parte extrema totus computabitur, sicut tertius a parte prima. Nox enim usque ad diluculum, quo Domini resurrectione declarata est, ad tertium diem pertinet.' *De Trin. lib. iv. cap. 6. [§. 10. vol. viii. p. 816 F.]* And after him Leo the Great; 'Neburbato discipulorum animos longa mœstitudo cruciaret, denunciatam tridui moram tam mira celeritate breviavit, ut dum ad integrum secundum diem pars primi novissima, et pars tertiæ prima concurrir, et aliquantum temporis-spacio decideret, et nihil dierum numero deperiret.' *Serm. 1. De Resur. Dom. Isidor. Pelus. lib. i. Epist. 114. [p. 35.]*

<sup>23</sup> *Παρασκευῆ.* *Parasœve* interpretatur *preparatio*, saith St. Augustin, *De Cons. Evang. lib. iii. cap. 13.* and in the Greek language it signifieth generally any preparation of what nature soever: but in this case it signifieth rather the time in which preparation was made, as St. Luke xxiii. 54. Καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν *παρασκευῆ*· and that preparation among the Jews for the sabbath; as St. Mark xv. 42. Ἐπεὶ ἦν *παρασκευῆ*, ὃ ἔστι *πρόσάββατον*·

John xix. 42. read, they therefore laid Jesus in the garden, *because of the Jews' preparation day, for the sepulchre was nigh at hand; and the next day that followed the preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees asked a guard.* Now this day of preparation was the day immediately before the sabbath or some other great feast of the Jews, called by them the eve of the sabbath or the feast; and therefore called the preparation, because on that day they did prepare whatsoever was necessary for the celebration of the following festival, according to that command in the case of

and in the edict of Augustus Cæsar, *Εγγύας τε μή ὁμολογεῖν ἐν σάββασι, ἢ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ ὕρας ἐννάτης. Joseph. Jud. Antiq. lib. xvi. cap. 10. [c. vi. §. 2.]* which is well expressed by Synesius; 'Ἡμέρα μὲν οὖν ἦν, ἣν τινα ἄγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παρασκευῇ τὴν δὲ νύκτα τῇ μετ' αὐτὴν ἡμέρα λογιζονται, καθ' ἣν οὐδενὶ θέμις ἐστὶν ἐνεργῶν ἔχειν τὴν χεῖρα, ἀλλὰ τιμῶντες διαφερόντως αὐτὴν, ἄγουσιν ἀπραξίαν. Epist. 4. [p. 163 D.] This παρασκευῇ of the Hebrews was answerable to the *cæna pura* of the Gentiles, as the old Glossary; *Cæna pura, προσάββατον, et in Gloss. Latino-Arabico, 'Parasceue, cœna pura, id est, præparatio quæ fit pro sabbato.'* From whence some of the Fathers did so interpret the eves of the Jewish sabbaths; as Tertulian; 'Dies observatis, et menses, et tempora, et annos, et sabbata, ut opinor, et cœnas puras, et jejunia, et dies magnos.' *Adv. Marcion. lib. v. cap. 4. [p. 465 A.]* 'Acceleratam vult intelligi sepulturam, ne advesperasceret: quando jam propter parasceuen, quam cœnam puram Judæi Latine usitatius apud nos vocant, facere tale aliquid non licebat.' *S. August. Tract. 120. in Joan. [§. 5. vol. iii. part ii. p. 805 C.]* And the ancient translators of the Greek Fathers did use the Latin *cæna pura* for the Greek παρασκευῇ. As the Interpreter of St. Chrysostom; 'Qua enim die conceptus est Dominus eadem die et passus est; eadem ipsa die cœna pura fuit, in qua et luna quarta-decima occurrit.' *Serm. in Natalem Joan. Bapt.* So likewise the old Interpreter of Irenæus; 'Parasceue, quæ dicitur cœna pura, id est, sexta feria, quam et Dominus ostendit passus in ea.' *Adv. Hæres. lib. v. cap. 19. [c. 23. §. 2. p. 331.]*—'Mosen in sexta die dixisse,—quæ est in cœna

pura, &c.' *Ibid. lib. i. cap. 10. [c. 14. §. 6. p. 71.]* As therefore the *cæna pura* among the Gentiles was that time in which they prepared and sanctified themselves for their sacred solemnities, so the Jews did make use of that word to signify their sanctification, and of the Greek παρασκευῇ to testify the preparation of all things used on their holy days, upon the eve thereof, or day before. 'Parasceue Latine præparatio est: sed isto verbo Græco libentius utuntur Judæi in hujusmodi observationibus, etiam qui magis Latine quam Græce loquuntur,' saith St. Augustin: *Tract. 117. in Joan. [§. 2. p. 797 A.]* So that the same Father testified that the Jews speaking Latin in his time, did sometime use *parasceue*, sometime *cæna pura*, for their eve of preparation. Otherwise in their own language they called it *עֶרֶב שַׁבָּת*; by which generally they understood the sixth day of the week, the day before the sabbath. For so they reckoned the days of the week in *Bereshit Rabba*; *הַיּוֹם בְּשַׁבָּת, the first of the week; הַיּוֹם הַשֵּׁנִי, the second; הַיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי, the third; הַיּוֹם הַרְבִּיעִי, the fourth; הַיּוֹם הַחֲמִישִׁי, the fifth; עֶרֶב שַׁבָּת, the eve; שַׁבָּת, the sabbath.* Thus in Hebrew *עֶרֶב שַׁבָּת*, in Greek παρασκευῇ, in Latin *cæna pura*, were used by the Jews for the same day, the Friday or sixth of the week; but not for that alone, but for the eve of any great festival which answered to a sabbath; so that they had their *עֶרֶב שַׁבָּת*, and *עֶרֶב הַיּוֹם שְׁבִיעִי*, as *παρασκευῇ τοῦ σαββάτου*, and *παρασκευῇ τοῦ Πάσχα*. And when a great festival fell upon the sabbath, then, as the festivities were both one day, so the eve to both was the same Friday. And such was the day of preparation on which our Saviour was crucified,

264 manna, *It shall come to pass that on the sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in, and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily.* This preparation being used both before the sabbath and other festivals, at this time it had both relations: for first, it was the preparation to a sabbath, as appeareth by those words of St. Mark, *Now when the even was come, because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath;* and those of St. Luke, *That day was the preparation, and the sabbath drew on.* Secondly, It was also the eve of a festival, even of the great day of the paschal solemnity, as appeareth by St. John, who saith, when Pilate sat down to the judgment-seat, *it was the preparation of the passover.* And that the great paschal festivity did then fall upon the sabbath, so that the same day was then the preparation or eve of both, appeareth yet farther by the same Evangelist, saying, *The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath-day, for that sabbath-day was an high day;* that is, not only an ordinary or weekly sabbath, but also a great festival, even a paschal sabbath. Now being the sabbath of the Jews was constant, and fixed to the seventh day of the week, it followeth that the preparation or eve thereof must necessarily be the sixth day of the week; which from the day, and the infinite benefit accruing to us by the passion upon that day, we call *Good Friday*. And from that day being the sixth of one, the third must consequently be the eighth, or the first of the next week<sup>24</sup>.

24 'Ορᾶτε, πῶς λέγει, οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα ἐμοὶ δεκτὰ, ἀλλὰ ἃ πεποιήκα, ἐν ᾧ καταπάσας τὰ πάντα, ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης ποιήσω, ὃ ἐστὶν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχὴν διὰ καὶ ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ἣ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. *Barnabas Epist. cap. 15. [p. 47.]* 'Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀνάπαυσις ἐν κυριακῇ ἐν ὀγδοῦδι ἢ κυριακῇ ὀνομάζεται. *Theodorus, Epist. i. 'Ἡ δὲ ἐν πολλῇ τῆς περιτομῆς, κελεύουσα τῇ ὀγδοῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνει τὰ γεννώμενα, τύπος ἦν τῆς ἀληθινῆς περιτομῆς ἣν περιτέμθημεν ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης καὶ πονηρίας διὰ τοῦ ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντος τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. Μία γὰρ τῶν σαββάτων, πρώτη μένουσα τῶν πασῶν ἡμερῶν, κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν πάλιν τῶν πασῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς κυκλο-*

φορίας ὀγδοῇ καλεῖται, καὶ πρώτη οὐσα μένει. *Justin. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. §. 41. [p. 138 A.]* 'Cum in septimo die sabbati sit et nomen et observantia constituta; tamen nos in octava die, quæ et ipsa prima est, perfecti sabbati festivitate lætamur.' *S. Hilar. Com. in Psal. Prol. [p. 8 A.]* 'Hæc octava sententia, quæ ad caput redit, perfectumque hominem declarat, significatur fortasse et circumcisione octavo die in veteri Testamento, et Domini resurrectione post sabbatum, qui est utique octavus, idemque primus dies.' *S. August. de Serm. Dom. in Monte, lib. i. cap. 4. [§. 12. vol. iii. part ii. p. 170 B.]* Καὶ τὸ ἔθος καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἡμᾶς ἀπατεῖ πᾶσαν Κυριακὴν τιμᾶν καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ πανηγυρίζειν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐν ταύτῃ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ἡμῶν ἐπρυτάνευσε'

Exod. xvi.

5-

Mark xv.

42-

Luke xxiii.

54-

John xix.

14-

Ver. 31.

The next character of this third day is the expression of the time of the resurrection in the Evangelists. *When the sabbath was past*, saith St. Mark, which was the day after the preparation on which he was buried, *very early in the morning, the first day of the week*: In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, saith St. Matthew: Upon the first day of the week early in the morning, saith St. Luke: The first day of the week early when it was yet dark, saith St. John. By all which indications it appeareth that the body of Christ being laid in the sepulchre on the day of the preparation, which was the eve of the sabbath, and continuing there the whole sabbath following, which was the conclusion of that week, and farther resting there still and remaining dead the night which followed that sabbath, but belonged to the first day of the next week, about the end of that night early in the morning was revived by the accession and union of his soul, and rose again out of the sepulchre.

Whereby it came to pass, that the obligation of the day, which was then the sabbath, died and was buried with him, but in a manner by a diurnal transmutation revived again at his resurrection. Well might that day which carried with it a remembrance of that great deliverance from the Egyptian servitude, resign all the sanctity or solemnity due unto it, when that morning once appeared upon which a far greater redemption was confirmed. One day of seven was set apart by God in imitation of his rest upon the creation of the world, and that seventh day which was sanctified to the Jews was reckoned in relation to their deliverance from Egypt. At the second delivery of the Law we find this particular cause assigned, *Remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched-out arm, therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath-day.* Now this could not be any special reason why the Jews should observe a seventh day; first, because in reference to their redemption, the number of seven had no more relation than any other number: secondly, because the reason of a seventh day was before rendered in the body of the commandment itself. There was therefore a double reason

διὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς καὶ πρώτη Ἰουδαίων σαββατισμὸν. *Theophil. Alex. κέκληται, ὡς ἀρχὴ ζωῆς ἡμῶν ὑπάρχουσα, καὶ ὀδὸς, ἅτε ὑπερβεβηκυῖα τῶν* *Edict. [Galland. vii. p. 603 A.]*

rendered by God why the Jews should keep that sabbath which they did; one special, as to a seventh day, to shew they worshipped that God who was the Creator of the world; the other individual, as to that seventh day, to signify their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, from which that seventh day was dated.

Being then upon the resurrection of our Saviour a greater deliverance and far more plenteous redemption was wrought than that of Egypt, and therefore a greater observance was due unto it than to that, the individual determination of the day did pass upon a stronger reason to another day, always to be repeated by a seventhly return upon the reference to the creation. As there was a change in the year at the coming out of Egypt, by the command of God; *This month, the month of Abib, shall be unto you the beginning of months, it shall be the first month of the year to you*; so at this time of a more eminent deliverance a change was wrought in the hebdomadal or weekly account, and the first day is made the seventh, or the seventh after that first is sanctified. The first day, because on that Christ rose from the dead; and the seventh day from that first for ever, because he who rose upon that day was the same God who created the world, and rested on the seventh day: *for by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth—all things were created by him and for him.*

This day did the Apostles from the beginning most religiously observe, by their meeting together for holy purposes, and to perform religious duties. The first observation was performed providentially, rather by the design of God than any such inclination or intention of their own: for *the same day*, saith the Evangelist, that is, the day on which Christ rose from the dead, *at evening, being the first day of the week, the Disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews.* The second observation was performed voluntarily, *for after eight days again his Disciples were within, and Thomas with them*: the first day of the week, when Christ rose by the providence of God, the Disciples were together, but Thomas was absent; upon the first day of the next week they were all met together again in expectation of our Saviour, and Thomas with them. Again, *when the day of Pentecost was fully come*, which was also the first day of the week, *they were all with one accord in one place*; and having received the promise of the Holy Ghost, they spake with tongues, preached

Acts ii. 41. the gospel, and the same day were added unto them about three thousand souls. The same practice of convening we find continued in the following years: for upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them: and the same Apostle gave express command concerning the collection for the saints both to the churches of 1 Cor. xvi. 2. Galatia and of Corinth; Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him.

From this resurrection of our Saviour, and the constant practice of the Apostles, this first day of the week came to have the name of the *Lord's day*, and is so called by St. John, who says of himself in the Revelation, *I was in the spirit on the Lord's day*. And thus the observation of that day, which the Jews did sanctify, ceased, and was buried with our Saviour; and in the stead of it the religious observation of that day on which the Son of God rose from the dead<sup>25</sup>, by the constant practice of the 266

25 Τῆ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρα πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροῦς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται. *Justin. Mart. Apol. i. §. 67.* [p. 83 D.] et paulo post, Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα· ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεός, τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας, κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος Σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη. Τῇ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κρονικῆς ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν· καὶ τῇ μετὰ τὴν κρονικῆν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡλίου ἡμέρα, φανεῖς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθηταῖς, ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα, ἅπερ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀνεδώκαμεν. [Ibid. p. 84 A.] This I take to be, without question, that *status dies* which is mentioned by Pliny in his epistle to Trajan: 'Affirmabant hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere.' *Lib. x. Epist. 97.* 'Nobis, quibus sabbata extranea sunt et neomeniæ et feriæ a Deo aliquando dilectæ—munera commeant? strenæ consonant? lusus, convivia constrepunt? O melior fides nationum in suam sectam, quæ nullam solennitatem Christianorum sibi vindicat! Non Dominicium diem, non Pentecosten, etiam si nossent, nobiscum communicassent.' *Tertul. de Idol. cap. 14.* [p. 94 A.] 'Nam quod in Judaica circumcissione carnali octavus dies observabatur, sacramen-

tum est in umbra atque imagine ante præmissum, sed veniente Christo in veritate completum. Nam quia octavus dies, id est post sabbatum primus dies, futurus erat, quo Dominus resurgeret et nos vivificaret, et circumcissionem nobis spiritalem daret, hic dies octavus, id est, post sabbatum primus et Dominicium, præcessit in imagine.' *S. Cyprian. lib. iii. Epist. 8.* [Ep. lxx. p. 98.] Eusebius reports how Constantine taught his soldiers to observe the Lord's day; *Nal mhn kal ἡμέραν εὐχῶν ἡγεῖσθαι κατὰλληλον, τὴν κυρίαν ἀληθῶς καὶ πρώτην ὄντως κυριακὴν τε καὶ σωτήριον, τὴν δὴ καὶ φωτός καὶ ζωῆς, ἀθανασίας τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ παντὸς ἐπώνυμον. Orat. de Laudib. Constant. cap. 9.* [p. 739.] 'Quid est secunda sabbati, nisi Dominica dies quæ sabbatum sequebatur? Dies autem sabbati erat dierum ordine posterior, sanctificatione Legis anterior. Sed ubi finis Legis adventit, qui est Christus Jesus,—et resurrectione sua octavam sanctificavit, cœpit eadem prima esse, quæ octava est, et octava quæ prima; habens ex numeri ordine prærogativam, et ex resurrectione Domini sanctitatem.' *S. Ambros. Enar. in Psal. xlvii.* [§. i. vol. i. p. 93 E.] 'Dicat aliquis; Si dies observari non licet, et menses, et tempora, et annos, nos quoque simile crimen incurrimus, quartam sabbati observantes, et parasceuen, et diem Dominicam.'

blessed Apostles, was transmitted to the Church of God, and so continued in all ages.

This day thus consecrated by the resurrection of Christ was left as the perpetual badge and cognizance of his Church. As God spake by Moses to the Israelites, *Verily my sabbaths ye shall keep; for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations, that ye may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you*; thereby leaving a mark of distinction upon the Jews, who were by this means known to worship that God whose name was *Jehovah*, who made the world, and delivered them from the hands of Pharaoh: so we must conceive that he hath given us this day as a sign between him and us for ever, whereby we may be known to worship the same God *Jehovah*, who did not only create heaven and earth in the beginning, but also raised his eternal Son from the dead for our redemption. As therefore the Jews do still retain the celebration of the seventh day of the week, because they will not believe any greater deliverance

*S. Hieron. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. iv. v. 10.* [vol. vii. p. 456 D.] And St. Augustin in answer to the same objection; 'Nam nos quoque et Dominicium diem et Pascha solenniter celebramus, et qualibet alias Christianas dierum festivitates.' *Cont. Adimant. cap. 16.* [§. 3. vol. viii. p. 325 E.] 'Dies Dominicus non Judæis, sed Christianis resurrectione Domini declaratus est, et ex illo habere cœpit festivitatem suam.' *S. August. Epist. cxix. cap. 13.* [Epist. lv. 23. vol. ii. p. 136 F.] 'Hæc tamen septima erit sabbatum nostrum, cujus finis non erit vespera, sed Dominicus dies velut octavus æternus, qui Christi resurrectione sacratus est, æternam non solum spiritus, verum etiam corporis requiem prefigurans.' *Idem, de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. cap. 30.* [§. 5. vol. vii. p. 702 E.] 'Dominicum diem Apostoli et Apostolici viri ideo religiosa solennitate habendum sanxerunt, quia in eodem Redemptor noster a mortuis resurrexit: quique ideo Dominicus appellatur, ut in eo a terrenis operibus mundi illecebris abstinemus, tantum divinis cultibus serviamus: dantes scilicet diei huic honorem et reveren-

tiam, propter spem resurrectionis nostræ, quam habemus in illa. Nam sicut ipse Dominus Jesus Christus et Salvator resurrexit a mortuis, ita et nos resurrecturos in novissimo die speramus.' *Auctor Serm. de Tempore, Serm. 251.\** 'Sancti doctores ecclesiæ decreverunt omnem gloriam Judæici sabbatismi in illam transferre; ut quod ipsi in figura, nos celebraremus in veritate.' *Ibid.* 'Dominica nobis ideo venerabilis est atque solennis, quia in ea Salvator velut sol oriens, discussis Infernorum tenebris, luce resurrectionis emicuit, ac propterea ipsa dies ab hominibus sæculi dies solis vocatur, quod ortus eum Sol justitiæ Christus illuminet.' *Max. Taurin. de Pentecost. Homil. 3.* [p. 27 H.] *Περιέχει οὖν ἡ μὲν παρασκευὴ τὸ πάθος, τὸ σάββατον τὴν ταφὴν, ἡ Κυριακὴ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Auctor Clem. Constitut. 'Οτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανούς Ἰουδαίους καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ· τὴν δὲ Κυριακὴν προτιμῶντας, εἴγε δύναντο, σχολάζειν, ὡς Χριστιανοί· εἰ δὲ ἐβριθεῖεν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐστῶσαν ἀνάθεμα παρὰ Χριστοῦ. Concil. Laodic. Can. 29.* [Mansi ii. p. 570 A.]

\* [This Sermon is certainly not Augustin's, and this portion of it is from Alcuin. *de Div. Offic. c. 27. v. Augustin. Op. vol. v. Append. p. 467 A.*]

wrought than that of Egypt; as the Mahometans religiously observe the sixth day of the week in memory of Mahomet's flight from Mecca, whom they esteem a greater Prophet than our Saviour; as these are known and distinguished in the world by these several celebrations of distinct days in the worship of God; so all which profess the Christian religion are known publicly to belong unto the Church of Christ by observing the first day of the week, upon which Christ did rise from the dead, and by this mark of distinction are openly separated from all other professions<sup>26</sup>.

That Christ did thus rise from the dead, is a most necessary article of the Christian faith, which all are obliged to believe and profess, to the meditation whereof the Apostle hath given a particular injunction, *Remember that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead.* First, because without it our faith is vain, and by virtue of it, strong. By this we are assured that he which died was the Lord of life; and though he were crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God. By this resurrection from the dead, he was declared to be the Son of God; and upon the morning of the third day did those words of the Father manifest a most important truth, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* In his death he assured us of his humanity, by his resurrection he demonstrated his Divinity.

Secondly, By his resurrection we are assured of the justification of our persons; and *if we believe on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead, it will be imputed to us for righteousness:* for he was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification. By his death we know that he suffered for sin, by his resurrection we are assured that the sins for which he suffered were not his own<sup>27</sup>: had no man been a

<sup>26</sup> 'Quid hæc die felicius, in qua Dominus Judeis mortuus est, nobis resurrexit? in qua Synagogæ cultus occubuit, et est ortus Ecclesiæ; in qua nos homines fecit secum surgere et vivere et sedere in cælestibus, et impletum est illud quod ipse dixit in Evangelio, *Cum autem exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad me?* Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et lætemur in ea. Omnes dies quidem fecit Dominus, sed cæteri dies possunt esse Judæorum, possunt esse Hæreticorum, possunt esse Gentilium; dies Dominica, dies resur-

rectionis, dies Christianorum, dies nostra est.' *Explan. in Psalm. cxvii. sub nomine Hieron.*

<sup>27</sup> St. Chrysostom excellently upon that place; *Ὅρα πῶς τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπὼν τοῦ θανάτου, τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπέδειξεν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ποιεῖται. Διὰ τί γὰρ ἐσταυρώθη, φησὶν; οὐ δι' οἰκείαν ἁμαρτίαν· καὶ δῆλον ἐκ τῆς ἀναστάσεως· εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἁμαρτωλὸς, πῶς ἀνέστη; εἰ δὲ ἀνέστη, εὐδῆλον ὅτι ἁμαρτωλὸς οὐκ ἦν· εἰ δὲ ἁμαρτωλὸς οὐκ ἦν, πῶς ἐσταυρώθη; δι' ἑτέρου· εἰ δὲ δι' ἑτέρου, πάντως ἀνέστη.* [Hom. ix. in Ep. ad Rom. vol. ix. p. 511 D.]

sinner, he had not died; had he been a sinner, he had not risen again: but dying for those sins which we committed, he rose from the dead to shew that he had made full satisfaction for them, that we believing in him might obtain remission of our sins, and justification of our persons: *God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh,* and raising up our surety from the prison of the grave, did actually absolve, and apparently acquit him from the whole obligation to which he had bound himself, and in discharging him acknowledged full satisfaction made for us. *Who then shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again.*

Thirdly, it was necessary to pronounce the resurrection of Christ as an Article of our faith, that thereby we might ground, confirm, strengthen, and declare our hope. For *the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, unto an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled.* By the resurrection of Christ his Father hath been said to have begotten him; and therefore by the same he hath begotten us, who are called brethren and coheirs with Christ. *For if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled we shall be saved by his life.* He laid down his life, but it was for us; and being to take up his own, he took up ours. We are the members of that body of which Christ is the Head; if the Head be risen, the members cannot be far behind. He is the *first-born from the dead,* and we *the sons of the resurrection.* The Spirit of Christ abiding in us maketh us the members of Christ, and by the same Spirit we have a full right and title to rise with our Head. *For if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in us, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken our mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in us.* Thus the resurrection of Christ is the cause of our resurrection by a double causality, as an efficient, and as an exemplary cause. As an efficient cause, in regard our Saviour by and upon his resurrection hath obtained power and right to raise all the dead; *For as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive.* As an exemplary cause, in regard that all the saints of God shall rise after the similitude and in conformity to the resurrection of

<sup>2</sup> Tim. ii. 8. a particular injunction, *Remember that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead.* 267

<sup>2</sup> Cor. xiii. 4. Rom. i. 4. this resurrection from the dead, he was declared to be the Son of God; and upon the morning of the third day did those words

Acts xiii. 33. of the Father manifest a most important truth, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* In his death he assured us of his humanity, by his resurrection he demonstrated his Divinity.

Rom. iv. 24. 25. for which he suffered were not his own<sup>27</sup>: had no man been a

Rom. viii. 3.

Rom. viii.

33. 34.

1 Pet. i. 3, 4.

Rom. v. 10.

Col. i. 18.

Luke xx.

Rom. viii.

11.

1 Cor. xv.

22.

Rom. vi. 5. Christ; *For if we have been planted together in the likeness of*  
 Phil. iii. 21. *his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection. He*  
*shall change our vile bodies, that they may be like unto his glorious* 268  
 1 Cor. xv. *body: that as we have borne the image of the earthly, we may also*  
 49. *bear the image of the heavenly. This is the great hope of a*  
 Christian, that Christ rising from the dead hath obtained the  
 Mic. ii. 13. *power, and is become the pattern of his resurrection. The breaker*  
*is come up before them; they have broken up and have passed*  
*through the gate; their King shall pass before them, and the Lord*  
*on the head of them.*

Fourthly, it is necessary to profess our faith in Christ risen  
 from the dead, that his resurrection may effectually work its  
 proper operation on our lives. For as it is efficient and ex-  
 Eph. ii. 5. *emplary to our bodies, so it is also to our souls. When we are*  
 Rom. vi. 4. *dead in sins, God quickeneth us together with Christ. And, as*  
*Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, even*  
*so we should walk in newness of life. To continue among the*  
 graves of sin while Christ is risen, is to incur that reprehension  
 Luke xxiv. *of the angel, Why seek ye the living among the dead? To walk in*  
 5. *any habitual sin, is either to deny that sin is death, or Christ*  
 Matt. viii. *is risen from the dead. Let then the dead bury the dead, but*  
 22. *let not any Christian bury him who rose from death that he*  
 Eph. v. 14. *might live. Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead,*  
*and Christ shall give thee light. There must be a spiritual resur-*  
 rection of the soul before there can be a comfortable resurrection  
 Rev. xx. 6. *of the body. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in this first*  
*resurrection, on such the second death hath no power.*

Having thus explained the manner of Christ's resurrection,  
 and the necessity of our faith in him risen from the dead, we  
 may easily give such a brief account, as any Christian may  
 understand what it is he should intend, when he makes profes-  
 sion of this part of his Creed; for he is conceived to acknow-  
 ledge thus much; I freely and fully assent unto this as a truth  
 of infinite certainty and absolute necessity, that the eternal Son  
 of God, who was crucified and died for our sins, did not long  
 continue in the state of death, but by his infinite power did  
 revive and raise himself, by reuniting the same soul which was  
 separated to the same body which was buried, and so rose the  
 same man: and this he did the third day from his death; so  
 that dying on Friday the sixth day of the week, the day of the  
 preparation of the sabbath, and resting in the grave the sabbath-

day, on the morning of the first day of the week he returned  
 unto life again, and thereby consecrated the weekly revolution  
 of that first day to a religious observation until his coming  
 again. And thus I believe *the third day he rose again from the*  
*dead.*

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## ARTICLE VI.

*He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God*  
*the Father Almighty.*

THIS Article hath received no variation, but only in the addi-  
 tion of the name of *God*, and the attribute *Almighty*; the  
 ancients using it briefly thus, *He ascended into heaven, sitteth*  
*at the right hand of the Father*<sup>28</sup>. It containeth two distinct  
 parts; one transient, the other permanent; one as the way, the  
 other as the end: the first is Christ's ascension, the second is  
 his session.

In the ascension of Christ these words of the Creed propound  
 to us three considerations and no more: the first of the person,  
*He*; the second of the action, *ascended*; the third of the termi-  
 nation, *into heaven*. Now the person being perfectly the same  
 which we have considered in the precedent Articles, he will  
 afford no different speculation but only in conjunction with this  
 particular action. Wherefore I conceive these three things  
 necessary and sufficient for the illustration of Christ's ascension:  
 first, to shew that the promised Messiah was to ascend into  
 heaven; secondly, to prove that our Jesus, whom we believe to  
 be the true Messiah, did really and truly ascend thither; thirdly,  
 to declare what that heaven is, into which he did ascend.

That the promised Messiah should ascend into heaven, hath  
 been represented typically, and declared prophetically. The  
 high priest under the Law was an express type of the Messiah  
 and his priestly office; the atonement which he made was the  
 representation of the propitiation in Christ for the sins of the

<sup>28</sup> 'Ascendit in cœlos, sedet ad dextram Patris.' *Ruffin. in Symb.* [§. 31. p. cexix.] *St. Augustin, in Enchirid.* Maximus Taurinensis, Chrysologus, *Auctor Expos. Symb. ad Catechumenos*, Venantius Fortunatus, the Latin and Greek MSS. set forth by the Archbishop of Armagh. *St. Augustin, de Fide et Symb.* hath it, 'Sedet ad dextram Dei Patris';

to which was afterwards added *omnipotentis*. 'Sedet ad dextram Patris omnipotentis;' *Euseb. Gallican.* [p. 553 G.] 'Sedet ad dextram Dei Patris omnipotentis;' *Etherius Uxam.* [p. 344 E.] *et Auctor Sermonum de Tempore*, the Greek and Latin MSS. in Bennet College Library.