



## Lancelot Andrewes's 'Orphan Lectures': The Exeter Manuscript [1]

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## 1. Introduction

There has recently come to light an early seventeenth-century manuscript of Lancelot Andrewes's *Apospasmata SACRA; or A Collection of posthumous and orphan lectures*. [2] For the first and only time published in 1657—some thirty years after Andrewes's death in 1626—their authorial integrity has ever since been in doubt. In a masterly contrived preface, the notable Laudian Thomas Pierce

declared '*that this Volumne of Notes was only taken by the Eare from the voluble Tongue of the Dictator, as he deliver'd them out of the Pulpit; and so are infinitely short of their original perfection*'. Pierce continues painstakingly to discredit these 'Notes', which, had he been consulted, would not have appeared. In reflecting and extending this judgement, James Bliss rejects the 'Orphan Lectures' for inclusion in the eleven volume edition of Andrewes's *Works* in The Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, noting that 'there does not appear to be sufficient evidence to justify one in ascribing these sermons, at least in their present form, to Bishop Andrewes'.<sup>[3]</sup> Thus this substantial body of work, comprising of over 700 octavo pages, has remained marginal to most students of Andrewes.<sup>[4]</sup>

In recounting the early years of Andrewes's life, Henry Isaacson, his amanuensis and biographer, declares 'that in S. Paul's Church ... he read the lecture thrice a-week in the term time' besides often preaching at St Giles'.<sup>[5]</sup> The only record that we have had until now of these lectures and sermons is provided by the 'Orphan Lectures', a systematic study and exegesis of the first four chapters of Genesis, verse by verse, as well as a number of homilies on various other texts from both Old and New Testaments. Most of these exegetical or homiletic sections are extensive, carefully wrought, fully coherent, and entirely characteristic of Andrewes's unmistakable style. The notion that any of them might have been the notes of an auditor is most improbable, though one might accept the possibility that Andrewes considered expanding or revising them.<sup>[6]</sup>

The manuscript of the 'Orphan Lectures' that I have examined gives unique testimony to the authenticity of this work and firmly corroborates its authorial integrity. Now privately held in Exeter, its present owner took possession of the manuscript at the closure of the Presbyterian College in Carmarthen in the early 1960s, and it has remained with him since that time. How it came to be in Carmarthen is unclear; but two loose leaves, evidently preliminary, offer some glimpse of provenance. On the first, an endorsement, almost illegible, in an early seventeenth-century hand identifies the manuscript: 'The most lerned [ ... two indecipherable words] / Docter Andrewes Sermons in Paules 1591 / when he was appointed to Preach the / Divinitye lecture for 3 yeares together in the 4 Termes // [the numeral '4' was inserted by a different hand, probably much later]. And in St Gyles [parish?] 1597. 1598. 1599./' Below is a later inscription, signed by one 'Daniel Hollingworth': 'This booke I giue unto my Grand Nephew Mr John Cholmeley for ever.' Below Hollingworth's signature is yet a further and much later assignment of the book, which begins with the date 'August 8. 1754. Given by Nicolas Styleman (of Snetsham in Norf.) Esqr. to John Jones'.<sup>[7]</sup> This leaf was at some time pasted to the inside of the (now loose) front cover, and its verso has a pencilled date, 'Jan. 22. 1598[?99]'.<sup>[8]</sup>

The second of these loose leaves gives a fuller statement by Daniel Hollingworth, in his hand: 'To my Deare beloued Mr John / Chomely the younger my young Nephew / Sir Paule Pinder that was Ambassador / Near xx years in Turkey famose in the / Turkish History had and [Bouand?] this book And / Docter Hacket of St Andrewes in Holdborne hath / Tould mee, *Neuer a Devine in England / Could Capp: Sir Paule Pinder in purest Christianitie / And he with his owne hands gaue to the / poure & to Hospitalls & to Churches & / Bulding of Paules in his owne dayes with his owne hands / Fortie Thousand Pounds And had noe / Pictshure in his house But the Pictshure / of Docter Andrewes And hath oft sayd / To mee, That since St Pauls dayes / The Church of God had Neuer / his Fellow. // soe say I think.*' Hollingworth's name appears below this inscription, but in the hand perhaps of the recipient, who glosses the proper names 'Hacket', 'Andrews', and 'Pindar', quoting from *Treatise of Temples*, 1638, chap. 25.<sup>[8]</sup>

One may reasonably presume that 'this book' refers to the manuscript that Hollingworth was giving to his nephew. This single loose leaf might once have been part, not of the present manuscript, but of one

discussion, or else another like it (see plate 1). The reference to Pindar's having been already in Turkey would place the Exeter Manuscript sometime between 1609 and 1623 (somewhat short of twenty years), the time when Pindar was engaged in his various foreign missions. But of course we do not know that Pindar had 'this book' with him when he was abroad, or whether he acquired it after he returned and retained it for years afterward (he died in 1650)—nor do we know how Pindar came to have the manuscript in the first place or exactly how he disposed of it. Yet to judge only from the scribal and orthographic appearance of the manuscript itself, one concludes that it was written within the first quarter of the century, possibly as early as 1600. It would be pleasing to think that Pindar carried it with him on his travels, an unprovable but perfectly credible possibility.

The Exeter Manuscript begins with folio 2r, the first folio sheet in fact being the one that contains the earliest inscription, 'Doctor Andrewes Sermons ...' that forms the paste-down on the inside of the front cover, that is, folio 1r, and with the pencilled date '1598[?99]' on the verso. The leaf in Hollingworth's hand that describes Sir Paul Pindar's ownership of the Exeter Manuscript might have become detached and offered as a preliminary leaf to a second manuscript, now lost, that includes only four prefatory pages. The surviving pages (of this one folio sheet) still retain fragments in the gutter of the binding thread. Certainly we do have what seems to be the beginning of a second manuscript; the hand is obviously much later than that of Exeter (see plate 2).

Measurements of the Exeter Manuscript (and also of the single loose leaf) are 290 x 195 mm. (pot folio). There are 276 folios; the final one, folio 276r is a paste-down on the end cover. Five leaves have been cut out at 243v–244r. The gatherings are bound up variously, in six, seven, or often nine folio sheets. At the beginning of the manuscript are the lectures at St Paul's, from f. 2r to 228r; 228v is blank; a different scribe begins at f. 229r, with the earlier lectures at St Giles', and with some repetition of material that has appeared earlier in the manuscript. Compared with the printed text of 1657, the Exeter Manuscript employs throughout orthography and scribal forms of the earlier seventeenth century. There are numerous variants, chiefly of an accidental rather than a substantive kind; but several sections are unique to this manuscript, or else greatly altered in the printing. Notable amongst these sections is Andrewes's sermon on the Apocalypse, misplaced in 1657, but remarkable for its author's discussion of eucharistic doctrine (see plate 3).

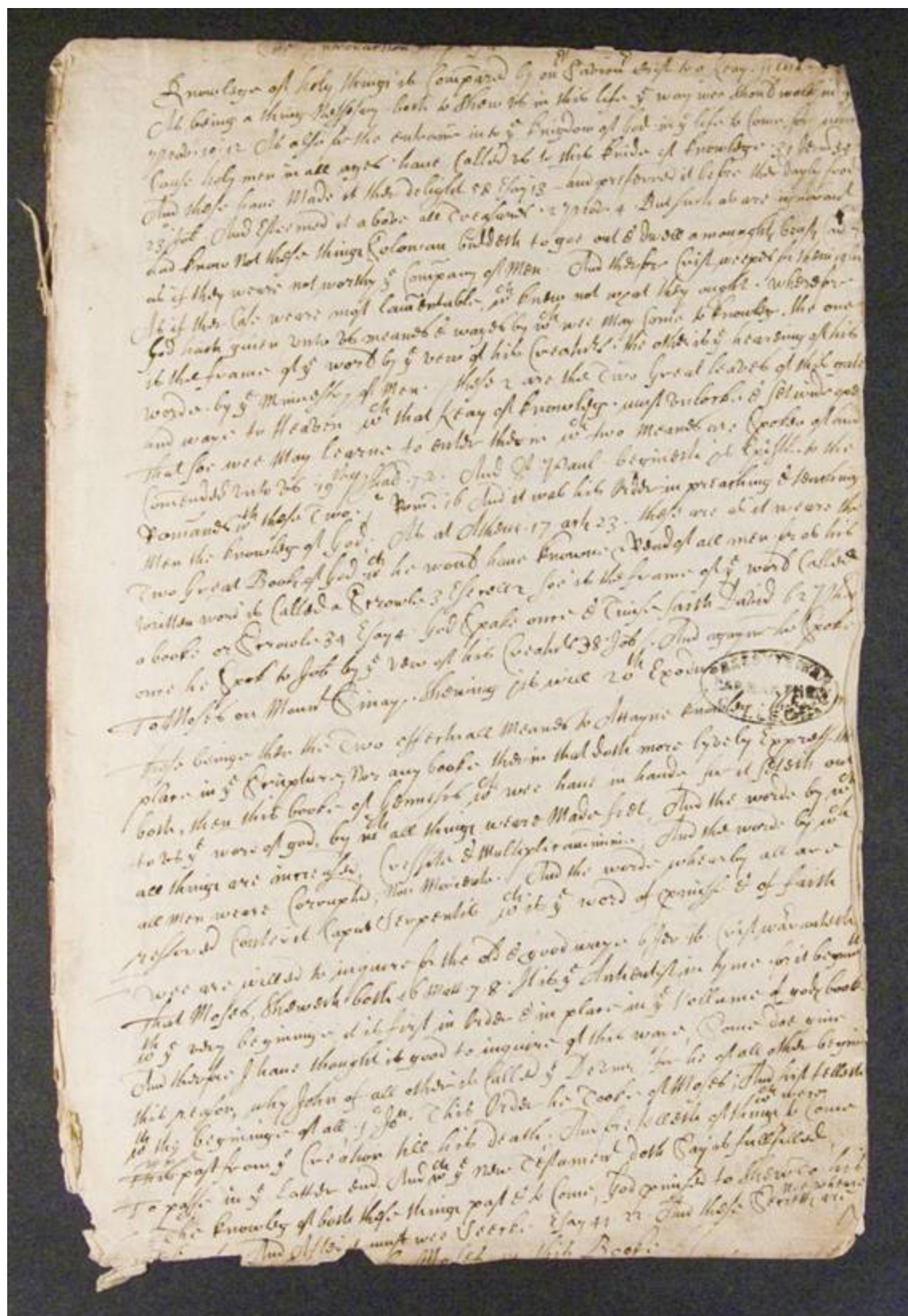


plate 1. The opening page of the loose leaf accompanying the Exeter Manuscript (Original page size 290 x 195mm.) Reproduced by permission of Professor Ivan Roots.

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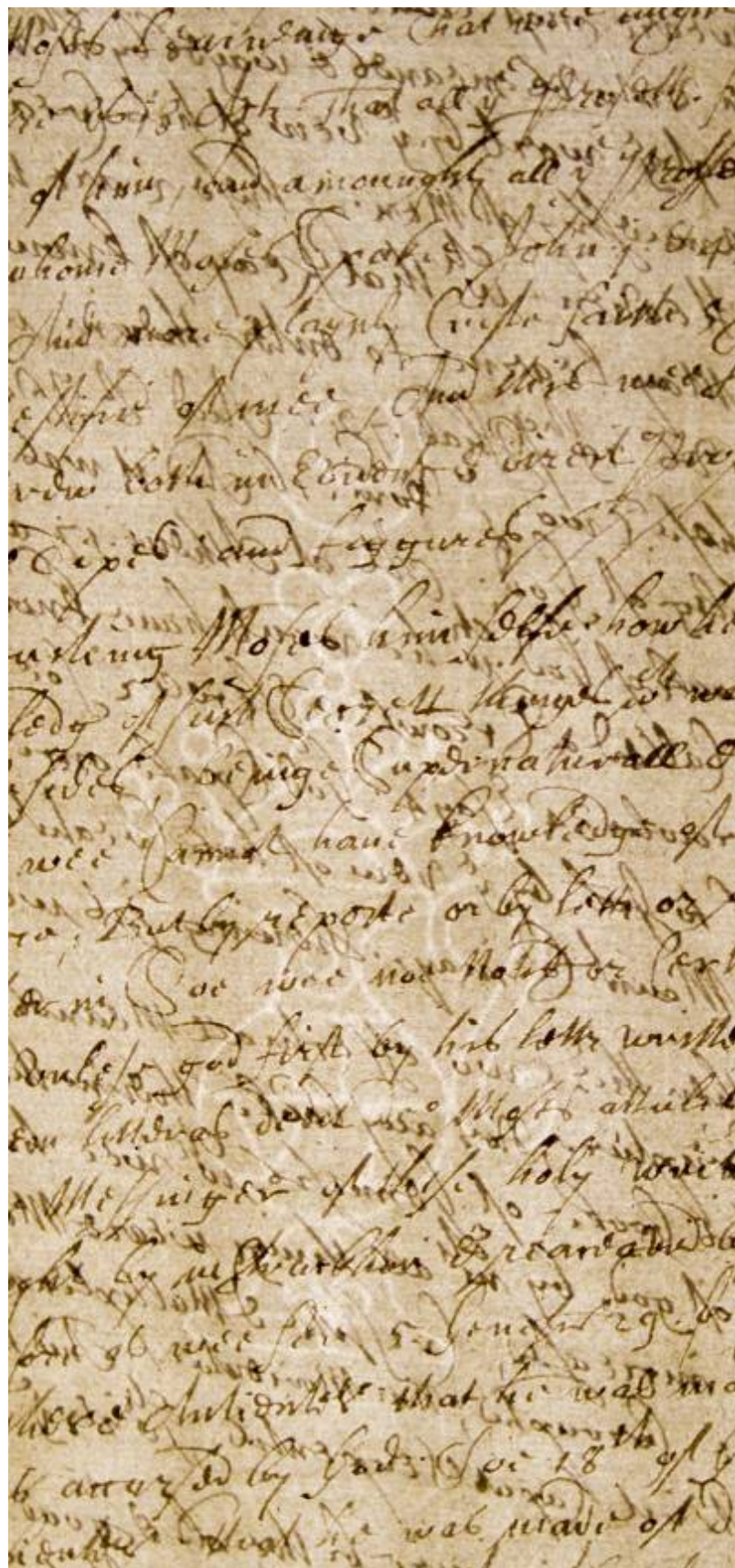


plate 2. Watermark of the loose leaf accompanying the Exeter Manuscript (similar to Heawood 3616,

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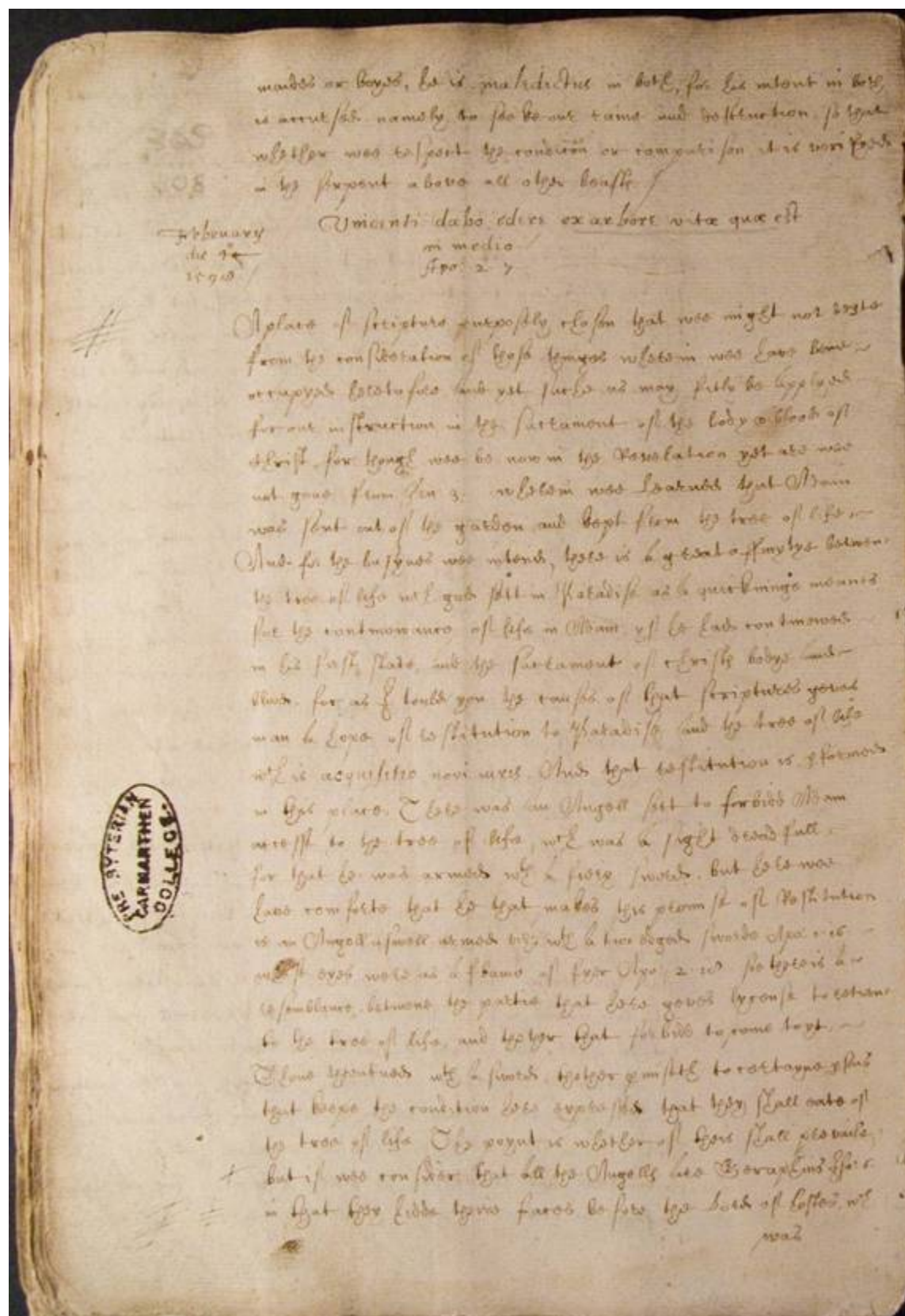


plate 3. Folio 146v of the Exeter Manuscript, with the beginning of the sermon on Revelation, in the  
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## COMPARISON WITH THE PRINTED VERSION

The relationship of manuscript to printed text is complicated, but the following comparison of the two indicates principal differences.

The manuscript opens with 'Knowledge of holy things is Compared by our Saviour Christ to a Keay', which appears in the Addenda of 1657 (pp. 657 ff.), ff. 2r–v. Then follow the lectures on Genesis, preached at St Paul's:

<b>Gen. 1.1–11</b>	3r–37r
12	37r–v
14	37v–38v
16–30	38v–48r

Manuscript and printed text are very different from verse 12 on. There is no manuscript text for verses 13, 15, or 31; but 1657 continues the sequence from verses 12–31 without interruption.

**Gen. 2** begins at 48r.

1–19	48r–107r
21–24	107r–114v

Gen. 2.20 is missing from the manuscript, which continues with Gen. 2.21 through 2.24, where this section ends; but 1657 continues through verse 25, that is, the end of chap. 2.

<b>Gen 3.1–5</b>	114v–125v
6	Omitted from the ms
7	125v–128r

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**Apoc. 2.7**

146v–150v

The date '9.Aug:1620./' appears in the margin of 128r, at the beginning of the lecture on Gen. 3.8, in a hand different from that of the scribe, but contemporary with it. At this point, the manuscript ends Gen. 3 with verse 14 (ff. 141r–146v); however, it then gives Andrewes's lecture on Revelation 2.7 (ff. 146v–150v), which 1657 removes to the concluding section of homilies 'preached upon severall choice Texts' (pp. 572–8). Now 1657 continues to the end of Gen. 3 (that is, verse 24). And ff. 229r–276r, in the hand of a different but contemporary scribe, complete these verses of Gen. 3, beginning with (and repeating the discussion of) verse 14.

**Gen. 4.1–26**

150v–228r

The lower half of 228r is blank; 228v is also blank.

This section of the manuscript is very carefully copied, and the printed text follows it closely, but with many accidental variants. Also, the verse headings are all from the Vulgate; earlier sections are inconsistent in this usage.

The manuscript continues with 229r, in a different but similar hand, and concludes at 276r.

Folio 229r is headed: 'Mr. Doctor Andrewes Sermons at S<sup>t</sup>. Giles without Criplegate.' (see plates 4 and 5)

**Gen. 3.14[1]**

229r–234r [in margin: 'Junij die 18 1598']

The copy is identical with ff. 141r–146v, the first part of Gen. 3.4: 'Then the Lord god saide to the serpent because thou hast done this thou art cursed above all Cattaile and every beast of the feild.'

**Gen. 3.14[2]**

234v–239r [in margin: 'Junij die 25 1598']

The second part of the verse, appearing also in 1657: 'Uppon thy belly shalt thou goe and dust shalt thou eate all the dayes of thy life.'

**Gen. 3.15[1]**

239r–243v [in margin: 'Julij die 2<sup>o</sup>. 1598'] 'I will alsoe putt enmitie betweene thee and the woeman and betweene her seede and thy seede.' [In 1657]

**Gen. 3.15[2]**

243v–246v [in margin: 'Aug. 20. 1598']

The second part of the verse, appearing also in 1657: 'He shall breake thyne head, and thou shalt bruise his heele.' [The lectures for Gen. 3.14 and 15 have been detached from the regular sequence in 1657, and misplaced at the end of the volume. Five leaves have been cut out from the manuscript between

243r and 244r; only a few lines on Gen. 3.15 remain at the bottom of 243v, but a substantial portion of what may belong to the lecture on Gen. 3.16 remains as 244r–246r.]

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**Gen. 3.16**      *‘Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.’ (KJV).*

What remains of this lecture, which is decidedly about the scriptural text, is quite different from what occurs in 1657. Andrewes writes with expansive vigour, in a fashion reminiscent of his lecture on Gen. 2.18, about the creation of Eve.

**Gen. 3.17–24**      246v–276r

Apart from conventions of orthography and punctuation, the printed text follows the manuscript closely. Yet 1657 would seem to have been set from a different manuscript (or several manuscripts?).

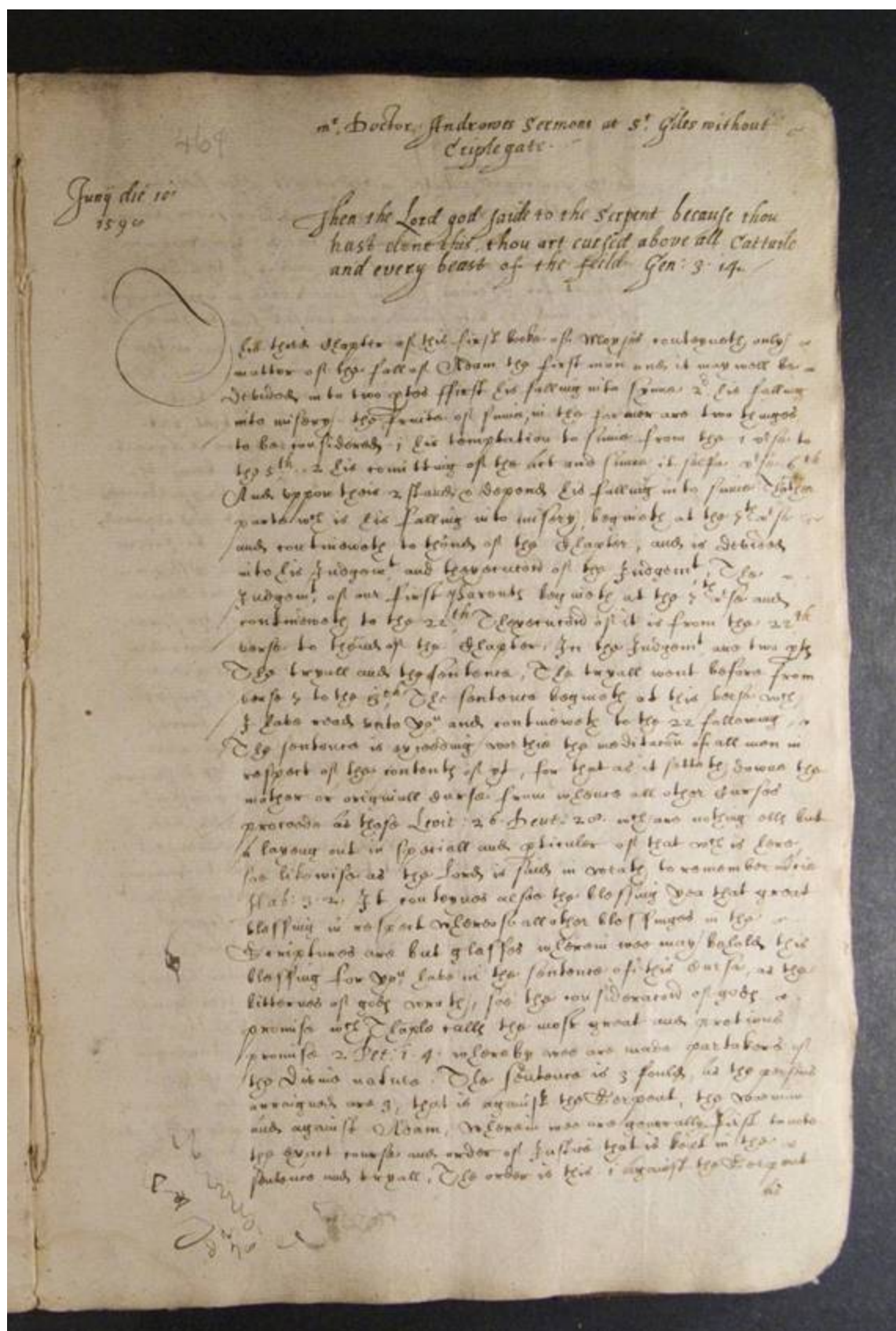


plate 4. Folio 229r of the Exeter Manuscript, where a different scribe takes over and continues to the end of the volume (f. 276r), this page beginning the repetition of ff. 141r–146v with numerous minor

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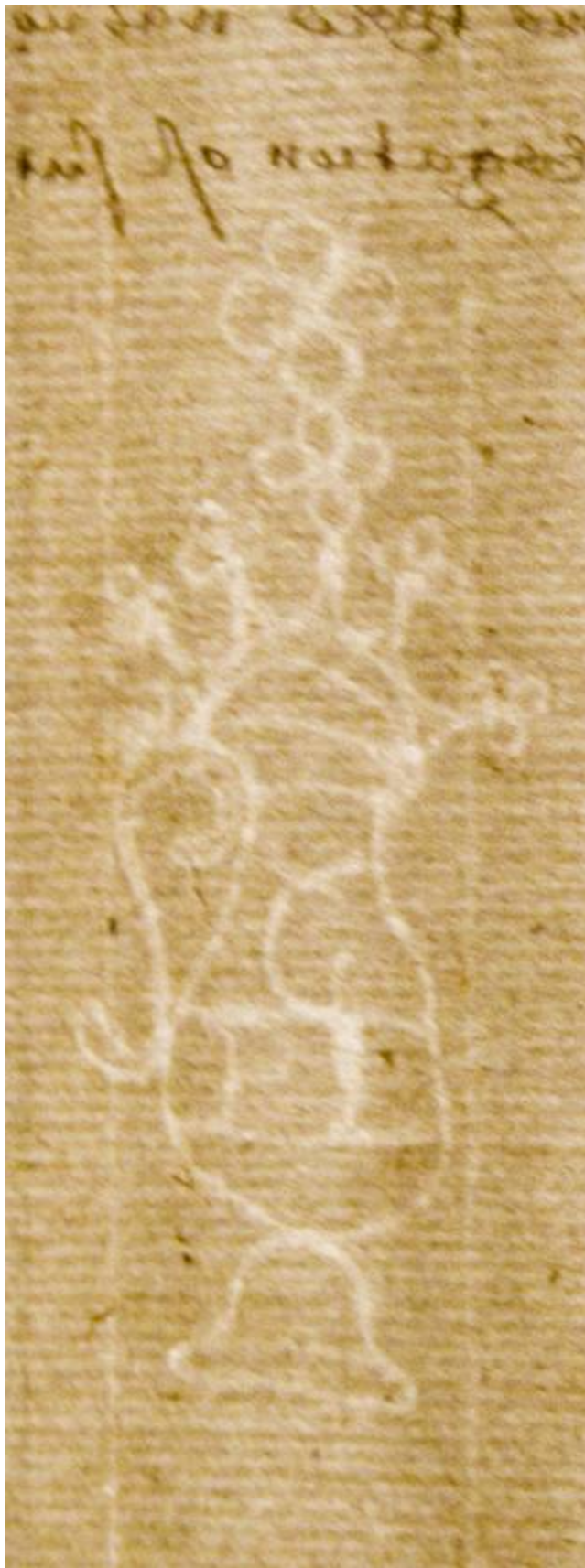


plate 5. Watermark of fol. 228r, the paper stock common to the entire bound volume (Original paper

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## CONCLUSION

The existence of the Exeter Manuscript, a volume, which, as we have seen, contained two different though contemporaneous versions of the 'Orphan Lectures', as well as the fragment of still another manuscript in yet a further and third hand, suggests that more manuscripts may yet come to light; for Andrewes's lectures and sermons of his early career must have enjoyed some circulation—how widely we cannot, of course, know. Of interest also is the fact that 1657 is incomplete, obviously hastily compiled from a manuscript (or manuscripts) that were conveniently at hand, or readily available to Thomas Pierce and such loyal printers as Moseley and Royston. Yet in missing or confusing the sections that do appear in the Exeter Manuscript, the printers cause one to query how else they might have been misled. The sermon on Revelation 2.7, for example, is especially significant; for in it Andrewes is developing his 'high' view of the eucharist with considerations 'such as may fitly be applied for instruction in the sacrament of the body & blood of Christ', [9] yet the sermon is relegated to the miscellaneous section following the discourses on Genesis (beginning at p. 515). Clearly, a new edition of the 'Orphan Lectures' is needed that will bring together all the material that we now possess. Such an edition should allow full comparison of manuscript to printed text and thus help also to illuminate Andrewes's own practises of composition and doctrinal belief. [10]

*Note: Peter McCullough ( Lincoln College , Oxford ) has identified one of the owners of the Exeter Manuscript: Nicholas Styleman of Snettisham, Norfolk (1722–1788; Trinity Cantab; High Sheriff of Norfolk ). Through his mother, Armine L'Estrange he was allied with that prominent Norfolk family of royalists (great-great-great grandson of Sir Hamon L'Estrange, 1583–1654, and great-great nephew of Hamon L'Estrange, the theologian and historian, 1605–1660). Cholmely and Hollingworth remain unidentified.*

## 2. Bibliographical Descriptions (Peter McCullough): Lancelot Andrewes, *Apospasmata Sacra* (1657)

**COPY 1. Union Theological Seminary (EEBO; UMI Wing 303:1).**

*Title.* [within double rules] APOSPASMATA SACRA: | or | A Collection of posthumous and orphan | LECTURES: | Delivered at St. Pauls and St. Giles his Church, | BY | *The Right Honourable* | AND | *Reverend Father in God* | LANCELOT ANDREWS, | *Lord Bishop of VVinchester.* | [rule] | Never before extant. | [rule] | *Apothanon eti laleitai Heb. 11.4.* | [rule] | [device: shield with coat of arms of Cambridge Univ.; cf. McKerrow 399] | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed by *R. Hodgkinsonne*, for *H. Moseley, A. Croke, | D. Pakeman, L. Fawne, R. Royston, and N. Ekins.* 1657.

*Formula.* 2<sup>o</sup> in 4s: )( <sup>4</sup> 2)( <sup>4</sup> 3)( <sup>4</sup> 4)( <sup>2</sup> b-d<sup>4</sup> A-Z<sup>4</sup> 2A-2Z<sup>4</sup> 3A-3P<sup>4</sup> 3Q-3S<sup>2</sup> 3T-3Z<sup>4</sup> 4A-4S<sup>4</sup>; [\$3 signed (-)(1. 4)(2. d3. P1. 2H3. 2Z1. 3O2. 3R2. 3S2: 2O1 signed 'O')]: 367 leaves, pp. *i-iii* 1-111

We use cookies to provide you with the best browsing experience on our websites, [more]. 02 515-694 (misprinting 7 as '6', If you continue, we'll assume that you are happy to receive all cookies on the SHU websites. 323 as '326', 326 as '323', 454 as '445', 613 as '413')

*Paper.* (microfilm)

*Types.* (microfilm)

*Contents.* )(1, title (verso blank); )(2, The Preface; b1 *Elenchus Latino-Anglus Omnium Concionum totius Libri; Numerus paginam indicat. . . . Index Concionum in Caput Primum Geneseôs*; b3<sup>v</sup> *Index Concionum in Caput Secundum Geneseôs*; c1 *Index Concionum in Caput Tertium Geneseôs* c3 *Index Concionum in Caput Quartum Geneseôs*; d1 *Index Concionum diversarum, ex veteri et novo Testamento*; d4 Lectures Preached upon the first chapter of Genesis (half title; verso blank); A1 Lectures, Preached at Saint Pauls London; P1 Lectures Preached upon the Second Chapter of Genesis (half title; verso blank); P2 Lectures preached in Saint Pauls Church London; 2H4 Lectures Preached upon the Third Chapter of Genesis (half title; verso blank); 2I Lectures. Preached in Saint Pauls Church, London; 2R1 Lectures Preached in the Parish Church of St Giles without Cripplegate, London; 2Z1 Lectures Preached upon the fourth Chapter of Genesis (half title; verso blank); 2Z2 Lectures Preached in the Parish Church of St Giles without Cripplegate London; 3T1 Lectures Preached upon Several choice Texts, both out of the Old and New Testament (half title; verso blank); 3T2 Lectures Preached in the Parish Church of St Giles without Cripplegate London; 4O1 Addenda; on 4S3<sup>v</sup> 'FINIS'

*Running Titles.* )(2<sup>v</sup> – 4)(2<sup>v</sup> *The Preface*; b1<sup>v</sup> – d3 *Index Capitum* A1<sup>v</sup> – O4, P2<sup>v</sup> – 2H3, 2I1<sup>v</sup> – 2Q4<sup>v</sup>, *Lectures preached in St. Pauls Church.*; 2r1<sup>v</sup> – 2Y4, 2Z2<sup>v</sup> – 3S2 *Lectures preached in St. Giles's Church | without Cripplegate*; 3T2<sup>v</sup> – 4N4 *Lectures preached in St. Giles's Church | without Cripplegate* 4N4<sup>v</sup> *Lectures preached in St. Giles's Church, &c.* 4O1<sup>v</sup> – 4P4 *Lectures preached in St. Pauls Church.* 4P4<sup>v</sup> – 4S3 *Lectures preached in St. Giles's Church | without Cripplegate* 4S3<sup>v</sup> *Lectures preached in St. Giles's Church, &c.*

*Catchwords.* 2f2 'Of' 'De' 2N3 'offend' 'offended' 2P4<sup>v</sup> 'An' 'Another' 2X4<sup>v</sup> 'than' 'then' 3B4<sup>v</sup> 'an' 'and' 3E2 'eth' 'teth' 3O1 'Lamech' 'Assumpsit' 3Q2 'Socondly,' 'Secondly,' 4D1 'Sacra-' 'Sacrament' 4D4 'ter,' 'ter.' 4E2<sup>v</sup> 'the' 'of' 4E4<sup>v</sup> 'there-' 'therefore' 4G2<sup>v</sup> 'chapter,' 'chapter.' 4L1<sup>v</sup> 'the' 'for'

*Notes.* On balance, not a substandard piece of printing. The impression of sloppiness derives mostly from the copy text and lack of editorial intervention before its typesetting. Signatures are sequent and catchwords reliable, with only a few exceptions to the latter. Most egregious printer's fault is in pagination. Detailed marginal instructions to 'insert' sermons from 'Addenda' elsewhere in sequence

We use cookies to provide you with the best browsing experience on our websites, [more]. After the setting of the main body (6 folios), the text continues with the Addenda (1 folio), which are those in the main run); since Preface and Index set last and use the faulty pagination, highly unlikely that any copies would have a corrected

run of pagination (this would render index unusable). That the 'Addenda' texts begin with a new gathering (40) might further suggest that they derive from an MS copy text independent of that of the main run of lectures/sermons (note also that in addition to supplying texts not in the main run, they also include dates not found in main run).

1. Eyre, Rivington and Plomer, eds., *A Transcription of the Registers of the . . . Company of Stationers from 1640 – 1708*, vol. II, p. 20:

'27 Novemb[er] 1655. M[aster] Richard Hodgkinson Entred (under the hand of Master NORTON Warden) a booke called *fourty lectures preached in St Pauls Church upon the first, second, third & fourth chap. of GENESIS; and fourty five lectures preached in the parish church of St Giles, Cripplegate upon severall texts*, by Lancelot Andrews, DD, late Bp of Winchester'. NB how drastically this differs from text as printed (98 lectures on Genesis 1-4, 25 lectures on 'other texts'; however, if the 9 Genesis lectures contained in the 'Addenda' are placed with the 'upon severall texts' group here, the numbers would be 89 and 34 - ?; OR if the printed texts are divided by place of preaching, count = 71 at St Paul's, 33 at St Giles). NB how Register entry places *all* Genesis lectures 'in St Paul 's', with *all* on other texts 'in St. Giles's'. If Hodgkinson had looked at MS closely enough to give it a title ('a booke called'), then surely this would be an accurate count and assignment of place of preaching? And where is the consortium of Moseley, Crooke, Pakeman, Fawne, Royston and Ekins and their interest in the publication? Did they get involved when they contributed further MSS for inclusion (Moseley had title to several Andrewes works already), or did they underwrite the publication financially? Or did Thomas Pierce (author of intro) add things?

2. )(1 autograph 'Jos: Glanville | pretiu[m]. 11s.' Joseph Glanvill (1636-1680), theologian and Anglican controversialist; BA Exeter College Oxford 1655, migr. to Lincoln College 1656, MA 1658, chaplain to Francis Rous (Provost of Eton) 1659, ord. priest by Robert Sanderson 1660.

3. *passim* many MS emendations (by Glanvill?) correcting egregious typesetting errors.

4. Title Page. Graeco-Latin title = 'Holy Fragments'. Greek epigram (Heb. 11.4) = 'he being dead yet speaketh'. Coat of arms (Cambridge University); used by Hodgkinson for at least one other publication by a Cambridge-educated author (Henry Spelman, *Villare Anglicum*, 1656); Hodgkinson used arms of Oxford for publications by Oxonian Robert Vilvain; Hodgkinson seems not to have used a device of his own in any of his publications.

5. Formula. NB: disturbance in pagination coincides with shift within lectures on Genesis 3 from St. Paul 's 1590 to St. Giles 1598.

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Biblical texts given at new sermon headings) might suggest that MS copy text had Biblical texts in both English and Latin, whereas only Latin was set (as an economy?).

7. NB: UMI photographer (presumably confused by disturbance in typesetters' pagination) duplicates several leaves in 2S and 2U.

## **COPY 2. University of Oxford , Bodleian Library (V.1.14. Th. Seld.)**

*Title.* as Copy 1.

*Formula.* as Copy 1, EXCEPT: 2X2 signed 'X2'; pg. 613 is '613'

*Paper.* Mix of two watermarks: 1. pot with initials 'PH'; 2. shield within a double circle, bend, initials (?) in dexter chief. Chainlines vertical (confirming folio).

*Type.* body 88. face 80x2:3 = pica roman. This for the overwhelming majority of type set. Some italic and greek; brevier for marginalia. Type, format, etc. does not change throughout body of main text, suggesting all set in Hodgkinson's shop.

*Ornaments.* )(2 block orn (100 x 31mm), crowned royal arms with garter supported by crowned lion (l) and unicorn (r) surrounded by thistles and Tudor roses (largest crowned); A1 block orn (82 x 39mm), naked female bust w/ outstretched arms flanked by (West Indian? African?) naked women seated with cornucopias; *passim* range of modest orn. block capitals, ca. 30x30mm; half-title pages without orn.

*Notes.* Two variants in formula between Copies 1 & 2 confirm that there were minor press-corrections during run. A clean copy with no contemporary marginalia or marks (except succession of 3 Bodleian shelfmarks on front pastedown); a modern hand corrects pagination in pencil. Front board (not contemporary) detached.

## **COPY 3. Queen's College, Oxford (68.A.8)**

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*Title.* as Copy 1.

*Formula.* as Copy 1, EXCEPT: 2O1 signed correctly ('Oo'); 3T1 not signed; p. 266 correct ('266'); p. 271 correct ('271'). 3S4 is integral (not pasted-down)

*Paper.* as Copy 1.

*Type.* as Copy 1.

*Ornaments.* as Copy 1.

*Notes.* Further incidental variants in formula between both Copy 1 and Copy 2 confirm further minor press-corrections.

1. Contemporary calf binding, front board almost detached. Front paste-down has small (C19) label pasted-in: 'C.J. Stewart / 11 King William St. / W. Strand, London '; also College bookplate (C19?) 'Munificentia Roberti Mason STP'.

2. Endpapers visible: facing )(A1 C17 printed text ('Jezabel swore by her gods, and is eaten by'; 'house, lest thou be an accursed thing like it; but shalt be utterly de-').

3. )(1 ms inscription: 'Tho: Charles 1789' (1755-1814; Welsh Calvinistic Methodist preacher; author of Welsh Bible trans. and catechisms; *ODNB*). In the same hand (?) some underlining pp. 207-8; large hand-pointer to 1<sup>st</sup> new para., p. 351. Otherwise a clean copy.

## 4. Transcriptions (P.G. Stanwood)

### Contents

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- [Selection 2](#). 1. Gen. 11.
- [Selection 3](#). Gen. 3.16.

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## On the Transcriptions

I have transcribed these selections from the Exeter Manuscript with near diplomatic care. Punctuation is preserved (or its lack), as well as capitalisation, though I confront the familiar difficulty of distinguishing between majuscule and miniscule forms of such letters as L / l and C / c. I make no attempt to alter the accidentals and spelling, and have retained *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*, though the scribal copy itself is very inconsistent in distinguishing between them. I retain most superscript forms of *which*, *yet*, *with*, *ye*, *our*, and retain the ampersand; but I expand the common scribal abbreviations for *per* and *pro*, the tilde, and Latin abbreviations. The scribe uses italic or a mixture of italic and secretary for citations and references, with the verses cited at the beginning of each section generally in italic. I have given all such citations in italic, both at the head of each section and within the subsequent body of discussion. Most, but not all proper names appear in italic, and in this point I have attempted to follow whatever the text seems to show.

Many statements run on, or are fragments; but I have not attempted any change except occasionally where great confusion might occur. In these instances, I have used square brackets to call attention to an editorial insertion. Many statements appear half formulated and sometimes there are blank spaces where whole phrases or words are missing— sometimes these gaps are noted with a + mark in the margin. The scriptural citations, which may be by *verse*, *book*, and *chapter*, or else by *chapter*, *book*, and *verse*, usually come from the Geneva Bible, or else from the Vulgate, but I have not altered incomplete or inaccurate references. A curious feature of the manuscript is the series of hatchmarks in the margins of ff. 37r through 40v (e.g. /// ). Usually, one sees two such marks together, but there may be as many as six. Their significance is not clear, but they would seem perhaps to indicate some kind of collation with other manuscripts or witnesses.

Andrewes like many of his contemporaries turned especially to Genesis for extended exegetical reflections, but his comments have been largely overlooked—a notable omission, for example, in Arnold Williams's *Common Expositor: An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis 1527–1633* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina P, 1948). The three selections here are chosen in order to illustrate Andrewes's unique style and purpose as well as to show different features of the manuscript in comparison with the printed text.



**Selection 1. The lecture on Revelation 2.7.** *This text essentially appears in 1657, pp. 572 – 78, not in sequence with the considerations of Genesis as in the manuscript, but in a concluding section of homilies on various texts. See **XCVI Sermons**, Easter 2 (1607, 1 Cor. 15.20): The text's 'first fruits of the dead' means that an agricultural metaphor runs throughout the sermon, and it blends with a eucharistic peroration perfectly: 'Such was the meanes of our death, by eating the forbidden fruit, the first fruits of death: and such is the meanes of our life, by eating the flesh of CHRIST, the first fruits of life' (5<sup>th</sup> ed. London, 1661, p. 262). In this 'lecture', Andrewes develops the typology of the Tree of Life as a restorative means of grace (cf. **Faerie Queene**, I.ii.30, and the story of Fradubio / Fraelissa – who become a tree whose branches, when broken, bleed). See esp. Peter McCullough, ed., **Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures** (Oxford, 2005), A Sermon on Isaiah 6.6 – 7, 138 – 45, and notes 378 – 90, on the eucharistic significance of these sermons, and in the discussion under 'Further Reading', below.*

*This edited version is by Peter McCullough.*

**Text.** Exeter Manuscript (hereafter *EM*), fols. 146v – 150v, collated with *Apospasmata Sacra* (1657, hereafter *AS*), pp. 572-578. All variants, some of which are substantive, are recorded in the apparatus. The number of readings from *AS* which clarify, correct, or improve the sense suggests some combination of 'tidying' by the editor or compositor of *AS*, and the likely superiority of the (lost) copy for the latter over *EM*. Copy for *EM* and *AS* is shown (from other sermons collated) to be different, though not necessarily unrelated, since both contain common errors (a good example of which is the incorrect citation – certainly by transcription error in an anterior copy common to both -- of John 14 for John 1.4, below p. 6, line 7).

**Headnote.** The sermon edited here is part of a remarkable survival, perhaps unique for 1590's London: extensive notes of a single minister's complete parish preaching rota stretching over many months ('notes' is perhaps slightly misleading – these are summaries written in continuous prose, much fuller than the outline notes often encountered in commonplace books of the period). The bulk of the sermons in question are Andrewes's lectures on Genesis 3.14-24 and all of Genesis 4. These were preached between Sunday, 18 June 1598 and Saturday, 17 February 1599 at St Giles's Cripplegate (a sprawling parish immediately north of London's city walls, where Andrewes was vicar 1589 – 1605). The Genesis series treated roughly one verse per lecture, mostly on Sundays, with occasional others on Wednesdays, Thursdays or Saturdays, in a pattern which makes clear that Andrewes arranged them from Michaelmas to Trinity Sunday during the three law terms (which governed so much of ecclesiastical and civic life in early modern England), with a continuation during the 'long vacation' of June – August. These lectures form the main run of sermons printed in *AS*, pp. 305-499, with a misplaced run of three from the series at pp. 672-94. In *EM*, they appear in the correct sequence with the other Genesis lectures. Such extended lecture series, usually on a single book of the Bible, or a prominent independent passage from it (e.g. the Lord's Prayer or the Ten Commandments) were common in parishes and cathedrals at the time, but no other such complete 'run' is known to survive in manuscript. But in addition, there also survive in *AS* and *EM* many of the feast day and Sunday sermons that Andrewes preached during the same period, usually two per month; these carefully track the liturgical kalendar of the Book of Common Prayer, and must have been preached in conjunction with the main liturgical observance of the day (either a feast or other saints day, probably after morning prayer, or at Sunday morning communion).

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morning, one of the latter of which being a monthly Sunday communion. With such different aims (the systematic exposition of a book of the Bible in the Genesis lectures, vs the application of a text proper to a feast day or holy communion), these two parts of Andrewes's preaching rota rarely intersected. A prominent exception, however, is the sermon presented here, which opens by self-consciously announcing itself as a communion day sermon based on a text related to the portion of Genesis recently treated in the independent lecture series: on the two preceding Sundays (21, 28 January 1599) the Genesis series had considered Genesis 3.23 and 3.24 – the story of the 'Tree of Life' planted in the Garden of Eden – and then, at the communion on Sunday 4 February, Andrewes chose as his text the New Testament vision of the 'Tree of Life' in heaven (Rev. 2.7).

The sermon is in itself valuable as a relatively rare example of a sermon expounding the eucharist at a routine Sunday parish observance. Among Andrewes's surviving works, it is further significant as a parochial example of the far grander feast day eucharistic sermons preached at the court of James VI & I, which so dominate the authorized edition *XCVI Sermons* (1629, commissioned by Charles I and edited by William Laud and John Buckeridge). But this, and the other eucharistic sermons from *AS*, have even greater significance as some of the earliest examples of Andrewes's 'avant-garde conformity', the hallmarks of which are an elevated view of the efficacy and importance of the sacraments and a sustained critique of English Calvinist predestinarianism.

As notes (presumably taken by a listener, though possibly derived from authorial notes or drafts), these sermons lack both the literary finesse and the scholarly apparatus of those sermons which Andrewes painstakingly prepared for print in his own lifetime or which appeared in *XCVI Sermons*. But in addition to thought, arguments, and structures immediately recognizable as Andrewesian, there also survives Andrewes's characteristically sophisticated mode of composition using tight-knit tissues of scriptural quotation, something that is perhaps even exaggerated here in the condensed summary form of the notes.

**Content & Sources.** Andrewes's exegesis of Rev. 2.7 is best summarized by placing it in the context of other influential commentary (both patristic and early modern) on its dominant image, the 'Tree of Life'. Interpretation of the tree (and its fruit) as a sacrament has a long pedigree, dating at least from Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, xiii.20. There, considering the state of Adam and Eve's natural bodies before the Fall, Augustine explained that though not subject to death, their 'animal' bodies required 'nourishment'. Hence, they ate of the many fruits of the garden for natural purposes, but their bodies were preserved from natural decay by the power of the Tree of Life. In his summary, 'other fruits were, so to speak, their nourishment, but this [the Tree of Life] their sacrament' (*The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods, New York, 1950, p. 431). After Augustine, exegetical and doctrinal debates ebbed around whether Adam and Eve actually *ate* of the Tree of Life, or whether it simply exuded a preservative power; and about whether that power was natural (like a medicine), or divine (grace). Typically, Andrewes here skirts the quiddities of means, and focusses only on effects: 'that was a naturall tree appoynted to preserve Adams naturall life' (3.7). But in an earlier lecture on Gen. 2.9, preached at St Paul's 8 June 1591 (*AS*, pp. 162-7), in which Andrewes quotes Augustine's distinction between Eden's nourishing and sacramental trees, he maintained that the Tree of Life had two functions, corporal and spiritual. In the former sense, it was 'for mans bodily use', the fruit of which was 'as balm . . . to preserve his bodily constitution in the first perfect good estate of health'. Spiritually, 'it was also a *Symbolum*' placed in the Garden to remind Adam that his life came from God, by whom 'his life and length of dayes shall be continued hereafter' (*AS*, pp. 164-5). This symbolic, or sacramental, sense of the Tree in Eden was left unchallenged in England until more

We use cookies to provide you with the best browsing experience on our websites. [\[more\]](#). George Walker, *The History of Creation* (1641), pp. 243-44, and see also M. Steadman, 'The "Tree of Life" Symbolism in Paradise Regained', *The Review of English Studies*, n.s. 11.44 (1960), pp. 384-91).

Exegetical tradition agreed that the heavenly Tree of Life promised to the faithful in Revelation 2.7 (Andrewes's text here) was the heavenly cognate of the Edenic tree of the same name in Genesis. Several of Andrewes's contemporaries therefore discussed the sacramental nature of the Tree of Life, whether in Eden or heaven, but with only very slight application to the sacrament of holy communion in the church on earth. Lewis Bayley, in his hugely popular *Practice of Piety* (many edns. from 1612), giving advice on preparation for communion, compared (metaphorically) the post-lapsarian prohibition of Adam and Eve's access to the tree by angels with flaming swords (Gen. 3.24) to being similarly 'smitten with the Sword of God's vengeance, if thou presumest to go to the Church with an impenitent heart, to eat the Sacrament of *the Lord of Life*' (p. 308). More sustained, and in many ways closer to Andrewes, are the commentaries on Rev. 2.7 by William Fulke (d. 1589), under whose mastership of Pembroke College Cambridge Andrewes served as fellow, and who he succeeded as head. Fulke retailed the traditional Augustinian interpretation of the tree as a sacramental symbol of Christ, who, like the tree, 'openeth the paradise vnto vs whiche was shute' by the Fall (*Praelections vpon the . . . Revelation*, 1573, p. \*\*). But in his controversies with the Roman Catholic Nicholas Sanders, Fulke explicitly rejected the Catholic doctrinal logic which maintained that just as Adam had to eat the fruit of the tree to benefit from its immortalizing properties, so believers had to eat the flesh and blood of Christ as transubstantiated bread and wine to benefit from the eucharist. Interpreting the tree spiritually rather than physically, Fulke insisted that Christ was only the 'spirituall part of the sacrament, the wisdom of God, which is a tree of life', which 'signifieth that Christ is otherwise receiued, then with the mouth'. Consistent with the symbolic, memorial eucharist of English Calvinism, Fulke's sacraments – whether Tree of Life or holy communion – were more functionally 'embrac[ed] . . . with the armes of faith, then with the lippes of the body, who can not touch the wisdom of God' (Fulke, *A Reioynder to Bristows Replie*, 1581, pp. 542-43). Finally, William Perkins, the consummate Elizabethan Calvinist, in a series of lectures Andrewes could very likely have heard in Cambridge in 1595, similarly interpreted the tree in heaven as 'a true figure of Christ' who 'conuey[s] quickening vertue to all which beleue in him, and are partakers of his merits by a true faith' (Perkins, *Lectures vpon the Three First Chapters of the Reuelation: Preached in Cambridge Anno Dom. 1595*, 1604, p. 161).

Against this broadly Augustinian and Calvinist consensus, Andrewes's exegesis stands out in bold relief. To begin with, Andrewes's English contemporaries were skittish about extending Augustine's sacramental reading of the tree to the eucharist (Fulke's rejection of precisely such a reading by Sanders being the exception which proves the rule). Although Fulke and Perkins discuss the tree as a sacrament or symbol of Christ's gift of eternal life generally, they do so only by discussing the tree historically (in Genesis), or anagogically (in Revelation). Missing from their commentaries is precisely what Andrewes adds, that is, a reading of the Tree of Life as an image with a tropological (earthly) referent: the eucharist. The identification is swift, emphatic, and repeated, first in the opening sentences (1.3-6) where the tree 'may fitly be applyed' to communion. The strategy 'to applye this scripture to our present purpose' (2.11) is next repeated with the added force of linking the tree and communion explicitly to the most climactic eucharistic passage in the New Testament, the sixth chapter of John's gospel. Andrewes even paraphrases the most provocative verse (57, at 2.15: 'my flesh is that bread . . . soe he that eateth me shall live by me'), before rattling-off a conflating sequence of imagery for the eucharist: 'fuite of the tree . . . bread of life . . . Manna . . . Christes body and blood' (2.16-19). Andrewes's embrace of the Johannine insistence on literal eating, on physical reception, is what distinguishes him here from contemporary Calvinists. Perkins, for example, glosses the same phrase '*To eate of the tree*' (Rev. 2.7) also with a verse from John (6.50, 'This is that breade, which commeth downe from heauen, that hee which eateth of it, shoulde not die.'), but with the swift and crucial caveat

We use cookies to provide you with the best browsing experience on our websites, [more]. and Rev. 2.7 give priority to the sense of eating as *receiving* Christ: 'for he which truly beleueueth in Christ, he is a partaker of Christ' (Perkins, *Lectures*, pp.

161-2).

It is certainly not the case that Calvinists like Perkins and Fulke held belief necessary for the efficacy of the eucharist while Andrewes did not. Nor is it true that Perkins and Fulke dismissed the necessity of receiving the sacraments. The crucial difference is one of emphasis which contains within it, for Andrewes, greater claims for the operative efficacy of communion, something which becomes very clear in the latter parts of the sermon. The eucharist fades from the sermon while Andrewes discusses the heavenly Paradise as the believer's reward for overcoming sin (2-4), but it suddenly reappears when he turns to the key question of *how* to overcome sin. His answer is that 'where the Sainctes are said to overcome the great dragon', they do so 'with the blood of the Lambe . . . the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ . . . by receaving the cupp of blessing . . . the blood of Christ' (5.3-6). Here Andrewes makes a distinction that is foreign to Reformed eucharistic theology: that the eucharist is not only (as in the Reformed tradition) a symbolic 'pledge' of the saving grace given to the elect, but also a 'meanes' for achieving that same grace (5.11). So, in a clever construction which he calls a 'reciprocation' (5.7), Andrewes asserts that communion both conveys a reward and is a means to achieve it. And in his peroration he even goes so far as to hint at the Lutheran view that the consecrated elements are given power by God to remit 'actual' (vs. Original) sin committed after baptism (5.29-31), a point assayed at even greater length in another St Giles's communion sermon preached 1 October 1598 (*Selected Sermons*, pp. 138-45, 378-90). A correlative of this view is that neither election nor even baptism is the only, final, or permanent guarantee of eternal life. The sermon's treatment of combating sin and receiving communion as 'the condicion' required for salvation ignores the entire reformed vocabulary of election and security, positing instead persevering against sin and receiving the eucharist as the 'Roote' or 'kernell' (5.13-17) of the Tree of Life that is salvation: 'In this Sacrament Christ hath provided a tree of life of graces against the death of sinne whereof they must be partakers that will eate of the tree of life' (6.11-12).

**Further Reading .** See also the further St Giles's communion sermons: on Joh. 6.37 and I Cor. 12.13 (AS, pp. 594-600, 614-19), preached 7 October 1599 and 2 Nov. 1600, which surpass the sermon on Rev. 2.7 in their anti-predestinarianism as applied to communion ('As for them that come not to Christ, howsoever they deserve to be cast out, yet Christ doth not cast them out, but they cast out themselves, in as much as they sever themselves from this Sacrament', p. 600; even the language of election -- 'there are some elected and chosen out to be saved' -- is qualified by an insistence on individual volition -- 'therefore our speciall aim should be to be of that number' through baptism and communion, pp. 615-16).

In addition to the works cited above, see, for an overview of Andrewes's 'avant-garde conformity' Peter Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge and *Avant-Garde* Conformity at the Court of James I', in Linda Levy Peck, ed., *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 113-33; the discussion is helpfully extended to the Elizabethan period by Nicholas Tyacke, 'Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism', in Lake and Michael Questier, eds., *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 5-33. Outlines of major English positions on eucharistic theology are Brian Spinks, *Two Faces of Elizabethan Anglican Theology: Sacraments and Salvation in the Thought of William Perkins and Richard Hooker* (London, 1999), and *Sacraments, Ceremonies, and the Stuart Divines* (Aldershot, 2002).

Andrewes's sermon may also bring fresh life to a long-lived discussion in studies of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*: the interpretation of the 'goodly tree . . . the tree of life' (I.xi.46.1, 9) which

restores Red Crosse Knight during his climactic battle with the dragon (I.xi.46-52). Rosemund Tuve's trenchant warning not to limit the allegorical significance of Spenser's Tree of Life to *only* the eucharist is salutary (*Allegorical Imagery*, Princeton, 1966, pp. 110-12). But in that episode, Spenser



does seem to share Andrewes's view of the Tree of Life as simultaneously both a symbolic pledge of victory and an operative means to achieve it. Suggestively, Andrewes and Spenser were contemporaries at both Merchant Taylor's School and Pembroke College Cambridge. The first part of *FQ* (Books I-III) appeared in 1590, but direct influence on Andrewes seems unlikely. Yet this and a significant cluster of Andrewes's other St Giles's sermons offer a surprising number of complementary texts for comparison with *FQ* Books I-III: on Michael's battle with the Dragon (Rev. 12.7,8; 29 Sept. 1599; AS, pp. 586-94), and an undated five-sermon series on faith and the moral virtues (II Pet. 1.5-7; AS, pp. 624-34).

[146v] *February the 4<sup>o</sup> 1598./ Vincenti dabo edere ex arbore vitae quae est in medio./ Apo : 2.7.*

A place of scripture purposely chosen that wee might not departe from the consideration of those thinges wherein wee have bene occuppyed heretofore and yet suche as may fitly be applyed for our instruction in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ for though wee be now in the Revelation yet are wee not gone from *Gen. 3.* wherein wee Learned that Adam was sent out of the garden and kept from the tree of life. And for the busynes wee intend, there is a great affynitye betwene the tree of life w<sup>ch</sup> god sett in Paradise as a quickninge meanes for the continewance of life in Adam, yf he had continewed in his first state, and the sacrament of christes bodye and blood, for as I tould you the causes of that scriptures geves man a hope of restitution to Paradise and the tree of life w<sup>ch</sup> is *acquisitio novi iuris*. And that restitution is performed in this place. There was an Angell sett to forbidd Adam accesse to the tree of life, w<sup>ch</sup> was a sight dreadfull for that he was armed with a fiery sword, but here wee have comforte that he that makes this promise of Restitution is an Angell aswell armed viz. w<sup>th</sup> a two edged sworde *Apo. 1.16.* whose eyes were as a flame of fyer *Apo. 2.18.* soe there is a resemblance betwene the partie that here geves lycense to returne to the tree of life, and thother that forbidd to come to yt, Thone threatned w<sup>th</sup> a sword, thother promiseth to certayne persons that keepe the condition here expressed that they shall eate of the tree of life. The poynt is whether of theis shall prevaile, but if wee consider that all the Angelles are Seraphins *Isa. 6.* in that they hidde their faces before the Lord of Hostes, which [147r] was Christ whose glory was then shewed *Joh. 12.* And these Cherubins *Ezech. 10.* doe Reverence this Angell and cast their Crownes downe before him as the blessed spirites doe *Apo. 5* it is like he shall prevayle for thone is a sword but of a ministring spiritt *Hebr.1* but this is the promise of the Lord of Lyfe and glory *Act. 3. 1.Cor. 2. /*

[9] But the cheife poynt to be inquired is how the holy ghost agreeth w<sup>th</sup> him selfe that man being debarred of the tree of life is restored to yt, The answer is *Gen. 3.22.* The punishment laide uppon him was that he might not put fourth his hand and take of the tree of life but if there be a power given to man to eate of the tree *Joh. 19. ii.* then he maye take of yt, man of himselfe may not rushe into Paradise but if that power of returning be given him which Christ gave to the theife *Luke 23.* this day shalt thou be w<sup>th</sup> me in Paradise thus he may enter, Nowe Christ hath purchased to us a new right of retournenge and by vertue thereof wee have power to eate of the tree of life and he geves us lycense to enter into paradise. But to applye this scripture to our present purpose there is something in the Sacrament that disposeth us to life and geves us a power of life, no lesse then the tree of life, for herein wee are partakers of that bread of life w<sup>ch</sup> our saviour speakes of *John. 6.* I am the bread of life that

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the tree in Paradise or the bread of life in the sacrament wee see there is a great affynitye as appeareth

yf wee compare this bread of life w<sup>th</sup> the hidden Manna *Apo . 2.17.* w<sup>ch</sup> as the Apostle saith *1. Cor. 10.2.* was the same spirituall meate where wee are partakers in this sacrament of Christes body and blood. This scripture consisteth of 2 partes the condicion and the promise *vincenti et dabo.* Touching the coniunction of theis [147v] two wee must knowe that when Christ promiseth to him that overcometh that he shall eate of the tree of life w<sup>ch</sup> is in the midst of the Paradise of god, this is the guift of god, and no matter of sale, and that he will not bestowe yt on them that do nothing for yt is not the bread of Idlenes, but this guifte is bestowed on them that do *cooperari cibum qui non perit Joh. 6.*

[11] In the promise wee are to knowe that the Paradise and tree of life w<sup>ch</sup> Christ promiseth is not that earthlie paradise planted at the beginning for *Adam*, nor that tree of life appoynted for the prolonging of his naturall life but a better Paradise, thother was Adams Paradise but this is called godes Paradise / thother was a Paradise on earth but this a celestiaall Paradise, that into which the Apostle was caught upp *2. Cor. 12.* w<sup>ch</sup> he himselfe saith was the third heaven, the paradise which Christ here promiseth is that wherein he himselfe is a paradise of all ioyes and happynes of w<sup>ch</sup> he saith *John 17* Father I will that they be w<sup>th</sup> me where I am that they may beholde my glory *John 17.24.* for as god himselfe is a spirite soe his ioy and happynes is spirituall and the place wherein he is is a spirituall paradise suche ioye was that he speakes of *Mat. 25. intra in gaudium domini*, so are wee to thinke of the throne of god the Father where Christ sitteth *Apo . 3.21.* that yt is the heavenly ioy and glory w<sup>ch</sup> he enioyeth in heaven soe saith the wise man *Pro. 13.* that there is ordeyned this tree of life wherein wee have the accomplishment of all our desyres, w<sup>ch</sup> is no where but in heaven where god is all in all, For the tree of life which Christ promiseth to him that overcometh yt is another manner of tree then that in the garden of *Eden*, that was a naturall tree appoynted to preserve Adams naturall life but this is a spirituall tree and preserveth supernaturall life. And albeit man being debarred of this naturall tree in the garden, dyeth a bodily death, yet this tree in the paradise of god keepes us from being hurte of the second death *Apo . 2.ii.* Christ himselfe saith of himselfe I am alone alive, but I was dead [148r] and behoulde I lyve for evermore *Apo . 1.18.* that is he lost the naturall life but now he lyves a supernaturall life and soe shall all his members that eate of the tree of life w<sup>ch</sup> he promiseth well is the state of our death and rising agayne shadowed out by a tree, for as Job speakes *Job. 14* there is hope of a tree that though yt be cutt downe yet yt will sproute out and the braunches thereof will shoote fourth soe, though wee dye a bodily death yet there is hope that wee shall rise agayne and live a supernaturall life w<sup>ch</sup> wee obteyne by eating of this tree of life, The center of our desire is the tree of life the circumference is Paradise wherein wee have promised us not only *coronam vitae Apo. 2.10.* but the crowne of glorye *1. Peter 5.* and the crowne of ioye and happynes *1. Thess. 2.19* wee shall have our societie of pleasure and whatsoever mans harte can desire for wee shalbe in the presence of god at whose right hand is pleasure forever *Psal. 16.* /

From the condition wee are taught that this promise is not to be cast uppon us but geven and yt is not a generall promise but made particularly to him only that overcometh w<sup>ch</sup> condicion carryeth us to the promises of vertues made by god *Gen. 3.* where god proclaymeth warre betwene the woeman and the serpent betwene the woemans seede and the serpentes seede. And Christ tells us here that he which is conquerour in this warr shall enioy Paradise and be restored to the tree of life for no man is crowned except he both stryve and strive lawfully *2. Tim. 2.* The battayle that wee are to fight is either with the serpent himselfe or with his seede, with the serpent wee are at warre as the apostle sheweth *Ephe. 6.* wee fight not with flesh and blood but with principalyties and power, suche a fight did the apostle feele when the Angell of Sathan was sent to buffett him. *2. Cor. 12.* And of the victory against this enemy the apostle saith young men I write to you because you are strong and have overcome that wicked one

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stirring in us fleshly lusts which fight against the soule *1. Pet. 2.* w<sup>ch</sup> must be overcome as the apostle exhortes *Coll. 3.* mortifye your earthly members but the harte also by that boyling Lust of Revenge w<sup>ch</sup> made Caine one of the serpent's seede to kill his brother *1. Joh. 3.12.* w<sup>ch</sup> inward desire of Revenge must likewise be overcome as the apostle willeth *Rom. 12.* avenge not your selves, *sed vince malum bono* wee must overcome the evill of our fleshly lustes and desire of Revenge w<sup>th</sup> the grace of mortification and patience. Secondly the seede of the serpent is w<sup>th</sup> out us, for there are *filijs Beliall* of whome were those to whome Christ saide *John 8.* you are of your Father the devill suche as will do mischeife for doeing well[;] suche enemyes are men of corrupt mindes and understandings that are destitute of the trueth and are bould to saie that [gain]<sup>[12]</sup> is godlynes from w<sup>ch</sup> wee must separate our selves *1. Tim. 6.5.* And if wee overcome in this warre then wee shalbe partakers of this promise, but who overcometh in this warre and who can saie he is a conquerour in this battayle. The Apostle saith that he that sinneth is overcome of sinne and brought into bondage of the sinne *2. Pete. 2. 19.*

therefore where the promise is here made only to him that overcometh wee must see if the scriptures offereth more graces. *Jam. 4.6.* And if wee looke *Apo. 2.5.* wee shall finde then he that makes us this promise offers more graces[,] that is[,] remember from whence thou arte fallen and repent and doe thy first workes, soe there are two victoryes the first *continere a peccato*, thother is *penitere de peccato*, yf wee cannot gett this victory over the serpent that he do not cause us to sinne at all yet, yf wee soe farr overcome him that sinne reigne not in our mortall bodyes *Rom. 6.12.* yf wee wounde his head w<sup>ch</sup> was promised *Gen. 3.15.* soe as though he cause us to sinne yet he gott not the head or sett upp his throne in our hartes, then wee are to hope that wee shalbe partakers of this promise yf wee returne from whence wee are fallen and repent us of the sinnes wee have comitted and do the first workes [149r] then no doubt wee shalbe restored to our first estate and Christ shall give us a new right in the tree of life. But he that either fighteth not at all but is at a league<sup>[13]</sup> w<sup>th</sup> hell and hath made a Covenant w<sup>th</sup> death *Isa. 28.* he that will deny sinne nothing but will fullfill the Lusts of the fleshe or yf he fight yet he fight not lawfully nor strive to overcome but is content to followe every temptation is an oxe ledd to the slaughter. *Pro. 7.* and not only soe but putt stumbling blockes before himselfe which may make him fall *Ezech. 14* and use all meanes that he may be overcome, And if having fallen they labour not to gett the victory after by repenting of his former sinnes and doeing the first workes then they have no parte in this promise[,] men may drawe nere to the holy mistery of Christes body and blood and snatch at the tree of life but Christ geves yt not except they be suche as overcome either by the grace of abstinence from sinne or of repentance and sorrowe for sinne, They may be partakers of the tree of life *de furto* but not *de iure*. The bread of life is to them as the bread of wronge *Pro. 4.17.* and the bread of deceite which shall in the end fill their mouthes w<sup>th</sup> gravell *Pro. 20.* Soe both the promise and condicion are touched but the question is howe wee shall overcome that wee Learne *Apoc. 12.11.* where the Sainctes are said to overcome the great dragon the old serpent with the blood of the Lambe w<sup>ch</sup> blood hath two uses first that which the apostle calls the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ *1. Pet. 1.2.* second that by receaving the cupp of blessing wee are partakers of the blood of Christ *1. Cor. 10.16.* soe that in theis wordes is a reciprocation *vincenti ut comedat et comedenti ut vincat dabo edere* the body and blood of Christ is the fruite of that tree of life which the Apostle speakes of *1. Peter 2.24.* that he bare our sinnes in his body uppon the tree of w<sup>ch</sup> fruite whosoever are partakers in the sacrament when yt is ministred to them do receive power to overcome that soe they may eate of the tree of eternall life for in [149v] this sacrament wee have both a sacrament wee have both a meanes of victory and a pledge of our reward that is the life of grace begune in us here to assure us of a glorious life in the world to come. Every tree must have a roote and the Roote of that tree w<sup>ch</sup> Christ speakes of is here in this sacrament for

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becomes a tree for as there was a death of the soule by sinne before god inflicted a death of the body soe answerable to that first death of sinne there must be in us a life of grace which is the roote of that tree from whence wee shall in due tyme receave the life of glory[.] In this sacrament the tree of the life of grace is sowed in us that is a measure of grace wrought in our hartes by the power of godes spirit by w<sup>ch</sup> wee shall at length attayne to eate of that tree w<sup>ch</sup> shall conveye unto us the life of glory. As there are two trees of life, soe wee must have a double Paradise wee must haue a Libertye to be of the paradise on earth that is the church military w<sup>ch</sup> is called *hortus conclusus*, *Cant.* 2. before wee can be receaved into the heavenly Paradise that is the Church triumphant, Soe there is a playne Analogie betwene those, As when wee are dead in sinnes and in the uncircumsition of the flesh *Coll.* 2.13. wee receave the life of grace by the sprinckling of the blood of Christ in baptisme soe when wee are fallen from the life of grace and are restrayned from the life of god *Ephe.* 4. and dead in trespasses and sinnes *Ephe.* 2. then wee obteyne victory against sinne and death by the blood of the Lambe being druncke in the sacrament *Apo.* 12 for if the materiall tree of life in paradise receaved suche an influence from god *Gen.* 3. that being dead in yt selfe yt had power to Convey the naturall life our parentes while they eate of the fruite thereof[,] then is god able aswell to give suche a power to the Creatures of bread and wyne in the sacrament that albeit **[150r]** they are dead of them selves to convey into us the life of grace, even as the tree of life did prolong naturall life for soe saith Christ *Joh.* 6.53. except yee eate of the flesh of the sonne of man and drinck his blood ye have no life in you, they that eateth my flesh and drincketh my blood hath eternall life, he that eateth me shall lyve for ever, There is no life but in god *Deut.* 30. *ipse enim est vita mea* and he Comitteth life to the sonne, Therefore yt is saide there is a ryver of water of life proceeding out of the Throne of god and of the Lambe *Apo.* 22. And as the Father has life in him selfe so he hath given to the sonne to have life in him selfe *Joh.* 5. And as the father rayseth upp the dead and quickneth them soe the sonne quickneth whome he will *Joh.* 5. 21. god being the fountayne of life drawes life to his sonne as into a Cesterne from whence wee drawe life therefore yt is saide of the wisdom of god that is Christ that he is a tree of life *Pro.* 3.18. of whome it is now said *in ipso erat vita Joh.* 14. And therefore he calls him selfe this life *Joh.* 14. This is the Cesterne of life to geve life to them that are dead in originall sinne by the sprinckling of his blood in Baptisme. And when they are dead in actuall sinnes he geves new life to them that are partakers of his body and blood in the sacrament of the supper. In this Sacrament Christ hath provided a tree of life of graces against the death of sinne whereof they must be partakers that will eate of the tree of life w<sup>ch</sup> Christ here promiseth soe that whereas the wiseman saith *fructus iusti et Lignum vitae Pro.* 11.30. the seed of this tree is here sowed and bringeth fourth the roote of a better tree for as grace is the roote of glory soe glory is the fruite of grace here in this life the roote of grace is planted in us and bringes fourth the fruites of rightuosnes that in the life to come yt may make us partakers of the tree of glory and to assure us of this lyfe wee are sealed with the holy spirit of promise as the earnest of our inheritance *Ephe.* 1.13. 2. *Cor.* 1.22. that albeit wee are fallen and can be overcome of sinne yet yf wee fight better and do the first workes wee shalbe partakers of the life of glory. **[150v]** the kernell of grace is planted in us by the participation of the body and blood of Christ of w<sup>ch</sup> kernell cometh a tree w<sup>ch</sup> bringeth fourth the fruites of holynes and rightuosnes in our whole lyfe w<sup>ch</sup> god will in due tyme reward w<sup>th</sup> the Crowne of life and glory in the world to come / Amen.

### List of variants

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- 1.1 *Vincenti] Victori vitae] illa vitae medio.] medio Paradisi Dei. 572.1*
- 1.9 scriptures] scripture 572.15
- 1.14 returne] come 572.24
- 1.16 certyne persons] the persons 572.26
- 1.17 whether of theis] next, how these 573.1 that all] how 573.2 are] or 573.2
- 1.19 And these] and 573.5
- 2.18 *1. Cor. 10.2.] first epistle to the Corinthians the tenth chapter and the third verse 573.35–36*
- 2.30 *John 17] omit 574.9*
- 3.2 thinke of] think 574.15
- 3.19 at whose] whose 574.45
- 3.28 *Ephe. 6.] cites also verse 12 575.10*
- 4.8 *blank space] gain 575.33*
- 4.13 scriptures] Scripture 575.41 looke] look into 575.42–43 then] there 575.43
- 4.14 makes us] makes 575.44
- 4.18 gott] get 576.4
- 4.25 is an] *as an 576.13*
- 4.30 abstinence] abstinencie 576.21
- 5.3 *Apoc. 12.11.] cites chapter only 576.28–29*
- 5.5 second] Secondly 576.33
- 5.11 a sacrament . . . both] *omit 576.42*
- 5.14 harte] hearts 576.46
- 5.21 military] Militant 577.9
- 5.25 *Ephe. 4.] cites also verse 18 577.17*
- 5.27 *Apo . 12] cites also verse 11 577.20*
- 5.28 suche an] such 577.21

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- 5.33 they that] *Whoso* 577.29
- 6.1 for ever, There] *by me*; And he that eateth of his body shall live for ever. 577.30–31
- 6.1 god]God first 577.31
- 6.3 *Apo . 22.] cites also verse 1* 577.35
- 6.13 *et] est* 578.4
- 6.22 come / Amen.] come. 578.20

*Notes.* The annotations below document sources (mostly biblical), translate Latin phrases, define difficult or now obsolete words or senses of words, explain contemporary allusions, and cite passages helpful for comparison either from elsewhere in Andrewes or other sources. Unless otherwise stated, all biblical quotations are from the ‘Geneva’ version. All biblical citations in the text have been checked for accuracy; those noted below are only those which in the text are incomplete (usually through the citation of chapter but not verse).

1.1 *February . . . 1598:* Sunday, 4 February 1599. For Andrewes’s pattern of preaching at St Giles’s, see headnote.

1.1 *Vincenti . . . 2.7.:* closer to Tremellius/Beza (‘*victori dabo edere ex arbore illa vitæ quæ est in medio paradisi Dei*’, quoted exactly in AS) than Vulg. (‘*vincenti dabo ei edere de ligno vitæ quod est in paradiso Dei mei*’).

1.2 *things . . . heretofore:* Andrewes’s on-going lecture series on Genesis; see headnote.

1.5-6 *Gen. 3 . . . life’:* Gen. 3.23-4, the texts for Andrewes’s lectures on Sundays 21 and 28 January, 1599 (AS, pp. 339-51).

1.8 *first state:* prelapsarian state.

1.9 *as . . . told you:* cf. the peroration of Andrewes’s lecture (Gen. 3.24) preached the Sunday

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1.10 *acquisitio novi iuris*: Lat., 'the acquisition of a new law'.

1.10 *in this place*: in this verse (Rev. 2.7); cf. lecture on Gen. 3.23, preached two Sundays' earlier (21 Jan.), 'the second of the *Revelations* the seventh verse: So that that place sheweth a manifest return to eat of the tree of life, and to take again the benefit of Paradise' (AS, p. 344).

1.11-12 *Angell . . . fiery sword*: Gen. 3.24, the text for Andrewes's lecture 28 Jan. (AS, pp. 345-51).

1.15 *Thone . . . thother*: i.e., 'the one . . . the other' (as modernized in AS, p. 572).

1.17-18 *Seraphins . . . Joh. 12*: Is. 6.2, Joh. 12.39-41.

1.19 *Ezech. . . this Angell*: A very compressed reading of Ezekiel's vision of the cherubim (Ez. 10), which suggests that these supporters of the glory of God (the cherubim) adore the 'Angel' with the two-edged sword and eyes of fire (Rev. 1.16, 2.18), that is, Christ.

2.1 *Apo . . . 5*: Rev. 5. continues the account of the Elders' praise of the glorified Christ, though this seems an incorrect reference for Rev. 4.10 ('The foure and twentie Elders . . . cast their crownes before the throne').

2.2-3 *Hebr. . . Cor. 2*: Hebr. 1.14.; Acts 3.20-1, 26; 1 Cor. 2.8.

2.5 *Gen. 3.22*: the text for Andrewes's lecture on 14 Jan. 1599 (AS, pp. 335-9), which he treated as God's 'deliberation' over executing the sentence of expulsion upon Adam and Eve.

2.7 *Joh. 19.ii*: i.e., John 19.11.

2.13 *John.6:* John 6.35.

2.17 *Manna Apo . 2.17:* several senses of 'manna' are in play here: the miraculous food which fed the Israelites in the wilderness (Exod. 16.13-15); Christ's assertion of his own body as the New Testament fulfilment of the same (John 6.31-58); and the further application of both to holy communion, the spiritual virtue of the latter being eternal life, the 'hidden Mannah' promised to the members of the triumphant church (Rev. 2.17).

2.18 *1. Cor. 10.2:* an error for 1 Cor. 10.3 (as AS, p. 573).

2.19-20 *2 partes . . . dabo:* typically, Andrewes divides the main parts of his argument according to grammatical units in his text: '*vincenti*' ('to him that overcommeth'), or overcoming sin, is the requirement or 'condicion' for receiving ('*dabo*', 'I give') the 'promise' of eternal life.

2.20 *coniunction:* again, Andrewes makes grammar do theological work; the conjunction 'et' (Lat., 'and') which links '*vincenti*' and '*dabo*' makes the necessary, and carefully balanced, theological point that eternal life is a 'guift' not earned, but is also not given to those who are idle; the '*et*' here carries an immense strain by trying to reconcile opposed reformed and catholic views about the efficacy of human works in the economy of salvation (*see next note*).

2.23-4 *cooperari . . . Joh. 6:* Lat., 'work together for the food that does not perish', a startling rephrasing of John 6.27 ('Labour not for the meate which perisheth'; Vulg. and Trem/Beza, 'Operamini non cibum, qui perit'). The slight adjustments of adding the prefix 'co-' to the main verb ('operamini'), and moving the negative modifier 'non' from it to 'perit', effects an assertion of the cooperation of the believer necessary to obtain salvation that is foreign to Elizabethan Calvinist soteriology, but found elsewhere in Andrewes (*see headnote*).

2.28 *Apostle . . . Cor.12:* Paul, 2 Cor. 12.1-4.

2.30 *John 17:* John 17.24 (the citation is repeated, l. 31).

3.1.2 *Mat. . . . domini:* Vulg., Matt. 25.21 (Trem/Beza, 'engredere in . . .'); 'enter into thy Master's

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3.3        *wise man Pro.13*: Solomon; Prov. 13.12.

3.5        *all in all*: a Pauline epithet; cf. 1 Cor. 12.6, 15.28; Eph. 1.23.

3.9        *2.ii*: i.e., 2.11.

3.13      *Job. 14*: Job 14.7.

3.16      *center . . . circumference*: The garden of Eden within 'Paradise' was traditionally thought to be a round *hortus conclusus*, in the centre of which stood the Tree of Life (Gen. 2.8-9; cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV.131-45). Cf., from the court nativity sermon of 1613, 'And the *tree of life* (we know) *is in the middst*, is the very *center* of all the ioyes of *Paradise*' (*XCVI Sermons*, p. 68; the only citation in Andrewes's later works of Rev. 2.7). In his lectures on Gen. 2 at St Paul's (summer, 1591), Andrewes asserted the historical reality of a physical Eden, yet scorned overly-quizzical attempts either to historicize it, or to allegorize it (cf. Augustine, *City of God*, xiii, 21). Instead he insisted upon the greater importance of the 'second' Paradise, 'in which place we shall enjoy an everlasting Sabbath of repose and rest without any ceasing, and of such a Paradise of pleasures as are without fear or danger of losing, as these earthly ones were' (AS, p. 161).

3.17      *coronam vitae*: Lat., 'crown of life'.

3.17      *1. Peter 5*: 1 Pet. 5.4.

3.20      *Psal. 16*: Psal. 16.11.

3.21      *the condition*: the prepositional phrase ('to him that overcommeth') which qualifies the main clause of the text (Rev. 2.7); cf. above, 2.19-20. Andrewes's interpretation of this 'condition' is a sustained qualification of strict predestinarianism: eternal life is not forced upon ('cast upon') any, but instead offered ('geven') only to the believer who 'overcometh', or perseveres, in the struggle against sin in the earthly life.

3.23      *Gen. 3*: Gen. 3.14-16.

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3.26      *2. Tim. 2.:* 2 Tim. 2.5.

3.28      *Ephe. 6.:* Eph. 6.11-12.

3.29      *2. Cor. 12.:* 2 Cor. 12.7.

3.31-2      *warre . . . inward partes*: an orthodox statement of the relationship between original and actual sin; cf. 'Articles of Religion' (1571), no. IX: 'Original sin . . . is the fault and corruption of the Nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam . . . so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit . . . And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated'.

3.32      *Reynes*: lit., the kidneys; fig., in Biblical usage, the seat of the emotions (*OED* 'reins', 1, 3).

3.33      *1. Pet. 2.:* 1 Pet. 2.11.

4.1-2      *Revenge . . . Caine*: anticipates Andrewes's extended treatment of the murder of Abel by Cain, and of Cain's subsequent punishment and progeny (Gen. 4) in the same lecture series at St Giles's, preached during term times from 7 February 1599 to 17 February 1600 (*AS*, pp. 363-499). Together, these lectures constitute one of the most extended, and neglected, early modern considerations of the immorality of revenge (discussed briefly in Tyacke, 'Lancelot Andrewes', pp. 12-13). Their proximity to the likely date of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (1600) is highly suggestive, and is the subject of work in progress by the editor.

4.3      *Rom. 12.:* Rom. 12.19.

4.3-4      *sed . . . bono*: Lat. , Rom. 12.21: 'but ouercome euill with goodnesse' ( Geneva ); 'sed vince in bono malum' (Vulg.).

4.5      *mortification*: 'the subjection or bringing under control of one's appetites and passions by the practice of austere living' (*OED* I.1).

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4.5      *with<sup>th</sup>out us*: outside of us; external temptations to sin (as opposed to the prompts to sin 'within

us' from original sin and lusts of the affections; cf. above, 3.32).

4.5 *filij Beliall*: Lat., 'children (or sons) of Belial'; common Old Testament epithet for evil people, by New Testament times understood in the Judeo-Christian tradition as servants of the devil; cf. Judges 20.13 (Bishops' and Vulg.); Geneva consistently translates as 'evil men' (cf. Judges 19.22), with the Hebrew transliteration used only in marginal notes.

4.6 *John 8*: John 8.44.

4.10 *The Apostle*: Peter

4.15 *continere a peccato*: Lat., 'to hold back from sin'

4.16 *penitere de peccato*: Lat., 'to repent of sin'

4.18-19 *gott . . . head*: 'to gain force, ascendancy, or power' (*OED*, 'head' 52; citing 1625 as the first usage of the phrase 'to get head').

4.23 *Isa. 28.*: Is. 28.18.

4.25 *Pro. 7.*: Prov. 7.22.

4.26 *Ezech. 14*: Ezek. 14.3.

4.28 *drawe nere*: physically approach, quoting the minister's invitation to recite the General Confession before receiving the Holy Communion (BCP): 'You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins . . . Draw near, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort ; make your humble confession to Almighty God . . . '.

no. XXV: 'And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation'.

4.31 *de furto . . . jure*: Lat., 'deceitfully, but not lawfully'.

5.1-2 *bread . . . gravell*: correlative to 4.29-30, unworthy receiving of the Holy Communion is damnable; Article XXV: 'but they that receive them [the sacraments] unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation'.

5.2 *Pro. 20.*: Prov. 20.17.

5.7 *vincenti . . . edere*: Lat., 'to him that overcommeth to partake and to him that partaketh to overcome, I will cause (give) him to eat [of the tree of life]'; Andrewes's own cleverly chiasmic combination of the main text (Rev. 2.7) and 1 Cor. 10.16-17, epitomizes the 'reciprocation' whereby, in the worthy receiving of the holy communion, the believer is simultaneously rewarded for overcoming sin and given strength to overcome sin; cf. 5.9-10.

5.11 *wee have . . . wee have*: the repetition is caused by the copyist's 'eyeskip' error (moving back to the wrong point in the copy after the eye has wandered; frequently found when starting a fresh page, as here).

5.11 *means . . . pledge*: for the holy communion as both a confirmation ('pledge') and an operative strengthening of faith, see Article XXV: '[sacraments are] not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession . . . and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in him.'

5.13 *Roote . . . Christ speakes of*: although the allusion is highly compressed, probably the parable of the tree and the fruit from the Sermon on the Mount: 'So every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, & a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.' (Matt. 7.17).

5.20 *two trees of life*: the historical Tree of Life in Eden (Gen. 3.23-4, and the future Tree of Life in heaven (Rev. 2.7).

5.21 *church military*: church militant, the church on earth (vs the 'church triumphant' in heaven, 5.22).

5.21 *hortus* . . . *Cant.2.*: incorrect citation for Canticles 4.12, 'My sister my spouse is as a garden inclosed, as a spring shut vp, and a fountaine sealed vp.' (Vulg., 'hortus conclusus soror mea sponsa hortus conclusus fons signatus'). The allegorization of the enclosed garden as the church was first made by Gregory the Great: 'horta sancta ecclesia existit' ('the garden is deemed to be the holy church') (*Expositio Super Cantica Canticorum*, IV.17), and became a commonplace. Cf., among the prayers for the 'continuance of the true institution of *the Sacraments*' in Thomas Bentley, *The Monument of Matrones* (1582): 'I AM come (saith Christ vnto his spouse the Church) into my garden, my sister, my spouse: I gathered my mirrh with my spice, I ate my honie-combe with my honie: I dranke my wine with my milke. Eate ô freends, drinke, and make ye merrie ô welbeloued.' (p. 568).

5.25 *Ephe.4.*: Eph. 4.18.

5.26 *Ephe.2.*: Eph. 2.1.

5.27 *Apo.12.*: Rev. 12.11.

5.28-30 *power* . . . *sacrament*: cf., from the sermon preached at St Giles's 1 October 1598 (on Is. 6.6), 'in the Sacrament he doth so elevate a piece of bread, and a little wine, and make them of such power; that they are able to take away our sinnes . . . he can so elevate the meanest of his creatures; not only the hemme of a garment, but even a strawe, (if hee see it good) shall be powerfull enough, to save us from our sinnes' (*Selected Sermons*, ed. McCullough, p. 143).

6.1 *Deut. 30.*: Deut. 30.20.

6.1 *ipse* . . . *mea*: cf. Vulg., Deut. 30.20, 'ipse est enim vita tua' ('for he is thy life'); the change here and in AS to the first person predicate ('ipse enim est vita mea'; 'for he is my life') may be authorial, but is probably a note-taker's or copyist's error.

6.3 *Apo. 22.*: Rev. 22.1.

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6.4 *Joh. 5.:* Joh. 5.26.

6.6 *Cesterne:* cistern

6.6-7 *wisdome . . . Christ:* Wisdom, personified as female in the Old Testament, was interpreted by Christians as a defining attribute of the second person of the Trinity (Christ), through whom divine knowledge is conveyed to mankind; cf. from Andrewes's funeral sermon by John Buckeridge, 'for *Christ* is made to us *wisdom* from *God*' (appended to Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. '51' [15]).

6.7 *Christ . . . 3.18:* Of Wisdom it is said that 'She is a tree of life to them that lay holde on her, and blessed is he that retaineth her.' (Prov. 3.18). Using the traditional identification of Wisdom with Christ (see prev. n.), Andrewes cements his analogy between eating Christ's body in the eucharist and eating the Tree of Life in heaven. The Geneva gloss on this verse avoids the eucharistic and christological altogether: 'Which bringeth forth such fruite that they that eate thereof, haue life: and he alludeth to the tree of life in paradise.'

6.7 *in ipso . . . 14.:* i.e., Joh. 1.4: 'in ipso vita erat' (Vulg.), 'in it [the Word, Christ] was life' (Geneva). The transcription error is repeated in AS, p. 577, '*John* the fourteenth chapter'.

6.8 *Joh. 14.:* Joh. 14.6 ('Jesus sayd vnto him, I am that Way, and that Trueth, and that Life. No man commeth vnto the Father, but by me.').

6.9 *blood in Baptisme:* traditional baptismal doctrine, applying the soteriological reasoning that the grace to wash away sin could only be bought by the blood-sacrifice of Christ; cf. Andrewes, Whitsunday 1615: 'And the baptisme of *the bodie*, is but the *bodie* of baptisme; the *soule* of baptisme, is the baptisme of the *soule*. Of the *soule*, with the blood of CHRIST, by the hand of the *Holy Ghost*' (*XCVI Sermons*, p. 679).

6.9 *actuall sinnes:* sins committed after baptism (i.e., vs original sin). Cf. sermon at St. Giles's, 1 October 1598, 'By one bodily sacrament [baptism] he taketh away the affection unto sin . . . By another bodily Sacrament [eucharist] he taketh away the habituall sins, and the actuall transgression, which proceed from the corruption of our nature' (*Selected Sermons*, ed. McCullough, p. 143).

6.10 *fructus . . . 11.30:* Prov. 11.30 (Vulg.): 'The fruite of the righteous is as a tree of life'.  
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**Selection 2.** 1. Gen. 11. v. and it was soe. 12. v. and the earthe brought fourthe the budd of the hearbe etc. 13 v. soe the evening & the morninge were the third day./

What follow are notes, transformed through extensive revision in the 1657 edition, pp. 72–111. Immediately preceding these notes is a more finished draft of what essentially appears in 1657, pp. 65–72, that is, the full section on Gen. 1.11 (ff. 33v–37r). Thus there are in fact two versions in the manuscript of this section, both evidently copied at the same time but one from an earlier and the other from a later version. The earlier, unrevised or first version is given here.

[37r]

Wee have heard of godes decree commaunding; & the returne executing it & his censure approving that is made, w<sup>ch</sup> in every dayes worke is sett downe in theis three phrases, *fiat, erat sic, & bonum erat*. of this third dayes worke wee have handled before wee have heard the first parte namely godes worde commaunding y<sup>e</sup> earth to budd fourth leaves & seeds & trees etc nowe it remayneth to speake of theother two: & first of y<sup>e</sup> returne and execution and it was soe. for the earthe according to every iott & title of godes worde fullfilled godes will & brought fourth all sortes of hearbes, & trees, & buddes, & frutes, & seedes, leaving no thing undone w<sup>ch</sup> was commaunded./

Touching w<sup>ch</sup>, besides the obedience of this Element in executing godes decree wee note a speciall certificate under godes hand as it were for the discharge of this creature, in y<sup>e</sup> dispathe of his worke & that without delay with all haste & speed w<sup>ch</sup> reproveth not onely our disobedience to god, but also our dullnes & slownes in doing any thing w<sup>ch</sup> god commaundes. for w<sup>th</sup> us it is one thing to doe a thing & another to doe it willingly & quickly with expedition & speed. for when god doth commaunde any thing, wee put it off[f] w<sup>th</sup> this delay *erit sic*, it shalbe soe hereafter when wee can finde leasure & fitt tyme: it can seldome be saide in the present tense *erat sic*, it was performed without delay. for wee are as Salomons debtors, w<sup>ch</sup> bidde god stay till to morrowe or the next day. 3. *prov.* before he can finde leasure to pay this debt & duety of obedience. Secondly in that the retourne in the end of the ii. v. was *erat sic*, it was soe two thinges are to be noated out of the nature of the worde first is a congruitie of the performance answerable to the commaundement in every poynte; for here is specified iust so much done as was required, nothing to much or to litle. to teache us y<sup>t</sup> our obedience must be suche, we must not *deficere in necessarijs nec abundare in superfluijs*. The other poynte is for contynuanee or perpetuities, for y<sup>e</sup> word signifveth y<sup>t</sup> it was soe surely & firmly done as if it had a sure basis or

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The last thing wee gather by opposition, y<sup>t</sup> godes worde was the cause & is, y<sup>t</sup> hearbes & trees do beare \*fruites & seedes. soe & contra, it is the [37v] same word of god saying let not the earth nor the trees beare w<sup>ch</sup> is the cause of unfruitfullnes & wante if for our sinne they fayle any yeare *ab eius edicto fertilitas, et ab eius interdicto sterilitas*: if therefore wee disobey godes worde, this wilbe our punishment, y<sup>t</sup> his worde shall forbid y<sup>e</sup> earth to yeild encrease & to deny us his fruites./

The Second parte is the censure & approbation of god sayeng that it was good. I sayed before there are 3 sortes of goodes .1. *honestum* .2. *utile* .3. *iucundum*. each of w<sup>ch</sup> wee shall see in the earthe & the fruites thereof for honesty & morrall good wee see it is gratefull to the owner or sower w<sup>ch</sup> laboureth therein, faithfully & gratefully repaying & requiting his cost & labour thereon. for perfitt it yealdeth *pabulum et latibulum* both for man & beast. & soe necessarily good is it in this respect y<sup>t</sup> without it the king cannot lyve. 5 *Eccl*: 9. for pleasure and delight either of the eye to behold it or of the taste to relieve it, it is most delicious & delightfull. mylk [space] wyne & oyle wheate & all other grayne w<sup>ch</sup> are both for varietye and necessitye, wee receive by godes blessing from the fruite and encrease of the earthe & trees. & therefore is every way good./

### [37v]

*1 Gen: 14. and god saide let there be lights etc./*

In this fowerth dayes worke is set downe the creation of lightes & the adorninge y<sup>e</sup> heavens w<sup>th</sup> light & starres for us before god made the earthe a garden full of trees hearbes & flowers so now he intendeth to make heaven beautifully replenished with starres & planetts of light/

Here then wee shall see the first rising & shining of y<sup>e</sup> Sonne y<sup>e</sup> first coniunction of the new moone, & god now first calling y<sup>e</sup> starres out by their names & making them appeare *14v Psal: 4* nowe the Sonne being first married to the light, he cometh this day like a glorious bridegroom out of his chamber to runne his course. *19. Psal: 4.* & all the starres as freindes of the bride w<sup>th</sup> ioy accompaning them. *3v Job. 7./*

Nowe to the wordes themselves *In dixit deus* etc is conteyned the decree in w<sup>ch</sup> three thinges are to be noated i the thinges to be made & created. 2. the situation or place of them 3 the use & end, w<sup>ch</sup> is to divide light from darkenes & to be for signes etc

For the first one would thincke this commaundement to be needles because there was light created before: but this was most necessarily ioyned to the former, y<sup>t</sup> whereas onely light was made before now their might be vesselles to conteyne and carry, for before the light [blank space] was dispersed and diffusedly spreading it selfe abroad, but nowe, but nowe it is made as it were a pillar of light, beeing brought into the greate bodyes of planettes & starres & into certayne glorious vesselles to conteyne it & conveye it to all soe that the estate of the light made before is bettered, sublimed & made more excellent then it was before./

[38r] The second is the place & situation of theis starres and lightes w<sup>ch</sup> is heaven the most fitt & convenient place that might be for three respectes: first godes wisdom knewe it meetest in regard of

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Secondly in respect of the Convenyence of y<sup>e</sup> place, for in a house the best place to sett y<sup>e</sup> Candle or

light uppon is uppon the topp of y<sup>e</sup> table. 5. *Mat.* or uppon some highe place that it may the better give light to every place therein. Thirdly it is a place of safty for the great & precious a benefitt for y<sup>t</sup> place being soe highe & out of all mens reaches, neither *vis nec fraus*, neither the force & power of strong men, nor the Craft of subtle malicious men can take it from the world & bereave it of this benefitt. for it is y<sup>e</sup> nature of rich covetuous & malicious men to [blank space]. all good thinges especially y<sup>e</sup> best to their owne private use & gayne, though they bereave others of the publicke & common benefitt w<sup>ch</sup> is theirs by right. Therefore god hath soe placed theis lightes, y<sup>t</sup> as all w<sup>ch</sup> have eyes may see thereby soe none have suche handes or armes to take them away./

Nowe touching the endes & uses for w<sup>ch</sup> god made them, the first is to divide light from darknes, w<sup>ch</sup> is necessary because elles there would be a confusion, & soe the beautie of the starres for want of ordering & disposing y<sup>e</sup> cloudes grosse darknes would not appeare. They serve for divisions & distinctions many wayes betwene night, & day, sommer, & wynter, hott & could, dry & wett seasons./

Secondly they are for signes. for god hath geven them a power & influence as it may seeme, to signifie & shew divers thinges to men yet this doth not make muche for [blank space] & Judiciall Astrologers, but rather against them. for if there be onely coniecturall signes then wee may not build a futall necessitye uppon them. for being onely figures to forwarne us of thinges, then it is in us to avoyde them if they be evill, & procure them if they be good. Therefore god sayeth .20 *Jer.* 2. be not affraid of the signes of heaven. god hath not sett them to take away the feare w<sup>ch</sup> [blank space] to him, & to give it to them./

God hath sett them for signes naturall to tell us when it is tyme & season to sowe fytches, barley & wheate. 28. *Esay.* 25.26. they be husbandmens signes to know when to plant, to prune & cut their trees, & when to gather fruites. for marriners & seamen they be signes & markes to knowe when & howe to divert their course. 27 *act.* 4. & they are signes for Phisitions & Surgions in their severall artes. yea they are signes to warne both man & beast that the night is at hand by the evening starr, & y<sup>t</sup> the day doth approach by the day starr & therefore when it is tyme both to sleepe & arise. 104. *Psal.* [38v] Yea there are Commettes & great blasinge starres 65. *Esay* 8. w<sup>ch</sup> are signes & tokens of godes wrath for sinn to summon us to repentance & to amend. And thus diversly they are signes to us./

The last is the most [blank space] & y<sup>t</sup> is to be lightes geving light to all. It had bene no benefitt to us if onely they had bene endued w<sup>th</sup> light for themselves & had not communicated any parte thereof to us but had left us still in darknes. Therefore god created them not for themselves but for us, & our use & benefitt. God y<sup>t</sup> as y<sup>e</sup> heaven & heavenly starres are for y<sup>e</sup> earth, soe y<sup>e</sup> heaven & earthe & all is for the use of men. Wherefore wee see y<sup>t</sup> god hath not made man for y<sup>e</sup> Sonne or moone etc. to serve them, but they for y<sup>e</sup> service of man w<sup>ch</sup> sheweth the base & grosse Idolatrye of y<sup>e</sup> gentilles w<sup>ch</sup> omitting the worshipp of god y<sup>t</sup> made & gave them did serve & honour y<sup>e</sup> Sonne & moone & starres y<sup>t</sup> is suche creatures w<sup>ch</sup> god made ministers & servantes to us god havinge exalted us in dignitie above them 8 *Psal.*:/

There are Fower endes of all thinges w<sup>ch</sup> god created all w<sup>ch</sup> wee may observe in the light. first they are assigned to their severall functions for as the eye is made to see & the eare to heare, soe are the starres to shine & give light, & therefore *Sol est oculus mundi* without w<sup>ch</sup> all is blinde. Secondly god

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dwell in; so as hearbes & plantes & trees did beautifie the earth belowe, the starres & lightes did adorne the heavens the upper parte thereof. Lastly god made the heavens & earth & men & all thinges elles *propter se* for his owne service, honour & glory. 38 *Job*: 7. w<sup>ch</sup> is the mayne & generall end of all the Creatures that are.

*i. Gen: 16.17.18.19. v. god then made two great Lights &c*

*& god set them in the firmament of heaven to shine &c*

*& to rule in the day & night & to separate the Light &c*

*& god sawe it was good &c./*

Wee have shewed before the decree or iniunction of god; nowe of the execution & accomplishing thereof: & of godes censure & approbation of it. the first whereof is to y<sup>e</sup> end of the 18 v. the other is the very end & conclusion of the 18 v. & god sawe it was good.

Before in the former workes the returne was *fuit sic*, it was even soe as god commaunded: but in this worke, here is a more large declaration of the doeing & fullfilling godes decree specifyeng the efficient who made the starres even the same god and the same word w<sup>ch</sup> did commaunde it agreeing w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> John *i John*. 23. by the word were all thinges created & without it was nothing made y<sup>t</sup> was created. Beeing then the Sonne & moone are but the creatures of god they are not to be adored & worshipped as the god y<sup>e</sup> creator of them. 33. *psal* 6./ [39r] By the word of his mouthe were the heavenes made, & all the hoste of them by his spirit or breathe. soe that there was nothing elles y<sup>t</sup> had a finger in this worke but onely the almightie god & glorious Trinitye, & therefore all the glory and prayse of this worke must wholly be given to him w<sup>ch</sup> causeth the prophet David to invite the Sonne & moone & all the starres to prayse & magnifye the Lord, as theire onely creator. *Ps: 14. v.5./*

If any aske of what matter god made theis fayre and glorious bodyes of the sonne & moone & Starres, the answer is conteyned in the nature of the word. For the heavens being made of the waters & by the waters by the power of god, the heavens do bring theis heavenly bodyes of the same matter & nature whereof they were made, as the earth doth bring fourth plantes & hearbes and trees, of the same matter and nature of w<sup>ch</sup> it selfe was 37 *Job*. 18. god did spread the heavens as glasse etc [blank space] For y<sup>e</sup> manner & order w<sup>ch</sup> god observed in making them, wee see y<sup>t</sup> god first made the Two greater lightes the Sonne & moone & then the infinite number of Starres./

But this is offensive to some curious Astronomers, w<sup>ch</sup> by mathematicall instruments fynd that the moone is lesse then divers planettes & starres; but theis Cavillers doe not vaynely carpe & like a dog barke at the moone. For Moyses calleth the Sunne & Moone greater, not in regard of the quantity or greatnes w<sup>ch</sup> they have but in respect of us, to whose appearance they seeme farr greater then all the rest. yea because it is manyfest y<sup>t</sup> they geve more & farr greater light then all the rest besides. wherefore wee see this word great is geven not soe much to the quantitie of greatnes in substance but to the qualitie & dignitie of thinges w<sup>ch</sup> in greater degree of excellencie are above the rest. as Moyses is said to be a great man. ii. *Exo*. 3. w<sup>ch</sup> in respect of the quantitie of his body as in regard of his



soe much desired; as many litle men now do soe seeke to be greatest. But *St. Paul* endeth this doubt  
*1 Cor. 15.41. alia est claritas solis, alia Lunae, alia Stellarum.* for one differeth from another in the  
 greatnes of Light./

But touching the bodyes of theis starres it was necessary y<sup>t</sup> all of them should be great, because the  
 howse to w<sup>ch</sup> they should give light was very great. And it was needfull to make the greater lightes in  
 number to be two because the Two tymes of night & day & the two great bodyes of the earthe & the  
 sea are ruled by them. And it was meete and convenyent that theis two should be in pares, one greater  
 then other & not alike; because y<sup>e</sup> world hath most need of the best and greatest light in the day for  
 direction of our worke./

And therefore god made the moone of a dymmer & lesser light [39v] because they yt sleep sleeping in  
 the night, may as well and better take rest with the least light. yet god would not now have the night  
 as before utter darknes without all light but caused the moone to be *quasi nocturnus Sol.* y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup>  
 watchmen on land, & Shipmen by sea might have some direction both to watche & sayle./

And thus much for the two greater lightes, now for y<sup>e</sup> starres.

Theis lesser starres are made by god, sometymes to be forerunners of the sonne & moone, sometymes  
 to attend & waight as it were on them; & sometymes in their absence as their deputies to shine &  
 serve alone. Soe y<sup>t</sup> they not onely beautifye the heavens, but also they are made to be a benefitt to us.  
 Some of theis starres are fixed & immoveable; other are planettes movable & wandering in their  
 Spheres, w<sup>ch</sup> are in number seaven expressed in godes worde./

And thus much for *fecit*, y<sup>t</sup> god made them all great & litle.

Nowe wee heare in the 17 v. that god w<sup>ch</sup> made them did also sett & seate them in the firmament of  
 heaven. The reason of their severall places wee know not, but god hath ordered them in great  
 wisdom & in a most comely order as they stand. 1 [?] 5./

The use & end why god placed them there, is not onely to give light to us, but also to distinguish  
 betwene the night & day & to manage & rule them both by y<sup>e</sup> direction of light. by meanes of them  
 wee see hurtfull thinges to avoyd them; wee distinguish betwene thinges difference & doubtful to  
 discerne them & then wee are able [blank space] thinges w<sup>ch</sup> are good to make choyce of the best by  
 theis lightes & starres thus placed. god giveth a Comfortable influence from heaven to the earthe &  
 earthlie thinges belowe: for all the vertuous operations of the heavens doe by godes ordinance geve  
 attendance to theis lightes & by them are conveyed to thinges on earth yet the Starres doe beare no  
 sway nor rule neither have any power in the mindes of men, for god reserveth the rule of them to  
 himselfe, ordering, disposing & touning them as the rivers of water *pro v.*/

The last use & end of the starres are to divide soe the light of the day maketh the wild beastes afayd &  
 divideth or driveth them into deserts & desolate places into their dennes & holes of the earthe w<sup>th</sup>  
 their shining [i.e. shunning] the light is a safegard & safty to mankinde. *104 Psal: 24.* The absence of  
 the Sonne can causeth the night dividing it from the light of the day y<sup>t</sup> being dedicated to rest & sleepp  
 as this is to labour & worke./

sayeth what ioy or pleasure can I take seeing I cannot beholde the light of the Sonne and therefore some thinck that Sol hath his name *a solatio*, of solace and delight, because all thinges doe take suche pleasure therein./ And it is absolutely necessary & good, because without it our iudgementes could not be able to discerne or iudge of Collars./ [40r] It is good also for direction of our wayes howe to walke & for our workes to knowe howe & what wee should doe *11 John* walke while ye have the light, for when the night cometh men know not whether they goe. This then is an argument of godes great goodnes & mercie to all, in that he suffereth & hath sett the Sonne & theis lightes to shine & give light to all, as well to the wicked as to them w<sup>ch</sup> are godly & good. *6 Math:*

*i. Gen. 20.v. Afterwarde god saide Let the waters bring fourth in abundance every creeping thing that hath lyfe & let the fowle fly uppon the earth, in the open firmament etc*

This verse & the three following doe conteyne in them the fyft dayes worke, by w<sup>ch</sup> both the waters are stoared with fishe & the ayer and firmament was replenished with fowle. for yet hitherto they were like to wide & great stoarehowses w<sup>ch</sup> were empty & voide In w<sup>ch</sup> dayes worke are fower branches 1 the edict or precept. 2 the execution or performance of it. 3. the allowance & commendation of it in the end of the 21 v. lastly another speciall precept, for the preserving of theis thinges soe made in the 22 v./

Touching the commaundment wee may note that to saie or to commaunde in word may seeme to be but a weake thing. For wordes we holde to be but wynde yet suche wordes as god speaketh doe receive suche & soe great power & authoritie from the speaker or commaunder y<sup>t</sup> of necessitie that w<sup>ch</sup> is saide must needes be done./

If a king do commaunde, the power of his authoritye being ioyned w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> weakenes of his word doth cause it to be very powerfull & effectuall. If princes authoritie can make his word soe great, howe much more can godes omnipotencie geve strength to his worde & cause that w<sup>ch</sup> he sayeth be most certaynely done. This thereupon y<sup>t</sup> by vertue & force onely of his word whatsoever he sayeth is done and cometh to passe./

The second thing to be noted is to whome god spoke, namely to the waters. for as Moyses was willed to speake to the stony rocke *20. Numb. 8.* soe doth god here speake to the waters. neither is it a fond thing thus for god to speake to deafe & senseles creatures. for though they have no eares & cannot heare, yet they can understand when god doth call & speake to them, & have power to doe his will when he commaundeth. if then the waters and rockes can heare & understand & doe what god doth saye & bid them, howe much more should wee w<sup>ch</sup> have eares and understanding hartes & active handes take heed wee doe the like./

Nowe touching the Tenor of godes precept, wee see it concerneth the producing & bringing fourth of lyving thinges in abundance & great multitude, And though god sayeth let the waters bringe fourth fowles, it argueth not (as Symplicius the Atheist absurdly gathereth that here the water is said to be the matter of which the fowles were made; for in the *2. Gen. 19.* this is explained that they were made of the earthe, though they were brought fourth of the waters./

Touching the creatures moving in the waters, the word here used [40v] doth in a generall terme signifye suche thinges as are quicke & lyve & move, comprehending therein all the particular creatures besides

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Man by practise can attayne to the fishes motion y<sup>t</sup> is to swime & move uppon & in the waters, but he cannot by any device atteyne to fly & move as birdes or mounte in the ayer. It is a wonder to heare that iron could swim 2. *Reg. 6.6.* but it is by the same power of god by w<sup>ch</sup> a fether can fly aloft./

By the firmament or ayer is meante the nether & grosser parte of the ayer, w<sup>ch</sup> region is full of foggy fumes & vapours w<sup>ch</sup> come from the earthe & soe highe & farr the fowles can abide & endure to fly. But the farther & higher parte & region of the ayer w<sup>ch</sup> is more pure & cleare, are called *penetralia coeli* w<sup>ch</sup> is soe free from grosse vapours & earthly mistes that noe earthly thing can breathe or abide therein. as therefore water is a fitt element for fishes w<sup>ch</sup> breathe not, soe this lower region of the ayer is for all fowles./

But let us come to that w<sup>ch</sup> is common both to fishe and fowles & maketh both of them lyve & move the one by swimminge the other by flying & that is the soule of life. Concerning w<sup>ch</sup> generally it signifyeth a breath or spirit of life: for seeing wee can understand & conceive best thinges sensible, therefore spirituall thinges for our capasitye are termed by thinges sensible. The breath therefore being of sensible thinges y<sup>e</sup> most pure & subtile, the soule is called by that name yet theis thinges are in their proper nature distinct breath, liffe, & soule. for life is the adiunct & effect of a soule, so breath is the effect & signe of life. Neither is it superfluous that here is added to the soule life, because it serveth for a needfull instruction & distinction betwene the soule of man hereafter to be handled w<sup>ch</sup> is a soule of more then one onely life of a double life & therefore immortall, whereas theis creatures have a soule of a single life & therefore are mortall./

*1 Gen: 21.v then god created the great whales etc and fethered fowles according to their kinde etc./*

In theis wordes as the returne of that decree, conteyning the execution & accomplishing of it. first touching the thinges god made in y<sup>e</sup> waters the whales are first named as the greatest and strangest fishe w<sup>ch</sup> the waters have. for it pleaseth god in every dayes worke to sett before our eyes some on[e] famous thing peece of worke to shoue the workemans power & wisdom & therefore would have it marked more then all the rest./

In heaven among all starres the Sonne & moone is cheifest. on earth mankinde is exalted above the rest; & in the sea the great whale as cheifest amonge all fishe. In regard of whose bignes & hugenes Job sayeth. *40 chap. creavit vastitates & stupores* soe huge is it y<sup>t</sup> Esay calleth the whale *vectum maris* 27. *chap:[1]v.* & Bernard sayeth *habent aequalia montibus corpora*. for they sometymes appeare as Ilandes in the sea, wherefore as the sea by nature is *abissus*, a huge gulfe soe god hath made theis huge [41r] Creatures to live and fill the same. This then being specified & sett before us first as the king & cheife of all thinges in the sea the rest are not named but included in the generall worde and name of living & moving thinges, not y<sup>t</sup> but godes power & wisdom doth appeare as well & as much *in pisciculis et raris* as in whales & the great Leviathan of the sea. for usually in godes workes wee see that w<sup>ch</sup> is least then other thinges in quantitie doth exceed the greatest thinges in excellent qualities soe y<sup>t</sup> the wonder of greatnes w<sup>ch</sup> the least doe want is supplied by some rare quality and vertue w<sup>ch</sup> the great ones doe lack./

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sawe the knowledge of other more necessary poyntes were more profitable & therefore in wisdome concealed it, neither will I labour any further in searching them out./

Nowe for the fowles of the ayer & the making of them. Moyses hath not the word of abundance expressed. for god would not have them abounde in number as the fishe of the sea, least some inconuenience thereby might come to mankinde w<sup>ch</sup> the Lord meant should most abounde & multiplie on earth./

But here is expressed the manner of theire motion, by [?] w<sup>ch</sup> signifyeth flyeng & by Hanah w<sup>ch</sup> is a winge the instrument & motion meanes of the meanes motion, for though some fly with feathers some without yet all must needes have wynges y<sup>t</sup> can flye. herein then cometh in the distinction of flyenge thinges they are *aut fecta aut in fecta animalia* the one fly with feathered wynges, the other have unfeathered winges as flyes & battes etc./

Wee come now to the approbation of theis thinges sett downe in the usuall phrase, god saw it was good omitting therefore y<sup>e</sup> generall observations out of theis wordes before wee will onely showe the speciall goodnes w<sup>ch</sup> concerne theis thinges./

The goodnes both of the fishe & fowle, wee dayly doe both taste & feele for fishe are called y<sup>e</sup> treasures of the sandes. 33. *Deut.* 19 v. w<sup>ch</sup> are the first in regard y<sup>t</sup> they are most profitable for foode 11. *Nomb.* 5 where fishe are sett downe as a necessary supply where fleshe and fowle is scarce. our saviour Christ wee read used them both as y<sup>e</sup> good creatures of god for to sustayne and feed our bodyes & preserve this life. for he did not onely eate of y<sup>e</sup> pascall Lambe but also of the broyled fishe. And if all the people should have libertie to eate onely fleshe w<sup>ch</sup> without the supply of fishe from the waters they must needes doe, surely all cattell & provision of fleshe would be consumed quickly or be very scarce as Moyses said 11. *Nomb.* 22 v. wee see then in this respect it is necessarily good for a common wealth w<sup>ch</sup> goodnes especially concerneth us which are Ilanders & are compassed round about w<sup>th</sup> the seas. soe 19 *Esai.* 8. it is denounced as a great curse to the Iland where the fishmen fishermen are made to mourne. And as the fleshe of some fish are good for food, soe are the bones of others as good and profitable for some kind of oyles./

[41v] As for the good of pleasure & delight the arte of fishing it selfe is a pleasant thing & as for the pray of fishe when it is taken, the most are used for dayntyetye varietye and delight./ besides the pleasure and profitt they yeild us to our tast, wee finde some good & comoditie to our eye, in that the shell fishe called *Purpura* yeildeth that Likour wherew<sup>th</sup> the rich and princely purple couller is made. from them also another good of profitt and pleasure wee receive. for pretious pearles called *margaritæ* are the spoyles & gaynes wee gett from fishes of the Sea, wherewith the riche & noble doe adorne themselves./

And thus muche of the fishe, nowe for the fowles, many are the good thinges wee receive by them. for god hath made them good & profitable to us, not onely in the use of theire fleshe but of theire egges for foode 10. *Esaie.* 18.[?] And as they are soe profitable in the day soe for the night theire feathers are necessary and good to geve us rest. And as wee have this good by them in tyme of peace, soe in the tyme of warr parte of theire feathers are good to make us arrowes & dartes besides the profitable use wee have of theire quilles for pens w<sup>ch</sup> at all tymes wee use to write. Therefore wee may conclude & with the wise man saye 39 [*i.e.* 12]. *eccle:* 14. there is nothing of all the workes of god but that in theire tyme & place are necessary & good & may serve us for some profitable use to our good if wee

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*i Gen: 22. v. Then god blessed them saying bring fourth fruite & multiplie & fill the waters of the sea and let the fowle multiplie in the earthe./*

This is the last parte of this first dayes worke, w<sup>ch</sup> is *præceptum propagationis*, conteyninge the blessing of god for their perpetuitye & continuance of theis thinges made according to their kindes./

Which precept (as the fathers saye) is *creatio naturæ*. for *natura nomen habet a nascendo*. therefor St. James .3. cha. calleth this the course of generation & nature, w<sup>ch</sup> being soe the preservation of their kind is a speciall & singuler blessinge of god w<sup>ch</sup> wheele or course of nature wee see god did first make & move; & ever hath in his hand & good pleasure to guide to the worldes end, whenas the number of godes elect being fulfilled, the course of nature shall have and an end./

Whereas god here speaketh to fyshe & fowles, wee must learne to measure it by the power & wisdom of god, whose voyce and phrase of speech all dombe & senseles creatures doe heare and understand, as wee read 2 *Jonas* .10 howe god comaunded the whale; & the Ravens 1 *Reg: 17*. & they did obey his will & word/

Nowe for the meaninge of the wordes wee must first knowe y<sup>t</sup> there is no needles superfluitie of wordes in the wholy scripture & therefore their is no word here y<sup>t</sup> is in vayne but hath i[t]s waighte. Theis wordes therefore growe, multiplie, & fill, doe differ muche [42r] and importe upper meaninge. growing respecteth quantitie, increasing the augmentation of it. multiplyenge respecteth the number & tale of thinges[.] replenishing signifyeth the exceeding increase or multitude in any place cominge from y<sup>t</sup> blessing of God. for *ex multitudine fit plenitudo terræ*. Soe that without godes blessing onely the thinges w<sup>ch</sup> were made should have continued in their owne being, in the same small and certayne number w<sup>th</sup> any further increase or replenishing./ For encreasing first god giveth to every thing y<sup>t</sup> is his owne body 1 *Cor: 15.38*. then he geveth it a power to growe & encrease bigger & greater in his dimensions. There is no man being borne can of himselfe without godes blessing, noe not without all the care & endeavour he hath add one heares breadth to his stature 6.[chap.]*Mat. 27*. Therefore the Apostle sayeth wee doe growe and encrease with the encrease of god 2 *Col: 17*. for it is the force & vertue of his blessed worde./

For multiplyeng the number w<sup>ch</sup> blessing is to be restrayned onely to thinges w<sup>ch</sup> live & growe, & properly to them w<sup>ch</sup> are of mature & ripe age & fullnes of growthe. To this end god hath made a distinction of sexes both male & female, the he & the shee & he geveth the one a power to begett, the other a power to conceive & to bring fourth & then the blessing of the bread to breed upp being borne./

Soe that it is godes blessing to a man not to be a dry tree and to a woeman not have a barren wombe & breastes y<sup>t</sup> can geve no sucke./

The third degree of blessing is to fullfill & replenish with the great number & store of encrease, for though god geve a number of encrease yet unles he add another blessing to preserve them & keep them alive the earth can never be replenished therewith. Therefore this preservative blessing of god is added as most necessary to replenish w<sup>th</sup>out w<sup>ch</sup> all the rest are but vayne./

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But here we are to observe as it were a Caveat or proviso touching the fowles saying but lett the fowles multiplie in the earthe as who should say I restrayne the fowles I will not have them to fill the ayer, as the fishe doe the waters, because it is not soe convenyent or profitable for men. by w<sup>ch</sup> wee see

god respected mans good in this thinge, foreseeing & forecasting what was for his good & what might doe him hurte. And therefore god hath taken order that fowle shall not bring soe many egges as fishes doe spawne; neither yet doe all their egges come to good./

*1 Gen: 24 v. moreover god saide Let the earthe bring fourth Livinge thing according to his kinde cattle, & creeping thinges & the beast of the earthe etc./*

[42v] This verse & all the rest to the end of the chapter, doe conteyne the furnishing & replenishing of the earth w<sup>th</sup> living Creatures, & soe bringeth to passe the finishing & perfecting of the whole worke of Creation./

For this sixt dayes worke sheweth the bringing fourth of beastes & cattell of all sortes & the bringing in of mankinde into the world to be Lord & ruler of them & all the rest./

In w<sup>ch</sup> wee observe the Three usuall partes. godes decree commaunding the execution performing it: & godes approbation of it being done. for y<sup>e</sup> decree wee may note as before y<sup>t</sup> god is the commaunder the earth is y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is commaunded, & the effect of the commaundement is y<sup>t</sup> it should bring fourth cattle & creeping thinges. Having shewed before how god speaketh & revealeth his will to dombe, deafe & senceles Creatures, as here he doth to the earth, wee will come to the tenor & meaning of the decree & commaundement to it. for y<sup>t</sup> phrase here used of bringing fourth is taken from the manner of woemen great with child, w<sup>ch</sup> when their tyme is come to bring fourth their young. Therefore y<sup>e</sup> fathers do call this *parerperam terræ*, as it were by resemblance, the children of the earthe, or her travill. now But that theis thinges were before made & hid in y<sup>e</sup> bowelles & wombe of the earthe. For as the waters were not in the worke before. 20 Nomb. 8. but even at y<sup>t</sup> instant when god commaunded, it gushed out waters onely by the power of god: soe the vertue of godes worde & the power of the commaunder caused the earth to bring fourth all theis thinges when of it selfe it had no power to doe it./

Nowe the severall kindes of Creatures w<sup>ch</sup> here the earth is willed to bring fourth are reduced to three heades: beastes[,] Cattle & creeping thinges. Cattle are called *Iumenta a iunando* because they are made to be our servantes to helpe us in our labours & affayres. And they are suche as do need us, as much as wee need them. for sheepe, even horses etc. must first be served & fedd and tended by us before they can attend to serve our tournes./

The second sorte are wormes or creeping thinges called reptilies because they crawle uppon the ground & therefore they are said *netare super terram*, as it were to swim or glyde uppon the ground; & soe they are distinguished by their motion. And theis are of two sortes, either they have no feete or legges at all crawling on their belly, or elles very shorte feete creeping lowe by grownd.

The third kinde are wyld beastes, w<sup>ch</sup> doe live alone *in terra in culta* (as the word signifieth) in the waste wildernes & in the unprofitable & barren Land w<sup>ch</sup> is desert & foresaken of men. In w<sup>ch</sup> they live for the most parte by blood praying on the spoyle on[e] of an other; And therefore to some of them is geven strength, to some swiftnes, to some subtiltye & Craft by w<sup>ch</sup> they knowe howe to gett their prey. And least theis savage [43r] wilde, & cruell beastes should annoy, hurte or destroy mankynde, wee see the Lord hath provided for us divers wayes, allotting to them onely the barren wildernes,

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multiplie as other profitable & meeke cattell doe w<sup>ch</sup> will not hurte us but doe. And thus muche for the



speciall kinde of thinges w<sup>ch</sup> the earth bringeth fourth./

Now for the performance of godes precept it is generally sett downe in the end of the 24 v. as in other places, y<sup>t</sup> it was soe, even as god commaunded w<sup>ch</sup> generall is more particularly sett downe in 25 v. ensuing./

*i Gen: 25.v. and god made the beastes of the earth etc & the cattell etc & every creeping thing & god sawe it was good.*

The first parte of this verse is the performance of his worde, a decree in every poynte. the end of it is the approbation thereof. for the execution of all y<sup>t</sup> god sayed, because as he said, soe it came to passe & was truly & fully performed & done, wee note howe true and certayne & undoubted godes word is: shall he speake y<sup>e</sup> word & shall it not come to passe. surely heaven & earth may passe away but not one iott or title of his worde shall fayle; w<sup>ch</sup> as wee see in the word of creation soe shall wee find it in y<sup>e</sup> gospell the word of salvation. And here wee may observe y<sup>t</sup> god wilbe made knowne not onely to be the maker of the Lyon & the Elephant, those good great & goodly beastes, but also of the poore creeping creature & y<sup>e</sup> Arte *qui fecit angeles, fecit et vermiculos* sayeth Austyne neither is it any disgrace or dishonour to god, because theire is no lesse power & wisdom shewed & seene in theis, then is in the greatest & hugest beastes y<sup>t</sup> is[.] yea for the most parte, the excellency of godes handy worke is more admirably seene in the least & smallest living thinges y<sup>t</sup> are. as strange thinges are knowne of the poor shrimpe as of the whale; more vertue is to be founde in the silly Bee, then in the Eagle, soe as great arte may be seene in the Ant, as in the Elephant, w<sup>ch</sup> may be knowen, if wee observe the great providence & forecast of the Litle Ant. his great industry and diligence in labouring without wearines while the sommer doe last & the great strength this Litle Creature hath w<sup>ch</sup> is able to carry a corne farr greater then himselfe. wherefore theis small creeping creatures w<sup>ch</sup> god hath made are not to be passed over without regard, but to be considered to his glory and prayse w<sup>ch</sup> made them./

The last parte of this verse is the likning & approbation of this worke for this censure is geven of this as of the rest y<sup>t</sup> it was right good, & therefore very well done./

w<sup>ch</sup> must teach us this lessen, that if wee will have the like prayse & commendacion of all workes, they must be done soe answerable [43v] to godes will and word in every poynte, soe diligently & speedily & perfectly done as theire thinges were./

But here god doth not purpose soe much to commend the manner of doing his will; as y<sup>e</sup> workes themselves & the thinges y<sup>t</sup> were done y<sup>t</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> goodnes of theis natures w<sup>ch</sup> are made & brought fourth and if wee inquire of the goodnes of theis thinges particularly, the wise man will tell us. 39. *Eccle: 34:* every thinge in his tyme place & kinde is profitable & good./

For touching the Cattle, w<sup>ch</sup> are servantes & helpers to us, who knoweth not how good & beneficiall, the oxe, the Cow, the sheepe & such thinges are both for worke & food & cloth./

but you may aske, wherefore are wild beastes, w<sup>ch</sup> cruelly devoure one another & oftentimes kill

We use cookies to provide you with the best browsing experience on our websites, [more]. fore sinne was in the world & If you continue, we'll assume that you are happy to receive all cookies on the SHU websites. them. wee must not doubt but they were good without any evill or hurte at all *quamdiu Adam non peccavit in deum nihil peccabat in*

*eum*, while wee were good good servantes to god, they were good servantes to us. It is our evillnes & sin therefore w<sup>ch</sup> causeth them to be evill & hurtefull to us. And as in our first holy estate they were good, soe if wee be converted to god after his Image agayne they wilbe good & doe us no hurte 5 *Iob*. 22. 23. for then the beastes of the forrest shalbe in league with the [space]. as they were with Daniell in the Lyons den. 6. *Dan*: 16./

1. *Gen*: 26. furthermore god saide, Lett us make man after our Image etc Let them rule over etc./.

After almightie god had created all other thinges for man, nowe he beginneth to create man himselfe, w<sup>ch</sup> is the end & perfection of all thinges that were made. & though man is the last worke *executione* yet he was first *intentione*, for wee sawe before that god aymed at him in all thinges that he made. This 26 v. conteyneth a consultation about this workemanshipp of mankinde; in w<sup>ch</sup> wee need of noe other division then the 4 causes of man w<sup>ch</sup> are here expressed. first the efficient cause is god, 2<sup>d</sup>ly the matter whereof he was made is included in his name Adam, w<sup>ch</sup> importeth earth. 3<sup>d</sup>ly his formale cause is the Image of god. Lastly his fynall cause or the end why he was [( ?)]is after the glory of god) to have rule & dominion over the creatures./

For the efficient [cause], it is evident y<sup>t</sup> god was the sole maker of man, who here sayeth *faciamus hominum*, w<sup>ch</sup> the psalmist confesseth. 100 *psal*: he made us and not wee our selves wee are the worke of his handes. for this speech (lett us make man) is not directed to the Angelles or the Elementes as some Heretickes have thought because god hath said he imparte[s] none of his glory of Creation to any creature. god is wise enoughe he needeth st no counsellor to teach or advise him much lesse doth he need any [44r] coadiutor to assist or helpe him. but he directing his speech in the plural number *faciamus* doth darkely shewe even in the beginning the distinction of the persons in triniteye, w<sup>ch</sup> afterward was revealed. for w<sup>ch</sup> cause *faciamus* is thrice here repeated in the creation of man & on the other side, the unitye of the godhead w<sup>ch</sup> created mankind is shewed in this, that he sayeth not *secundum similitudines nostras* but singularly *secundum imaginem et similitudinem nostram*, as speaking of one. And soe in this speech the mistery of the trinity in unity is made knowne to be the efficient cause & workman of mankinde./

The materiall cause is earthe, if wee respect his body & his fleshly parte, for soe his name Adam, doe imparte. for god tooke *glebam terrae*, a clod of clay, a peece of earthe, to make this man whome he went to exalt above the Angelles in heaven, w<sup>ch</sup> consideracion of godes goodnes, to suche an earth weite made *Adam* with admiration say: 8. *Psal*: what is *Adamah* or what is man made of earth, o Lord, that thou shouldest be soe myndfull of him?

And this matter & base substance doth therefore the Lord in wisdom choose, least wee considering our excellence & the manifold privileges wee have above other creatures, should be puffed up with pride, & exalt our selves above measure for our digniteye: therefore that wee might learne to know our selves & be humble wee are willed not onely to consider our maker w<sup>ch</sup> is above us, but also our matter, the vile & base earth w<sup>ch</sup> is under our feete. For this cause god sendeth his prophet to prowde & presumptuous men. 22. *Ier*. 29. & willeth him theire to repeate his name, saying, o earthe, earthe,

earthe heare the word of the Lord, y<sup>t</sup> soe considering his base and contemptible nature, he might

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But there is a greater worke & more excellent parte of man yet here behinde, w<sup>ch</sup> is the forme of man, his soule; the Image of God. for though he be made of the earthe, yet he is not made after the Image of the earth, but like to god. Touching w<sup>ch</sup> wee must not thincke that there is any waste or vayne wordes here sett downe, in that it is said after our Image & similitude: for both Image & likenes are to great purpose here sett downe for though both wordes doe importe a congruity of qualites resembling there maker, yet to be his Image is one thing, and to be his likenes is an other. Image is more largely taken for the resemblance of form & shape: likenes is taken for the livelynes or perfection of that Image because it doth represent the patterne mervilous well. Therefore god in both wordes sheweth y<sup>t</sup> he will make man to be a perfect & lively representation of his creator, y<sup>t</sup> is, to be as like unto god, as it is possible for a creature to be like to the creator of all./

[44v] And he is like unto god & made after his Image in two things: first in respect of the nature or substance of his soule, w<sup>ch</sup> is a spiritt as god is a spirit. Secondly in the resemblance of his qualities. for first as god is every where in all the world, soe the soule is in every parte & place of the body. 2. the soule is immortall as god is eternall. 3. the understanding is a resemblance of his wisdome, & his will, is the Image or likenes of infinite power. Theis are certayne resemblances of godes Image in man, namely in his soule & better parte. But yet wee are not come to that w<sup>ch</sup> here is meant. for the lively Image of god & true forme of man is sett downe by St Paul, wee are made after godes Image in knowledge & in holnes & righteousnes, w<sup>ch</sup> Image because wee did loose our fall & sinne, w<sup>ch</sup> it is defaced & wee deformed. Therefore Christ the sonne of god is sent into the world w<sup>ch</sup> is the most true & lively Image of god *i Coll: 15.* to regenerate & renewe us to that Image agayne, making us like to him selfe & soe like to god agayne./

Though the fynall cause and cheefe end of man is conteyned in his forme, to glorifye god, by expressing his Image of true holynes; yet there is another subordinate end of man sett downe in this place & y<sup>t</sup> is to be like to god in soveranitie & authoritie to rule all other creatures. for us if god had nowe put a scepter in to his hand, & put all thinges thereby in subiection under his feete, as david sayeth .8 *Psal:* nowe god doth as it were make him Lord & King, to rule & raigne under him. And this is the donative & gift w<sup>ch</sup> man received of his god, & w<sup>ch</sup> he had & used over every creature soe long as his Image did last, but when he fell from god by sinne then did he loose y<sup>t</sup> & him selfe also./

*i. Gen: 27. thus god created the man in his Image in the Image of god created he him. he created them male & female./*

In this verse is conteyned the accomplishment of godes will. Touching w<sup>ch</sup> wee will first speake of the word (*creavit*). for although the word *faciamus*, lett us make, doth seeme to importe more then one, yet this word of the singuler number, putteth it out of doubt, showing that onely god & none but he was the creator of mankinde & whereas before he sayed *ad imaginem nostram* now to take away the former scruple, it is here said, *ad imaginem suam, et ad imaginem dei*, to shewe y<sup>t</sup> as god is but one soe the creator of man was but onely one: he had no coadiutor ioyned with him in this worke, & therefore wee have but one Image in us, w<sup>ch</sup> is onely godes./

Secondly in y<sup>t</sup> this word (*creavit*) is there repeated also in this [45r] verse as before, without question

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some thinge w<sup>ch</sup> were nothing before. the second is called *viuere* to have a living soule, w<sup>ch</sup> is a greater benefitt and a more perfect being. The third is *intelligere*, to have an understanding & reasonable soule w<sup>ch</sup> is the last & highest & perfectest degree of any thing that is w<sup>ch</sup> three are sett downe. 2. *gen.* 7 v. where mans body is called *figmentum* his soule is called *animam viuentem* and the third w<sup>ch</sup> is the parte of godes image is called *spiritus vitæ*. stones and trees have an essentiall being. beastes and fowles have life & sence therewith, but man onely hath besides theis two, a reasonable & immortall spiritt & soule, in which perfection he differeth from all the rest./

Now thoughe this be a three fould *creavit* in nomber yet in deed & in nature in respect of god it is but one, & in respect of man it is but two fould. the one respecting his body, the other his soule, notwithstanding another is added in regard of the sex or kinde, in y<sup>t</sup> it is said to be godes worke to create or make him both male & female, y<sup>t</sup> is man and woeman for propagation & preservation of his kinde of w<sup>ch</sup> it followeth now to speake. for though man and woeman are by nature made one by & the same both of one mettle, & both after one & the same Image & forme, yet they differ & are distinguished in kynd for the worke of generation & encrease of their kinde, w<sup>ch</sup> beeing onely a difference visible & in the body respecting the fleshe; wee must noate that touching the spirit & soule the better parte, there is noe difference at all before god. for god hath no more respect to the man then to the woeman, he made both alike, & after the like Image & likenes too. 3. *Gal.* 20. & they are both made to one & the same end to be fellowe heires of eternall lyfe 1. *Pet.* 3. 4/.

Theis two then man and woeman were made this day; though not together the reason whereof is shewed in the 2 chapter following. Nowe the Lordes purpose & intent in making man & woeman male & female was because the riches of his mercy & goodnes was soe great & large, that he would have it imparted & bestowed not uppon one or two, but uppon Thousand generations of them that love and serve him that is on the multitude of mankinde w<sup>ch</sup> should come of them. And therefore doth god saie let them beare rule etc as if he now in Adam did not onely respect Eve w<sup>ch</sup> was in his side but also all his posteritye w<sup>ch</sup> should come out of his Loynes./

besides wee may observe y<sup>t</sup> god made the woeman for the man, y<sup>t</sup> man might not have carnall copulation with any other creature, but onely w<sup>th</sup> his kinde w<sup>ch</sup> was made fitt & meete for him & agayne wee see the Lord made but one woeman for one man, not more then one; that he might thereby intend holy matrimony & avoyd polygamy, or having company w<sup>th</sup> many or more woemen or men then one. for god by [45v] matrimony seeking a holy seed. 3. *Malach.* did cause it to be holy & to be onely of two one man & one woeman./

And in theis two man & woeman, is here grounded household discipline or y<sup>e</sup> goverment of a familie, the man to beget the woeman to conceive the one to beare & bring fourth the other to provide & bring upp, then one to goe abroad & bring home, y<sup>e</sup> other to keep y<sup>t</sup> he bringeth, & to tarry at home, the one to governe w<sup>th</sup> gentlenes the other to obey with willingnes./

*1 Gen:* 28. v. and god blessed them, and said bring fourth fruite & multiplie & fill y<sup>e</sup> earthe & subdewe it and rule ouer etc.

propagation, and ability to beget & beare children the second is a deed of gift or endowment, w<sup>ch</sup> god ge[ve]th to them[.] by the first god geveth him heires, by the second he hath him & them an inheritance to possesse. The first is in theis wordes encrease & multiply, & the other in theis wordes subdew & rule. For the first god minding not to have his Image inwardly, nor his goodnes outwardly bestowed uppon a fewe, not to be worshipped of a fewe, but of many therefore he will have them multiplie & fill the earthe that all the earthe may be filled with his glory and prayse. Therefore as before he planted the stocke of mankinde soe now he watereth it with the word of his blessing[, ] they might encrease & replenish the whole earthe, by w<sup>ch</sup> wee see y<sup>t</sup> to be fruitfull in procreation is the blessing of god without w<sup>ch</sup> men are drie trees, & woemen have barren wombes./

And seeing godes blessing goeth here before the solemnizing, of marriage, or bringing fourth chiddren, it teacheth us that Christians must first pray unto god for his blessing and grace before they either marry or can multiplie or encrease./

This then is a comaundement bringe fourthe & multiplie is geven to man and woeman ioyned together in the holy estate of marriage yet it doth not *imponere necessitatem dominibus nubendi, sed dat facultatem*. otherwise Paul sayeth, *1 cor. 7. 25.* we have no suche commaundment y<sup>t</sup> is of necessity to bynd & compell any to marry to increase mankinde soe it geveth free libertie to use it by w<sup>ch</sup> we see y<sup>t</sup> both the holy ordinance of marriage & the blessing & fruite of children thereby cometh from god./

I said that theis wordes subdewe & beare rule are as it were the endowment or dowrie w<sup>ch</sup> god gave to them & theire seed to inherite & it is a prerogative royall entayled to them & theire posterity for ever that is to as many are made after the same Image w<sup>ch</sup> they had and by this conveyance & deed of gift or portent (as I may say) wee prove our right in tenure in lands & all other earthly thinges./

For god is the true owner & right possesser of heaven & earth & of all thinges therein. *24. Ps. 8.* yet god not make the earthe [46r] nor replenish it with living creatures, for him selfe, as if he had any need of suche thinges *50. Psal. 10.* the fowles & cattell are his owne to dispose. but he made the world & thus furnished it for mans sake & for his needfull use to whome nowe he gave it. God then is the great Landlord of all the world, & wee have received as his Tennantes or servantes a bayliwicke to be stewardestes to use them to his glory & shall geve an accompt for them./

By vertue & force of godes graunte, that wee shall subdewe or holde in subiection or obedience other creatures, wee doe receive a threefould benefitt & blessing. The first is called *ius premiae occupationis*, by w<sup>ch</sup> man had possession geven him of all the grownd and Land, that the soule of theire feete did tread uppon. *11. Deut. 4.* Secondly they had a right & allowance graunted to them, hereby having taken in possession a whole land or country to destribute & divide it by consent amonge themselves as Abraham & Lott did. *13. Gen. 11.* or elles as the Tribes did by Lott. *15 Iosh:* But all our Tenure and right to possesse and enioy all this, standeth uppon our good and go[d]ly behaviour & demeanure in the service of god. for all y<sup>e</sup> conveyance is made & indented with this condicion y<sup>t</sup> wee shall keepe his statutes and observe his lawes. *105 Psa:* And therefore as the Cananytes were lawfully and iustly for theire sines & abominations cast fourth, soe god gave his people the land of the heathen in possession uppon condicion that they should serve & glorifye god better then they *113. Psa: 26. [?]* Herein then cometh in the right of warr and lawe of armes: for when a people or nation doe forsake & remake renounce theire god as rebellious Idolators & most notorious & obstinate sinners then god gave order y<sup>t</sup> his people w<sup>ch</sup> truly serve him should by force & by the sword drive them out, w<sup>ch</sup> was parte of

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By this right iacob by his sword & by his bowe did wyn & get the Land of the Amorites, as his lawfull

right & bequeathed it as a Legacie afterward to Ephram: 48 *Gen: 22./*

By this allowance also of god saying *subijcite*, wee have libertie and good leave to discry & discover unknownen countryes & newe found Landes, & soe to keep & inhabite them./

besydes in y<sup>t</sup> god said *subijcite* etc we gather y<sup>t</sup> god did not subdue it him selfe but gave them leave & authoritie & power to doe it *non dedit eis subiectam sed subiiciendam terram* w<sup>ch</sup> no doubt god did in great wisdome y<sup>t</sup> man might exercise him selfe in the workes of his handes, & keepe him selfe from idlenes both in subduing thinges by his power & strength & then in ruleing & ordering them by his wisdome & knowledge. for god cannot abide idlenes no not in the tyme of innocency & in the best & perfectest estate & therefore besides all this caused Adam to trime & dresse the garden of Eden. 2. *Gen: 15./*

The second parte of godes blessed worde advancing man to authority [46v] & rule on earthe, is *dominamin.* for though the earthe be the Lordes & the fullnes thereof, yet god would have soe use and governe it, that all the earthe might be full of his glory and prayse. And therefore in this [blank space] is allowed us theis privileges./ first to use any creatures on earthe for our helpe & furtherance in labour, or for our use & benefitt anyways. Secondly wee have power & right not onely to use them alive but also wee have the power of life & death over them & to kill them & to spend them being dead. Lastly by this wee [have] a right & authority to exchange them for other thinges in trafficke, and to buy & sell them as wee list & soe wee may convey the right w<sup>ch</sup> wee have to others from our selves by deed of gift; or elles alienate it by exchange. now under fishe, wee have the right and libertie of fishing, w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> it seemeth y<sup>t</sup> Christ our saviour was delighted and therefore allowed it in Peter when he said *vade piscatum* & y<sup>t</sup> as well with nettes 5 *Luc: 4.* as with the angle 17. *Mat:* And when wee have taken them it is lawfull for us to make pondes & fishpooles to keepe them alive for store./

The like wee may say of beastes of the feild & fowles of the ayre for the fowle wee have lawfull power by this of hawking or fowling, to either kill them with arrowes and dartes 7 *Prov.* or by pittfoldes or gynnes. 23 *Iosua.13.* and having taken them alive wee may keep them in cages. 5. *Ier: 26./*

For wilde beastes, wee have by this leave to chase or hunte them 17. *Lev: 13.* and either kill them for a pray as Iacob did or elles make parkes, to keepe them alive./

By this also wee have power to use any of theis creatures for our service and good, as the strength of the Oxe for tillage the swiftnes of the horse for easing our weary bodyes in travile the Asse and Cammell for burden, the woll of sheepe and the skynnes of other beastes to cloath us & keepe us warme. And thus much for godes charter given to man, w<sup>ch</sup> conteyneth all the right wee have over the Creatures & w<sup>ch</sup> lasteth to the worldes end./

*1 Gen: 29.30: And god said beholde I haue geven you every hearbe etc and euerie tree etc that shalbe to you for meate. Likewise to euery beast and to euery fowle of heaven etc and to euery thing w<sup>ch</sup> hath lyfe in himselfe euery greene hearbe shalbe for meate. And it was soe./*



innocent seeing he then was immortall. for answere whereof we must marke the difference & distinction of *posse non mori, et mori non posse* for Adam was made [47r] immortall, by possibilitie, not by absolute necessitie, as if he could not possible dye. for soe onely god is immortall & noe creature elles. for his yeares never fayle, he continueth for ever & world without end, and therefore is called the living god. This estate of immortalitye Adam had from his Image; but the other possibilitie to dye he had from his matter of w<sup>ch</sup> he was made, as god said *Puluis es et in pulverem reuerteris*.

Therefore Adam was immortall not by any power of life in himselfe for then he could never dye, & should have need of no meate, but seeing his estate of imortalitye & lyfe is from god & y<sup>t</sup> by ordinarie meanes of foode w<sup>ch</sup> god hath appoynted, and therefore he hath need of it, & must of necessitie use it./

Nowe though Adam and wee stand in suche absolute need & want of foode, yet wee cannot lawfully lay hand on any one creature to releive us, unlesse wee had godes speciall priviledge and warrant for free libertie to take and use them, w<sup>ch</sup> onely wee have by vertue and force of his most blessed worde geveth the fruites of the earthe to be meate & sustinance to us. In w<sup>ch</sup> generally wee see the love and care of god the creator in providing for the preservation of his creatures, especially of man w<sup>ch</sup> he cared for most./

Touching the particuler meates specified in theis wordes wee may behoulde gods liberalitie & bountye towardes us in geving us all fruites of the earthe, all kinde of grayne, every seede, all spice and good thinges w<sup>ch</sup> either hearbes or trees do beare; w<sup>ch</sup> is called y<sup>e</sup> fatt of the earthe & the blood of the grape, w<sup>ch</sup> two generall names in *Leuit*. dothe conteyne them all./

But some will hold & better with Noes patente & allowance for eating both of fish and fleshe. *Gen.* for this rawe and could diett of sallettes & fruites theire daynty bringing upp cannot away with all. but wee must beware that wee doe not unwisely cavill & repyne at godes word & workes, as if wee were more wise then he, in devising what foode is best for our nature and health wee must knowe therefore y<sup>t</sup> god made us not for our belly to pamper it, for he hateth suche as make theire bellie theire godes 3 *Phi: 19.* & if wee could be content w<sup>th</sup> godes diette & allowance & be thankfull therefore, wee ought to consider y<sup>t</sup> though it seeme very homely & meane, yet he can give suche a blessing to one meale of it that may make us walke forty dayes and nightes in the strength of it. *1 Reg. 19.6.* yea to cause us to live for ever most happily with it & not be subiect to death. whereas on the contrary without his blessing all the daynty foode and preservatives to restore, can doe us noe good at all./

The reason why the eating of flesh is not here named nor sett downe, may seeme to be this, because as one sayeth an innocent dyett, is most meete and agreeable for an innocent estate suche [as?] wee know Adames estate was, nowe even the heathen wise men had found out, as Pithagoras by name, who helde & taught y<sup>t</sup> it was yet y<sup>e</sup> onely best & lawfulest dyett still perswading men y<sup>t</sup> wee should not susteyne our life by the death & destruction of other living thinges./

[47v] Nowe in the 30. verse wee see a degree further of godes mercye & goodnes in y<sup>t</sup> he provideth not onely for man but for beastes and birdes also wherefore if any aske y<sup>t</sup> question *1 cor: 9.9. numquid de bobus est cura*, doth god take care for oxen, the answere is *6. Mat. [26]* y<sup>t</sup> god y<sup>t</sup> god doth take care for sparowes and lesser thinges then they. He feedeth the young Ravens w<sup>ch</sup> call uppon him. *145. Psal:* & he geveth fodder for cattell. *147. Psal. 9.* And wee may observe y<sup>t</sup> there is great difference betwene the

meate given to men & the food graunted to y<sup>e</sup> the rest. for all thinges w<sup>ch</sup> are *satura*, w<sup>ch</sup> are sowed &

We use cookies to provide you with the best browsing experience on our websites, [more]. beare seed are for men, but onely the thinges *quae sunt spontanea* w<sup>ch</sup> doe grow & sproute upp of his owne accord are ordeined to be foode for the beastes and cattell.

Nowe wee come to the performance of this precept, *et fuit sic* y<sup>t</sup> is even as godes worde commaunded it, soe was it performed in every deed. every creature in his order & degree had his share & dyet w<sup>ch</sup> was allotted unto him./

Thus all thinges being thus settled is man being perfected and the whole world being furnished & provided for. now in the last verse [Gen 1.31] it is saide y<sup>t</sup> god did as it were looke back & survey all the workes w<sup>ch</sup> he had made, & uppon serious consideracion thereof he geveth this upright sentence, y<sup>t</sup> all was very good, w<sup>ch</sup> wordes are as if he had saide, the particuler workes distinguished in their orders and kindes were not onely good severally & aparte by themselves, but also as all of them were ioyned in one compact body of the world & sett together they did seeme more excellent & perfect, & therefore are in y<sup>t</sup> sense affirmed not onely to be good, but to be *valde bona* y<sup>t</sup> is exceeding good in a higher degree./

Soe this is the approbation & commendacion w<sup>ch</sup> god gave when he sawe all the partes soe orderly & decently & well agreeing with the whole, especially seeing man nowe sett over them all to rule & keepe him selfe & all the rest in the same good order and state wherein they were made.

Soe that mankinde w<sup>ch</sup> was last made was that *valde bonum* & as it were the accomplishment & perfection of all the rest of godes workes w<sup>ch</sup> were made before, w<sup>ch</sup> is the reason y<sup>t</sup> this commendation is a degree more then all the former, but then onely man, & all thinges elles deserves the highest approbation indeed when wee all ioyne together to his glory & prayse w<sup>ch</sup> made us, for then god will saie y<sup>t</sup> they are *summa bona*. for this indeed is the perfection of all godes creatures & as it were their *summum bonum* & true happines, to retourne to god their maker & susteyner y<sup>e</sup> glory & praise w<sup>ch</sup> is dewe to his name, because god made all thinges, for this end *omnia sunt propter vos* saith *Paul. 2 cor: 4. 15.* but *Salomon [48r]* goeth to a further end. *16. pro: 4. omnia fecit deus propter se[met]ipsum* y<sup>t</sup> is for the prayse of his holy name. Soe be it./

*Finis primi cap: Genes./.*

**Selection 3. Gen. 3.16:** *Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee (KJV).*

*Five leaves have been cut out from the manuscript between 243v and 244r. A few lines on Gen. 3.15 remain at the bottom of 243v, but a substantial portion of what evidently belongs to the lecture on Gen. 3.16 remains as 244r – 246v. What remains of this lecture is markedly different from the 1657 edition (pp. 313–14).*

[244r] . . . 2<sup>d</sup> that she shalbe subiect to her husband. The correspondence Correspondence w<sup>ch</sup> god keepeth betwene the sinne and the punishment is this, The sinfull pleasure that she tooke in eating the forbidden fruite is iustly censured with sorrowe and payne, and as she had the upper hand of her husband in perswading him to eate, soe she is punished with subiection to him. The sorrowes that woemen sustayne in conceaving and travayle standeth w<sup>th</sup> the lawe of nature, for not only they doe undergoe this punishment, but as the *Apostle* saith, Every Creature groaneth and travaileth together w<sup>th</sup> us *Rom. 8.* soe as *Jehu* saith *2. Reg. 10.10.* no one worde of the Lord shall fall to the ground, but whatsoever he saith it must come to passe, and soe is the subiection of the woeman to her husband, a thing required alsoe by the Lawe of nature all nations[.] But of that which hath bene said wee are generally to observe that god cannot suffer in his Justice any sinne to escape unpunished, Therefore it is that he doth not lett loose passe the sinne of the woeman without punishment howbeit as the *Apostle* makes the distinction that some shall receive punishment merciles, and in other mercie shall triumphe over Justice *Ja. 2.* soe here god doth not laye soe greivous a punishment upon the woeman as she deserved, for albeit he might have utterly have destroyed both the Serpent and all mankinde according to the Curse pronounced upon them that continew not in all thinges that are written in the lawe *Deut. 27. Gall. 3.* yet he doth mitigate his sentence he proceedes not against us in rigour of Justice but vouchsafeth in mercie to take a Fyne of us for as the soule is cheifest in sinninge soe in Justice it should cheife be punished. Therefore it is a great mercie that god turnes the evill punishment of the soule into a bodely punishment, that he contentes himselfe to laye that upon the body only which might have bene inflicted upon the soule, as the *Apostle* sheweth playnly the body is dead because of sinne *Rom. 6.* 2<sup>d</sup> the mercie of god appeares herein, that whereas the punishment due to the soule is a worme that never dyeth *Esa. 66.* he layeth upon the woeman no other punishment but the payne of travayle w<sup>ch</sup> indures but for a tyme. & that his punishment is inflicted not as a Serpent to destroye but as a rodd to Chasten, and that as he makes all thinges both good and evill to worke together for the good of them that Love him *Rom. 8.* soe it pleaseth him soe to dispose of the paynfull bearing of Children that it shalbe [244v] a meanes of their salvation *1. Tim. 2.* and procure them an exceeding waight of glory yf they take it patiently, *2. Cor. 4.* Concerninge the first punishment particulerly Lust it selfe as the *Apostle* sheweth *Jam.1.* is a kinde of conceaving, and therefore concupiscence is fitly punished with paynfull conceaving, as the greedy Lust of *Esawe* wherewith he desired the pottage w<sup>ch</sup> his brother made was punished w<sup>th</sup> bitter teares shedd in vayne *Hebr.12.* And the Isralites desired flesh and god did not disappoynt them of their Lust, but gave them their owne desire, howbeit when the meate was yet in their mouthes, his heavy wrath came upon them, and slew the wealthiest of them

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be no affliction or Calamitye[.] they are of 2 sortes, sorrowe in conceaving and sorrowe in bearing and bringing fourth The worde increase used by the holy ghost hath respect to the number and greatnes of the sorrowes, the greatnes of sorrowe that is felt in conceaving is suche as made *Rebecca* saie, If I had knowne this *Gen. 25.22.* the payne of Child bearing is soe great that the holy ghost by it describeth the greivousnes of all great daungers *Psal. 48.* Lett theire sorrowes be like the sorrowes of a woeman in travayle. Childbearing is not only a payne as the Prophet sheweth *Esa. 37.* the children are come to the birth, and there is no strength to beare them, but alsoe a matter of suche perrill that *Rachell* dyed of yt *Gen. 35.* and soe did the wife of *Phineas 1. Sam. 4.* the safe bringing fourth of [a] Child is a thing soe daingerous as the Prophet doth confesse it to be a great benefitt and a singuler miracle of godes providence that he drewe him out of his mothers wombe *Psal. 22.* And therefore wee ought with all thankfullnes to acknowledge the same, The number of sorrowes that woemen suffer in bearing Children is, first if they perish by untymely birth *Psal. 58.* 2<sup>d</sup>. when being borne alyve yet they dye [245r] presently after as *Dauids* Child 2. *Sam. 12.* 3<sup>d</sup>. yf they be mishapen as he that was borne blinde *Joh. 9.* 4<sup>th</sup>. yf they be borne to misery soe as they be vagabondes and Runnagates *Psal. 109.* Lastly if they begett Children to be executed at the Gallowes, as many tymes they doe. For theis Causes the holy men have wished they had never bene borne *Jer. 20. Job. 3.* but the speciall multiplieng of sorrowe is that they bring fourth Children that shalbe tormented in everlasting fyer forever, unles they be delivered by the seede of the woeman whoe destroyeth Hell and death, this is the effect of the first punishment. But here in particuler wee must alsoe unto that god tempereth Justice w<sup>th</sup> mercie for thoughte he multiply sorrowes yet he doth withall multiply conceavinges. to have stoure of Children is as Jacob termes it the blessing of the wombe *Gen. 49.* And Adam reconns it a blessing that his wife should be the mother of the Lyving *Gen. 3.20.* whereunto Christ hath Respect, when he saith that a woeman during her travayle is in payne but after she reioyceth soe soone as a Child is borne *Joh. 16.* w<sup>ch</sup> is a matter of suche gladnes as thoughte they have felt the payne of it and seene others perish in bearing of Children yet they forgett all and are yet still carryed with a desire to be mothers, soe that of this it may be said *Psal. 118.* This is the Lordes doeing. The benefitt that cometh hereby is first the increase of mankinde but Cheifly the building upp of the Church of god. Lastly the great ioye and comforte of the parentes that it is a blessing to beare Children *Rachell* sheweth whoe was content to dye soe she might have Children *Gen. 30.* Therefore *Isaac* prayed for *Rebecca* when she was barren that god would geve her a Child *Gen. 25.* for this Cause *Hannah* the mother of *Samuell* doubted not to strive with god to multiply her sorrowes, soe that he would multiply her conceptions 1. *Sam. 1.* Contrarywise as this is a blessing soe to be barren is a plague as appeareth by that which is inflicted uppon *Jeconias Jer. 22.* write this man Childles, Therefore was barrenes laid uppon *Michal* as a Curse and a plague because he mocked David 2. *Sam. 6.* soe thoughte godes Justice will have them bring fourth in payne yet it is his mercie that they have Children for Children and the fruite of the wombe are a blessing that cometh from the Lord *Psal. 125.* yf woemen bring fourth Children it is with great payne but if they doe not bring fourth it is a signe of the wrath of god and of eternall tormentes after this Life[;] some make [245v] themselves Chast for the kingdome of God *Isa. 56. Mat. 19.* but otherwise barrenes is a signe that the heavy hand of god is uppon them from hence wee Learne what is our Condicoun. 1<sup>[st]</sup> that our very beginninge is with sorrowe and that in the very wombe of our mother wee are inaugurated to suffer payne soe that there comes not one sonne of Eve into the world without his woe and that all the happynes wee have in this Life is imperfect for as the wiseman saith our Laughter is mixt with greife and our ioy endes in sorrowe *Pro. 14.* for where there is conceaving there is sorrowe, and without sorrowe they can neither conceive nor bring fourth.

The 2<sup>d</sup> punishment ensueth in theis wordes. Let thy desire be to thy husband and lett him have

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together, The blessing for bringing fourth Children is mixed with the sorrowes of conception, the pleasure of societie for the sinne of the woeman is made bitter by subiection, for to be inferiour or subiect to another hath the nature of a Curse or punishment and so therefore subiection was inflicted uppon *Cham* Gen. 9. and uppon *Esawe* Gen. 27. But every subiection or service is not a punishment[.] There is a service of [ ? ] *1. Cor.* 7. and a service of Love, that which the Apostle speakes of *Gall.* 5. serve one another thorough love. This is a willing service proceeding from Love, suche as was performed by Timothy to *Paul* of whome he reporteth that he served with him in the Gospell as a Child serveth his father *Phill.* 2. suche should be the subiection of the woeman to her husband not of [ ? ] but of Love, yea though the fault had not bene comitted there should have bene this subiection on the woemans parte, soe that there must be order in every societie, but it should have bene without all grevance. The woeman should not have striven with the yoke as *Esawe* did Gen. 27.45. the dominyon of the man over the woman should have bene and still must be not suche as was the Rule of *Gideon* to whome it was said beare Rule over them *Judg.* 9. but it should have bene for good. Yf our Parentes had continewed in the state of innocentie there should not have bene betwene man and [246r] wife theis murmuringes and debates which now are heard, but yet there should have bene a subiection, sometyme he that rules hath the Curse *Eccle.* 8. but whether *Abigall* be marryed to *David* a wise king or to *Naball* a foole *1. Sam.* 25. yet she must be subiect to her husband. The Rule which the man hath is of 2 partes. 1 because thou didest Covet the forbidden fruite and didest not turne thy selfe to god nor aske Councell of him, therefore thou shalt turne to thy husband, and knowe of him what he will allowe of, soe as thou shalt doe nothing without his consent, and this is required of woemen by the Lawe of nature and all nations for they have not power to bestowe themselves in marriage, but are geven by another when they are marryed, they Change their names and can doe nothing without their husbandes and he that is marryed can make no vowe of force except her husband allowe of it *Numb.* 30.5. that is in regard of the weakenes of their sexe in Respect whereof the woeman is called the weaker vessell *1. Pet.* 3. which *Ruth* confessed when she said, spred the winges of thy skirtes *Ruth* 2. Therefore they are compared to the vyne uppon the howse side that must be held upp or ells yt will fall downe uppon the ground. *Psal.* 128. soe must woemen knowing their owne weakenes ioyn themselves to their husbandes and submitt themselves to their governement, The Apostle saith the man is the woemans head *Eph.* 5.

*1. Cor.* 11. therefore he is the superiour and is to be had in Reverence. This thing being established by god in the beginnunge, was called in question by *Vashtoi* *Esth.* 1. therefore order was taken that all woemen should be subiect to their husbandes, and suffer them to have the preheminence. Thus wee see what the Lawe of nature and of all nations requireth touching this poynte, but it is playne in religion[.] Peter saith they must be subiect to their husbandes *1. Pet.* 3.1. Paul saith I will not have a woeman to speake nor to usurpe authoritye over her husband *1. Tim.* 2.12. *1. Cor.* 14. Howbeit for defaulte of male yssue the woeman may beare rule *Numb.* 25. as the Queene of *Saba* *1. Reg.* 10. and the Queene of *Candace* *Act.* 8. for they that are subiect in the state of aconomicall may beare Rule in a politike estate. Therefore *Asa* was not afraide to put downe his mother from her Royal estate *1. Regn.* 16. This is the will of god touching the subiection of wyves towards their husbandes, *de iure*, and wee must establish it *de facto*, but it is otherwise for the most parte for wyves that should be silent and subiect do usurpe places of superioritie and when that cometh to passe wee must Reccon of it as the Curse of god who threatneth his people that woemen shall Rule over them *Esa.* 3.4. suche a [246v] wife was *Jesabell* who did not submitt herselfe to this yoke but overruled her husband *1. Regn.* 21. But as wee are to geve god thanks for this Commutation of Judgement into mercie soe woemen must Learne to beare the yoke of a subiection which god hath laide uppon them, they must not only with patience suffer the sorrowes of the naturall travayle but travayle till Christ be formed in them *Gall.* 4.

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to their husbandes and obey their Comaundmentes and suffer with patience their unreasonable

dealinges that is thanke worthie with god. *1. Pet.* 2.8.

## Notes

[1] The essay below, by P.G. Stanwood, first appeared in *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, “New Texts and Discoveries in Early Modern English Manuscripts,” ed. Peter Beal, 13 (The British Library, 2007): 35–46. It is reprinted here in full, followed by a bibliographical collation of three copies of the only printed edition of Andrewes’s *Apospasmata SACRA: or A Collection of posthumous and orphan lectures* (1657), with a link to the text on EEBO, and also to the digitised manuscript in full. Three selections from the manuscript are then given, the first of them in a critical edition.

[2] ‘Delivered at St. Pauls and St. Giles his Church’ ... Never before extant ... London, Printed by R. Hodgkinsonne, for H. Moseley, A. Crooke, D. Pakeman, L. Fawne, R. Royston, and N. Ekins. 1657.

[3] See Andrewes, *Works*, vol. 11: *Two Answers to Cardinal Perron, and Other Miscellaneous Works* (Oxford, 1854), p. lxxvii. But see Arthur T. Russell, *Memoirs of the Life and Works of ... Lancelot Andrewes* (Cambridge, 1860): ‘A careful perusal of the [“Orphan Lectures”] would have led the editor [i.e. Thomas Pierce] ... into the full conviction that the substance of the volume was attributable only to Andrewes’ (pp. 382–3).

[4] But see Peter McCullough’s recent edition, *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures* (Oxford, 2005), which includes two complete items from 1657: ‘A Lecture on Genesis 2.18 delivered at St Paul’s, 18 October 1591’; and ‘A Sermon on Isaiah 6.6–7, Preached at St Giles Cripplegate, 1 October 1598’. The sermon on Isaiah is one of several on various texts—but not from Genesis—given from 1598–1600. See McCullough’s introduction, pp. xvii–xx, and especially his commentary on these two sermons, pp. 353–65, 378–90.

[5] See *Works*, cited in n. 2, p. viii.

[6] See P. J. Klemp, ‘“Betwixt the Hammer and the Anvill”: Lancelot Andrewes’s Revision Techniques in the Manuscript of His 1620 Easter Sermon’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 89 (1995): 149–82, on Cambridge, Trinity College ms B.14.22. This miscellany contains a copy of the Easter sermon in the hand of Andrewes’s secretary Samuel Wright, much annotated and corrected by Andrewes.

[7] An additional, but misleading note likely in John Jones’s hand, appears at the bottom of this leaf, probably for his own information: ‘N.B. These Lectures upon the beginning of Genesis do not appear amongst the printed works of Bp. Andrews, nor are they mentioned in the *Biographia Britannica*, in the account of his Life & Writings there set down, unless they are the *Apospasmata* mentioned in Not[e]. H. art[icle]. 16.’ Indeed, there is a mention of the ‘Orphan Lectures’ in the several editions of *Biographia Britannica* (London, 1747–66, 1778–93, etc.), correctly cited here.

[8] *De Templis, A Treatise of Temples* (London, 1638), by ‘R. T.’ Chapter 25, near the end of the book, treats ‘Of the rewards which such receive, who build and adorn Churches’. The quotation from Pindar appears on pp. 230–1.

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from Gen: 3: wherein wee learned that Adam was sent out of the garden and kept from the tree of life. ... [T]here is a great affynitye betwene the tree of life wch god sett in Paradise as a quickininge meanes for the continewance of life in Adam ... [for] restitution to Paradise and the tree of life ... is performed in this place [Rev. 2.7]’.

[10] A list and description of Andrewes’s known manuscripts appears in Peter Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, vol. I, part 1 (London, 1980), pp. 3–11, currently being revised for the database *CELM*. See also H. R. Woodhuysen, ‘Manuscripts at Auction: January 1993 to December 1994’, in *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700* 6 (1997), p. 253, items 3 and 4 (19 July 1994). A careful comparison of the many and different scribes of all Andrewes’s known manuscripts (not only of the Exeter Manuscript) would probably be helpful in establishing a genealogy of manuscripts and their transmission. But identification of scribal hands is very difficult. My observations are presently limited; but I am quite sure that the examples provided by the Exeter Manuscript do not reveal the hand of such familiar figures as Henry Isaacson, Samuel Wright, or the scribe or scribes of the several sermons in Cambridge, Emmanuel College ms 3.1.13.

[11] John 6.27 reads: ‘Operamini non cibum, qui perit, sed qui permanet in vitam aeternam, quem filius hominis dabit vobis’. *See note*.

[12] Cf. John 8.44. The MS leaves a blank space where this word belongs. It is supplied from AS. *See variants*.

[13] MS reads ‘leauge’.

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Responses to this piece intended for the Readers' Forum may be sent to the Editor at [M.Steggles@shu.ac.uk](mailto:M.Steggles@shu.ac.uk).



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