













THE  
WORKS

OF

JOHN JEWEL, D.D.

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

EDITED BY

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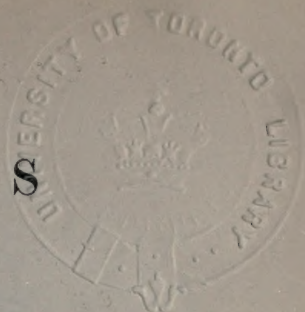
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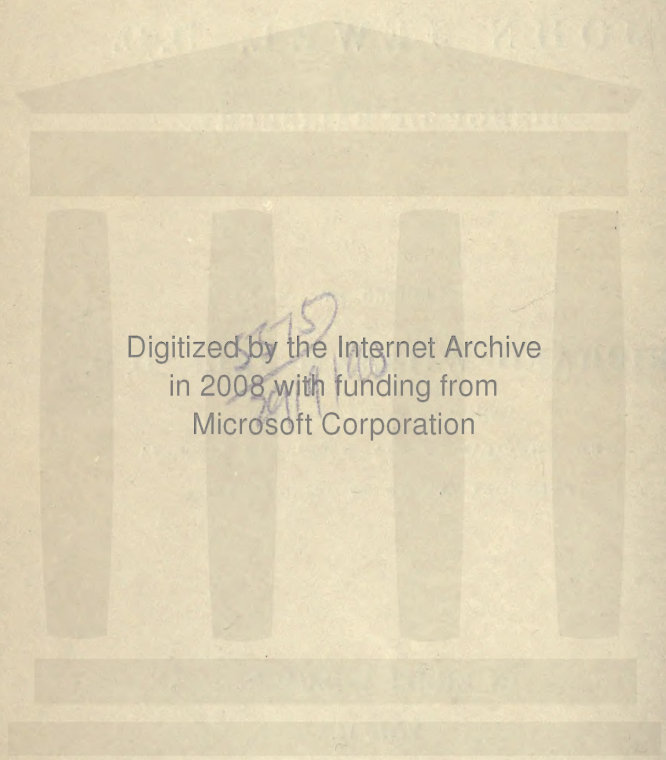
VOL. II.

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OXFORD,  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

MDCCCXLVIII.





5575  
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OF PRAYERS  
IN A STRANGE TONGUE.

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THE THIRD ARTICLE.

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THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

**O**R that the people had their common prayers then in a strange tongue, that they understood not.

To furnish out this article, M. Harding hath laid together a great heap of stories, antiquities, observations of writers, erections, propagations, canons, and orders of the church, cosmography, situation of countries, corruptions and changes of tongues, which things he might better have used to some other purpose. Now they serve him more for show of learning, than for substance of proof. He hath bestowed upon this treaty, whatsoever he could either devise of himself, or find in others, adding besides all manner of beauty and force unto the same, both with weight of sentence, and also with colour of words. Howbeit great vessels be not always full; and, the emptier they be, the more they sound. The wise reader will be weighed with reason, and not with talk. As I said at the beginning, One good sentence were proof sufficient. And, if there be any one such in this whole book, I will yield according to promise. If there be none, then must M. Harding

consider better of the matter, and begin again. Howbeit he hath done that was the part of a good orator, that the learned may say, he hath shewed learning and eloquence; the unlearned may think, he hath said some truth.

M. HARDING: *First Division.*

If you mean, M. Jewel, "by the people's common prayers," such as at that time they commonly made to God in private devotion, I think they uttered them in that tongue which they understood; (65) and so do Christian people now for the most part; and it hath never been reprov'd by any catholic doctor. But, if by the common prayers you mean the public service of the church, whereof the most part hath been pronounced by the bishops, priests, deacons, and other ecclesiastical ministers, the people to sundry parts of it saying *Amen*, or otherwise giving their assent; I grant, some understood the language thereof, and some understood it not; I mean, for the time you refer us unto, even of six hundred years after Christ's conversation here in earth.

The 65th untruth. For under the subjection of the bishop of Rome, the people for the most part pray in Latin.

The 66th untruth. For this certainty will never be proved.

For about nine hundred years past, (66) it is certain, the people in some countries had their service in an unknown tongue, as it shall be proved of our own country of England.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The disorder of prayer, that M. Harding hath here taken in hand to defend, is not only repugnant to the scriptures of God, but also contrary to the sense of nature. For, if birds and beasts could speak, as Democritus the philosopher sometime thought, and as Lactantius a Christian writer seemeth partly to say they do, yet, being birds and beasts, and void of reason, they would not speak they know not what. Wherefore seeing this abuse appeareth contrary to God and nature, and now also is misliked and condemned by the common judgment of all people, therefore it behoveth M. Harding to leave his guesses, and soundly and effectually to seek to prove it.

Lactantius, Institution. lib. 3. cap. 10.

Two special things he hath confessed in this treaty, which quite overthrow his whole purpose; the one is, "That the prayers in the primitive church were said in the common known tongue;" the other is, "That it were good even now, that the people understood their own prayers." This is the plain song, and may well stand for



the ground; the rest is altogether descant and vain voluntary, and the most part out of tune.

This distinction of common prayers, whereof he imagineth some to be made openly by the minister of the church, some severally by every of the people in private devotion, is both unperfect and also needless. For the secret prayers, that the faithful make severally by themselves, have evermore been called "private," and never "common." And in this sense Thomas of Aquine thinketh that a prayer made in such sort by the priest, and in the church, may be called private. Par. 3. quæst. 83. art. 4.

He thinketh, "That the people uttered their secret prayers in the tongue that they understood," and so he saith, "Christian people do now for the most part." The former part hereof is undoubtedly true. But for the second, "That Christian people do so now," God's name be blessed, that hath brought it so to pass, not by M. Harding or his catholic doctors, but by such as they have withstood for the same, and called heretics.

"Touching the public service pronounced by the priest, whereunto the people said *Amen*, some," saith M. Harding, "understood the language thereof, and some understood it not." Here unawares he implieth a repugnance in reason, and a manifest contradiction. M. Harding implieth a contradiction.

For, if some of the people understood it not, how could all the people say *Amen*? St. Paul's words be plain: "How shall the unlearned say *Amen* to thy thanksgiving? for he knoweth not what thou sayest." This runneth directly against M. Harding; all the people gave their assent, and said *Amen*, to the common prayers, in the church: *ergo*, all the people understood the common prayers. The allegation of the church of England in the time of Augustine, whereof M. Harding maketh himself so sure, and saith with such affiance, "It shall be proved," when it shall hereafter come to proof indeed, shall prove nothing.

As concerning the distinction of private and common prayers, between which M. Harding would also have a difference of speech, undoubtedly the tongue that is godly and profitable, and will stir the mind in private devotion, is

also godly and profitable, and likewise able to stir the mind in the open church. And I marvel, what reason can lead any man to think the contrary.

M. HARDING: *Second Division.*

Here M.  
Harding  
wandereth  
vainly from  
the purpose.

But, to speak first of antiquity and of the compass of your six hundred years, it is evident by sundry ancient records, both of doctors and of councils, specially of the council Laodicene in Phrygia Pacatiana, holden by the bishops of the lesser Asia, about the year of our Lord 364, that the Greek churches had solemn service in due order and form, set forth with exact distinction of psalms and lessons, of hours, days, feasts, and times of the year, of silence and open pronouncing, of giving the kiss of peace to the bishop, first by the priests, then by the lay people, of offering the sacrifice, of the only ministers coming to the altar to receive the communion, with divers other seemly observations.

As for the Latin churches, they had their prayers and service also, but in such fixed order, long after the Greeks. For Damasus the pope first ordained that psalms should be sung in the church of Rome *alternatim*, interchangeably or by course, so as now we sing them in the quire, and that in the end of every psalm should be said, *Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, sicut erat*, &c. Which he caused to be done by counsel of St. Hierom, that the faith of the three hundred and eighteen bishops of the Nicene council might with like fellowship be declared in the mouths of the Latins. To whom Damasus wrote by Bonifacius the priest to Jerusalem, that Hierom would send unto him *Psallentiam Græcorum*, the manner of the singing of the Greeks, so as he had learned the same of Alexander the bishop in the east. In that epistle, complaining of the simplicity of the Roman church, he saith, "that there was on the Sunday but one epistle of the apostle, and one chapter of the gospel rehearsed, and that there was no singing with the voice heard, nor the comeliness of hymns known among them."

About the same time, St. Ambrose also took order for the service of his church of Milan, and made holy hymns himself. In whose time, as St. Augustine writeth, when Justina, the young emperor Valentinian's mother, for cause of her heresy, wherewith she was seduced by the Arians, persecuted the catholic faith, and the people thereof occupied themselves in devout watches more than beforetime, ready to die with their bishop in that quarrel; it was ordained that hymns and psalms should be sung in the church of Milan, after the manner of the east parts; that the good folk thereby might have some comfort and spiritual relief, in that lamentable state and continual sorrows. Thereof the churches of the west forthwith took example, and in every country they followed the same. In his second book of *Retractations* he sheweth, that in his time such manner of singing began to be

In rescript  
of Hieronym  
ad 2. epist  
Damasii Pa  
ad Hierony  
Presbytero-  
rum.

In 2. proc  
mio comen-  
tario-  
rum in  
Epist. ad  
Galat.

Lib. Con-  
fessionum

Cap. 11.



received in Africa. Before this time had Hilarius also, the bishop of Poitiers in France, made hymns for that purpose, of which St. Hierom maketh mention.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

We may well suffer M. Harding to wander at large in matters that relieve him nothing. If it were lawful for others so to do, it were no great mastery to write books. Many matters be here heaped together, touching order of service, distinction of psalms, lessons, hours, days, feasts, the giving of peace, the form of communion, singing in the church, when it began in Græcia, when in Rome, when in Milan, when in Africa, when in France, and when in other places. These be none of the matters that lie in question. And therefore, as they nothing further M. Harding to this purpose, so in other respects they hinder him sundry ways. For in the same council of Laodicea it is decreed, like as also in the council of Carthage, “That nothing be read in the church unto the people, saving only the canonical scriptures<sup>2</sup>.” Therefore the lessons, there mentioned, were not taken out of the “Festival” or *Legenda aurea*, as hath been used in the church of Rome, but out of the chapters of the Holy Bible, as it is now used in the church of England. The peace, given to the bishop, was not a little table of silver or somewhat else, as hath been used in the church of Rome<sup>3</sup>, but a very kiss indeed, in token of perfect peace and unity in faith and religion. So Justinus Martyr saith, speaking of the time of the holy ministration, “We salute each one another with a kiss.” So likewise Chrysostom and others.

<sup>2</sup> [Concil. Laodic. c. 59. “Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικούς ψαλμούς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης. Concil. Carth. 3. c. 47. “. . . ut præter scripturas “canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur “sub nomine divinarum scripturarum.” There was an important difference therefore between the wording of the two canons cited by Jewel, as there was also be-

tween the definitions of “Canonical Scriptures,” laid down respectively at Laodicea and at Carthage.]

<sup>3</sup> [The pax was a silver tablet, which circulated through the congregation (instead of the kiss of peace), and was kissed by each in order. See the references in the Englishman’s Magazine, January, 1841.]

Concil. Laod. can. 59. [ii. 574.]  
Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 47. [iii. 891.]

In Apolog. 2. [al. i. p. 82.]  
ἀλλήλους  
φιλήματι  
ἄσπασόμεθα.

Where he saith that the church of Rome, being as then plain and simple, learned the psalmody and other ecclesiastical music, and the singing of *Gloria Patri*, at the end of every psalm, of St. Hierom and the bishops of the east, he doth us well to understand, that then Rome is not the mother of all these things, neither is so to be taken.

But where he further saith, Damasus ordained that the psalms should be sung “interchangeably and in sides, and even so as they be now sung in the quire,” meaning, as it seemeth, that only the priests and clerks sung, and the people sat still; it is an open and a manifest untruth. For it is certain many ways, that the whole people then sung the psalms all together.

St. Augustine saith<sup>a</sup>: “That St. Ambrose took that order in Milan in time of persecution and great danger, for the solace of the people.” Nazianzenus<sup>b</sup> expresseth the terrible sound of the people, so singing together, in this wise: “When the emperor Valens was entered into the church where St. Basil preached, and was stricken with the psalmody, as if it had been with a thunder,” &c. The like hath St. Hilary writing upon the Psalms<sup>c</sup>; the like hath Theodoretus<sup>d</sup> of one Flavianus and Theodorus, that first devised this order of singing in the city of Antioch.

But none plainer than St. Basil; his words be these: “The people rise before day, and hie them to the house of prayer, and there, after that in mourning, and in heaviness, and continual tears, they have confessed themselves unto God, standing up from their prayers, they begin the psalmody, and being divided into two parts, they sing together, the one part answering to the other. And this order,” he saith, “was agreeable to all the other churches of God<sup>4</sup>.” Certainly it seemeth that St. Gregory in his time thought singing in the church to be a thing fitter for the multitude of people than for the priest. For he

<sup>a</sup> Confessionum, lib. 9. cap. 7. [l. 162.]

<sup>b</sup> Nazianzen. in funebri Oratione de Basilio. [l. 808.]

<sup>c</sup> Hilar. in Psal. lxxv. [p. 174.]

<sup>d</sup> Theodoret. lib. 2. cap. 24. [iii. 107.]

Basil. in Epist. ad Clericos Næo-cæsariæ. [iii. 311.]  
Ἀντιψάλ-  
λουσιν ἀλ-  
μήλοισ.

<sup>4</sup> [Basil. ep. 207. . . . Τὰ νῦν κεκρατηκότα ἔθνη πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις σύνωδά ἐστι καὶ σύμφωνα. ἐκ νυκτὸς γὰρ ὀρθρίζει παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν πόνῳ καὶ θλίψει καὶ συνοχῇ δακρῶν ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ, τελευταίον ἐξασπόμενοι τῶν προσευχῶν, εἰς τὴν ψαλμωδίαν καθίστανται. καὶ νῦν μὲν διχῇ διανεμηθέντες, ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοισ. . . .]

expressly forbiddeth the priest to sing in the church<sup>5</sup>; but I do not remember that ever he forbade the people.

Dist. 92. in  
Sancta Ro-  
mana. [Greg.  
Opp. ii. p.  
1288.]

Hereof we may gather, that Damasus divided the whole people into two parts, and willed them to sing the psalms in their own known tongue, the one part making answer by course to the other; saving only the sides, nothing like to that is now used in M. Harding's quires.

#### M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

Much might be alleged for proof of having service in the Greek and in the Latin churches, long before the first six hundred years were expired, which is not denied. The thing that is denied by M. Jewel is this: "That, for the space of six hundred years after Christ, any Christian people had their service, or common prayers, in a tongue they understood not;" which they of his side bear the world in hand to be a heinous error of the church, and a wicked deceit of the papists. And I say, as I said before, that (67) the service was then in a tongue which some people understood, and some understood not; I mean the Greek tongue, and the Latin tongue. For, that it was, within the six hundred years, in any other barbarous or vulgar tongue, I never read, neither I think M. Jewel, nor any the best learned of his side, is able to prove. To be the better understood, I call all tongues barbarous and vulgar, beside the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

The 67th un-  
truth. For  
M. Harding  
is not able to  
shew one  
nation that  
understood  
not their  
common ser-  
vice.

The gospel and the faith of Christ was preached and set forth in Syria and Arabia, by Paul; in Egypt, by Mark; in Ethiopia, by Matthew; in Mesopotamia, Persia, Media, Bactria, Hyrcania, Parthia, and Carmania, by Thomas; in Armenia the greater, by Bartholomew; in Scythia, by Andrew; and likewise in other countries, by apostolic men, who were sent by the apostles, and their next successors; as in France by Martialis, sent by Peter; by Dionysius, sent by Clement; by Crescens, as Clement and Hierom writeth; and by Trophinus, St. Paul's scholar; and by Nathanael, Christ's disciple, of whom he at Arelate, and this at Bourges and Treveres, preached the gospel, as some record. In our countries here of Britain, by Fugatius, Damianus, and others, sent by Eleutherius the pope and martyr, at the request of king Lucius, as Damasus writeth in *Pontificali*. Other countries, where the Greek and Latin tongue was commonly known, I pass over of purpose. Now, if M. Jewel, or any of our learned adversaries, or any man living, could shew good evidence and proof,

<sup>5</sup> [Gregory's prohibition strictly and primarily referred to the deacons, it being his wish that the singing should be entrusted to the subdeacons, or in case of necessity

to those "minorum ordinum." By parity of reasoning however the same was applicable to the priests also.]



that the public service of the church was then in the Syriacal, or Arabic, in the Egyptian, Ethiopian, Persian, Armenian, Scythian, French, or Britain tongue, then might they justly claim prescription against us in this article, then might they charge us with example of antiquity, then might they require us to yield to the manner and authority of the primitive church. (68) But that doubtless cannot appear, which if any could shew, it would make much for the service to be had in the vulgar tongue.

The 68th untruth. For doubtless it will soon be shewed.

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M. Harding, being now out of his digression, foundeth himself upon this principle, that some people understood the common prayers, and some understood them not. But if it might have pleased him to shew any one kind of people, that understood them not, it had been sufficient. But he sheweth none, neither here nor elsewhere. Therefore we may conjecture, his store of such things is not great.

He granteth, that the service was commonly said in the Greek and in the Latin tongue. All other tongues he condemneth for barbarous; by what authority, I cannot tell. For in the respect of God, "There is neither Jew, nor Gentile: (nor Greek, nor barbarous: nor any other distinction of tongues :) but all are one in Christ Jesus<sup>6</sup>." Otherwise any tongue, unto him that understandeth it not, appeareth barbarous. And in that sense St. Paul saith, "Unless I understand the meaning of the speech, I shall be barbarous unto him that speaketh; and he that speaketh, shall be likewise barbarous unto me." Like as Anacharsis the philosopher also said, "The Scythian is barbarous at Athens: and the Athenian is barbarous among the Scythians." And so the priest that prayeth in an unknown tongue, whether it be Greek or Latin, is barbarous unto the people; and if he be ignorant, and himself understand not his own prayers, he is barbarous also unto himself. As for the Latin tongue, which M. Harding so favourably excepteth, it hath no such special privilege above others.

Gal. iii. 28.  
[Col. iii. 11.]

1 Cor. xiv. 11.

<sup>6</sup> [Gal. iii. 28. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." The words "Greek" and "barbarous," appear to have been carelessly inserted from Col. iii. 11.]

St. Paul, making a full division of the whole world, nameth some Greeks, and some barbarous; and so leaveth out the Latins among the barbarous. The same division Strabo also followeth in his *Cosmography*. For thus he saith: *Barbaræ sunt omnes nationes, præter Græcos*: "All nations be barbarous, beside the Greeks." Afterward the Romans misliking herewithal, as they increased the state of their empire, so first they excepted themselves, and in continuance, all other nations, that would become provinces, and be subject unto them. And therefore pope Nicolas the First made a piteous exclamation against the Greek emperor Michael, that seemed to deface the Latin tongue with that odious name: *Appellatis Latinam linguam barbaram, .....ad injuriam ejus qui fecit eam*: "Ye call the Latin tongue barbarous, in despite of him that made that tongue." Great Alexander's modesty is much commended, who, as Strabo saith, would never sort his subjects by Greeks and barbarous; but rather by the difference of good and ill. "For many Greeks," said he, "be ill people: and many barbarous be good." The like modesty might well have served M. Harding in this place. For many, that know the Greek and the Latin tongues, be notwithstanding ungodly; and many be godly, that know them not. Therefore it is very discreetly said by Beda: *Barbara est lingua, quæ Deum laudare non potest*: "The tongue is barbarous, that cannot praise God<sup>7</sup>."

Strabo, Cosmograph. lib. 1. [p. 116.] et 4. [lib. 14. p. 977.]

Epistola Nicolai 1. [ap. Crabb.]

Strabo, Cosmograph. lib. 1. [sub fin.]

Beda, 1 Cor. xiv.

M. Harding maketh a long discourse of the apostles' and other apostolic men's travels throughout the world. If he had shewed to what end, we might the better have known his purpose. If he will say, "The apostles preach in sundry countries: *ergo*, the people had their common prayers in an unknown tongue:" this argument will hardly hold. For to that end God gave unto them the gift of tongues, that they might deal with all nations in their own languages. Acts ii. 11.

Here are we required to shew some evidence, that in the primitive church the public service was in the Syriacal, or

<sup>7</sup> [This sentence is not found in Beda's Commentary on the 1 Cor. xiv.]

Arabic, or Egyptian, or any other barbarous tongue; and it is stoutly presumed, that we are able to shew none. Whatsoever we can shew, this is no indifferent dealing.

For M. Harding, being required of me to shew but one sentence of proof for his side, and having as yet shewed nothing, suddenly altereth the whole state of the cause, and shifteth his hands, and requireth me to shew. Which thing although I be not bound to do, by any order of disputation, yet that it may appear that we deal plainly, and seek nothing but the truth, I am content, only in one example or two, presently to follow his will, referring the rest to another place more convenient for the same.

And, forasmuch as the first tongue that he nameth, amongst others, is the Syriacal, let him read St. Hierom, describing the pomp of Paula's funeral. These be his words: *Tota ad funus ejus Palæstinarum urbium turba convenit :..... Hebræo, Græco, Latino, Syroque, sermone, psalmi in ordine personabant*: "At her funeral, all the multitude of the cities of Palestine met together.....The psalms were sung in order, in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syrian tongue." Here may he see, that in one city four several nations, in their common service, used four several tongues, among which tongues is the Syriacal; which thing M. Harding thinketh all the world cannot shew. St. Augustine, willing the priests to apply their studies to correct the errors of their Latin speech, addeth thereto this reason: *Ut populus ad id quod plane intelligit, dicat, Amen*: "That the people, unto the thing that they plainly understand, may say, *Amen*." This of St. Augustine seemeth to be spoken generally of all tongues. M. Harding himself, at the end of his treaty, confesseth, that the Armenians, Russians, Ethiopians, Sclavons, and Moscovites, have from the beginning of their faith, in their public service, used evermore their own natural country tongues. Wherefore, by M. Harding's own grant, we may justly claim prescription, and charge him with antiquity, and require him to yield to the authority of the primitive church.

M. Harding requireth others to shew, being himself able to shew nothing.

In the 15th Division.

Hieron. in Epitaphio Paulæ. [iv. pt. 2. p. 687.]

Aug. de catechizandis rudibus, cap. 9. [vi. p. 272.]



M. HARDING: *Fourth Division.*

Wherefore, M. Jewel in his sermon, which he uttered in so solemn an audience, and hath set forth in print to the world, saith more than he is able to justify, where he speaketh generally thus: "Before the people grew to corruption," (whereby he meaneth the first six hundred years after Christ,) "all Christian men throughout the world, made their common prayers, and had the holy communion, in their own common and known tongue<sup>8</sup>." This is soon spoken, Sir: but it will not by you be so soon proved.

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That M. Jewel there said, is proved sufficiently, unless M. Harding be able to bring some example, one or other, to prove the contrary. Neither is the matter so hard of our side to be proved. Thomas of Aquine, and Nicolas Lyra, M. Harding's own witnesses, for some good part, will prove it for me.

M. HARDING: *Fifth Division.*

Indeed we find, that whereas holy Ephrem, deacon of the church of Edessa, wrote many things in the Syriacal tongue, he was of so worthy fame and renown, that, as St. Hierom witnesseth, his writings were rehearsed in certain churches openly, *post lectionem scripturarum*, "after the scriptures had been read;" whereof it appeareth to Erasmus, that nothing was wont then to be read in the churches, beside the writings of the apostles, or at least of such men as were of apostolic authority. But by this place of St. Hierom it seemeth not that Ephrem's works were used as a part of the common service, but rather as homilies, or exhortations, to be read after the service, which consisted in manner wholly of the scriptures. And whether they were turned into Greek or no so soon, it is uncertain.

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M. Harding, contrary to the order of rhetoric, would confute our side, before he confirm his own. But I marvel much, to what end he should thus allege Ephrem, unless it be to heap matter against himself. For will he thus frame his reason:

Ephrem wrote sundry things in his own mother tongue:

*Ergo*, the people had their service in a strange tongue?

<sup>8</sup> [Vol. i. p. 12.]

Will he have this to be allowed, and go for an argument? If there were nothing else here to be gathered, yet hath he touched two things expressly against himself. The one is, that nothing was then read in the church, saving only the scriptures, or other matters of apostolic authority; which thing is also straitly commanded by the council of Carthage. Yet M. Harding, in his church, even in the public service, readeth lessons, and legends of childish fables.

Concil. Carth.  
3. can. 47.  
[iii. 891.]

The other is, that Ephrem's homilies were pronounced unto the people in the vulgar tongue; yet M. Harding himself pronounceth gospels, epistles, and homilies, and all whatsoever, unto the people in a strange tongue.

But, to avoid this inconvenience, he saith, "The homilies were no part of the service." First, how is he sure of that? Certainly, the Latin homilies be read in the matins, and accounted part of the Romish service. Again, what necessary sequel is this:

The people understood Ephrem's homilies:

*Ergo*, his homilies were no part of the service?

Or what leadeth him to think it was profitable for the people to hear and understand Ephrem, and yet was not profitable for them to hear and understand Peter, Paul, or Christ? To be short, he confesseth that Ephrem's writings were exhortations to the Greek people: and yet doubteth, whether they were translated into the Greek, or no; and so he endeth in uncertainty, and concludeth nothing.

Now let us see, whether the same Ephrem will conclude any thing of our side. First, Theodoretus saith, "He was utterly ignorant of the Greek tongue." Which thing is also confirmed by M. Harding's own Amphilochius. For in the conference that was between him and Basil, he saith, "He spake by an interpreter, as being not able to speak Greek himself<sup>8</sup>." Yet was the same Ephrem a minister in the church, being, as St. Hierom saith, a deacon, and as some others write, the archdeacon of the church of Edessa. Now let M. Harding shew us, in what other tongue he

Theodoret.  
lib. 4. cap.  
29. [iii. 187.]

† Amphi-  
loch. [Vit.  
Basil. c. 13.]  
Hier. de Ec-  
clesiast.  
Scriptor. [iv.  
pt. 2. p. 126.]

<sup>8</sup> [Amphilochius says also, that Ephrem received miraculously the power of speaking Greek in consequence of Basil's prayers.]



could minister the ecclesiastical service, but in his own. If he think this conjecture to be weak, let him understand further, that, as Theodoretus reporteth, the same Ephrem made hymns and psalms in the Syrian tongue; and that the same were sung at the solemn feasts of martyrs; and that, as Sozomenus saith plainly, the same hymns and psalms were sung in the churches of Syria.

Theodoret. lib. 4. cap. 29. [iii. 187.] φαιδροτέρας τῶν νικηφόρων μαρτύρων [τὰς] πανηγύρεις ποιεῖ.

M. HARDING : Sixth Division.

Neither St. Hierom's translation of the scriptures into the Dalmatic tongue (if any such was by him made at all) proveth, that the service was then in that vulgar tongue. That labour may be thought to have served to another purpose. But of the translation of the scriptures into vulgar tongues, I shall speak hereafter, when I shall come to that peculiar article. Verily the handling of this present, and of that, hath most things common to both. Thus, that the people of any country had the church service in their vulgar and common tongue, beside the Greek and the Latin tongue, we leave as a matter stoutly affirmed by M. Jewel, but faintly proved; yea nothing at all proved.

See the 15th Division of this Article.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding seemeth to doubt, whether St. Hierom translated the scriptures into the Sclavon tongue, or no. Yet Stanislaus Hosius, one of the greatest of that side, maketh it very certain, and putteth it quite out of doubt. His words be plain: *In Dalmaticam linguam sacros libros Hieronymum vertisse constat*: "It is certainly known, that St. Hierom translated the scriptures into the Sclavon tongue." And likewise Alphonsus de Castro: *Fatemur, olim sacros libros in linguam vulgarem fuisse translatos, beatumque Hieronymum in linguam Dalmaticam eos vertisse*. "We confess, that in old times the scriptures were translated into the vulgar tongue, and that St. Hierom turned them into the Sclavon tongue<sup>9</sup>." Neither ever wist I any man, that made doubt hereof, but M. Harding. "But

Hosius de Sacro ver-nacule legendo. [tom. i. 664.]

Alphonsus, de Hæres. lib. 1. cap. 13. [p. 83, 84.]

<sup>9</sup> [Alphons. p. 83. "... de Hieronymo refert [Erasmus] quod Dalmatica lingua sacros verterit libros." P. 84. "fatemur olim sacros libros in linguam vulgarem fuisse translatos."]

being granted," saith he, "that St. Hierom so translated the scriptures, yet that proveth not, that the service was then in the vulgar tongue." Good, Sir; much less it proveth, that the service was then among the Slavons in the Latin tongue. He saith further, "That labour may be thought to have served to another purpose." But to what other purpose, he sheweth not. Surely whatsoever is thought hereof by M. Harding, M. Eckius, one of his own doctors, confesseth that the same St. Hierom, that translated the scriptures into the Slavon tongue, procured also, that the common service there should be said in the Slavon tongue. And it may well be thought, his translation could serve to no better purpose. I grant, St. Chrysostom, and Origen, in their sermons, exhort the people to read the scriptures in their houses at home; which purpose also, no doubts, was very godly. But such private reading at home excludeth not the open reading in the church.

Eckl. de  
Missæ Latine  
dicenda.  
[Loc. com.  
art. 37.]

Chrysost. in  
Matt. hom. 2.  
[vil. 30.] et  
in Gen. hom.  
28. [iv. 269.]  
Orig. in Le-  
vit. hom. 9.  
[ii. 240.]

Chrysost. in  
Acta Apost.  
hom. 19. [ix.  
159.]  
Aug. in Psal.  
xxxii. [iv.  
171.]

Orig. in Le-  
vit. cap. 7.  
[Homil. 5.  
tom. ii. p.  
214.]

Chrysostom saith, It was the reader's duty openly in the church to pronounce the scriptures. And St. Augustine saith unto the people, "The apostle St. Paul witnesseth, that this psalm which ye have heard, pertaineth to that grace of God, whereby we are made Christians: therefore I have caused the same lesson to be read unto you." I think M. Harding will grant, that these lessons, that St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine speaketh of, were uttered in such a tongue, as the people might understand. For else Origen saith, *Alioqui non fuisset necessarium, legi hæc in ecclesia, nisi ex his ædificatio aliqua audientibus præberetur*: "Otherwise it had not been necessary for these things to be read in the church, unless some profit might come thereof unto the hearers."

"Yet notwithstanding," saith M. Harding, "these matters be stoutly affirmed by M. Jewel, and faintly proved." My proofs were taken out of the manifest words of St. Paul, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, Arnobius, Gregory, and others like; notwithstanding it please M. Harding to call them so faint. Let us therefore see the weighty reasons, that he and others of his side have



made for the contrary. M. Harding seemeth to reason thus :

Ephrem made homilies in the Syrian tongue :

And, St. Hierom translated the Bible into the Sclavon tongue :

*Ergo*, the common service was in the Latin or Greek tongue.

Cardinal Otho saith, There were three tongues written in the title of the cross ; the Greek, the Hebrew, and the Latin<sup>10</sup> :

Otho Card. in Statutis Synodi August. [Concll. ed. Harduin. ix. 204o.]

*Ergo*, in one of these three tongues, the people must have their common service.

Eckius saith, Christ prayed secretly, being in the mount alone :

Eckius de Missa Latine dicenda. [art. 37.]

*Ergo*, the service must be in an unknown tongue.

These and such like arguments be brought by them. I leave it unto the discreet reader to judge their force.

M. HARDING : *Seventh Division.*

Now, concerning the two learned tongues, Greek and Latin ; and first the Greek ; that the service was in the Greek tongue, and used in the Greek church, I grant. And to shew what is meant by the Greek church, the learned do understand all the Christian people of that country which properly is called Græcia, of Macedonia, Thracia, and of Asia the Less, and the countries adjoining. The provinces, that were allotted to the patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt, and to the patriarch of Antiochia in Syria, are of the old writers called sometime by the name of the Oriental or East church, sometime of the Greek church. Thus much by us both confessed, M. Jewel, and agreed upon ; I say, that if I can shew, that the people of some countries of the Greek church, (69) which all had their common prayers and service in the Greek tongue, for the more part understood not the Greek tongue, more than Englishmen now understand the Latin tongue : then I have proved that I promised to prove, that some peoples, I mean whole nations, understood not their service, for that they had it in an unknown tongue.

The 69th untruth. For it is certain, that sundry of the east nations had not their service in the Greek tongue, as shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding, first having divided the whole world into two churches, the Greek and the Latin, afterward maketh offer to prove his purpose. Whereof it may be gathered,

The division of the church into Greek and Latin.

<sup>10</sup> [The fifteenth canon, the one of the Latin language as consecrated by its use upon the cross.]

that he hath hitherto proved nothing. This division of the church, neither is greatly material, nor of our part much denied; albeit many ways it seemeth unperfect. For the great churches of Ethiopia, India, and Scythia, planted by St. Matthew, by St. Thomas, and by St. Andrew, besides Arabia, Syria, Persia, Media, Armenia, and a great number of other countries, which never were neither of the Greek church nor of the Latin, are here quite left out. Two propositions M. Harding hath here chosen to prove. The one is, that all the Greek church had the common service wholly and thoroughly in the Greek tongue: the other is, that some whole countries in the Greek church understood not the Greek tongue.

If both these propositions be proved soundly and substantially, without surmise or guess, then it behoveth me to yield. But, good reader, mark them well both, and consider the proofs. For if he fail in either of these, he proveth nothing, as I hope it will appear.

M. HARDING: *Eighth Division.*

Now how well I am able to prove this, I refer it to your own consideration. The less Asia, being a principal part of the Greek church, had then the service in the Greek tongue: but the people of sundry regions and countries of the less Asia then understood not the Greek tongue: *ergo*, the people of sundry regions and countries had then their service in an unknown tongue. The first proposition, or "major," is confessed as manifest; no learned man will deny it; and if any would, it may easily be proved. The second proposition, or "minor," may thus be proved: Strabo, who travelled over all the countries of Asia, for perfect knowledge of the same, near about the time of St. Paul's peregrination there, who also was born in the same, in his fourteenth book of Geography writeth, that whereas within that *cherronesus*, (that is, the strait between sea and sea,) there were sixteen nations, by report of Ephorus; (70) of them all, only three were Greeks, all the rest barbarous. Likewise Plinius in the sixth book *Naturalis Historiæ*, cap. 2, declareth, that (71) within the circuit of that land were three Greek nations only, Dores, Iones, Æoles, and that the rest were barbarous. Amongst whom the people of Lycaonia was one, who, in St. Paul's time, spake before Paul and Barnabas in the Lycaonical tongue. [p. 996.] Acts xiv. 11.

A fallax, or a deceitful argument.

The 70th untruth, mis-reporting Strabo's words.  
The 71st untruth, mis-reporting the words of Pliny.

The scripture itself reporteth a diversity of language there, and thereabout, as it appeareth by the second chapter of the Acts: where the Jews gathered together in Jerusalem, for keeping of the feast of Pentecost, wondering at the apostles, for their speak-



ing with so many sundry tongues, amongst other provinces different in language, they reckon Pontus, and Asia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia; which two provinces are of all attributed unto the less Asia; which maketh a good argument, that all Asia the Less had not only the Greek tongue. And therefore so many of them as were of other language, having the service in Greek, had it in a tongue they understood not. They that will seem to search the cause, why that land had so great diversity of languages, impute it to the often change of conquests, for that it was overcome and possessed of divers nations: of which every one coveted, with enlarging their empire, to bring into the countries subdued, their laws, their customs, and their language. Now this being proved by good and sufficient authority, that in Asia, of sixteen nations, three only were Greeks, it followeth, that the other thirteen, having their service in Greek, had it not in their own, but in a strange tongue. For else, if they had all naturally spoken Greek, why should not they have been called Greeks? Thus we see, it is no new thing, proceeding of a general corruption in the church, some peoples to have the service in an unknown tongue.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Take heed, good reader; M. Harding hath here thrown a great mist of learning, to dazzle thy sight. Unless thou eye him well, he will steal from thee. Thus he frameth his syllogismus: The Less Asia, being a principal part of the Greek church, had then the service in the Greek tongue: but sundry countries of the same Asia understood not the Greek tongue; *ergo*, they had their service in an unknown tongue.

Here is a fair gloss. But be not deceived. M. Harding knoweth well enough, it is but a fallace, that is to say, a deceitful argument, named in the schools, *Ex meris particularibus*; or, *A non distributo, ad distributum*. Unless he amend the major, and make it an universal, and say thus: All Asia the less had the service in the Greek tongue, it can in no wise hold. That Asia the less had the service in Greek, it is doubted of no man, nor learned nor unlearned. But that all Asia the less had throughout in all parts the same service, if it be denied, M. Harding, with all his learning, is not able to prove it; and therefore he did better to turn it over, without any proof at all.

The disclosing of M. Harding's fallax.

The minor is this: Sundry nations in Asia the less

understood not the Greek. And to prove this, M. Harding hath directed all his drift. But to what end? For neither is it denied by any of us, nor is it any part of our question. And yet notwithstanding, is not M. Harding able to prove it with all his guesses.

Acts ii. 9, 10. He allegeth the Acts of the Apostles, whereas mention is made of sundry languages, and among the same, certain provinces of this Asia specially named for their difference in speech. But what, if answer were made, that all there rehearsed were not divers tongues, but rather certain differences in one tongue? Certainly, Beda seemeth plainly

Beda in Luc. cap. 22. lib. 6. Ex Hieronymo in Matt. cap. 26.

so to say. His words be these: "Verily this man was with him, for he is of Galilee; not for that the people of Galilee, and the people of Jerusalem, used sundry tongues: but for that every province" of Jewry, "having a peculiar manner of utterance in their speech, could not avoid the same." And hereunto he applieth this story of the Acts of the Apostles.

But saith M. Harding, "There must needs be greater difference between these countries of Asia, and that, because of often overthrowes and conquests, that there had happened." The conjecture is good. But the greatest conquerors, that came there, were the Macedonians, the Thebans, and other Grecians, who, no doubt, planted there the Greek tongue, as it may soon appear to any man, that can with judgment consider of it. St. Paul unto the Ephesians, the Galatians, and the Colossians, dwelling all in this same Asia the less, wrote in Greek. And St. Luke, writing of St. Paul's being and preaching at Ephesus, saith,

Acts xix.

Acts xix. 10.

It came so to pass, *ut omnes, qui habitabant in Asia, audirent sermonem Domini Jesu, Judæi simul et Græci*: "that all they, that dwelt in Asia, heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks." St. Luke, that had travelled over that whole country with St. Paul, knew none other nation there, but Jews and Greeks; M. Harding hath a guess, there should be some other barbarous people also: but what they were, or whereabout they dwelt, or what tongue they spake, he cannot tell. Verily Polycarpus was bishop of Smyrna; Gregorius was bishop in Pontus; St. Basil



was bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia ; Amphilocheus bishop of Iconium in Lycaonia ; Gregorius, St. Basil's brother, bishop of Nyssa in Caria, or Thracia. All these, in sundry countries within Asia the less, preached openly in the Greek tongue, and the vulgar people understood them.

“ Yet,” saith M. Harding, “ Strabo being born in the same country, and living under the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, in the time of St. Paul, writeth in his Geography, that, whereas there were then sixteen sundry nations in Asia the less, three only of them were Greeks, and the rest barbarous.” I know not, whether M. Harding be unwittingly deceived himself, or wilfully go about to deceive others. But well I know, that this is no part of Strabo's meaning. For Strabo speaketh not this of his own time, but of the time of Ephorus, that lived well near five hundred years before him. This Ephorus reporteth, that in his time there were but three Greek nations as yet entered into Asia, but all the rest then were barbarous. And therefore Apollodorus saith, that, before the battle of Troy, no people of the Greeks at all ever came over to dwell there. For, if Strabo had meant this of his own time, to what end should he allege the record of Ephorus, that lived so many hundred years before him, for proof of that thing, that he had so diligently viewed, and seen himself? and specially seeing his purpose is not to follow, but to reprove Ephorus; as it well appeareth by his words. As for Apollodorus, thus he saith of him: “ He seemeth not discreetly to deal herein. For he disordereth and falsely allegeth the words of Homer.” And unto this construction of Strabo, very well agreeth the place of Plinius here alleged, and concludeth manifestly against M. Harding, as it appeareth by the very words: *In omni eo tractu proditur, tres tantum gentes Græcas jure dici, Doricam, Ionicam, Æolicam: cæteras barbarorum esse*: “ In which whole circuit, it is written, that only three nations be rightly called Greeks: and that the rest are of the barbarians.” In that he saith, *proditur*, “ it is written,” he meaneth by Ephorus, Apollodorus, or such others, as had lived long before. In that he saith, *cæteras barbarorum*

Strabo, Geo-  
graph. lib.  
14. [p. 996.]

Strabo, lib.  
14. eodem  
loco.

τὰ τοῦ ποι-  
ητοῦ τὰράτ-  
των καὶ κα-  
ταψευδό-  
μενος. [p.  
996.]

Plin. Hist.  
Natural. lib.  
6. cap. 2.

esse, "the rest be of the barbarians," he meaneth, that they had arrived thither, not out of Græcia, as had the other three, but out of other countries that were barbarous. But in that he saith, *tres tantum gentes Græcas jure dici*, "that only three nations be rightly, or naturally, called Greeks," he must needs mean, that the rest were called Greeks also, although not so rightly and naturally as the other. For else the exception of this word *jure*, that is, "rightly or naturally," had been in vain. And thus M. Harding seeking to prove, that the people of Asia were no Greeks, allegeth Plinius, by whose words it appeareth necessarily, that they were Greeks.

But M. Harding will force the matter further: "Strabo saith, that, these three nations excepted, the rest were barbarous: *ergo*, they understood no Greek." And hereupon resteth his whole proof. But this is another falsification of Strabo's mind. For Strabo calleth them barbarous, that understood and spake Greek. And what better witness can we herein have, than Strabo himself? Thus he writeth: *Barbarismum in his dicere consuevimus, qui male loquuntur Græce: non autem in illis, qui Carice loquuntur. Sic etiam barbariloquos, et barbari sermonis homines eos accipere debemus, qui male Græca pronuntiant*: "We take a barbarismus, or a barbarous manner of speech, to be in them that speak the Greek disorderly: and not in them that speak a strange tongue, as is the tongue of the Carians. So we ought to take them to be barbarous, or men of barbarous speech, that illfavouredly pronounce the Greek." Thou mayest see, good reader, with what faith M. Harding allegeth the authority of old writers. He would prove by Strabo, that these people spake no Greek, because they were barbarous. And Strabo himself saith, notwithstanding they were barbarous, yet they spake Greek. Now therefore, seeing the syllogismus itself, as I have said, is a fallace, the major false, the minor false, and neither of them any way proved, and Strabo and Pliny falsely alleged; to gather hereof, that these people had their service in an unknown tongue, must needs seem a strange conclusion.

M. Harding  
falsifieth  
Strabo's  
mind.

Lib. 14. Geo-  
graph. [p.  
978.]

M. Harding's  
syllogism.

M. HARDING: *Ninth Division.*

Here perhaps M. Jewel, or some other for him, replieth, and saith, that the people of Asia commonly, beside their own proper language, spake the Greek tongue also; and allegeth for the same purpose St. Hierom, who saith, *Galatas, excepto sermone Græco, quo omnis oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem habere, quam Treviros*: "That the Galatians, beside the Greek language, which all the orient or the east speaketh, have their own peculiar tongue, the very same that they of Trevers have." "Lo," saith this replier, "St. Hierom affirmeth all the orient to speak the Greek tongue: ergo, the service in Greek to them was not strange and unknown."

To this I answer, St. Hierom meaneth, that some of all countries of the orient, or east, spake Greek, as the learned men, gentlemen, merchants, all of liberal education, and such other as had cause to travel those countries. To be short, it was without doubt very common, as being their only learned tongue for all sciences, and the tongue that might best serve to travel withal, from country to country, within the east, right so as the Latin tongue serveth to the like intents, for all nations of the west. And he meaneth not, that all and singular persons, of what degree and condition soever they were, all uplandish people, tillers of the ground, herdmen, and women, spake Greek. For, if it had been so, then had they not had peculiar and proper tongues. For it is not for their simple heads, for the most part, to bear away two languages. In that St. Hierom calleth the Galatians' tongue *propriam linguam*, a proper and a peculiar tongue to that nation, he doth us to understand, the same to pertain to all in particular, that is, to every one of that province, and the Greek to all in general, in respect of other nations there, so as not of necessity it be understood of every one.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding overmuch paineth himself to prove that thing, that no wise man will deny him. For how can it seem likely, that the whole east, which is in a manner the one half part of the world, containing so many, and so sundry nations, should speak all one tongue: seeing we ourselves, in this one little kingdom of England, have the use of five tongues, and not one of them understanding another? I marvel that M. Harding alleged not the fables of Herodotus, that *bek* in the Phrygians' tongue signifieth bread; *kiki* in the Egyptians' tongue, an ointment; *achmach*, one of the guard; or *alila*, or *wotal*, in the Arabic tongue, and such like. For these might have stood him instead of good

Herodotus.

In proœmio 2.  
lib. Com-  
ment. Ep. ad  
Galatas.



proofs, that all the nations of the whole east part of the world spake not Greek.

And although we agree with him in the principal, that in the east part were used sundry languages, and likewise that the Greek tongue was commonly used among the learned, yet his distinction of all in general, and all in particular, that he hath here devised to shift off St. Hierom, seemeth very homely and home made. For how can it be a general, unless it include every particular? By M. Harding's construction, we must take all, for some; or all, not for the tenth part of all; and by this rhetoric, less than half is as much as all; and so all is not all. Thus M. Harding's general is a mere particular; and to conclude, his general is no general. So weakly and so loosely his answer standeth.

As touching the Galatians, of whom St. Hierom saith, that beside their own natural tongue, they had also the use of the Greek, because, as Apollodorus saith, "they, of all others, arrived last into that country;" it is likely, they kept their own barbarous speech longer than others<sup>9</sup>. But, like as whether they of all sorts spake Greek or no, as M. Harding saith, of necessity it cannot be proved, so indeed it forceth nothing. For he cannot prove thereby, that they, that understood not the Greek, had their service in the Greek. Yet is this the major, and the ground of the whole, which M. Harding so closely dissembleth and passeth by.

Strabo Geog.  
lib. 14, [p.  
998.]

#### M. HARDING: *Tenth Division.*

St. Augustine, speaking of the title written by Pilate on the cross, saith thus: "It was in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, *Rex* Tract. in Joan. 117. *Judæorum*. For these three tongues were there in preeminence before all other; *Hebræa, propter Judæos, in Dei lege gloriantes; Græca, propter gentium sapientes; Latina, propter Romanos multis ac pene omnibus jam tunc gentibus imperantes*: "The Hebrew for the Jews, that gloried in the law of God; the Greek, for the wise men of the Gentiles; the Latin, for the Romans bearing rule at that time over many, and almost over all nations."

<sup>10</sup> [The quotation from Strabo try." This was not sufficiently extends only to the word "coun- marked in former editions.]

Now, where he saith here, that the Greek tongue was in præeminence *propter gentium sapientes*, "for the wise men of the Gentiles," he discusseth fully the doubt that might seem to rise of St. Hierom's saying, and sheweth, that the Greek tongue was common, not to all the vulgar people of the whole orient, but to the wise men only, and that for the attaining of learning. And for this it is to be noted, that the scripture reporteth the vulgar tongue of the Lycaonians to have been uttered in the hearing of Paul and Barnabas, not by the magistrates, or other the chief, but by the vulgar people. *Turbæ levaverunt vocem suam Lycaonice dicentes*, &c. Acts xiv. And so St. Hierom is to be understood to speak in that place, not of all men of the nations of the east, but rather of a great number, and of some persons of all nations. For else, if all the east had spoken Greek, the soldiers that buried Gordianus the younger emperor, *apud Circeium castrum*, "at Circey castle," near to the land of Persia, would not have written his title of honour upon his sepulchre, in Greek and Latin, in the Persians', Jews', and Egyptians' tongues, *ut ab omnibus legeretur*, "that it might be read of all," as Julius Capitolinus writeth. Which is an argument, that all the east spake not, ne understood not the Greek tongue. As likewise that Epiphanius writeth, where he saith thus: "Most of the Persians, after the Persical letters, use also the Syrians' letters. As with us many nations use the Greek letters, yea whereas, in every nation in manner, they have letters of their own. And others some much esteem the profound tongue of the Syrians, and the tongue that is about Palmyra, both the tongue itself, and also the letters of the same. Books also have been written of Manes in the Syrians' tongue." Again, if all the east had spoken Greek, sundry the holy fathers would not have been so envious to the commonweal of the church, as to hide their singular works from the reading of all, which they wrote in barbarous and vulgar tongues, to the commodity only of their brethren that understood the same: Antonius that wrote seven notable epistles to divers monasteries of apostolic sense and speech, as St. Hierom witnesseth, in the Egyptian tongue. Likewise holy Ephrem of Edessa, Bardesanes of Mesopotamia, who wrote very excellent works in the Syriacal tongue. Even so did Isaac of Antioch, and Samuel of Edessa, priests, write many goodly works against the enemies of the church in the same tongue, as Gennadius recordeth. But what shall we speak of all the east? Neither all the less Asia and the countries there adjoining, spake not Greek one generation before the coming of Christ. For if all had spoken Greek, Mithridates, that renowned king of Pontus, had not needed to have learned two and twenty languages of so many nations he was king over, to make answer to suitors, to appoint them orders and laws, and in open audience to speak to them in so many languages without an interpreter, as Pliny writeth. Here if these twenty-two nations of twenty-two sundry tongues, had also beside their

In Gordianis.

Epiph. ad  
Hæres. lib. 2.  
tom. 2. hæc.  
66.

Lib. de Ec-  
clesiast.  
Script.

Natur. Hist.  
lib. 7. cap.  
24.

own language spoken Greek and understood the same, Pliny would not have uttered that word *sine interprete*, "without an interpreter." And likewise that king had taken vain labour in learning those tongues, where one might have served his turn.

Near to this king's dominion, in the shore of the sea Euxinus, in the land of Colchis, there stood a city named Dioscurias, so much haunted of strangers, that, as Pliny writeth by record of Thimosthenes, it was resorted unto of three hundred nations of distinct languages, and that the Romans for the better expedition of their affairs there, had at length lying in the same a hundred and thirty interpreters. Now, if all the orient had spoken Greek, as St. Hierom's words seem to import, the Romans should not have needed to have maintained there, to their great charges, so great a number of interpreters, to be their agents there. But for proof that all the orient spake not Greek, what need we allege profane writers? The known place of the Acts maketh mention of sundry nations there, that had distinct languages, the Parthians, Medians, and Elamites, &c. Acts ii.

To conclude, they that, to maintain their strange opinion of the universal understanding of the service used of old time in the east church, say and affirm, that all the orient spake Greek, seem much to diminish the majesty, utility, and necessity of the miraculous gift of tongues, which the Holy Ghost gave in the primitive church, for the better furtherance of the gospel. For, if all in those parts had spoken Greek, the gift of tongues had been in that respect needless. Hitherto of the Greek (72) and of the service in that language,

The 72nd untruth. For he hath not hitherto spoken one word of the service.

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This labour may well be called *vanitas vanitatum*. For it is a great token of idleness, to be so earnest, and so copious in proving that thing that no man denieth. And yet he forceth the matter so, as if all the right of his cause lay upon it. He might as well have proved, that the Indians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Tartarians, understood no Greek. It is a lewd kind of logic, so stoutly to prove that thing that needeth no proof, and to leave the thing that should be proved. The title of the cross written in three sundry languages, as it testifieth that the nations of the east part of the world spake not all one tongue, which thing is not of any wise man denied, so it proveth plainly against M. Harding, that the death of Christ should be published in all tongues. For as Albertus and Lyra, M. Harding's own doctors, have witnessed, writing upon the

Natur. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 5.



same; "Therefore was the title, by God's special provision, drawn in the three principal languages, *ut omnes, qui de diversis orbis partibus venerant, possent illum legere*: 'that all they, that were then come to Jerusalem out of sundry parts of the world, might be able to read it.'" St. Hierom likewise saith, the same title was so written, *In testimonium universarum gentium*: "For the witness of all nations." For it was the will of God, that "every tongue should confess that Christ is the Lord in the glory of the Father."

Albertus [xi. p. 309.] et Lyra in 19. cap. Johan.

Hieron. in Esay. lib. 7. cap. 20. [cap. 19. iii. p. 187.]

Wherein M. Harding much abridgeth the glory of the cross of Christ, that would the title thereof to pertain only to the wise and learned of the Greeks. For Albertus and Lyra say, "It was so written that all might read it." And as St. Hierom saith, "For witness of all nations." Neither can we find, that there was any great number of philosophers present at Christ's death, to read that title. As for St. Augustine, by these words, *sapientes Græcorum*, he understandeth, "all the Greeks." For, as all the Jews generally gloried of the law, even so all the Greeks generally gloried in their wisdom. And St. Paul saith generally of them both: *Judæi signum quæerunt: Græci sapientiam*: 1 Cor. i. 22. "The Jews call for signs and miracles: and the Greeks call for knowledge." And therefore one of the philosophers said, In old times there were seven wise men among the Greeks, but now there are not so many fools: for that they all gloried in their wisdom.

The people of Lycaonia spake unto Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiv. 11. Lycaonice: "ergo," saith M. Harding, "they spake no Greek." But what if St. Luke had said, they spake Ionice, Æolice, or Dorice, which tongues were adjoining fast upon Lycaonia; would he therefore conclude, they spake no Greek? Verily if a man by way of contention would say, the Lycaonical tongue was a corruption or difference of the Greek tongue, and not a several tongue of itself, M. Harding should have much ado to prove the contrary. Doubtless, they worshipped Jupiter and Mercury, that were the gods of the Greeks, and had the Greek sacrifice, as it manifestly appeareth by the words of St. Luke, and it

may be credibly gathered, that Paul and Barnabas spake to them in Greek. Howbeit, whether it were so, or otherwise, saving that M. Harding maketh the matter so certain, it importeth nothing.

Acts xiv.

But this one thing, good reader, I give thee further to consider. These Lycaonians, as M. Harding confesseth, and as plainly appeareth by St. Luke, being yet infidels, made their prayers unto their idols, Jupiter and Mercury, in their own tongue. And may it anywise seem likely, that the same, being afterward become Christians, made their prayers unto Almighty God and to Christ his Son in a strange tongue? If it behove idolaters to understand their own prayers, much more it behoveth the people of God to do the like. Certainly if the same Lycaonians were now alive, they would reprove M. Harding's error in their own tongue.

The blazing of the young emperor Gordian's grave with five sundry languages, like as it was needless in this place, as all the rest, the matter being confessed, even so it weigheth very much against M. Harding's side. For if the barbarous soldiers, of their duty and allegiance towards their prince, thought his death worthy to be published in so many tongues, what may then be thought of them, that cannot suffer the death of Christ to be published in any one tongue? And if they so furnished a mortal man's memory, as Capitolinus saith, *ut ab omnibus legeretur*: "that it might be read of all men;" why then do these men so hide and bury the immortal memory of the glory of Christ, that, saving themselves, they would have it to be read and seen of no man?

The allegation of the Persians' and Syrians' letters; of the tongue used about Palmyra; of epistles written in the Egyptians' tongue by Antonius, in the Syrian tongue by Bardesanes, Ephrem, Isaac and Samuel; of Mithridates the king of Pontus, that was able to answer two and twenty nations, that were his subjects, without an interpreter; of the resort of three hundred sundry nations unto the city called Dioscurias in Colchis; and once again of the miracle of tongues and diversity of languages in the Acts of the

Apostles, hath some show and ostentation of learning, and serveth well either to fill up room, or else to reprove and control St. Hierom, for that he saith: "All the east part of the world speaketh Greek:" for against us, that neither write so, nor speak so, it maketh nothing.

We know, that by mean of the great empire, that the Greeks had gotten over many countries and kingdoms in all the east, and partly also for that the barbarous nations, whom they had subdued, had great pleasure in their philosophy, and other skilful knowledge, the Greek tongue was learned of many, and carried about into all places of that part of the world; and that Cicero therefore saith: *Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus*: "The Greek tongue is read in manner amongst all nations." And St. Augustine likewise: *Quos Paulus dixit Græcos, eos etiam gentium nomine significavit: eo quod hæc lingua maxime excellit in gentibus*: "Whom Paul called Greeks, them also he uttered by the name of the Gentiles: for that the same tongue chiefly excelleth among the Gentiles." And yet we doubt not, but there were other natural tongues and speeches too, besides the Greek; as the Egyptian, the Syrian, the Arabic, the Persian, the Bactrian, the Indian, the Armenian, the Scythian, and many others. And if I list here to dally for pleasure, and vainly to carry away the reader from the purpose, as M. Harding doth, I could say, that Themistocles a gentleman of Athens, before he presented himself unto the great king of Persia, first learned to speak the Persians' tongue; that the Nestorian heretics translated their books into the Persian, Armenian, and Syrian tongue; that St. Augustine<sup>11</sup> saith, that St. Hierom understood the Hebrew, the Greek, the Chaldee, the Latin, the Persian, the Arabic, and the Median tongue; and that St. Chrysostom saith: "So many tongues and voices there be of the Scythians, of the Thracians, of the Romans, of the Persians, of the Moors, of the Indians, of the Egyptians, and of a thousand nations beside." With many other authorities to like purpose, to avouch the

Cicero pro  
Archia.

Plutarchus  
in Themisto-  
cle.

Liberatus,  
cap. 10.

Augustin. ad  
Cyrill. [ii.  
app. 18.] ci-  
tatur a Petro  
Crinito, lib.  
5. cap. 6.  
Chrysost. in  
1 Cor. xiv.  
hom. 35. [x.  
324.]

<sup>11</sup> [The epistle referred to is not by St. Augustine.]



thing, that M. Harding so earnestly proveth, and no man denieth : that the nations of the east part of the world had several tongues, and spake not all one only tongue.

Let M. Harding therefore consider better, who they be, that, as he saith, “ deny the majesty, utility, and necessity of the gift of tongues.” For we confess, that the knowledge thereof is necessary, not only for the furtherance but also for the continuance of the gospel ; neither do we doubt but by what tongues the heathens were converted unto God, by the same tongues they made their petitions unto God ; the contrary whereof, M. Harding by his silence confesseth he cannot prove. Which notwithstanding, he passeth over the matter by these words : “ Hitherto of the Greek, and of the service in that language ;” and so endeth this piece of his treaty with a pretty untruth, having indeed proved somewhat of the tongue : but of the service, whereupon his whole cause resteth, not one word at all.

Which thing, that it may the better appear, let us lay together the parts and members of his argument. His major is this : “ All Asia the Less had the service in the Greek tongue :” the minor ; “ But many countries of the said Asia understood not the Greek tongue :” the conclusion ; “ *ergo*, many countries had their service in an unknown tongue.” The minor he warranteth but by guess only, and none otherwise : although both St. Luke in Acts xix., and also the very story of the times following, be to the contrary. The major he toucheth not at all. Therefore his syllogismus halteth down right of one side, and concludeth only upon the minor. And thus M. Harding shoreth up his strange doctrine with a strange major, a strange minor, and a strange conclusion.

M. Harding  
syllogismus.

M. HARDING : *Eleventh Division.*

Now concerning the Latin tongue, which is the learned tongue of the west. That the Latin church, or the west church, for so it is called, had the service in Latin, I grant. The chief regions and countries of the Latin church, within the foresaid six hundred years, were these : Italy, Africa, Illyric, both Pannonies, now called Hungary and Austria ; Gallia, now France ; and Spain. The country of Germany, Pole, and Sweden, and those north parts

received the faith long sithence. The countries of Britain here had received the faith in most places, but were driven from the open profession of it again by the cruel persecution of Dioclesian the emperor; at which persecution St. Alban with many others suffered martyrdom.

After that these countries had been instructed in the faith, as things grew to perfection, they had their service accordingly; no doubt such as was used in the churches, from whence their first apostles and preachers were sent. And because (73) the first preachers of the faith came to these west parts from Rome, directed some from St. Peter, some from Clement, some others afterward from other bishops of that see apostolic; they planted and set up, in the countries by them converted, the service of the church of Rome, or some other very like, and that (74) in the Latin tongue only, for aught that can be shewed to the contrary. Wherein I refer me only to the first six hundred years. Now that such service was understood of those peoples, that spake and understood Latin, no man denieth. For to some nations that was a native and a mother tongue, as the Greek was to the Grecians.

The 73rd untruth. For the first preaching of the faith in these west countries came not first from Rome. The 74th untruth. For the first preachers themselves spake no Latin.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I find no fault with M. Harding's cosmography; but, I trow, cosmography in this case maketh small proof. His proof for the Latin service hangeth upon two points. The first is, that all the faith of the west part of the world came only from the bishops of Rome. The second is, that the planters of the same faith ministered the common service every where in the Latin tongue. He knoweth well, that either of these points is untrue, and will never be proved. And somewhat to touch hereof by the way, St. Paul saith: "That he himself had filled all places with the gospel of Christ, even as far as Illyricum<sup>12</sup>;" and that not from Rome, but from Jerusalem: and promiseth, that he would pass by Rome into Spain, as, by report of some, afterward he did; and Theodoretus saith, that Paul came into this island, now called England, and here planted the gospel<sup>13</sup>.

M. Harding wittingly and willingly avoucheth untruth.

Rom. xv. 19.

Theodoret. de curand. Græc. affect.

<sup>12</sup> ["So that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ."]

<sup>13</sup> [The passage in Theodoretus, "de curandis Græcorum affectibus," to which Jewel apparently refers, does not assert, that St. Paul

came into England, but attributes to him (under the title of *ὁ σκυροτόμος*), in common with the other apostles, the conversion of Britain and other countries. See Dean Gaisford's ed. p. 341. ed. Sylburg. p. 125. l. 24.]

Beda in Hist.  
Anglo. lib. 2.  
[c. 2.]  
Galfrid. lib.  
8. cap. 4.

The like is commonly surmised, by the writers of the British Chronicles, of Joseph of Arimathæa. And, although conjectures in such antiquities be often uncertain and dark, yet it may seem very likely, that the religion of Christ came first into this island, not from Rome, but from the Greeks: both for that in the keeping of Easter-day, we followed the church of Græcia, and not the church of Rome; and also for that, when Augustine was sent in hither by Gregory, we would in no wise acknowledge or receive the bishop of Rome. As for Lazarus, Nathanael, Saturninus, that preached first in France, I have said before. Aventinus saith, Lucius, St. Paul's companion, went into Germany; and St. Paul saith, Titus went into Dalmatia.

Aventinus  
in Historia  
Boiorum.  
2 Tim. iv. 10.

It is known that the church of Rome, for certain other causes, and namely for the great state and renown of that city, even from the beginning was notable above all others, and was careful in enlarging the glory of Christ, and yielded many martyrs unto God. Yet may we not think, that all things therefore came from Rome. For Tertullian calleth Jerusalem, *matrem et fontem religionis*: "the mother and the spring of religion<sup>14</sup>." And St. Augustine saith: *Fides orta est a Græcis*: "The faith sprang first from the Greeks<sup>15</sup>."

Tertull. con-  
tra Marcion.  
lib. 2. [p.  
452.]  
August. ep.  
178. [li. app.  
p. 44.]

Now that he further saith, The planters of the faith in all these west countries made the common prayers every where in the Latin tongue; besides that it is manifestly false, as, God willing, hereafter shall well appear, it hath not, no not so much as any likelihood or show of truth.

For, good reader, consider this reason: "The planters of the faith came from Rome; ergo, they kept every where the order of Rome." If this argument would hold, then would I likewise reason thus: "The church of Rome was first planted by them that came from Græcia, or from

<sup>14</sup> [Tertullian contr. Marcion. 2. (leg. 4.) c. 35. p. 452. "Ut sciant Hierosolymis esse et sacerdotis et templum, et matricem religionis, et fontem non puteum salutis."]

<sup>15</sup> [The epistle 178 referred to, (otherwise called "Altercatio cum Pascentio,") is spurious. The passage intended seems to be this: "... in ipsa terra Græcorum, unde ubique destinata est fides."]



Jerusalem: *ergo*, Rome keepeth the order of Græcia, or of Jerusalem." But M. Harding, presuming this of himself, without other proof, that the churches of these countries followed the order of the church of Rome, concludeth further: *Ergo*, "they had their service in Latin, as had the church of Rome." Every child seeth that this is a fallax, or a deceitful argument, called, *A secundum quid ad simpliciter*. He might as well have said thus: "They followed the order of the church of Rome: *ergo*, they had their exhortations and sermons in Latin: for so had the church of Rome." But is M. Harding so unadvised, or so negligent in his matters, that he seeth not how aptly his own argument reboundeth upon himself? Verily of this ground we may in good forms and truly reason thus: "These churches of the west followed the order of the church of Rome." (This he himself hath taken as an undoubted truth.)

"But the church of Rome had the service in the natural known tongue," (which thing he himself also granteth:)

"*Ergo*, these churches of the west had the service in the natural known tongue."

This argument is sound and perfect, and without fallax.

Again, he might easily have seen, that, of his own position and principle, another necessary argument might soon grow against him in this wise:

"All churches, that received their faith from Rome, kept the orders of the church of Rome:"

"But the church of England followed not the orders of the church of Rome:" as it is most manifest by the keeping of the Easter-day, and by refusing of the bishop there, as it is already proved: "*ergo*, the church of England received not her faith from the church of Rome." If M. Harding had better advised himself, he would not have built upon these grounds.

M. HARDING: *Twelfth Division.*

M. Jewel<sup>16</sup>, alleging for the having of the prayers and service in a vulgar tongue, (as for England in the English, for Ireland in the Irish, for Dutchland in the Dutch tongue, &c.) authorities

<sup>16</sup> [See the controversy with Cole; ante, vol. i. p. 92.]

and examples of the churches, (where, in the time of the primitive church, the Greek and Latin tongue was the usual and common tongue of the people,) bringeth nothing for proof of that which lieth in controversy. "Arnobius," saith he, "called the Latin tongue, *Sermonem Italum*: S. Ambrose in Milan, St. Augustine in Africa, St. Gregory in Rome, preached in Latin, and the people understood them." What then? No man denieth you this. "St. Basil also speaketh of a sound, which the men, women, and children made in their prayers to God, like the sound of a wave striking the sea banks." What can you conclude of this necessarily, M. Jewel? All this may be understood of the sounding that one word, *Amen*, answered at the prayer's end, which is done now by the quire, and may be done by the people also, in the lower part of the church. For St. Hierom leadeth us so to think: who, commending the devotion of the people of Rome, saith in like manner: *Ubi sic ad similitudinem cœlestis tonitru, Amen reboat, et vacua idolorum templa quatiuntur?* "Where else are the churches and the sepulchres of martyrs, with so fervent devotion, and with so great company resorted unto?" (which words go before) "Where doth *Amen* give so loud a sound like the thunderclap out of the air, so as the temples, emptied of idols, shake with it, as at Rome?"

"The people speaketh with the priest at the mystical prayers," saith Chrysostom, alleged by M. Jewel. What then? So was it long before, even in the apostles' time, as we read in Clement, and likewise in St. Cyprian, in Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, and many other. So is it now. For he shall find in the old fathers, that to *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*, (which Chrysostom speaketh of,) to *Dominus vobiscum*, (so light as they make of it,) to *Sursum corda*, and to *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*, the people answered, (75) as now also they answer, *Amen; Et cum spiritu tuo; Habemus ad Dominum; Dignum et justum est.*

The 75th untruth. For it is not so now. M. Harding knoweth, the people now answereth not the priest.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding taketh in hand to answer the authorities by me alleged, and that with this special note of remembrance in the margin, "M. Jewel's allegation soluted." It appeareth, his solutions be very short. For, whatsoever authority be alleged, it is sufficient for him to say, "What then?" For, whereas I said, the common service and ministration in the churches of Rome and Milan, and other places within Italy, was pronounced unto the people in Latin, for that then the Latin tongue was the common natural speech of that country, and that therefore Arnobius calleth the same Latin tongue *Sermonem Italum*: and further said, that long after that time, St. Ambrose in

M. Jewel's allegations soluted.

Hexaemeron. hom. 4. [1. 39.]

In 2. Procemio Comment ad Galatas. [iv. 255.]

† Constitut. Apostolicarum lib. 8. cap. 16.

In Oracionibus mystagogicis.

Milan, St. Augustine in Africa, and St. Gregory in Rome, preached unto the vulgar people in Latin, and in the same tongue ministered the common prayers; all this is soon answered; for M. Harding saith, "What then?"

I alleged the saying of St. Basil, "That the sound of men, women, and children praying in the church together, seemed like the sound of the waves beating against the sea banks<sup>17</sup>;" the saying of St. Hierom, "That the noise of the people sounding out *Amen* together, was like the sound of a thunder<sup>18</sup>;" likewise the saying of Chrysostom:.....  
*Communes preces et a populo, et a sacerdote fiunt, et omnes unam dicunt orationem..... Bene precatur sacerdos populo, et bene precatur populus sacerdoti, &c.* : "Common petitions be made together, both of the people and of the priest, all together say one prayer. The priest wisheth well unto the people, and the people unto the priest<sup>19</sup>." But, "What then," saith M. Harding? Why, "What then?" Thinketh M. Harding, that the authority of Arnobius, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Basil, St. Hierom, St. Chrysostom, and other holy fathers is so light, that he is able to blow them all away with these two vain syllables, "what then?" He will say: "I grant you the prayers were used in the Greek and Latin tongue. But ye have not proved the same of any other tongue that was barbarous." I have

Basil. Hexaemer. 4. [i. 39.]

Hieron. in secundo Proœmio ad Galat. [iv. 255.]

Chrysost. 2 Cor. hom. 18. [x. 568.]

<sup>17</sup> [Basil. Hexaemer. hom. 4. Εἰ δὲ θάλασσα καλὴ καὶ ἐπαινετὴ τῷ Θεῷ, πῶς οὐχὶ καλλίων ἐκκλησίας τοιαύτης σύλλογος, ἐν ἣ συμμιγῆς ἦχος, οἷον τινος κύματος ἡίου προσφερομένου, ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ νηπίων, κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν δέησεις, ἐκπέμπεται.]

<sup>18</sup> [Hieronym. in 2<sup>o</sup> Proœm. ad Galatas. "Romanæ plebis laudatur fides. . . Ubi sic ad similitudinem cælestis tonitruum Amen reboat et vacua idolorum templa quatiuntur?" If, as it would appear, both Jewel and Harding are referring to the controversy with Cole, (vol. i. p. 92,) as well as to the sermon at Paul's Cross, Jewel is mistaken in thinking that in either case he actually quoted

these words of St. Jerome's.]

<sup>19</sup> [Chrysost. 2 Cor. hom. 18. Καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς δὲ πολὺ τὸν λαὸν ἴδοι τις ἂν συνεισφέροντα. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, κοιναὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαῖ· καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τὴν ἐλεῶν γέμουσαν. . . ἐπ' αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν φρικοδεσπτάτων μυστήριων ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ λαῷ, ἐπεύχεται δὲ ὁ λαὸς τῷ ἱερεί. τὸ γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ πνευματός σου, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστίν, ἢ τοῦτο· τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας πάλιν κοινά. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εὐχαριστεῖ μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας, κ. τ. λ. It will be perceived that, towards the latter part, the original differs from the Latin translation which Jewel used.]



already proved the same of the Syrian tongue, which is neither Greek nor Latin: and therefore by M. Harding's judgment, mere barbarous. Hereafter, God willing, I shall shew the like largely and at full, of other tongues. In the mean season, it may stand M. Harding in good stead, if it shall please him to shew these privileges granted unto the Greek and Latin tongue, and how they be specially sanctified above others: that in them only we may make our common petitions unto God, and in other tongues we may not make them. Touching the place of St. Basil, and the other of St. Chrysostom, M. Harding answereth so, as though he had no great regard what he say. For he avoucheth that thing for true, that the simplest of all the people knoweth to be apparent false, that is, "That the people now answereth the priest in the time of the holy mysteries, as they did in Chrysostom's time." "The people," saith he, "answered then, as now also they answer." He taketh no shame to say, "The people answereth the priest," and yet knoweth, that the people answereth not the priest. Thus by this resolution, he answereth, that answereth nothing. He answereth, that knoweth not, neither what is demanded, nor what to answer. To be short, he answereth, that holdeth his peace; and so, answering and not answering, in M. Harding's judgment, is all one thing. But St. Chrysostom saith: *Et cum spiritu tuo, nihil aliud est, quam ea, quæ sunt eucharisticæ, communia sunt omnia. Neque enim ille solus gratias agit, sed populus omnis*: "The Lord be with thy spirit," which words the whole people answereth unto the priest, "is nothing else to say, but, The things that pertain to thanksgiving, are all common. For it is not the priest only that giveth thanks, but also all the people." Likewise St. Ambrose: *Imperitus.....nescit finem orationis, et non respondet Amen, id est, Verum sit, ut firmetur benedictio. Per hoc enim impletur confirmatio precis, cum respondetur Amen, et omnia dicta rei testimonio in audientium animis confirmantur*: "The ignorant knoweth not the end of the prayer, and answereth not, *Amen*, that is to say, 'So be it,' that the blessing may be confirmed. For there-

The privilege  
of the Greek  
and Latin  
tongue.

M. Harding  
avoucheth  
open un-  
truth.

Chrysost. in  
2. ad Cor.  
hom. 18. [x.  
568.]

† Ambros.  
in 1 Cor. xiv.  
[il. app. 157.]

by the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled, when *Amen* is answered, and all the words that be spoken, by the testimony of the thing itself are confirmed in the minds of the hearers." Thus in Chrysostom's time the whole people and the priest in their common service talked and prayed together.

M. HARDING: *Thirteenth Division.*

As for the place he allegeth out of St. Augustine upon the Psalms, it maketh nothing for his purpose. St. Augustine's words be these, otherwise than he reporteth them: *Quid hoc sit, intelligere debemus, ut humana ratione, non quasi avium voce, cantemus. Nam et merulae, et psittaci, et corvi, et picæ, et hujuscemodi volucres, sæpe ab hominibus docentur sonare, quod nesciunt*: "Having prayed to God," saith St. Augustine, "that he make us clean of our privy sins, &c. we ought to understand what this is, that we may sing with man's reason, not with voice, as birds do. For ousels, popinjays, ravens and pies, and such the like birds, oftentimes be taught of men to sound they know not what." These words are to be taken of the understanding of the sense, not of the tongue, which the service is sung in. For the people of Hippo, where he was bishop, understood the Latin tongue meanly. Which sense cannot rightly and safely be attained of the common people, but is better and more wholesomely taught, by the preaching of the learned bishops and priests.

A bare gloss.  
For St. Augustine  
speaketh of  
praying, and  
not of  
preaching.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

First he saith, St. Augustine's words be otherwise than I report them. I assure thee, good reader, if this great error had been worth the shewing, it had never been suffered thus to pass in silence.

But to shift off St. Augustine's words, here is brought in a gloss plain contrary to the text. "For this comparison," saith M. Harding, "between men and birds must be taken, not of the words, but of the sense and understanding." And what reason leadeth him thus to say? Verily birds are utterly void of reason, and neither understand the words they be taught to speak, nor the meaning of the words. And yet must we, only upon this simple warrant, needs believe, that St. Augustine compareth birds with men in understanding?

St. Augustine's meaning is plain, as is the meaning of other godly fathers in this behalf, "That the people should

know what they pray, and so sing with reason agreeable to a man, and not chatter with voice as birds do. For if they sing or pray they know not what, he saith, that for their sound of voice, and want of sense, they may be well compared with ousels or popinjays." This is the very drift of St. Augustine's meaning. Birds by skill may be trained to record and sound men's words, although they have no understanding of them; as Plinius writeth of the raven, that was taught to say, *Ave Cæsar imperator*: "All hail emperor Cæsar;" another that had learned to say, *Salve victor Antoni*: "All hail Antonius the conqueror." And Cælius Rhodiginus writeth, that cardinal Ascanius had a popinjay, that could pronounce distinctly all the articles of the creed. With such birds let us compare such men as pray they know not what. "They be taught to sound words, but understand not the meaning of them: neither sing they with reason agreeable to a man." Whether these words agree aptly to my purpose, or no, let M. Harding himself be the judge. Certainly he shall have much to do, to rack them to serve for his purpose. Unless perhaps he will reason thus: "St. Augustine exhorteth men to know what they pray: *ergo*, they may pray in an unknown tongue." Or thus: "St. Augustine willeth men not to sing or chatter like birds: *ergo*, they may pray, they know not what."

Cælius Rhodigin. [antiqu. lection.] lib. 3. cap. 32.

And, if we receive M. Harding's gloss of "sense and understanding," yet standeth he in case, as he did before. For, if the people understand not the words, much less can they understand the sense and meaning of the same words. Aristotle saith, hearing is the peculiar sense of learning: and therefore they that hear never, can never learn. And Cicero saith: *Sententia constare non potest, si verba semoveris*: "Remove the words, and their meaning cannot stand." Therefore this shift helpeth nothing. Unless he think this is a good argument: "The people ought to understand the meaning of their prayers: *ergo*, they need not to understand the words." St. Augustine's meaning appeareth in the next words that immediately follow: *Scienter cantare, naturæ hominis divina voluntate*

Cic. de Oratore.

August. in Psalm. xviii. [Enarr. 2. iv. 81.]



*concessum est* : “To sing with understanding, is granted, through God’s will, unto the nature of man.” And therefore thus he exhorteth the people: *Charissimi, quod consona voce cantavimus, sereno etiam corde nosse et tenere debemus* : “Dearly beloved, that we have sung together with tunable voice, we must understand and keep with pure heart.” But this can we not do, unless we understand what we pray. Therefore St. Basil saith: *Lingua cantet; mens autem scrutetur sensum eorum quæ dicuntur* : “Let thy tongue sing: but let thy mind search out the meaning of the things that thou speakest.”

Basil. in Ps. xxviii. [1. 123.]

M. HARDING : Fourteenth Division.

The commandment of Justinian the emperor, which M. Jewel allegeth<sup>20</sup>, that bishops and priests should celebrate the holy oblation, or sacrifice, which we call the mass, not closely, but with utterance, and sound of voice, that they might be heard of the people, maketh nothing for the service to be had in the English tongue, in the church of England, or in any other vulgar tongue, in the church of any other nation; but requireth only of the bishops and priests, open pronouncing, vocal, not mental: speaking, not whispering, with the breath only, in the celebration of the holy sacrifice, and other service. Wherein he agreeth with St. Augustine, who, in his book *De Magistro*, saith, that when we pray, there is no need of speaking, unless perhaps we do as priests do, who when they pray (in public assembly) use speaking for cause of signifying their mind, that is, to shew that they pray, not to the intent God, but men may hear, and with a certain consent, through putting in mind (by sound of voice) may be lifted up unto God. Thus much St. Augustine there. And this is the right meaning of that constitution. (76) And thus he ordained for the Greek church only, and thereto only it is to be referred, for that some thought the sacrifice should be celebrated rather with silence, (77) after the manner of the church of Rome, specially at the consecration. And as that constitution pertained to the Greeks, and not to the Latins, so was it not found in the Latin books, until Gregorius Haloander of Germany, of late years translated the place. And where M. Jewel allegeth this commandment of Justinian, against the having of the service in a learned tongue, unknown to the common people, it is to be noted, how he demeaneth himself not uprightly, but so as every man may thereby know a scholar of Luther, Calvin, and Peter Martyr. For whereas, by the allegation of that ordinance, he might seem

The 76th untruth. For it touched the whole empire. The 77th untruth. For the priests in Rome prayed aloud, as appeareth by St. Hierom, Leo, Ambrose, &c.

De Ecclesiasticis diversis Capitulis. Constitutione 123. Greg. Haloandro interprete. Nam in veteri translatione nihil tale habetur. *μετὰ φωνῆς*. cap. 1. [August. de Magistro, cap. 1. 1. 542.]

<sup>20</sup> [See Sermon at Paul’s Cross, vol. i. p. 12, and the controversy with Cole, p. 92.]

to bring somewhat that maketh for the blessed sacrifice of the church, commonly named the mass, he dissembleth the word of the sacrifice, which Justinian putteth expressly, τὴν θείαν προσκομιδὴν, *id est, divinam oblationem*, "the divine or holy oblation," and termeth it otherwise in his replies, by the name of "common prayers;" and in his sermon, by the name of "the words of the ministrations," refusing the word of the church, no less than he refuseth to be a member of the church. Thus through foisting and cogging their die, and other false play, these new perilous teachers deceive many poor souls, and rob them of the sure simplicity of their faith. And where was this commandment given? In Constantinople, the chief city of Greece, where the Greek tongue was commonly known.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The gloss, that M. Harding hath here imagined, wherewith to defeat this good emperor's whole purpose, may seem somewhat unto the ignorant.

"Justinian," saith he, "speaketh of the open utterance and sound of voice, and agreeth with St. Augustine's place, *De Magistro*: therefore it nothing toucheth prayers to be had in the vulgar tongue." Here is a very vulgar conclusion, as, I trust, hereafter it shall appear. Good Christian reader, if it shall please thee only to peruse these words of the emperor Justinian, and of St. Augustine, by us alleged, I will make thee judge and arbitrou of the whole.

St. Augustine saith, "We need no utterance of voice, to pray unto God. For the sacrifice of justice is sanctified in the temple of our mind, and in the secret chamber of our heart." As Clemens Alexandrinus also saith: "God looketh not for the voices of our tongues to declare our meaning: for before our creation he knoweth what thoughts would come into our minds." And therefore God saith in the prophet Esay: *Antequam clament, ego exaudiam*: "I will hear them, yea before they cry."

Hereupon St. Augustine demandeth this question<sup>21</sup>:

<sup>21</sup> [August. de Magistro, cap. 1.  
"Ubi putas sacrificium justitiæ  
"sacrificari, nisi in templo mentis  
"et in cubilibus cordis? Ubi autem  
"sacrificandum est, ibi et orandum  
"Quare non opus est locutione  
"cum oramus, id est sonantibus  
"verbis; nisi forte sicut sacerdotes

"faciunt, significandæ mentis suæ  
"causa, non ut Deus sed ut ho-  
"mines audiant, et consensione  
"quadam per commemorationem  
"suspendantur in Deum." It  
will be seen that the question  
stated in the text was not express-  
ed by St. Augustine, but implied.]

[August. de  
Magistro,  
cap. 1. tom.  
i. p. 542.]

Clem. Strom.  
lib. 7. [p.  
856.]

Isa. lxxv. 24.

“Wherefore then doth the priest lift up his voice, and pray aloud, in the open assembly in the church?” He answereth: “Not that God, but that men may hear him: that the people, by the sound of his voice, and understanding his meaning, may be put in mind, and by consent be joined together, and be lifted up to God.” This is the very meaning and mind of St. Augustine, agreeing fully with these words of St. Cyprian<sup>22</sup>: “The priest before prayer prepareth the minds of his brethren, saying thus: ‘Lift up your hearts:’ to the intent.....they may be put in mind, they ought to think of nothing else, but of the Lord. ....For not the sound of voice, but the mind and understanding, must pray unto the Lord with pure intention.”

Cypr. de  
Orat. Domi-  
nic. [p.  
213.]

“All this,” saith M. Harding, “pertaineth to the sense and understanding of the prayer, and nothing to the vulgar tongue.” And doth he think the people can understand the prayer without understanding of the tongue? St. Augustine, if he were alive, would be ashamed to see such a comment upon his words. He saith further: “The priest lifteth up his voice, not that the people may understand him, but only for a token, to shew that he prayeth.” And thus he maketh the minister of God worse than a brazen trumpet, which, if it give no certain sound, as St. Paul <sup>1 Cor. xiv. 8.</sup> saith, no man can prepare himself to war. This is the just judgment of God, that whoso seeketh to blind others, shall be given over, and become blind himself.

And, notwithstanding St. Augustine’s mind, concerning the speaking of the priest, be plain in itself, yet afterward in the same book he openeth it in this manner more at large: *Constat inter nos, verba esse signa: at signum, nisi aliquid significet, non est signum*: “We are agreed upon this, that the words we speak be tokens. But a token, unless it betoken something, is no token.” Now if the

August. de  
Magistro.  
[i. p. 542.]

<sup>22</sup> [Cyprian de Orat. Dom. “Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo ‘Sursum corda,’ ut, dum respondet plebs ‘Habemus ad Dominum,’ ad-

“moneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere.... quando Domino debeat non vocis sonus sed animus et sensus orare.”]



priest, after M. Harding's construction, utter his words, which are the tokens of his meaning, in an unknown tongue, and the people understand not what is tokened, according to St. Augustine's meaning, he speaketh, and yet saith nothing; and sheweth tokens, and yet tokeneth nothing. Further, St. Augustine's words be clear: "The priest in the assembly speaketh aloud," *significandæ mentis causa, ut homines audiant, &c.*, "to the end to declare his mind, that men may hear him, and by the sound of his voice be put in remembrance." But M. Harding saith, "No, the priest speaketh not aloud, to the intent to declare his mind, neither that men may hear him, nor be put in remembrance, but only to give a token that he prayeth." And thus by his gloss he utterly destroyeth the text.

Now let us resolve both St. Augustine's and Justinian's words into their causes, which is an infallible way of understanding. The end of them both is, according to the doctrine of St. Paul, that the people may say, *Amen*. Then further: "The people must answer *Amen*, unto the prayer: then must they understand the prayer." Yet further: "The people must understand the prayer: then must the priest utter the same prayer both with a loud voice, and also in the people's vulgar tongue." Let us again resolve it forward. The priest, by M. Harding's judgment, may pray openly in a strange tongue: then he needeth not to speak aloud. He speaketh not aloud: then cannot the people understand him. The people understandeth not the priest: then can they not say, *Amen*. Thus M. Harding must needs conclude his gloss with the open breach of St. Paul's doctrine.

M. Harding saith further: "This law took place only in Constantinople, and not in the church of Rome." And so he coucheth two manifest untruths together in one sentence. But what? will he say, Justinian was not emperor of Rome, or had nothing to do in the church of Rome? Verily, he writeth himself the emperor of Rome, of France, of Almaine, and Germany, &c.; and deposed two bishops of Rome, Silverius, and Vigilius; whereof it may appear, he had somewhat to do in the church of Rome.

The resolution of M. Harding's reason.

M. Harding uttereth two untruths in one sentence.

In 2. tom. Concil. in Vita Vigili.

Touching this constitution, the law saith: *Generaliter dictum, generaliter est accipiendum*: "The thing that is spoken generally, must be taken generally." And it is commonly said: *Ubi lex non distinguit, nos distinguere non debemus*: "Where the law maketh no distinction, there ought we to make no distinction." And what reason hath M. Harding, or what witness more than his own, that this only law took no place in the church of Rome? Certainly the rest of the same novel constitutions were made not only for Constantinople, or for Rome, but also for the whole empire. And the emperor Justinian in the same title saith thus: "Whatsoever things, touching this matter, were needful for this imperial city of Constantinople, we have comprised in a special law for the same." But what needeth many words? The emperor himself calleth the constitution that concerneth the clergy, a law general, by these words: *Κοινῶ τε, καὶ γενικῶ νόμῳ* [al. *ἡγεμονικῶ*] *περὶ χειροτονίας, &c. διευτώσαμεν*: "We have enacted by a general and a common law." And in the Code, entreating namely of bishops and clerks, he hath these words: *Et hoc non solum in veteri Roma, vel in hac regia civitate, sed et in omni terra, ubicunque Christianorum nomen colitur, obtinere sancimus*: "This law we will have to take place, not only in the city of old Rome, or in this imperial city (of Constantinople), but also in all the world, wheresoever the name of Christians is had in honour."

And how can M. Harding make himself so sure, that the church of Rome was never subject to this law? Certainly, both by Leo bishop of Rome, and also by St. Ambrose bishop of Milan<sup>23</sup>, and other holy fathers, it appeareth otherwise. St. Augustine saith of the church of Rome<sup>24</sup>: *Unum psalmum cantamus, unum Amen respondemus*: "We sing one psalm, and we answer one *Amen*." St. Hierom saith: "Even in Rome, at the end of the prayer, the people so sounded out *Amen*, as if it had been a thunderclap."

<sup>23</sup> [The work "de Sacramentis," formerly attributed to St. Ambrose, is now considered not to be genuine. See vol. i. p. 183.]

<sup>24</sup> [There seems no reason for supposing, that Augustine is speaking of the church of Rome.]

De legatis  
pres. con.  
tab. bon.  
poss. pe. lib.  
i. Generaliter.  
[Gloss.  
tom. ii. In-  
fortiat.]  
[Tom. i.  
Digestum  
Vetus, lib. 6.  
Gloss.]

De Eccles.  
diversis  
Capitulis.  
*πάντα εἰδικῶ  
περιελάβο-  
μεν νόμῳ.*

In auth.  
Collat. 1. ut  
determ. sit  
numer. Cler.  
[tom. v.]

In Cod. de  
Episcop. et  
Cleric. Gene-  
raliter [san-  
cimus. tom.  
i.]

Leo de Jeju-  
nio, 7. men.  
ser. 6. [i.  
360.]

Ambr. de  
Sacram. lib.  
4. cap. 5. [ii.  
371.]

Aug. in  
Psalm. liv.  
[iv. 510.]  
Hier. in  
Præfat. Lib.  
2. ad Galat.  
[iv. 255.]

Again, if this constitution served only for the Greek church, and only the priests there spake aloud, and the others of the Latin church spake in silence, how then doth M. Harding expound this law of Justinian by the words of St. Augustine, who, as he supposeth, did the contrary, and was never subject unto that law? Or how can he make contrarieties agree together? Hath he so soon forgotten himself? Or will he expound speaking by silence, or singing out by whispering?

M. Harding  
forgetteth  
himself.

To conclude, Justinian saith, "These constitutions were general;" M. Harding alone saith, "They were not general." Justinian saith, "They took place in all the world;" M. Harding alone saith, "They took place only in Constantinople." St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Hierom, Leo, and others say, "They were observed in the church of Rome;" M. Harding alone saith, "They were never observed in the church of Rome." If he will thus deceive us in plain things, how may we then trust him in doubtful things?

Gregorius  
Haloander.

Gregorius Haloander, whom M. Harding seemeth to touch with corruption of these laws, was a learned man, and a faithful translator; and for his diligence deserved thanks, and therefore needeth no excuse. He addeth nothing more than is to be found in the original. In M. Harding's old translation, even in this same very title, *De Ecclesiasticis diversis Capitulis*, there wanteth a whole leaf, or more, at the beginning, that is found extant in the Greek.

Touching "cogging and foisting," I marvel M. Harding, being so grave a man, would borrow ruffians' terms to scoff withal. As for the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, which is represented unto us in the holy communion, we believe it with our hearts, and confess it with our mouths. Concerning this word *oblatio*, he knoweth well, I translated not the place, but only touched it; neither had I then any manner occasion to speak of the sacrifice, but only of prayers; which thing also I did without any cogging, or any other sleight, following these very words of Justinian: *καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προσεύχας μετὰ φωνῆς προσφέρειν*: that is to



say, "to offer up other prayers also with loud voice." Neither did I avouch any untruth by Justinian, as M. Harding hath here done by Justinian and St. Augustine both together. I know the holy ministration is named of the holy fathers sundry ways: "the supper of the Lord; the Lord's table; the communion; the mystery; the sacrament; the mystical table; the thanksgiving; the oblation;" and "the sacrifice." Neither is there any of these names but we use indifferently, as occasion serveth.

Now, forso much as M. Harding taketh occasion, for that I passed this place of Justinian so shortly over, only touching it with one word, as the time then forced me, I think it not amiss, for the better contentation of the reader, to lay it out fully, as it lieth. His words be these: "We com-<sup>Authen. Con-</sup>mand all bishops and priests, to minister the holy oblation, <sup>stitut 123.</sup> and the prayer at the holy baptism, not under silence, but with such voice as may be heard of the faithful people; to the intent, that thereof the hearts of the hearers may be stirred to more devotion, and honour giving to God the Lord. For so the holy apostle teacheth, saying in the first Epistle to the Corinthians: 'For if thou only bless with <sup>1 Cor. xiv. 16.</sup> the spirit, how shall he that supplieth the room of the ignorant say Amen (to God) at thy thanksgiving? for he <sup>τῷ Θεῷ.</sup> knoweth not what thou sayest. Thou givest thanks well: but the other is not edified.'.....

"For these causes therefore it behoveth, that the prayer at the holy oblation, and also other prayers, be offered with loud voice of the holy bishops and priests, unto our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Father and the Holy Ghost. And let the holy priests understand, that if they neglect any of these things, they shall make answer therefore at the dreadful judgment of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ. And yet nevertheless, we, understanding the same, will not pass it over, nor leave it unpunished<sup>25</sup>."

<sup>25</sup> [It is to be observed, that there is much discrepancy between the different copies of this constitution, in the original as well as in the Latin translation. In the edition by H. Scrimgerus (1558), a

whole page is left out, containing amongst other matters the following passage to which Jewel refers, and which is found in the Greek edition of Haloander. Πρὸς τοῦτοις δὲ κελεύομεν, πάντας ἐπισκό-

Here we see, it is lawful for a godly prince, to command bishops and priests; to make laws and orders for the church; to redress the abuses of the sacraments; to allege the scriptures; to threaten and punish bishops and priests, if they offend.

Now if these words of Justinian make not for us, and that without foisting or cogging, much less make they for M. Harding, unless he will form his reasons thus:

The priest must speak aloud:

*Ergo*, he may speak in an unknown tongue.

Or thus: The people must hear the prayer, and answer, *Amen*:

*Ergo*, they need not to understand it.

To be short, whereas, to the intent to bring God's truth out of credit, and to make it odious among the ignorant, he saith, "We have refused to be the members of the church of God;" this is only a bitterness of talk, inflamed with malice, whereof it seemeth he wanteth no store, and neither furthereth his cause among the wise, nor hindereth ours. If we be no members of the church, that wish all the people every where to understand what they pray, to join their hearts together, and to be lifted up unto God, what then be they, that wish all the church to be drowned in ignorance, and the people to know nothing? If St. Paul were now alive, he would answer him as sometime he answered Elymas. For certainly he himself knoweth, Acts xlii. 10. "that he wilfully perverteth the manifest way of the Lord."

πους τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους μὴ κατὰ τὸ σεσιωπημένον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φωνῆς τῷ πιστοτάτῳ λαῷ ἑξακοομένης τὴν θείαν προσκομιδὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι προσευχὴν ποιεῖσθαι, πρὸς τὸ κἀντεῦθεν τὰς τῶν ἀκούοντων ψυχὰς εἰς πλείονα καταναγξίω καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην θεὸν διανίστασθαι δοξολογίαν· οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος διδάσκει λέγων ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους πρώτῃ ἐπιστολῇ, κ. τ. λ. . . . Διὰ ταῦτα τοῖνυν προσήκει τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἁγία

προσκομιδῇ, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προσευχὰς μετὰ φωνῆς παρὰ τῶν ὀσιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων προσφέρεσθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· γνωσκόντων τῶν ὀσιωτάτων ἱερέων, ὡς εἶπερ τι τούτων παρίδοιεν, καὶ τῇ φοβερᾷ κρίσει τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπολογήσονται, καὶ οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ταῦτα γνώσκοντες ἐφρησυχάσομεν, ἧ ἀνεκδίκητα καταλίψομεν. P. 344.]

## M. HARDING: Fifteenth Division.

That emperor had dominion over some nations, that understood not the Greek commonly. Yet no man can tell of any constitution that ever he made, for service there to be had in their vulgar and barbarous tongue. So many nations having been converted to the faith, the common people whereof understood neither Greek nor Latin; if the having of the service in their vulgar tongue had been thought necessary to their salvation, the fathers, that sticked not to bestow their blood for their flocks, would not have spared that small pain and travail, to put their service in vulgar tongues. If it had been necessary, it had been done; if it had been done, it had been mentioned by one or other.

It appeareth by Arnobius upon the Psalms, by Epiphanius writing against heresies, and by St. Augustine in his books, *De Doctrina Christiana*, that, by account of the antiquity, there were seventy-two tongues in the world. Cicero saith, that they be in number infinite. Of them all (78) neither M. Jewel, nor any one of his side, is able to shew, that the public service of the church in any nation was ever, for the space of six hundred years after Christ, in any other than in Greek and Latin.

The 78th untruth. For it shall appear, that we are able to shew manifest examples to the contrary.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Arnobius, St. Augustine, and Epiphanius say, there be threescore and twelve sundry languages in the world; Cicero saith, they be infinite. Here must I note by the way, that Cicero's words well alleged do utterly confound M. Harding's doctrine of hearing that thing that the hearers understand not, in such sort as he maintaineth the hearing of mass. For thus he saith: *In his linguis, quas non intelligimus, quæ sunt innumerabiles, surdi profecto sumus*: "In those tongues that we understand not, which be innumerable, certainly we be deaf." By which words M. Harding might perceive, that the simple people, hearing him at his mass, is stark deaf, and heareth nothing. "Yet," saith M. Harding, "is not M. Jewel able to shew, that ever the public service was in any other tongue than in Greek or Latin." And thus, being required by me, to shew any one example, that the people had their common service in a strange tongue, and, as it appeareth, not able to shew any, he altereth cunningly the whole case, and willeth me to shew. Which thing notwithstanding I might justly refuse to do, by the order of any schools, yet am I well

Cicero in Tusc. Questionibus. [lib. 5. 40.]

Psalm. civ. lib. 1. [p. 141.]

Contra Hæres. hæres. 39.

In Tuscul. Q.



content to yield to his request, both for the goodness and pregnancy of the cause, and also specially, good Christian reader, for the better contentation of thy mind ; not doubting, but of thyself thou wilt be able to find some distrust and want in M. Harding's side : who, notwithstanding so many words, and so great vaunts, yet is able to shew nothing.

And to avoid multitude of words, the case being plain, Eckius saith : " The Indians had their service in the Indian tongue." Durandus saith : " The Jews that were christened, had their service in the Hebrew tongue<sup>26</sup>." Yet was neither of these tongues either Greek or Latin.

Eckius in  
Locis Com-  
munibus.  
[art. 37.]  
Durand. lib.  
4. cap. 1.

Nicola. Lyra,  
et Thomas  
in 1 ad Cor.  
xiv.

Nicolas Lyra and Thomas of Aquine say : " The common service in the primitive church was in the common vulgar tongue<sup>27</sup>."

By these few it may appear, it was but a bravery, that M. Harding said, " Neither M. Jewel, nor any of that side, is able to shew, that the public service was in any other tongue than in Greek or Latin." For it is easy to be shewed, even by the doctors of his own side.

But what if doctor Harding himself have in plain words confessed the same ? Although he have wantonly denied Christ, yet, I trow, he will not deny himself. Consider, good reader, his own words, hereafter following in this selfsame article. **BUT ST. PAUL, SAY THEY, REQUIRETH THAT THE PEOPLE GIVE ASSENT, AND CONFORM THEMSELVES UNTO THE PRIEST, BY ANSWERING AMEN TO HIS PRAYER MADE IN THE CONGREGATION. Hereunto M. Harding answereth thus : VERILY, IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH THIS WAS NECESSARY, WHEN THE FAITH WAS A LEARNING, AND THEREFORE THE PRAYERS WERE MADE THEN IN A COMMON TONGUE, KNOWN TO THE PEOPLE.**

Fol. 69. di-  
vis. 28.

What can there be more plainly spoken ? Here M. Hard-

<sup>26</sup> [Durand. " In primitiva ecclesia divina mysteria Hebraice celebrantur." ]

<sup>27</sup> [Lyra in 1 Cor. xiv. " Propter quod in primitiva ecclesia benedictiones et cætera communia fiebant in vulgari, sed postquam," &c. tom. vi. p. 322.

Aquinas in 1 Cor. cap. 14. lectio 3. " Sed quare non dantur benedictiones in vulgari, ut intelligantur a populo, et conformetur se magis eis ? Dicendum est, quod hoc forte fuit in ecclesia primitiva ; sed postquam fideles instructi sunt," &c.]

ing not only confesseth, that the common prayers were pronounced in a common tongue known to the people, but also further saith, the same at that time was necessary, and avoucheth it with his warrant, "Verily." Now quite contrary, as a man that had utterly forgotten himself, he saith, The common service was never said, but either in the Greek tongue or in the Latin, and therein he offereth stoutly to stand against M. Jewel, and all others of this side; which thing is easy for him to do, seeing he dareth to stand so stoutly against himself. Verily his sayings cannot stand both together. If he be true in the one, in the other he must needs be false.

M. Harding  
contrary to  
himself.

Yet, good Christian reader, for thy better satisfaction, it may please thee to know, that in the primitive church, the common service was not ministered by one man alone, but by the priest and whole congregation all together, as may appear by the general consent of the old fathers. Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *In orationibus, veluti unam vocem habent communem, et unam mentem*: "In the (common) prayers, they have all, as it were, one voice, and one mind<sup>28</sup>." St. Chrysostom saith: "Not only the priest giveth thanks to God, but also all the people; and what dost thou marvel to see the priest and people in the prayers talk together?" And here to leave St. Augustine, St. Hierom, St. Basil, Nazianzenus, Dionysius Areopagita, with many other like fathers, Isidorus, describing the order of the church in his time, writeth thus: *Oportet, ut quando psallitur, ab omnibus psallatur: cum oratur, ut ab omnibus oretur: cum lectio legitur, facto silentio, æque audiatur a cunctis*: "When they sing, they must sing all together: when they pray, they must pray all together: and when the lesson is read, silence being commanded, they must hear all together."

Clem. Alex.  
Strom. lib. 7.  
[tom. ii.  
848.]

Chrysost. in  
2 ad Cor.  
hom. 18. [x.  
568.]

Isidor. de  
Ecl. Offic.  
[lib. 1.] cap.  
10.

It were very much for M. Harding to say, "All these things were done in a learned tongue, and that the vulgar people in every country understood either the Greek or

<sup>28</sup> [Clem. Strom. lib. 7. \*Ἐστὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀνακειμένων, μίαν ὡσπερ γούν τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν θυσιαστήριον ἐν-ταῦθα τὸ ἐπίγειον, τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν γνώμην.]

the Latin." Yet, for that nothing seemeth hard for him to say, let us see what the old fathers will report in that behalf. I have already shewed by Theodoretus, Sozomenus, and St. Hierom, that the service was in the Syrian tongue.

Old father Origen's words, in my judgment, seem very plain. Writing against one Celsus a wicked heathen, he saith thus: *Græci quidem Græce Deum nominant, et Latine Romani, et singuli item nativa et vernacula lingua Deum precantur, et laudibus pro se quisque extollit. Ille enim, qui est linguarum omnium Dominus, audit quavis lingua orantes, idque non secus, quam si unam vocem exciperet e variis linguis expressam. Deus enim cum præsit machinæ universi, non est quasi unus aliquis, qui linguam vel Græcam, vel barbaram sit sortitus, ut cæteras nesciat....* : "The Greeks name God in the Greek tongue, and the Latins in the Latin tongue, and all several nations pray unto God, and praise him in their own natural and mother tongue. For he that is the Lord of all tongues, heareth men praying in all tongues, none otherwise, than if it were one voice pronounced by divers tongues. For God, that ruleth the whole world, is not as some one man, that hath gotten the Greek or Latin tongue, and knoweth none other<sup>29</sup>."

St. Ambrose, speaking of the Jews that were converted to Christ, saith thus: *Hî ex Hebræis erant, qui aliquando Syra lingua, plerunque Hebræa in tractatibus et oblationibus utebantur* : "These were Jews, which in their sermons and oblations used sometime the Syrian tongue, and sometime the Hebrew."

St. Basil writing unto the learned men of Neocæsarea,

<sup>29</sup> [Origen contr. Cels. lib. 8. .... ἐφιστάς, ὅτι οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς κειμένοις ὀνόμασι, καὶ τεταγμένοις ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ χρῶνται ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες Ἑλληνικοῖς οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς, καὶ οὕτως ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάλεκτον εὐχεται τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ὑμνεῖ αὐτὸν ὡς δύναται· καὶ ὁ πάσης διαλέκτου Κύριος τῶν ἀπὸ πάσης δια-

λέκτου εὐχομένων ἀκούει, ὡς μιᾶς, ἢν οὕτως ὀνομάσω, φωνῆς, τῆς κατὰ τὰ σημαινόμενα, ἀκούων, δηλουμένης ἐκ τῶν ποικίλων διαλέκτων· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸς εἰς τις τῶν κεκληρωμένων διαλεκτῶν τινα βαρβαρον ἢ Ἕλληνα, καὶ μηκέτι τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπισταμένων, ἢ μηκέτι τῶν ἐν ἄλλαις διαλέκτοις λεγόντων φροντισόντων.]

Origen. contra Celsum, lib. 8. [i. 769.]

† Ambros. in 1 Cor. xiv. [ii. app. 157.]



and shewing in what order the people used to resort to the house of prayer in the night season, and to sing psalms in sides, and to pray together, towards the end thereof, hath these words :.....*tanquam ab uno ore, et ab uno corde, confessionis psalmum offerunt Domino, et verba pœnitentiæ eorum quisque proprie ascribit sibi* : “ As it were from one mouth, and from one heart, they offer up unto the Lord the psalm of confession, and the words of repentance every of them applieth particularly unto himself.” Hereby it is plain, that the people in St. Basil’s time sung the psalms together, and understood what they sung.

Basil. in  
Epist. ad  
Clericos Ne-  
ocæsariën.  
[iii. 311.]

And lest M. Harding should slip away, as his wont is, and say, “ All this was done in the Greek tongue, and not in any tongue barbarous,” St. Basil hath already prevented him. For immediately he addeth further as it followeth : *Horum gratia si nos fugitis, fugietis etiam Ægyptios, et utrosque Lybias, et Thebanos, et Palæstinos, et Arabas, et Phœnices, et Syros, et eos qui ad Euphratem incolunt, et in universum omnes, quibus vigiliæ, et orationes, et communes psalmodiæ in honore habentur* : “ If ye flee us for thus singing and praying together, then must ye flee the Egyptians, and both the countries of Lybia, and the Thebans, and the Palestines, and the Arabians, and the Phenicians, and the Syrians, and the borderers of Euphrates : and generally ye must flee all them that have watchings, and prayers, and common psalmody in estimation<sup>30</sup>.” I trow M. Harding will not say, “ All these nations spake Greek or Latin.”

St. Hierom, writing unto Heliodorus of the death of Nepotianus, seemeth to avouch the same. These be his words : *Nunc passionem Christi, et resurrectionem ejus*

Hieronym.  
ad Heliodo-  
rum : Epita-  
phium Nepo-  
tiani. [iv. pt.  
2. p. 268.]

<sup>30</sup> [Basil. ad Cler. Neocæs. a few lines beyond the passage printed ante at p. 6. vol. ii. . . . Ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑπολαμπούσης πάντες κοινῆ, ὡς ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος καὶ μιᾶς καρδίας τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν ἀναφέρουσι τῷ κυρίῳ, ἴδια ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος τὰ ῥήματα τῆς μετανοίας ποιούμενοι. ἐπὶ τούτοις λοιπὸν εἰ ἡμᾶς

ἀποφεύγετε, φεύξεσθε μὲν Αἰγυπτίους· φεύξεσθε δὲ καὶ Λιβύας ἀμφοτέρους, Θηβαίους, Παλαιστίνους, Ἀραβας, Φοίνικας, Σύρας, καὶ τοὺς πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ κατοικισμένους, καὶ πάντας ἀπαξαπλῶς, παρ’ οἷς ἀγρηνναῖαι, καὶ προσευχαί, καὶ αἱ κοινὰ ψαλμωδία τετίμηνται.]

*cunctarum gentium et voces et literæ sonant. Taceo de Hebræis, Græcis, et Latinis, quas nationes suæ crucis titulo Dominus dedicavit..... Bessorum feritas, et pelliorum turba populorum, qui mortuorum quondam inferiis homines immolabant, stridorem suum in dulce Christi [l. crucis] fregerunt melos, et totius mundi una vox est Christus: "Now both the voices and letters of all nations do sound out Christ's passion and resurrection. I leave the Jews, the Greeks, and the Latins, which nations the Lord hath dedicate with the title of his cross. The savage nature of the Bessians, and people that for their wildness go clad in skins, which sometimes made sacrifices of men's bodies, have turned their barbarous speech into the sweet harmony of Christ. Christ is now the voice of the whole world."*

Æneas Sylv.  
Histor. Bohemicae, cap.  
13. [p. 91.  
a. b.]

Æneas Sylvius saith, that, when Cyrillus and Methodius had converted the Selavons unto God, which was about the year of our Lord eight hundred and threescore, and were suiters, that they might minister the common prayers, and other service unto them, in their common Selavon tongue, and great stay was made therein by the pope and his cardinals, a voice was heard, as it had been from heaven: *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum: et omnis lingua confiteatur ei*: "Let every spirit praise the Lord; and let every tongue acknowledge him;" and that thereupon they were suffered to use their own tongue.

Extr. de  
Offic. Judicis  
Ordinarii.  
Quoniam in  
plerisque.

Touching this matter, Innocentius the Third hath decreed thus, and, whether it make for the purpose or no, let M. Harding himself be judge. His words be these: *Quoniam in plerisque partibus, intra [al. infra] eandem civitatem atque diæcesim, permisti sunt populi diversarum linguarum, habentes sub una fide varios ritus et mores, districtè præcipimus, ut pontifices hujuscemodi civitatum sive diæcesium provideant viros idoneos, qui, secundum diversitates rituum et linguarum, divina illis officia celebrent, et ecclesiastica sacramenta ministrent*: "Forsomuch as in many places, within one city and one diocese, there be nations mingled together of many tongues, having divers orders and customs under one faith, we do therefore straitly command, that

Rituum et  
linguarum.

the bishops of such cities or dioceses, provide meet men to minister the holy service, ACCORDING TO THE DIVERSITY OF THEIR MANNERS AND TONGUES.”

Here might I allege much more out of divers writers, even out of Abdias himself, whom M. Harding so much esteemeth. But I will only note the complaint of one John Billet<sup>31</sup>, concerning this case, and so make an end. His words be these: *In primitiva ecclesia prohibitum erat, ne quis loqueretur linguis, nisi esset qui interpretaretur. Quid enim prodesset loqui, nisi intelligeretur? Inde etiam inolevit laudabilis consuetudo, ut, pronuntiato literaliter evangelio, statim in vulgari populo exponeretur. Quid autem nostris temporibus est agendum, ubi nullus vel rarus invenitur legens, vel audiens, qui intelligat? Videtur ergo potius esse tacendum, quam psallendum*: “It was forbidden in the primitive church, that no man should speak with tongues, unless there were some present to expound it. For what should speaking avail, without understanding? And hereof grew a laudable custom, that, after the gospel was read literally, it should straightway be expounded in the vulgar tongue. But what shall we do in our days, whenas there is either none at all, or very seldom, that readeth, or heareth, and understandeth? It seemeth, it were better now to hold their peace, than so to sing.”

Johan. Billet  
in Summa  
de Divinis  
Officiis.

Here have I alleged, for proof of our purpose, of the old fathers, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, St. Basil, St. Hierom, Theodoretus, Sozomenus, and Isidorus; of the latter writers, Æneas Silvius, Innocentius Tertius, John Billet, Thomas of Aquine, Lyra, Durandus, and Eckius. Therefore I trust M. Harding will no more deny, but we are able to shew somewhat, that the common service, in the primitive church, was in some other tongue, and not only in Greek or Latin. Now, if M. Harding be able to shew any such sufficient example of his side, I will yield, according to promise.

<sup>31</sup> [The editor has been unable to find even the name of John Billet in any of the usual authorities.]



M. HARDING : *Sixteenth Division.*

For further answer to the authority of Justinian's ordinance, we hold well with it. Good men think it meet, the service to be uttered now also with a distinct and audible voice, that all sorts of people, specially so many as understand it, may the more be stirred to devotion, and thereby the rather be moved to say *Amen*, and give their assent to it, through their obedience and credit they bear to the church, assuring themselves the same to be good and healthful, and to the glory of God. And for that purpose, we have commonly seen the priest, when he sped him to say his service, to ring the saunce bell, and speak out aloud, *Pater noster*; by which token, the people were commanded silence, reverence, and devotion.

Saunce bell.  
Pater noster.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I must needs answer M. Harding, as Cicero sometime answered his adversary : *Mimi ergo exitus est, non fabulæ* : "This gear goeth by gesture, and not by speech." St. Cyprian, declaring the order of the church in his time, saith : *Sacerdos ante orationem parat animos fratrum, dicendo, Sursum corda* : "The priest, before the prayers, prepareth the hearts of the brethren, saying thus unto them, 'Lift up your hearts.'"

Cicero pro  
Caelio.

Cypr. in Orat.  
Domini. [p.  
213.]

The deacons, in St. Chrysostom's and Basil's time, used to call upon the people with these words : *Oremus ; Attendamus* ; "Let us pray ; Let us give ear." Like as also the priest in the heathen sacrifices was wont to command silence, and to say to the multitude, *Favete linguis*. This was done in the church of Christ, as St. Cyprian saith, to put the people in remembrance, that in their prayers they should think of nothing else, but only of the Lord. And therefore Chrysostom saith, "The priest in the holy ministration speaketh unto the people, and the people unto the priest." But M. Harding, for ease and expedition, hath devised a shorter way, to teach the people by a bell-roppe. He turneth his back unto his brethren, and speaketh out two words aloud, *Pater noster* ; and causeth the *sanctus* bell to play the part of a deacon, to put the people in remembrance, that now they must pray. If any other man would say so much, he were a scoffer ; M. Harding speaketh it, and it is good earnest, and cause sufficient to

Chrysost. in  
2. ad Cor.  
hom. 18.  
[x. 568.]

avoid Justinian's law. Augustus Cæsar warned his son-in-law Tiberius, *Ut ore, non digito loqueretur*: "That he should speak with his mouth, and not with his finger<sup>32</sup>." Sueton. in August.

And Cato was wont to say, when he saw two augurs meet together, "He marvelled that either of them could abstain from smiling<sup>32</sup>:" for that their whole profession and occupation stood in mocking of the people. I will not apply this to M. Harding, notwithstanding he seem to profess the like. God grant his bell may remember him to fear God, lest he himself be left "as a sounding piece of brass, 1 Cor. xiii. 1. or as a tinkling cymbal."

M. HARDING : *Seventeenth Division.*

Now to say somewhat touching the common prayers or service of the churches of Africa, where St. Augustine preached in Latin, as you say, and I deny not, and thereof you seem to conclude, that the common people of that country understood and spake Latin, as their vulgar tongue. That the African churches had their service in Latin, it is evident by sundry places of St. Augustine in his Exposition of the Psalms, in his books *De Doctrina Christiana*, and in his sermons, and most plainly in an epistle that he wrote to St. Hierom, in which he sheweth, that the people of a city in Africa was greatly moved and offended with their bishop, for that in reciting the scriptures, for part of the service to them, he read out of the fourth chapter of Jonas the prophet, not *cucurbita*, after the old text, which they had been accustomed unto, but *hedera*, after the new translation of St. Hierom. Now, as I grant that some understood it, so I have cause to doubt, whether some others understood it or no. Nay rather I have great probability to think they understood it not. For the bewraying of Hannibal's ambassadors to the Romans by their Punical language, whereof Titus Livius writeth; and likewise the conference betwixt Sylla the nobleman of Rome, and Bocchus king of Numidia, had by mean of interpreters adhibited of both parts, as Sallust recordeth in *Bello Jugurthino*, declareth, that the tongue of Africa was the Punical tongue before the Romans' conquest. Now the same people remaining there until St. Augustine's time, what should move us to judge that they forgot their own native and mother tongue, and learned anew the Latin tongue? I confess, that many understood and spake Latin, by reason of the Romans' common resort thither, of their laws there executed, of their garrisons there abiding, and specially of the great multitude of Latin people thither sent to inhabit, *deductis coloniis*, by Au-

<sup>32</sup> [Jewel has made some mistake in his references to Suetonius and to Plutarch. The anecdotes which he mentions are not found in the lives referred to.]

gustus the emperor first, then by Adrianus, and afterward by Commodus, who would have had the great city Carthago newly re-edified, to be called after his own name, Alexandria Commodiana, as Lampridius writeth. These Roman colonies, that is to wit, multitudes of people sent to inhabit the country, placed themselves about the sea coasts in the chief cities in Carthago, Utica, Hippo, Leptis, &c. and thereabout. And by these means the Roman or Latin speech spread abroad there, and became to be very common, as that which remained still among the inhabitants that were of the Roman kind, and was learned by long use and custom of others dwelling amongst them, specially in the cities, where the Romans bare the sway and government. For these considerations, I think the Latin tongue was there very common. But that it was common to the inward parts of the country also, and to the uplandish people, amongst whom the old accustomed language is longest kept, as experience teacheth: it is not likely. For though the nobility and cities change their language to be the more in estimation, yet the common and base people of the country fall not so soon to a change. In this realm of England after William Conqueror's time, by occasion of great resort of Frenchmen hither, and of our countrymen into France, also of the French laws, and special favour by the princes born, and preferments bestowed upon them that spake French, the most part of the nobility, lawyers, merchants, captains, soldiers and wealthy folk, had skill in the understanding and speaking of the French tongue; but yet the common and uplandish people spake little or nought at all. Whereof grew this proverb in England of old time, "Jack would be a gentleman, but Jack can no French." The like may be thought of the Latin tongue in Africa.

What shall we think of the uplandish people there, whenas Septimius Severus the emperor, yea after the apostles' time, had not very good skill in the Latin tongue, but in the Punic tongue, and that being born at Leptis? Of whom Aurelius Victor saith thus in Epitome: *Latinis literis sufficienter instructus, Punica lingua promptior, quippe genitus apud Leptim provinciae Africae*: "Severus was learned in the Latin letters sufficiently, but in the Punic tongue he was readier, as being born at Leptis, within the province of Africa." Here the Latin tongue is attributed to instruction and teaching, and the Punic tongue to nature. Ælius Spartianus, writing the life of this Severus to Dioclesian, sheweth that when his sister, a woman of Leptis, came to Rome to him, *via Latine loquens*, her brother the emperor was ashamed of her, and blushed at her, for that she could scanty speak Latin, and therefore commanded her away home again to her country; for these be the very words of Spartianus. Now if such noble personages lacked the Latin speech in the chief part of Africa, it is soon understood, what is to be deemed of the common and vulgar people abroad in the country.



Let us come down lower, even to St. Hierom's time. St. Hierom, writing to a noble young Roman virgin called Demetrias, being in Africa, exhorting her to keep herself in that holy state of virginity, saith thus: *Urbs tua quondam orbis caput*: "Thy city once the head of the world, is become the sepulchre of the Roman people. And wilt thou take a banished husband, thyself being a banished woman in the shore of Lybia? What woman shalt thou have there to bring thee to and fro?" *Stridor Punice lingue procacia tibi fescemina cantabit*: "The jarring Punical tongue shall sing thee bawdy songs at thy wedding." Lo, in St. Hierom's time, they of Africa spake the Punical tongue, and that by the sea-side where the Romans of long time had made their abode. Of this may be gathered, that the Latin speech was not in the further parts within the country very common. St. Augustine in sundry places of his works sheweth, that the people of Africa called Punics, spake the Punical tongue, acknowledging a likeness and cousinage, as it were, to be between that and the Hebrew tongue. But most evident witness for the Punical tongue is to be found in his forty-fourth epistle, *ad Maximum Madaurensem*. In which he answereth him soberly for his scoffing and jesting at certain Punical words in derogation of the Christians. After wondering that he, being an African born, and writing to Africans, should find fault with the Punical names and words, and after commendation of the tongue, for that many things have right wisely been commended to memory by great learned men, in books of the Punical language, at length concluded against him thus: *Pœniteat te certe ibi natum, ubi hujusmodi lingue cunabula recalent*: "In good sooth thou mayest be sorry in thy heart that thou wert born there, where the cradles of such a tongue be warm again." By which words he seemeth to charge him with an unnatural grief and repenting, that he was born in that country where they speak Punic ere they creep out of their cradles; whereby it appeareth, the mother tongue of those parts of Africa, which he speaketh of, to be the Punical, and not the Latin.

To conclude, if they had all spoken Latin, and not some the Punical tongue, St. Augustine would never have written, *Punici Christiani baptismum, salutem; eucharistiam, vitam vocant*: "That those Christians which speak the Punical tongue, call baptism, in their language, health or salvation; and the eucharist, life." Wherefore we see, that there were Latin Christians, and Punical Christians in Africa, of whom all understood not the Latin service.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding, as his wont is, taketh needless pains without profit, to prove that thing that is not denied. I SAID, THAT AT THE CITY OF HIPPO IN AFRICA<sup>33</sup>, WHERE

<sup>33</sup> [In the *printed* sermon, no express reference will be found to Hippo.]

ST. AUGUSTINE WAS BISHOP, THE COMMON SERVICE OF THE CHURCH WAS PRONOUNCED IN LATIN, AND THAT NO MARVEL, FOR THAT THE WHOLE PEOPLE THERE UNDERSTOOD AND SPAKE THE LATIN TONGUE. For answer whereof, reply is made, and that by guesses and likelihoods, that the whole people of Africa in all the mountains, and uplandish countries, was never trained up in the Latin tongue. Which thing neither is denied by me, nor any wise toucheth this question. For it is easy to be known by St. Augustine, St. Hierom and others, in infinite places, that the people of that country had a natural tongue of their own, distinct from all others, and several only to themselves. And therefore to prove the same in such earnest sort, by Titus Livius, by Sallust, by Aurelius Victor, by Ælius Spartianus, by St. Augustine, and by St. Hierom, it was only spending of time, without winning of matter.

August. de  
Verbis Dom.  
secund. Luc.  
serm. 35. [v.  
568.]

August. in  
Psalm. cxxiii.  
[iv. 1407.]

Hieronym. in  
Esay lib. 3.  
cap. 7. [c. 8.  
tom. iii. p.  
72.]

Lib. i. cap. 9.  
Quintil.

St. Augustine saith, *eucharistia*, in the Punic tongue, was called "life;" and *baptismus*, in the same tongue, was called "health;" and rehearsed these words, *mammon* and *jar*, and otherlike words, and certain proverbs, used in the same tongue. St. Hierom saith that *alma*, in the Punic tongue, signifieth "a virgin," according to the Hebrew. Quintilian saith, that this word *mappa*, was borrowed of the Punic, and made Latin, as *rheda* and *petoritum* were borrowed of the Gauls. Neither is there any reason to lead us, but that they had other words and sentences of their own sufficient to express their minds.

Ex Originib.  
Catonis.  
[sub fin.]

But after the Romans had once subdued them, the better to stablish and confirm their empire, they forced them to receive both the Roman laws and also the Roman tongue; as they had done before in several countries within Italy, and in other places mo. Which thing unto some seemed so grievous, that, as it is reported by Cato, Turrhenus the last king of Etruria, notwithstanding he were content to yield his country to the Romans, yet could never be won to yield his tongue. For the better performance hereof, they had it enacted by a law, that the judge in every province should hear and determine matters, and pronounce sentence only in Latin, as it appeareth by these words:

*Decreta a prætoribus, Latine debent interponi.* By mean-  
whereof, St. Hierom saith, “the Punic tongue in his time,  
was much altered from that it had been before.”

De re judi-  
cata, &c.  
Decreta.  
[tom. iii.]  
Hieron. in  
Præfatio. in  
lib. 2. Com-  
ment. ad Ga-  
latas. [iv.  
255.]

All these things be confessed, and nothing touch this  
case, nor serve to any other purpose, but only to amaze  
the ignorant reader with a countenance of great learning.

But that the whole people of the city of Hippo, where  
the service was ministered in the Latin tongue, understood  
and spake Latin, who can witness better than St. Augustine  
himself, that was then bishop of Hippo? And to pass over  
that he reporteth of himself, that, being born in Tagasta a  
city of Africa, he learned the Latin tongue, *inter blandi-*  
*menta nutricum*, “as he was playing under his nurse,”  
signifying thereby, that his nurses understood and spake  
Latin; in his book, *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, he writeth  
thus: “Let them know, there is no voice that soundeth in  
God’s ears, but the devotion of the mind. So shall they  
not scorn at the head priests and ministers of the church,  
if they happen in making their prayers unto God, to speak  
false Latin, or not to understand the words that they speak,  
or to speak them out of order.” He addeth further: *Non*  
*quod ista corrigenda non sint, ut populus ad id, quod plane*  
*intelligit, dicat, Amen*: “Not for that such faults should  
not be amended, to the end that the people, to the thing  
that they plainly perceive, may say, *Amen*.” Here St. Au-  
gustine willeth that the priests utter their Latin service  
distinctly and truly, that the people may understand them.

August. Con-  
fess. lib. 1.  
cap. 14. [i.  
78.]

De Catechi-  
zandis Rudi-  
bus, cap. 9.  
[vi. 272.]

Again he saith thus: *Volens etiam causam Donatistarum*  
*ad ipsius humillimi vulgi, et omnino imperitorum, atque idio-*  
*tarum notitiam pervenire, et eorum, quantum fieri posset, per*  
*nos inhærerere memoriæ, psalmum, qui eis cantaretur, per*  
*Latinas literas feci*: “Being desirous that the cause of the  
Donatists should come to the knowledge of the lowest sort,  
and of them that be utterly ignorant and void of learning,  
and, as much as in us lay, might be fixed in their memory,  
I wrote a psalm for them to sing in the Latin tongue.”

Retraction.  
lib. 1. cap.  
20. [i. 31.]

And Posidonius, writing St. Augustine’s life, saith, that  
Valerius, that was bishop of Hippo before St. Augustine,  
for that he was a Greek born, and had small skill in the

Posidonius  
in Vita Aug.  
cap. 5. [x.  
app. 260.]



“Latin tongue,” was the less able to preach unto the people and to discharge his duty there.

I doubt not, but by these few words, it may well appear, that the people of Hippo understood the Latin, albeit not in such good order, as they that had learned it at the school; and therefore would oftentimes speak amiss, placing one word for another, and gender for gender, and case for case; as for example: *dolus* for *dolor*. St. Augustine saith: *Multi fratres, imperitiores Latinitatis, loquuntur sic, ut dicant, Dolus illum torquet, pro eo, quod est, dolor.* And for that cause, in his sermons unto the people, he submitteth oftentimes himself unto their capacity. For thus he speaketh unto the people: *Sæpe et verba non Latina dico, ut vos intelligatis*: “Many times I utter words that be no Latin, that ye may understand me.” And again he saith: *Ego dicam ossum: sic enim potius loquamur. Melius est, ut nos reprehendant grammatici, quam non intelligant populi*: “I will say *ossum*, for your better understanding: although it be no Latin word. And so hardly let us speak. For better is it that the grammarians find fault with us, than the people should not understand us.” Hereby it is plain, that at the city of Hippo, whereof I specially spake, the common service of the church was pronounced and ministered in the Latin tongue, for that the whole people there universally understood and spake Latin.

August. in  
Johan. tract.  
7. [iii. pt. 2.  
349.]

August. in  
Psalm. cxxlii.  
[iv. 1407.]

August. in  
Psalm. cxxviii.  
[iv. 1545.]

#### M. HARDING: *Eighteenth Division.*

And whereas St. Augustine, as you allege him, without shewing the place, (as your manner is, whereby you may easily deceive the reader,) hath these words in his sermons to the common people divers times: *Nunc loquar Latine, ut omnes intelligatis*: “Now will I speak Latin, that you may all understand me;” of that saying, if any such be, may be gathered, that sometimes he spake in the Punical tongue to the Punical Christians, not understanding the Latin; but now among the Latin Africans that were of the Roman kind, and understood not the Punic, he would speak Latin, that all such should understand him.

Whoso desireth further to be persuaded, that the people of Africa, called *Pæni*, spake and understood their own Punical tongue, and not the Latin tongue, as likewise the people of Spain, named *Iberi*, spake that language which was proper to them, let him read Titus Livius, *De Bello Macedonico*. For there he

recordeth, that when those of Africa, or of Spain, and the Romans came together for parle and talk, they used an interpreter.

And Ulpianus the lawyer, a great officer about Alexander Severus the emperor, at the beginning of Christian religion, writeth, that *fidei commissa*, may be left in all vulgar tongues, and putteth for examples, the Punicall and the French, or rather Gallicall tongue.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I see, there is no pardon to be hoped for at M. Harding's hands. Because I noted not in what book and chapter this place is to be found, therefore he beareth men in hand, I seek means to deceive the reader. If this poor quarrel may stand for proof, then is it no hard matter, by the same logic, to conclude the like against him. For M. Harding oftentimes useth the authority of St. Augustine and other fathers, without any noting of the places, as his own book is best witness: *ergo*, M. Harding seeketh means to deceive his reader.

But in my judgment better it is not to note the places at all, than falsely to note them, as M. Harding's manner is to do; as where he untruly allegeth the decree of the council of Ephesus against Nestorius, for the communion in one kind; which decree neither is to be found in that council, nor ever was recorded or mentioned by any old father: or where he allegeth the decree of the first council of Nice, for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; himself confessing that the same decree was burnt, I know not how, and could never yet be seen until this day. Verily, this is a ready way to deceive the reader. I pass by other petit faults; as that he allegeth the first book of Ambrose, *De Sacramentis*, instead of the fifth; or the thirty-fourth chapter of the sixth book of Eusebius, instead of the forty-fourth. Or that Stephen Gardiner allegeth Theophilus Alexandrinus, instead of Theophylactus; or the third book of St. Augustine, *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, whereas St. Augustine never wrote but two. The place, wherewith M. Harding findeth himself grieved, is to be found in St. Augustine, *De Verbis Apostoli*; the words be these: *Proverbium notum est Punicum: quod quidem Latine vobis*

Folio 23. a.

Folio 18. b.

Contra Archiepisc.  
Cantuar.  
lib. 3.Contra Archiepisc.  
Cantuar.  
lib. 4.De Verbis  
Apostoli,  
serm. 24. [v.  
204.]

*dicam, quia Punice non omnes nostis* : “ There is a common proverb in the Punic tongue, which I will report unto you in Latin, because ye do not all understand the Punic.” Here it is plain, that the Latin tongue was known to all the hearers, and the Punic tongue only unto some. And therefore in another sermon unto the people, he saith thus : *Omnes novimus, Latine non dici sanguines, aut sanguina* : “ We do all know,” reckoning himself with the people, “ that these words, *sanguines* or *sanguina*, are no Latin ;” and again, as I have before reported, touching a Latin psalm that he made for the common people, he writeth thus : “ Being desirous, that the cause of the Donatists should come to the knowledge of the lowest sort, and of them that be utterly ignorant and void of learning, and, as much as in us lay, might be fixed in their memory, I wrote a psalm for them to sing in the Latin tongue.”

August. in  
Psalm. L. [iv.  
472.]

Retract. lib.  
I. cap. 20. [3.  
51.]

This long rehearsal of all these authorities, saving that M. Harding gave the occasion, was utterly needless. Notwithstanding, hereby it is evident, that the people there understood the Latin, wherein their service was ministered : and therefore had not their service in any unknown tongue. Now if M. Harding were able to shew, that other cities or provinces of the same country, where the Latin tongue was not known, had notwithstanding the Latin service, it would very well serve his purpose. Otherwise the argument, that he would seem to fashion hereof, is marvellous strange. For thus, as it appeareth, he would conclude : Some people in Africa spake the Punic tongue : *ergo*, they had their service in the Latin tongue. For other argument that he can here gather, I see none. The rest of Titus Livius, *De Bello Macedonico*, or of Ulpian, *De Fidei commissis*, is utterly out of season, and therefore not worthy to be answered.

M. HARDING : *Nineteenth Division.*

Thus much or more, might here be said of the language of the people of Gallia, now called France, which then was barbarous and vulgar, and not only Latin, and (97) yet had they of that nation their service then in Latin, as all the west church had. That the common language of the people there was vulgar, the

The 79th un-  
truth, boldly  
avouched,  
but no way  
proved.



use of the Latin serving for the learned as we must needs judge, we have first the authority of Titus Livius. Who writeth, that a Galloes, or as now we say, a Frenchman of a notable stature, provoked a Roman to fight with him, man for man, making his challenge by an interpreter. Which had not been done, in case the Latin tongue had been common to that nation. Next, the place of Ulpianus before mentioned. Then the record of Ælius Lampridius, who writeth that a woman, of the order of the Druids, cried out aloud to Alexander Severus, Mammæa her son, the emperor, as he marched forward on a day with his army, *Gallico sermone*, in the Gallical tongue, these words boding his death, which right so shortly after followed: *Vadas: nec victoriam speres: ne militi tuo credas:* "Go thy way: and look not for the victory; trust not thy soldiers." Lastly, the witness of St. Hierom, who, having travelled over that region, and therefore being skilful of the whole state thereof, acknowledgeth the people of Treveres, and of that territory, to have a peculiar language, diverse from Latin and Greek.

If all that I have brought here touching this matter be well weighed, it will seem probable, I doubt not, that all sorts of people in Africa understood not the service which they had in the Latin tongue. And no less may be thought of Gallia and Spain. And so far it is proved against M. Jewel's stout assertion, that, within six hundred years after Christ, some Christian people had their common prayers and service in a tongue they understood not.

An easy proof without premises.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

A short answer may serve, where nothing is objected. This guess standeth upon these two points: the first is this; "The people of Gallia understood not the Latin tongue:" the second is this; "That notwithstanding, the same people had their service in Latin:" whereof the conclusion followeth; *ergo*, they had service in an unknown tongue. The major hereof is proved with much ado, by Titus Livius, by Ulpianus, by Ælius Lampridius, and by St. Hierom. He might as well have added the story of Brennus; Cæsar's Commentaries; Quintilian, that nameth two mere French words, *rheda* and *petoritum*; and Cicero, who in his oration *pro Fonteio*, and elsewhere, calleth the men of the country *barbaros*. Thus M. Harding taketh great pains to prove that thing that is confessed, and needeth no proving.

Quintil. lib. I. cap. 9. Cicero pro Fonteio.

But the minor, which is utterly denied, and wherein standeth all the doubt, and without proving whereof, he

Ab Urbe condita, lib. 7.

In Vita Alexandri Mammææ.

In præmio 2. Comment. ad Galatas.

proveth nothing, he passeth over closely, and proveth by silence. If the matter be doubtful, it hath the more need of proof; if it be plain and out of doubt, it is the sooner proved. Surely, to say without any kind of proof or evidence, only upon M. Harding's bare word, "The people of Gallia had the Latin service," it is but a very simple warrant. For what learning, what authority, what conjecture, what guess hath he, so to say? Some hold that Joseph of Arimathæa, Philip the apostle, Nathanael and Lazarus, were the first that ever opened the gospel in France. But these four neither came from Rome, nor, to my knowledge, ever spake the Latin tongue; they came from Jerusalem out of Jewry, and spake the Hebrew tongue. Therefore, I reckon, M. Harding will not say, that any of these four erected there the Latin service.

The best, that he can make hereof, is but a guess and a likelihood; for thus he saith: "It will seem probable, I doubt not." But I assure thee, good reader, it will prove nothing, I doubt not. For weigh the probability of these reasons: "The people of Gallia had a speech peculiar to themselves, and spake no Latin: *ergo*, they had the Latin service." Or thus: "The first preachers in Gallia came from Jerusalem, and spake the Hebrew tongue: *ergo*, they ministered the service and common prayers in the Latin tongue." These be M. Harding's probabilities, wherewith he doubteth not this matter is proved.

But once again, let us view the main reason; the major, "The people of Gallia understood no Latin;" the minor, "The same people had the Latin service;" the conclusion, *ergo*, "They had service in an unknown tongue."

Here, M. Harding, we do utterly deny your minor; which unless ye prove otherwise than ye have hitherto begun, very children may see, that your conclusion cannot follow. Ye should not so stoutly have said, ye have so thoroughly proved the matter, having indeed as yet proved nothing.

But that the service in the churches of Gallia was not said in such order as M. Harding guesseth, but in a tongue

known unto the people, it is evident by Severus Sulpitius in the Life of St. Martin. The people of the city of Tours, in France, then called Gallia, upon the vacation of the bishopric, were desirous to have St. Martin to be their bishop, notwithstanding there were others that thought him a very simple man, and in all respects unworthy of any bishopric. In this contention the matter fell out in this wise, as Sulpitius sheweth: *Cum fortuitu lector, cui legendi eo die officium erat, interclusus a populo defuisset, turbatis ministris, dum expectatur, qui non aderat, unus e circumstantibus, sumpto Psalterio, quem primum versum invenit arripuit: psalmus autem hic erat: Ex ore infantium, et lactentium, perfecisti laudem, &c. Quo lecto, clamor populi tollitur, pars adversa confunditur: "Whereas by chance the reader, whose office was to read in the church that day, was shut out by mean of the throng, and the ministers were troubled, looking about for him that was not there, one of the company took the Psalter, and read that verse that came next to hand. The verse of the psalm was this: 'Out of the mouth of infants and sucklings, thou hast wrought praise.' As soon as that verse was read, the people made a shout, and the contrary part was confounded."* Here we see the practice of the church of Gallia. The reader pronounced the scriptures, and the people understood them. Whether it were in the vulgar tongue, or in the Latin, it was a tongue known unto the people. Therefore M. Harding might have better advised himself before he thus assured the world, "That the people of Gallia had their service undoubtedly in an unknown tongue."

Sulpitius in  
Vita Martini.

M. HARDING: *Twentieth Division.*

And thus, all his allegations, brought for proof of his saying in this behalf, be answered; the place of St. Paul to the Corinthians excepted.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

If vain guesses without proof, if the corruption of St. Augustine, if the falsifying of the emperor Justinian's law, may stand for an answer, then are my allegations fully answered.



M. HARDING: *Twenty-first Division.*

Which ere I answer, I will, according to my promise, prove, that about nine hundred years past, yea a thousand also, and therefore some deal within his six hundred years, even in St. Gregorius' time, the service was in an unknown tongue in this land of England, then called Britain, and begun to be called England, at least, forsomuch as sithence and at these days is called by the name of England. Beda an Englishman, that wrote the ecclesiastical story of the English nation, in the year of our Lord 731, and of their coming to Britain about 285, recordeth that St. Augustine and his company, who were sent hither, to convert the English people to the faith of Christ, which the Britons had here professed long before, having a safe conduct granted them by king Ethelbert to preach the gospel where they would, said and sung their service in a church, builded of old time in the honour St. Martin, adjoining on the east side of the head city of Kent, whiles the Romans dwelt in Britain. The words of Beda be these: *In hac (ecclesia) convenire primo, psallere, orare, missas facere, predicare, et baptizare cæperunt*: "In this church they began first to assemble themselves together, to sing, to pray, to say mass, to preach and to baptize." It is plain, that this was the service. And no doubt they resorted to it, who believed and were of them baptized, wondering, as Beda saith, at the simplicity of their innocent life, and sweetness of their heavenly doctrine. In English it was not, for they had no skill of that tongue, as Beda sheweth, lib. 1. cap. 23. And therefore ere they entered the land, they took with them by commandment of St. Gregory, interpreters out of France. Which interpreters served for open preaching, and private instruction, exhortation and teaching. In singing and saying the service there was no use of them.

Lib. 1. Hist.  
Eccles. cap.  
26.

Lib. 1. cap.  
25.

They were  
Italians, and  
spake no  
English;  
neither was  
this the ordi-  
nary service  
of the En-  
glish church.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here is a great bulk and no corn. If empty words might make proof, then had we here proof sufficient. First, I will examine every of these guesses particularly by themselves, and in the end, will shew the true story of this island, as it may be gathered by Tertullian, Origen, Chrysostom, Theodoretus, and such other old writers.

And lest any man be deceived by ambiguity of names, this Augustine, whom M. Harding calleth Saint, and some others, the apostle of England, was not that great learned father and doctor of the church, whom we worthily call St. Augustine, but another of the same name, as, far unlike him in learning and holiness, so also two hundred years

behind him in course of age; a man, as it was judged by them that saw him and knew him, neither of apostolic spirit, nor any way worthy to be called a saint: "but an hypocrite, a superstitious man, cruel, bloody, and proud above measure." And notwithstanding he withdrew the English nation from their gross idolatry, wherein he had no great travail, yet it is certain he planted not religion in this realm; for it was planted here, and had grown, and continued still four hundred years and more, before his coming. But it is thought of many, that he corrupted the religion, that he found planted here before, with much filth of superstition; and therefore Galfridus saith, that the bishops, and learned men of this land, would none either of him, nor of the pope, that sent him.

Galfridus  
Monemu-  
then. lib. 8  
cap. 4.

And that it may the better appear what a one this Augustine was, and what opinion the faithful people of this realm had of him, I will rehearse a short story that is written by Beda in that behalf. "The bishops of this country," saith Beda, "before they would go to the council," whereas Augustine should be president, "first went unto a holy wise man that lived an anchor's life, and desired his counsel, whether that, at Augustine's preaching, they should leave the traditions that they had so long used, or no? He answered, 'If he be a man of God, follow him.' 'But how shall we know,' said they, 'whether he be a man of God, or no?' He answered again,.....'If he be gentle and lowly of heart, it is likely enough that he carrieth the yoke of the Lord, and offereth unto you to carry the same. But if he be disdainful and proud, then it is certain, he is not of God, neither ought you [*nobis*] to regard what he saith.' Then said the bishops again: 'But how may we know whether he be disdainful and proud, or no?' 'Provide ye,' saith this holy man, 'that he may be in the council sitting before you come. Then if he arise up from his chair at your coming, and salute you, know you that he is the man of God, and therefore hearken to him. But if he disdain you, and will not once move his place, specially seeing you are the mo in number, then set you as little by him, and disdain him too.' And as this holy man had told

Beda, lib. 2.  
cap. 2.

them, so did they. When they came into the council-house, Augustine sat still and would not move. Whereupon they refused him, and would not hear him, as a man disdainful and proud of heart," and therefore no man of God. "Upon which refusal<sup>33</sup>,.....Æthelbertus the king raised his power, and slew great numbers of the Britons, and a thousand and two hundred godly religious men, even as they were at their prayers." Hitherto Beda. Wherefore the authority of this Augustine's doings, must needs seem the less, yea although it were all true that M. Harding reporteth of him. And further, I trust, it will be proved, that the things that M. Harding allegeth stand without the compass of six hundred years; and therefore, notwithstanding they were true, yet cannot greatly further his purpose. This Augustine, upon his arrival into England,

<sup>33</sup> [The words "upon which refusal" were so printed in former editions, as to convey an impression, that the massacre of the monks of Bangor was described by Bede as following immediately upon the refusal of the bishops to obey Augustine; and Alfred's Saxon translation seems to justify this interpretation of Bede's meaning. In the original however the historian simply states, that Augustine "fertur minitans prædixisse, quia, si pacem cum fratribus accipere nollent, bellum ab hostibus forent accepturi, et, si nationi Anglorum nolissent viam vitæ prædicare, per horum manus ultionem essent mortis passuri. Quod ita per omnia (ut prædixerat) divino agente iudicio patratum est. Siquidem post hæc ipse rex Anglorum" &c. He then goes on to describe the subsequent war and the massacre of the British monks by Ethelbert. "Sicque completum est præsagium sancti pontificis Augustini (*quamvis ipso jam multo ante tempore ad cælestia regna sublato*) ut etiam temporalis" &c. Mr. Churton (Early English Church, p. 46.) is of opinion that

Augustine could not have been the instigator of this cruelty, inasmuch as (if the parenthesis in italics is genuine) the archbishop had died some years before. Jewel however, archbishop Parker, Ussher and others, (amongst whom are Roman catholics,) have disputed the genuineness of the said clause, and (although the extant Latin MSS. all contain it) king Alfred himself appears to have rejected it, as there is no equivalent for it in his Saxon translation. This omission however is not of much weight, as he frequently omits whole passages, whose genuineness is undisputed. The chief ground against the genuineness is the fact, that Augustine is mentioned in Bede's next chapter as still alive and consecrating two bishops, A.D. 604, whereas the massacre is by some attributed to 603, though Jewel himself fixes it in 605; (see Def. of Apol. part 5. p. 437. fol. ed. 1611.) and there seems ground for believing that Augustine did not die before A.D. 608, 610, or according to one authority 612. See the notes by Whelock in the Cambridge ed. of Bede, 1643.]



had a place allotted him in Kent. There he and his company sung and prayed, and said mass, (this mass was a communion, as shall appear,) and preached and baptized. In what language, it is not noted by Beda. But be it in Latin. Hereof M. Harding formeth up this argument :

Augustine and his company prayed together in Latin, for that they were strangers newly sent in out of Italy, and understood not the English tongue :

*Ergo*, the English people had the Latin service.

M. Harding should not thus mock the world. He knoweth well, a child would not make such reasons. For Augustine was no parish priest, ne served no cure, but only had a place severally appointed to himself. Neither did any Englishman resort to his service, unless it were to see the strangeness of his doings. He might as well reason thus :

The Jews this day in Venice have their service in the Hebrew tongue :

*Ergo*, the people of Italy have their service in the Hebrew.

Hitherto, I trow, this matter is but simply proved.

M. HARDING : *Twenty-second Division.*

Whereas St. Augustine, after that the English nation had received the faith, and he had been archbishop over them, having found, the faith being one, diversity of customs in diverse churches, one manner of masses in the holy Roman church, another in that of France ; for this and certain other purposes, sent two of his clergy, Laurence and Peter, to Rome, to be advertised amongst other things, what order, manner, and custom of masses, it liked St. Gregory, the churches of the English nation should have. Hereunto that holy father answered, that what he espied either in the Roman or French, or any other church, that might be most acceptable to Almighty God, he should choose out and gather together, and commend the same to the church of England, there to be left in custom to continue, lib. 1. cap. 27. If it had then been thought necessary, the service of the mass to be in English, or if it had been translated into the English tongue, it is not to be thought that Bede, who declareth all things concerning matters of religion so diligently, specially professing to write an ecclesiastical story, would have passed over that in silence. And if the mass had been used in the English tongue, the monuments and books, so much multiplied among the churches, would

have remained in some place or other. And doubtless, some mention would have been made of the time and causes of the leaving such kind of service, and of the beginning the new Latin service. As certain of St. Gregory's works, turned into English by Bede himself, have been kept, so as they remain to this day.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here was a short victory. Peter and Paul could never so easily conquer kingdoms. But this matter stood not so much in winning the unfaithful, as in killing the godly. After that was once done, straightways Augustine had the conquest, and was out of hand made archbishop, and wrote to Rome both thereof, and also for resolution of certain questions, meet, as he saith, for that rude people of England: as, whether a woman might be baptized while she were great with child, or after her delivery; and how long after she should forbear the church; with certain other secret questions, touching both man and wife, so childish, and so rude, that a man may well doubt, whether Augustine were ruder, or the people. Among other things, he demanded counsel touching the mass, for that in divers countries he had seen divers orders of masses: and yet, good reader, of them all, "he had seen no private mass." For the mass in Rome at that time was a communion, as I have already shewed, and as it appeareth by these words, which the deacon pronounced at every mass aloud unto the people: "He that receiveth not the communion, let him give place." The difference stood in addition of certain ceremonies. For the countries abroad, as we may judge, kept still that simple order that they had first received. But the church of Rome was ever altering. For Gregory himself, unto whom this Augustine writeth, added the Introit, and the Anthems, and Hallelujah, and willed the Introit to be doubled twice, and the *Kyrie eleeson* nine times, and added also a certain portion to the canon. Of these and otherlike differences Augustine demandeth; and of the same, Gregory maketh answer. Hereof M. Harding guesseth thus: "It appeareth not by Bede, the service was in English: *ergo*, the service was in Latin." What kind of logic have we here? or how may this reason hold?

Beda, lib. 1.  
cap. 27.

Platin. in  
Vitis Pontif.  
Sabellicus,  
Ennead. 8.  
lib. 5.

It concludeth *ab autoritate negative*. I believe, M. Harding himself will not allow it. By the like form of reasoning, a man might as well say: "It appeareth not by Beda, that the preachers instructed or exhorted the English people in English: *ergo*, they instructed and exhorted the English people in Latin." Yet again he guesseth further: "There is no book to be found of the English service in that time: *ergo*, the service was in Latin." O what folly is this! Who is able to shew any book written in English a thousand years ago? or, if it could be shewed, yet who were able to understand it? There is no book to be found of the prayers that the Druids made in France, or the Gymnosophistæ in India; and will M. Harding thereof conclude, that therefore the Druids or the Gymnosophistæ prayed in Latin? Such regard he hath to his conclusions.

M. HARDING: *Twenty-third Division.*

St. Gregory himself is a witness of right good authority unto us, that this land of England, which he calleth Britain, in his time, that is almost a thousand years past, had the common prayers and service in an unknown tongue, without doubt in Latin, much in like sort as we have of old time had till now. His words be these: *Ecce, omnipotens Dominus pene cunctarum gentium corda penetravit: ecce, in una fide orientis limitem occidentisque conjunxit: ecce, lingua Britannia, quæ nihil aliud noverat, quam barbarum frendere, jamdudum in divinis laudibus Hebraum cæpit Halleluia resonare*: "Behold, our Lord Almighty hath now pierced the hearts almost of all nations: behold, he hath joined the borders of the east and the west in one faith together: behold, the tongue of Britain, that could nothing else but gnash barbarously, hath begun now of late in divine service to sound the Hebrew Hallelujah.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

St. Gregory in that place upon Job speaketh not one word, neither of the Latin nor of the English service. Only he sheweth the mighty power of God, that had converted all the world to the obedience of his gospel. These be his words: *Omnipotens Dominus coruscantibus nubibus cardines maris operuit: quia, emicantibus prædicatorum miraculis, ad fidem etiam terminos mundi perduxit. Ecce enim pene cunctarum jam gentium corda penetravit: ecce,*

Gregor. in  
Job, lib. 27.  
cap. 8. [1.  
862.]

Expositionis  
in Job, lib.  
27. cap. 8.  
[1. 862.]



*in una fide orientis limitem occidentisque conjunxit* : “ The Almighty Lord with his shining clouds hath covered the corners of the sea : for he hath brought the ends of the world unto the faith, at the sight of the glorious miracles of the preachers. For behold, he hath well near pierced through the hearts of all nations, and hath joined together the borders of the east and the west, in one faith.” Now, saith M. Harding, “ Gregory is a witness of right good authority, that this realm of England had the service in an unknown tongue.” Verily Gregory’s authority in this case were right good, if he would say the word. “ But,” saith M. Harding, “ St. Gregory reporteth, that the English people, in the praising of God, pronounced the Hebrew Hallelujah : *ergo*, he is witness to the Latin service.” This argument may be perfected and made thus :

The English people in their prayers said, Hallelujah :  
Hallelujah is an Hebrew word :

*Ergo*, the English people had the Latin service.

This is another *sylogismus* of M. Harding’s. God wot, he might have made it better. Of St. Gregory’s words he might rather have concluded thus :

The people of England in their prayers pronounced  
the Hebrew Hallelujah :

*Ergo*, they had the Hebrew service.

Which doubtless in the English churches had been very strange : and yet as much reason in that, as in the Latin. As for these Hebrew words, Hallelujah, Amen, Sabbaoth, and other like, they may as well be used in the English service as in the Latin ; and at this day are used, and continued still in the reformed churches in Germany, and therefore can import no more the one than the other.

#### M. HARDING : *Twenty-fourth Division.*

He lived in  
the year of  
our Lord  
640.

Bede in the end of his second book sheweth, that one James, a deacon of the church of York, a very cunning man in song, soon after the faith had been spread abroad here, as the number of believers grew, began to be a master or teacher of singing in the church, after the manner of the Romans. The like he writeth of one Eddi, surnamed Stephanus, that taught the people of Northumberland to sing the service after the Roman manner : and of

Anno Dom.  
668.

Putta, a holy man, bishop of Rochester, commending him much Anno 668. for his great skill of singing in the church, after the use and manner of the Romans, which he had learned of the disciples of St. Gregory.

These be testimonies plain and evident enough, that, at the Marvellous proofs. beginning, the churches of England had their divine service in Latin, and not in English. One place more I will recite out of Bede, most manifest of all other, for proof hereof. In the time of Agatho the pope, there was a reverend man called John Archi- Anno 680. cantor, that is, chief chaunter or singer of St. Peter's church at Rome, and abbot of the monastery of St. Martin there; Benedict an abbot of Britain, having builded a monastery at the mouth of the river Murus, (Bede so calleth it,) sued to the pope for confirmations, liberties, franchises, privileges, &c. as in such case hath been accustomed. Among other things, he obtained this cunning chaunter John, to come with him into Britain, to teach song.

Because Bede's ecclesiastical story is not very common, I have thought good here to recite his own words, thus Englished:

[Bede, lib. 4. cap. 18.] "This abbot Benedict took with him the foresaid John, to bring him into Britain, that he should teach in his monastery the course of service for the whole year, so as it was done at St. Peter's in Rome. John did as he had commandment from the pope, both in teaching the singing-men of the said monastery, the order and rite of singing and reading with utterance of their voice, and also of writing and pricking those things that the compass of the whole year required in the celebration and keeping of the holy days: which be kept in the same monastery till this day, and be copied out of many round about, on every coast. Neither did that John teach the brethren of that monastery only, but also many other made all the means they could to get him to other places, where they might have him to teach." Thus far Bede. I trow, no man will think, that this Roman taught and wrote the order and manner of singing, and pronouncing the service of the churches of this land, in the English tongue. If it had been deemed of the learned and godly governors of Christian people then a necessary point to salvation, to have had the service in the English, no man had been so apt and fit to have translated it as he, who in those days had, by special grace of God, a singular gift to make songs and sonnets in English metre, to serve religion and devotion. His name was Cednom, of whom Bede writeth marvellous things: how he made divers songs contain- Anno 680. ing matter of the holy scripture, with such exceeding sweetness, and with such a grace, as many, feeling their hearts compunct and pricked with hearing and reading of them, withdrew themselves from the love of the world, and were enkindled with the desire of the heavenly life. "Many," saith Bede, "of the English nation, attempted after him to make religious and godly poetries, but none could do comparably to him. For he was not," saith

he, alluding to St. Paul's words, "taught of men, neither by man, that art of making godly songs: but received from God that gift freely. And therefore he could make no wanton, trifling, or vain ditties, but only such as pertained to godly religion, and might seem to proceed of a head guided by the Holy Ghost," lib. 4. cap. 24. This divine poet Cednom, though he made many and sundry holy works, having their whole argument out of holy scripture, as Bede reporteth, yet never made he any piece of the service to be used in the church. (80) Thus the faith hath continued in this land, among the English people, from the fourteenth year of the reign of Mauritius the emperor, almost these thousand years, and until the late king Edward's time, the English service was never heard of, at least way, never in the church of England, by public authority, received and used.

The 80th untruth. For his examples reach nothing so far.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I little thought M. Harding would so much have bewrayed his want, to prove his matter by pipers and poets, and specially being all without the compass of six hundred years. For it is plain by Beda, that this James, the deacon, lived under king Edwin, about the year of our Lord 640. Putta and Edda, in the year 668. John the arch-chaunter, and Cednom, or Cedman, (for so his name is read in Beda, written in parchment,) in the time of pope Agatho, in the year 680, in whose name this decree is written: *Sic omnes sanctiones apostolicæ sedis accipiendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius divina voce Petri firmatæ*: "All the constitutions of the apostolic see must be received so, as if they were confirmed by the very heavenly voice of St. Peter." Unto such a tyranny the church of Rome at that time was grown. And the gloss upon the same saith: *Papa sanctitatem suam recipit a cathedra*: "The pope receiveth his holiness of his chair." Therefore herein M. Harding hath somewhat misreckoned himself. Although all the rest were certain, yet these witnesses come too late to make good proof.

Beda, lib. 2. cap. 16. et 20.

Beda, lib. 4. cap. 2.  
Beda, lib. 4. cap. 18.

Distinct. 19. Sic omnes.

"Yet," saith M. Harding, "these testimonies be plain and evident enough, that, at the beginning, the churches of England had their divine service in Latin, and not in English." These be very dumb testimonies. For neither James the deacon, nor John the arch-chaunter, nor Cednom, nor Putta, nor Beda himself ever said so. Therefore this



matter is proved by M. Harding's guess, and not by the words of the witnesses.

The force of his reason seemeth to weigh thus :

These musicians taught the clerks of England to sing their service after the Roman manner :

*Ergo*, they had the Latin service.

The substance of this argument may the better appear by some other like :

Triptolemus taught all nations to plough the ground after the manner of the Athenians :

*Ergo*, he taught all nations in the Athenian tongue.

Or : Abraham taught the Egyptians arithmetic and astronomy :

*Ergo*, Abraham taught the Egyptians in the Chaldee tongue.

For doth M. Harding believe, it is not possible to learn the Roman music without the Roman speech : or that the note cannot be taught without the ditty ? Verily I reckon him no good musician that will say so. By the like reason he might say : “ Damascus besought St. Hierom to send to him *Græcorum psallentiam*, ‘the music of the Greek church,’ to the intent to practise the same in the church of Rome : *ergo*, Damascus used the Greek service in the church of Rome<sup>34</sup>.”

Damasus ad Hieronym. [Epist. Damas. opp. Paris. 1672. p. 90.]

But Beda himself is best able to expound his own meaning. Having occasion to entreat of Adrianus and Theodorus, that came into England the year of our Lord 668, he writeth thus : *Sonos cantandi in ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantio tantum noverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere cœperunt* : “ From that time, they began to learn throughout all the churches of England, the sounds of singing, or the notes of music, which before that time were known only in Kent.” Beda saith, “ They learned the sounds, or notes, or harmony,” and maketh no mention of the tongue, or ditty. But let M. Harding's conclusions stand for good :

<sup>34</sup> [This is not a genuine epistle of Damascus ; it was quoted by Harding, ante vol. ii. p. 4.]

These musicians taught the clerks of England to sing after the Roman manner :

*Ergo*, they had the Latin service :

and doth he not see that he concludeth fully with me, and directly against himself? Certainly if the Roman music import the Latin service, then may I well reason thus: "The churches of England had not the Roman music, before James the deacon of York, which lived in the year of our Lord 640: *ergo*, before that time, the churches of England had not the Latin service." Which thing overthroweth all that M. Harding hath hitherto spoken, and standeth very well with my assertion.

Again, where he saith, "That John the arch-chaunter, that lived in the year of our Lord 680, taught the clerks of England to pronounce the Latin tongue;" it may thereof well be gathered, that before that time, they could not pronounce the Latin tongue; and so, before that time, had not the Latin service.

Now, forasmuch as M. Harding saith, By mean of the arrival and conquest of the Englishmen, who then were infidels, the faith was utterly banished out of this realm, and remained only in a few Britons, and Augustine at his coming restored the same again, and therefore is called of some, the Englishmen's apostle; I think it necessary therefore, shortly to touch somewhat of the state of the church within this land, both before the entry of our English nation, and also in the first time of our being here. Gildas saith, that Joseph of Arimathæa, that took down Christ from the cross, being sent hither by Philip the apostle, out of France, began first to preach the gospel in this realm, in the time of Tiberius the emperor<sup>35</sup>. Nicephorus

Gildas.

Anno Dom. 38.

Nicep. lib. 2. cap. 40. [1. 202.]

<sup>35</sup> [Jewel appears to be mistaken in attributing this account of the conversion of Britain by Joseph of Arimathæa, to Gildas; (who however dates the conversion from the time of Tiberius—see his Epist. sect. 6.) It is possible however that he refers to another work (which is apocryphal) under the name of Gildas, "de Victoria

"Aurelii Ambrosii," quoted upon insufficient authority by Fox in his Acts and Mon. lib. 1. and 2. See the whole question of Joseph's visit to England learnedly discussed by archbishop Usher. Britann. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 7—17. See also Baron. Annales, tom. i. ad ann. 35. §. 5. ed. Lond. 1687.]

saith, that Simon Zelotes, about the same time, came into this island, and did the like. Theodoretus saith, that St. Paul, immediately after his first delivery in Rome, under the emperor Nero, preached the gospel in this island, and in other countries of the west<sup>36</sup>. Tertullian saith, the island of Britain was subject unto Christ in his time<sup>37</sup>. And Origen witnesseth the like of the same island in his time<sup>38</sup>: at which time Lucius, the king of this realm<sup>39</sup>, was baptized, and received the gospel, and sent to Rome to Eleutherius the bishop there, for his advice, touching the ordering of his church and realm. Helena being an English woman, wife unto Constantius the emperor, and mother unto Constantinus, is notably praised for her faith and religion, by St. Ambrose, by Eusebius, by Sozomenus, and others.

Anno 38.  
Theodoret. de Curandis Græcorum Affect. lib. 9.  
Tertull. ad-versus Ju-dæos. [cap. 7. p. 189.] Anno 230.  
Orig. in Eze-chiel. hom. 4. [iii. 370.] Anno 240.

Chrysostom saith, that in his time the island of Britain had received “the power of the gospel.”

Ambr. de Obitu Theodosii. [ii. 1210.]  
Euseb. de Vita Con-stant. lib. 3. [1. 601.]  
Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 1. [ii. 43.]  
Chrysost. advers. Gen-tiles, tom. 5. [1. 575.]

Now let us consider in what state this realm stood, touching religion, at the coming of Augustine, at which time M. Harding surmiseth the whole faith was utterly decayed. First Beda saith, there were among the Britons seven bishops, and one archbishop, and one and twenty hundred monks, about Bangor; and as he further avoucheth, *plures viri doctissimi*, “many mo great learned men,” that utterly refused to receive this Augustine with his new religion.

Beda, lib. 2. cap. 2.

As touching the English nation, it appeareth by Beda, that the queen herself was christened, and had St. Martin’s church appointed her, freely to pray in with her company. Whereof it may be thought, the king was no great enemy unto the faith, and therefore the like also may well be thought of a great number of the people.

Beda, lib. 1. cap. 26.

Thus much shortly of the first planting of the religion of Christ within this island, and of the continuance of the

<sup>36</sup> [Theodoret. See ante, vol. ii. p. 29, and Dr. Cardwell’s lecture.]

<sup>37</sup> [Tertullian. “. . . Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita. . .”]

<sup>38</sup> [Origen (D. Hieronymo inter-

prete). “Quando enim terra Britanniae ante adventum Christi in unius Dei consensit religio-nem? . . . Nunc vero,” &c.]

<sup>39</sup> [On the subject of king Lucius, see Cardwell.]



same, from the time of Joseph of Arimathæa, until the coming in of Augustine. Now touching the common prayers that they used among themselves all that while. First, it were very much for M. Harding to say, that St. Paul, or Joseph of Arimathæa, or Simon Zelotes, being all Hebrews born, took order, that the service here should be ministered unto the people in the Latin tongue.

Again, Eleutherius the bishop of Rome, for general order to be taken in the realm and churches here, wrote his advice unto Lucius the king in this sort: *Suscepisti in regno Britannicæ, miseratione divina, legem et fidem Christi. Habetis penes vos in regno utramque paginam: ex illis, Dei gratia, per concilium regni vestri, sume legem, et per illam, Dei patientia, vestrum rege Britannicæ regnum. Vicarius vero Dei estis in regno illo*: “Ye have received in the kingdom of Britain, by God’s mercy, both the law and faith of Christ. Ye have both the New Testament and the Old. Out of the same, through God’s grace, by the advice of your realm, take a law, and by the same, through God’s sufferance, rule you your kingdom of Britain. For in that kingdom you are God’s vicar.” He willeth him to order matters according to the law of God. Now the law of God willeth the service so to be said, as the people may understand it, and give consent unto it, by saying *Amen*: but the people of this realm could not have said *Amen* unto the Latin service: therefore no man can well think, that king Lucius appointed the common service to be said in that tongue. Further, it may well be judged, that the greatest furtherers of religion within this realm were Grecians, and, for order of the church, had instructions evermore from the Greek church, and not from Rome, as it may appear by the keeping of the Easter day, and by other good conjectures, mentioned by Beda. Now, if the Grecians had refused the common vulgar tongue of this country, doubtless they would have appointed their own Greek tongue for the public ministration, and not the Latin.

Again, M. Harding allegeth St. Gregory, that the tongue of this nation was never otherwise taught, but only to roar

[Bed. Hist.  
lib. 1. cap. 4.]

Gregor. in  
Job, lib. 27.  
cap. 8. [i.  
862.]

out their barbarous language<sup>39</sup>; how then can he so suddenly say, that, from the time of Joseph of Arimathæa, they had evermore the service in the learned Latin tongue?

Besides this, St. Gregory writing unto Augustine, “will-  
 eth him, of the sundry orders that he had seen in divers  
 countries, to take such as he could judge might do most  
 good.” But M. Harding granteth, that, at the first plant-  
 ing of the faith, it is necessary the common prayers be  
 ministered in the known tongue; therefore it must needs  
 be thought, that Augustine coming hither, as it is supposed  
 to plant the faith, judged that thing best, that M. Harding  
 saith was necessary, and so ministered the common prayers  
 in the known tongue.

[Gregor. Au-  
 gustino,  
 tom. ii. p.  
 1152.]

And to conclude, it was most meet that Augustine, being purposely sent hither from Rome, should conform his church here to the church of Rome. But the service in the church of Rome was ministered then in the vulgar tongue, as it is many ways easy to be proved; therefore it behoved Augustine likewise in the churches of this country, to see the service ministered in the vulgar tongue.

Howbeit, it seemeth by M. Harding’s conclusion, that he maketh his account only from the fourteenth year of the emperor Mauritius, which was in the year of our Lord 596, “sithence which time,” he saith, “until the time of  
 king Edward the Sixth, there was never in this realm other  
 than the Latin service.” I may not greatly blame this  
 division. For of the six hundred years after Christ, whereupon I join with him in issue, liberally and of his own accord, he giveth me back five hundred fourscore and sixteen, and of so great a number, reserveth unto himself but only four poor years, and yet is not very certain of the same. But if Marianus Scotus’ account be true, that Au-  
 gustine came into this realm, not the fourteenth year of the emperor Mauritius, but four years after, which was just the six hundredth year after Christ, then he reserveth not  
 one year at all unto himself, but yieldeth me back all

Marian.  
 Scot.

Ann. Dom.  
 600.

<sup>39</sup> “Ecce lingua Britannæ, “in divinis laudibus Hebræum  
 “quæ nihil aliud noverat, quam “cæpit Halleluia resonare.”  
 “barbarum fremere [jamdudum

Abbas Urspergen. in Vita Mauricii. Anno 603.

together. Surely Abbas Urspergensis writeth thus : "Gregorius, in the year of our Lord 603, having sent in Augustine and Mellitus, converted England to the faith." All this hitherto maketh with me, unless M. Harding will say, The people of this country had Christian service before they were christened.

M. HARDING : *Twenty-fifth Division.*

Now touching the scripture by M. Jewel, and by all them of that side alleged, for the service to be had in the vulgar tongue, in 1 Cor. xiv. St. Paul treateth of the use of tongues, so as it was in the primitive church a special gift. As the faithful folk came together to pray, and to hear God's word, some one man suddenly stood up, and spake in the congregation with tongues of many nations, *Spiritu insusurrante*, as Chrysostom saith, that is, "by inspiration, or prompting of the Spirit," so as neither others that were present, neither himself, after the opinion of Chrysostom, understood what he said; that gift the apostle did not forbid, for that every gift of God is good, and nothing by him done in vain: but dehorted the Corinthians from the vain and ambitious use of it: and therefore did much extenuate the same, and preferred prophesying, that is, the gift to interpret and expound scriptures, far before it. It was not in the church, but in the apostles' time, or a very short while after them, and that altogether by miracle, the Holy Ghost being the worker of it.

The 81st untruth. For sundry doctors, both old and new, allege these words to this selfsame purpose.

As concerning the order of the common prayers and public service, in such sort as we have now, and that age had not, St. Paul mentioneth nothing, neither speaketh one word in that whole chapter, but of the use of the miraculous gift, as is said before. And therefore his sayings out of that chapter be not fitly alleged of M. Jewel, and the rest of our adversaries, against the manner of prayers and service of the church now received, and of long time used, which in the west is uttered in the Latin tongue, not by way of miracle, or peculiar gift, but according to the institution and ordinance of the church. *Profecto enim cœlum ecclesia tum fuit*: "In very deed," saith Chrysostom, "the church was then a heaven, whenas the Holy Ghost administered all things, moderated all the heads of the church, caught each one with his inspiration. As for now, we keep but the steps only of those things. We speak two or three of us, and that asunder, and one holding his peace, another beginneth. But these be but signs only, and memorials of things. And so when we have begun," (he meaneth *Dominus vobiscum, Et cum spiritu tuo*,) "the people answereth: meaning to signify thereby, that so in old time they spake, not of their own wisdom, but of the instinct of the Spirit of God." Thus much Chrysostom of the heavenly manner of the primitive church in the apostles' time. Now if in these

The place of St. Paul to the Corinthians maketh not for the service in the English tongue.

In 1 Cor. xiv. hom. 37. [x. 339.]



days the manner were like, if it pleased the Holy Ghost to pour upon us the like abundance of grace, as to do all things for us, to rule the heads of all faithful people, to carry each one of us with his divine inspiration, and, when we came to church together for comfort and edifying, to give into our hearts, and put into our mouths by daily miracle what we should pray, and what we should preach, and how we should handle the scriptures, in this case no catholic Christian man would allow the unfruitful speaking with strange and unknown tongues, without interpretation, to the let and hinderance of God's word to be declared, and to the keeping of the people only in gazing and wondering from saying *Amen*, and giving their assent to the godly blessing and thanksgiving. But the order of the church now is far otherwise. We have not those miraculous gifts, and right well may we do without them. For the speaking with tongues was instead of a sign or wonder, not to them that believed, but to the unbelievers. And signs be for the unfaithful; the faithful have no need of them. In churches, I mean, where ancient order is kept, whiles the service is sung or said, the ministers do not speak with tongues, or with a tongue, in such sort as St. Paul understood, but they do read and rehearse things set forth and appointed to them. St. Paul rebuketh them, who speaking with tongues, letted the preachers, so as the people present might not be edified. The Latin service is not so done in the church, as the exposition of the scriptures be thereby excluded. In the apostles' time they came to church, to the intent they might profitably exercise the gifts God gave them, and by the same, specially by the gift of prophesying, edify one another, and teach one another. Nowadays they come not together to church one to teach another, and to expound the scriptures in common, but to pray, and to hear the opening of God's word, not one of another, without order, but of some one, to wit, the bishop, priest, curate, or other spiritual governor and teacher.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

We may safely grant some part of M. Harding's long talk, without prejudice of our cause. Indeed St. Paul, in the place alleged, spake of the gift of tongues, as it was a special miracle, enduring only for a while, not gotten by labour or study, but freely inspired by the Spirit of God.

“But the Latin tongue,” saith M. Harding, “as it is now commonly used in the Roman service, is not given by any such prompting of the Holy Ghost, nor is now any miracle at all. Therefore the place of St. Paul cannot be applied unto it.” We grant well, it is no miracle, as it is now used, nor any way savoureth of the Spirit of God. But this is a great miracle, to see either any man so wicked,

that so will use it; or so impudent, that so will defend it; or so patient, that so will suffer it. This verily is a marvellous miracle.

M. Harding seemeth hereof to reason of this sort: "St. Paul forbade the Corinthians to use the special miracle and gift of God, without profiting the congregation: *ergo*, now having the Latin tongue without miracle, we may minister the service therein, although the congregation have no profit by it." This reason is strange, and holdeth as simply as the rest. Yet hath he given special advertisement in the margin, that this place of St. Paul serveth nothing to our purpose. If this note be so certain, and so authentical, as he would seem to make it, then were the doctors, both new and old, that took it otherwise, not well advised. For Lyra, writing upon the same, saith thus: *Si populus intelligat orationem sacerdotis, melius reducitur in Deum, et devotius respondet, Amen. Ideo dicit Paulus, Si tu sacerdos benedixeris spiritu, et populus non intelligat, quid proficit populus simplex, et non intelligens? Quapropter in primitiva ecclesia benedictiones et cætera omnia fiebant in vulgari*: "If the people understand the prayer of the priest, they are the better brought unto God, and with greater devotion they answer, *Amen*. Therefore St. Paul saith, 'If thou, being a priest, bless with thy spirit, and the people understand thee not, what profit then hath the people, being simple, and not understanding thee?' Therefore in the primitive church, both the blessings, and all other things, were done in the vulgar tongue." The vulgar tongue, saith Lyra, was used in the primitive church, upon occasion of these words of St. Paul. In the council of Acon it is written thus: *Psallentium in ecclesia Domino mens concordare debet cum voce, ut impleatur illud apostoli, Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente*: "The voice and mind of them that sing unto the Lord in the church, must agree together." The reason thereof is taken out of this place of St. Paul: "I will sing with my spirit, I will sing with my mind." Chrysostom saith, St. Paul driveth the whole tenor of this matter unto the profit of the hearers. These be his words: *Est autem quod Paulus dicit hujus-*

Lyra in  
1 Cor. xiv.

Concil. A-  
quisgran.  
can. 132.  
[xiv. 238.]

Chrysost. in  
1 Cor. hom.  
35. [x. 323.]

*modi: Nisi dixero quod percipi facile clareque a vobis possit, sed linguarum munere præditum me esse tantum ostendam, nullum ex his, quæ non intelligetis, fructum facientes, abibitis. Nam quæ utilitas esse possit ex voce non intellecta?*

“ St. Paul’s saying standeth thus: Unless I utter my words so as they may clearly and plainly be perceived of you, but only shew myself to have the gift of tongues, ye shall have no fruit of those things that ye know not. For what profit can ye get of a voice that ye cannot understand?” And again the same Chrysostom saith further: *Sic et vos, nisi significantem vocem dederitis, verba (quod dicitur) vento, hoc est, nemini facietis*: “ Even so you, unless you give a sound that may be known, as the proverb is, ye shall throw forth your words into the wind, that is to say, ye shall speak to no man.”

So likewise the emperor Justinian, where he commandeth all bishops and priests to minister the sacraments, and other prayers, aloud, and with open voice, he avoucheth the same by this place of St. Paul. For thus he saith: *Sic enim divinus apostolus docet, dicens, Si solum spiritu benedixeris, qui implet locum idiotæ, quomodo dicet Amen super tuam benedictionem? Non enim intelligit quid dicas*: “ So the holy apostle saith: ‘ If thou only bless, or pray with thy spirit, how shall he that supplieth the room of the unlearned say *Amen* unto thy blessing? for he knoweth not what thou sayest<sup>40</sup>.’ ” It appeareth by these authorities, notwithstanding M. Harding’s note, that St. Paul maketh somewhat for our purpose.

De Ecclesi-  
astic. Diver-  
sis Capit.  
[Novell.  
123.]

Howbeit, we build not our proofs upon the miracle and gift of tongues, that lasted but for a while, but upon these express and plain words of St. Paul, which no man can deny: “ He that speaketh with tongue, speaketh not unto men, but unto God: for no man heareth him.....If the trumpet give an uncertain voice, who shall prepare himself unto the war? Even so you, unless ye utter such words as have signification, how shall it be known what ye say? for ye shall speak into the wind.....I will pray with my spirit,

1 Cor. xiv. 2.

[Ver. 8.]

[Ver. 15.]

<sup>40</sup> [See part of the 123rd Novella in the original, printed at p. 43. note <sup>25</sup>.]



I will pray with my mind : I will sing with my spirit, I will sing with my mind. If thou bless with thy spirit, how shall the ignorant say *Amen* unto thy thanksgiving ?

[1 Cor. xiv.  
19.]

for he knoweth not what thou sayest.....In the church I had lever to speak five words with my mind, so that I may instruct others, than ten thousand words with my tongue.....

[Ver. 26.]

Let all things be done to the profit of the people." These words be evident : the exposition of Lyra, of the council of Acon, of Chrysostom, and Justinian, is plain. And yet must we, upon M. Harding's warrant, needs believe, that all this maketh nothing for the English service to be had in the church of England.

M. HARDING : *Twenty-sixth Division.*

The 82nd untruth. The altars or communion tables stood in the midst of the church, as shall appear.

And (82) forasmuch as all the people cannot hear the priest's prayers at the altar, (which hath from the apostles' time hitherto ever been a place to celebrate the holy oblation at,) turning himself for the most part to the east, according to the apostolic tradition, in what tongue soever they be uttered, for distance of the place they remain in, it is no inconvenience, such admitted into the quire, as have better understanding of that is said or sung, that the rest remain in seemly wise in the nether part of the church, and there make their humble prayers to God by themselves in silence, in that language they best understand, conforming themselves to the priest's blessing and thanksgiving, through faith and obedience, with their brethren in the quire, and giving assent to the same, understanding some good part of that is done, as declared by often preaching, and by holy outward ceremonies, perceivable to the senses of the simplest.

The people taught by ceremonies.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

"There have been altars," saith M. Harding, "even from the apostles' time, and that even as it is used now, far off from the body of the church. Neither could the people beneath hear the priest standing about at the altar, or understand what he meant, but only were instructed by holy reverend ceremonies, and gave consent unto all that was said by the priest, and yet knew not what he said."

This man could never utter so many untruths together without some special privilege. For first, where he saith, "The apostles in their time erected altars," it is well known, that there was no Christian church yet built in the

apostles' time. For the faithful for fear of the tyrants were fain to meet together in private houses, in vacant places, in woods and forests, and in caves under the ground. And may we think, that altars were built before the church? Verily Origen, that lived two hundred years after Christ, hath these words against Celsus: *Objicit nobis, quod non habeamus imagines, aut aras, aut templa*: "Celsus chargeth our religion with this, that we have neither images, nor altars, nor churches."

Origenes  
contra Cel-  
sum, lib. 4.  
[lib. 8. tom.  
i. 754.]

Likewise saith Arnobius, that lived somewhat after Origen, writing against the heathens: *Accusatis nos, quod nec templa habeamus, nec imagines, nec aras*: "Ye accuse us, for that we have neither churches, nor images, nor altars."

Arnob. lib.  
6. [p. 112.]

And Volaterranus and Vernerius testify, that Sixtus bishop of Rome, was the first that caused altars to be erected<sup>41</sup>. Therefore M. Harding was not well advised, so confidently to say, "That altars have ever been even sithence the apostles' time."

Volaterran.  
Vernerius.  
[Fascic.  
Temp. A. 1].  
124.]

Neither afterward, when altars were first used, and so named, were they straightway built of stone, as Durandus and such others say they must needs be, and that, *quia petra erat Christus*: "because Christ was the stone." For Gerson saith, that Sylvester bishop of Rome first caused stone altars to be made; and willed, that no man should consecrate at a wooden altar, but himself only, and his successors there. And notwithstanding, both for continuance and steadiness, such altars were used in some places, as it appeareth by Gregorius Nyssenus, St. Basil's brother<sup>42</sup>, yet it is plain by St. Augustine, that in his time in Africa they were made of timber. For he saith: "that the Donatists in their rage wounded the priest, and brake asunder the altar boards<sup>43</sup>." And again he saith: "That the dea-

Durandus,  
lib. 1.

Gerson con-  
tra Flore-  
tum, lib. 4.

Gregorius  
Nyssen. de  
Sancto Chri-  
sti Baptism.  
[iii. 369.]

August. ad  
Bonifacium,  
epist. 50.  
[ii. 654.]

<sup>41</sup> [In Volaterranus' account of Xystus, (Anthropol. lib. 22.) no mention is made of altars. Wernerus only says, "statuit. . . ut missa "non nisi super altare celebretur."]

<sup>42</sup> [Greg. Nyssen. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἅγιον, ᾧ παρεστήκαμεν, λίθος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν

φύσιν, κ. τ. λ. ed. Morell.]

<sup>43</sup> [Augustin. "Supradictum "quippe episcopum Bagaiensem " . . . stantem ad altare irruentes "horrendo impetu et furore crudeli, fustibus et hujuscemodi "telis, lignis denique ejusdem altaris effracti immaniter ceciderunt."]

con's duty was to carry or remove the altar." Which thing cannot be expounded of a heap of stones, but only of the communion table. And therefore St. Chrysostom commonly calleth it, *ἱερὰ τράπεζα*, "the holy board," and St. Augustine, *mensa Domini*, "the Lord's table," as other fathers also do in infinite places.

August. in q.  
Veteris et  
Novi Testam.  
q. 101. [iii.  
app. 92.]

And, notwithstanding it were "a table," yet was it also called "an altar;" not for that it was so indeed, but only by allusion unto the altars of the old law. And so Irenæus calleth Christ "our altar," and Origen calleth our heart, "our altar;" not that either Christ or our hearts be altars indeed, but only by a metaphor, or a manner of speech. Such were the altars that were used by the old fathers, immediately after the apostles' time.

Irenæus, lib.  
4. cap. 34.  
Origen in  
Matthæ.  
tract. 25.  
[ed. Erasm.  
ii. 141.]

Now, whether it may seem likely, that the same altars stood so far off from the hearing of the people, as M. Harding so constantly affirmeth, I refer myself to these authorities that here follow.

Eusebius thus describeth the form and furniture of the church in his time: *Absoluto templo, ac sedibus excelsissimis ad honorem præsentium, et subselliis ordine collocatis, ornato et post omnia sancto sanctorum, videlicet, altari, in medio constituto, &c.*: "The church being ended and comely furnished with high thrones for the honour of the rulers, and with stalls beneath set in order, and last of all, the holy of holies, I mean the altar, being placed in the midst.".....Eusebius saith not, the altar was set at the end of the quire, "but in the midst of the church" among the people.

Augustinus  
de Verbis  
Domini se-  
cundum Jo-  
han. serm.  
46. [v. 645.]

St. Augustine likewise saith thus: *Christus quotidie pascit: mensa ipsius est illa in medio constituta. Quid causæ est, o audientes, ut mensam videatis, et ad epulas non accedatis*: "Christ feedeth us daily: and this is his table here set in the midst. O my hearers, what is the matter that ye see the table, and yet come not to the meat?" In the council of Constantinople it is written thus: *Tempore diptychorum, cucurrit omnis multitudo cum magno silentio circumcirca altare, et audiebant*: "When the lesson or the chapter was a reading, the people with silence drew

Concil. Con-  
stantinopol.  
5. Act. I.  
[viii. 1066.]



together round about the altar, and gave ear." And to leave others, Durandus examining the cause why the priest turneth himself about at the altar, yieldeth this reason for the same: *In medio ecclesie aperui os meum*: "In the midst of the church I opened my mouth." And Platina noteth, that Bonifacius bishop of Rome was the first, that in the time of the ministration divided the priest from the people.

To leave further allegations, we see by these few, that the quire was then in the body of the church, divided with rails from the rest, whereof it was called *cancelli*, a chancel, and commonly of the Greeks, *presbyterium*, for that it was a place specially appointed unto the priests and ministers, and shut up from all others, for disturbing the whole ministry, as it appeareth notably by the story of St. Ambrose<sup>a</sup>, that willed the emperor Theodosius himself to depart forth<sup>44</sup>, and by Nazianzenus in the life of St. Basil<sup>b</sup>, and by a decree under the name of Clemens<sup>c</sup>, and by the council of Laodicea<sup>d</sup> concerning the same<sup>45</sup>; and, as it may be gathered by St. Chrysostom, at certain times of the service was drawn with curtains.

Even at this day in the great churches of Milan, Naples, Lyons, Mentz, and Rome, and in the church of St. Laurence in Florence, the priest at his service standeth towards the west, and so hath his face still upon the people. And therefore Durandus saith: "In such places the priest needeth not to turn himself round when he saith *Dominus vobiscum*, and saluteth the people."

And whereas M. Harding imagineth, that the people, for distance of place, could not hear what the priest said, a man, that hath considered the old fathers with any diligence, may soon see, he is far deceived. For Chrysostom saith: "The deacon at the holy mysteries stood up, and thus spake unto the people: *Oremus pariter omnes*: 'Let us pray all together.'" And again he saith: "The priest

Durandus, lib. 4. cap. 14.

Platina.

<sup>a</sup> Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 18. [iii. p. 218.]

<sup>b</sup> Nazianzen. in Vita Basil. [1. 808.]

<sup>c</sup> De Con. dist. 2. Sacerdotum.

<sup>d</sup> Concil. Laodiceen. can. 19. [ii. 567.]

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Ephes. hom. 3. [xi. 23.]  
Chrysost. in 2. ad Cor. hom. 18. [x. 368.]

<sup>44</sup> [Theodoretus. "Cancelli;" Græce Κιγκλίδες. The whole of this remarkable story will repay an attentive reading.]

<sup>45</sup> [Concil. Laod. see Bruns; . . . καὶ μόνοις ἔξω ἐῖναι τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ κοιναίνειν.]

and the people at the ministration talk together. The priest saith, 'The Lord be with you;' the people answereth, 'And with thy spirit.'" Justinian the emperor commanded, that the priest should so speak aloud at the holy ministration, "as the people might hear him." Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *Est ergo, quod est hic apud nos altare, terrestris congregatio eorum, qui sunt dedicati orationibus: qui veluti unam vocem habent communem, et unam mentem:* "The altar, that we have, is an earthly congregation of men given to prayers, which have, as it were, both voice and mind common together<sup>46</sup>." And to leave rehearsal of others, Bessarion saith: *Sacerdote verba illa pronunciante, assistens populus in utraque parte respondet, Amen:* "The priest speaking these words, the people standing by at each part of the sacrament, or on every side, saith *Amen*."

[Novell. 123.]

Clemens Strom. lib. 7. [ii. 848.]

Bessarion de Sacramento Eucharistie. [p. 184.]

Now judge thou, good reader, what truth may seem to be in that M. Harding addeth hereto: "That the people, remaining in seemly wise in the nether part of the church, was instructed by certain ceremonies and tokens shewed in the quire, and gave assent, and said *Amen* unto the priest praying at the altar, although they understood no part of his prayer." Certainly, St. Paul saith: *quomodo dicet, Amen, ad tuam gratiarum actionem? quandoquidem nescit quid dicas:* "How shall he say *Amen*, and give assent unto thy thanksgiving? for he knoweth not what thou sayest." So saith St. Augustine: *Ut populus ad id, quod plane intelligit, dicat Amen:* "That the people, unto that they plainly understand, may say *Amen*." Likewise St. Ambrose: *Imperitus audiens, quod non intelligit, nescit finem orationis, et non respondet Amen: id est, Verum, ut confirmetur benedictio. Per hos enim impletur confirmatio precis, qui respondent Amen: ut omnia dicta veri testimonio in audientium mentibus confirmentur:* "The unlearned, hearing that he understandeth not, knoweth not the end of the prayer, neither saith *Amen*: that is to say, 'It is true:' that the priest's blessing may be confirmed. For by them that answer *Amen*, the prayer is confirmed: whereby is

1 Cor. xiv. 16.

Augustin. de Catechizandis Rudibus, cap. 9. [vi. 272.]

† Ambros. in 1 Cor. xiv. [ii. app. 157.]

<sup>46</sup> [Clem. Strom. see the original, printed ante p. 47, note 28.]

meant, that whatsoever is spoken by the testimony of the truth, be made good in the minds of the hearers." Seeing therefore that neither altars were erected in the apostles' time : nor the communion table, that then was used, stood so far off from the body of the church : nor the people gave assent to that, they understood not : so many untruths being found in M. Harding's premises, we may well and safely stand in doubt of his conclusion.

M. HARDING : *Twenty-seventh Division.*

Whereas you, M. Jewel, allege St. Paul for your purpose, and make him to say thus, otherwise than he wrote : " If thou make thy prayer in the congregation with thy spirit, or noise of strange words<sup>47</sup>, how shall the unlearned man thereunto say *Amen* ? for he knoweth not what thou sayest : " you bombast this text with your own counterfeit stuffing. The translation authorized by king Edward and his council is truer, and followeth the Greek nearer, which hath thus : " When thou blessest with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say *Amen* at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest ? " Here the apostle St. Paul speaketh of blessing or thanksgiving with the spirit ; which spirit, what it is, it is not easy to declare, after the judgment of your own patriarch, John Calvin. St. Ambrose taketh it for the spirit we have received in baptism, that doth incline and move us to prayer. St. Thomas for the Holy Ghost given to us, for reason, and for the power imaginative. Erasmus, for the voice itself. Isidorus Clarius, for the power of pronouncing or utterance ; some, for the breath that passeth the throat ; some, for the intention ; St. Augustine very subtilly, *pro apprehensione quæ ideas concipit, et signa rerum*. Calvin in his Institutions, *De Oratione*, cap. 15, for the sound of the mouth, that is caused of the breath of a man's throat, and rebounding of the air. Chrysostom, for the spiritual gift, or the gift of the Holy Ghost to speak with tongues. Which Calvin himself, sitting in judgment, as it were, upon this doubtful matter, alloweth best, and condemneth the mind of all others, and also his own, though unawares, as it seemeth, and so he would condemn your " noise of strange words " likewise if he heard it. This text being so doubtful of itself in sense, so put out of tune by your noise of strange words, wherewith you descant upon the word " spirit, " so violently applied by your newfangled exposition, maketh little to the condemnation of the Latin service in the Latin church, specially seeing that St. Paul meaneth by that miraculous speaking with tongues, used or rather abused among the

<sup>47</sup> [See Sermon at Paul's Cross, vol. i. p. 12.]



Corinthians, a far different manner of speaking from that speaking, whereby the priest uttereth the common service.

The 83rd untruth. For the simple people understandeth not one word or syllable of the Latin tongue.

The priest, I grant, saying his service to his parish, speaketh with a tongue, but such manner of speaking is not that which St. Paul meant. For the priest understandeth it for the better part, if he be learned, and (85) the people be not utterly ignorant, because of often preaching, long custom, solemn feasts and sundry ceremonies. And therefore your argument, gathered out of that text, concludeth nothing against having the service in the learned Latin tongue, not perfectly understood of the unlearned people.

Verily, if you admit the exact judgment of St. Augustine concerning this place of St. Paul, then must you seek for other scriptures and proofs of your English service. For, as he discusseth this point learnedly, by the "tongue," St. Paul meaneth not the Latin, Greek or Hebrew, among the unlearned people, or any other alien or strange tongue, but only, and that by way of metaphor, any manner of utterance whereby the signs of things are pronounced before they be understood. And by the "spirit," he understandeth not a "noise of strange words," after your strange interpretation, but as it is here in a certain proper and peculiar manner taken, a power of the soul inferior to the mind, which conceiveth the similitudes of things, and understandeth them not. And things so uttered be uttered with the tongue and spirit, whether it be in English, or Latin, or any other language.

Vide August. lib. 12. de Genesi ad Literam, cap. 7-9. tom. 3.

And, Sir, although the people understand not in most exact wise what the priest saith in the Latin service, yet have they commodity and profit thereby, so far as it pleaseth God to accept the common prayer of the church, pronounced by the priest for them.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding hath found a sport to pass the time withal. He maketh M. Calvin a patriarch, and setteth him on high in judgment, to condemn all the world. St. Paul's meaning is bombasted and brought out of tune with a noise of strange words. And in this point he doubleth and sheweth copy, and playeth round about merrily with his own phantasy. Wherein he may not be much offended, if I say unto him, as St. Hierom said sometime unto St. Ambrose, for his commentaries upon St. Luke: *Verbis ludis: sententiis dormitas*: that is, "Your words be pleasant: but your senses be half asleep."

Ruffinus, [Apol. lib. 2. fom. 1. 375.]

For that I saw these words of St. Paul, "If thou bless with thy spirit," might seem doubtful, and divers expositions rising thereupon, I thought it meet, for the more ease

of the unlearned, to open what St. Paul might seem to mean by this word "spirit," in that place. And following the judgment of sundry old fathers, I called it a sound or noise of unknown words. This is it, that M. Harding here so pleasantly calleth, "stuffing and bombast, and a strange newfangled interpretation." Wherein he sheweth himself to be somewhat short witted, as may soon appear. For within a few lines after, expounding these words of St. Paul: *Quam decem millia verborum in lingua*, he himself useth the like bombast, and the very same stuffing.

Verily, if he will utterly condemn all manner paraphrase, or adding of other words for declaration of that seemeth hard, or doubtful in the text, then must he needs condemn not only the Septuagints, but also all other interpreters of the scriptures. Hereof Origen weighing in what sort the apostle St. Paul allegeth the words of the prophet David, writeth thus: *Sed quod dixit apostolus, Sicut scriptum est, Non est justus quisquam, non est intelligens, non est requirens Deum, non iisdem sermonibus invenitur in psalmo; sed alii permutantur, alii assuntur, alii relinquuntur. Quod a studiosis quibusque si observetur diligentius, puto dari in hac apostolicam auctoritatem, ut cum scripturæ testimoniis utendum fuerit, sensum magis ex ea, quam verba capiamus:* "But where," as St. Paul saith, "'As it is written, There is not one just man, there is not one of understanding, there is not one that seeketh after God,' this place is not found in the psalm by these words, but some words are altered by St. Paul, and some others are added unto, and some are left out. Which thing if the reader advisedly consider, I think that herein the apostle's authority is declared, that when we have need to use the testimony of the scriptures, we rather take the meaning thereof, than the words." Origen saith, St. Paul both altered the words of the prophet, and added to, and took fro; yet, I trust, M. Harding will not say, "St. Paul bombasted or stuffed the scriptures."

Perhaps he will reply, St. Paul by this word "spirit," meant not a strange tongue, or a noise of unknown words and therefore this stuffing is counterfeit. And because

Origen. in  
Epist. ad  
Roman. cap.  
3. lib. 3. [iv.  
pp. 504, 505.]

M. Harding saith so, perhaps the simple reader will so believe it. But if the old doctors and fathers so expound it, then all this strange mirth and triumph might have been spared.

St. Ambrose openeth St. Paul's meaning, and sheweth what he understood by this word "spirit," in this wise:

† Ambros.  
in 1 Cor. xiv.  
[ii. app. 157.]

*Si tu benedixeris spiritu, hoc est, si laudem Dei lingua loquaris ignota audientibus:* " ' If thou bless with thy spirit,' that is to say, If thou utter the praise of God in a tongue unknown unto the hearers." This, I trow, is no bombast, nor counterfeit stuffing: it is St. Ambrose's interpretation.

Likewise St. Chrysostom, expounding the same words, saith thus: *Si tu benedixeris spiritu, &c. Est quod dicit hujusmodi: Si peregrina lingua gratias agas, quam nec intelligas ipse, nec cæteris idem interpreteris, plebeius non potest subjicere, Amen:* " ' If thou bless with thy spirit,' &c. The meaning hereof," saith St. Chrysostom, " is this: ' If thou give thanks unto God' or pray ' in a strange tongue, which neither thou knowest thyself, nor canst expound unto others, the unlearned cannot say, *Amen.*' This," Chrysostom saith, " is St. Paul's very meaning."

Chrysost. in  
1 Cor. xiv.  
hom. 35. [x.  
325.]

M. Harding saith: " No: it is a strange newfangled interpretation." Erasmus in his Paraphrase turneth it thus: *Si tu decantas laudes Dei, sermone omnibus incognito:* " ' If thou sing out the praises of God, in a tongue unknown unto all thy hearers." Dionysius the Carthusian likewise saith thus: *Si tu benedixeris spiritu, id est, non verbis, quæ ab aliis intelligentur, sed tantum lingua:* " ' If thou bless with thy spirit,' that is to say, not with such words as others may understand, but only with the tongue."

Erasmus in  
1 Cor. xiv.

Dionysius  
Carthusian.  
in 1 Cor. xiv.

Anselmus saith: *Spiritus meus orat, id est, flatus oris mei orat, dum loquor in oratione:* " ' My spirit prayeth,' that is, the breath of my mouth prayeth, so long as I continue speaking." Whatsoever opinion M. Harding have of Erasmus, yet, I trow, of his modesty, he will not say, that either Dionysius the Carthusian, or St. Ambrose, or St. Chrysostom, or Anselmus, devised newfangled expositions, or descanted upon St. Paul, or set his text out of tune.

Anselmus in  
1 Cor. xiv.  
[ii. 160. a.]

" But," he saith, " the place of St. Paul is doubtful;



St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, Isidorus, Erasmus, and Thomas of Aquine understood it diversely." And will he thereof conclude thus: "These fathers mistook St. Paul's sense; *ergo*, St. Paul had no sense?" Or, "Divers doctors touching this place had divers judgments: *ergo*, we must have no judgment?" Or must we follow none of them because some were deceived? Or must we follow them all together, because they were doctors? Indeed they dissented somewhat in the taking of this word "spirit," as it is evident; but whether it were the Holy Ghost that St. Paul meant thereby, or imagination, or reason, or the gift of tongues, or the sound of the mouth, or the power of utterance, or the voice itself, it is certain and confessed by these and all other doctors and fathers, that St. Paul spake of "an unknown tongue," and as St. Gregory saith, *de strepitu oris*, "of the babbling of the mouth;" and so consequently of "a noise of strange words," wherewith M. Harding's tender ears are so much offended.

Hugo Cardin.  
[in Postilla]  
citat Grego-  
rium.

Now, forasmuch as it is avouched, that these words of St. Paul make nothing for our purpose, let us a little examine one or two of M. Harding's reasons, and see how well he applieth the same to his purpose. The first is this: "St. Paul entreateth of the miraculous gift of tongues: *ergo*, his words make nothing against the Latin service."

Again: "St. Paul willeth, that the priest utter the common prayers in the congregation, in such language as the unlearned may be edified thereby, and answer *Amen*: *ergo*, (M. Harding seemeth to say,) the priest may utter the common prayers in an unknown tongue." Surely these arguments would make a strange noise in the schools, and set all logic quite out of tune. But if St. Paul's words make nothing against the Latin service, as it is now used, what is it then that St. Paul condemneth? Why concludeth he thus: "How shall the ignorant say *Amen* at thy thanksgiving? for he knoweth not what thou sayest." Why setteth he the whole difference in knowing and not knowing? Or what misliketh he else, "but the sound or noise of a strange tongue," whereby he thinketh the people in no wise can be edified? If all this be nothing, as M. Harding

saith, then let him turn the whole course of St. Paul's words and say thus: "Pray thou in a strange unknown tongue, that the people may say *Amen*: for so may they say, although they know not what thou prayest."

The allegation of "the learned Latin tongue," which M. Harding so often useth, may serve rather to astonish the simple, than to make any good sufficient proof. So the subtle old heretics, Marcus and Heracleon, as it is reported by St. Augustine and Arnobius, used in their prayers certain Hebrew, and other strange unknown words, to the intent to amaze their hearers with admiration, and the more to commend and set forth their treachery.

No tongue is to be accounted learned in itself, but only in respect of some other thing, and as the learned term it, *per accidens*, that is, either for the eloquent manner of utterance, or for the substance of learned matter therein contained, or for the learning and knowledge of the speaker. But the Latin service, besides that it is not eloquent in itself (as indeed it needeth not to be), sometimes it holdeth not good congruity, but is utterly void of reason. Wherein let this one example stand for many. In the praises of the blessed virgin, it is written thus: *Cujus Dominus humilitatem respiciens, angelo nuntiante, concepit Redemptorem mundi*: By the learning of this learned tongue, we are taught it was not our lady but our Lord, that was mother unto Christ; for so it falleth out in construction, "Our Lord conceived the Redeemer of the world." The substance of the matter therein contained is sometimes vain and full of fables, sometimes wicked and idolatrous; the priests that utter this tongue, for the most part,

De Con. dist.  
4. Retulerunt.

Augustin. de  
Catechizan.  
Rudib. cap.  
9. [vi. 272.]

De Con. dist.  
4. Si non.  
[August. de  
Baptism. lib.  
6. cap. 25.]

such as are hardly able to make it learned. Pope Zachary saith, that a priest in his time baptized a child by these words, *In nomine Patria, et Filia, et Spiritu Sancta*. And St. Augustine saith, that divers priests in his time, in their common Latin service, whereas the people understood the Latin tongue, uttered barbarisms, and solecisms, that is to say, spake false Latin; and further saith, *Multa in illis reperiuntur contra catholicam fidem*: "In the same prayers many things are found contrary to the catholic faith."

August. ad  
Quod-vult-  
Deum. [viii.  
8.]

Such is this tongue that M. Harding here so highly commendeth to be so learned.

But grant we the Latin tongue to be eloquent, copious, and learned above all others. Yet think these men, that God's ears be so curious, or so dainty, that he can abide no prayer, but only in a "learned language?" Verily St. Paul requireth no brag of learning to be uttered in the congregation, but only plain speech and understanding, "that the simple may be edified."

Caligula the emperor set golden loaves, and all other services of whole gold before his guests, and bade them eat. Indeed they had a glorious sight to look upon. Yet had they nothing neither to eat nor to drink, for contentation of nature. Even so would M. Harding set his glittering service of Greek, Hebrew and Latin before the people, and bid them feed. A goodly show, no doubt, to gaze, and to wonder at. But alas, nothing have they there either to receive or to taste of, either to move them to repentance, or to comfort and quiet their conscience. It is notably well said by St. Augustine: *Quid prodest clavis aurea, si aperire quod volumus non potest? aut quid obest lignea, si hoc potest? quando nihil querimus, nisi patere, quod clausum erat*: "What availeth a golden key, if it cannot open that we would have opened? or what hurteth a wooden key, if it be able to open? Seeing we desire nothing, but that the thing that is shut may be opened."

Augustin. de  
Doctrina  
Christiana,  
lib. 4. cap.  
11. [lib. 74.]

"The people," saith M. Harding, "is not utterly ignorant what the priest saith. They understand him, although not perfectly, nor in exact wise, yet they understand him." Thus he doubteth and staggereth between perfect and imperfect, as not having yet well measured the people's understanding. For to say, The ignorant perfectly understand the Latin tongue, were against the manifest truth; to say, They understand no part thereof at all, were directly against St. Paul: for he requireth understanding. Therefore M. Harding divideth the matter, and saith: "They understand the Latin tongue, although not exactly or perfectly;" that is to say, they understand neither the scriptures, nor the prayers, nor any one thing that is spoken,



nor sentence, nor word, nor syllable, nor letter. They hear the priest speak, and know not what he saith. They see him turn and gesture, and know not what he meaneth. This, saith M. Harding, is the understanding of the Latin tongue. But alas, is this the understanding that St. Paul requireth, "That the people may be edified, and answer *Amen*?" And what pleasure hath he in abridging and bridling the understanding of God's people? Why should they not rather understand perfectly what the priest saith? Why should there be any imperfection in godly things?

Ephes. iv. 13. St. Paul wisheth that we may all grow unto a perfect man in Christ Jesus; and St. Augustine wisheth, that the people may say *Amen*, "to that they plainly and perfectly understand."

Augustin.  
de Catechi-  
zandis Rudib.  
cap. 9. [vi.  
272.]

M. HARDING: *Twenty-eighth Division.*

But St. Paul, say they, requireth that the people give assent and conform themselves unto the priest, by answering *Amen*, to his prayer made in the congregation.

Verily, in the primitive church this was necessary, when the faith was a learning. And therefore the prayers were made then in a common tongue known to the people, for cause of their further instruction; who being of late converted to the faith, and of painims made Christians, had need in all things to be taught. But after that the faithful people was multiplied and increased in great numbers, and had been so well instructed in all points of religion, as by their own accord they conformed themselves to the ministers at the common prayers; in the Latin church the service was set out in Latin; and it was thought sufficient, part of the people in the quire to answer for the whole. And this hath been esteemed for a more expedite and convenient order, than if it were in the vulgar tongue of every nation.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Whoso will maintain an untruth, ought to be circumspect, and to remember well how his tales may stand together. M. Harding a little before wrote thus: "Cicero saith, 'Tongues be in number infinite.' Of them all, neither M. Jewel, nor any one of his side is able to shew, that the public service of the church in any nation, was ever for the space of six hundred years after Christ in any other tongue, than in Greek or Latin." Now contrariwise, either of

M. Harding  
contrary to  
himself.

forgetfulness what he hath said before, or of some better advice, he saith thus : “ Verily in the primitive church this was necessary, when the faith was a learning. And therefore the prayers were made then in a common tongue known to the people, for cause of their further instruction.” By these words he utterly overthroweth that he so confidently said before, and very well confirmeth my assertion. M. Jewel may now take his ease. For M. Harding himself is able to prove against himself, that in the primitive church the service was ministered in the common tongue ; and that he confirmeth for a verity, and saith, “ It was necessary so to be, and could not be otherwise.” These sayings of M. Harding’s, being directly contrary, cannot possibly stand both together. If the one be true, the other of necessity must needs be false.

The reason that he gathereth in this place, standeth upon the diversity of times. “ Then,” saith he, “ the people was ignorant, and needed of all things to be taught. Now they are instructed and understand the faith, and are increased in multitude. Therefore it is better now for expedition, the service be said in a strange language, and that only the clerk make answer to the priest instead of the whole congregation.”

Thus saith M. Harding, not by the authority of St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Hierom, St. Chrysostom, or any other like old catholic doctor, but only by warrant of late doctors, Thomas of Aquine, and Nicholas Lyra, the former of which two lived at the least twelve hundred years after Christ. His reason in short is thus : “ The people now is instructed ; *ergo*, they ought to have their service in a strange tongue.”

If M. Harding mind to persuade the world, he had need to bring other arguments. But what, if the people be not instructed ? What, if they know nothing, no not the articles of the Christian faith ? What, if there be no man to instruct them ? What, if the priest be even as is the people, and the blind lead the blind ? Yet I trow, M. Harding will not alter his new decree : but his strange service must continue still. Verily the understanding of God is the soul

and life of God's church ; and, as it was necessary at the first planting thereof, so is it always necessary for the continuance of the same. St. Hilary saith : *Ecclesiæ, in quibus verbum Dei non vigilat, naufragæ fiunt* : " 'The churches wherein God's word is not watchful, suffer wreck.' " Neither did St. Paul say, Let this order hold for the time, while the faith is a learning, as M. Harding would have him say, but thus he saith : *Hæc quæ scribo, Domini sunt mandata. .... Omnia ad ædificationem fiant* : " 'The things that I write, are the commandments of the Lord. Let all things be done to edify.' " The edifying of the people, which is the final cause hereof, continueth still ; therefore ought the understanding of the people, which is the efficient cause hereof, to continue still.

x Cor. xiv.  
37. 26.

M. HARDING : *Twenty-ninth Division.*

I grant they cannot say *Amen*, to the blessing or thanksgiving of the priest, so well as if they understood the Latin tongue perfectly. Yet they give assent to it, and ratify it in their hearts, and do conform themselves unto the priest, though not in special, yet in general ; that is to wit, though not in every particular sentence of praise and thanksgiving, or in every several petition, yet in the whole. For if they come to church with a right and good intent, as the simple do no less than the learned, their desire is to render unto God glory praise and honour, and to thank him for benefits received ; and withal, to obtain of him things be-hoveful for them in this life, and in the life to come. And without doubt this godly affection of their minds is so acceptable to God, as no understanding of words may be compared with it. This requisite assent and conforming of themselves to the priests they declare by sundry outward tokens and gestures : as by standing up at the gospel, and at the preface of the mass ; by bowing themselves down and adoring at the sacrament, by kneeling at other times, as when pardon and mercy is humbly asked, and by other like signs of devotion in other parts of the service.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Yet once again M. Harding would make the world believe, that the ignorant people understandeth the Latin tongue, although not perfectly ; and that they may in general give their consent unto whatsoever the priest saith, although they know not one word what he saith. And so between St. Paul and M. Harding there appeareth a plain



contrariety. For St. Paul saith, "The unlearned cannot say *Amen* to thy prayer, because he knoweth not what thou sayest." "Yes," saith M. Harding, "although he know not what thou sayest, yet may he nevertheless say *Amen*." But hereto he layeth his correction: "I grant," saith he, "they cannot say *Amen* to the blessing and thanksgiving of the priest, so well as if they understood the Latin tongue."

O M. Harding, who taught you thus to qualify the people's duties? Why do you thus openly deceive your brethren? Why teach you them to say *Amen*, to edify themselves, to be thankful, and to conform their hearts unto God, "not so well," but in worse wise, as you yourself confess, than you know they are bound to do? Your own tongue confesseth against yourself, that you lead the people of God from the better unto the worse.

I know the humble affection and devotion of the heart is more precious before God, than any understanding or sound of words. For that indeed is the praying in spirit John iv. 23. and truth. And therefore God complaineth of the contrary: "This people draweth near unto me with their lips, Matt. xv. 8. saith the Lord, but their heart is far from me." Hereof M. Harding gathereth this reason:

The people is devout and godly disposed:

*Ergo*, they must have their prayers in a strange tongue. I would M. Harding would consider, and reform his reasons better. This is too simple; it needeth no answer. Certainly, if the simple people be so devout, and so reverently disposed in the darkness, without any teaching, or understanding, much more would they reverently and devoutly dispose themselves, if they heard the godly prayers, and understood them.

Kneeling, bowing, standing up, and other like, are commendable gestures, and tokens of devotion, so long as the people understandeth what they mean, and applieth them unto God, to whom they be due. Otherwise they may well make them hypocrites: but holy or godly they cannot make them. Cœlestinus writeth thus unto the bishops of France: *Docendi potius sunt, quam illudendi: nec impo-* Inter Decreta Cœlestin. pap. I. [Mansi. iv. p. 465.]

*nendum est eorum oculis : sed mentibus infundenda præcepta sunt :* “The people must rather be taught, than mocked : neither must we deceive their eyes, but must pour wholesome precepts into their hearts.”

M. HARDING : *Thirtieth Division.*

And whereas St. Paul seemeth to disallow praying with tongue in the common assembly, because of want of edifying, and to esteem the utterance of five words or sentences with understanding of his meaning, that the rest might be instructed thereby, more than ten thousand words in a strange and unknown tongue ; all this is to be referred to the state of that time, which was much unlike the state of the church we be now in. The tongue of the prayers, which St. Paul speaketh of, was utterly strange and unknown, and served for a sign to the unbelievers. The Latin tongue, in the Latin church, is not altogether strange and unknown. For beside the priest, in most places, some of the rest have understanding of it, more or less, and now we have no need of any such sign. They needed instruction : we be not ignorant of the chief points of religion. They were to be taught in all things : we come not to church specially and chiefly to be taught at the service, but to pray, and to be taught by preaching. Their prayer was not vailable, for lack of faith, and therefore was it to be made in the vulgar tongue, for increase of faith : our faith will stand us in better stead, if we give ourselves to devout prayer. They, for lack of faith, had need of interpretation, both in prayers, and also in preaching, and all other spiritual exercises : we having sufficient instruction in the necessary rudiments of our faith, for the rest, have more need, by earnest and fervent prayer, to make suit unto God, for an upright, pure, and holy life, than to spend much time in hearing for knowledge. Concerning which thing,

The words of  
Chrysostom  
much abused.

Chrysostom hath this saying : *Profecto si orare cum diligentia insuescas, nihil est quod doctrinam tui conservi desideres, quum ipse Deus, sine ullo interprete, mentem abunde luce afficiat :* Contra Anomæ. hom. 3. [1. 469.]  
“Verily, if thou use to pray diligently, there is nothing why thou shouldst desire teaching of thy fellow-servant, seeing God himself doth abundantly lighten thy mind, without any interpreter.”

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding, by counterpoints, and by sundry circumstances of difference, compareth the state of the primitive church and his church of Rome together, and thereof would seem to prove, that St. Paul’s words, which St. Paul himself calleth *mandata Domini*, “the Lord’s commandments,” stood good only for that time present, and for no

time afterward : as if he would say, God's will were mutable, or his commandments hold only for term of years.

I grant, there appear great notes of difference between the order of the primitive church, and the order that now is in the church of Rome. For, to leave all that M. Harding hath here touched by way of comparison, and to note that may seem near to this purpose : the rulers there wished and laboured, that the people might abound in knowledge ; here their whole labour and study is, that the people may abound in ignorance. There the ministers spake with sundry tongues, that the people of all nations might understand them ; here the minister speaketh in a strange tongue, to the intent that no man may understand him. There the simple and the ignorant were made eloquent ; here the bishops, and cardinals, and greatest learned, are made dumb. And to prosecute no further, there appeared in the primitive church the undoubted works of the Holy Ghost, and the very tracts and steps of Christ's feet ;

and therefore Irenæus, and other old fathers, in cases of doubt, appealed evermore to the order, and example of that church. Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 3. [p. 175.]

And Tertullian saith : *Hoc adversus omnes hæreses valet, id esse verum, quodcunque prius : id esse adulterinum, quodcunque posterius* : " This mark prevaieth against all heresies : That is the truth, that was used first : that is false and corrupt, that was brought in afterward <sup>48.</sup>" Tertull. adv. Praxeam. [cap. 2. p. 501.]

And therefore the holy fathers in the council of Nice made this general shout, and agreed upon the same : Τὰ ἔθνη ἀρχαία κραεῖν :

“ Let the ancient orders hold still :” referring themselves thereby to the use and order of the primitive church. Concil. Nicen. [can. 6.]

Contrariwise, Valentinus, Marcion, and other like heretics, thought themselves wisest of all others, and therefore utterly refused, as M. Harding and his fellows now do, to stand to the apostles' orders. Thus Irenæus writeth of them : *Dicent se non solum presbyteris, sed etiam apostolis sapientiores esse, et sinceram veritatem invenisse* :

“ They will say, that they are wiser, not only than other Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 2. [p. 175.]

“ They will say, that they are wiser, not only than other

<sup>48</sup> [Tertull. adv. Praxeam. “ Quo peræque adversus universas hæreses jam hinc præjudicatum sit, “ id esse verum quodcunque primum, id esse adulterinum quodcunque posterius.”]



priests, but also than the apostles, and that they have found out the perfect truth." I say not, M. Harding is so wickedly minded as Valentinus or Marcion was : but thus I say ; he utterly refuseth to stand to the apostles' orders, and followeth other late devised fantasies : and therein undoubtedly doth even as the old heretics Marcion and Valentinus did.

Now let us consider M. Harding's reasons :

"The state," saith he, "of the primitive church was far unlike the state of the church we be now in :

*Ergo*, we are not bound to St. Paul's commandments."

Again he saith : "Some one or other in a parish understandeth somewhat of the Latin tongue :

The people is sufficiently instructed in religion :

They come together now, not so much to be instructed, as to pray :

*Ergo*, they ought to have their service in a strange tongue."

O what meaneth M. Harding thus to deal ! Loath I am to make the comparison ; but true it is : very children do not use to reason in so childish sort. He knoweth well, that commonly neither any one of the whole parish understandeth the Latin tongue, nor oftentimes the priest himself. He knoweth, that the people of his church is not instructed in religion, nor no man suffered to instruct them. And, notwithstanding both these parts were granted true, yet could he not any way conclude, that therefore the people should have their service in a strange unknown tongue. Thus neither is the antecedent true, nor doth the consequent thereof follow. Now judge thou, good Christian reader, whether these proofs bear weight sufficient to lead thy conscience.

He saith, Prayers in the common vulgar tongue were necessary in the primitive church, for breeding of the faith. But what thing can he breed by prayers in a strange tongue ? what knowledge, what faith, what charity ? The apostles

Luke xvii. 5. were not void of faith : yet they said unto Christ, "O Lord, increase our faith." Christ, speaking of the latter days,

Luke xviii. 8. saith thus : "When the Son of man shall come, he shall

scarcely find faith in the world." Doubtless the thing, that was good to rear the faith, is also good to repair the faith; and that was then necessary to increase faith, is also necessary now to continue faith.

But to what end doth he allege the words of Chrysostom? Did that good father ever minister the common service unto the people in a strange tongue? M. Harding knoweth, the people understood Chrysostom what he prayed, and answered him in their own tongue, and prayed with him all together. Or did Chrysostom ever check the people for their knowledge, or discourage them from reading the scriptures? Certainly he oftentimes rebuketh them for not reading<sup>49</sup>, and willeth them to buy the scriptures, to read the scriptures<sup>50</sup>, and to confer at home with their families, of the scriptures<sup>51</sup>. And whereas M. Harding, to withdraw the people's hearts from reading, saith, The scriptures are dark and dangerous, and no man able to wade in them without a guide; St. Chrysostom contrariwise, to encourage the people to read the scriptures, saith, They be plain and easy, and that the ignorant and simple man, by prayer unto God, may attain the knowledge of them, without any master or teacher, by himself alone. For these be his words, even as M. Harding hath alleged them: *Profecto si orare cum diligentia insuescas, nihil est, quod doctrinam conservatui desideres, cum ipse Deus, sine ullo interprete, mentem tuam abunde luce afficiat*: "If thou use to pray diligently, there is no cause why thou shouldst desire the teaching of thy fellow-servant. For God himself will abundantly lighten thy mind, without any interpreter." The like saying he hath often elsewhere. Declaring the story of

Chrysost. contra A. nom. hom. 3. [i. 469.]

Chrysost. 2 Thess. hom. 3. [xi. 528.]

Chrysost. in Matt. hom. 2. [vii. 30, 31.]

Chrysost. in Psalm. xliiii. [v. 145.]

Chrysost. ad Coloss. hom. 9. [xi. 390.]

Chrysost. contra Anomæos, hom. 3. [i. 469.]

<sup>49</sup> [Chrysost. in 2 Thessal. 'Αλλ' οὐκ οἶδά, φησι, τὰ ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς κείμενα' διὰ τί οὐκ οἶδας; μὴ γὰρ Ἑβραϊστί; μὴ γὰρ Ῥωμαϊστί; μὴ γὰρ ἑτερογλώσσως εἶρηται; οὐχὶ Ἑλληνιστί λεγεται; κ. τ. λ.]

<sup>50</sup> [Id. in Matt. Οὐκ εἰμί, φησι, τῶν μοναχῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκα ἔχω, καὶ παιδία, καὶ οἰκίας ἐπιμελοῦμαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ πάντα ἐλυμήνατο·

ὅτι ἐκείνοις μόνοις νομίζετε προσήκειν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν θείων γραφῶν, πολλῶν πλείον ἐκείνων ὑμεῖς δεόμενοι, κ. τ. λ.]

<sup>51</sup> [Id. in Coloss. Ἀκούσατε ὅσοι ἐστέ κοσμικοὶ, καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ παίδων προϊστασθε, πῶς καὶ ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέπει μάλιστα τὰς γραφὰς ἀναγνώσκειν· καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σπουδῆς.]

Chrysost. in  
Gen. hom.  
35. [iv. 349.]

queen Candace's chamberlain, he writeth thus: *Fieri non potest, ut is, qui divinis scripturis magno studio ferventique desiderio vacat, semper negligatur: licet enim desit nobis hominis magisterium, tamen ipse Dominus, superne intrans corda nostra, illustrat mentem, rationi jubar suum infundit, detegit occulta, doctorque fit eorum quæ ignoramus:* "It cannot be that any man, with great study and fervent desire reading the scriptures, should still be left destitute. For, although we lack the instruction of man, yet will God himself, from above, enter into our hearts, and lighten our mind, and cast a beam of light into our reason, and open things that be hidden, and become our teacher of such things as we know not." Therefore this place of Chrysostom standeth M. Harding in small stead, unless it be, by the countenance of an ancient doctor, to make the simple believe he hath said somewhat. The reason, that he gathereth hereof, is this: "The unlearned man, be he never so simple, may read the scriptures in his own vulgar tongue, and understand the same without a teacher: *ergo*, the common service ought to be ministered unto the lay people in an unknown tongue."

M. HARDING: *Thirty-first Division.*

I would not here that any man should lay to my charge the defence of ignorance, as though I envied the people any godly knowledge. I wish them to have all heavenly knowledge, and to be ignorant of nothing necessary to their salvation. Yea even with my very heart I wish with Moses, *Quis tribuat, ut omnis populus prophetet, et det Dominus illis Spiritum suum!* Num. xi. 29. "O that all the people could prophesy, and were learned in God's holy word, and that our Lord would give them his Spirit!" But all the common people to understand the priest at the service, I think wise and godly men judge it not a thing so necessary, as for the which the ancient order of the church, with no little offence, public and universal authority not consulted, should be condemned, broken, and quite abrogated by private advice of a few.

If default were in this behalf justly found, it is known to whom the redress pertaineth. Concerning the state of religion, in all ages the general council, representing the universal church, for all sores hath ordained wholesome remedies. Where they be not heard, of whom Christ said, "He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me;" it is to be feared, that,



concerning the service, the new learned boldness is not so acceptable to God, as the old simple humility. It were good the people, having humble and reverent hearts, understood the service: I deny not.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding wisheth unto the people "all manner of knowledge, that is godly and heavenly, and necessary for their salvation." Only his Latin service he would in no wise have them know. Whereby he seemeth privily to grant, that his Latin service neither is godly nor heavenly, nor necessary for the people's salvation.

He would, "that all the people were learned in God's holy word." And, notwithstanding he know there is no man to instruct them, yet may he not suffer them either to read the scriptures, or to understand any part of their common prayers. I trow he would have them learn only by revelation.

"If any fault were justly found," saith M. Harding, "the redress thereof belongeth to the general council." I grant, the very name of a council is great, and weigheth much. But, if there were none other possible way to seek redress, then most miserable were the church of God. If Christ and his apostles would have waited for a general council, the gospel had been unpreached, and the church unplanted, until this day. "It were good," saith M. Harding, "the people understood the service: I deny not." Forget not this, good reader: "That the people understood their service, M. Harding himself confesseth, it were good." And why so? Doubtless because he is forced to see and say, that it would redound to the glory of God, and to the great comfort and profit of the people. Therefore he saith, "It were good." Whereof we may well gather this argument of the contrary: Then, that the people in this brute sort is kept still in ignorance, not understanding any portion of their common service, by M. Harding's own confession, "it is ill." And is it not lawful to do that is good, to redress that is ill, to seek God's glory, and the comfort of his people, without consent of a general council?

It appeareth well, God is not bound to such orders. He

hath oftentimes restored his church, and reformed abuses and heresies, by particular conference within several realms and countries: as we see by these private councils holden at Carthage under St. Cyprian; at Neocæsarea in Pontus; at Ancyra in Galatia; at Gangra in Paphlagonia; and by other like, without any consent of a general council. So likewise saith St. Ambrose against Secundus and Palladius: “The bishops of the east part, and so the bishops of the west, have ever used severally to assemble themselves together<sup>52</sup>, (as occasion was offered, and to reform their churches by themselves, without troubling the whole world.”)

“But,” saith M. Harding, “Christ himself hath by special words commended the authority of councils: *Qui vos audit, me audit*: ‘He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me.’” We deny not the truth of these words: notwithstanding it is plain, Christ spake there no more of a council, than of any one private man, having commission from him, and doing his commandment; whereunto the whole council is bound to yield, no less than others, and without which the council, be it never so general, is no council. But where did ever Christ give commandment, that the service should be said in a strange unknown tongue? or where did any general council ever decree it? Once again I ask M. Harding, and gently desire his answer, where did any general council, from the beginning of the world, ever decree, that the people should hear their service in a strange unknown tongue? if there be any such council, why doth he not shew it? if there be none, nor never were any, why doth he thus mock the world with the name of a council?

Cicero saith very well of himself: *Nihil nobis opus erat lege, de quibus nihil esset actum legibus*: “To restore me from exile, I needed no law, against whom there was nothing done by law.” So may we likewise say, We need

Cyprian, tom. 2. In 1. tom. Concil. In Concil. Aquilein. in Collatione cum Palladio. [iii. 602.]

Luke x. 16.

Cicero de Legib. lib. 3. 19.

<sup>52</sup> [“Interim quia superioribus temporibus concilium sic factum est, ut orientales in orientis partibus constituti haberent concilia, occidentales in occidente, nos, &c.” The words in parenthesis are not St. Ambrose’s but Jewel’s.]

no council to restore God's truth, that was taken away from us without a council. Every prince is bound in the whole to see the reformation of his own church and country. Neither will God hold him excused, if he say, I will tarry till all other princes, and the whole world do the like. Joshua, that noble prince, when he had assembled all the tribes of Israel before him, thus he spake unto them: *Si malum vobis videtur, ut serviatis Domino, optio vobis datur*: <sup>15.</sup> *...ego autem, et domus mea, serviemus Domino*: "If ye think it ill to serve the Lord, ye shall have your choice: but I and my house will serve the Lord." It pleased God to plant his church in this realm, three hundred years before the first general council was holden at Nice<sup>53</sup>. The Lord's hand is not shortened. He is likewise able now to reform the same by his holy word, without tarrying for a general council.

Howbeit, the world may see these be but pretexts and vain shifts, without any simple meaning. They have now had a council of long continuance: they have heard the great complaints of all Christian kingdoms and countries, namely, touching their common service. M. Harding himself confesseth, "It were good the people understood it." Yet notwithstanding the council saith, No, it were ill: it were not good: and can in no wise abide it. And so either the council condemneth M. Harding, or else M. Harding condemneth his council. But Christ saith unto us, "Let the dead bury their dead: come thou, and follow me." <sup>Matt. viii. 22.</sup>

#### M. HARDING: *Thirty-second Division.*

Yet all standeth not in understanding. St. Augustine saith notably: *Turbam non intelligendi vivacitas, sed credendi simplicitas tutissimam facit*: "That as for the common people, it is not the quickness of understanding, but the simplicity of believing, that maketh them safest of all." And in another place: *Si propter eos solos Christus mortuus est, qui certa intelligentia*

<sup>53</sup> [See ante, vol. ii. p. 29. note 13; and p. 74. note 35. See also Dr. Cardwell's "Lecture on the supposed visit of St. Paul to Britain. 1837." He shews, that the

supposed visit of Joseph of Arimathea to Britain is destitute of all foundation, and that of St. Paul highly improbable.]



*possunt ista discernere, pene frustra in ecclesia laboramus* : “ If Christ,” saith he, “ died only for them which can with certain or sure understanding discern those things (concerning God), then is the labour we take in the church, in manner, in vain.” God requireth not so much of us, how much we understand, as how much we believe, and through belief, how much we love. And when we shall all appear before Christ, in that dreadful day of judgment, (84) we shall not be required to give an account of our understanding, but (faith presupposed) of our charity.

The 84th un-  
truth. For it  
is written :  
“ He that  
knoweth not,  
shall not be  
known.”  
1 Cor. xiv.  
38.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Whereas M. Harding saith, “ All standeth not in understanding ;” if he mean thereby profound knowledge, and deep conceiving of mysteries, as St. Augustine also meant, it may well be granted. Otherwise, as touching the public service, as Chrysostom saith, “ Unless the unlearned understand what thou prayest, he is not edified, neither can he give consent unto thy prayer : thou throwest thy words into the wind, and speakest in vain.” And therefore the very substance of the public prayer resteth in the understanding of the hearer.

Chrysost. in  
1 Cor. hom.  
35. [x. 325.]

No man may justly presume of that M. Harding saith, “ We shall not render account of our knowledge.” For, at that terrible day of the Lord, we shall assuredly render account of our wilful ignorance. Christ himself, unto whom God hath given all judgment, saith, “ If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the pit.” And again : “ This is the condemnation of the world : light is come into the world, and men love the darkness more than the light.” This, saith Christ, is the condemnation of the world. And the wise man saith, The wicked at that terrible time shall make their moan on this sort : *Aberravimus a via veritatis, et justitiæ lumen non fulsit nobis : et sol intelligentiæ non exortus est nobis* : “ We strayed from the way of the truth : and the light of justice shined not before us : neither did the sun of understanding arise unto us.” Chrysostom oftentimes complaineth of the people’s negligence in this behalf : *Non sum, inquis, monachus : uxorem habeo, et filios, et curam domus [gero]. Hoc illud est quod omnia quasi una quadam peste corrumpit, quod lectionem divina-*

Rom. xiv. 12.  
2 Cor. v. 10.

Matt. xv. 14.

John iii. 19.

Wisd. v. 6.

Chrysost. in  
Matt. hom.  
2. [vii. 30.]

*rum scripturarum ad solos putatis monachos pertinere, &c.:*

“Thou wilt say, I am no monk: I have wife and children, and charge of household. This is it, that, as it were, with a pestilence, infecteth all together, that ye think the reading of the holy scriptures belongeth only unto monks.”

He addeth further: *Multo est gravius, atque deterius, superfluum esse putare legem Dei, quam illam omnino nescire.* In eadem hom. [ibid.]

*Hæc enim verba sunt, quæ de diabolica prorsus meditatione promuntur:*

“The fault is greater, and more grievous, to think God’s law is superfluous (and not needful for thee), than to be ignorant, whether there be any such law, or no: for these words come even from the persuasion of the devil.”

Again he saith: *Hæc diabolicæ inspirationis operatio est, non sinentis [al. sustinentis] nos aspicere thesaurum, ne divitias acquiramus. Propterea ille suadet, nihil omnino esse commodi divinas audire leges, ne quando ex auditu sequi videat actionem:* In eadem. [vii. 32.]

“This is the working of the devil’s inspiration: he would not suffer us to see the treasure, lest we should get the riches.

Therefore he counsel- leth us, that it utterly availeth nothing to hear the laws of God, lest that upon the hearing, he may see our doing follow.”

Here we see, the doctrine of simple ignorance, which M. Harding so stiffly maintaineth, is called by Chrysostom, “the devil’s study;” “the devil’s judgment;” “the devil’s inspiration.”

And where he saith, “God will call us to no reckoning of our knowledge, or lack of knowledge,” Chrysostom plainly avoucheth the contrary, by these words: *Dices, Non legi: non est hæc excusatio, sed crimen:*

“Thou wilt say, I have not read the scriptures: this is no excuse, but a sin.” Chrysost. ad Hebræos, hom. 17. [xii. 170.]

Christian simplicity is not wilful ignorance, that is to say, to believe every fable that is told, and to examine and know nothing.

As Christ saith, “Be ye simple as Matt. x. 16. doves,” so he also saith, “Be ye wise as serpents. Take Coloss. ii. 4.

heed ye be not deceived.” St. Paul saith, “He that know- 1 Cor. xiv. 38. eth not, shall not be known<sup>54</sup>.” Chrysostom hereof writeth

<sup>54</sup> [Jewel here follows the Vulgate: “Si quis autem ignorat, ignorabitur.” 1 Cor. xiv. 38. The

Greek has *εἰ δὲ τις ἀγνοεῖ, ἀγνοεῖται*: “But if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant.”]

Chrysost. in  
Johan. hom.  
16. [hom. 17.  
tom. viii.  
102.]

thus: *Paulus ait, Verbum Christi inhabitet in vobis abundanter. Sed quid ad hæc respondent fucis stultiores? Benedicta omnis anima simplex: et, Qui simpliciter ambulat, in fiducia ambulat. Hoc videlicet omnium malorum est causa, quod non multi scripturarum testimonia in opportunis rebus sciunt adducere. Non enim eo loco simplex pro stulto, aut pro eo qui nihil novit, intelligendus est: sed pro homine non malo, nec versuto. Nam si ita intelligeretur, supervacaneum fuisset dicere, Estote prudentes, sicut serpentes: “ St. Paul saith, ‘ Let the word of God dwell in you abundantly.’ But what will these fools say hereto? ‘ O,’ say they, ‘ blessed is the simple soul.’ And, ‘ He that walketh simply, walketh surely.’ This is the very cause of all mischief, that in cases of necessity, there be not many able to allege the scriptures. For ‘ a simple man’ in that place may not be taken for a fool, or a man that knoweth nothing: but for a man that meaneth no ill, or worketh no fraud. For if it were to be taken so, it had been in vain for Christ to say, ‘ Be ye wise as serpents.’” Therefore M. Harding, in the defence of ignorance, thus assuring the world, that God will not be offended with want of knowledge, deceiveth the people of God, and saith not the truth. The reason that M. Harding hereof gathereth, standeth thus:*

The people, as St. Augustine saith, cannot attain profound knowledge, and God beareth with their simplicity:

*Ergo, they ought to have their service in a strange tongue.*

#### M. HARDING: *Thirty-third Division.*

Now, though the people know not the Latin tongue, and albeit it were better they had the service in their own vulgar tongue, for the better understanding of it, yet as it is, forasmuch as (85) it consisteth in manner altogether of the scriptures, that great profit cometh both to the reader and to the hearer of it, Origen sheweth at large in the twentieth homily upon Joshua. [Origen, H. 444.] Because it were overlong to bring all that he saith there to this purpose, the sum of the whole may thus be abridged: “ First, that the heavenly powers and angels of God, which be within us, have great liking in our utterance of the words of the scripture. Though we understand not the (86) words we utter with our mouth, yet those powers,” saith he, “ understand them, and thereby be invited, and that with delight, to help us.” And

The 85th untruth. For in the Romish service there are infinite vanities, besides the scriptures. The 86th untruth. For Origen speaketh of the ignorance of the allegory, not of the words.



speaking of the powers that be within us, to whom charge of our souls and bodies is committed, he saith, "that if the scriptures be read of us, they have pleasure therein, and be made the stronger toward taking heed to us, yea, and that, if we speak with tongues, and our spirit pray, and our sense be without fruit." And there he allegeth to that purpose the common place of St. Paul to the Corinthians, calling it marvellous, and in a manner a mystery, shewing how the spirit prayeth, the sense being without fruit. After this he declareth the evil powers, and our ghostly enemy the devil, by our reading and hearing of the scriptures, to be driven from us. "As by enchantments," saith he, "snakes be stayed from doing hurt with their venom, so, if there be in us any serpent of contrary power, or if any snake wait privily to mischief us, by virtue of the holy scripture rehearsed, (so that for weariness thou turn not away thy hearing,) he is put away." St. Augustine confirmeth the same doctrine, where he saith, *Psalmus dæmones fugat, angelos in adiutorium invitat*: "The psalm, (read devoutly or heard,) putteth devils to flight, and provoketh angels to help." At length Origen shewing how by meat or drink we find remedy for sore eyes, though we feel no benefit forthwith in eating or drinking, he concludeth his special part of comparison with these words: "In this wise we must believe also of the holy scripture, that it is profitable, and doth good to the soul, *etiamsi sensus noster ad præsens intelligentiam non capit*, 'although presently our sense do not attain the meaning or understanding,' because our good powers by these words be refreshed and fed; and the contrary, that is, our adversary powers are weakened and put to flight." At length making objection to himself on the behalf of his hearers, as though they should lay this doctrine to his charge, for excuse of taking further pains, in preaching and expounding the scriptures to them, thereto he answereth, and saith, "No, no, we have not said these to you for that cause, neither have we uttered these things to you for excuse, but to shew you, *in scripturis sanctis esse vim quandam, quæ legenti etiam sine explanatione sufficiat*: 'that in the holy scriptures there is a certain power or strength, which is sufficient for one that readeth it, yea without any expounding of it.'" This sufficiency he referreth, I think, to the procuring of the good powers to help us, and to the driving away the malice of evil powers, our ghostly enemies, that they hurt us not.

In prologo  
Psalmorum.  
[tom. iv.]  
[Basil. tom.  
i. 91.]

St. Augustine  
speaketh of  
uttering the  
psalms in a  
known  
tongue.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It appeareth, M. Harding is not so certain of his doctrine, but he may alter and vary without discredit. He held before for certain, "that the ignorant people understandeth the Latin tongue, although not perfectly, or in exact wise." Now he seemeth to be resolved otherwise,

M. Harding  
altereth his  
judgment.

that they understand it not at all. These contrary sayings will hardly stand together, unless he mean, the people's understanding, and no understanding, is all one thing.

Origen, as he is here alleged, saith, "That the very reading or hearing of God's word, profiteth much, and rejoiceth the angels both within and about us, although we understand it not." For better understanding hereof, I must briefly note certain particular opinions that this godly father had of angels and heavenly powers. And, to leave much that might be said, he held thus: that angels have their offices allotted unto them diversely, some over trees, some over herbs, some over other things; that some have power to teach grammar, some logic, some rhetoric, some other sciences; and that some others are appointed to guide and guard us in this life, and shall appear before God, at the general judgment, to yield account of our doings. By these it may appear, what Origen meaneth by the angels, that, as he saith, "be about us."

Origen. in  
Josue, hom.  
23. [ii. 451.]  
Πεpl' Αρ-  
χῶν. lib. 3.  
cap. 3. [i.  
143, 144.]

Origen. in  
Numer. hom.  
20. [ii. 351.]

His saying is very comfortable unto the simple mind, that delighteth in God's word, although oftentimes not understanding the deep sense of it. Of reading the scriptures his purpose was to speak, and not of having the service or prayers in a strange tongue. Wherefore M. Harding was the more to blame, thus to wrest his author to a wrong purpose. Origen oftentimes exhorted the people to the reading of the scriptures. Upon Isaiah the prophet he writeth thus: *Utinam omnes faceremus illud quod scriptum est, Scrutamini scripturas*: "I would we would all perform that is written, 'Search the scriptures.'"

M. Harding  
wresteth  
Origen from  
his purpose.

Origen. in  
Isa. hom. 2.  
[iii. 109.]

In this place upon Joshua he layeth this objection against himself<sup>55</sup>: "It may be said, The scriptures be hard." He answereth: "Yet, that notwithstanding, if thou read them, they shall do thee good. For the Lord Jesus Christ, if he find us occupied in the scriptures, and exercised in the study thereof, not only vouchsafeth himself to be refreshed and fed in us, but also, seeing such a banquet prepared, bringeth with him his Father unto us." In the end he

Origen. in  
Josue, hom.  
20. [ii. 444.]

<sup>55</sup> [This objection is implied, not expressed.]

concludeth thus: *Hæc ideo diximus, ne fastidium capiamus audientes scripturas, etiamsi eas non intelligamus* :

“These things have I said, that we loathe not to hear the scriptures, although we understand them not.” And thus much Origen spake, not of the grammatical or plain understanding of the scriptures, that riseth of the letter, but of the allegory, or profound sense, whereunto the unlearned cannot well attain. For so he expoundeth his own meaning, written upon the Gospel of St. Matthew :

*Etiam illi salvantur, qui literam evangelii, hoc est, simplicem narrationem, sequuntur. Sola enim narratio simplex sufficit simplicioribus ad salutem* :

Origen. in  
Matt. tract.  
26. [ed. Fro-  
ben. ii. 147.]

“Even they be saved, that follow the letter, that is to say, the plain story of the gospel. For only the simple story is sufficient unto the salvation of the simple<sup>56</sup>.” So far forth may the unlearned have profit by reading of the scriptures, although he further understand them not. So likewise saith St. Augustine :

*Qui diligit legem Dei, etiam quod in ea non intelligit, honorat* :

August. in  
Psalm. cxix.  
[iv. 1360.]

“Whoso loveth the law of God, honoureth in it even that thing that he understandeth not.” Likewise he confesseth of himself, that at his first entry into the faith of Christ, he received great profit by reading the Epistle of St. Paul unto the Romans, “although he were not then able thoroughly to conceive the meaning of it<sup>57</sup>.” And further, that by the counsel of St. Ambrose, he read the prophet Isaiah :

August. Conf-  
fess. lib. 7.  
cap. 12. [leg.  
cap. 21. tom.  
i. p. 143.]

“And although he fully understood him not, yet was he thereby made the meeter to receive the grace of God<sup>58</sup>.” The like also writeth St. Hierom, by way of prophecy, of the latter days, before the coming of Christ :

August. Conf-  
fess. lib. 9.  
cap. 5. [i.  
162.]

*In adventu Messiae..... populus elevabitur, et prophetabit [al. properabit], qui sub magistris ante fuerat consopitus, et ibit ad montes scripturarum ; ibi inveniet montes Mosen, et Jesum filium Nave ;*

Hieron. in  
Nahum, cap.  
3. [iii. 1590.]

<sup>56</sup> [This passage, the editor believes, is not to be found in the Greek editions. In general there is little correspondence, as respects the commentaries on St. Matthew, between the Benedictine edition, and the Froben. Erasmian, which Jewel used.]

<sup>57</sup> [St. Augustine names no particular epistle, nor does he use the

exact words alleged by Jewel.]

<sup>58</sup> [St. Augustine asked Ambrose, what book he should read “in order that he might be the meeter to receive the grace of God.” St. Ambrose recommended Isaiah. St. Augustine read that prophet once, but not understanding it, postponed a re-perusal.]



*montes prophetas ; montes Novi Testamenti, apostolos, et evangelistas ; et cum ad tales montes confugerit, et in hujusmodi montium fuerit lectione versatus, si non invenerit qui eum doceat,.....tamen illius studium comprobabitur, quod confugerit ad montes..... :* “ At the coming of Messias, the people shall be lifted up, and shall prophesy, that before lay asleep under their masters : and they shall go to the mountains of the scriptures, and there shall they find mountains, Moses, and Joshua the son of Nave, the mountains of the prophets, the mountains of the New Testament, the apostles, and the evangelists. And when they shall flee to such mountains, and shall be occupied in the reading thereof, if they find not one to teach them, yet shall their endeavour and good will be allowed, for that they have fled unto the mountains.” Thus may the simple have profit by the reading of the scriptures, albeit he fully understand them not ; thus be the angels delighted ; thus is the devil molested and grieved with the same, as Origen himself witnesseth by these words : *Dæmonibus super omnia est tormentorum genera, et super omnes pœnas, si quem videant verbo Dei operam dare, scientiam divinæ legis, et mysteria scripturarum, intentis studiis perquirentem :* “ Unto the devils it is a grief above all kinds of torment, and above all pains, if they see any man labour the word of God, seeking with earnest mind the knowledge of God’s law, and the mysteries of the scriptures.”

Origen. in  
Numer. hom.  
27. [ii. 378.]

August. in  
prolog. in  
Psalm. [tom.  
iv.]  
[Basil. in  
Psalm. tom.  
i. 91.]

Chrysost. in  
Matthæ. in  
Opere Im-  
perfecto,  
hom. 43. [vi.  
app. 184.]

St. Augustine<sup>59</sup>, as M. Harding allegeth him, saith : “ The psalm chaseth away devils ;” but St. Augustine giveth not such power unto a psalm pronounced only with the lips, in a strange unknown tongue : but unto a psalm understood, and believed, and pronounced from the heart. For to say the word of God, only because it is written or spoken, is available of itself without understanding, as M. Harding seemeth to say, is a superstitious and a Jewish kind of folly. Chrysostom saw and reproveth the superstition thereof in his time by these words<sup>60</sup> : *Quidam sacer-*

<sup>59</sup> [The prologue to the Psalms, considered both by Harding and Jewel to be St. Augustine’s, is not by that father, but by St. Basil.]

<sup>60</sup> [For an account of the Opus Imperf. in Matthæum, see vol. i. p. 244.]

*dots....partem aliquam evangelii alligant circa collum. Dic sacerdos insipiens: Nonne quotidie evangelium in ecclesia legitur, et auditur ab hominibus? Cui ergo in auribus posita evangelia nihil prosunt, quomodo eum poterunt circa collum suspensa salvare? Ubi est virtus evangelii? In figuris literarum, an in intellectu sensuum?* “Certain priests there be that bind a piece of the gospel about their necks. Tell me, thou foolish priest: Is not the gospel every day read and heard of men in the church? If the gospel do not profit a man being put in his ear, how then can it profit him being tied at his neck? For wherein resteth the power of the gospel? in the form of the letters, or in the understanding of the sense?” So may we say unto M. Harding: Wherein resteth the power of the psalms, wherewith the devil is vanquished? in the bare sound of the words, or in the sense and meaning of the same? Certainly St. Augustine saith: “The word of God worketh in our hearts, *non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur*, not because it is spoken, but because it is believed.” Likewise saith St. Basil: *Non quare profert verba psalmi, psallit Domino, sed quicumque de puro corde proferunt psalmodiam*: “He singeth not unto the Lord that uttereth the words of the psalm, but they that from a pure heart pronounce the psalmody.” Likewise Origen: *.....fiduciam habet ad Deum, non propter verba orationis, vel psalmi, quamvis videantur bene composita, et de scripturis electa, sed quia altare cordis sui bene construxit*: “He that prayeth, hath trust in God, not for the words of his prayer, or of the psalm, although they seem to be well made, and chosen out of the scriptures, but because he hath well made up the altar of his heart.” This was Origen’s whole and only purpose. He exhorteth not the people to hear service in a strange language. Neither is M. Harding able to shew, that there was any such service in the whole church of God, either then in Origen’s time, or within four hundred years after him. Only he encouraged the people to read the scriptures, yea although they were not able to reach the bottom of them, as it plainly appeareth by his own words following: *In scripturis sanctis est vis quædam, quæ legenti etiam sine*

Augustin.  
tract. 80. in  
Johan. [iii.  
pt. 2. 705.]  
Basil. in  
Psalm. 29.  
[i. 126.]

Origen. in  
Matt. tract.  
25. [ed. Fro-  
ben. tom. ii.  
p. 141.]

1 Cor. xiv.  
14.

*explanatione sufficiat*: “In the holy scriptures there is a certain virtue sufficient for the reader, yea although they be not expounded;” and therefore he allegeth these words of St. Paul, “My spirit prayeth, but my sense is without fruit,” not to warrant M. Harding’s strange order of prayer, which neither St. Paul nor Origen himself ever knew, but only to shew, that, as God of his mercy helpeth our weakness in praying, so likewise in reading the scriptures he helpeth our weakness in understanding. St. Paul saith:

Rom. viii. 26.

*Quid oremus, quemadmodum oporteat nescimus: sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus*: “We know not what to pray, as it is meet for us to pray: but the Spirit of God entreateth for us with sighs that cannot be expressed.” Thus, saith Origen, “The angels of God delight to see us praying. Thus they delight to see us reading.” But if they delight only to see us pray or hear in a strange tongue we know not what, as M. Harding would gather, then are they the angels of darkness, and not of God.

Out of this place of Origen M. Harding gathereth these reasons: “The angels are delighted to hear us read or pray, although we of our weakness know not thoroughly what we speak; *ergo*, the people, in Origen’s time, had the common service in a strange tongue.” The error or fraud hereof may the better appear by that I have afore declared. It is called *fallacia ab amphibologia*, that is, of the doubtful taking of one word. For this word “understanding” hath two significations. For we understand the words, and we understand the meaning of the words. Origen saith: “The people understood not the meaning of the scriptures:” *ergo*, saith M. Harding, “they understood not the words of the scriptures.” Again Origen saith: “They had no full and perfect understanding:” *ergo*, saith M. Harding, “they had no understanding at all.” And therein standeth the falsehood of his argument. And again, the words, that Origen writeth of reading the scriptures, M. Harding applieth the same to the common service, and so violently and perforce altereth and depraveth Origen’s meaning, and concludeth one thing for



another. And thus this good father is drawn in to prove that thing that he never neither knew, nor did, nor willed to be done.

M. HARDING: *Thirty-fourth Division.*

I trust, wise, godly, and steadfast men, who be not carried about with every wind of doctrine, will be moved more with the authority of Origen, a man always in the judgment of all the Christian world accounted most excellently learned, than with the scorning of Calvin, who, speaking of the ancient Latin service used in England and France, saith: *Ad ecclesiam ex sono non intellecto nullus penitus fructus redit*: "that of the sound not understood, no fruit at all returneth to the church:" using that word of despite that might better be spoken by a minstrel of his pipe and tabret, than by a preacher of the divine service. Neither hereof with any milder spirit speaketh his disciple and sub-minister Theodore Beza, the hot minister of the deformed churches of France: *Quæcunque preces ab aliquo concipiuntur eo idiomate, quod ipse non intelligat, pro Dei ludibrio sunt habendæ*: "What prayers soever be made," saith he, "of any man in a tongue that he understandeth not, they be to be taken for a mockery of God." Whosoever here alloweth Calvin and Beza, condemned of the church, must condemn Origen, for this point never reprovèd or touchèd of any, that have not spared him wheresoever they could charge him with any error. If all prayers made in an unknown tongue be a mocking of God, as Beza saith, then were the prayers uttered by miracle in the primitive church with tongues (which the utterers themselves understood not after the mind of Chrysostom) a mocking of God; for I see nothing whereby they are excluded from his (87) general saying, and universal proposition<sup>60</sup>. Verily this teaching of Beza is not sound: I ween, if he were out of the protection of his deformed churches, and convented before a catholic bishop to give an account of this doctrine, he would step back and revoke that rash saying again. For else he should seem to grant that God gave at the beginning of the church, the gift of tongues to be mocked withal: which were very absurd and blasphemous. St. Paul wisheth that all the Corinthians spake with tongues, but rather that they prophesied.

The 87th untruth. For this general saying of Chrysostom is untruly reported.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I marvel much, what soundness of doctrine M. Harding can mean, having thus taken upon him to be the proctor of ignorance; or how he can well commend others for constancy and steadfastness, finding himself with so light winds so often removed; or wherefore he should so highly

<sup>60</sup> [Surely Harding means Beza's "general saying," and not (as Jewel in his marginal note infers) St. Chrysostom's.]

In Institutio-  
nib. (lib. iii.  
cap. 20. sect.  
33.]

Confessionis  
cap. 4. sect.  
16.

commend that old father Origen, at whose hands he findeth so small relief.

That he thus bitterly chargeth that godly learned father John Calvin, for saying thus: "Of the unknown service there redoundeth no manner profit unto the church;" it toucheth many others mo, and not him only. St. Au-

August. Con-  
fession. lib.  
11. cap. 3. [1.  
197.]

gustine saith thus: *Si Moses mihi Hebræa voce loqueretur, frustra pulsaret sensum meum, nec inde mentem meam quicquam tangeret*: "If Moses should speak unto me in the Hebrew tongue," (for that I understand it not,) "he should beat my senses in vain, neither should there any thing

Chrysost. in  
1 Cor. xiv.  
hom. 35. [x.  
323.]

thereof enter into my mind." St. Chrysostom saith: *Nisi dixero quod percipi facile clareque a vobis possit, sed linguarum munere præditum me esse tantum ostendam, nullum ex his, quæ non intelligitis, fructum facientes abibitis, credo.*

*Nam quæ utilitas esse ex voce non intellecta potest?* "Unless I speak that you may plainly and clearly understand, but only shew myself to have the gift of tongues, ye shall depart away having no fruit of those things that ye understand not. For of a voice that ye know not, what profit can ye have?" Again he saith: *Et vos, nisi significantem sonum dederitis, verba vento, hoc est, nemini facietis*: "And you, unless ye utter a sound with understanding, ye shall speak to the wind, that is to say, ye shall speak to nobody."

No fruit.

Speak to the  
wind.  
Nicol. Lyra  
in 1 ad Cor.  
xiv.

And to pass by all others, Nicolas Lyra saith thus: *Si tu sacerdos benedixeris spiritu, id est, absque hoc, quod populus intelligat, quid proficit populus simplex et non intelligens?*

"If thou, being the priest, do bless with thy spirit, that is to say, if the people understand thee not, what profit hath the simple people thereby, not understanding thee?" Therefore as M. Harding saith, M. Calvin in this point was a scorner, so might he as well have said, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, Nicolas Lyra, and others are all scornors.

No profit.

"If all prayers," saith M. Harding, "made in a strange tongue be a mocking of God, as Beza saith, then were the prayers uttered by miracle in the primitive church with tongue, which the utterers themselves understood not, after the mind of Chrysostom, a mocking of God." This exposition of Chrysostom is very strange and agreeth with few

others: and yet is the same here by M. Harding untruly reported. For Chrysostom saith not, that whosoever in the primitive church uttered the prayers with tongue, understood not himself what he said, but plain the contrary. For thus he saith: *Linguis loquens se ipsum ædificat: quod quidem fieri non potest, nisi quæ loquatur norit*: “He that speaketh with tongues, profiteth himself: which cannot be unless he understand what he saith.” And he addeth further: *Et hactenus quidem disputat de illis, qui ea, quæ loquuntur, intelligunt*: “Hitherto St. Paul disputeth of them, that understand what they say.” Hereby it is plain, that M. Harding’s general proposition is not generally true. “But others,” Chrysostom saith, “there were, that abused the gift of tongues, and knew not themselves what they said.” And whether this were a mocking of God or no, let M. Harding judge. Chrysostom saith: “It was a confusion of the church: a bragging and ostentation of themselves: without consideration either of themselves or of others; that such a one was Simon Magus: that such were the Jews that betrayed themselves unto the devil.” And St. Augustine compareth them unto ousels, pies, and ravens, that cry and chatter they know not what. Therefore I doubt not but M. Beza’s exposition will stand, both before God, and also before any good catholic bishop.

Chrysost.  
1 Cor. xiv.  
hom. 35. [x.  
33<sup>a</sup>.]

Eadem ho-  
milia. [ib.  
326.]

#### M. HARDING: *Thirty-fifth Division.*

If our new masters condemn the Latin service in the Latin church, for that the people understand it not, thereof must it follow, that the English service, so much of it as consisteth of David’s Psalms, which is the most part, be also condemned. The like may be said of other nations. For how many shall we find not of the people only, but also of the best learned men, that understand the meaning of them, in what tongue soever they be set forth? St. Hilary compareth the Book of Psalms to a heap of keys, that be to open the doors of every house of a great city, laid together. Among whom it is hard to find which key serveth which lock, and without the right key no door can be opened. St. Augustine likeneth the people of Africa, singing the psalms which they understood not, to ousels, popinjays, ravens, pies, and such other birds, which be taught to sound they know not what, and yet they understood the tongue they sang them in. And

[Hilar. Pro-  
leg. in Psal.  
p. 14.]



therefore he exhorteth them to learn the meaning of them at his preaching, lest they should sing not with human reason, (as it is before recited,) but with voice only as birds do.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Esther iii. 8. All our matter is fully answered and confuted; for M. Harding hath called us "new masters:" even with the same authority and spirit, that Haman said unto king Darius, "the Jews troubled his country, and professed and used a 'new law.'" Certainly our doctrine is Christ's doctrine, and hath the testimony, not only of the law and the prophets, but also of the ancient councils and old fathers.

The greatest proof for the Latin service, that M. Harding can find, standeth upon the bare name of the Latin church. And yet in that whole church this day, there is not one nation, that either speaketh or understandeth the Latin tongue. Let M. Harding only leave his portuise, and Latin service, then hath he no further cause to brag of his Latin church. For, as it now fareth, his service taketh not name of his church, but his church of his service. Verily, as it is meet, the service should be in Latin in the Latin church, so is it meet the service should be in English in the English church.

We grant, the psalms be hard, as it is alleged, for the deep senses, and high mysteries, and secret prophecies of Christ and of his church therein contained. Besides that, M. Harding hath found out a bunch of keys in St. Hilary, wherewith to shut out all the people. Notwithstanding the right use of keys is rather to open than to shut.

Chrysost. in  
Opere Im-  
perfecto in  
Matt. xxiii.  
[vi. app. 186.]

Chrysostom saith: *Clavis est verbum scientiæ scripturarum, per quam aperitur hominibus janua veritatis*: "The key is the word of knowledge of the scriptures, by the which the gate of the truth is opened unto men." And Tertullian likewise saith: *Clavis est interpretatio legis*: "The key is the exposition of the law<sup>61</sup>." And therefore Christ saith:

Tertull. con-  
tra Marcio-  
nem, lib. 4.  
[cap. 27. p.  
444.]

<sup>61</sup> [Tertullian. "Quam vero clavem habebant legis doctores, nisi "interpretationem legis?"]

“Woe be unto you, ye Scribes and Pharisees, that shut up Matt. xxlii. 13. the kingdom of God before men: for ye enter not yourselves, neither suffer others that would enter.” And thus they do, saith Tertullian, *docentes potius præcepta et doctrinas hominum*: “teaching rather the commandments and doctrines of men.” But, if there be so many keys bound together, what if M. Harding have missed in his choice, and have taken one key for another?

His reason standeth thus: “The simple people understandeth not the deep meaning of the psalms; *ergo*, they understand nothing in the psalms.” By this key M. Harding may happen to shut out himself. This is a false kind of reasoning, which in the schools is called *A secundum quid ad simpliciter*. For albeit the people understand not all the high mysteries of the scriptures, yet it followeth not, that therefore they understand nothing in the scriptures. For in the scriptures there is both strong meat for men, and also milk for children: “and in the same,” saith St. Gregory, “the elephant may swim, and the lamb may wade afoot<sup>62</sup>.”

Gregorius in Epistola ad Leandrum. [l. p. 6.]

And if the psalms be hard in the vulgar tongue, be they therefore easy in the Latin tongue? or if the psalms be dark, must the people therefore have their service in Latin?

Verily it appeareth both by David himself, and also by sundry old fathers, that the simplest of all the people were able to understand the psalms. David exhorteth “young Psal. cxlviii. 12. men and maids, old men and children, to praise the name of the Lord.” Children were able to receive Christ with psalms, and to sing aloud, “Blessed is he that cometh in Matt. xxi. 15. the name of the Lord;” and applied the same aptly unto Christ. St. Hierom saith: “The poor husbandman sung Hieronimus ad Marcellam. [iv. pt. 2. 552.] the psalms at his plough<sup>63</sup>.” St. Basil exhorteth the artificer

<sup>62</sup> [Gregory (in his epistle to Leander prefixed to his Commentary on the book of Job). “Quasi quidam quippe est fluvius, ut ita dixerim, planus et altus, in quo et agnus ambulet et elephas natet.”]

<sup>63</sup> [Epistol. Paulæ et Eustochii ad Marcellam ut Bethlehem commigraret, (not St. Jerome’s though published in his works). “Quo- cunque te verteris, arator stivam tenens Halleluiah decantat. Su- dans messor Psalmis se avocet,

*Basil. in  
Psalmos.*

Chrysost. ad  
Coloss. hom.  
9. [xl. 392.]  
Prolog. in  
Psalmos.  
[tom. iv.]  
[Basil. tom.  
i. p. 90.]  
Theodoret.  
lib. 4. cap.  
18. [iii. 169.]

In Prologo  
in Psalmos.

“to sing psalms in his shop.” Apollinaris turned the psalms into Greek verses, that children might learn them in the schools. St. Chrysostom saith unto the father, “Teach thy child to sing the psalms<sup>64</sup>.” St. Augustine saith: “Psalms were purposely made, that young men and children might learn to sing them<sup>65</sup>.” Protogenes in the stead of poets’ fables, and other like things, gave David’s Psalms to children to expound. And that every of these understood what they sung, it may appear by these words of St. Augustine: *Simul et cantare videmur, et quod ad animæ utilitatem pertinet, docemur*: “Both we seem to sing, and also withal are taught that thing that is profitable for our soul<sup>66</sup>.” Therefore if any in Africa sung they knew not what, St. Augustine compareth them to ravens or popinjays. But will M. Harding thereof conclude thus: “They, that know not what they sing, sing like ravens or popinjays; *ergo*, the people ought to have their service in a strange tongue?”

#### M. HARDING: *Thirty-sixth Division.*

The rest of the scriptures, whereof the service consisteth, is, though not altogether so obscure as the psalms, yet verily darker and harder, than that the common people’s gross and simple wits may pierce the understanding of it, by hearing the same pronounced of the minister in their mother tongue. And by this reason we should have no service at all gathered out of the scriptures, for default of understanding.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

“The people,” saith M. Harding, “is gross and simple, and cannot understand the scriptures by hearing the same in their mother tongue; *ergo*, they must hear it pronounced

“et curva attondens vitem false  
“vinitor aliquid Davidicum ca-  
“nit.”]

<sup>64</sup> [Chrysost. Δίδαξον αὐτὸν ἄδειν ψαλμοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς φιλοσοφίας γέμοντας, οἷον περὶ σωφροσύνης εὐθέως· μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸ πάντων περὶ τοῦ μὴ συνέναι πονηροῖς, εὐθέως ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ βιβλίου.]

<sup>65</sup> [St. Basil. Preface to the Psalms (falsely attributed to St. Au-

gustine). Διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἐναρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπιεννόηται, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν ἣ καὶ ὄλως οἱ νεαροὶ τὸ ἥθος, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελωδῶσι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται.]

<sup>66</sup> [Basil. in Psalm. Prolog. tom. i. p. 91. \*Ω τῆς σοφῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ διδασκάλου, ὁμοῦ τε ἄδειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ μανθάνειν μηχανωμένον.]



in the Latin tongue." I trow, that they may the better understand it. This seemeth to be a very simple argument, and a gross ungentle opinion of the simplicity of the people. God is not partial, neither hideth his truth from the simple, because he is simple : but from the proud and reprobate, because he is wilful ; and specially chooseth the simple of the world, to confound the wise. The simplest and grossest of all them, that M. Harding meaneth, is able to hear the voice of the Shepherd, and to follow him ; but the stranger, of whom he hath been deceived by double doctrine, he doubteth him, and refuseth him, and will not follow.

James iv. 6.  
Psalm. xxxiv.  
11.

1 Cor. i. 27.

John x. 5.

M. HARDING : *Thirty-seventh Division.*

And whereas, of the service in the vulgar tongue, the people will frame lewd and perverse meanings of their own lewd senses ; so of the Latin service they will make no constructions either of false doctrine or of evil life. And as (88) the vulgar service pulleth their minds from private devotion to hear and not to pray, to little benefit of knowledge, for the obscurity of it, so, the Latin giving them no such motion, they occupy themselves, whiles the priest prayeth for all, and in the person of all, in their private prayers, all for all, and every one for himself.

The 88th untruth. For the vulgar service increaseth devotion, as by sundry authorities it shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

"He that understandeth what he heareth read," saith M. Harding, "hath his mind wandering, and is drawn abroad with vain imaginations. But whoso understandeth not one word at all, neither what he heareth, nor what he speaketh himself, hath his mind closely fixed upon that he speaketh." Thus M. Harding, as he hath made a new divinity, so is he also bold to make a new philosophy. For naturally, the mind understanding what it heareth or readeth, and being attentive unto the same, hath less cause to wander and stray abroad. St. Basil saith : *Lingua psallat : mens autem scrutetur sensum eorum quæ dicis : ut psallas spiritu, et psallas etiam mente* : "Let thy tongue sing : and let thy mind search out the meaning of that thou speakest, that thou mayest sing with thy spirit, and sing also with thy mind."

Basil. in  
Psalm. xxviii.  
[1. 123.]

But forasmuch as M. Harding saith, the understanding

of the priest is a hinderance unto private devotion, in favour whereof he utterly defaceth the public prayers, it shall behove us to consider, what the old fathers have thought in that behalf. Chrysostom thereof writeth thus: *Non æque exoras, cum solus Dominum obsecras, atque cum fratribus tuis. Est enim in hoc plus aliquid, videlicet, concordia, conspiratio, copula amoris et charitatis, et sacerdotum clamores. Præsunt enim ob eam rem sacerdotes, ut populi orationes, quæ infirmiores per se sunt, validiores illas complexæ simul in cælum evehantur*: “Thou dost not so soon obtain thy desire, when thou prayest alone unto the Lord, as when thou prayest with thy brethren. For herein there is somewhat more, the concord, the consent, the joining of love and charity, and the cry of the priests. For to that end the priests are made overseers, that they, being the stronger sort, may take with them the weaker prayers of the people, and carry them up into heaven.” Likewise

Chrysost.  
de Incompre-  
hensibili Dei  
Natura, hom.  
3. [i. 469.]

Chrysost. in  
2. ad Thessal.  
hom. 4. [xi.  
535.]

again he saith: *Quod quis apud se ipsum precatus accipere non poterit, hoc cum multitudine precatus accipiet. Quare? Quia, etiamsi non propria virtus, tamen concordia multum potest*: “The thing, that a man cannot obtain praying by himself alone, praying together with the multitude he shall obtain. And why so? For although not his own worthiness, yet the concord and unity prevaieth much.” Thus then stood the order of Christ’s church: the whole multitude gave ear unto the priest, and at the end of his prayer lifted up their voices unto heaven all together and said *Amen*: which voice oftentimes was so great, that, as it is afore said, St. Hierom likeneth it unto a thunderclap, St. Basil unto the roaring of the sea. At that time, M. Harding’s private devotion, as it is now used in his church, would have been called private superstition. And whereas he thus strangely saith, “Devotion is hindered by understanding;” his own doctor, Nicolas Lyra, saith otherwise, and condemneth him: *Si populus intelligat orationem sacerdotis, melius reducitur in Deum et devotius respondet, Amen*: “If the people understand the prayer of the priest, they are the better reduced unto God, and with more devotion they answer, *Amen*.” The emperor Justi-

Lyra in  
1 Cor. xiv.

nian, where he commandeth all bishops and priests to minister the service with a loud voice, giveth this reason withal: *Ut mentes audientium ad majorem animi compunctionem, et ad reddendam Domino gloriam excitentur*: “That the minds of the hearers may be stirred up to more devotion, and to render praise unto the Lord.” And St. Basil saith: *Tanquam ab uno ore et uno corde, confessionis psalmum offerunt Domino: et verba pœnitentiæ eorum quisque proprie ascribit sibi*: “As it were from one mouth, and from one heart, they offer up unto the Lord the psalm of confession, and the words of repentance every of them applieth particularly unto himself.” So likewise it is written in the prologue before St. Augustine upon the Psalms<sup>67</sup>: *Quomodo debite potest Deo psallere, qui ignorat quid psallat?* “How can he sing duly (or devoutly) unto God, that knoweth not what he singeth?” It is thought by these, notwithstanding M. Harding’s contrary and private judgment, that the understanding of the public service is no hinderance unto devotion, and their authority in this case may serve, unless M. Harding will condemn them altogether, as he doth others, for “new masters.”

In Novell. de Eccles. divers. capit. [Novell. 123.]  
Εἰς πλείονα κατάνυξιν [αλ. κατάνυξι].  
Basil. ad Cler. Neocæsar. [iii. 311.]

Prolog. in Augustin. super Psalm.

M. HARDING: *Thirty-eighth Division.*

(89) The nations that have ever had their service in the vulgar tongue, the people thereof have continued in schisms, errors and certain Judaical observances, so as they have not been reckoned in the number of the catholic church; as the Christians of Moscow, of Armenia, of Prester John his land in Ethiopia. Bessarion, asking by way of a question of the Greeks his countrymen, what church that is against the which hell-gates shall never prevail, answereth himself and saith: *Aut Latina aut Græca est ecclesia: tertia enim dari non potest. Siquidem aliæ omnes hæresibus sunt plenæ, quas sancti patres, et generales synodi condemnarunt*: “Either it is the Latin or the Greek church: for there is no third that can be granted. For all other churches be full of heresies, which the holy fathers and general councils have condemned.” Wherefore of these churches no example ought to be taken for service in the vulgar tongue; as neither of the churches of Russia, and Moravia, and certain other, to whom, above six hundred years past, it was granted to have the mass in the Scla-

The 89th untruth. For the service in the vulgar tongue never was cause of schism or heresy.

In Epist. ad Græcos.

<sup>67</sup> [This is not the prologue mentioned before at p. 112, note 59, (which is Basil’s and not Augustine’s,) but “cujusdam recentioris,” printed at the beginning of tom. iv. Bened. edition.]



von's tongue, through special license thereto obtained of the see apostolic, by Cyrillus and Methodius that first converted them to the faith Which manner of service, so many of them as be catholic, for good causes have left, and used the Latin, as other Latin churches do. Concerning the rest yet keeping their Sclavon tongue, beside other errors and defaults, for which they are not herein to be esteemed worthy to be followed, we may say of them the words of Gregory Nazianzen : *Privilegia paucorum, non faciunt legem communem* : "The privileges of a few, make not a thing lawful in common."

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This argument seemeth to hold thus : "Service in the vulgar tongue is cause of schisms and errors : *ergo*, within six hundred years after Christ, it was ministered in some place in a tongue unknown unto the people." The force of this conclusion is evident ; a very child may soon see through it. If the antecedent were true, then should the Jews, the Greeks, and the Latins, which evermore had their service in the vulgar tongue, for that cause have been full of schisms and errors. St. Augustine, St. Hierom and other fathers say, that pride and wilfulness of mind ; Tertullian saith, that knowledge of philosophy and affiance of learning, hath caused division and heresies in the church, and therefore calleth the philosophers "the patriarchs of heretics<sup>68</sup>." The bishops in the council of Toledo say thus : *Ignorantia est mater omnium errorum* : "Ignorance is the mother of all error." But that the understanding of the common service was ever thought the cause of schism or error in the church, I think it was never either written or spoken by any old doctor, either Greek or Latin, or Jew or Gentile. Epiphanius reckoneth up fourscore sundry heresies, that had been before his time ; St. Augustine reckoneth fourscore and nine. Yet do they not say, that any one of all those heresies ever sprang of understanding the common service. No man would say thus but M. Harding : neither will M. Harding thus say, when, faction and contention laid apart, he shall either say that he knoweth, or have regard to that he saith.

Tertull. contra Hermogenem. [cap. 8. p. 236.]

Concil. Toletan. 4. can. 24. [can. 25. Mansi x. 626.]

Epiphanius de Hæresibus. Augustin. ad Quod-vult-Deum. [de Hæresibus. tom. viii.]

<sup>68</sup> [Tertull. "... et hæreticorum patriarchæ philosophi."]

Touching the Christians, which be in infinite numbers in Moscovia, Armenia, Ethiopia and elsewhere, whom, upon very short advice, he hath condemned altogether for schismatics, if he would have credit given unto his tale, it would have behoved him, both to have declared their particular errors and heresies, and also substantially to have proved, that their vulgar service gave occasion unto the same.

“The Christians of Russia and Moravia,” saith M. Harding, “afterward upon good causes received the Latin service.” Howbeit of all these “good causes” he uttereth none. But after Cyrillus and Methodius by long preaching and great pains had converted them to the faith of Christ, and, for the better continuance of that they had begun, were desirous that the people so converted might have their common service in their mother tongue, and the matter stood in suspense at Rome, in the consistory before the bishop there and his cardinals, a voice was heard by an angel from heaven: *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum: et omnis lingua confiteatur ei*: “Let every spirit praise the Lord, and let every tongue make confession unto him.”

Aeneas Sylvius Historiæ Bohemicæ, cap. 13. [p. 91. a. b.]

By this story it appeareth, the angel of God from heaven was author, that these nations should have their service in their common tongue. Now if M. Harding be able to shew, that either evangelist, or angel, or voice from heaven, ever willed them to leave their own natural speech, and to use the Latin, then may he say they had good causes so to do. Bessarion's authority in this case cannot seem great, both for other sundry causes, which I leave, and also for that he lived at the least fourteen hundred years after Christ, and being out of his own country, and created cardinal and bishop of Tusculum, he manifestly flattered the bishop of Rome.

#### M. HARDING: *Thirty-ninth Division.*

Wherefore to conclude, seeing (90) in six hundred years after Christ the service of the church was not in any other than in the Greek and Latin tongue, for that any man is able to shew by good proof, and the same not understood of all people; seeing the authorities by M. Jewel alleged import no necessary argu-

The 90th untruth. For the contrary is sufficiently proved in the 15th Division of this article.

A heap of untruths laid together.

ment, nor direct commandment of the vulgar tongue, but only of plain and open pronouncing, and that where the tongue of the service was understood; seeing the church of the English nation had their service in the Latin tongue to them unknown, well near a thousand years past; seeing the place of St. Paul to the Corinthians, either pertaineth not to this purpose, or, if it be so granted, for the diversity of states of that, and of this our time, it permitteth a diversity of observation in this behalf, though some likeness and resemblance yet reserved; seeing great profit cometh to the faithful people, having it so as they understand it not; finally, seeing the examples, rehearsed herein to be followed, be of small authority in respect either of antiquity or of true religion: as the bold assertion of M. Jewel is plainly disproved, so the old order of the Latin service in the Latin church, whereof England is a province, is not rashly to be condemned; specially whereas (91) being first committed to the churches by the apostles of our country, and the first preachers of the faith here, it hath been authorized by continuance almost of a thousand years without control or gainsaying, to the glory of God, the wealth of the people, and the procuring of help from heaven always to this land.

The 91st untruth. For the first preachers of the faith in this island were Greeks and Hebrews, and not Latins.

And to add hereunto thus much last of all, though it might be granted that it were good, the service were in the vulgar tongue, as in English for our country of England; yet doubtless good men and zealous keepers of the catholic faith, will never allow the service devised in king Edward's time, now restored again, not so much for the tongue it is in, as for the order itself and disposition of it, lacking some things necessary, and having some other things (92) repugnant to the faith and custom of the catholic church.

The 92nd untruth, joined with a slander. For our service containeth nothing contrary to the faith.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here, M. Harding, it appeareth, ye begin to mislike your own dealing, that, after so many words and so great a countenance of learning, ye should be found so nakedly, and so unsensibly to deceive the people. And therefore having no manner authority of ancient council or doctor to allege against the English tongue in the church of England, yet, lest in the end, having said so much, ye should seem to say nothing, ye begin to find fault with the order of our service, and without any manner of proof, ye say, there are many things therein contained, contrary to the catholic faith; and so, contrary to your own knowledge, ye maintain one untruth by another.

You know, that we serve God according to his holy



word, and the order of his primitive church. For, as Tertullian saith, the Christian people did in his time: *Coimus ad divinarum scripturarum* [i. *literarum*] *commemorationem, si quid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit, aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus :.....*“ We meet together to hear the rehearsal of the holy scriptures, if the state of the present time do force us either to forewarn any thing, or else to call any thing to remembrance. Verily we feed our faith with those holy words, we confirm our hope, we assure our trust.” We minister the holy sacraments in pure and reverent sort; we baptize in the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; we receive the sacrament of Christ’s body and blood from the holy table; we make our humble confession and fall to the ground, and pray all together, with one heart, and one voice, in spirit and truth; and specially we pray for you and for such others, that ye may consider from whence ye are fallen, and repent yourselves, and return to God; we excommunicate open offenders; we receive again them that shew themselves penitent; we instruct our youth in the faith of Christ; we make collections and provide charitably for the poor. Of all these things, what one thing is contrary to the catholic faith? O M. Harding, it is written, “The mouth that lieth destroyeth the soul;” and Christ saith: “The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall never be forgiven, neither in this life, nor in the life to come.”

Tertull. in  
Apologetico.  
[cap. 39. p.  
31.]

Wisd. i. 11.

Matt. xii. 31.

Now, good Christian reader, for the better contenting of thy mind, I beseech thee to look back and to consider the whole substance of all that M. Harding hath laid in for proof of this article, what weight it beareth, and how well it serveth to his purpose. He hath entreated largely of singing in the quire, at what time, and where it first began; and likewise hath proved by a great long discourse of situation of countries, and diversity of tongues, that neither all the east part of the world understood the Greek, nor all the people of Africa, Mauritania, Spain, and France, understood the Latin: which labour in this case was nothing needful. But that all the nations of the east part had their

service in the Greek tongue, and that all the people of Africa, Mauritania, Spain, and France, had their service in the Latin tongue, which thing only stood in question, and therefore was only to be proved, he hath hitherto utterly left unproved. Touching the public service within this island, the story of Augustine of Rome, and Edda, and Putta, and other poets, and singing men, as I have shewed, standeth him in small stead. Contrary to his own knowledge, he saith, that the fourteenth chapter of St. Paul to the Corinthians cannot necessarily be applied to this purpose. And further he saith, that, even from the apostles' time, the priest evermore made his prayers in the quire, far off from the hearing of the people; that the ignorant people understandeth the Latin tongue, although not in most exact wise, or perfectly; that they are now better instructed in the articles of the faith, than they were in the time of the apostles; that it is sufficient for them now to be taught by gestures and ceremonies; and, that they have great profit by hearing their service, although they know not what they hear. Again he saith, that the Greek and Latin be learned tongues, and therefore all the service of the church, throughout the whole world, ought to be ministered in one of them; that all the psalms, and all other scriptures, are hard, and far pass the capacity of the people; that understanding of the matter causeth the mind to wander; and to be short, that prayer in the common tongue hath evermore bred schisms and divisions in the church. He hath openly falsified Strabo, Justinian, Origen, Chrysostom, and others, and hath forced them to say the thing they never meant.

This is the whole summary of all that he had to say. Hereof he would seem to conclude, that, within the first six hundred years after Christ, the common service was ministered openly in a tongue unknown unto the people; albeit he hath hitherto alleged neither scripture, nor council, nor decree, nor doctor, nor example, or practice of the primitive church, to prove the same.

Of the other side, it is sufficiently proved of our part, that the fourteenth chapter to the Corinthians must of ne-

cessity belong to the use of common prayers ; and that, in the primitive church, the service was every where ministered in the vulgar tongue ; and that the priest and the people prayed all together. I have proved, not only that the nations, that understood Greek or Latin, had their service in the Greek or Latin tongue, but by Theodoretus, Sozomenus, St. Ambrose, and St. Hierom, that the Syrians had their service in the Syrian tongue ; by St. Basil, that the Egyptians had their service in the Egyptian tongue ; the Lybians, the Thebans, the Palestines, the Arabians, and the Phenicians, each of them in their own tongue ; by Origen, that all barbarous people had their service in their several barbarous tongues ; by Sulpitius, that the people of France, then called Gallia, had their service in the French tongue. St. Hierom saith : *Vox quidem dissona, sed una religio. Tot pene psallentium chori, quot gentium diversitates* : “ The voice is diverse, but the religion is all one. There be well near so many companies of people singing, as there be diversities of nations.” To be short, I have proved by St. Chrysostom, and by Lyra, and others, that there can no manner profit redound unto the people, of prayers made in a strange tongue <sup>69</sup>.

Hieronym.  
[Paula et  
Eustoch.] ad  
Marcellam.  
[iv. pt. 2.  
p. 551.]

Seeing therefore M. Harding’s doctrine standeth upon so simple grounds, as I have shewed, and serveth only to maintain ignorance, and the kingdom of darkness, it is now thy part, gentle reader, to judge indifferently between us, both how justly he hath coloured the same with such a face of antiquity, and also how truly and substantially he hath answered my assertion.

<sup>69</sup> [If any one wishes for further information on the subject of this article, he will do well to consult archbishop Usher’s learned

work, “ *Historia dogmatica de Scripturis et sacris vernaculis* ;” where a complete catalogue of primitive authorities is given.]



# OF THE SUPREMACY.

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## THE FOURTH ARTICLE.

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THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

**O**R, that the bishop of Rome was then called an universal bishop, or head of the universal church.

M. HARDING : *First Division.*

By what name soever the bishop of Rome was called within six hundred years after Christ's ascension, this is clear, that his primacy, that is to say, supreme power and authority over and above all bishops, and chief government of all Christ's flock, in matters pertaining to faith and Christian religion, was then (93) acknowledged and confessed. Which thing being so, whether then he were called by either of those names that you deny, or no, it is not of great importance. And yet for the one of them, somewhat, and for the other, an infinite number of good authorities may be alleged. But thereof hereafter.

The 93rd untruth. For there was no such power confessed.

Not one at all.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Touching these glorious names and titles, wherewith the bishop of Rome hath long sithence furnished and beautified his estate, M. Harding seemeth in part willingly to yield: claiming nevertheless the supreme power, and universal authority, unto the see of Rome, and that even from the apostles' time: notwithstanding it was as easy a matter for Christ to give Peter the power and title both together, as to give him the power alone, without the title. But to avoid error that might grow by mistaking of words,

him we call, "the universal bishop," or, "the head of the universal church," that hath authority above all general councils, and fulness of power to expound the scriptures: to whose determinations the whole church of God must of necessity submit itself without contradiction: whom neither emperor, nor king, nor clergy, nor the whole universal people, in any wise may control, whatsoever he do: unto whom all appeals ought to lie from all places of the world: and who, wheresoever he happen to be, hath the full jurisdiction of a bishop. That ever any such superiority, or universal power, was given by Christ to the see of Rome, it will be too much for M. Harding well to prove.

Extra. de elect. et electi. potest. Solitue.  
 Extrav. Comm. de Major. et Obedien. Unam sanctam.  
 9. quæst. 3. Nemo. [9. qu. 3. Ipsi sunt.]

But, whereas the bishop there so ambitiously craveth to be known and taken for the universal bishop, and head of the universal church, happy is he, if he do the duty of one particular bishop, and be found but a member of Christ's church. St. Gregory saith: *Adversus quem portæ prævalent inferorum, ille neque Petra dicendus est, supra quam Christus ædificat ecclesiam, neque ecclesia, neque pars ecclesiæ*: "He against whom the gates of hell do prevail," (as they have often against the bishop of Rome,) "neither may be called the rock, whereupon Christ doth build his church, nor the church, nor any part of the church."

Greg. in Ca. ten. in Matt. cap. xvi.

Certainly, touching these vain titles, the same ancient father St. Gregory saith: *Ego fidenter dico, Quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit*: "I speak it boldly, Whosoever either calleth himself the universal bishop, or desireth so to be called, in his pride he is the forerunner of Antichrist.

Gregor. lib. 6. epist. 30. [ii. 881.]

M. HARDING: *Second Division.*

Now concerning the chief point of this article, which is the primacy of the pope, Peter's successor: first, it hath been set up and ordained by God, so as it standeth in force *jure divino*, by God's law, and not only by man's law, the scriptures leading thereto. Next, commended to the world by decrees of councils, and confirmed by edicts of Christian emperors, for avoiding of schisms. Furthermore, confessed and witnessed by the holy

A heap of untruths.

fathers. Again, found to be necessary by reason. Finally, used and declared by the event of things, and practice of the church. For proof of all this, so much might easily be said, as should serve to a whole volume.

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Here M. Harding saith, he will trip and dance lightly over this article. And therefore notwithstanding he would seem to hold *de jure divino*, that is, by the scriptures, yet for haste he allegeth not any one word of the scriptures, as of himself, but only upon the report and credit of others. Howbeit pope Zosimus, in all that long contention he had with the bishops of Africa, touching these matters, never alleged any word of the scriptures, but only the council of Nice, which he himself had falsified<sup>69</sup>. And Meltiades, writing hereof to the bishops of Spain, seemeth to claim only by custom, and not by any right of God's word.

Nevertheless, sithence that time they have found out sundry places of the scriptures to avouch their title, and have forced the same to serve their purpose. Christ saith, "All power is given to me." Hereof Stephanus, the bishop of Patraca, concludeth thus: *Ergo in papa est omnis potestas supra omnes potestates, tam cœli, quam terræ*: "Therefore in the pope is all power above all powers, as well of heaven as of earth"<sup>70</sup>. Some others there be that reason thus: "Peter entered into the grave before John; Peter drew his net full of fish; Unto Peter Christ said, 'Confirm thy brethren:' ergo, the pope is head of the church." Bonifacius the Eighth saith: *In principio crea-*

Zosimus in concil. Africano.

Meltiades in epist. ad episcop. Hispaniæ.

John xvii. 2. Matt. xxviii. 18. In conc. Lateran. sub Leone. [ed. Reg. vol. xxxiv. 449.] Reginal. Polus adversus H. viii. regem Angliæ.

<sup>69</sup> [This Concil. Afric. is called also Codex Eccles. Africanæ (A. D. 419). See Bruns, vol. i. p. 157: it is a collection of the acts of various African councils, put together without much attention to dates. The canons alleged by Faustinus, the legate of Zosimus, not appearing in the African copy of the Acts of the Council of Nice, it was determined to send to Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople for authentic copies. It

turned out, that the canons in question were not from the Nicene council, but the 5th and 14th (Greek) canons of the council of Sardica.]

<sup>70</sup> ["Quapropter Bernardus ad Eugenium tanquam ad summum hierarchicum in cœlo ecclesiæ vîrum, in quo erat omnis potestas supra omnes potestates tam cœli quam terræ, recte scripserat, Tibi data est omnis potestas; in qua qui totum dicit, nihil excludit."] ]



*vit Deus cælum et terram, non in principiis*: “God made heaven and earth in the beginning, and not in the beginnings, as in many.” And again: *Spiritualis omnia judicet*: “He that is spiritual, judgeth all things:” *ergo*, “the bishop of Rome ought to have an universal power over all the world.” By these and other like authorities of the scriptures, they conclude, that the pope holdeth his authority not by any ordinance of man, but *de jure divino*, that is, even by the right of God’s undoubted law. And therefore pope Bonifacius determineth the matter in this wise to hold for ever: *Declaramus, dicimus, definimus, pronunciamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis omnium humanæ creaturæ, subesse Romano pontifici*: “We declare, say, determine, and pronounce, that undoubtedly it standeth upon the necessity of salvation, for every mortal creature to be subject to the bishop of Rome<sup>71</sup>.” Likewise saith the Gloss upon the same: *Quicquid salvatur, est sub summo pontifice*: “Whatsoever is saved is under the highest bishop.” If these claims be good, it is no hard matter to hold by scriptures.

Extrav.  
Comm. de  
Major. et  
Obed. Unam  
sanctam.  
1 Cor. ii. 13.

De Major.  
&c. ut supra.

Glossa ibi-  
dem.

But, forasmuch as they seem to make greatest account of these words of Christ, “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church;” therefore, for answer hereunto, understand thou, good Christian reader, that the old catholic fathers have written and pronounced, not any mortal man, as Peter was, but Christ himself, the Son of God, to be this Rock. Gregorius Nyssenus saith: *Tu es Petrus, &c.*: “‘Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.’ He meaneth the confession of Christ; for he had said before, ‘Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God<sup>72</sup>.’” So saith St. Hilary: *Hæc est una felix*

Matt. xvi.  
18.  
Mark viii. 29.  
Luke 9. 20.

1 Cor. x. 4.

Greg. Nyssen. in Testimonis delectis ex Veteri Testam. [ii. 162. ed. Morell.]

Hilar. de Trin. lib. 2. [800.]

<sup>71</sup> [It is observable, that this decree of Boniface VIII. was not only his own private opinion respecting his authority (as applicable to Philip of France), but that it was expressly confirmed by a council (by Romanists called *general*), conc. Later. sub Leone X. See Barrow’s *Supremacy*, (who also points out the origin of

this decree of Boniface VIII. in a dictum of Thomas Aquinas in opusc. contra Græcos).]

<sup>72</sup> [The genuineness of these Testimonia, attributed to Gregor. Nyssenus, has been disputed. They were not printed in Greek till Zacagnius published his edition at Rome, 1698, (from Vatican MSS.) he contends for their

*fidei petra, quam Petrus ore suo confessus est*: "This is that only blessed rock of faith, that Peter confessed with his mouth." Again he saith: "Upon this rock of Peter's confession is the building of the church<sup>73</sup>." So Cyrillus: *Petra nihil aliud est, quam firma et inconcussa discipuli fides*: "The rock is nothing else, but the strong and assured faith of the disciple<sup>74</sup>." So likewise Chrysostom: *Super hanc petram, id est, in hac fide et confessione, ædificabo ecclesiam meam*: "Upon this rock, that is to say, upon this faith, and this confession, I will build my church<sup>75</sup>." Likewise St. Augustine: *Petra erat Christus, super quod fundamentum etiam ædificatus est Petrus*: "Christ was the rock, upon which foundation Peter himself was also built." And addeth further besides<sup>76</sup>: *Non me ædificabo super te, sed te ædificabo super me*: Christ saith unto Peter: "I will not build myself upon thee, but I will build thee upon me." All these fathers be plain; but none so plain as Origen. His words be these: *Petra*

Hilar. de Trin. lib. 6. [993.]

Cyrl. de Trin. [Dial. 4. tom. v. pt. 1. p. 507.]

Chrys. in Matt. Hom. 55. [vii. 548.]

Aug. de Verbis Dom. secund. Mat. Ser. 13. [v. 405.]

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1. [vol. ii. p. 38. ed. Froben.]

genuineness, notwithstanding the fact, that the commencement is found "totidem verbis" in Basil. "de Spirit. Sancto," and that towards the end occur several expressions borrowed from St. Chrysostom, who was some years later. See Oudinus, tom. i. p. 611. The passage quoted by Jewel is as follows: "Ut ipse Dominus ait ad principem (apostolorum), 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam;' super confessionem videlicet Christi, quia dixerat, 'Tu es Christus,'" &c.]

<sup>73</sup> [Hilar. de Trinit. lib. 2. "Unum igitur hoc est immobile fundamentum, una hæc felix fidei petra Petri ore confessa, 'Tu es Filius Dei vivi' . . ."]

Ibid. lib. 6. "Super hanc igitur confessionis petram ecclesiæ ædificatio est."

<sup>74</sup> [Cyrill. Alexandr. Dialog. 4. tom. v. pt. 1. p. 507. Πέτραν οἶμαι παρωνύμως ἕτερον οὐδέν, ἢ τὴν ἀκατάσειστον καὶ ἑδραιοτάτην τοῦ μαθητοῦ πίστιν ἀποκαλῶν, ἐφ' ἣ καὶ

ἀδιαπτώτως ἐρήρευται τε καὶ διαπέπηγεν ἡ ἐκκλησία Χριστοῦ, κ. τ. λ.]

<sup>75</sup> [Chrysost. in Matt. Καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μὴ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τούτεστι τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας.]

<sup>76</sup> [By the expression "and addeth further besides," it might appear as if the two quotations from St. Augustine occurred in the same work of that father; whereas the words "Petra erat Christus," &c. are taken from Tract. 124. in Joann. Evangel. (tom. iii. pt. 2. 822.), and only the sentence "non me ædificabo super te," &c. occurs in the passage noted in the margin, which runs as follows: "Quia enim Christus 'Petra, Petrus populus Christianus . . . Tu es ergo Petrus, et super hanc petram quam confessus es, super hanc petram quam cognovisti, dicens, Tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi, ædificabo ecclesiam meam . . . Super me ædificabo te, non me super te.'" Tom. v. 405.]

*est, quicumque est discipulus Christi... : et super talem petram construitur omnis ecclesiastica doctrina. ... Quod si super unum illum Petrum tantum existimas ædificari totam ecclesiam, quid dicturus es de Johanne filio tonitruui, et apostolorum unoquoque? Num audebimus dicere, quod adversus Petrum unum non prævalituræ sint portæ inferorum?... An soli Petro dantur a Christo claves regni cælorum?*

“He is the rock, whosoever is the disciple of Christ: and upon such a rock all ecclesiastical learning is built. If thou think that the whole church is built only upon Peter, what then wilt thou say of John the son of the thunder, and of every of the apostles? Shall we dare to say, that the gates of hell shall not prevail only against Peter? Or are the keys of the kingdom of heaven given only unto Peter<sup>77</sup>.” By these few it may appear, what right the pope hath to claim his authority by God’s word, and as M. Harding saith, *de jure divino*. Indeed touching the same words of St. Matthew, St. Hierom writeth thus:

Mark iii. 17.

*Istum locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio: “Bishops and priests, not understanding this place, take upon them some part of the proud looks of the Pharisees.” And again he saith: Noverint episcopi, se magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis Dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores: “Let bishops understand, that they are greater than the priests, more of custom, than of the truth of God’s ordinance.” By this it appeareth, that the bishop of Rome holdeth by custom, and not, as M. Harding saith, *de jure divino*.*

Hier. in  
Matt. cap. 16.  
lib. 3. [iv.  
75.]

As for the decrees of councils, the edicts of princes, the sayings of holy fathers, the necessity of reason, and the practice of the church, how justly they be avouched by M. Harding, they shall be severally examined as they come.

[Hieron. in  
Tit. cap. 1.  
tom. iv.  
p. 413.]

<sup>77</sup> [Origen. This remarkable passage should be read with its context; it is from the earlier part of the Tractat. 1. in Matth.

which was translated by Erasmus, and will be found in vol. ii. p. 38. of the Froben. ed.]



M. HARDING : *Third Division.*

Trip.

But I in this treatise seeking to avoid prolixity, having purposed to say somewhat to this number of the other articles, and knowing this matter of the primacy to be already largely and learnedly handled of others, will but trip, as it were, lightly over at this time, and not set my fast footing in the deep debating and treating of it.

First, as concerning the right of the primacy by God's law by these ancient authorities it hath been avouched. Anacletus, that holy bishop and martyr, St. Peter's scholar, and of him consecrated priest, in his epistle to the bishops of Italy, writeth thus : *In Novo Testamento, post Christum, &c.* " In the New Testament the order of priests began, after our Lord Christ, of Peter, because to him bishopric was first given in the church of Christ, whereas our Lord said unto him, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and unto thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' Wherefore this Peter received of our Lord, first of all, power to bind and to loose: and first of all he brought people to the faith, by virtue of his preaching. As for the other apostles, they received honour and power in like fellowship with him, and willed him to be their prince, or chief governor."

In another epistle to all bishops, alleging the same text, for the primacy of the see of Rome, speaking of the disposition of churches committed to patriarchs and primates, saith thus most plainly: "This holy and apostolic church of Rome hath obtained the primacy, not of the apostles, but of our Lord and Saviour himself, and hath gotten the preeminence of power over all churches, and over the whole flock of Christian people, even so as he said to blessed Peter the apostle, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock,'" &c,

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The authorities here alleged, are full of fog, and false ground, and can abide no fast footing: and therefore M. Harding trippeth them so lightly over.

Touching this epistle of Anacletus, and other like epistles decretal, I will only give a taste, and leave the judgment thereof unto the reader <sup>78</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> [All the Epistles Decretal, known by the name of Pseudo-Isidorianæ, previous to those of Siricius, are now generally considered to be forgeries; see Oudin. de Script. Ecclesiast. tom. ii. p. 57.]

First, one Petrus Crab, the compiler of the councils, complaineth much, that the examples, from whence he took them, were wonderfully corrupted, and not one of them agreeing with another, and expresseth the same by these words: *Exemplarium intolerabilis nimiaque differentia et depravatio.*

In Admonitione ad Lectorem, ante Decret. Liber.

Again, Gratian himself, upon good advice, is driven to say, "That all such epistles ought to have place, rather in debating of matter of justice in the consistory, than in determining and weighing the truth of the scriptures."

Dist. 20. Decretales.

Besides this, neither St. Hierom, nor Gennadius, nor Damasus, nor any other old father, ever alleged these epistles, or made any account of them: nor the bishops of Rome themselves, no not when such evidence might have stood them in best stead, namely, in their ambitious contention for the superiority over the bishops of Africa.

The contents of them are such, as a very child, of any judgment, may soon be able to descry them.

Clemens informeth St. James of the order and manner of St. Peter's death: yet it is certain, and Clement undoubtedly knew it, that James was put to death seven years before St. Peter <sup>79</sup>.

Clem. ep. 1.

Hier. de Eccl. Script. [iv. pp. 101, 102.]

Antherus maketh mention of Eusebius, bishop of Alexandria, and of Felix, bishop of Ephesus: yet was neither Eusebius, nor Felix, neither bishop nor born all the time that Antherus lived.

Anther. ep. 1.

Marcellinus saith: "The emperor might not attempt to presume any thing against the gospel:" yet was there then no emperor alive that understood Christ, or knew the gospel.

Marcell. ep. 2. ad Orient.

Marcellus writeth to the emperor Maxentius, and chargeth him straitly with the authority of Clement: yet was Maxentius an infidel, a cruel tyrant, and a persecutor of the church; and neither knew nor cared for the name of Clement.

Marcell. ep. 2.

Zephyrinus saith: "Christ commanded his apostles to

Zephyr. ep. 1.

<sup>79</sup> [St. James suffered martyrdom in the 7th year of Nero, and St. Peter in the 14th. Hieron. Script. Eccl.]

Luke x. 1. appoint the threescore and twelve disciples:" yet St. Luke saith, Christ himself appointed them.

Luke iii. 14. St. Luke saith: " John the Baptist gave this counsel to the soldiers, Be ye contented with your wages," &c. Yet

Meltiad. ep. 1. Meltiades quite altereth the whole story, and nameth Christ instead of John.

It would be tedious and needless to open all: these few notes may suffice for a taste.

Now touching this Anacletus, whom M. Harding hath furnished with his titles, as though it were the very true

Anacl. ep. 1. Anacletus indeed. First he saith, Clemens was his predecessor: contrariwise, Irenæus, that lived immediately afterward, and Eusebius say, Anacletus was predecessor unto Clement. Whereby it may appear, that Anacletus wrote this epistle after that he himself was dead.

Dist. 93. Jux-  
ta sancto-  
rum. He maketh mention of St. Peter's church: yet was there no church built in the name of Peter within three hundred years after Anacletus.

Anacl. ep. 3. Again, he allegeth the decrees and canons of the old fathers. His words be these: *Hæc ab antiquis apostolis et patribus accepimus*: " These things have we received of the old apostles, and ancient fathers:" as if the apostles had been long before him: notwithstanding St. John the apostle was yet alive, and Anacletus himself was one of the oldest fathers.

Although by that I have thus shortly touched, the likelihood hereof may soon appear, yet I beseech thee, good Christian reader, consider also these and other like phrases, and manners of speech, which in these epistles are very familiar, and may easily be found: *Persecutiones patienter portare: Peto ut pro me orare debeas: Episcopi obediendi sunt, non insidiandi: Ab illis omnes Christiani se cavere debent*. Here is not so much as the very congruity and natural sound of the Latin tongue. And shall we think, that for the space of three hundred years and more, there was not one bishop in Rome that could speak true Latin? and specially then, when all the whole people there, both women and children, were able to speak it naturally, with-



out a teacher? Verily the pope himself saith, *Falsa Latinitas vitiat rescriptum papæ*: “False Latin putteth the pope’s own writ out of credit.”

Extra de re-  
scriptis. Ad  
audientiam  
nostram.

As for the substance and contents of these epistles, they touch nothing, neither of the state of the church in that time, nor of doctrine, nor of persecution, nor of heresy, nor of the office of the ministers, nor of any other thing, either agreeable unto that age, or in any wise greatly worthy to be considered.

All their drift is, by falsifying of the scriptures, and by all other means, only to stablish the state and kingdom of the see of Rome. Anacletus thus interlaceth the words of Christ: *Super hanc petram, id est, super ecclesiam Romanam, ædificabo ecclesiam meam*: “Upon this rock, that is to say, upon the church of Rome, I will build my church.” And again: *Romana ecclesia cardo et caput est omnium ecclesiarum: ut enim cardine ostium regitur, ita hujus sanctæ sedis autoritate omnes ecclesiæ reguntur*: “The church of Rome is the hook and the head of all churches. For as the door is ruled by the hook, so all churches are ruled by the authority of this holy see (of Rome).” Pope Stephanus saith: *Hæc sacrosancta domina nostra Romana ecclesia*: “This holy our lady the church of Rome.”

Anacl. ep. 1.

Anacl. ep. 3.

Dist. 70.  
Oportebat.

And what needed M. Harding to allege only Anacletus, being so well stored of sundry others? For pope Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Higinus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, Victor, and all the rest of the ancient bishops of Rome, whose names have been abused to this purpose, agree in one. All they are made to say, “We are the universal bishops: we are the heads of the universal church: all appeals ought of right to lie to us: we cannot err: we may not be controlled: for it is written, ‘The scholar is not above his master.’” If these authorities were sufficient, then were the case clear of M. Harding’s side. But he saw they were forged, and full of untruth: and therefore he thought it best to trip so lightly over them. As for Anacletus himself, that was Peter’s scholar, and the rest of the ancient bishops of Rome, they were holy men, and godly fathers, and lived in continual

persecution, and were daily taken, and put to death, and had no leisure to think upon these ambitious and vain titles.

M. HARDING: *Fourth Division.*

St. Gregory, writing to Mauritius the emperor, against John the bishop of Constantinople, ambitiously claiming and usurping the name of an universal bishop, proveth the bishop of Rome, succeeding in Peter's chair, to be primate, and to have charge over all the church of Christ, by scriptures, thus: *Cunctis evangelium scientibus liquet*, &c. "It is evident to all that know the gospel, that the cure and charge of the whole church hath been committed, by the word of our Lord, to the holy apostle Peter, prince of all the apostles. For to him it is said, 'Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my sheep.' To him it is said, 'Behold, Satan hath desired to sift you, as it were wheat, and I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not. And thou being once converted, strengthen thy brethren.' To him it is said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And unto thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou bindest upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou loosest on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.' Behold, he receiveth the keys of the heavenly kingdom: the power of binding and loosing is given to him: the charge of the whole church and principality is committed to him." Thus far Gregory. But because our adversaries, though without just cause, refuse the witness of the bishops of Rome in this article, as unlawful witnesses in their own cause, were they never so holy martyrs, or learned confessors; they may understand, we are able to allege sundry other authorities to the confirmation hereof, that be above all exception.

M. Harding cutteth off and corrupteth the words of St. Gregory: for it followeth immediately: Tamen Petrus universalis apostolus non vocatur.

Cura et totius ecclesie et principatus committitur.

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If St. Gregory were now alive, he would charge M. Harding with open injury: not only for altering his whole meaning, but also for mangling and maiming his very words. M. Harding, to prove that the bishop of Rome was called the universal bishop, allegeth these words of St. Gregory: *Ecce, Petrus claves regni cælorum accipit. Et potestas ei ligandi solvendi que tribuitur. Cura ei totius ecclesie et principatus committitur*: "Behold, Peter receiveth the keys of the kingdom of heaven. To him is given power both to bind and to loose. The charge and

Gregor. lib. 4. ep. 32. [v. 20.]

chief rule of the church is committed unto him." "Thus far Gregory," saith M. Harding. And why no farther? Was he stayed with the chincough<sup>80</sup>, and forced to break off his tale in the midst? But mark well, gentle reader, and thou shalt see St. Gregory set to school, and kept in awe, and not suffered to utter one word more than M. Harding will give him leave. The next words that immediately follow in the same sentence, are these: *Tamen Petrus universalis apostolus non vocatur*: "Yet Peter is not called the universal apostle." M. Harding saith: "The bishop of Rome was called the universal bishop." But St. Gregory, even in the selfsame sentence that M. Harding hath here so hastily broken off, saith: "Peter himself being the apostle of Christ, yet was not called the universal apostle." And would M. Harding have the world believe, that the pope's power is greater, and more universal, than St. Peter's? These words M. Harding thought good to nip off in the midst. Such is his dealing in the allegation of the ancient fathers. If I list to use his own terms, I might well call this *foisting*, or *cogging*, or I know not what. Certainly the holy fathers, in the council of Constantinople, say thus: *Non convenit orthodoxis, ita circumtruncatas sanctorum patrum voces deflorare. Hæreticorum potius hoc proprium est*: "It is not meet for catholic men thus to chop and to pare the sayings of the holy fathers. It is rather the very property of heretics."

Petrus universalis apostolus non vocatur.

Concil. Constantinop. 8. Action. 8. [xi. 365.]

M. Harding will say, Gregory misliked this name of universal bishop only in John the bishop of Constantinople, that so ambitiously and so greedily sought for it: and yet nevertheless claimed the same unto himself, as a title only belonging to the see of Rome: and that we therefore do wrongfully rack St. Gregory, forcing his words otherwise than he ever meant. For answer hereunto, it shall behove us to consider, both what St. Gregory hath written in gene-

<sup>80</sup> [Chincough—kink-cough; the whooping-cough. Todd derives it from the Dutch word "kincken," to pant. Jamieson (Scottish Dictionary) spells it Kinkhost, (South Lincolnshire,) and says, "that the

change into 'chincough' is quite absurd, as it obscures both the sense and the origin. It is evidently the same with Belg. Kinkhoest;" kinken, to pant, and Hoest, (Germ. Husten,) cough.]



ral of this title, and also what special claim he hath laid unto it for himself.

Gregor. lib.  
6. epist. 30.  
[ii. 881.]

Thus therefore generally he writeth of it: *Ego fidenter dico, Quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit*: "I speak it boldly, Who-soever calleth himself universal bishop, or desireth so to be called, is in his pride the forerunner of Antichrist, because in his pride he setteth himself before others."

Gregor. lib.  
4. epist. 34.  
[ii. 751.]

*Hac in re a fratre et consacerdote meo contra evangelicam sententiam, &c.*: "Herein my brother and fellow bishop doth against the meaning of the gospel, against St. Peter the apostle, against all churches, and against the ordinance of the canons. In this pride of his, what other thing is there tokened, but that the time of Antichrist is even at hand? For he followeth him, that, despising the equality of joy among the angels, laboured to break up to

Isai. xiv. 13.

the top of singularity, saying thus, 'I will advance my throne above the stars of heaven: I will sit in the mount of the testament, even in the corners of the north: I will get me up above the light of the clouds, and will be like unto the Highest.'" Again: *Rex superbiæ in foribus est, &c.*: "The king of pride is even in the gates: and, a horrible thing to speak! an army of priests is made ready<sup>81</sup>. For now they play the soldiers, and bear their heads on high, that were ordained to be captains of humility."

Gregor. lib.  
4. epist. 38.  
[ii. 744.]

Again: "I would have all men to be great and honourable, so that their honour be no derogation to the honour of God. For whoso will be honoured against God, shall not be honourable unto me<sup>82</sup>."

Gregor. lib.  
6. epist. 24.  
[ii. 873.]

Again: "Neither may you say, that the using of this title is nothing: for if we bear this matter quietly, we overthrow the faith of the whole church."

Gregor. lib.  
4. epist. 39.  
[ii. 747.]

"The agreeing unto this wicked title is the losing of the faith."

<sup>81</sup> "Sacerdotum est paratus exercitus." Ita in manuscriptis, melius quam "exitus." [The reading "exercitus" has been adopted in the Bened. edit.]

<sup>82</sup> [This letter is to Cyriacus patriarch of Constantinople, who continued the usurpation begun by his predecessor John.]

Thus therefore St. Gregory judgeth generally of the name of universal bishop: which name notwithstanding the bishops of Rome have sithence chosen, and taken to themselves, that is to say, "That it is vain and hurtful: the confusion, the poison, and utter and universal destruction of the church: the corruption and losing of the faith: against the holy canons: against St. Peter the apostle: against the very sense and meaning of the gospel: against all the churches of God, and against God himself: that never good or holy man would use such titles: that whosoever useth them, in so doing, followeth Lucifer, and is the very forerunner and messenger of Antichrist."

Perhaps M. Harding will say, this name belonged peculiarly and only to the bishop of Rome; and therefore Gregory reprov'd John the bishop of Constantinople, for that he so presumptuously, and by way of intrusion, claimed the same as a right and interest, that was not his. But St. Gregory calleth the same title of universal bishop, <sup>a</sup>*typhum superbiæ*, <sup>b</sup>*nomen novum*, <sup>c</sup>*vocabulum temerarium*, <sup>a</sup> Lib. 6. ep. <sup>30.</sup> [ii. 887.] <sup>b</sup> Lib. 4. ep. <sup>32.</sup> [ii. 748.] <sup>c</sup> Lib. 4. ep. <sup>38.</sup> [743.] <sup>d</sup> Lib. 4. ep. <sup>32.</sup> [748.] <sup>e</sup> Lib. 6. ep. <sup>38.</sup> [742.] <sup>f</sup> Lib. 6. ep. <sup>24.</sup> [875.] <sup>g</sup> Lib. 4. ep. <sup>39.</sup> [747.] <sup>h</sup> Lib. 4. ep. <sup>38.</sup> [742.] <sup>i</sup> Lib. 4. ep. <sup>32.</sup> [749.] <sup>k</sup> Lib. 4. ep. <sup>39.</sup> [748.] <sup>l</sup> Lib. 4. ep. <sup>39.</sup> [746.] <sup>m</sup> Lib. 4. ep. <sup>39.</sup> [749.] *stultum*, <sup>d</sup>*superbum*, *pompaticum*, <sup>e</sup>*perversum*, <sup>f</sup>*superstitiosum*, *profanum*, <sup>g</sup>*scelestum*, <sup>h</sup>*nomen erroris*, <sup>i</sup>*nomen singularitatis*, <sup>k</sup>*nomen vanitatis*, <sup>l</sup>*nomen hypocriseos*, <sup>m</sup>*nomen blasphemicæ*: that is to say, "a puff of arrogancy, a new name, a rash, a foolish, a proud, a pompous, a perverse, a superstitious, an ungodly, and a wicked title, a name of error, a name of singularity, a name of vanity, a name of hypocrisy, and a name of blasphemy <sup>83</sup>." And doth M. Harding think, or would he have the world believe, that St. Gregory would ever take these names and titles from John the bishop of Constantinople, to the intent to lay them upon his own see of Rome? or is it likely that

<sup>83</sup> [The reader is advised to peruse Gregory's Letters upon this subject entire; he will thus be still better enabled to appreciate the nature and extent of that pope's indignation at the very idea of *any* human being assuming a name which belongs only to Christ himself. The epithets here collected by Jewel (the Epistles being num-

bered according to the *old* editions of Gregory's works) will be found in the pages of the Ben. edit. vol. ii. indicated between brackets, except the expression "*nomen hypocriseos*," which Jewel seems to have gathered from ii. p. 746, where the *conduct* of the patriarch John is characterized as hypocrisy.]

M. Harding knoweth St. Gregory's mind better than ever St. Gregory knew it himself? Verily, St. Gregory not only misliketh these titles in others, but also disclaimeth the same from himself, and from his see of Rome for ever<sup>84</sup>.

Greg. lib. 4.  
epist. 32. [ii.  
749.]

For thus he writeth, and his words be plain: *Nullus Romanorum pontificum hoc singularitatis nomen assumpsit [nomine uti consensit]*. "None of the bishops of Rome ever received this name of singularity." *Nullus decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit*: "None of my predecessors ever consented to use this ungodly name." *Nos hunc honorem nolumus oblatum suscipere*: "We, being bishops of Rome, will not take this honour being offered unto us."

Greg. lib. 4.  
epist. 36. [ii.  
771.]

And the reason, that he forceth against the bishop of Constantinople, may serve as well against the bishop of Rome. For thus he saith: *Quid tu Christo universalis ecclesie capiti in extremi iudicii dicturus es examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibimet conaris universalis appellatione supponere?* "What answer wilt thou make unto Christ, that indeed is the head of the universal church, at the trial of the last judgment, that thus goest about, under the name of universal bishop, to subdue all his members unto thee?" This is the very definition of an universal bishop. Thus the bishop of Rome attempteth to subdue the whole church of God, and all the members of Christ, unto himself. Therefore by St. Gregory's judgment, he is the forerunner of Antichrist. And writing unto Eulogius, the patriarch of Alexandria, he useth these words: *Sanctitas vestra mihi sic loquitur, Sicut jussistis. Quod verbum Jussionis, peto, a meo auditu removete, quia scio quis sim, et qui sitis. Loco mihi fratres estis, moribus patres*: "Your holiness writeth thus unto me, 'As you commanded.' This word of commanding, I beseech you, take away from my hearing. For I know both what I am, and also what you are. In

Greg. lib. 4.  
epist. 38. [ii.  
742.]

Greg. lib. 7.  
epist. 30. [ii.  
919.]

<sup>84</sup> [It is not a little remarkable, that the renunciation of all claim to the title of universal bishop, which Gregory I. so decisively acknowledged, was repeated by

one of his successors, Leo IX, so late as the 11th century, in an epistle to Michael Cerularius. See Bowden's Life of Gregory VII. vol. i. pp. 64. 66.]



place (or dignity) ye are my brethren; in life and manners, ye are my fathers." Again he saith: *Ecce in præfatione epistolæ*, &c.: "Behold even in the very preface of the epistle that you sent unto me, you have written the name of that presumptuous title, calling me *the universal pope*, notwithstanding I have forbidden it. I beseech your holiness to do it no more. For you do defraud yourself, when you give another more than reason would." The selfsame meaning M. Harding might have found twice written, even in the same place of St. Gregory that he here allegeth, if it had pleased him to consider, either what went before, or else what followed immediately after. Before, he writeth thus: . . . *non mea causa, sed Dei est, nec solus ego, sed tota turbatur ecclesia, quia piæ leges: quia venerandæ synodi, quia ipsa Domini nostri Jesu Christi mandata superbi atque pompatici cujusdam sermonis inventione turbantur . . .*: "It is God's cause, it is not mine: neither only I, but also the whole church is troubled. For both the godly laws, and the reverend councils, and the very commandments of our Lord Jesus Christ, are cumbered with the device of this proud pompous title." Immediately after it followeth thus: *Nunquid ego in hac re piissime domine propriam causam defendo?* "O my most gracious sovereign, do I herein defend mine own right?" By these it may appear, that St. Gregory, being bishop of Rome, would not suffer the name of universal bishop to be given, neither to any other bishop, nor to himself.

And whereas St. Gregory saith: "The charge and chieftly of the whole church is committed unto Peter;" in the sense it is spoken in, we deny it not. St. Paul likewise saith of himself in like sense: *Incumbit mihi quotidiana cura omnium ecclesiarum*: "There lieth upon me the daily charge of all churches." And further saith, "I reckon myself to be nothing inferior in travail to the highest apostles:" and will M. Harding hereof reason thus:

Peter had the charge of the whole church:

*Ergo*, the pope is an universal bishop?

Greg. lib. 4.  
epist. 32. [ii.  
748.]  
Tamen uni-  
versalis apo-  
stolus non  
vocatur.

Certainly St. Gregory saith: "Peter himself, notwithstanding he received the whole charge, yet is he not called the universal apostle." And can the pope be that thing that St. Peter himself could not be?

St. Gregory driveth his reason thus: "If this title of universality might belong to any man, it should chiefly belong unto St. Peter: but it belongeth not unto St. Peter: therefore it can belong to no man."

Hereby it is plain, that the bishop of Rome challengeth this day a title, that St. Peter never had; that no holy nor godly man would ever take upon him; that St. Gregory utterly refused, and detested, and called blasphemy. And yet will he seem to maintain his estate by the authority of this holy father. If St. Gregory were now alive, he would cry out as he did to the emperor Mauritius: *O tempora! O mores!* "O what a time is this! O what manners are these!" Thus much is M. Harding furthered by the authority of St. Gregory.

Greg. lib. 4.  
epist. 32. [ii.  
749.]

[ii. 748.]

#### M. HARDING: *Fifth Division*

The 94th un-  
truth. For St.  
Cyprian  
speaketh  
these words  
of every se-  
veral bishop,  
not only of  
the bishop of  
Rome.  
The 95th un-  
truth, stand-  
ing in the  
manifest cor-  
ruption and  
falsifying of  
St. Cyprian.

St. Cyprian, declaring the contempt of the (94) high priest, Christ's vicar in earth, to be cause of schisms and heresies, writeth thus to Cornelius pope and martyr<sup>85</sup>, *Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt*, &c. "Neither have heresies or schisms risen of any other occasion, than of that the priest of God is not obeyed, and that one priest for the time in the church, and one judge for the time instead of Christ, is not thought upon. To whom if the whole brotherhood" (95) (that is, the whole number of Christian people which be brethren together, and were so

<sup>85</sup> [Cyprianus Cornelio. "Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos et ad tempus iudex vice Christi cogitatur; cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversus sacerdotum collegium quicquam moveret, nemo post divinum iudicium, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum, iudicem se jam, non episcopi, sed Dei, faceret, nemo

"discidio unitatis Christi ecclesiam scinderet, nemo sibi placens ac tumens seorsum foris hæresim novam conderet . . ." The words "magisteria divina," upon which Harding, by quoting them in the margin, appears to lay some stress, occur again at the end of the Epistle, (p. 89,) when St. Cyprian is expressing his trust that the church of Rome, having respect to the "magisteria divina," would have no fellowship with the schismatics, who gave occasion to his writing. See the next note.]

Secundum  
magisteria  
divina.

called in the primitive church) "would be obedient according to God's teachings, then no man would make ado against the college of priests; no man would make himself judge, not of the bishop now, but of God, after God's judgment, after the favour of the people declared by their voices at the election, after the consent of his fellow bishops. No man through breach of unity and strife, would divide the church of Christ; no man standing in his own conceit, and swelling with pride, would set up by himself abroad, without the church, a new heresy."

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

If M. Harding's cause were true, he would not avouch it with such untruth, and so often corruption of the holy fathers. If St. Cyprian, writing this epistle to Cornelius the bishop of Rome, once name him either the "high priest;" or "Christ's vicar-general in earth;" or "universal bishop;" or "head of the universal church:" or say, "that the whole brotherhood of all Christian people ought to be obedient unto him," as M. Harding untruly and contrary to his own knowledge expoundeth it: or if either his words, or his purpose of writing, may seem any way to lead to that end: then may M. Harding seem to have some honest colour for his defence. Otherwise we may justly say, he racketh the doctors, and forceth them to speak what him listeth, to serve his turn.

First, it is certain, that in all that epistle, St. Cyprian never gave unto Cornelius any such ambitious title, but only calleth him by the name of brother. For thus he saluteth him: "Cyprian unto his brother Cornelius sendeth greeting:" and maketh his entry in this wise: "Dear brother, I have read your letters." Thus St. Cyprian, being bishop of Carthage, claimeth brotherhood and equality with the pope. One special occasion of his writing unto Cornelius was this amongst others<sup>86</sup>: Cornelius being

Cyprian. lib.  
2. epist. 3.  
[p. 79.]

<sup>86</sup> [It appears to the Editor, that Jewel has here given an inadequate account of "the occasion of St. Cyprian's writing unto Cornelius," and that his argument in consequence admits of being still more strongly enforced. He ought to have stated, that the offence of the wicked men, whom Cornelius

excommunicated, consisted in the schismatical consecration of one of them, Fortunatus, as bishop, at Carthage, (of which diocese St. Cyprian was bishop,) and in his sending his accomplice, Felicissimus, to Rome for the purpose of being acknowledged in his usurped station by Cornelius, who, as



bishop of Rome, and having excommunicate certain notorious wicked men, and afterward being threatened, and ill used at their hands, began to faint, and to be weary of his office. St. Cyprian, hearing thereof, wrote comfortably unto him, and willed him in any wise to proceed, and to deal boldly, and not to yield, considering it was God's cause, and not his own. Among other words he saith thus: *Christiani non ultra aut durare, aut esse possumus, si ad hoc ventum est, ut perditorum minas et insidias pertimescamus*: "We can no longer continue or be Christian men, if we (being bishops) once begin to shrink at the threats and fetches of the wicked."

[p. 80.]

Upon occasion hereof he sheweth, what hurt and confusion of sects and schisms ensueth in any province or diocese, whereas the bishop's authority and ecclesiastical discipline is despised. "For every bishop," saith St. Cyprian, "within his own diocese, is the priest of God, and for his time is a judge appointed in the place of Christ: and as the church is one, so ought he likewise to be but one<sup>87</sup>." And thus he writeth generally of the authority of all bishops, and not only of the authority of the bishop of Rome. And, notwithstanding he directeth his epistle only to Cornelius, yet are all his reasons general, and touch both himself, being bishop of Carthage, and also all other bishops whatsoever.

Now therefore to draw that thing by violence to one only bishop, that is generally spoken of all bishops, it is a guileful fetch to mislead the reader, and no simple or plain dealing. But M. Harding seemeth to ground his error upon the mistaking of these words of St. Cyprian: *unus*

The occasion  
of M. Hard-  
ing's error.

bishop of the imperial city, would naturally have great weight in confirming the appointment. The offence then was twofold: 1. the schismatical intrusion into the episcopal office; and 2. the appeal to foreign jurisdiction. If this is so, then the sentence, quoted by Harding, is not only (as Jewel says) written "generally of all bishops," but it is specially meant (not for the bishop of Rome) but for the case of St. Cyprian him-

self, as the "*unus sacerdos*," "*unus iudex*," in his own diocese; and the words "*seorsum foris*" intimate both the uncanonical consecration of Fortunatus, and his unauthorized appeal to Rome. See the original printed in the last note. The tenor of the whole Epistle seems to sanction this interpretation.]

<sup>87</sup> [These are not St. Cyprian's exact words, but rather a paraphrase.]

*sacerdos*, and *fraternitas universa* : that is, “one bishop,” and “the whole brotherhood.” For whereas St. Cyprian saith, “There must be one bishop in a church,” he imagineth, there must be one bishop to rule over the whole universal church.

And whereas again St. Cyprian saith: “The whole brotherhood must obey one bishop,” he gathereth that all Christian people throughout the whole world, which he untruly calleth “the whole brotherhood,” must be obedient unto one universal bishop. And thus he buildeth one error upon another. But mistaking of the doctor maketh no sufficient proof.

It may soon appear, St. Cyprian meant, that, for the avoiding of schisms and divisions, there ought to be only one bishop within one diocese, and not one bishop to rule over all the world. For thus he expoundeth his own meaning: *Cum post primum esse non possit quisquam, qui post unum, qui solus esse debet, factus est, jam non secundus ille, sed nullus est*: “Seeing that after the first bishop is chosen, there can be none other, whoso is made bishop after that one, which must needs be alone, is now not the second bishop, but indeed is no bishop.”

So likewise, when the heretic Novatus had by wicked practice divided the people of Rome into sects, and had solemnly sworn them that gave ear unto him, that they should no more return unto Cornelius the bishop there, and so had rent one bishopric into two, and made two bishops in one city; Cornelius complaining thereof unto Fabius the bishop of Antioch, and informing him of the same, writeth thus unto him: *Novatus nescit, unum episcopum in catholica ecclesia esse debere*: “Novatus knoweth not, that there ought to be but one bishop in a catholic church:” not meaning thereby the whole universal church throughout the world, but only his own particular church of Rome.

So, when Chrysostom the bishop of Constantinople, saw Sisinius bear himself as bishop within the same city, he said unto him, “One city may not have two bishops.”

7. quæst. 1.  
Factus est.  
[Cyprian.  
Antoniano.  
p. 68.]

Euseb. lib. 6.  
cap. 43. [c.  
43. tom. 1.  
312.]

Socrates, lib.  
6. cap. 22. [ii.  
341.]

Hieronym.  
in Epist. ad  
Titum, cap.  
1. [iv. 413.]

So likewise St. Hierom saith, that, notwithstanding the power of all priests, by the authority of God's word, be one and equal, "yet men by policy, to avoid contention, appointed one priest in every city," to order and to direct his brethren.

Thus was the unity of the whole church preserved: thus were all churches as one church, and all bishops as one bishop. For whoso dissented from one, dissented from all.

Cyprian. lib.  
4. ep. 9. [pp.  
123, 124.]

So saith St. Cyprian: *Ecclesia . . . cohærentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulatur*: "The church is coupled and joined in one, by consent of bishops agreeing together<sup>88</sup>."

Cyprian. de  
Simplicitate  
Prælatorum.  
[p. 195.]

Likewise again he saith: *Hanc unitatem firmiter tenere, et vindicare debemus, maxime episcopi, qui in ecclesia præsidemus: ut episcopatum quoque ipsum unum, et indivisum probemus*: "This unity must we keep and defend, specially that be bishops and bear rule in the church, that we may declare indeed that our bishopric is one, and not divided<sup>89</sup>."

Hieronym.  
ad Titum,  
cap. 1. [iv.  
413, 414.]

And therefore St. Hierom saith: *Episcopi noverint . . . in commune debere se ecclesiam regere*: "Let bishops understand that they ought to govern the church in common," or, as all in one.

In this sense is every bishop for his time, as St. Cyprian saith, in the stead of Christ, and to every such Christ saith:

Luke x. 16.

"He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth

<sup>88</sup> [Cyprian. ad Florent. Pupian. ". . . quando ecclesia, quæ catholica et una est, scissa non sit neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa et cohærentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulata."]

<sup>89</sup> [There is no reasonable ground for disputing the genuineness of this treatise "de Simplicitate Prælatorum," more correctly entitled "de Unitate Ecclesiæ." Nor on the other hand can it be doubted, that gross attempts have been made by the Romanists, particularly in the edition of Manutius, Rom. 1564, in defiance of an immense preponderance of MSS., to

introduce interpolations into the text. See bishop Fell's notes, pp. 106, 107. ed. Oxon. 1682; and also James's Corruption of the Fathers, part ii. p. 1. The truth is that, the text being purified, as it is in Fell's edition, and in that of Baluzius, (although the Benedictines, very little to their own credit, thought proper not to follow him,) this treatise affords a signal proof against the groundless pretensions of the pope to supremacy, and in favour of the perfect equality of bishops; the primacy of order not being denied, as no well-informed protestant will deny it, to St. Peter.]



you despiseth me.” And therefore Ignatius saith: “The bishop in his church is the form of God the Father of all . . . . and so much as is possible resembleth” (in his office) “Christ our God<sup>90</sup>.” For this cause St. Cyprian saith: “Hereof spring schisms and heresies, for that the priest of God” (in every several diocese) “is not obeyed.” As likewise again he saith to like purpose: *Qui cum episcopo non sunt, in ecclesia non sunt*: “They, that be not with the bishop, be not in the church<sup>91</sup>.” So likewise Ignatius: “They that be of Christ are with the bishop<sup>92</sup>.”

Ignatii ad Trallianos. [Epist. Interp. ii. pt. 2. 154. ed. Russel.]  
 τῶν πατρὸς τῶν ὄλων τύπος.  
 Cyprian. lib. 1. epist. 3. [Cornelio, p. 82.]  
 Cyprian. lib. 4. epist. 9. [p. 123.]  
 Ignat. ad Philadelphien. [ii. pt. 2. 120.]

Thus St. Cyprian spake these words generally of the authority of all bishops in their several dioceses, and not of any special authority of the bishop of Rome, as it is here untruly affirmed by M. Harding.

But he will reply, St. Cyprian saith, *Universa fraternitas*, that is, “The whole brotherhood ought to be obedient to that one bishop.” And that whole brotherhood must needs be the whole company of all Christian people. Notwithstanding this exposition seem very large, yet, if St. Cyprian himself had not opened his own meaning otherwise, perhaps some man either of simplicity or of igno-

Fraternitas universa.

<sup>90</sup> [This is from the *longer*, or interpolated edition of St. Ignatius’ Epistles. In order to determine the real value of any quotation from these, it must be compared with the edition of the genuine epistles, first published by Ussher (1644, after a genuine Lat. version never before published) and by Isaac Vossius, 1646. See Extracts from Bishop Pearson’s *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, prefixed to the second vol. of Russel’s *Patres Apostolici*. It is to be regretted that any edition of the apostolic fathers should be published without the “interpolated epistles,” inasmuch as all the writers before 1644, 1646, (bishop Jewel, for example,) whatever their opinion may have been respecting their genuineness, had no others to refer to. The passages quoted by Jewel are from two distinct parts of Ignatius’

Epistle to the Trallians, §. 3. p. 154, Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐντρέπεσθε αὐτοὺς ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, οὗ φύλακές εἰσι τοῦ τόπου· ὡς καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὄλων τύπος ὑπάρχει, (genuine Ep. . . . πάντες ἐντρέπέσθωσαν . . . καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὄντα νιὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς·) and §. 7. p. 164. ὡς οἶόν τε ἄνθρωπον κρατεῖν μιμητὴν γινόμενον κατὰ δύναμιν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, (in the genuine Epistle there are no words corresponding.)]

<sup>91</sup> [Cyprian. ad Florent. Pupian. “Scire debes . . . si quis cum episcopo non sit, in ecclesia non esse.”]

<sup>92</sup> Ignat. ad Philadelph. §. 3. ὅσοι γὰρ Χριστοῦ εἰσιν, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν. [Genuine Ep. §. 3. tom. ii. part i. p. 148. ὅσοι γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰσιν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κ. τ. λ.]

rance might so take it. But St. Cyprian, that doubtless best knew his own mind, understandeth these words, *fraternitas universa*, not of all the universal company of all Christian people throughout all the world, as M. Harding doth, but of the whole brotherhood within every several and particular diocese. For thus he writeth in the next epistle following<sup>93</sup>:.....*fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut, ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique convenient et episcopus deligatur plebe præsentē, &c. Quod et apud nos factum vidimus in Sabini collegæ nostri ordinatione: ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio...episcopatus ei deferretur*: “This order is in manner kept in all provinces, that, unto the due ordering or installing of a bishop, the bishops of the same province that dwell nearest come together to the people of that city, unto which a new bishop is appointed: and that the bishop be chosen in the presence of the people. Which thing we saw done in the election and ordering of our fellow bishop Sabinus, that the bishopric was bestowed upon him by the consent and voices of the whole brotherhood.” Here *universa fraternitas* undoubtedly is used for the whole faithful company of one city. In like manner he writeth unto Cornelius of certain that were returned from schisms and errors unto the unity of the church: *Merito illos revertentes, summo gaudio et clerus, et plebis fraternitas omnis excepit*: “When they came again, both the clergy and the whole brotherhood of the people worthily received them with great joy.” So likewise the emperor Honorius writeth unto Bonifacius: “If two bishops through ambition and contention happen to be chosen, we will, that neither of them be allowed as bishop; but that he only remain in the apostolic see, whom out of the number of the clergy, godly discretion and the consent of the whole brotherhood shall choose by a new election.”

In these places M. Harding cannot deny, but these words *universa fraternitas, omnis fraternitas, and universitatis*

<sup>93</sup> [That is, in the old editions. The order is changed in the Bened.]

Cyprian. lib.  
1. epist. 4.  
[p. 119.]

Cyprian. lib.  
2. epist. 12.  
[p. 61.]

Rescriptum  
Honor. ad  
Bonifacium.  
[Mansi, iv.  
393.]  
Quem uni-  
versitatis  
consensus  
elegit.

*consensus*, must needs be taken for one whole particular brotherhood within one province or diocese. In the same sense Origen saith: *Qui vocatur ad episcopatum, vocatur ad servitum totius ecclesiæ*: “He that is called unto a bishoprick is called unto the service of the whole church<sup>94</sup>.”

Origenes in  
Esaïam,  
hom. 6.  
[iii. 116.]

Likewise again he saith: “*Plus a me exigitur, quam a diacono: plus a diacono, quam a laico: qui vero totius ecclesiæ arcem obtinet, pro omni ecclesia reddet rationem*: “There is more required of me (being a priest) than of a deacon: more of a deacon than of one of the people: but he that keepeth the watch” (or castle) “of the whole church” (which is every bishop in his diocese) “shall yield a reckoning for the whole<sup>95</sup>.”

Origen. in  
Hierem.  
hom. 7. [iii.  
189.]

In these places every particular church is called “the whole church.” And therefore Ignatius saith: *Quid aliud est episcopus, quam quidam obtinens principatum et potestatem supra omnes?* “What is a bishop, but one having all rule and power over all?”

Ignatii ad  
Trallianos.  
[epist. interp.  
ii. 164.]

Τί ἐστὶν ἐπί-  
σκοπος ἄλ-  
λο, ἢ πάσης  
ἀρχῆς καὶ  
ἐξουσίας  
ἐπέκεινα  
πάντων  
κρατῶν.

These things well weighed, besides the manifest corruption and falsifying of St. Cyprian’s both words and mind, I doubt not but the weakness also of M. Harding’s reason may soon appear. For upon this place of St. Cyprian, untruly reported, he would seem to reason thus: “There must be one bishop in one church or diocese; *ergo*, there must be one bishop over all the world.” Or thus: “The whole brotherhood in every diocese ought to hearken only to one bishop; *ergo*, all Christian people throughout the world ought to be in subjection to the bishop of Rome.”

These arguments bewray themselves, and therefore need no further opening.

All this notwithstanding, if M. Harding will say St. Cyprian’s words must needs import one universal bishop,

<sup>94</sup> [Orig. in Esaïam. “*Qui vocatur ergo ad episcopatum, non ad principatum vocatur sed ad servitum totius ecclesiæ.*”]

<sup>95</sup> [Origen in Hierem. Hom. 7. Jewel is quoting according to the division adopted by St. Jerome. In the Bened. edition this is the

11th Homily. The original is as follows: Πλείον ἐγὼ ἀπαιτοῦμαι παρὰ τὸν διάκονον, πλείον ὁ διάκονος παρὰ τὸν λαϊκόν· ὁ δὲ τῶν πάντων ἡμῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένος ἀρχὴν αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν, ἐπὶ πλείον ἀπαιτεῖται.]



and the same of necessity must be the bishop of Rome, let him then vouchsafe to read the epistle that the same St. Cyprian wrote unto Florentius Pupianus. There shall he find, that St. Cyprian, even in like form and order, speaketh these selfsame words of himself, being, as M. Harding knoweth, the bishop of Carthage in Africa, and not the bishop of Rome. His words be these: *Unde* [leg. *inde*] *schismata et hæreses abortæ sunt, et oriuntur, (nisi) dum episcopus, qui unus est, et ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur, et homo dignatione Dei honoratus, ab hominibus indignis judicatur?* “Where-  
hence have schisms and heresies sprung heretofore, and whereof spring they now, but that the bishop, which is one and governeth the church, by the presumptuous disdain of certain, is despised, and a man preferred by God’s allowance is examined and judged by unworthy men.” All this St. Cyprian speaketh plainly and namely of himself, being bishop of Carthage. Therefore it is great oversight to force the same only to the bishop of Rome, and stoutly to say, “It can be applied unto none other.”

Cyprian. [ad  
Flor. Pu-  
pian.] lib. 4.  
epist. 9. [p.  
122.]

#### M. HARDING: Sixth Division.

Of all other authorities, that of Athanasius and of the bishops of Egypt and Lybia, gathered together in a synod at Alexandria, is to be regarded. Who making humble suit to Felix then bishop of Rome, for aid and succour against the Arians through the whole epistle, confessing the supreme authority of that apostolic see, utter these very words: *Vestræ apostolicæ sedis imploramus auxilium*, &c.: “We humbly beseech you of the help of your apostolic see. Because (as verily we believe) God hath not despised the prayers of his servants, offered up to him with tears, but hath constituted and placed you and your predecessors, who were apostolic prelates, in the highest tower or supreme state, and commanded them to have cure and charge of all churches, to the intent you help and succour us, and that defending us (as to whom judgment of bishops is committed) you foreslow not through negligence, to deliver us from our enemies.”

Athanasius  
forged.

In primo  
tomo concl-  
liorum.

In summi-  
tatis arce  
constituit.

Now if the apostolic church of Rome hath obtained the primacy and preeminence of power over all churches, and over the whole flock of Christian people, of our Lord Saviour himself, as Anacletus saith; if it be evident to all that know the gospel, that the cure and charge of the whole church hath been committed to the holy apostle Peter, prince of all the apostles, by the word of

Anacletus  
forged.

our Lord, as Gregory witnesseth ; if the whole brotherhood (that is to say, all Christian folk) ought to obey the one high priest or bishop of God, and the one judge that is Christ's vicar, or instead of Christ for the time, according to the precepts and teachings of God, as Cyprian writeth ; if it be God that hath placed and ordained the bishop of Rome in the highest state of the church, as Athanasius, with all the fathers of that Alexandrine council, recordeth ; if this, I say, be true, then is it easily seen, upon how good ground this doctrine standeth, whereby it is affirmed, that the bishop of Rome his primacy hath his force by God's law, and not only by man's law, much less by unjust usurpation. The scriptures, by which as well these, as all other holy and learned fathers were led to acknowledge and confess the primacy of Peter and his successors, were partly such as Anacletus and Gregory here allegeth, and Cyprian meaneth, as it appeareth by his third treatise, *De Simplicitate Prælatorum*, and sundry mo of the New Testament, as to the learned is known : of which to treat here largely and pithily as the weight of the matter requireth, at this time I have no leisure ; neither if I had, yet might I conveniently perform it in this treatise, which otherwise will amount to a sufficient bigness, and that matter thoroughly handled will fill a right great volume. Wherefore, referring the readers to the credit of these worthy fathers, who so understood the scriptures, as thereof they were persuaded the primacy to be attributed to Peter's successor by God himself, I will proceed, keeping my prefixed order.

St. Gregory nipped. For the next words immediately following are these: *Tamen Petrus universalis apostolus non vocatur.*

St. Cyprian's mind twice falsified in one place.

Whereas the preeminence of power and authority, which to the bishop of Rome by special and singular privilege God hath granted, is commended to the world by many and sundry councils, for avoiding of tediousness, I will rehearse the testimonies of a few. Among the canons made by three hundred and eighteen bishops at the Nicene council, which were in number seventy, and (96) all burnt by heretics in the east church, save twenty, and yet the whole number (97) was kept diligently in the church of Rome in the original itself, sent to Sylvester the bishop there from the council, subscribed with the said three hundred and eighteen fathers' hands ; the forty-fourth canon, which is of the power of the patriarch over the metropolitans and bishops, and of the metropolitan over bishops, in the end hath this decree : *Ut autem cunctis ditionis sue nationibus*, &c. : " As the patriarch beareth rule over all nations of his jurisdiction, and giveth laws to them, and as Peter Christ's vicar, at the beginning set in authority over religion, over the churches, and over all other things pertaining to Christ, was (98) master and ruler of Christian princes, provinces, and of all nations : so he, whose principality or chieftly is at Rome, like unto Peter, and equal in authority, obtaineth the rule and sovereignty over all patriarchs." After a few words it followeth there : " If any man repine against this statute or dare resist it, by the decree of the whole council he is accursed."

The 96th untruth, joined with folly, as shall appear.

The 97th untruth. For there was no such original kept in the church of Rome.

The 98th untruth. For there was no prince or province christened in St. Peter's time.

Julius that worthy bishop of Rome, not long after the council

Vide Franc. Turrianum, lib. 3. character. dogmat.

of Nice, in his epistle that he wrote to the ninety Arian bishops, assembled in the council at Antioch against Athanasius bishop of Alexandria, reproving them for their unjust treating of him, saith of the canons of the Nicene council, then fresh in their remembrance, that they command, *Non debere prater sententiam Romani pontificis ullo modo concilia celebrari, nec episcopos damnari*: "That without the authority of the bishop of Rome, neither councils ought to be kept, nor bishops condemned." Again, that nothing be decreed without the bishop of Rome, *cui hæc et majora ecclesiarum negotia, tam ab ipso Domino, quam ab omnibus universorum conciliorum fratribus, speciali privilegio contradita sunt*: "to whom these and other the weighty matters of the churches be committed by special privilege, as well by our Lord himself, as by all our brethren of the whole universal councils." Among other principal points which he reciteth in that epistle of the Nicene council's canons, this is one: *Ut omnes episcopi, &c.*: "That all bishops who sustain wrong, in weighty causes, so often as need shall require, make their appeal freely to the see apostolic, and flee to it for succour, as to their mother, that from thence they may be charitably sustained, defended and delivered. To the disposition of which see, the ancient authority of the apostles and their successors, and of the canons, hath reserved all weighty or great ecclesiastical causes and judgments of bishops."

Athanasius and the whole company of bishops of Egypt, Thebaida and Lybia, assembled together in council at Alexandria, complaining in their epistle to Felix the pope<sup>96</sup>, of great injuries and griefs they sustained at the Arians, allegeth the determination of the Nicene council touching the supreme authority and power of that see apostolic over all other bishops: *Similiter et a supra-dictis patribus est definitum consonanter, &c.*: "Likewise," say they, "it hath been determined by common assent of the aforesaid fathers of Nice, that if any of the bishops suspect the metropolitan, or their fellow bishops of the same province, or the judges, that then they make their appeal to your holy see of Rome, to whom by our Lord himself power to bind and loose, by special privilege above other hath been granted." Thus much alleged out of the canons of the Nicene council, gathered partly out of Julius' epistle, who wrote to them that were present at the making of them (which taketh away all suspicion of untruth), and partly out of Athanasius and others, that were a great part of the same council.

[Int. Athan. Opp. edit. Ben. ii. 676.]

Matt. xvi.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

A scarecrow stuffed with straw, and set upright, may seem afar off to be a man. Even so a forger of lies and

<sup>96</sup> [The Benedictines have published, under the express designation of spurious, this epistle quoted

by Harding, and that of Athanasius to Mark alluded to by Jewel in p. 159, as forged.]



fables, pricked up in the apparel of ancient names, may seem to the ignorant an old catholic father. No marvel though this authority like M. Harding best above all others, for it is most vain and shameless above all others, and therefore meetest to help up a shameless doctrine. It is no new practice in the church of Rome, to forge evidence in the name of old fathers, as, God willing, hereafter it shall better appear. But as for this epistle and certain others that are carried about under the name of that godly bishop Athanasius, I will only rip up the stuffing, and open some part of the contents of them, and so will not refuse M. Harding himself to be the judge.

First, that they were never written in Greek, and therefore not by Athanasius, it may appear by sundry tokens, and namely by the allusion of these two Latin words, *vertex* and *vertuntur*; *Romana sedes est sacer vertex, in quo omnes vertuntur*. The Latin is rude and barbarous, and many times utterly void of sense. The manner of utterance is childish, and babbling, empty of matter, and full of words without measure. The substance of the whole is nothing else but flattering and advancing of the see of Rome, farced up, and set out with lies without shame.

The author hereof, speaking of the church of Rome, saith: *Inde ecclesiæ sumpserunt prædicationis exordium*: "From Rome the churches received the first preaching of the gospel." But God himself saith: *Ex Sione exhibit lex, et verbum Domini de Hierusalem*: "From Sion the law shall proceed, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." And therefore Tertullian calleth Jerusalem, "the mother of religion." And Nicephorus saith, that Simon Zelotes ran over all Africa, and preached the gospel. Eusebius saith, that St. Mark the evangelist first erected congregations, and taught the gospel at Alexandria. And Nicephorus saith further, that St. Mark went preaching over all Egypt, and Lybia, and Cyrene, and Pentapolis, and the whole country of Barbary, in the time of the emperor Tiberius, which was, at the least, six years before Peter came to Rome. St. Augustine saith, the religion of Christ was first brought into Africa out of Græcia, and not from Rome.

Isa. ii. 3.  
Micha iv. 2.

Matrix religionis.  
Nicephor. lib. 2. cap. 40. [i. 202.]  
Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 24. [i. 32. vid. et p. 65.]

Nicephor. lib. 2. cap. 43. [i. 209.]

Augustin. ep. 170. [ii. 119.]  
† Epist. 178. [ii. app. 44.]  
Græcia, unde fides orta est.

Therefore that M. Harding's Athanasius saith, the church received from Rome the first preaching of the gospel, is an open flattery, and a manifest untruth.

Concil. Carthaginen. 6.  
[iv. 515, 516.]

Further this author saith, "That in all cases there lay appeals from the metropolitan to the bishop of Rome: and that by the authority of the Nicene council." But that thing in the council of Carthage, St. Augustine being then present, was utterly denied by all the bishops of Africa, Numidia, Mauritania, Byzancena, and Tripolis, to the number of two hundred and seventeen, and by the witness of the three patriarchs of Antiochia, Constantinopolis and Alexandria, was found untrue<sup>97</sup>.

This author saith: *Fuit semper vestrae sanctae et apostolicae sedi licentia, injuste damnatos vel excommunicatos potestative sua autoritate restituere, et sua eis omnia reddere*: "Your holy apostolic see had evermore a special prerogative, by your own authority, and by way of power to relieve men unjustly condemned or excommunicate, and to restore them to their own." But it shall hereafter appear, that the bishop of Rome at that time had no such power: and that it was not he, that restored any man in that case by his power, but only the emperor.

1 Cor. iii. 11.  
and 4.

St. Paul saith: "Other foundation none can be laid, but only that is laid already, which is Christ Jesus." And findeth great fault with the Corinthians that said: "I hold of Apollo, I hold of Paul, I hold of Peter." But M. Harding's Athanasius saith: *Tu es Petrus, et super fundamentum tuum ecclesiae columnae, hoc est, episcopi, sunt confirmatae*: "Thou art Peter, and upon thy foundation the pillars of the church, which are the bishops, are surely set." And thus he deviseth another foundation besides Christ, and contrary to St. Paul's doctrine would have all the bishops of the world to hold of Peter.

But to leave all other untruths, wherewith these epistles be stuffed full, mark, gentle reader, only this oversight, and thou shalt plainly see with thine eyes, that M. Harding's doctor is an impudent, and an open liar. For the

<sup>97</sup> [This decree will be found in the Codex Eccles. African. ap. Bruns. can. 28. p. 164. vol. i.]

true Athanasius himself, of whom we make no doubt, saith, that the Arians at Alexandria burnt the catholic men's books, (and therewithal the canons of the council of Nice<sup>98</sup>;) in the time of the emperor Constantius, Julius being then bishop of Rome. Which observation of time appeareth also by Socrates in his story. But M. Harding's Athanasius is either so forgetful of his lies, or so impudent and careless what he say, that he maketh piteous complaint of the said burning unto Marcus, that was bishop in Rome before Julius, and was dead at the least nine years before the canons were burnt. By such doctors M. Harding upholdeth the state of Rome.

Athanasius  
in Epistola  
ad Ortho-  
doxos. [i.  
113.]

Socrat. lib. 2.  
cap. 8. [ii.  
84.]

[Ep. ad  
Marcum,  
inter Opp.  
Athanasii,  
tom. ii. 665.]

As for Athanasius himself, he never understood the bishop of Rome had any such prerogative power, nor never named him by greater title, than the bishop of Rome. And whereas this epistle, alleged in the name of Athanasius, soundeth far otherwise, it is no marvel: for it was dated at Alexandria and made in Rome.

Now, if the decretal epistle which M. Harding hath brought in under the name of Anacletus be nothing else but forged evidence, as it is sufficiently declared: if M. Harding have uncourteously used St. Gregory, cutting off his tale in the midst, and purposely leaving out those words: *Tamen Petrus universalis apostolus non vocatur*: "Yet is not Peter called the universal apostle:" which was the only matter that St. Gregory had then in hand: if St. Gregory say: "None of my predecessors, bishops of Rome, would ever take upon him the name of universal bishop:" if St. Gregory say: "It is the puff of arrogancy; the word of pride; a new, a pompous, a perverse, a foolish, a rash, a superstitious, a profane, an ungodly, and a wicked name; a name of singularity; a name of error; a name of hypocrisy; a name of vanity, and a name of blasphemy; and that whosoever calleth himself, or desireth to be called by that arrogant name, in the pride of his heart is the fore-

Gregor. lib. 4.  
epist. 32. [ii.  
748.]

Gregor. lib. 4.  
epist. 36. [ii.  
771.]

Gregor. lib. 6.  
epist. 30.

<sup>98</sup> [These words are placed in a parenthesis, in order to shew, that the fact stated is not found either in the Encyclic Epistle of Athanasius, or in Socrates. Jewel pro-

bably meant that, if, as Harding asserts, the Nicene canons were burnt, it must have been on that occasion.]



Grægor. lib. 6.  
epist. 24.

runner of Antichrist; and that the quiet and indifferent bearing of the same is the destruction of the faith of the universal church<sup>99</sup>:" if M. Harding have wittingly and openly falsified the words of St. Cyprian, and that twice together in one sentence, as he himself cannot deny: if the epistle that he allegeth under the title of Athanasius, be nothing else but a shameless counterfeit, full of vile flattering and apparent lies: then is this former part hitherto but weakly proved, neither can M. Harding truly say, " His doctrine standeth upon good and sure ground."

Cyprian. lib.  
2. epist. 3.  
[p. 82.]

O, what luck hath M. Harding to such authorities, having choice, as he saith, of so many, and tripping over so lightly, to speed so ill? His Amphilocheus lieth at Verona; his Clemens in Candy; his Martial in a cave under ground; his canon of the council of Ephesus against Nestorius was never seen, and others otherwise miscarried; the council of Nice, wherein was the whole stay of the primacy of Rome, is burnt by the Arians, and saving only in Rome, nowhere else in the world to be found.

Cyprian. de  
Jejunio et  
Tentatione.  
[app. p. cvii.]  
Ammianus  
Marcellin.  
[lib 27. cap.  
2.]  
Socrat. lib. 4.  
cap. 24. [cap.  
29. li. 25 r.]

For answer hereunto, methinketh these words spoken generally by St. Cyprian, had then, and have yet a special place in the see of Rome: *Ambitio dormit in sinu sacerdotum*: "Ambition sleepeth in the bosom of priests<sup>1</sup>." For, to pass over the great contention that even at the beginning happened there between Damasus and Ursinus, whether of them two should be bishop, in which contention a great number of either part was slain, St. Augustine also complaineth, that even the deacons of Rome, in his time, advanced themselves far above their estate. These be his words: *Falcidius duce stultitia, et civitatis Romanæ jactantia, diaconos presbyteris æquare contendit*: "Falcidius led by folly, and by the courage of the city of Rome, would have deacons to be nothing inferior unto priests<sup>2</sup>." Likewise St. Hierom saith: "The Romans are noted of cour-

August. in  
Questionib.  
Veteris et  
Novi Testa-  
menti,  
quæst. 101.  
[iii. app. 92.]  
Hier. in Præ-  
fatione ad  
Galat. [iv.  
255.]

<sup>99</sup> [See ante, vol. ii. p. 143, where these quotations are verified in detail.]

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the twelve treatises, "De Cardinalibus Operibus Christi," a work not of St. Cy-

prian's, but by Arnoldus.—See Cave.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Quæstiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti, are not genuine.]

tesy, and stoutness of mind." And therefore St. Paul gave this advertisement specially unto them, above all others: *Noli altum sapere, sed time*: "Be not highminded, but stand in awe." Wherefore it is the less to be marvelled, if they have so ambitiously at all times attempted dominion over others.

But M. Harding saith, The preeminence of power and authority of the bishop of Rome is commended to the world by many and sundry councils. Wherein I marvel he allegeth not the council of Carthage, of Hippo Regius, and of Africa, in which it was decreed thus: *Ut primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi: sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus*: "That the bishop of the first see be not called the chief of priests, or the highest priest, or by any other like name: but only the bishop of the first see;" or the council of Africa, where, touching appeal to Rome, it was specially provided thus: *Si provocandum putaverint, non provocent, nisi ad Africana concilia, vel ad primates provinciarum suarum. Ad transmarina qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communionem suscipiatur*: "If they think it needful to appeal from their own bishops, let them not appeal but only unto councils to be holden within the country of Africa. But whosoever shall think it needful to appeal to the judgment of any beyond the sea," (that is, to the bishop of Rome,) "let no man within Africa receive him to his communion." Why doth M. Harding so warily leave these councils, that be extant, and to be seen, the authority whereof was never doubted of, and allegeth only a patch of the council of Nice, which he himself confessed was burnt, and all the bishops of the east part, who are supposed to have made it, protest openly, under their hands and seals, it was never made? But M. Harding herein doth much like unto the Arians, that accused Athanasius, who were not ashamed to bring in the names of certain men, as being alive, to witness against him; and yet notwithstanding, charged Athanasius with the same men, that he had slain them.

Neither do I see, wherefore M. Harding should need in

Rom. xi. 20.

Conc. Carth.  
3. can. 26.  
[iii. 884.]Conc. Hippo.  
can. 27. [iii.  
895.]Conc. Afric.  
can. 6. [iv.  
483.]Conc. Afric.  
can. 92. [iv.  
507.]Synod. Alex.  
adversus  
accusatores  
Athanasii.  
[Mansi, ii.  
1296.]

Anacl. epist.  
1. [Crabbe, 1.  
58.]

Concil. Car-  
thagin. 6.  
can. 2. [iv.  
403.]

Nicolaus I.  
ad Michael.  
Imperato-  
rem. [Mansi,  
xv. 205.]

this case to lean to the authority of any council. For his Anacletus thought it better to make men believe he had his superiority, "not from the apostles, but from Christ himself." And Faustinus *episcopus Potentinus*, claiming for the bishop of Rome in the council of Carthage, and finding himself to have small hold in this canon of the Nicene council, alleged rather custom and prescription.

These be his words: *Tractandum est cum vestra beatitudine de Nicenis canonibus, ut conserventur et constituta eorum, et consuetudo. Quia aliqua ordine et canone tenentur, aliqua consuetudine firmata sunt*: "We must deal with your holiness of the canons of the council of Nice, that they may be kept, both the constitutions thereof, and also the custom. For certain things are holden by order, and by canon: and certain things are made good by custom." But pope Nicolas the First utterly refuseth, not only the council of Nice, and all other councils in this behalf, but also the authority of prescription and custom. For thus he saith: *Animadvertendum est, quia non Nicena, non denique ulla synodus quicquam Romanæ contulit ecclesiæ privilegii: quæ in Petro noverat eam totius jura potestatis pleniter meruisse, et cunctarum Christi ovium regimen accepisse*: "Ye must consider, that neither the council of Nice, nor any other council, ever gave any privilege to this church of Rome. For this church knoweth, that in Peter she hath fully deserved the right of all power, and hath attained the government of all the sheep of Christ."

But touching the forgery of this council of Nice, the very beginning of the quarrel, and the whole story standeth thus: One Apiarius, a priest of the church of Sicca in Africa, as it appeareth, a very ill man, being justly excommunicate, both by his own bishop, and also by a great number of other bishops together in the council there, appealed from them all unto Zosimus then bishop of Rome. Zosimus, without further knowledge of the cause, never hearing the other party, pronounced Apiarius to be innocent, and restored him to the communion. And understanding there was a council gathered in Africa touching the same, sent thither Faustinus the bishop of Potentia,



with two other priests of Rome, Philippus and Asellus, not only to see that the said Apiarius, without any further trial, might be restored unto his right, but also to make plea in the open council, that it should be lawful for any priest to appeal from his own ordinary, or metropolitan, or council, unto the apostolic see of Rome. The bishops of Africa answered, there was no law it should be so. Faustinus laid forth this canon of the council of Nice, not made by the authority of the bishops there, but only devised by the bishop of Rome<sup>3</sup>. The bishops there, among whom was St. Augustine, that famous learned father, thought it was a forged matter, and therefore said, they would send unto Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, for the very original copies of the said council, and desired the bishop of Rome to do the same: and said, that in the mean while they would do as they had done before. Upon this message, and return of the answer with the true authentic copies, from Cyrillus the bishop of Alexandria, and Atticus the bishop of Constantinople, it appeared plainly unto the world, that the canons were corrupted, and that the pope had falsified that holy council; and, to the intent to advance his apostolic see of Rome, had devised privileges and prerogatives of his own. Here might M. Harding well bestow his terms; here might he truly say: "The pope coggeth and foisteth the die: the pope bombasteth the canons of councils, and the decrees of holy fathers, with his counterfeit stuffing." The bishops in the council of Africa, having thus thoroughly examined the truth hereof, wrote unto Cœlestinus, being then bishop of Rome<sup>4</sup>, in this wise:

Concil. Carthagin. 6. can. 3, 4. [iv. 404.]

They would not thus have done if they had thought all the originals and copies had been burnt. Can. 7.

Conc. Afric. can. 102. [iv. 513.]

<sup>3</sup> [The canons, falsely alleged to be amongst the decrees of the council of Nice, were in reality the 5th and 14th (Gr.) canons of the council of Sardica. See p. 132, note 69.]

<sup>4</sup> [The original claim was set up by Zosimus, and with him rests the guilt of the attempted falsification of the canons. He died A.D. 418. The claim was prosecuted by his successor, Bonifacius I., but the matter was not definitively settled (by the letter given in the

text, a copy of which will be found in Bruns, vol. i. p. 200, at the end of the Codex Eccl. Afric.) before the time of Cœlestinus I. who succeeded A.D. 422. It is worth observing, that, according to the testimony of Baronius himself, (anno 419. num. 59, &c.) no schism took place, in consequence of this letter, between the churches of Carthage and Rome. Nor was there any attempt on the part of Cœlestine to excommunicate those

Conc. Afric.  
can. 105. [lv.  
516.]

*Decreta Nicena, &c.*: "The decrees of the council of Nice have committed both the inferior clerks, and also the bishops, unto their metropolitans. For it was discreetly and rightly considered, that all matters are to be determined in the places where they began, and that no province can lack the Holy Ghost, whereby the bishops of Christ may be able both wisely to see, and also constantly to maintain the right: and specially for that it is lawful for every man, that shall mislike the discretion of his judges, to appeal either to a particular council within the same realm, or else to the universal council of the whole world: unless perchance some man will say, GOD IS ABLE TO INSPIRE THE TRIAL OF JUSTICE INTO ONE MAN ALONE," (because he is bishop of Rome,) "AND WILL NOT INSPIRE THE SAME INTO A GREAT NUMBER OF BISHOPS MEETING TOGETHER IN COUNCIL. And how may such beyond-sea judgment be thought good, whereunto the persons of the witnesses, which in trial of truth are thought necessary, either for that they be women, or for the infirmity of their age, or for many other incident lets, cannot be brought? Now that any should be sent abroad, as it were, from your holiness' side, we find it not decreed in any council. As for that you sent us lately by our brother Faustinus, as part of the council of Nice, we must do you to wit, that in the true councils, which we have received from our holy fellow-bishop Cyrillus of Alexandria, and the reverend father Atticus the bishop of Constantinople, taken out of the very originals,.....it cannot be found. And send you not any your clerks hither to execute justice at any man's request, lest we seem to bring the smoky puff of the world into the church of Christ." Thus far the words of the council.

The pope  
taken in  
manifest  
forgery.

Fumosum  
typhum.

The bishop of Rome, when he saw he was taken with the manner, and found an open falsary, for that the canons of his making disagreed from the very originals, thought it good policy, to say, the originals were burnt by the Arians, and so no true copy now remaining, but his only.

who had so boldly vindicated their independence of papal and legatine authority—in short, the pope acquiesced in his defeat.]

And therefore he imagined a letter to be written in the name of Athanasius, and other bishops of Egypt, unto Marcus the bishop of Rome, wherein they besought him a copy of the Nicene council, for that all their books were utterly destroyed. But this shift was too simple. For it were hard for M. Harding to shew, what help Athanasius could have found in any of those canons, that are now presumed to be burnt, wherewith either to relieve himself in that case, or else to molest and grieve his adversaries.

“But both Julius the bishop of Rome, and also Athanasius the bishop of Alexandria, make mention hereof. Therefore there is no cause,” saith M. Harding, “why this matter should be suspected of any untruth.” This removing of suspicion, I know not how, seemeth somewhat to increase suspicion. If there were not a sore, what should it thus need to be salved? Indeed Julius allegeth a canon of the council of Nice: but M. Harding’s canon he allegeth not. And the compiler of the councils gave this note in the margin touching the same: *Hoc statutum solum reducibile est ad quintum et sextum caput Niceni concilii: verum aperte non invenitur*: “This decree may only be reduced to the fifth and sixth chapter of the council of Nice: but expressly it is not found.” Such credit is to be given to this Julius in his allegations.

In Epist.  
Decret. Julii.  
[Crabbe, i.  
305.]

As for M. Harding’s Athanasius, his tale is so simple, that it will soon bewray itself. For, as I noted before, he writeth unto Marcus the bishop of Rome, of the burning of the books: and yet Athanasius himself certainly knew, that Marcus was dead at the least nine years before that burning happened.

Manifest  
forgery.

Athan. in  
Epist. ad  
Orthodoxos.  
[i. 113.]

Even so the vain forger of the emperor Constantine’s great dotation imagineth him to decree, that the bishop of Constantinople should be subject unto the see of Rome. And yet neither was the city of Constantinople at that time built, nor any such name yet known in the world, nor any bishopric there erected. A man might say, *Non satis commode divisa sunt temporibus tibi Dave hæc*.

Socrates, lib.  
2. cap. 8. [ii.  
84.]

Again the same Athanasius, writing unto Felix, saith: THE ARIANS HAD FALSIFIED THE NICENE COUNCIL; but

† Athan. in  
Epist. ad  
Felicem.  
[ii. 676.]



† Athan. in  
Epist. ad  
Marc. [ii.  
665.]

writing unto Marcus of the same matter, as a man that had utterly forgotten himself, he saith: THE ARIANS HAD BURNT THE COUNCIL OF NICE. But if it were burnt, how was it falsified? If it were falsified, how was it burnt? These tales hang not well together. But, forasmuch as M. Harding would so fain have the pope to hold by burnt evidence, if it may please thee, gentle reader, discreetly to weigh the whole circumstance of the matter, thou shalt soon find, that all this great ado was nothing else but a great

Theodoret.  
lib. 1. cap. 9.  
et lib. 2. cap.  
8. [iii. 31.  
and 73.]  
Marius Vic-  
torin. adver-  
sus Arium,  
lib. 2.

fable. For first it appeareth by Theodoretus, that the whole acts, and copies of the council of Nice, were sent abroad unto all bishops that were away<sup>5</sup>. And Marius Victorinus, writing against Arius, saith, that the same acts were sent abroad into the whole world, and that “many thousand bishops” subscribed, and agreed unto them. Which thing being undoubtedly true, it were very much for M. Harding to say, that all these copies, in all parts of the world, could be destroyed upon the sudden, and that all together, in one place, and with one fire, and at one commandment. The Arians neither were so mighty to achieve it, nor so foolish to attempt it. Certainly the like never happened to any other council. But what needeth words, where the matter is plain? The bishops of Africa had the very copies of these canons. Alypius the bishop of Tagasta, in this

Conc. Carth.  
6. cap. 4. [iv.  
404.]

conference with Faustinus, said: *Adhuc tamen me movet, quoniam, cum inspiceremus Græca exemplaria hujus synodi Nicenæ, ista ibi, nescio qua ratione, minime invenimus:* “But this one thing much moveth me, that conferring and examining the Greek examples of this Nicene council, these matters (of the superiority of the see of Rome that is alleged) I know not how, we found not there.” And Cyrillus the bishop of Alexandria, being desired, for trial of this matter, to send the true original of this council, made answer in this sort: *Necesse habui fidelissima exemplaria ex authentica synodo vestræ charitati dirigere:* “I thought it needful to send unto you the true examples of

Conc. Carth.  
6. can. 102.  
[iv. 513.]

<sup>5</sup> [Theod. The first marginal reference is to the synodical epistle of the council of Nice to the bishops

of Africa; the second to that of the council of Sardica to the bishops of the whole world.]

the very authentic council." Likewise Atticus, the bishop of Constantinople, to the same request answereth thus:

*Canones, sicut statuti sunt in Nicæa civitate a patribus, in* Conc. Carth. 6. can. 103. [iv. 514.]  
*integro ad vos direxi:* "I have sent unto you the canons in the whole, even as they were made and ratified by the fathers in the city of Nice." Now, if these canons were quite burnt, as M. Harding saith, how were they afterward found whole, as the godly father Atticus, and the learned bishop Cyrillus saith? And if they were afterward found whole, how then were they quite burnt before? Or how is it, that no man, neither in Africa, nor in Europa, nor in Asia; neither in the east church, nor in the west, was ever able to see these canons, but only the bishop of Rome, that so ambitiously claimeth by them? And if he have them indeed, and that of such authentic record, under the hands of the three hundred and eighteen bishops, as it is boldly avouched, why are they not shewed? why have they been, for the space of these thirteen hundred years, still kept invisible? Verily the council of Nice were well worth the shewing.

All these things rightly weighed may seem sufficient to descry a forger. Yet, gentle reader, the better to satisfy thy mind, mark how earnestly, and with what cunning, M. Harding's Athanasius forceth on his fable. He thought it not sufficient to say, "The canons all were quite burnt," which thing he only saith, and no man else, but because he saw, wise men would reply, "There were no such canons ever made," therefore he took pains further, to shew the considerations and causes, and the whole order and circumstance of the making, whereat, he saith, he himself was present. "Fourscore canons," he saith, "were devised in the whole, whereof forty were laid in in Latin by the Latins: and forty other in Greek by the Grecians. Of this whole number of canons," saith he, "the fathers there took off ten canons, and divided them as they might most handsomely among the rest, and so made up only the number of threescore and ten canons, thereby mystically to represent the threescore and ten disciples, or else the number of the threescore and ten tongues that be known

† Athan. in  
Epist. ad  
Marcum. [ii.  
665.]

in the world." Thus of wholesome and godly rules of faith and manners, M. Harding's Athanasius hath leisure to fancy pretty mysteries.

But for better view hereof, I remember, cardinal Cusanus, touching the famous donation of Constantine, writeth thus :.....in [l. ex] *ipsa scriptura reperi manifesta argumenta falsitatis* : " Even in the writing of it, I have found manifest tokens of falsehood." The like may be said of these M. Harding's new canons : " Even in the utterance and writing of them, we may find plain contrariety, and therefore undoubted tokens of untruth." For the former twenty canons, whereof there is no question, were made in the council of Nice : but the rest, whereof St. Augustine and the bishops of Africa moved doubt, and whereby the bishop of Rome would seem to claim, were devised at Rome, and not at Nice. This new canon, here alleged, saith : " The bishop of Rome hath the rule and sovereignty over all patriarchs." But the very true and undoubted council of Nice saith far otherwise : *Antiqua consuetudo servetur per Ægyptum, Libyam, et Pentapolim : ut Alexandrinus episcopus horum omnium habeat potestatem : quia et urbis Romæ episcopo parilis mos est* : " Let the ancient custom be kept throughout Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis : that the bishop of Alexandria have the government over all these. For the bishop of the city of Rome hath the like order<sup>6</sup>." By this canon the bishop of Rome hath no sovereignty over other patriarchs, as M. Harding phantasieth, but only a fellowship and equality with the rest, to walk carefully within his own division, as others were bound to do within theirs. And in this canon these two words, *parilis mos*,

Nicol. Cusan.  
[de Concord.  
Cath. lib. 3.]  
de Donatione  
Constantini.

Conc. Nicen.  
can. 6. [ii.  
669.]

Parilis mos.  
[σύνηθες.]

<sup>6</sup> [Τὰ ἀρχαία ἔθη κρατεῖτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμῇ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν. The Latin translation is by Dionysius Exiguus, printed at Mayence, 1525. See Routh's Scriptor. Eccles. Opuscula. In his note tom. i. p. 404, he quotes the spurious beginning of this canon alleged

by Paschasinus in the council of Chalcedon, and also to be found elsewhere. Ἡ ἐκκλησία Ῥώμης πάντοτε ἔσχε τὰ πρωτεία ἔχει τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡ Αἰγύπτος, κ. τ. λ. But he shews that, even if that reading were genuine, it would not further Rome's purpose, inasmuch as the context proves that, as within the patriarchate of Rome, so in the other patriarchates, the bishop of the chief city had the primacy.]



are specially to be noted, which cannot otherwise be expounded, but only of like manner, order, and authority of jurisdiction. M. Harding's canon saith, "St. Peter was master and ruler over all Christian princes." And yet is not M. Harding able to prove, that, while St. Peter lived, there was any one prince christened in the whole world. And if Peter had had power over kings and princes, it is not likely he would have taken up his lodging with Cornelius Acts x. 6. [I. Simon] the poor tanner. In the end he concludeth with a terror: "If any man repine against this statute, accursed be he." Wherein he doth great wrong both to St. Augustine, and also to all the bishops of Africa, Numidia, Mauritania, Pentapolis, and Bizancena: who not only repined openly against this canon, but also said, It was falsified: and rebuked the pope of pride and ambition for the same.

To be short, what leadeth M. Harding to say, "The bishop of Rome hath these threescore and ten canons in safe keeping?" Why doth he thus dissemble, and mock the world? Certainly the bishop of Rome himself utterly disclaimeth it, and saith, he hath them not. For thus he writeth touching the same: *Viginti tantum capitula Nicenæ synodi in sancta Romana ecclesia habentur: sed quo neglectu alia defecerint, ambiguum est:* Dist. 16. Viginti. Stephanus pap. "There are in the church of Rome only twenty canons of the council of Nice. But by what negligence the rest are lost, it is not known." The pope saith, There are but twenty canons extant; M. Harding saith, There are threescore and ten canons. I trow, it is no reason we should believe M. Harding, and leave the pope.

But Stephen the bishop of Rome saith, there were sometime in Rome the full threescore and ten canons, which thing he gathereth only upon this forgery of M. Harding's Athanasius. And the same being the evidence whereby he holdeth his whole title, and such evidence as was not to be found elsewhere in all the world, yet cannot he tell neither how he came by it, nor how long he kept it, nor how he lost it. But a thing is well lost, that cannot be avouched, and shewed without shame.

M. Harding's Athanasius saith, "Power to bind and loose is given to the holy see of Rome by special privilege

above all other." And yet the old catholic fathers could never understand any such special privilege. St. Cyprian saith: *Quamvis Dominus apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat.....tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua autoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi, et honoris, et potestatis.....*: "The Lord, after his resurrection, gave unto his apostles like power; yet to declare unity, he disposed by his authority the original of unity, beginning of one. The rest of the apostles were even the same that Peter was, endued with like fellowship, both of honour, and of power<sup>7</sup>."

Cyprian. de  
Simplicitate  
Prælator.  
[p. 195.]

Et honoris,  
et potestatis.

Origen. in  
Matt. tract. 1.  
[iii. 525. (ed.  
Froben.)]

Origen saith: *An vero soli Petro dantur a Christo claves regni cælorum, nec alius beatorum quisquam eas accepturus est? Hoc dictum, Tibi dabo claves regni cælorum, cæteris quoque est commune*: "What, hath Christ given the keys of the kingdom of heaven unto Peter only? and shall no holy man else receive them? Verily this saying, 'To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' is common also to the rest." St. Cyril saith: *Apostolis, et eorum in ecclesiis successoribus, plenam concessit potestatem*: "Christ gave full power unto the apostles, and unto others that succeeded them in the churches<sup>8</sup>." And St. Basil saith: *Christus Petrum post se suæ ecclesiæ pastorem constituit, ... et consequenter omnibus pastoribus et doctoribus eandem tribuit potestatem: cujus signum est, quod omnes ex æquo et ligant, et absolvunt, quemadmodum ille*: "Christ appointed Peter to be pastor of his church after him, and so consequently gave the same power unto all pastors and doctors. A token whereof is this, that all pastors do equally both bind and loose as well as he<sup>9</sup>."

Cyril. in  
Johan. lib. 3.  
cap. 20. [ed.  
Basil. 1546.  
tom. i. p.  
161.]

Basil. in  
Libello de  
Vita solita-  
ria, cap. 23.  
[ii. 753.]

Now, if Christ gave like power to all his apostles: if the

<sup>7</sup> [See ante, p. 150, note <sup>89</sup>. The edition used by Jewel gives the true ancient text, which is to be seen in Fell's edition, and not in the Benedict.]

<sup>8</sup> ["... cujus ministerii plenam et apostoli et eorum in ecclesiis successores gratiam posside-

bunt."—Translation by Georg. Trapezont. The Greek (iv. 288), has καρπὸν πλοῦσιον τῆς διακονίας.]

<sup>9</sup> [Basil. Libellus. This work is entitled "Constitutiones Monasticæ," in the Bened. edit. in which an attempt is made to impugn its genuineness. Cave maintains it.]

rest of the apostles were the same that Peter was, endued all with like honour, and like power: if Christ's words were common to all the rest: if all pastors do equally both bind and loose, as well as Peter: what a fable then is this, that M. Harding with his Athanasius hath brought in, "That power to bind and loose is given to the holy see of Rome, by special privilege above all others!"

Now, gentle reader, shortly and simply to lay all the effect hereof before thine eyes: M. Harding's canons were burnt before they were ever made. They were burnt, and yet were they falsified. They were falsified, and yet were they burnt too. This Athanasius informeth Marcus the bishop of Rome of the burning of them, nine years before the fire was made.

The pope is found in manifest forgery, and that by the witness of the patriarchs of Constantinople, and Antioch, and of all the bishops, and the whole council of Africa, St. Augustine himself being present.

M. Harding saith, The pope hath the custody of these invisible canons:

The pope himself saith, He hath none of them.

These canons be plain contrary, not only to the old catholic fathers, but also to other canons of the same council.

The bishops in the council of Africa openly mislike the pope's attempt in this behalf, and call it worldly pride, and vain ambition.

Such warrant hath M. Harding to advance the state of the see of Rome.

M. HARDING: *Seventh Division.*

For further declaration of this matter, it were easy here to allege the council of Sardica, the council of Chalcedon, certain councils of Africa, yea some councils also holden by heretics, and sundry other: but, such store of authorities commonly known, these may suffice.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

These councils are brought forth, all in a mummerly, saying nothing. Therefore I might safely pass them over, until they had learned to speak somewhat. Yet, foras-



much as these men think it good policy to huddle up their matters in the dark, it will not be amiss to rip them abroad, and to bring them forth into the light.

Concil. Chalcedon. actio. 16. [vil. 443.]

In the council of Chalcedon<sup>9</sup> it is decreed thus: *Teneat et Ægyptus, ut episcopus Alexandriæ omnium habeat potestatem: quoniam et Romano episcopo hæc est consuetudo. Similiter et qui in Antiochia constitutus est:* “Let Egypt hold this order, that the bishop of Alexandria have the jurisdiction of all things there: for the bishop of Rome holdeth the same order” (within his division). “So likewise let the bishop of Antioch.” By this council every of these patriarchs had his power limited within himself, and none of them to have dominion over other.

Concil. Afric. can. 6. [iv. 483.]

The fathers in the council of Africa, wherein M. Harding would seem to have some affiance, have decreed thus: *Ne primæ sedis episcopus appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi: sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus:* “That the bishop of the first see be not called the chief of priests, or the highest priest, or by any other like title; but only, the bishop of the first see.” And again: “If any shall think it good to appeal, let them appeal only to councils to be holden within Africa, or else to the primates of their own provinces. But, whosoever shall appeal beyond the seas,” (that is, to the bishop of Rome,) “let no man within Africa receive him to his communion.” Thus much only for a taste. I think M. Harding will not gather hereof, that the bishop of Rome was called universal bishop, or the head of the universal church.

Can. 102. [can. 92. iv. 507.]

<sup>9</sup> [The 6th canon of the council of Nice was quoted in the 16th actio of the council of Chalcedon. There was a dispute between Paschasinus (the representative of Rome) and Constantinus; and both appealed to the council of Nice; the former attempting to persuade the council that the 6th canon of Nice opened with the words, Ἡ ἐκκλησία Ῥώμης πάντοτε ἔσχε τὰ πρωτεύια, ἔχει τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡ Ἀίγυπτος, ὥστε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον

Ἀλεξανδρείας κ. τ. λ., which the latter shewed to be a forgery by reading the decree as it really stands. See ante, p. 168, note 6. It is remarkable that Jewel (evidently from oversight) quotes from the Latin translation of the reading contended for by Paschasinus, and not from the authentic copy read in the council by Ætius the archdeacon, which runs in Latin thus, “Antiquæ consuetudines te- neantur in Ægypto,” &c.]

M. HARDING: Eighth Division.

The Christian princes, that ratified and confirmed, with their proclamations and edicts, the decrees of the canons concerning the pope's primacy, and gave not to him first that authority, as the adversaries do untruly report, were (99) Justinian and Phocas the emperors. The words of Justinian's edict be these: *Sancimus, secundum canonum definitiones, sanctissimum senioris Romæ papam, primum esse omnium sacerdotum*: "We ordain, according to the determinations of the canons, that the most holy pope, of the elder Rome, be foremost and chief of all priests."

The 99th untruth. For Phocas gave this title to the bishop of Rome: but Justinian gave it never.

About threescore and ten years after Justinian, Phocas the emperor, in the time of Bonifacius, to repress the arrogance of the bishop of Constantinople, as Paulus Diaconus writeth, who vainly, and, as Gregory saith, contrary to our Lord's teachings, and the decrees of the canons, and for that, wickedly took upon him the name of the universal or œumenical bishop, and wrote himself chief of all bishops, made the like decree and ordinance, that the holy see of the Roman and apostolic church should be holden for the head of all churches.

In Authen. de Eccles. Tit. [coll. 9. tom. v.]

Lib. 4. Hist. Longobardi. cæ, c. 36.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Emperors, princes, and others, have been favourably inclined sometime to the parties, in respect of their places: sometime to the places, for the admiration and reverence of the parties. Theodosius the emperor said, "He never saw bishop that bare himself as a bishop indeed, but only St. Ambrose<sup>10</sup>." Constantinus the emperor said of Eusebius the bishop of Cæsarea: *Dignus est qui sit episcopus, non tantum unius civitatis, sed etiam prope universi orbis*: "He is worthy to be the bishop, not only of one city, but also in a manner of the whole world."

Theod. lib. 5. cap. 18. [iii. 218.]  
Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 24. [ii. 315.]  
Soerat. lib. 1. cap. 24. [ii. 59.]

In respect of places, they were moved either for their antiquity, or for their authority and civil power, or for the commodity of the situation, or for some other good consideration and circumstance, to favour them, and to grant them privileges above others. Thus the emperor Justinian had a special inclination to the city of Constantinople, for

<sup>10</sup> [Theodoret. Ἀμβρόσιον γὰρ οἶδα μόνον ἐπίσκοπον ἀξίως καλοῦμενον. These were Theodosius' noble words after his humiliating exclusion from the "Cancelli," so

boldly insisted on by St. Ambrose. The reference to Sozomenus relates to the same remarkable story, creditable alike to the emperor and the bishop.]

that it was now grown in wealth and puissance, and, for the state and nobility thereof, called *Nova Roma*, “New Rome<sup>a</sup> :” and for that it was, as he saith<sup>11</sup>, *Mater pietatis nostræ, et Christianorum orthodoxæ religionis omnium* : that is, “The mother of his majesty, and of all Christian men of the catholic faith<sup>b</sup>.” For like consideration the emperor gave out this special privilege, in favour of the see of Rome: *Sancimus, secundum canonum definitiones, sanctissimum senioris Romæ papam primum esse omnium sacerdotum* : “We decree, according to the determinations of the canons, that the most holy pope of the elder Rome be the first or foremost of all priests<sup>c</sup>.” And by the way, lest any error happen to grow of this word *papa*, it becometh thee (good reader) to understand, that *papa*, in old times, in the Greek tongue, signified a father, as appeareth by that Jupiter, the great idol, that was honoured as God in Bithynia, was called *papa, ὁ Ζεὺς, ὁ παππᾶς, Jupiter papa* [leg. *pappa*]. And further, that in St. Augustine’s time, and before, the same name was given, not only or specially to the bishop of Rome, but also generally to all bishops. The priests and deacons of Rome write thus unto St. Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage: *Cypriano papæ* : “Unto pope Cyprian.” And Galerius the judge, having St. Cyprian in examination for the Christian faith, said thus unto him : *Tu es quem Christiani papam suum nominant?* “Art thou he whom the Christians call their pope<sup>12</sup>?” So likewise S. Hierom intituleth his epistles unto St. Augustine, being bishop of Hippo: *Hieronymus beatissimo papæ Augustino* : “Hierom unto Augustine the most holy pope.” Thus much only by the way.

But to return to the matter. M. Harding may not, of every thing that he readeth, conclude what he listeth. This privilege granted unto the bishop of Rome, to be the

<sup>11</sup> [He saith—not (as Jewel’s words imply) the emperor Justinian, but his predecessor Leo; for the law (Decernimus; de Sacros. Eccl.), from which these words are taken, was originally by Leo and Athenius, though confirmed and adopted by Jus-

tinian, on its being admitted into the Codex.]  
<sup>12</sup> [“Galerius maximus pro-  
 “consul dixit; Tu papam te sa-  
 “crilegæ mentis hominibus præ-  
 “busti?” The martyrdom of St. Cyprian is printed in most of the editions of his works.]

a Authen. de Ecclesiast. Tit. Collatione 9. Idemque sancimus. [tom. v.]

b Cod. de Sacrosanctis Eccles. Decernimus. Sacrosanctam. [tom. iv.]

c Authen. Coll. 9. de Eccles. Titulis. [tom. v.]

Cælius Rhodigin. lib. II. c. 21.  
 Jupiter Papa.

Cyprian. lib. 2. epist. 7. [p. 40.]

Pontius in Passione Cypriani.

Inter epistolas Augustini, epist. II. [il. 168.]



first of all priests, was not to bear the whole sway, and to overrule all the world; but only in general meetings and councils to sit in place above all others; and, for avoiding of confusion, to direct and order them in their doings.

The emperor's words be plain<sup>13</sup>: *Prærogativa in episcoporum concilio, vel extra concilium, ante alios residendi*:

Cod. de Sa-  
cro-sanctis  
Eccles. De-  
cernimus.  
[tom. iv.]

“A prerogative in the council of bishops, or without the council to sit in order above others.” This prerogative in

Greek is called *προεδρία*, that is, “the privilege of the first place.” And these phrases, in that tongue, be known, and

common: *τὰ πρωτεία ἔχειν: τὰ δευτερεία: τὰ τριτεία*. Like

as also these in the Latin tongue: *obtinere primas, secundas, tertias*: that is, “to have the preeminence of the first,

second, or third place.” And that the emperor Justinian meant only thus, and none otherwise, it is manifest even

by the selfsame place that M. Harding hath here alleged. His words stand thus: *Sancimus, &c. Senioris Romæ papam, primum esse omnium sacerdotum: beatissimum autem archie-*

*episcopum Constantinopoleos, Novæ Romæ, secundum habere locum*: “We ordain, that the pope of the elder Rome

τὴν δευτέ-  
ραν τάξιν.

shall be the first of all priests: and that the most holy archbishop of Constantinople, which is named New Rome, have

the second place.” Hereby it is plain, that this privilege standeth only in placing the bishop of Rome in the first

seat, above others. But I beseech thee, gentle reader, weigh well the words that follow in the same law, and

thou shalt see, both that M. Harding's dealing herein is not upright, and also that the bishop of Rome was then

excluded by plain words from that universal power which he now so deeply dreameth of. It followeth immediately:

[*Per tempus autem*] *beatissimum archiepiscopum primæ*

<sup>13</sup> [These words however are taken from another law, in another volume, and originally by a different emperor, that is, the emperor Leo; whereas the law, (de eccl. tit.) quoted by Harding, and explained by Jewel, was by Justinian himself; although doubtless Justinian, by confirming the law of Leo, made it in some sense his

own, and so adopted his predecessor's definition of “*prærogativa*.” It is probable that Jewel's inaccuracy (there seems no motive for designed misrepresentation) in these quotations from the law, is owing to some defective memorandum in his note-books. The word “emperor” alone would easily lead to the mistake.]

*Justinianæ patriæ nostræ habere semper sub sua jurisdictione episcopos provinciarum Daciæ, et Daniæ, et Dardaniæ, et Mysiæ, atque Pannoniæ: et ab eo hos ordinari: ipsum vero a proprio ordinari concilio: et in subjectis sibi provinciis locum obtinere eum sedis apostolicæ Romæ:* “We ordain, that the most holy archbishop of Justiniana the first, which is in our country, shall have for ever under his jurisdiction the bishops of the provinces of Dacia, Dania, Dardania, Mysia, and Pannonia: and that they shall be invested by him: and he only by his own council: and that he, in the provinces subject unto him, shall have the place of the apostolic see of Rome.” Here we see the bishop of Justiniana set in as high authority and power, within his own jurisdiction, as the bishop of Rome within his. In like sort the emperor Justinian saith: *Ecclesia urbis Constantinopolitanæ Romæ veteris prærogativa latatur:* “The church of the city of Constantinople enjoyeth now the prerogative of Rome the elder<sup>14</sup>.”

Now, if the bishop of Justiniana and the bishop of Rome, in their several divisions, have like authority; and if the church of Constantinople in all prerogatives and privileges be made equal with the city of Rome, then is not the bishop of Rome’s power universal, neither can he justly be called the head of the universal church. Verily Justinian himself, writing unto Epiphanius the bishop of Constantinople, calleth him “the universal patriarch<sup>15</sup>,” which thing he would not have done, if he had thought that title of right had belonged to the bishop of Rome.

The argument, that M. Harding gathereth of Justinian’s words, is this: The bishop of Rome had the first place in general councils; *ergo*, he was an universal bishop. Which argument what weight it beareth, I leave to M. Harding to consider.

But the emperor Phocas gave this special grant to the see of Rome, that the bishop there should be called, “the

<sup>14</sup> [Here is another instance of inaccuracy. This law also was not originally by Justinian, but by Honorius and Theodosius, although it may be said to have become his

law, as being inserted and sanctioned in the Codex.]

<sup>15</sup> [In the Latin it is “archiepiscopo et universi ejus tractus patriarchæ.”]

Cod. de Sacrosanctis Eccles. Omni Innovatione. [tom. iv.]

Authen. ut determinatus sit numerus Clericorum. [tom. v.]

Ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐπιφάνιῳ οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῃ.

head of all churches." But M. Harding knoweth, this grant was made unto Bonifacius the Third, which was bishop in Rome in the year of our Lord six hundred and eight, even at the same very time that Mahomet first A. D. 608. began to plant his doctrine in Arabia, and therefore maketh nothing to this purpose, as being without the compass of six hundred years. Notwithstanding both Platina and Platina. Sabellicus say, that Bonifacius hardly and with much ado Sabellicus. [Ennead. 8. lib. 6.] got the same then to be granted. Howbeit, forasmuch as M. Harding would seem to found his supremacy upon some godly man, it may please thee, good reader, to understand, that this Phocas, being but a soldier, by treason and conspiracy laid hands upon his liege lord and master the emperor Mauritius, and in cruel sort did him to death. The manner whereof was this: First he commanded Abbas Urspergensis in Mauritio. forth the emperor's youngest son, and caused him to be slain, even in the sight of his father: and so the second; and then the third; and afterward the wife <sup>15</sup>; Mauritius [Theophyl. Simocatta viii. cap. 7. 12.] heavily looking on, and lamenting, and saying unto God, "O Lord, thou art just, and just is thy judgment." Last of all, he used the like tyranny upon him also, and laid the emperor, his wife, and his children, in a heap together. Afterward, during the time of this Phocas, God seemed utterly to withdraw his blessing: France, Spain, Germany, Lombardy, and the greatest part of the east, fell from the empire for ever: such a wreck to the state as never had been seen before. After he had thus lived, and com- Abbas Urspergensis. mitted sundry murders, and other great mischiefs, (*post multa homicidia, et alia malefacta,*) the people took him, and slew him, and threw him into the fire. This was he that first proclaimed the bishop of Rome to be head of the universal church.

M. HARDING: *Ninth Division.*

Of the doctors what shall I say? Verily this matter is so often and so commonly reported of them, that their sayings laid together would scantily be comprised within a great volume. The recital of a few shall here give a taste, as it were, of the whole, and so suffice.

<sup>15</sup> [The empress Constantina was murdered subsequently. Five sons were killed before their father.]



Irenæus, having much praised the church of Rome, at length uttereth these words, by which the sovereignty thereof is confessed: *Ad hanc ecclesiam, propter potentiorē principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est eos qui undique sunt fideles*: “To this church (of Rome) it is necessary all the church, that is to say, all that be faithful any where, to repair and come together, for the mightier principality of the same,” that is to wit, for that it is of mightier power and authority than other churches, and the principallest of all.

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Touching the doctors, M. Harding findeth himself much troubled with the number of them; yet can he not find any one of them all that calleth the bishop of Rome the universal bishop, or head of the universal church.

Irenæus speaketh neither of supremacy, nor of headship of the church, nor of any other universal power. Therefore M. Harding mistelleth his author’s tale, and avoucheth that he never meant. For Irenæus in that place writeth only against Valentinus, Cerdon, and Marcion, which, contrary to the doctrine of the apostles, had devised sundry strange heresies and phantasies of their own. For trial whereof, he biddeth them to behold the churches which the apostles had planted. “The church of Ephesus,” saith he, “first instructed by St. Paul, and afterward continued by St. John, is a sufficient witness of the apostles’ learning<sup>16</sup>.—Polycarpus being converted, and taught by the apostles, instructed the church of Smyrna: and all the churches of Asia follow it. Yet none of all these churches ever allowed or received your strange doctrine<sup>17</sup>.—Yea the very wild barbarous nations, that have received the faith of Christ at the apostles’ hands, only by hearing, without any book or letter, if they should hear of these heresies, they would stop their ears<sup>18</sup>.” Thus Irenæus

Iren. lib. 3.  
cap. 3. [p.  
178.]

[pp. 176, 177.]

Iren. lib. 3.  
cap. 4. [p.  
178.]

<sup>16</sup> [Irenæus. Ἄλλα καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ Παύλου μὲν τεθεμελιωμένη, Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς μέχρι τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ χρόνου, μάρτυς ἀληθῆς ἐστὶ τῆς ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως.]

<sup>17</sup> [Jewel has here abridged Irenæus.]

<sup>18</sup> [Irenæus, cap. 4. “Cui ordi-

“nationi assentiunt multæ gentes  
“barbarorum, eorum qui in Chri-  
“stum credunt, sine charta et atra-  
“mento scriptam habentes per  
“Spiritum in cordibus suis salutem,  
“et veterem traditionem diligenter  
“custodientes . . . . Quibus si ali-  
“quis annuntiaverit ea quæ ab  
“hæreticis adinventæ sunt, pro-

calleth forth these heretics, as we do now our adversaries, to be tried by the doctrine and churches of the apostles. But he saith: *Valde longum est, in hoc tali volumine omnium* [p. 175.] *ecclesiarum enumerare successiones*: “It would be very long in such a book as this is, to reckon up the successions of all churches.” Therefore he resteth specially upon the example of the church of Rome, which he calleth *maximam antiquissimam et omnibus cognitam*: “the greatest, most ancient, and known to all men.” And saith: “By the example of this church we confound all perverse doctrine.” And addeth further: *Ad hanc ecclesiam, propter potentio-rem principalitatem, necesse est omnem ecclesiam convenire, quia in hac, [leg. in qua,] semper conservata est ea, quæ est ab apostolis traditio*: “Unto this church of Rome every other church must agree.” The reason is: “For that in this church the tradition of the apostles hath ever been kept<sup>19</sup>.” So the emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius “commanded all them to be called catho-  
Cod. de Summa Trinit. Cunctos popul. [tom. iv.]  
Sozomen. lib. 7. cap. 4. [ii. 282.]

lics, that follow the faith that St. Peter delivered to the see of Rome.” For the apostles’ doctrine is the trial and rule of faith. This doctrine at the beginning was exactly observed in Rome without corruption: and therefore was that church in reverence and estimation above others. But they will reply, Irenæus saith, *propter potentio-rem principalitatem*. Of these words groweth their error. They dream of a kingdom and principality. But Christ saith to his disciples, “The kings of nations rule over them.” *Vos autem non sic*: “But you may not so.” And Origen saith: *Qui vocatur ad episcopatum, non vocatur ad principatum, sed ad servitutem totius ecclesiæ*: “He that is called to be a bishop, is not called to a principality, but unto the service of the whole church.” The principality, that Irenæus meant, was the civil dominion and temporal state of the city of Rome, in which God had then planted the empire of the world, and made all nations subject unto it. And  
Matt. xx. 25, 26. Lukexxii. 25, 26.  
Origen. in Esai. cap. 6. [iii. 116.]  
1 Tim. iii. 6.

“prio sermone eorum colloquens, “statim concludentes aures longo “longius fugient, ne audire quidem sustinentes blasphemum “colloquium.”]

<sup>19</sup> [Irenæus. “. . . convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt “undique fideles, in qua semper “ab his, qui sunt undique, con- “servata est” &c.]

therefore the church of God, being once enkindled there, was more notable and better known unto all nations. As for the bishops of Rome that then were, they had neither lands nor rents, but lived still under the sword in continual persecution, as St. Paul saith, "the offshaving of the world, and the vilest of all people," far from any show or colour of principality. Yet that notwithstanding, the church there was called a principal, and a chief church above others, because of the dominion and principality of the city. And in this sense *ecclesia principalis* is sometime used in the old fathers. In the council of Carthage it is written thus: "*Placuit ut nemini sit facultas, relicta principali cathedra, ad aliquam ecclesiam in diœcesi constitutam se conferre*:" "We think it good it be lawful for no man, leaving the principal chair or church, to go to any other church within the diocese." Likewise Paulinus unto Alypius: "*Dominus in suis te civibus principalem cum principibus populi sui, sede apostolica merito collocavit*:" "The Lord hath worthily placed thee in the see apostolic, a principal one among his citizens, with the princes of his people." Thus the principality that Irenæus meaneth, stood not in the preaching of the gospel, but in the civil estate and worldly dominion; not in the bishop that professed Christ, but in the emperor that was an heathen; not in the church, but in the persecutors and enemies of the church. Therefore M. Harding reasoning thus, "Rome had the power and princehood of the world; *ergo*, the bishop there was head of the universal church;" seemeth not well to weigh his own conclusion. For of the same grounds we might well reason thus: "Rome now hath lost that power and princehood of the world; *ergo*, the bishop there is not now the head of the universal church."

To be short. If the church of Rome would now faithfully keep the traditions and doctrine of the apostles, we would frankly yield her all that honour that Irenæus giveth her. But she hath shaken off the yoke of Christ, and wilfully breaketh God's commandments, to the intent to uphold her own traditions. For proof whereof, to pass over an infinite number of other disorders, the bishop there

7. quest. 1.  
Placuit.

Inter Epist.  
August. ep.  
35. [ii. p. 34.]



presumeth now to entitle himself “the universal bishop.” But St. Gregory saith: *Nemo decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit*: “None of my predecessors ever consented to use this ungodly name.” Therefore, like as Irenæus saith of his time, “The church of Rome hath ever hitherto kept the tradition and doctrine of the apostles;” *ergo*, “All churches ought to take her for an example, and to agree unto her;” so may we in contrary wise say of our time: The church of Rome hath now broken the traditions and doctrine of the apostles; *ergo*, No church ought to follow her example, and to agree unto her.

Gregor. lib. 4.  
epist. 36. [ii.  
771.]

M. HARDING: *Tenth Division.*

† In 2 Cor. xi. [ii. app. 205.] “Andrew followed our Saviour before that Peter did; *et tamen primatum non accepit Andreas, sed Petrus*: And yet Andrew received not the primacy, but Peter,” saith Ambrose.

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This error holdeth only of the misunderstanding of this word *primatus*: which, by M. Harding’s judgment, must needs signify an universal power over the whole world. But it is easy to be shewed, that *primatus*, among the old fathers, is far otherwise used, I mean, for any superiority or preferment before others. And first to begin with St. Ambrose; thus he writeth: *Esau per lentem honorem primatus amisit*: “Esau by a dish of rice pottage lost the honour of his primacy.” In like sort writeth St. Augustine: *Esau primatus suos, non propter gallinam, sed propter lenticulam perdidit*. Likewise the council of Chalcedon, in the condemnation of the heretic abbot Eutyches, useth these words: *Decernimus eum extraneum esse ab omni officio sacerdotali, et a nostra communione, et a primatu monasterii*<sup>20</sup>: “We decree, that he shall be removed from his office of priesthood, and from our communion, and from

In Serm. 35.  
de Jejunio.  
[iii. 262]

Augustin. in  
Evang. Jo-  
han. tract.  
73. [iii. pt. 2.  
689.]

Conc. Chalcedon.  
actio. prima.  
[vi. 748 et  
820.]

<sup>20</sup> [Concil. Chalcedon. act. I. (Mansi, vi. p. 820. compared with p. 747.) . . . ὠρίσαμεν . . . ἀλλότριον αὐτὸν εἶναι παντὸς ἱερατικοῦ τάγμα-

τος, καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίας, καὶ τοῦ προϊστασθαι (al. προεστά- ναι) μοναστηρίου.]

the primacy of his abbey." So the council of Toledo: *Primatu dignitatis honorabiles habentur in palatio*: "They are counted honourable in the court, for the primacy of their dignity<sup>21</sup>." In these places, I reckon, we need not to take *primatus* for an universal or infinite government.

Likewise the same word *primatus* is often taken for the superiority of every of the four patriarchs, and not only for the dominion that is claimed by the bishop of Rome. In the council of Constantinople it is written thus: *Alexandriæ episcopi solius orientis curam gerant, servatis honoribus primatus ecclesiæ Antiochenæ*: "Let the bishops of Alexandria have the charge only of the east, the honour of primacy ever reserved to the church of Antioch<sup>22</sup>." In like manner it is written in the council of Chalcedon: *Episcopus qui in Antiochia constitutus est, et qui in cæteris provinciis, habeant primatus ecclesiæ civitatum ampliorum*: "The bishop that is appointed for Antioch, and likewise others in other provinces, let them have the primacies of the greater cities<sup>23</sup>." So the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian wrote unto Dioscorus the bishop of Alexandria, as it is reported in the council of Chalcedon: *Authoritatem et primatum tuæ præbemus beatitudini*<sup>23</sup>.

Now if this word *primatus* must needs signify that power and government, that M. Harding phantasieth, then must it follow of necessity, that Esau, Eutyches, the bishop of Antioch, and the bishop of Alexandria, had the universal power and government of the whole world. But if it may well be taken for any manner preferment or preeminence, or priority before others, then is M. Harding's argument

<sup>21</sup> [Concil. Tolet. "Qui primatum dignitate, atque reverentiæ, vel gratiæ ob meritum, in palatio "honorabiles habentur..." where "primatum" seems to be the genitive case. The reading in Crabbe is, "Qui primatu dignitatis, atque "reverentiæ vel gratiæ, ob meritum," &c., which seems far preferable, and at least justifies the bishop's use of this canon.]

<sup>22</sup> [Concil. Constantin. I. ; . . . φιλαττομένων τῶν ἐν τοῖς κανόσι

τοῖς κατὰ Νικαίαν πρεσβείων τῇ Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίᾳ. . .]

<sup>23</sup> [Concil. Chalced. act. 15. (Jewel's Latin is from Paschasius' reading of the 6th Nicene canon;) Ὁμοίως καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρωτεῖα σωζέσθω ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Ejusd. Concil. act. 1. (Imperatoris Epist. ad Dioscorum.) . . . τὴν ἀθηνῶν καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα τῇ σῇ θεοσεβείᾳ παρέχομεν.]

Concil. Tolet. 6. can. 13. [x. 667.]

Concil. Constantinopolit. 1. can. 2. [iii. 559, 560.]

Concil. Chalcedon. actio. 16. [al. 15. can. 28. vii. 443.]

Concil. Chalcedon. act. 1. [vi. 600.]

much acrased, and concludeth not so much as is pretended. Verily Tertullian saith : *Tot ac tantæ ecclesiæ, una est illa ab apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes primæ, [Prior. l. prima] et (omnes) apostolicæ, dum unam [l. una] omnes probant unitatem* : “ So many and so great churches, are all that first one church erected by the apostles, from whence came all. And so are all churches both the first, and also the apostolic churches, forasmuch as they all allow one truth.”

Tertullian.de  
Præscriptio.  
contra Hæ-  
ret. [cap. 20.  
pp. 208, 209.]

As touching St. Peter’s preeminence, Cyprian saith : *Hoc erant alii, quod Petrus, pari consortio præditi, et honoris, et potestatis* : “ The rest of the disciples were even the same that Peter was, all endued with like fellowship, both of honour and also of power.” Even so saith St. Ambrose too, and that in the very same place that M. Harding hath alleged : *Inter Petrum et Paulum, quis cui præponatur, incertum est* : “ Of Peter and Paul, whether ought to be preferred before other, it is not known<sup>24</sup>.” Certainly, if Peter had had the universal sovereignty over all the apostles, he should have had the like over St. Paul. And so perhaps M. Harding will say, notwithstanding St. Ambrose by plain words denieth it ; and although St. Gregory say : *Petrus universalis apostolus non vocatur* : “ Peter is not called an universal apostle.”

Cyprian. de  
Simplicitate  
Prælatorum.  
[p. 195.]

Gregor. lib.  
4. epist. 32.  
[ii. 748.]

Of St. Ambrose’s words, M. Harding reasoneth thus : Peter was the chiefest of the apostles : *ergo*, the pope is head of the universal church. This argument would be better considered : for as it is, it holdeth but weakly.

#### M. HARDING : Eleventh Division.

In the epistle of Athanasius, and the bishops of Egypt to Liberius the pope, in which they sue for help against the oppressions of the Arians, we find these words : *Hujus rei gratia*,

This epistle  
is forged,  
and not  
written by  
Athanasius.

<sup>24</sup> [Jewel asserts that Ambrose says this, “ in the very same place that M. Harding hath alleged.” But this is a mistake, as it is not found in Ambros. in 2 Cor. xii. The mistake is the less important, as that work is not genuine. The true reference is to sermon 66, which is not by St. Ambrose

(nor by St. Augustine, to whom it has also been attributed), but probably by Maximus Taurinensis (A. D. 422.), and in his works in Bibl. Patr. it is included. It is not printed in the Bened. edition of Ambrose, but it will be found in Augustine’s works, Bened. edit. vol. v. app. p. 336.]

† [Inter  
Athan. opp.  
ii. 674.]



*universalis vobis a Christo Jesu commissa est ecclesia, &c. :*  
 “ Even for this cause the universal church hath been committed to you of Christ Jesus, that you should travail for all, and not be negligent to help every one. For whiles the strong man being armed keepeth his house, all things that he possesseth are in peace.” Luke xl. 21.

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This epistle under the name of Athanasius, besides that it is vain and childish, and full of needless and idle talk, hath also evident tokens of manifest forgery. For further answer hereunto, I refer myself unto that is before answered unto the epistle written under the name of Athanasius unto Felix.

M. HARDING : *Twelfth Division.*

Hilarius, speaking much to the extolling of Peter and his (100) successor in that see, saith : *Supereminentem beatæ fidei suæ confessione locum promeruit* : “ That, for the confession of his blessed faith, he deserved a place of preeminence (101) above all other.” De Trinit. lib. 6. [p. 904.]

The rooth untruth. For Hilary speaketh not one word of Peter's successor. The roist untruth, standing in false translation.

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Hilarius, by M. Harding's report, speaketh much to the extolling of St. Peter and his successor in that see. Here is first a great untruth. For Hilarius in that whole place speaketh not one word neither of Rome, nor of the see, nor of the successor of Peter. Only he commendeth St. Peter's faith, wherein he confessed that Christ is the Son of the living God, and saith : *Hæc fides est fundamentum ecclesiæ :—super hanc confessionis petram, ecclesiæ ædificatio est* : “ This faith is the foundation of the church : upon this rock of confession the church is built.” And addeth further : “ By the confession of his blessed faith, he obtained a place of preeminence,” as M. Harding addeth of his own, “ above all other.” Wherein also he committeth another untruth. For Hilarius saith only, “ he obtained a special place,” and speaketh not one word of any other. St. Augustine saith : *Petrus pro omnibus dixit, et cum omnibus accepit* : “ Peter spake for all the rest : and received promise with

De Trinit. lib. 6. [p. 904 and 903.]

August. in Johan. tract. 11. et 124. [iii. pt. 2.]

all the rest<sup>25</sup>." As the confession was one, so the place of preeminence was all one. The preeminence was, that they should be the firstfruits of God's saints; the vessels of election; the fathers of the people; the light of the world; the pillars of the church; and the angels of God. That they should sit upon twelve seats, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel. This was the special preeminence of the apostles of Christ, and was equally given unto them all.

1 Cor. xv.  
1 Cor. iv. 9.  
Rom. ix. 23.  
Matt. v. 14.  
1 Tim. iii. 15.  
Luke xxii. 30.  
Acts vii.  
Acts vi.  
Rev. i. 20.  
Rev. ii.

But M. Harding cannot believe there is any place of preeminence but only in Rome, and therefore imagineth, that, upon this confession, Christ said unto Peter: "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for thou shalt be pope, and shalt be exalted above thy brethren, and shalt be furnished with all worldly power, and all the princes of the world shall stoop unto thee." This is the preeminence; that, by M. Harding's phantasy, Christ promised unto St. Peter.

Of these words of Hilary, M. Harding seemeth to reason thus: Peter obtained a place of preeminence: ergo, the bishop of Rome is head of the universal church. This argument is open, and sheweth itself.

M. HARDING: *Thirteenth Division.*

St. Ambrose, confessing himself to believe that the largeness of the Roman empire was by God's providence prepared, that the gospel might have his course, and be spread abroad the better, saith thus of Rome: *Quæ tamen per apostolici sacerdotii principatum amplior facta est arce religionis, quam solio potestatis*: "Which for all that, hath been advanced more by the chieftly of the apostolic priesthood in the tower of religion, than in the throne of temporal power<sup>26</sup>."

<sup>25</sup> [In Augustin. in Johan. tract. 11. and 124. passages may be found in general bearing upon the "Primates" of St. Peter in the same limited sense; but the passage quoted in the text appears to be taken from tractat. 118; . . . "et ei dicitur, Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum, tanquam ligandi et solvendi solus acceperit potestatem; cum et illud unus pro omnibus dixerit, et hoc cum omnibus tanquam personam gerens ipsius

"unitatis, acceperit; ideo unus pro omnibus, quia unitas est in omnibus." tom. iii. pt. 2. 800.]

<sup>26</sup> [The work "De Vocatione Gentium," (as is admitted by Dupin, &c.) is not by St. Ambrose, but by a certain Prosper, (probably not Aquitanus, A. D. 444, but a later writer, A. D. 527.) The Bened. editor of Ambrose has omitted it, and professes his inability to name the real author.]

De Vocati-  
one Gentium,  
lib. 2. cap. 6.

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These words of St. Ambrose be true, and not denied, and further no part of M. Harding's purpose. But here is a whole sentence overhight<sup>26</sup>, that quite overthroweth his whole purpose. The words that immediately go before are these: *Quamvis gratia Christiana non contenta sit, eosdem limites habere, quos Roma, multosque jam populorum sceptro crucis Christi illi subdiderit, quos armis suis ista non domuit*: "Howbeit the grace of Christ is not content to have the same limits that Rome hath: but hath subdued mo nations by the sceptre of Christ's cross, than Rome ever subdued by force of war." If the grace and salvation of God have larger limits, and reach further than the power of Rome, how then claimeth the bishop of Rome his universal power? Many that live without the compass or obedience of Rome are notwithstanding partakers of the grace of Christ. How then is it, that Bonifacius the bishop there saith: *Subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis*: "We declare, say, determine, and pronounce, that to be subject unto the bishop of Rome is undoubtedly of the necessity of salvation<sup>27</sup>."

[Ed. Froh. ii. 30.]

Extrav. Comm. de Majori. et Obedientia. Unam sanctam.

<sup>26</sup> [passed over.—Jamieson.]

<sup>27</sup> [The reader is reminded (see vol. ii. p. 133,) that this decree of Boniface the Eighth (literally copied from a dictum of Thomas Aquinas,) has been sanctioned by a so-called general council, Concil. Later. sub Leone, sess. II: "Constitutionem istam sacro præsentis concilio approbante innovamus et approbamus." (This Later. council is declared to be general by the council of Trent.) It is therefore difficult to perceive how this constitution, in its fullest extent, can be otherwise than binding upon the consciences of all Romanists without exception. And so Baronius, ann. 1053. §. 14. (quoted by Barrow), "Hæc Bonifacius, cui assentiuntur omnes, ut nullus discrepet, nisi qui discidio ab ecclesia exci-

"dit." In order to elude the force of this argument, Mr. C. Butler, as the representative of the Cisalpine view, would explain the word "subesse" as of *spiritual* subjection. (See his Vindication.) It is however impossible to read the premisses in the whole Extravagant, of which this sentence is the conclusion, and particularly the Gloss on the whole, without being convinced that *temporal* as well as *spiritual* power was intended in the word *subesse*; the claim of the "two swords" being distinctly put forward, although a distinction is made between the mode in which they are to be used, the spiritual sword to be used by the priest, the temporal by kings and soldiers, "sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis." It is moreover expressly stated, that the temporal



St. Ambrose, that the glory of the gospel of Christ might the better appear, compareth it with the power and puissance of the empire of Rome, which then overreached a great part of the world. One said: *Romanos rerum dominos*. St. Ambrose saith: *Roma principatum et caput obtinet nationum*: "Rome hath the empire and sovereignty of all nations<sup>28</sup>." Thus he seemeth to compare the church with the city; the power of the gospel, with the power of the empire; the sceptre of the cross, with the sceptres of the prince; and the glory of the one side, with the glory of the other. Although Rome were glorious for the empire, yet was she much more glorious for the gospel. The emperor there with his power subdued nations; but the gospel of Christ subdued the emperor. Constantinus, Theodosius, Valentinianus, and other emperors of Rome, with all their power, confessed themselves to be subjects unto Christ. And St. Ambrose writeth unto Valentinian the emperor<sup>29</sup>: *Quid honorificentius, quam ut imperator dicatur filius ecclesie?* "What can be more honourable, than that the emperor be called a child of the church?" This was the whole and only meaning of St. Ambrose. And in that sense St. Augustine saith: *Ostendatur mihi Romæ in honore tanto templum Romuli, in quanto ego ibi ostendo memoriam Petri. In Petro quis honoratur, nisi ille defunctus pro nobis? Sumus enim Christiani non Petriani*: "Shew me the temple of Romulus in Rome, in so great honour as I will shew you there the memory of Peter. And who is honoured in Peter, but he that died for us? For we are Christian

Ambros. in serm. 66. [edit. Frob. iii. 292.]

Ambros. ep. 33. [ii. 873.]

Augustin. in Psalm. xliiv. [iv. 394.]

authority is *subject* to the spiritual. The *spiritual censures*, into which Mr. Charles Butler would resolve all that is claimed, it would be singular to see enforced by kings and *soldiers* "ad nutum sacerdotis." Mr. Butler admits that the view above given, of the universal authority implied in the decree, corresponds to the *Transalpine* doctrine, which as he says has given way to the *Cisalpine* or Gallican. In the ever shifting principles of the Romanists the *Cisalpine* exposition may again give way, and, should it ever become conve-

nient to assert the *Transalpine* doctrine, a fearful instrument is prepared in this constitution of Boniface, authoritatively confirmed by a general council.]

<sup>28</sup> [Supra, p. 183, note 24.]

<sup>29</sup> [This is a mistake. Epist. 33 was not addressed (as epist. 32 was) to Valentinian, but is entitled "Contra Auxentium." Both epistles however relate to the same subject, a spirited defence of the true rights of the church against the encroachments of the temporal power.]

men, and not Peter's men." So likewise Chrysostom :

Ad populum  
Antiochen.  
homil. 17. [il.  
176.]

*Contigit primum Antiochiæ discipulos appellari Christianos. Hoc autem civitatum, quæ sunt in mundo, cunctarum habet nulla, nec ipsa Romuli civitatis :* "It chanced, that the

disciples in this city of Antioch were first called Christians. Of all the cities that be in the world, none ever had this gift, no not the city of Romulus." Therefore St. Ambrose's meaning is : that Rome was never so noble before for the empire of the world, as it was afterward for the gospel of Christ. But St. Ambrose saith : *Apostolici sacerdotii principatum :* "The principality of the apostolic priesthood." With which words worldly eyes may soon be dazzled. But M. Harding knoweth, that St. Peter being in Rome had no manner show or state of princehood. His whole power was spiritual, and stood only in the preaching of the gospel, with which armour God is able to pull down kings and princes to the obedience of his

2 Cor. x. 5.

Jerem. i. 10.

Christ. Thus saith God unto Hieremy : *Constitui te super gentes et regna :* "I have set thee over nations and kingdoms." And St. Peter, speaking generally unto all Christian people, saith : *Vos estis regale sacerdotium :* "You are that kingly priesthood." This principality and tower of religion was not only in Rome, but also in every place, where the name of Christ was received. Albeit, I grant, both for the multitude of idols that there had been honoured, and also for the nobility of the empire, the victory of Christ in Rome appeared most glorious.

1 Peter II. 9.

Now let us consider M. Harding's reasoning : "The state of Rome was more famous for the gospel, than ever it had been before for the empire : *ergo*, the pope was called the head of the universal church." This argument is such as needeth no answer.

#### M. HARDING : Fourteenth Division.

St. Augustine in his hundred and sixty-second epistle saith : [Epist. 162. tom. II. 91.] *In ecclesia . . . Romana semper apostolicæ cathedræ viguit principatus :* "The primacy or principality of the apostolic chair hath evermore been in force in the Roman church." The same St. Augustine speaking to Bonifacius bishop of Rome : "This care," Ad Bonifacium, cap. 1. [412.] saith he, complaining of the Pelagians, "is common to us all,

2. Epist. Pelagiano- rum.

Quamvis ipse  
in eo pre-  
eminens cel-  
siore fastigio  
speculæ pas-  
toralis.  
Lib. 2. de  
Baptismo  
contra Dona-  
tistas, cap.  
17. [lib. 1.  
ix. p. 97.]

that have the office of a bishop, albeit therein thou thyself hast the preeminence over all, being on the top of the pastoral watch tower." In another place he hath these words: *Cæterum magis vereri debeo, ne in Petrum contumeliosus existam. Quis enim nescit, illum apostolatus principatum cuilibet episcopatu præferendum*: "But I ought rather to be afraid, lest I be reproachful toward Peter. For who is he that knoweth not, that that principality of apostleship is to be preferred before any bishopric that is?" Another most evident place he hath in his book, *De Utilitate credendi ad Honoratum. Cum tamen auxilium Dei, &c.*: "Whereas," saith he, "we see so great help of God, so great profit and fruit, shall we stand in doubt whether we may hide ourselves in the lap of that church, which (though heretics bark at it in vain round about, condemned partly by the judgment of the people themselves, partly by the sadness of councils, and partly by the majesty of miracles even to the confession of mankind) for the apostolic see by successions of bishops, hath obtained the top or highest degree of authority? To which church if we will not give and grant the primacy, soothly it is a point either of most high wickedness, or of headlong arrogance."

The 102nd untruth, standing in the false translation and corruption of St. Augustine's words.

Culmen aucto-  
ritatis ob-  
tinuit.  
Cui primas  
dare nolle,  
vel summæ  
perfecto im-  
pietatis est,  
vel præcipitis  
arrogantiæ.  
[viii. 62.]

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

These places of St. Augustine may soon be answered. For here is neither universal bishop, nor head of the universal church, nor superiority or dominion over all others, nor any other word tending to that end. M. Harding knoweth, that St. Augustine was present at the council of Carthage, and gave his consent, "That the bishop of the first see should not be called, neither the prince, or chief of priests, nor the highest priest, nor by any other like title."

Council. Carthagenen. 3. can. 26. [iii. 884.]

He knoweth also that St. Augustine afterward confirmed the same in a council holden at Hippo Regius in his own diocese. Likewise he knoweth that the same St. Augustine decreed among other bishops to the number of two hundred and seventeen in the council of Africa, that it should not be lawful for any man of those countries, to seek for aid over the seas, and to appeal to the bishop of Rome: and that whosoever so appealed should stand excommunicate: and so utterly condemned that infinite dominion, and universal power, that so many have sithence dreamed of. Again, writing upon the Gospel of St. John, he saith *Petrus erat oculus in capite*: "Peter was an eye in the

Council. Hipponen. can. 27. [iii. 895.]

Council. Afric. can. 92. [iv. 507.]

August. in Johan. tract. 13. [iii. pt. 2. 399.]



head;" he saith not, Peter was the head. In these words appeareth plainly St. Augustine's certain and undoubted judgment touching this matter. The rest, that is here brought in, standeth only upon M. Harding's gathering.

It is true, that as well St. Augustine, as also other godly fathers, rightly and well, in old times yielded great reverence to the see of Rome, both for the antiquity of the church, and for the honour and memory of St. Peter, and for the constancy of the holy martyrs that there had suffered, and also for the purity of religion, which was preserved there a long time without spot, and might be a standard unto others. But the greatest increase of outward estimation in the world unto that see, was the imperial seat, and presence of the prince, as notably appeareth by the first council of Constantinople<sup>30</sup>. For these causes St. Augustine saith: "The see of Rome had the highest place, and chief preeminence above others."

Perhaps M. Harding will press me further with this word *principatus*, which he expoundeth, "the principality." Howbeit, I believe, he will not say, *principatus* signifieth an universal power or supreme government: and so his advantage of this word is not so great. Verily *princeps*, in the Latin tongue, is often used for a man, that for his virtue or room, or any singular quality, is to be had in estimation above others. So Cicero saith: *Socrates princeps philosophorum: Gravitate dicendi princeps Plato: Princeps orbis terrarum Pompeius*. Like as also Chrysostom saith: *Caput prophetarum Elias*: "Elias the head of the prophets<sup>31</sup>." In these places *princeps* is taken, not for a prince or governor, but only for a man, that for his qualities is to be esteemed above the rest. And in this sense St. Augustine calleth the see of Rome, as it was in his time, *Principatum sedis apostolicæ*, and not in respect of any supreme government: for that he himself in the council of Africa, as it is already proved, utterly denied

Council. Constantinop. I. can. 3. [iii. 559.] Distinct. 22. Constantino-politane.

De Natura Deorum. De Oratore. [cap. 19.] Pro domo sua.

Chrysost. ad Roma. hom. 18. [ix. 636.]

<sup>30</sup> [Council. Constant. . . τὸν μὲν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς τίμης μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην. The quotation

from Gratian is to the same purport.]

<sup>31</sup> [Chrysost. . . τῶν προφητῶν τὸ κεφάλαιον. . . ]

him. I grant, as St. Augustine saith, The bishop of Rome truly and diligently doing the part of a bishop, he, that then would have denied him the chief preeminence for the respects above touched, had been wicked or arrogant. But the same bishop of Rome now claiming to himself the title of universal bishop, as St. Gregory saith, “is the forerunner of Antichrist;” and the consenting to the same, as the same Gregory saith, “is the renouncing and forsaking of the faith.”

Gregor. lib. 6. epist. 30. [ii. 881.] et lib. 4. epist. 39. [ii. 747.]

I could further say, that M. Harding in these authorities of St. Augustine hath left out and transposed what he thought good: and so hath shewed no simple dealing. In the first place, St. Augustine’s words be these: *Episcopus videbat se Romanæ ecclesiæ, in qua semper apostolicæ cathedræ vigit principatus.....per communicatorias literas esse conjunctum*: “He saw himself by letters of conference to be joined with the church of Rome, in which church the chief preeminence of the apostolic see had ever flourished.” St. Augustine saith: The bishop there was joined with the church of Rome, not by way of obedience or subjection, but by letters of conference, wherein is implied an equality or a fellowship. And afterward in the same epistle St. Augustine saith, That Meltiades the bishop of Rome, with certain other bishops, heard the matter between Cæcilianus and Donatus *A casis nigris*, not by any his universal or supreme power, as M. Harding imagineth, but by special commission from the emperor. And so was the bishop of Rome the emperor’s delegate: and that, not in any sovereign authority, but fellowlike, and equally joined with other bishops: and, that afterward the same cause upon complaint and misliking of Donatus, was by the emperor taken out of the bishop of Rome’s hands, and by a new commission was put over to the hearing of the bishop of Arles in France. But where was then the bishop of Rome’s supreme government?

In the second place M. Harding hath notably falsified, both St. Augustine’s words in the Latin, and also his own translation in the English. St. Augustine’s words be these: *Communis est nobis omnibus, qui fungimur episcopatus*

Augustin. lib. 1. contra Epist. Pelagianorum, cap. 1. [x. 411.]

*officio, quamvis ipse in eo præmineas celsiore fastigio, specula pastoralis*: which words M. Harding by wilful depravation hath altered thus: *celsiore fastigio specula pastoralis*: and so hath left the adjective *communis* without a substantive, and the principal verb, *est*, without a nominative case: and to serve his turn hath caused St. Augustine to speak false Latin<sup>32</sup>. This place of St. Augustine may be Englished thus: "The pastoral watch tower is common to us all, that bear the office of bishops: albeit thy preeminence is greater, as sitting in the higher room." M. Harding's translation is thus: "Thou thyself hast the preeminence over all, being in the top of the pastoral

De Baptismo  
contra Dona-  
tist. lib. 2.  
cap. 1. [ix.  
96.]

tower:" wherein these words, "over all," are not found in St. Augustine, but only devised at pleasure by M. Harding. In the third place, besides other corruption, he dissembleth the words that St. Augustine in the very same place allegeth out of St. Cyprian very well serving to this purpose.

Cyprian ad  
Quirinum.  
[al. ad Quin-  
tum, p. 127.]

The words be these: *Nec Petrus..... vindicavit sibi aliquid aut arroganter assumpsit, ut diceret se primatum tenere, et obtemperari sibi a novellis, et posteris potius debere* [i. oportere]: "Neither did Peter challenge any thing, or proudly presume of himself to say, that he had the primacy, and that therefore others as novices and underlings should be obedient unto him<sup>33</sup>." All these things M. Harding dissembleth, and so to furnish out his matter, and to smooth his reader, he leaveth out what he listeth.

#### M. HARDING: Fifteenth Division.

The notable saying of St. Hierom may not be let pass, *Ecclesie salus a summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet: cui si non exors quædam, et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficiuntur schismata, quot sacerdotes*: "The safety of the church hangeth of the worship of the high priest," (103) he meaneth the

Contra Luci-  
ferianos.

The 103rd  
untruth. For

<sup>32</sup> [The Bened. as well as the old Amsterdam edit., prints the passage as Jewel represents it; the Erasmian and Louvain edd. bear out Harding, who is treated in respect to the reading of the original with unmerited severity.]

<sup>33</sup> [St. Cyprian, quoted by St.

Augustine. Here some words are omitted: "nec Petrus, quem primum Dominus elegit, et super quem ædificavit ecclesiam suam, cum secum Paulus de circumsione postmodum disceptaret, vindicavit sibi," &c.]



pope Peter's successor, "to whom if there be not given a power peerless, and surmounting all others, in the churches we shall have so many schisms as there be priests."

St. Hierom meaneth not the pope, but any other several bishop.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This place of St. Hierom is notably well noted. But, if it might have pleased M. Harding to note but the two lines that went before, he should soon have seen, that this note was not worth the noting. For it is certain, that St. Hierom there speaketh generally of all bishops, and not one word specially of the bishop of Rome. He entreateth there of the order of confirmation, which, he saith, by the usage of the church, for quietness and unity, in many places, was ministered only by the bishop, and not by any other priest, and that, he saith, *Ad honorem magis sacerdotii, quam ad necessitatem legis*: "More for the honour of the state of bishops, than for the necessity of the law." And this, as I said, he speaketh generally of all bishops. Immediately after he addeth these words that M. Harding here allegeth: *Ecclesiæ salus, &c.*: "The safety of the church hangeth of the dignity of the high priest." Herein St. Hierom agreeth thoroughly with St. Cyprian, that is, That, for avoiding of sects and schisms, one high priest, that is to say, one bishop, was by good policy appointed in every division, to whose doings and doctrine the rest of the clergy should conform themselves. And by this order the unity of the church was well preserved. St. Cyprian saith: *Ecclesia cohærentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulatur*: "The church is joined together by the consent of bishops agreeing in one." So saith St. Hierom: *Singuli ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archiepiscopi, singuli archidiaconi, et omnis ordo ecclesiasticus suis rectoribus nititur*: "There be several bishops of churches, several archbishops, and several archdeacons: and all the ecclesiastical order is stayed by the governors." And the Gloss thereupon saith thus: *Hieronymus probat hic, plures prælatos non debere esse in una ecclesia: sed singulos debere esse in singulis ecclesiis*: "St. Hierom here proveth, that there may not be two or mo bishops in one church: but that

Cyprian. lib. 4. epist. 9. [123, 124.]

Hieron. ad Rusticum. [iv. pt. 2. p. 775.]

7. Quæst. 1. in Apibus,

a several bishop must be in every several church." To the like purpose St. Hierom writeth upon the Epistle unto Titus: *Hæc propterea, ut ostenderemus, apud veteres eodem fuisse presbyteros, quos et episcopos. Paulatim vero, ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam:* "These things have I spoken, to the intent to shew, that in old time priests and bishops were all one: and that in process, and by degrees, the whole charge was brought unto one man" (he meaneth within one diocese), "that the occasions of dissension might be rooted out." And therefore, as it is before declared, St. Cyprian saith, "Hereof spring schisms, for that the priest of the Lord is not obeyed." And therefore also saith St. Hierom, "Unless the bishop have a special power above others, there will be as many schisms in the church as there be priests." But all these things, thus uttered generally of all bishops, M. Harding wresteth and forceth only unto one bishop: and thus, that is general, he maketh special, and that is special, he maketh general, at his pleasure: and, as before he misreported St. Cyprian, even so doth he now likewise misreport St. Hierom, and so shoreth up a ruinous matter with the falsification of his doctors.

But M. Harding will say, St. Hierom useth these special words, *summus sacerdos*: "the highest priest:" which cannot otherwise be taken, but only of the pope. And therefore he gave this note with a special parenthesis: "(He meaneth the pope, Peter's successor.)" Yet M. Harding knoweth, there is no such necessity wherefore these words should be so taken. His own Amphilochius calleth St. Basil *summus sacerdos*: and yet he knoweth St. Basil was never bishop of Rome. Every bishop, within his own diocese, may be called the highest priest, in respect of other priests that live under him: and in this sense Lactantius seemeth to call every bishopric *maximum sacerdotium*.

As for the bishop of Rome, St. Hierom advanceth him not so high as M. Harding would seem, but rather maketh him equal and level with all other bishops. For thus he writeth unto Evagrius: *Si autoritas quæritur, orbis major*

Hieron. ad  
Titum, cap. 1.  
[iv. p. 413.]

Cyprian. lib.  
1. epist. 3.  
[p. 82.]

Hieron. con-  
tra Lucife-  
rian. [iv. pt.  
2. p. 295.]

Amphilo-  
chius.

Lactant. lib.  
4. cap. 30.

*est urbe. Ubiunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, &c. ejusdem est meriti, ejusdem sacerdotii:* “If we seek for authority, the world is greater than the city of Rome. Wheresoever there is a bishop, whether he be at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, or at Rhegium, &c. he is of like worthiness, and of like priesthood.”

Hieronymus ad Evagrium. [al. Evangelium. iv. pt. 2. p. 800.]

Here St. Hierom specially, and by name, reckoneth the bishop of Rome among others, and maketh him equal unto the rest. And again he saith: *Quid mihi profers unius urbis consuetudinem?* “What shewest thou me the order or manner of one city?” So much St. Hierom seemeth to set by the see of Rome. And to this end St. Cyprian saith:

*Hoc erant cæteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi, et honoris, et potestatis:* “The rest of the apostles

Cypr. de Simplicitat. Prælator. [p. 195.]

were the same that Peter was, all endued with like fellowship, both of honour, and also of power.” And so St. Cy-

prian calleth Cornelius bishop of Rome, “his brother:” and Cyrillus calleth Cælestinus, likewise bishop of Rome, “his fellow servant<sup>34</sup>.” And therefore, when I hear

Cypr. lib. i. epist. 3. [p. 79.]

M. Harding, by his strange interpretation, give unto the bishop of Rome “a power peerless, and surmounting all others:” methinketh I hear doctor Durandus say, *Hic est Melchisedech, cujus sacerdotium non est cæteris comparatum* . . . . . : *ille est caput omnium pontificum, a quo illi, tanquam a capite membra, descendunt, et de cujus plenitudine omnes accipiunt:* “This is Melchisedec, whose priest-

Cyrl. in epist. ad Cælestin. [v. pt. 2. epist. p. 36.]

Durand. lib. 2. [cap. i.]

hood is not comparable unto others. He is the head of all bishops, from whom all they grow, as members grow from the head, and of whose fulness all they receive.” Me-

thinketh I hear that is written by the canonists, *Dominus Deus noster papa:* “Our Lord God the pope<sup>35</sup>.” And

Extravag. Johan. xxii. Cum inter. In Glossa. Impressum Lugduni, an. 1556. et antea Lugduni, an. 1513.

<sup>34</sup> [Cyrillus Alexandr. Καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλως οὔτε πρὸς τὴν σὴν θεοσέβειαν γέγραφα . . . οὔτε μὴ πρὸς ἕτερον τῶν συλλειτουργῶν.]

<sup>35</sup> [The Editor has read, with the respectful attention which they deserve, Mr. Maitland’s observations upon this subject, (Brit. Ma-

gazine, No. 75 to No. 82;) and he has also been at the pains to read Mr. C. Butler’s Vindication of this celebrated Gloss. Mr. Maitland, in his last letter, after referring to the controversy between the Jesuit Eudæmon Joannes and bishop Abbot, asks in



whereas he further saith, the safety of the church hangeth of the high priest, whom he supposeth to be the bishop of

conclusion, "if they did (and surely this (i. e. Eudæmon's anxiety to disprove the charge) is some evidence that they actually did) all they could two centuries ago to deny and renounce the offensive passage, where is the truth and honesty of harping upon it, as something generally approved of and adopted by papists?" Mr. C. Butler, (*Vindication*, p. 126.) while he attempts on the one hand to justify the phrase upon what he considers scriptural principles, (admitting however that "it is in bad taste,") adduces on the other hand the testimony (alluded to in the above passage) of Eudæmon Joannes (in his *Apology for Garnet*) to the fact, that on examining the original MS. of Zenzelini, the writer of the Gloss, (in the Vatican library, which is closed against the opponents of Romanism) he found no trace of the word "Deum." All this may be admitted, and due allowance also made for the unauthoritative nature of the Glosses—as indeed no man of right feeling would make an error of the press (taken *per se*) the ground of accusation against a whole church, still less presumptuously trace therein the fulfilment of prophecy. The Editor disclaims any such intention. Yet he cannot but think, that all the circumstances of the case do cast a strong imputation upon Rome, and afford an instructive lesson as to the general spirit and the literary policy of her rulers. It should first be stated, that Jewel's marginal notice of the two editions which he himself had seen containing the offensive word "Deum," gives a very inadequate idea of the number of editions which contain it. In fact there appear to have been only one or two exceptions (in those editions which publish any Gloss at all, or which so much as contain the Extrav. Johan. XXII.

themselves) during two centuries. Mr. Maitland produces one late exception, (the edition of Lyons, 3 voll. fol. 1671.) The following are specimens of editions wherein the word "Deum" is found, part of which the Editor has himself seen, (marked \*,) and part are inserted on the authority of bishop Abbott, reg. prof. of divinity, (in his *Antilogia to Eudæmon Joannes Apologia*, cap. v. p. 81.) edd. Paris. 1501\*; Lugdun. 1572\*; Romæ, 1582 (the standard); Paris. 1585\*; Paris. 1601; Lugd. 1606; Paris. 1612\*, ("ad exemplar Romanum diligenter recognitus"); Abbott, publishing in 1613, adds, "et habent hactenus omnino "omnes," i. e. all the fol. editions. Now it is hardly conceivable, that (however originating, in a typographical error or otherwise,) such a sentence, even in the Gloss, should for so many generations have escaped the indignant notice of the many scholars, divines, and lawyers, to whom in those days the canon law was an indispensable manual, the more especially as the constitution is headed thus: "Hæc extravagans est valde notabilis, et glossas habet profundas, quæ sunt ex sacris fontibus haustæ." At least one would have expected, that, after the Reformers had brought to light the (supposed unintentional) profaneness, the first opportunity would have been taken to expunge it from future editions. But so far was this from the fact, that when, in 1582, (nearly 20 years after the exposure by Jewel,) pope Gregory XIII. issued a commission to certain cardinals and others to undertake a new edition of the Canon Law, and "to revise, correct, and expurgate," as well the text as the Glosses, not only from the unintentional errors of catholic commentators, but also from those "quæ ab impiis scriptoribus tam

Rome, verily St. Gregory saith: *Quando is, qui appellatur* Gregor. lib. 4. epist. 76. [ii. 749.]  
*universalis, cadit, universa ecclesia a statu suo corrui:*

“ Whensoever he that is called the universal bishop fall-  
 eth, the whole church from her state must needs fall to the  
 ground.”

M. HARDING: *Sixteenth Division.*

There is an epistle of Theodoretus, bishop of Cyrus, extant  
 in Greek, written to Leo, bishop of Rome, wherein we find a  
 worthy witness of the primacy of the see apostolic. His words  
 may thus be Englished: “ If Paul,” saith he, “ the preacher of  
 the truth, and trumpet of the Holy Ghost, ran to Peter, to bring  
 from him a determination and declaration, for them who at An-  
 tioch were in argument and contention, concerning living after  
 Moses’ law; much more we, who are but small and vile, shall  
 run unto your throne apostolic, that of you we may have salve  
 for the sores of the churches:” (there follow these words:) *Διὰ*  
*πάντα γὰρ ὑμῖν τὸ πρωτεύειν ἀρμόττει: id est, Per omnia enim vobis*  
*convenit primas tenere:* that is to say, “ For in all things (per-  
 taining to faith or religion, so he meaneth) it is meet that you  
 have the chief doings, or that you have the primacy. For your  
 high seat or throne is endued with many prerogatives and privi-  
 leges.”

*Πολλοῖς γὰρ  
 δ’ ὑμέτερος  
 θρόνος κο-  
 σμεῖται  
 πλεονεκτή-  
 μασι.*

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here might I say, that this Theodoret was a deadly  
 enemy of St. Cyrillus, and a Nestorian heretic, and con-  
 demned by that name in the general council of Constan-  
 tinople, as appeareth by Evagrius, Nicephorus, and others.  
 Verily, although he were brought into the council of Chal-  
 cedon by the authority and favour of the emperor Martia-  
 nus, yet the bishops of Illyricum, Egypt, and Palestine,  
 cried out against him, *Fides perit: istum canones ejiciunt:*  
*mitte hunc foras, magistrum Nestorii: nolite istum dicere*

Concil. Con-  
 stantinop.  
 actio. 5. [ix.  
 297. conf.  
 385.]  
 Evagrius, lib.  
 4. cap. 37.  
 Nicephor.  
 lib. 17. cap.  
 27. [ii. 776.]  
 Concil. Chal.  
 actio. i. [vi.  
 589. 591.]

“ extra in marginibus quam etiam  
 “ intra aspersa fuerant, catholicæ  
 “ veritati contraria;” even in this  
 which became the standard edi-  
 tion, and in those of which it was  
 to be thenceforward, under pain  
 of ecclesiastical censure, the un-  
 alterable model, the obnoxious  
 clause remained without the al-  
 teration of a syllable, and with  
 not so much as a “ caute lege,”

in the margin. Surely the only  
 inference, at which even the most  
 candid and charitable can arrive,  
 is, that the *retention* of the clause  
 was *designed*; and that the de-  
 sign originated in the *πρώτον ψεύ-  
 δος* of Rome, her usurped supre-  
 macy *jure divino*, combined with  
 her motto of “ nunquam retror-  
 sum.”]

*episcopum: non est episcopus: impugnatores Dei foras mitte: hæreticum foras mitte: Judæum foras mitte:* "The faith is lost: this man the canons throw out: out with this fellow: out with Nestorius' schoolmaster: call him not bishop: he is no bishop: out with him that fighteth against God: out with this heretic: out with this Jew."

But I will not use this advantage. I judge rather, that this Theodoretus, as he was a man of deep learning and great renown, so he was also a careful and godly bishop. As for the Nestorian heresy, he defied it in the council of Constantinople, and openly pronounced, *Anathema Nestorio*, "Accursed be Nestorius"<sup>36</sup>."

Concil. Constantinop.  
actio. 8. [leg.  
Concil. Chalced. act. 8.  
vii. 189.]

In these words that M. Harding hath here alleged, he saith nothing that of our part is denied. Certainly here is not one word, neither of the head of the church, nor of universal bishop.

But if Theodoretus think St. Paul went up to Jerusalem, either to visit Peter, as the head of the church, as M. Harding seemeth to guess, or else to be better resolved of his doctrine, as standing in some doubt whether he had thitherto preached the truth or no, then doth he quite overthrow St. Paul's whole meaning. For it is plain, that St. Paul knoweth not Peter for his head, but contrariwise taketh him as his equal. For thus he saith: *Videbant mihi concreditum esse evangelium præputii, sicut Petro circumcisionis*: "They saw that I was put in trust with the gospel over the heathens, even as Peter was over the Jews." And again: "James, Peter, and John, that

Galat. II. 7.

<sup>36</sup> [Theodoret (accused of Nestorianism, in consequence of his advocacy of his early friend Nestorius against St. Cyril) was deposed in the 2nd council of Ephesus, (Synodus Latrocinialis,) A. D. 449; but was, after much opposition, restored, (on his expressly renouncing Nestorius, by the formula "Anathema Nestorio,") at the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, (see Evagrius, p. 328,) not that of Constantinople, as the author by mistake asserts in the text

and in the margin. The general council to which Jewel refers, as having (he should have said posthumously) condemned the writings of Theodoret (see Mansi, ix. 297. conf. 385.) was the second council of Constantinople, A. D. 553, nearly 100 years after Theodoret's death. This explanation of Jewel's rather confused statement is the result of a careful comparison of the authorities cited in the margin; and it is confirmed by Cave.]



seemed to be the pillars, gave unto me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship." Here we see, between Peter and Paul, a covenant of equality, and neither superiority nor subjection.

And therefore St. Ambrose saith, as it is before noted, *Inter Petrum et Paulum, quis cui præponatur, incertum est*: "Between Peter and Paul, whether ought to be preferred before other, I cannot tell <sup>37</sup>." Dextras dederunt societatis. Ambros. Sermon. 66. [iii. 291. ed. Froben.] Acts xv. 2.

Neither went he up to be better informed of the truth, as being doubtful of his own doctrine. All his reasoning, and the whole drift of that Epistle, is to the contrary. For thus lie his words: "I never conferred with flesh and blood," (that is to say, with any man,) "neither did I return to Jerusalem to them that had been apostles before me.—I received not the gospel that I have preached of any man.....but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.—If any preach unto you any other gospel than that I have preached, accursed be he.—They that were in chief regard among the apostles, touching the truth of the gospel, added nothing unto me.—I withstood Peter even in the face,.....and spake unto him before all the people: for he walked not uprightly, but was worthy to be blamed." Hereby it may sufficiently appear, that St. Paul's going to Jerusalem was not to bring from Peter a determination of any matter of truth that lay in question, as it is here supposed. And therefore St. Hierom saith: *Ad hoc ivit Hierosolymam, ut videret apostolum (Petrum) non discendi studio, qui et ipse eundem prædicationis haberet authorem: sed honoris priori apostolo deferendi*: "Paul went to Jerusalem, to the intent to see Peter the apostle, not to learn any thing of him, as having the same Author of his preaching that Peter had; but to shew reverence unto him that had been apostle before him." And again: *Propterea quindecim ponit dies, ut ostendat non fuisse grande tempus, quo potuerit aliquid a Petro discere: ut ad illum sensum, a quo cœpit, cuncta referantur, se non ab homine doctum* Hieron. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. 1. [iv. 236.] Hieronym. eodem loco.

<sup>37</sup> [This sermon is by Maximus, not by St. Ambrose. See supra, note <sup>24</sup>, p. 183.]

Galat. i. 18.

*esse, sed a Deo*: “Therefore he nameth fifteen days, to shew that he had no long time that he might learn any thing of Peter: to the intent to drive all his words to that sense wherewith he began, that he was taught, not by man, but by God.” Likewise saith Hugo Cardinalis, a barbarous writer: *Secundum literam instruimur de mutua dilectione, quam deberent habere prædicatores et doctores: quia Paulus venit videre Petrum, quoniam bona audierat de ejus doctrina*: “According to the letter, we are here instructed of mutual love, which ought to be between all preachers and doctors. For Paul went to visit Peter, because he had heard good of his doctrine.” But what can be so plain as that is written by Chrysostom, touching the same? His words be these: *Paulus nihil opus habebat Petro, nec ejus egebat voce: sed honore par erat illi: nihil enim hic dicam amplius*: “Paul had no need of Peter, neither needed he to be taught at his mouth: but he was equal to him in honour. I will say no more<sup>38</sup>.” And immediately after: *Sicut nunc multi fratrum nostrorum ad viros sanctos proficiscuntur, eodem affectu tunc Paulus ad Petrum profectus est*: “Like as now-a-days many of our brethren go to holy men, so then, with like affection, went Paul unto Peter.”

Hugo Cardinalis in Ep. ad Galat. c. 1.

Chrys. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i. [x. 677.]

As for the rest, that the bishop of Rome had an estimation, and a credit, and a prerogative before others, it is not denied. For of the four patriarchs, he had the first place, both in council and out of council; and therefore the greatest authority and direction of matters in all assemblies. And this was, τὸ πρωτεύειν, “to have the first or highest room;” and πλεονέκτημα, “a dignity or privilege:” which words M. Harding hath noted in the margin.

Here M. Harding seemeth to reason thus:

<sup>38</sup> [Chrysostom. in Epist. ad Galatas. . . . ἔπειτα μετὰ τρία ἔτη ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἱστορῆσαι Πέτρον. τί ταύτης ταπεινοφρονέστερον γένοιτ' ἂν τῆς ψυχῆς; μετὰ τούτων καὶ τοιαῦτα κατορθώματα, μηδὲν Πέτρον δεόμενος μηδὲ τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ἰσότητος ὧν

αὐτῷ· πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ τέως ὅμως ἀνέρχεται ὡς πρὸς μείζονα καὶ πρεσβύτερον. The remainder of Jewel's quotation is in the same page 677, a few lines further: καθάπερ γὰρ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κ. τ. λ.]

The bishop of Rome had a privilege or dignity above others :

*Ergo*, He was an universal bishop.

This argument concludeth *a genere ad speciem affirmative* : and, as M. Harding knoweth, was never allowed in any schools.

Likewise he seemeth to say,

Paul went up to Jerusalem to visit Peter :

*Ergo*, The bishop of Rome is head of the church.

Such weak gear M. Harding hath brought forth. And yet with his furniture of words it seemeth somewhat. By the same reason he may prove, that St. James also was head of the church as well as Peter. For Paul saith, he visited him as well as Peter. And St. Hierom saith of himself: " That he purposely went to Alexandria to see Didymus : " yet was not Didymus therefore head of the church.

Galat. i. 19.

Hieron. in Proemio in Epist. ad Ephesios. [iv. 319.]

Indeed Hugo Cardinalis saith: " Hereof it first began, that bishops and archbishops made a vow to visit the pope, because Paul went to Jerusalem to see Peter." And saith further, " That custom hath added to the same this commandment, written in the Deuteronomy: *Non apparebis in conspectu Domini vacuus* : ' Thou shalt not appear in the presence of the Lord without somewhat.' "

Hugo Cardin. in Ep. ad Gal.

Deut. xvi. 16.

M. Harding, tripping, as he saith, so nicely over the doctors, hath not yet once touched that thing that was looked for, and that he hath only, and with such affiance, taken in hand. For notwithstanding a great pomp of words, and the names of many holy fathers, yet hath he not hitherto shewed that the bishop of Rome, within the space of six hundred years after Christ, was ever called the universal bishop, or the head of the universal church : which thing if he could have shewed, I believe he would not so lightly have tripped it over.

#### M. HARDING : *Seventeenth Division.*

Now let us see, whether this chief authority may be found necessary by reason. That a multitude, which is in itself one, cannot continue one, unless it be contained and holden in by one, both learned philosophers have declared, and the common nature



of things teacheth. For every multitude of their own nature goeth asunder into many; and from another it cometh that it is one, and that it continueth one. And that whereof it is one, and is kept in union or oneness, it is necessary that it be one, else that self also shall need the help of another, that it be one. For which cause, that saying of Homer was alleged by Aristotle as most notable; "It is not good to have many rulers: let one be ruler." Whereby is meant, that plurality of sovereign rulers is not fit to contain and keep unity of a multitude of subjects. Therefore sith that the church of Christ is one, (for as there is one faith, one baptism, one calling, so there is one church, yea all we are one body, and members one of another, as St. Paul saith, and in our Creed we all profess to believe one holy catholic and apostolic church,) therefore, I say, it hath need of one prince and ruler, to be kept and holden in. If it be otherwise, unity must needs forthwith be sparkled and broken asunder. And therefore it behoved, that the rule and government of the church should be committed to one.

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν  
πολυκυρι-  
αρχίᾳ, εἰς κοί-  
ρανὸς ἕσται.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

All this is proved by Aristotle the philosopher, by one verse of the poet Homer, and by M. Harding's drift of reason, and none otherwise. Aristotle's and Homer's authority in this case cannot be great. And yet they speak only of one captain general in one field, and of one king in one realm, whereas number or fellowship must of necessity breed confusion. But neither of them ever dreamed this new phantasy, that one king should rule over the whole world.

M. Harding's reasons would weigh the more, if either Christ, or Peter, or Paul, or any old doctor, or catholic father, had ever used the same. Otherwise, St. Augustine, speaking of discourse of reason in the understanding of the scriptures, saith thus: *Hæc consuetudo periculosa est. Per scripturas enim divinas multo tutius ambulatur*: "This manner of expounding is very dangerous. The safer way is to walk by the scriptures." The force of M. Harding's reason caused Alexander the ambitious king of Macedonia

August. de  
Doctrina  
Christian. lib.  
3. cap. 28.  
[iii. 56.]

Quintus Cur-  
tius.  
Extrav. Com.  
de Majoritate  
et Obedien-  
tia. Unam  
sanctam.

to say, "As the heavens can have but one sun, so may the whole world have but one king:" and likewise pope Bonifacius the Eighth to say, as is before, *In principio creavit Deus cælum et terram: non in principiis*: "In the begin-

ning, as in one, God made heaven and earth; and not in the beginnings, as in many: *ergo*, the pope is head of the church."

"But," saith M. Harding, "every multitude naturally goeth asunder, and the thing that keepeth it together must needs be one." That is to say, It is the pope only that preserveth the unity of the church, and maketh it one; and therefore the pope himself must needs be one; otherwise, being two, or mo, saith M. Harding, they should need some other thing to make them one. And yet he remembereth, that the council of Sirmium, to take up the contention between Felix and Liberius, that ambitiously strove together for the see of Rome, willed them to be bishops there both together<sup>39</sup>; which thing notwithstanding, they meant not therefore, neither to dissolve the unity of the church, nor to make the church a monster with two heads. And so Roffensis saith: "The church is one, not because of Christ, but because of the pope, that keepeth it in one." This reason, that M. Harding useth, is newly devised, and was never remembered of any of the old fathers. St. Gregory saith: "None of my predecessors would ever take upon him to use this ungodly name, to be called the universal bishop;" and yet it appeareth not, but the church was then kept in unity.

Neither can this infinite power, that is imagined, stand without infinite great dangers. And, forasmuch as it pleaseth M. Harding to avouch the government of Christ's church by philosophers and poets, that never knew Christ, it may also please him to remember, that his poets likewise say, that when Phaeton, an indiscreet and a fond young man, would needs leap into Phœbus his father's chariot, to carry the sunbeams about the heavens, for lack of skill, he soon set a-fire the whole world. It may not much displease M. Harding, that I compare the bishop of Rome

<sup>39</sup> [It should be added, that Sozomenus mentions the death of Felix as providentially ordered, to prevent so serious an ecclesiastical anomaly, ὥστε τὸν Πέτρον θρόνον

μὴ ἀδοξεῖν, ὑπὸ δύο ἡγεμόσιν ἰθυό-  
μενον. ὁ διχονοίας σύμβολόν ἐστι,  
καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ θεσμοῦ ἀλλό-  
τριον. P. 151.]

Sozomen.  
lib. 4. cap.  
14. [ii. 150.]  
κοινῇ ἱερᾶ-  
σθαι.

Roffensis.

Gregor. lib. 4.  
epist. 32. [ii.  
771.]

with Phaeton, a rash young man ; for St. Gregory, for the same attempt and enterprise, as it plainly appeareth by his words, compareth him with Lucifer, and with Antichrist.

Gregor. lib. 4. epist. 34. [il. 881.] et epist. 38. [p. 742.] And further saith, *Si hanc causam æquanimiter portamus, universæ ecclesiæ fidem corrumpimus*: "If we take this matter quietly, we destroy the faith of the whole church."

Gregor. lib. 7. epist. 69. [p. 919.] This reason standeth thus : The church of Christ is one :

Gregor. lib. 6. epist. 24. [p. 873.] *Ergo*, the pope is an universal bishop.

If any man deny this sequel, I marvel by what logic M. Harding will ever be able to make it good.

#### M. HARDING: *Eighteenth Division.*

And whereas these gossellers say, that Christ is the governor of the church, and that he being one keepeth the church in unity; we answer, that although the church be first and principally governed by Christ, as all other things are, yet God's high goodness hath so ordained, as each thing may be provided for, according to his own condition and nature. Therefore whereas mankind dependeth most of sense, and receiveth all learning and institution of sensible things, therefore it hath need of a man to be a governor and ruler, whom it may perceive by outward sense. And even so the sacraments, by which the grace of God is given unto us, in consideration of man's nature, being so made of God, as it is, are ordained in things sensible. Therefore it was behoveful, this government of the church to be committed to one man, which at the first was Peter, and afterward each successor of Peter for his time, as is afore declared. Neither can this one man have this power of any consent, or company of men, but it is necessary he have it of God. (104) For to ordain and appoint the vicar of Christ, it pertaineth to none other, than to Christ. For whereas the church, and all that is of the church, is Christ's, as well for other causes, as specially for that we are bought with a great price, even with his blood, as St. Paul saith ; how can it pertain to any other, than to him, to institute and appoint to himself a vicar, that is, one to do his stead ?

The 104th untruth. For Christ never appointed any such vicar.

1 Cor. iii.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding standeth very long in discoursing this matter by natural reason. And for that he knew St. Augustine saith, *Si ratio contra divinarum scripturarum auctoritatem redditur, quamlibet acuta sit, fallit verisimilitudine: nam vera esse non potest*: "If natural reason be alleged against the authority of the holy scriptures, be it never so subtle, it beguileth men by a likeness or colour of the truth : for

August. ad Marcellin. epist. 7. [ii. 466.]



true it cannot be." And, for that he also saw, the reasons he hath brought are very simple, and carry no weight; he hath therefore thrust a great many of them in a throng together, both to fill the hearers' senses, and also that the one might the better aid the other.

For his entry, in mirth and game, he calleth us "gospellers." God open the eyes of his heart, that he may see the brightness of God's gospel, and consider what it is that he hath refused. Surely it is an horrible thing, for a Christian man thus to make mockery of the gospel of Christ. St. Paul saith: *Si opertum est evangelium, in illis qui per-* 2 Cor. iv. 3. *eunt est opertum*: "If the gospel be covered, it is covered from them that perish."

It misliketh him, that we build the unity of the church upon Christ only, and not also upon the pope; and this he calleth these new gospellers' doctrine. God be thanked, these gospellers have good warrant for their doctrine; St. Paul saith: *Eum dedit caput super omnia ipsi ecclesie,* Ephes. i. 22, *quæ est corpus ejus*: "God hath given Christ to be head" 23. *over all, even to the church, which is his body."* And again: *Ille est caput, qui dat salutem corpori*: "Christ is" Ephes. v. 23. *the head, that giveth health unto the body.—Christ is* Ephes. ii. 14. *our peace: all we are one in Christ Jesu."* Therefore St. Gregory saith: *Nos quoque a vobis non longe sumus,* Gregor. lib. 4. *quoniam in illo, qui ubique est, unum sumus. Agamus ergo* epist. 36. ad *ei gratias, qui, solutis inimicitiiis in carne sua, fecit, ut in* Eulogium. *omni orbe terrarum unus esset grex, et unum ovile, sub se* [ii. 772.] *uno pastore*: "We are not far away from you, because in him, that is every where, we are all one. Therefore let us give him thanks, that, enmity being broken in his flesh, hath caused, that in all the world there should be one flock, and one fold, under himself, being the one Shepherd." John x. 16. These places, and infinite other like, are good warrants of our doctrine.

Now, if M. Harding be able by the scriptures, or holy doctors, to say as much for the bishop of Rome, that he is the head of the church, that is to say, the head of Christ's body; or, that the church receiveth influence or health from him; or, that he is our peace; or, that we are all one

in him ; or, that all the world is one flock, and one fold, and he the one shepherd ; or, that St. Paul, as he said, Ephes. iv. 5. " There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism," so he said also, There is one pope ; then have we some cause to think, according to M. Harding's phantasy, that the unity of the whole church is founded and built upon the pope. Certainly it seemeth St. Augustine would not give this privilege unto St. Paul. His words be plain : *Nec Paulus radix eorum erat, quos plantaverat ; sed ille potius qui, ait, Ego sum vitis : vos estis sarmenta. Caput etiam eorum quomodo esse poterat, cum dicat, Nos omnes [al. multos] unum esse corpus in Christo, ipsumque Christum caput esse universi corporis ?* " Neither was Paul the root of them whom he had planted, but rather he that saith, ' I am the vine, and you are the sprigs.' But the head of them how could he be, seeing he himself saith, ' All we in Christ are one body ;' John xv. 5. and, that of that whole body Christ himself is the head ?" Ephes. i. Ephes. iv. 15. If St. Paul, as St. Augustine saith, could not be head of the church, how may we then think, that the bishop of Rome may be head of the church ?

" But mankind," saith M. Harding, " dependeth most of sense : therefore the whole church must have one man to rule and govern over it : and that man is Peter's successor, and Christ's vicar in earth." I marvel, that none of the old fathers could ever understand either the necessity of this reason, or this special name and title of Christ's vicar. Howbeit, one true word M. Harding hath uttered amongst many others, that is, that to appoint Christ's vicar, it pertaineth only unto Christ, and to none other. Of which ground we may well reason thus : Christ never ordained, nor appointed, nor once named, the bishop of Rome, or his successor, to be his vicar, that is, to be an universal bishop over the whole church ; therefore, by M. Harding's own position, the bishop of Rome hath of long time usurped a power, against Christ, without commission, and indeed is not Christ's vicar. St. Hierom saith generally of all bishops : *Noverint episcopi, se magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis Dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores :* " Let bishops understand, that they be greater than the

August. contra Literas Petilian. lib. 3. cap. 42. [ix. 322.]

John xv. 5.

Ephes. i.

Ephes. iv. 15.

Hieron. in Epist. ad Titum. [iv. 413.]

priests, by order and custom" (of the church), "and not by the truth of God's ordinance." If Christ, as St. Hierom saith, appointed not one priest above another, how then is it likely, he appointed one priest to be, as M. Harding saith, prince and ruler over all priests throughout the whole world?

As for the universal supplying of Christ's room, Tertullian saith, "the Holy Ghost is Christ's vicar;" for thus he writeth: *Sedet ad dextram Dei Patris: misit vicariam vim Spiritus Sancti, qui credentes agat:* "Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father: and instead of himself, sent the power of the Holy Ghost, as his vicar, to direct them that believe<sup>40</sup>."

Tertull. de Præscriptio. contra Hæreticos. [cap. 13. p. 207.]

But, because we are not only led inwardly by God's Spirit, but also outwardly by our senses, therefore hath Christ appointed, not one man to be his vicar general over all, but every of his apostles, and so every priest, to be his vicar within his division. So saith Eusebius bishop of Rome: *Caput ecclesiæ Christus est: Christi autem vicarii sacerdotes sunt, qui, vice Christi, legatione funguntur in ecclesia:* "Christ is the head of the church: and his vicars be the priests, that do their message in the church, in the stead of Christ<sup>41</sup>." Therefore saith St. Hierom: *Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem, vel inferiorem, episcopum non facit. Ceterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt:* "The stoutness of riches, or the humility of poverty, maketh a bishop neither higher nor lower: but all bishops be the apostles' successors."

Euseb. Episcopi Rom. epist. 3. 2 Cor. v. 20.

Other universal vicar of Christ there is none named in the scriptures, unless it be he, of whom St. Paul forewarneth us: *Homo ille sceleratus, filius perditus, &c.:* "That wicked man, that child of perdition, that setteth himself up against God, and that so far forth, that he will sit in the temple of God, and shew himself, as if he were God." But this vicar, Christ shall destroy with the spirit of his mouth.

Hieron. ad Evagrium, tom. 2. p. 329. [iv. pt. 2. p. 803.]

2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.

<sup>40</sup> [Tertullian. "Regula est fidei . . . qua creditur Verbum. . . . sedisse ad dextram Patris; misisse vicariam vim Spiritus Sancti qui credentes agat."]

<sup>41</sup> [Eusebii. Roman. epist. 3. This is amongst the "Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianæ." See Crabbe, i. 215.]



To conclude, M. Harding seemeth to reason thus : “ Mankind dependeth most of sense : *ergo*, the pope is the head of the universal church.” Here is a very unsensible argument : nor sense, nor reason can make it good. By as good sequel he might say, “ Mankind dependeth most of sense : *ergo*, one king must rule over the whole world.”

M. HARDING : *Nineteenth Division.*

Wherefore, to conclude, except we would wickedly grant, that God's providence hath lacked, or doth lack to his church, for love of which he hath given his only begotten Son, and which he hath promised never to forget, so as the woman cannot forget the child she bare in her womb : reason may soon induce us to believe, that to one man, one bishop, the chief and highest of all bishops, the successor of Peter, the rule and government of the church by God hath been deferred. For else, if God had ordained, that in the church should be sundry heads and rulers, and none constituted to be over other, but all of equal power, each one among their people : then he should seem to have set up so many churches, as he hath appointed governors ; and so he shall appear to have brought in among his faithful people, that unruly confusion, the destruction of all commonweals, so much abhorred of princes, which the Greeks call *anarchian*, which is a state, for lack of order in governors, without any government at all. Which thing, sith that the wise and politic men of this world do shun and detest, in the government of these earthly kingdoms, as most pernicious and hurtful ; to attribute to the high wisdom of God, and to our Lord Christ, who is the author of the most ordinate disposition of all things in earth, and in heaven, it were heinous, and profane impiety. Wherefore, if the state of a kingdom cannot continue safe, unless one have power to rule, how shall not the church, spread so far abroad, be in danger of great disorders, corruption, and utter destruction, if, as occasion shall be given, among so great strifes and debates of men, among so many firebrands of discord, tossed to and fro by the devils, enemies of unity, there be not one head and ruler, of all to be consulted, of all to be heard, of all to be followed and obeyed ? If strife and contention be stirred about matters of faith, if controversy happen to arise about the sense of the scriptures, shall it not be necessary there be one supreme judge, to whose sentence the parties may stand ? If need require (as it hath been often seen) that general councils be kept, how can the bishops, to whom that matter belongeth, be brought together, but by the commandment of one head governor, whom they owe their obedience unto ? For else being summoned, perhaps they will not come. Finally, how shall the contumacy and pertinacy of mischievous persons be repressed, specially if the bishops be at dis-

A sort of  
simple rea-  
sons.

sention within themselves, if there be not a supreme power, who towards some may use the rod, towards other some the spirit of lenity, with such discreet temperament, as malice be vanquished, right defended, and concord procured, lest, if the small sparks of strife be not quenched by authority at the beginning, at length a great flame of schisms and heresies flash abroad, to the great danger of a multitude? Therefore, as there is one body of Christ, one flock, one church, even so is there one head of that his mystical body, one shepherd, and one chief servant, made steward, overseer, and ruler of Christ's household in his absence, until his coming again.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Whoso denieth the bishop of Rome's supreme government, saith M. Harding, he utterly denieth God's providence; and thus the great providence of God is brought forth to serve M. Harding's simple reason. The like consideration, as may be supposed, moved Petrus Bertrandus to write this special Gloss upon the Decretals: *Non videtur Dominus discretus fuisse, ut cum reverentia ejus loquar, nisi unicum post se talem vicarium reliquisset*:

Extrav.  
Comm. de  
Majoritate  
et Obedi-  
entia. Unam  
sanctam.  
In Gloss.

“Otherwise Christ should not seem to have dealt discreetly, saving his reverence, unless he had left some one such vicar behind him.” And therefore he saith further:

*Christo data est omnis potestas in caelo, et in terra: ergo summus pontifex, qui est ejus vicarius, habet eandem potestatem*:

“All manner power both in heaven and earth is given to Christ. Therefore the highest bishop, which is his vicar, hath the same power.” Likewise they say: <sup>a</sup> *Papa potest facere omnia quæ Christus ipse potest*:

a Extra de  
Sentent. Ex-  
commu. Si  
aliquid. Ho-  
stien. [i. fol.  
84.]

“The pope may do, whatsoever Christ himself may do<sup>41</sup>.” And <sup>b</sup> *Papæ, et Christi, est unum tribunal [al. consistorium]*: “The pope and Christ have one consistory, and keep one court.”

b Extra de  
translatione  
Episcop.  
Quanto. (In-  
nocen. 3.)  
[i. fol. 84.]

Upon occasion hereof, M. Harding seemeth to reason in this sort: “Unless there be one appointed by God to be the universal bishop of the world, having” *omnia jura in scrinio pectoris sui*<sup>c</sup>, “all manner law and right in the closet of his breast:” *cui sit pro ratione voluntas*<sup>d</sup>, “whose pleasure may stand instead of law:” unto whom, whatsoever he do, no man may say, <sup>e</sup> *Domine, cur ita facis?* “Sir, why

c In 6<sup>o</sup>.  
De Consti-  
tutionibus.  
Licet Roman.

d Extra de  
translatione  
Episcop.  
Quanto. In  
Glossa.

e [Extrav.  
Joan. xxli.]  
De concess.  
præbendæ.  
Ad Apostola-  
tus. In  
Gloss.

<sup>41</sup> [“Et breviter excepto peccato “Deus.” Segusio, Cardinal. Hostiens. in Decretal. ed. 1581.]

do you so?" and the same neither exhort, nor teach, nor minister sacrament, nor exercise discipline, nor do the duty either of bishop, or of priest, or of deacon, or any other the meanest officer of the church, but only take upon him to rule and govern the whole church: unless there be some such one, then, saith M. Harding, "God hath no providence, neither is careful for his church."

If controversy grow about the understanding and sense of God's word, if it be necessary that a council be called, if contention fall out between any other inferior bishops, then saith M. Harding, "it is necessary, there be one supreme judge, that may infallibly declare God's meaning, that may summon the council, that may hear and determine matters between the bishops." Touching the searching out of the sense of the scriptures, St. Augustine giveth sundry good rules: but this strange rule of recourse to the pope he toucheth not, nor taketh it for any rule.

De Doctrina  
Christiana,  
lib. 3.

But they say, The scriptures be dark: therefore we must seek the meaning of them in the doctors. The doctors agree not: then must we weigh and try them by the master of the sentences. The master of the sentences himself sometimes is not holden: then must we seek further to the school doctors. The school doctors can in no wise agree: there is Scotus against Thomas; and Occam against Scotus; and Alliacensis against Occam; the nominals against the reals; the scholastics against the canonists; the contention is greater, and the doubts darker, than ever they were before. Neither is there any resolution to be hoped for, but only of the bishop of Rome: whom M. Harding calleth the supreme judge: who, as one saith, is *doctor utriusque legis, autoritate, non scientia*: "doctor of both laws, by authority, not by knowledge." Howbeit it appeareth, his knowledge and authority in such cases are both alike. For, notwithstanding any his determination, the contention standeth still as it did before. Truly Alphonsus de Castro, a doctor of the same side, saith: *Cum constet plures papas adeo illiteratos esse, ut grammaticam penitus ignorent, qui sit, ut sacras literas interpretari possint?* "Seeing it is well known, that many

Magister non  
tenetur.

Baldus.

Alphonsus  
de Castro,  
lib. 1. cap. 4.



popes be so void of learning, that they be utterly ignorant of their grammar, how may it be, that they can expound the holy scriptures<sup>42</sup>?" Thus that supreme judge, at whose only hands M. Harding would have all the world to seek for the very sense of God's word, as Alphonsus saith, may go to school to learn his grammar. And what if the pope be an heretic, as Liberius was an Arian; Honorius an Eunomian; Anastasius was a Photinian; and as Lyra saith, *Multi papæ inventi sunt apostatæ*: "Many popes have been runagates of the faith:" or what if he be a sorcerer, and have league and conference with the devil, as had Sylvester the Second? Yet must we needs have recourse unto such an one, as unto the mouth of God, for the certain sense and meaning of God's word? Verily, in the old times, men that stood in doubt of any matter of learning, and would gladly be resolved, sought unto the best learned, and not unto the pope. Pope Leo himself in a case of doubt, thought it good to confer with other bishops. The bishops of Numidia [Spain] sent, not to the bishop of Rome to be resolved, but unto St. Cyprian, and other bishops within Africa. So likewise St. Hierom writeth of himself: *Ob hanc causam vel maxime Alexandriam nuper perrexi, ut viderem Didymum, et ab eo in scripturis omnibus, quæ habebam, dubia [sciscitarer] omnia exquirerem*: "For this cause chiefly I went of late to Alexandria, to the intent I might see Didymus, and be resolved by him in all such doubts, as I had found in the scriptures." And St. Ambrose saith, that certain learned men in matter of question, having received answer, and determination from the bishop of Rome, yet notwithstanding, for their better satisfaction, sought further unto him. Thus he writeth: *Post [episcopi] Romanæ ecclesiæ definitionem,.....meam adhuc expectant*

Alphonsus de Castro, lib. 1. cap. 4.

Nicol. Lyra in Matt. xvi. cap.

Platina in Sylvestro. [secundo.]

Leo epist. 37. ad Episcopum Ravenatam. [i. 716.]

Cyprian. lib. 1. epist. 4. [117.]

Hieron. in Proemio in Epist. ad Ephes. [iv. 319.]

Ambros. lib. 10. epist. 83. [ii. 881.]

<sup>42</sup> [The passage here quoted from Alphonsus a Castro de Hæresibus was expunged in the later editions, to which alone the Editor has hitherto had access. The edition used by Jewel was that by Jodocus Badius, fol. Paris, 1534. See Defence of the Apology, p. 135, fol. edit. 1611, where the bishop replies

to an accusation of Harding, with respect to this passage and its context not being found in "books of sundry prints" (i. e. various editions) which Harding had seen. In case the edition of 1534 should be found, the Editor will notice it in the place of the Defence referred to.]

*sententiam* : “ After the discussing of the church of Rome, they yet look for my sentence<sup>42</sup>.”

Sozomenus.  
citatur inter  
Acta Liberii.  
[Crabbe i.  
347.]

As for general councils, it is well known, and, God willing, shall appear hereafter more at large, that they were called, and summoned by the emperors only, and not by the bishops of Rome. Sozomenus saith: *Imperator præceperat, concilium Mediolani celebrari* : “ The emperor had commanded a council to be kept at Milan.”

Ambros. de  
obitu Valen-  
tiniani. [li.  
1181.]

Bernardus  
in Cantica  
Canti, serm.  
22. [leg-  
serm. 24.]

Matters of variance between bishops were taken up, not only by the bishop of Rome, whose greatest practice these many years hath been to inflame and maintain discord among princes, but also sometimes by the prince, sometimes by councils, sometimes by other bishops, sometimes by some inferior persons, that were no bishops. St. Ambrose was sent for into France, to pacify the bishops there. Bernard, being but an abbot, compounded that great dissension, that was between pope Innocentius and Peter in the church of Rome<sup>43</sup>. Therefore to these purposes, it is nothing needful to erect a new vicar general, or to give any man this universal power over the church of God.

M. Harding’s reasons proceed thus: “ God is careful, and hath a special providence for his church; doubtful places of the scripture must be expounded; general councils must be summoned; bishops being at variance must be reconciled: *ergo*, the bishop of Rome is Christ’s universal vicar, and head of the universal church.” Otherwise, saith he, the church can never be rightly governed, nor preserved in unity. But God’s name be blessed for ever. God is able to govern his church, not only without such a vicar, but also maugre such a vicar. Miserable were God’s

<sup>42</sup> [This passage occasions great embarrassment to the Ben. Edd.]

<sup>43</sup> [The dissension was between pope Innocent II. and the anti-pope Peter the son of Leo, a Roman prince, (who assumed the name of Anacletus II.) The schism lasted from A. D. 1124, till 1138, when it was terminated by Peter’s death. It was by St. Bernard’s great influence, that Innocent, though for

some time driven from Rome, received the support of most of the sovereigns of Europe. See Moshem. cent. xii. pt. 2. The reference should be to the 24th serm. in Cantica, in which St. Bernard announces his return from Rome, because “ quievit *Leonina* rabies.” In the 22nd serm. (as the reference stood in all the old edd.) there is no allusion to the transaction.]

church, if it stood only at the bishop of Rome's government. Long it were to open the looseness and dissolution of his own church, that lieth before him. St. Bernard speaking of the same, saith thus: *Mali ibi proficiunt: boni deficiunt*: "Ill men there go forward: but good men go backward<sup>44</sup>." *A planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis, non est in ea sanitas*: "From the sole of the foot, unto the crown of the head, there is no whole part in it." And again: *Servi Christi serviunt Antichristo*: "They would be called the servants of Christ, and yet indeed they serve Antichrist." If the bishop of Rome can no better rule a few churches in one city, how then is he able to rule the infinite multitude of the whole universal church of God?

Bernard. de Consid. ad Eugenium, lib. iv. [i. 445.]  
Bernard. de Conversio. Pauli. [i. 962.]  
Isa. i. 6.  
Bernard. in Cantica Cant. [i. 1397.]

But God hath other ways and means, whereby he hath ever governed his church. St. Cyprian saith: *Ideo plures sunt in ecclesia sacerdotes, ut uno hæresim faciente, cæteri subveniant*: "Therefore there be many bishops in the church, that one running into heresy, the rest may help<sup>45</sup>." And again: "The church is preserved in unity, by the consent of bishops agreeing in one." And to this end, St. Hierom saith, as is before alleged: *Noverint episcopi, se debere in commune ecclesiam regere*: "Let bishops understand, that they ought to rule the church, as all in one."

Cyprian. ad Stephan. lib. 3. epist. 13. [p. 116.]  
Cyprian. lib. 4. epist. 9. [pp. 123, 124.]  
Hieronym. in Epist. ad Titum, cap. 1. [iv. 414.]

As for the unity, that M. Harding meaneth, it is a vile subjection and servitude: it is no unity. St. Hierom saith: *Nomine unitatis et fidei, infidelitas scripta est: nam illo tempore nihil tam pium, nihil tam conveniens servo Dei videbatur, quam unitatem sequi, et a totius mundi communi-  
one non scindi*: "Infidelity hath been written under the

Hieronym. contra Iucliferianos. [iv. pt. 2. p. 299.]

<sup>44</sup> [St. Bernard's Liber ad Eugenium III. de Consideratione, was written on the accession of Eugenius to the popedom; it contains very salutary advice for prelates, applicable to all times. The passage alluded to is as follows: "Quod si plures in ea (sc. in curia Romana) defecisse bonos, quam malos profecisse probavimus, quærendi sane," &c.]

<sup>45</sup> [Cyprian. ad Stephan. "Id-

"circo enim, frater charissime, "copiosum corpus est sacerdotum, concordie mutue glutino "atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut si quis ex collegio nostro "hæresim facere et gregem Christi "lacerare et vastare tentaverit, sub-  
"veniant cæteri." The words in italics clearly include the bishop of Rome as liable, in St. Cyprian's opinion, equally with other bishops, to fall into heresy.]



name of faith, and unity. For at that time, nothing seemed either so godly, or so meet for the servant of God, as to follow unity, and not to be divided from the communion of the whole world." They seemed, saith St. Hierom, to follow unity, and yet notwithstanding they hung in infidelity. So likewise saith the wise man: *In tanto viventes ignorantiae bello, tot et tanta mala pacem appellabant*: "Whereas they lived in such a war of ignorance, so many and so great mischiefs they called unity."

Wisd. xiv.  
22.

M. HARDING: *Twentieth Division.*

But here perhaps some will say, it cannot appear by the event of things, and practice of the church, that the pope had this supreme power, and authority over all bishops, and over all Christ's flock in matters touching faith, and in causes ecclesiastical. Verily, whosoever peruseth the ecclesiastical stories, and vieweth the state of the church of all times and ages, cannot but confess this to be most evident. And here I might allege, first, certain places of the New Testament, declaring, that Peter practised this preeminence among the disciples at the beginning, and that they yielded the same, as of right appertaining unto him. As when he first, and only moved them to choose one in the stead of Judas, Acts i. 15. and demeaned himself, as the chief author of all that was done therein: when he made answer for all, at what time they were gazed and wondered at, and of some mocked, as being drunken with new wine, for that in the fiftieth day they spake with tongues of so many nations: when he used that dreadful severity in punishing the falsehood and hypocrisy of Ananias and Sapphira his wife: when, variance being risen about the observation of certain points of Moses' law, he as chief, and head of the rest, said his mind before all others. Among many other places left out for brevity, that is not of least weight, that Paul, being returned to Damasco out of Arabia, after three years went to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. Acts ii. 1. Acts v. 3. Acts xv. 7. Galat. i. 1.

The 105th  
untruth,  
joined with  
a slander.

(105) But because our adversaries do wreath and wrest the scriptures (be they never so plain) by their private, and strange constructions, to an understanding quite contrary to the sense of the catholic church: I will refer the reader for further proof of this matter to the stories bearing faithful witness of the whole state and condition of the church in all ages. In which stories, the practice of the church is plainly reported to have been such, as thereby the primacy of Peter's successor may seem to all men sufficiently declared. For, perusing the ecclesiastical stories with writings of the fathers, beside many other things pertaining hereto, we find these practices, for declaration of this special authority and power. First, that bishops (106) of every nation

The 106th  
untruth, as  
afterward it  
shall appear.

have made their appeal in their weighty affairs to the pope, and always have sued to the see apostolic, as well for succour and help against violence, injuries, and oppressions, as for redress of  
 2 other disorders. Also, that the malice of wicked persons hath been repressed, and chastised of that authority by excommunication, ejection, and expulsion out of their dignities and rooms,  
 3 and by other censures of the church. Furthermore, that the ordinances and elections of bishops of all provinces have been  
 4 confirmed by the pope. Beside this, that the approving and disallowing of councils have pertained to him. Item, that bishops, wrongfully condemned and deprived by councils, by him have  
 5 been assoiled and restored to their churches again. Lastly, that bishops and patriarchs, after long strifes and contentions, have at length, upon better advice, been reconciled unto him again.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding assayeth to prove the possession and occupation of this universal authority, by the practice both of St. Peter himself, and also of other bishops in Rome, that followed after him. And touching St. Peter he thinketh it sufficient to say thus: "Peter, being among the rest, shewed his advice first before all others, and, at the sound of his words, Ananias and Sapphira fell down dead: *ergo*, Peter was the head, and had an universal power over the whole church." Here be very weak proofs to maintain so great a title. I think M. Harding himself doth not believe, that whosoever first uttereth his mind in any council, or worketh any strange miracle by the power of God, is therefore the head of all the world. For oftentimes, in great councils, the youngest or lowest beginneth first, and the eldest and head of all speaketh last. Certainly, in this assembly of the apostles, after that St. Peter had opened  
 Acts xv. 13. his mind, and all the rest had done, last of all, not St. Peter, but St. James pronounced the sentence, which thing belonged only to the head and president of that council. He must be very simple, that will be led with such simple guesses.

But whosoever well and thoroughly considereth St. Peter's whole dealing at all times among his brethren, shall soon see, that neither he bare himself, nor the rest received or used him, as the head of the universal church.

Acts xv. He calleth the rest of the disciples his brethren ; he calleth  
 1 Peter v. 1. himself *compresbyterum*, "fellow-elder." He commandeth  
 not, nor chargeth any man, but heareth and intreateth  
 Acts viii. 14. others, as his equals and fellows : being sent into Samaria  
 by his brethren, he repined not, as being their head and  
 governor, but went his way as their messenger : and being  
 Acts xi. 2, 3, 4. reprov'd for going to Cornelius, and dealing with heathens,  
 he excused himself, and came to his answer.

The rest of the apostles, no doubt, honoured St. Peter, as the special member of Christ's body, with all reverence : but it appeareth not, that any of them ever took him, or used him, as their head, or yielded him this infinite or universal power. St. Paul compareth himself with him in  
 Galat. ii. 7. 9. apostleship, and saith : *Mihi concreditum est evangelium præputii, sicut Petro circumcisionis* : "To me is committed the gospel among the heathens, even as unto Peter among the Jews ..... And James, Peter, and John, which seemed to be the pillars, gave unto me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship." And afterward he saith : "I withstood Peter even unto the face : for that he was worthy to be rebuked." And again unto the Corinthians : *Arbitror me nihil inferiorem esse eximiis apostolis* : "I take myself to be nothing inferior unto the chief apostles." Hereby it plainly appeareth, that Paul esteemed and took Peter as his fellow, and not as his head.

Verse 11.  
 2 Cor. xi. 5.

Whereas it liketh M. Harding to say, that we wreath and wrest the scriptures ; if it would have pleased him also particularly to shew how and wherein he might have had the more credit. But it is commonly said : *Dolosus versatur in generalibus* : "He, that walketh in generalities, meaneth not plainly." I trust the indifferent reader seeth, the scriptures are plain enough of our side, and need no wresting. And therefore touching this case, St. Cyprian saith, as is before alleged : *Idem erant alii, quod Petrus* : "The rest were the same that Peter was." And Origen likewise : *Nos quoque efficitur Petrus : et nobis dicitur illud, quod hunc sermonem sequitur : Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Petra enim est, quisquis est discipulus Christi* : "Even we are become

Cyprian. de  
 Simplicitate  
 Prælatorum.  
 [p. 195.]  
 Origen. in  
 Matth. tract.  
 1. [ed. Fro-  
 ben. ii. 38.]



Peter, and unto us the same shall be said, that followeth these words: THOU ART PETER, AND UPON THIS ROCK I WILL BUILD MY CHURCH. For he is the rock, whosoever is Christ's disciple." And so it is written in St. Augustine against the Donatists: *Clarus a mascula dixit, manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem a Patre sibi datam permittentis: quibus nos successimus, eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes*: "The saying of our Lord Jesus Christ, sending out his apostles, and giving unto them only the same power that he had received of his Father, is plain: into which apostles' rooms we have succeeded, governing the church with the same power that they did." These be good witnesses that we wrest not God's words, but use them simply, as they were spoken.

August. de Baptismo contra Donat. lib. 7. cap. 43. [ix. 197.]

Now it were a long labour to shew at full how M. Harding, with others of that side, have dealt herein. The words that be specially and only spoken of God himself, and of his Christ, it is lawful for them to apply the same unto the pope without any wreathing or wresting of the scriptures. Cornelius, a bishop in the last council of Trident, useth these words: *Papa lux venit in mundum: sed dilexerunt homines magis tenebras quam lucem*: "The pope being the light, is come into the world, but men loved the darkness more than the light." And Stephanus, the archbishop of Petraca, in the council of Laterane, directeth these words unto the pope: *Tibi data est omnis potestas in celo, et in terra*: "Unto thee is all power given both in heaven and earth." Likewise saith pope Bonifacius: *Spiritualis a nemine judicatur*: "The man that is spiritual is judged of no man; ergo, no man may judge the pope." And again: *Quæ sunt potestates, a Deo ordinatæ sunt*: "The powers that be are ordained of God; ergo, the pope is above the emperor." Now, to pass by other like places which are innumerable, whether this be wresting of the scriptures, or no, I leave to the discreet reader to consider. Verily, as I have said before, Camotensis<sup>46</sup> thus reporteth of them:

Cornel. episcopus Bontinus, in Oratione ad Synodum. [Crabbe iii. 981.]

Stephan. archiepiscop. Patracen. in Concil. Lateran. sub Leone, sess. 10. [ed. reg. xxxiv. 453.] Extrav. Comm. de Majoritate et Obedient. Unam sanctam. 1 Cor. ii. 15. Rom. xiii. 1.

<sup>46</sup> [Camotensis is first cited in p. 88.) Harding, in his Confutation of the Apology, fol. 408, 409,

Citatura Cornelio Agrippa, de Vanit. Scien. [de magistratibus ecclesiæ.]

*Vim faciunt scripturis, ut habeant plenitudinem potestatis:* "To the intent they may have the fulness of power, they do violence to the scriptures, and devise strange constructions contrary to the sense of the church of God."

But, forasmuch as M. Harding utterly leaveth the scriptures, wherein he seeth he hath so simple hold, and referreth the whole right of his cause to the continual practice of the church, I trust it shall not seem neither tedious nor unprofitable unto the reader, only for a taste, and by the way, to touch somewhat concerning the same; nothing doubting, but even thereby it shall well appear, that within the compass of six hundred years after Christ, the bishop of Rome was never neither named, nor holden for, the head of the universal church.

First of all, the bishops of other countries, writing to the bishop of Rome, call him not their head, but their brother or fellow. St. Cyprian unto Cornelius writeth thus: *Cyprianus Cornelio fratri:* "Cyprian unto Cornelius my brother." The bishops in the council of Carthage unto Innocentius: *Honoratissimo fratri:* "To our most honourable brother." And John the bishop of Constantinople unto Hormisda: *Frater in Christo charissime:* "My dear brother in Christ." So likewise Dionysius the bishop of Alexandria calleth Stephanus and Sistus [Xystus], bishops

Cyprian. lib. 1. epist. 3. [p. 79.]

Concil. Carthaginen. 5. [iv. 391.]

In Decretal. Hormisdæ. [Crabbe. 1. 1036.]

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 4. [1. 323.]

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 8. [1. 329.]

expresses great indignation against Jewel for having falsified this name, which he contends ought to be written Carnotensis. It has cost the Editor some pains to ascertain whether there was any diocese whose name might answer to the adjective Camotensis; but no such diocese appears to have existed. At length, after much research, in which he was kindly assisted by Dr. Bandinel, he discovered that the very passage to which Jewel refers as cited in Cornelius Agrippa de Vanitate Scientiarum, (in the chapter headed "de Magistratibus Ecclesiæ,") occurs verbatim in the 24th chapter of the 6th book of a work by Joannes Carnotensis,

(otherwise called Sarisburiensis,) entitled "de Nugis Curialibus." See Bibl. Mag. Patr. Vett. vol. xv. p. 427. The words occur in a conversation (worth perusal) between Carnotensis and pope Adrian IV. at Benevento, wherein John explained himself very freely to the pope. It appears then that Harding in this case was right. But bishop Jewel, on the other hand, is not responsible for the error, (trifling as it is,) as he always gives as his authority Ghesnerus and Cornelius Agrippa. The word Camotensis occurs at least three times in the same chapter of Agrippa's work.]

of Rome, "his loving brethren"<sup>47</sup>." So the bishops of Africa call Anastasius *consacerdotem*, "their fellow-bishop." Like as Cyrillus also calleth Cœlestinus: and Marcellus the bishop of Ancyra calleth Julius, *comministrum*, "his fellow-servant." These words, "brother," and "fellow," seem rather to signify an equality between bishops, than any such sovereign power or universal authority, as the bishop of Rome now claimeth.

Further, touching the order of outward government, the council of Nice limiteth unto the bishop of Rome not the jurisdiction of the whole world, but his own several portion among other patriarchs. The council of Africa straitly forbiddeth any man out of that country to appeal to Rome. The four patriarchs of Rome, of Constantinople, of Antioch, and Alexandria, used to write letters of conference between themselves, thereby to profess their religion one to another; which was a token of fellowship, and not of dominion. The council of Alexandria committed full authority to Asterius to visit and to redress all the churches in the east part of the world, and to Eusebius to do the like in the west: and so seemed to have small regard to the bishop of Rome, or to acknowledge him as the universal bishop. And what needeth many words? Æneas Sylvius being himself afterward bishop of Rome, for certain proof hereof, writeth thus: *Ad episcopos Romanos aliquis sane, sed tamen parvus, ante Nicenum concilium respectus erat*: "Some regard there was unto the bishops of Rome before the council of Nice, although but small"<sup>48</sup>." To be short; I trust it shall appear, even by M. Harding's own proofs, that is to say, by the order of appeals, by excommunications, by the allowance of elections, by the approving of councils, by restoring of bishops, and by receiving of schismatics into favour, that the bishop of Rome was not taken for the head of the church, nor had any such absolute authority as is supposed. And so

In Concil. Africano. [iv. 482.]  
In Concil. Ephesino. [iv. 1087.]  
Eiphan. lib. 3. tom. 1. hæres. 72.

Concil. Nicen. can. 6. [ii. 669.]

Concil. Afric. can. 92. [iv. 507.]

Literæ Synodiceæ.  
Gregor. lib. 1. epist. 25. [ii. 507.] et lib. 6. epist. 24.

Rufinus lib. 1. cap. 29.

Æneas Sylvius. [Ep. p. 802.]

<sup>47</sup> ["Loving brethren." The word is simply ἀδελφῆ. Euseb.]

<sup>48</sup> [Æneas Sylvius. "Ante concilium Nicænum, dum sibi

"quisque vivebat, et ad ecclesiam  
"Romanam parvus habebatur re-  
"spectus."]



M. Harding's sixfold proof, which is noted in the margin, in conclusion will appear but singlefold.

M. HARDING: *Twenty-first Division.*

First, for the appellation of bishops to the see apostolic, beside many other, we have the known examples of Athanasius, that worthy bishop of Alexandria, and light of the world; who having sustained great and sundry wrongs at the Arians, appealed first to Julius the pope, and after his death to Felix; of Chrysostom, who appealed to Innocentius against the violence of Theophilus; of Theodoretus, who appealed to Leo. Neither made bishops only their appeal to the pope by their delegates, but also in certain cases, being cited, appeared before him in their own persons. Which is plainly gathered of Theodoretus his ecclesiastical story, who writeth thus: "Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, (who was the chief pillar of the Arians,) and they that joined with him in that faction, falsely accused Athanasius to Julius the bishop of Rome."

Julius, following the ecclesiastical rule, commanded them to come to Rome, and caused the reverend Athanasius to be cited to judgment, *regulariter*, after the order of the canons. He came: the false accusers went not to Rome, knowing right well that their forged lie might easily be deprehended. In the cause and defence of John Chrysostom, these bishops came from Constantinople to Innocentius the pope, Pansophus bishop of Pisidia, Pappus of Syria, Demetrius of the second Galatia, and Eugenius of Phrygia. These were suitors for Chrysostom. He himself treated his matter with Innocentius by writing. In his epistle, among other things, he writeth thus: "Lest this outrageous confusion run over all, and bear rule every where, write (I pray you) and determine by your authority such wicked acts done in our absence, and when we withdrew not ourselves from judgment, to be of no force, as by their own nature truly they be void and utterly none. Furthermore, who have committed these evils (107) put you them under the censure of the church. And as for us, sith that we are innocent, neither convict, neither found in any default, nor proved guilty of any crime; give commandment that we be restored to our churches again, that we may enjoy the accustomed charity and peace with our brethren." Innocentius, after that he understood the whole matter, pronounced and decreed the judgment of Theophilus, that was against Chrysostom, to be void and of no force. This whole tragedy is at large set forth by Palladius bishop of Helenopolis, *In Vita Johannis Chrysostomi*, who lived at that time. By this appeal of Chrysostom, and by the whole handling of the matter, and specially by the purport of his epistle to Innocentius, the superiority of the pope is evidently acknowledged. And so is it plainly confessed by Athanasius and the bishops of Egypt, The-

The 107th  
untruth. St.  
Chryso-  
stom's words  
untruly re-  
ported.

bais, and Lybia, assembled in council at Alexandria, by these words of their epistle to Felix; *Vestrum est enim nobis manum porrigere*, &c. "It is your part," say they, "to stretch forth your helping hand unto us, because we are committed unto you. It is your part to defend us and deliver us: it is our part to seek help of you, and to obey your commandments." And a little after: "For we know that you bear the cure and charge of the universal church, and specially of bishops, who in respect of their contemplation and speculation, are called the eyes of our Lord, as always the prelates of your see, first the apostles, then their successors have done."

Theodoretus, that learned bishop of Cyrus, beside the epistle he wrote to Leo for succour and help in his troubles, in another that he wrote to Renatus, a priest near about Leo, saith thus: *Spoliarunt me sacerdotio*, &c. "They have violently robbed me of my bishopric, they have cast me forth of the cities, neither having revered mine age spent in religion, nor my hoar hairs. Wherefore, I beseech thee, that thou persuade the most holy archbishop" (he meaneth Leo) "to use his apostolic authority, and to command us to come unto your council or consistory. For this holy see holdeth the rudder, and hath the government of the churches of the whole world, partly for other respects, but specially for that it hath evermore continued clear from stench of heresy, and that none ever sat in it who was of contrary opinion, but rather hath ever kept the apostolic grace undefiled." In which words of Theodoretus, this chiefly is to be marked, that the holy see of Rome (as he saith) hath the government of the churches of all the world, most for this cause, that it was never infected with heresy, as all other churches founded by the apostles were.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It is certain, that the bishops of Rome, to attain the pre-eminence and fulness of power over all the world, letted not to use many ambitious and importune means, and manifestly to falsify the canons of the holy council of Nice. Sithence which time they have not been idle, but have forged new canons to this purpose under the name of Clemens, Anacletus, Evaristus, Telesphorus, Higinus, and other martyrs: and besides, have devised other like canons of their own. The Decretal epistle that is abroad under the name of Julius, seemeth to savour of some corruption, both for sundry other causes, and also for that it agreeth not with the very true epistle of Julius, which

Athanasius  
in Apologia  
2. advers.  
Arianos. [1.  
part. i. 141.]

Athanasius allegeth in his Apology: and yet ought both these epistles to be all one without difference. Wherefore we have good cause to think, that all is not gospel that cometh from Rome.

Thus ambitiously to advance themselves under pretence of such appeals, oftentimes not understanding the case, as it well appeareth by that is written of Apiarius, and by the story of Flavianus and Eutyches, they found fault with good catholic bishops, and received heretics into their favour: wherewithal the bishops in the general council of Africa find themselves much grieved.

First therefore I must shew, that there lay no such ordinary appeal from all countries of the world to the bishop of Rome, and that therefore the same is by M. Harding untruly avouched. That done, I trust it shall not be hard to answer these places of Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Theodoretus here alleged. And that there lay not any such appeal to Rome, it is plain by consent of general councils; by the authority of holy fathers; and by the laws and ordinances of emperors and princes: by which grounds it is easy to understand the practice and order of the church in those days.

Concil. Ni-  
cen. 1. can.  
5. [11. 669.]

In the council of Nice it is decreed thus: *Ab aliis excommunicati, ab aliis ad communionem ne recipiantur*: "Let not them that stand excommunicate by one bishop, be received again to the communion by any other." M. Harding's appeals, and these words, cannot well stand together. But he will say, the bishop either of ignorance or of malice may excommunicate the party wrongfully. In this case the same council hath provided remedy of appeal, not unto the bishop of Rome, but unto a provincial synod within the country. These be the words: *Ergo, ut hæc possint digna examinatione perquiri, recte visum est, per singulos annos, in singulis provinciis, bis in anno, episcoporum concilium fieri, ut simul in unum convenientes ex communi provincia, hujusmodi quæstiones examinent*: "Therefore that these things may be well examined, it is well provided, that every year in every province, at two

Concil. Ni-  
cen. 1. can.  
5. [11. 669.]



several times, there be holden a council of bishops, that they, meeting together out of all parts of the province, may hear and determine such complaints.

The bishops in the council holden at Tela in Spain, ordained thus: *Presbyteri et clerici ne appellent, nisi ad Africana concilia*: “Let it not be lawful for priests or clerks to appeal” (to Rome), “but only to the councils holden in Africa<sup>49</sup>.”

Concil. Telen. tempore Zosimi, can. 17.

So in the Milevitane council: *Si ab episcopis appellandum putaverint, non provocent, nisi ad Africana concilia, vel ad primates provinciarum suarum. Ad transmarina autem qui putaverint appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communionem recipiantur*: “If they think it meet to appeal from their bishops, let them not appeal, but only to the councils of Africa, or unto the primates of their own provinces. But if they shall make their appeal beyond the sees,” (that is, to Rome,) “let no man in Africa receive them to the communion.”

Concil. Milevitan. can. 22. [iv. 332.]

So likewise in the council of Africa: *Si fuerit provocatum, eligat is, qui provocaverit, iudices, et cum eo et ille, contra quem provocaverit, ut ab ipsis deinceps nulli liceat provocare*: “If appeal be made, let him that shall appeal, choose other judges of his side, and likewise let the other do the same against whom he appealeth: that from them afterward, it be lawful for neither of them to appeal.”

Concil. Afric. can. 63. [iv. 501.]

And again in the same council: *Non provocent nisi ad Africana concilia*: “Let them not appeal, but only unto the councils holden within Africa,” and so forth word by word, as is alleged out of the council of Milevita. But here I may not well pass over Gratian’s Gloss, touching this matter. For whereas the council hath determined, that if any man appeal beyond the seas, he stand excommunicate, Gratian hath expounded and salved it with this pretty exception: *Nisi forte Romanam sedem appellaverit*: “Unless they appeal to the see of Rome.” And so by his construction, he excepteth that only thing out of the law, for which only thing the whole law was made. For it is

Concil. Afric. can. 92. [iv. 507.]

2. Quæst. 6. can. Placuit.

<sup>49</sup> [The concil. Telense or Teleptense, as given in Bruns, contains no such decree. Nor will it be found in Crabbe.]

plain and without all question, that the council of Africa specially, and namely, meant to cut off all appeals to the see of Rome. And yet those only appeals, Gratian by his construction would have to be saved.

But what can be so plain, as the epistle of the two hundred and seventeen bishops in the council of Africa, sent unto Cælestinus bishop of Rome, declaring at length both the state and conveyance of the cause, and also their grief, and misliking of the whole matter. The words lie thus: *Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, &c.*: “The decrees of the council of Nice have evidently committed both the clerks of inferior rooms, and also the bishops themselves unto their metropolitans: for both justly and discreetly they provided, that all manner actions should be determined in the same places where they began: and likewise thought that no province should want the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby Christian bishops might be able both wisely to consider, and also constantly to maintain the right. And specially seeing that liberty is given, that if either party mislike his judge’s order, he may lawfully appeal either to a convocation of bishops within the same country, or else to a general council. Unless any man will think, that God is able to inspire the justice of trial into one man alone,” (meaning thereby the bishop of Rome,) “and will deny the same to a great number of bishops, being in council all together. And how can your beyond-sea judgment appear good, seeing that the witnesses, which be parties necessary, either for that they be women, or for that they be aged and weak, or for many other incident impediments, cannot come unto it? As for any delegates that should be sent, as from your side, we find no such matter determined in any council. And touching that you sent us of late by Faustinus our fellow-bishop, as part of the Nicene council, in the very true councils of Nice, which we have received from holy Cyrillus the bishop of Alexandria, and from Atticus the bishop of Constantinople, &c. we find no such matter. Neither send ye, nor grant ye, your clerks to execute causes at any man’s request, lest we seem to bring a smoky puff

Epist. Afric.  
Concilli ad  
Cælestinum.  
[iv. §16.]

Justitiam ex-  
aminis uni-  
cullibet.

Executores  
clericos  
vestros.

of worldly pride into the church of Christ, which unto them that desire to see God sheweth the light of simplicity and humility," &c.

The bishops of the east part of the world, being Arians, writing unto Julius the bishop of Rome, took it grievously, that he would presume to overrule them: and shewed him, It was not lawful for him, by any sleight or colour of appeal, to undo that thing that they had done.

St. Cyprian, finding fault with such running to Rome, and defeating of justice, writeth unto Cornelius the bishop there in this sort: *Cum æquum justumque sit, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi crimen est admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque, et gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus, oportet utique eos, quibus præsumus, non circumcurrere, nec episcoporum concordiam cohærentem sua subdola et fallaci temeritate collidere: sed agere illic causam suam, ubi et accusatores habere, et testes sui criminis possint: nisi paucis desperatis et perditis, minor videtur esse autoritas episcoporum in Africa constitutorum, qui jam de illis judicaverunt, &c.*: "Seeing it is meet and right, that every man's cause be heard there, where the fault was committed, and seeing that every bishop hath a portion of the flock allotted unto him, which he must rule and govern, and yield account unto the Lord for the same, therefore it is not meet, that they, whom we are appointed to oversee, do thus run about," (with their appeals,) "and so with their subtle and deceitful rashness break that concord and consent of bishops. But there ought they to plead their cause, where they may have both accusers and witnesses of the fault: unless perhaps a few desperate and lewd fellows think the authority of the bishops of Africa, which have already judged and condemned them, to be less than is the authority of other bishops."

Sozomenus,  
lib. 3. cap. 7.  
[cap. 8. tom.  
ii. p. 103.]

Cyprian, lib.  
i. epist. 3.  
[p. 86.]

Lewd and  
desperate.

Hereby it is clear, that the godly fathers and bishops, in old times, misliked much this shifting of matters to Rome, for that they saw it was the hinderance of right, the increase of ambition, and the open breach of the holy canons.

And therefore the emperor Justinian, foreseeing the dis-



Auth. de  
Sanctiss.  
Episcopis,  
coll. 9. Si  
quis vero.  
[tom. v.]  
οὐδενὸς μέ-  
ρους . . . ἀν-  
τιλέγειν δυ-  
ναμένου.  
[Novell. 123.  
ed. 1553. fol.  
350.]

orders that hereof might grow, to bridle this ambitious outrage, thought it necessary for his subjects, to provide a strait law in this wise to the contrary: *Si quis sanctissimorum episcoporum ejusdem synodi dubitationem aliquam adinvicem habeat, sive pro ecclesiastico jure, sive pro aliis quibusdam rebus, prius metropolita eorum, cum aliis de sua synodo episcopis, causam examinet et judicet. Quod si utraque pars rata non habuerit ea, quæ judicata sunt, tunc beatissimus patriarcha dioceseos illius inter eos audiat, et illa determinet, quæ ecclesiasticis canonibus et legibus consonant, nulla parte ejus sententiæ contradicere valente:* “If any of the most holy bishops, being of one synod, have any matter of doubt or question among themselves, whether it be for ecclesiastical right, or any other matters, first let their metropolitan, with other bishops of the same synod, examine and judge the cause. But if both the parties stand not to his and their judgments, then let the most holy patriarch of the same province hear and determine their matter, according to the ecclesiastical laws and canons. And neither of the parties may withstand his determination.” And immediately after: *Patriarcha, secundum canones et leges, præbeat finem:* “Let the patriarch, according to the laws and canons, make an end.” By these words, all appeals be quite cut off from the see of Rome.

In eodem.  
παρεχέτω  
πέρας.

Cod. de Sa-  
crosanct. Ec-  
clesiis. Omni.  
[tom. iv.]  
Cod. de.  
Episc. et  
Clericis.  
[Cum Cleri-  
cis. tom. iv.]  
Actor in nullo  
alio foro, vel  
apud quen-  
quam alte-  
rum judicem,  
clericos (ec-  
clesiæ Con-  
stantinopoli-  
tanæ) litibus  
tentet irre-  
tire.

Likewise the emperors Honorius and Theodosius, have taken appeals away from the bishops of Rome, and have commanded the same to be entered before the bishop and synod of Constantinople. The law is written thus: *Omni innovatione cessante, vetustatem, et canones pristinos ecclesiasticos, qui usque tunc tenuerunt, per omnes Illyrici provincias servari præcipimus: ut si quid dubietatis emerit, id oporteat, non absque sententia viri reverendissimi sacrosanctæ legis antistitis ecclesiæ urbis Constantinopolitanæ, quæ Romæ veteris prærogativa lætatur, conventui sacerdotali, et sancto judicio reservari:* “All innovation set apart, we command, that the old order, and the ancient ecclesiastical canons, which hitherto have holden, be kept still through all the provinces of Illyricum; that if any matter of doubt happen to arise, it be put over to be determined

by the holy judgment and assembly of bishops, not without the discretion of the most reverend the bishop of the city of Constantinople, which city now enjoyeth the prerogative of old Rome." Here M. Harding may not forget, that the church of Constantinople had as great prerogative in all respects, of preeminence, superiority, and universality of charge, as ever had the church of Rome. Wherefore, if the bishop of Rome were head of the universal church, it must needs follow, that the bishop of Constantinople was likewise head of the universal church.

And again, the emperor Leo in plainer words: *Omnes qui ubicunque sunt, vel posthac fuerint, orthodoxæ fidei sacerdotes, et clerici, cujuscunque gradus sint, monachi quæque, in causis civilibus, ex nullius penitus majoris minorisve sententia judicis commonitoria, ad extranea judicia pertrahantur; aut provinciam, vel locum, vel regionem quam habitant, exire cogantur*: "All that be, or hereafter shall be, priests or clerks of the catholic faith, of what degree soever they be, monks also, let them not in any civil actions be drawn forth to foreign judgment, by the summons or commandment of any judge, more or less: neither let them be driven to come forth of, either the province, or the place, or the country, where they dwell." Thus, whether the action were ecclesiastical or civil, the party was to be heard within his own province, and could not be forced to appear abroad.

Certainly, what good liking St. Bernard had herein, it appeareth by his words. For thus he writeth to Eugenius the bishop of Rome: *Quousque non evigilat consideratio tua ad tantam appellationum confusionem [atque abusionem]? — Ambitio in ecclesia per te regnare molitur: — præter jus et fas, præter morem et ordinem, fiunt. — Repertum ad remedium, reperitur ad mortem. — Antidotum versum est in venenum. — Murmur loquor, et querimoniam communem ecclesiarum. Truncari se clamant, et demembrari. Vel nullæ, vel paucæ admodum sunt, quæ plagam istam aut non doleant, aut non timeant*: "When will thy consideration awake, to behold this so great confusion of appeals? Ambition and pride striveth through thee to reign in the

Cod. de  
Episc. et  
Clericis.  
Omnes.  
[tom. iv.]

Bernard. ad  
Eugenium,  
de Consideratione. lib. 3.  
[ii. 434. 433.  
435. 437.]

church. These appeals be made beside all law and right, beside all manner and good order. It was devised for a remedy: it is found turned to death. That was treacle is changed into poison. I speak of the murmuring and common complaint of the churches. They complain they be maimed and dismembered. There be either no churches, or very few, but either smart at this plague, or stand in fear of it<sup>49</sup>." This is that worthy ground, whereupon M. Harding hath laid the first foundation of his supremacy: a confusion, a death, a poison, a terror, and dismembering of the churches: practised against law, against right, against manner, and against good order: misliked by the holy fathers, disallowed by godly councils, and utterly abrogated and abolished by sundry worthy and noble princes. This is M. Harding's principal foundation of his primacy.

But yet these men will say, Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Theodoretus, being godly fathers, and holy bishops, appealed to Rome, and acknowledged the pope's authority, and besought him to use the same. For the true understanding hereof, it shall be necessary to consider the state that these godly fathers then stood in, and the miserable confusion of the east part of the world in those days. Chrysostom thereof writeth thus: *Certamen est totius orbis: ecclesie usque ad genua humilitate sunt: populi dispersi: clerus divexatus: episcopi exules: constitutiones patrum violatae*: "It is the contention of the whole world: the

Epist. 2.  
Chrysost. ad  
Innocent.  
[iii. 522.]

<sup>49</sup> [As this quotation from St. Bernard was printed formerly, it appeared to be one consecutive sentence; whereas it is made up of several passages (as indicated by the breaks in the printing) taken without regard to order from different parts of the same chapter; indeed the last member of the quotation is from the next chapter on a different subject. The editor confesses that Jewel's mode of proceeding in this passage is not satisfactory to him. It appears indeed that Bernard's testimony can avail him little, while, as occurring so late, it is not necessary to his argument. The truth is,

that in this very book, while arguing against the *abuse* of appeals, St. Bernard, as might have been expected in that degenerate age, expressly states the frequency of appeal, as an evidence of the primacy; "appellatur a toto mundo "ad te; id quidem in testimonium "singularis primatus tui" (ii. p. 434). At the same time it is hardly conceivable, that a writer, generally so accurate and fair as Jewel, should think it worth while intentionally to misrepresent an author of the twelfth century, when appeals to Rome were questioned by few, at least in the west.]



churches are brought upon their knees: the people is scattered: the ministry is oppressed: the bishops are banished: the constitutions of our fathers are broken<sup>50</sup>."

The emperor's captain with a band of soldiers beset the church where Athanasius was praying; of the people that was with him, some were spoiled and banished, some trodden under the soldiers' feet, some slain where they went. Paulus the bishop of Constantinople was hanged; Marcellus the bishop of Ancyra was deprived; Lucius the bishop of Adrianopolis died in prison; Theodulus and Olympius, two bishops of Thracia, were commanded to be murdered. The emperor had commanded Athanasius to be brought unto him, either dead or alive.

These godly fathers, being thus in extreme misery, and seeing their whole church in the east part so desolate, were forced to seek for comfort, wheresoever they had hope to find any: and specially they sought to the church of Rome, which then, both for multitude of people, and for purity of religion, and constancy in the same, and also for helping of the afflicted, and entreating for them, was most famous above all others. In like sort sometimes they fled for help unto the emperor. So <sup>a</sup>Athanasius being condemned in the council at Tyrus, fled to Constantinus the emperor; <sup>b</sup>Flavianus unto the emperors Theodosius and Valentianus; <sup>c</sup>Donatus a Casis Nigris unto Constantinus. And the emperors sometimes called the parties, and heard the matter themselves: sometimes they wrote favourable letters in their behalf. <sup>d</sup>The emperor Constans wrote unto his brother Constantius, to call before him the bishops of the east part, to yield a reckoning of their doings against Athanasius. <sup>e</sup>The emperor Honorius gave his endeavour, that Athanasius might be restored. Constantinus the emperor, upon Athanasius' complaint, commanded the bishops of the council of Tyrus to appear before him. The words of his summons be these: *Quotquot synodum Tyri habitam*

Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 8. [ii. 89.]

Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 6. [ii. 100.]

Athanas. in Epist. ad solitariam vitam agentes. [347. 348. 354.]

Theodoret. lib. 2. cap. 14. [iii. 90.]

<sup>a</sup> Athan. Apol. 2. [i. 134.]  
Socrat.

lib. 1. cap. 20. [ii. 67.]  
Cassiodor. lib. 4. cap. 20.

<sup>b</sup> Ambros. lib. 10. epist. 78. [ii. 1006.]

<sup>c</sup> August. Epist. 162. [ii. 90.]

<sup>d</sup> Inter Decreta Julii, e Sozomeno. [Crabbe i. 314.]

e Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 28. [ii. 85.]

Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 22. [al. cap. 34. tom. ii. 70.]

<sup>50</sup> [Chrysostom. Καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης σχεδὸν ἀπάσης ὁ παρὼν ἡμῖν ἀγὼν πρόκειται, ὑπὲρ ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς γόνυ κατενεχθεισῶν,

ὑπὲρ λαῶν διασπαρέντων, ὑπὲρ κλήρων πολεμουμένων, ὑπὲρ ἐπισκόπων φυγαδευομένων, ὑπὲρ θεσμῶν πατέρων παραβαθέντων.]

Coram me.

*complevistis, sine mora ad pietatis nostræ castra properetis : ac re ipsa, quam sincere ac recte judicaveritis, ostendatis : idque coram me, quem sincerum esse Dei ministrum, ne vos quidem ipsi negabitis :* “As many of you as were at the council of Tyrus, hie you unto our camp or court without delay, and shew us how sincerely and uprightly ye have dealt : and that even before me, whom you yourselves cannot deny to be the sincere servant of God.”

Thus holy men being in distress sought help where-soever they had hope to find it. This seeking of remedy by way of complaint, as it declareth their misery, so it is not sufficient to prove an ordinary appeal.

“But it is most certain, and out of all question, that Chrysostom appealed unto Innocentius;” for M. Harding hath here alleged his own words. I grant, M. Harding hath here alleged Chrysostom : but in such faithful and trusty sort, as pope Zosimus sometimes alleged the council of Nice. Good Christian reader, if thou have Chrysostom, peruse this place, and weigh well his words : if thou have him not, yet be not over hasty of belief. M. Harding’s dealing with thee herein is not plain. The very words of Chrysostom in Latin stand thus : *Ne confusio hæc omnem, quæ sub cælo est, nationem invadat, obsecro, ut scribas, quod hæc tam inique facta, et absentibus nobis, et non declinantibus judicium, non habeant robur : sicut neque natura sua habent. Illi autem, qui inique egerunt, pœnæ ecclesiasticarum legum subjaceant. Nobis vero, qui nec convicti, nec redarguti, nec habiti ut rei sumus, literis vestris, et charitate vestra, aliorumque omnium, quorum ante societate fruebamur, frui concedite.* Which words into English may truly be translated thus : “Lest this confusion overrun all nations under heaven, I pray thee write (or signify) unto them, that these things so unjustly done, I being absent, and yet not flying judgment, be of no force, as indeed of their own nature they be of none : and (write) that they that have done these things so wrongfully, be punished by the laws of the church : and grant you, that we, that are neither convicted nor reproved nor found guilty, may enjoy your letters and your love, and likewise the letters

Epist. Chrysost. ad Innocent. in tom. v. epist. i. [ii. 520.]

and love of all others, whose fellowship we enjoyed before<sup>51</sup>." In these few words, M. Harding hath notably falsified three places, quite altering the words that he found, and shuffling in, and interlacing other words of his own. For these words in M. Harding's translation, that seem to signify authority in the bishop of Rome, and to import the appeal; "Write, and determine by your authority;" "Put you them under the censure of the church;" "Give commandment, that we be restored to our churches;" these words, I say, are not to be found in Chrysostom, neither in the Greek nor in the Latin; but only are prettily conveyed in by M. Harding, the better to furnish and fashion up his appeal. He seeth well this matter will not stand upright without the manifest corruption and falsifying of the doctors. This therefore is M. Harding's appeal, and not Chrysostom's.

M. Harding falsifieth, and untruly translath St. Chrysostom.

For, that Chrysostom made no such appeal to the bishop of Rome, it may sufficiently appear, both by Chrysostom's own epistles, and by the bishop of Rome's dealing herein, and by the end and conclusion of the cause. Touching Chrysostom himself, he maketh no mention of any appeal, nor desireth the parties to be cited to Rome, nor taketh Innocentius for the bishop of the whole church, or for the universal judge of all the world; but only saluteth him thus: *Innocentio episcopo Romæ Johannes*: "John to Innocentius bishop of Rome, sendeth greeting<sup>52</sup>." And again, in the same epistle, he utterly avoideth all such foreign judgments, according to the determinations of the councils of Carthage, Milevitum, and Africa. These be his words: *Neque congruum est, ut hi, qui in Ægypto sunt, judicent*

Ad Innocent. epist. priore. [iii. 517.]

<sup>51</sup> [Chrysostom. "Ἴνα οὖν μὴ τοσαύτη σύγχυσις καταλάβῃ τὴν ἐφ' ἡλίον πάσαν, ἐπιστεῖλαι παρακληθῆτε τὰ μὲν οὕτω παρανόμως γεγενημένα, ἀπόντων ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκ μιᾶς μοίρας καὶ οὐ παραιτησαμένων κρίσιν, μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἰσχὺν, ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲ ἔχει τῇ οἰκειᾷ φύσει. τοὺς δὲ τοιαῦτα παρανομήσαντας, ἐλεγχομένους τῷ ἐπιτιμίῳ ὑποβάλλεσθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν νόμων ἡμᾶς δὲ

τοὺς οὐχ ἀλόντας, οὐκ ἐλεγχομένους, οὐκ ἀποδειχθέντας ὑπευθύνους, τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν ὑμετέρων δότε ἀπολαύειν συνεχῶς, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν.]

<sup>52</sup> [In some copies of the Greek the title is, Ἰννοκεντίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης τῷ δεσπότῃ μου τῷ αἰδεσιμωτατῷ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰννοκεντίῳ Ἰωάννης ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.]



*eos qui sunt in Thracia*: “It is not meet, that they that be in Egypt should be judges over them that be in Thracia.”

Neither do the bishop of Rome’s own words import any appeal, but rather the contrary: for he useth not his familiar words of bidding or commanding, but only in gentle and friendly manner exhorteth them to appear; and that not before himself, but only before the council of sundry bishops, summoned specially for that purpose. For thus

Epist. Julii,  
in Athanasii  
Apol. 2. adv.  
Arianos,  
[i. part. 1. p.  
143.]

Julius writeth unto the bishops of the east: *Quæ est causa offensionis? An quia adhortati vos sumus, ut ad synodum occurreretis?* “What is the cause of your displeasure? Is it because we exhorted you to come to the council?” Here

he exhorteth and intreateth them: he commandeth them not: he calleth them to come, not before himself, but be-

In Apolog. 2.  
[ibid.]

fore the council. Again he saith: *Legati vestri, Macarius presbyter, et Hesychius diaconus, concilium indici postulaverunt*: “Your own ambassadors, Macarius being a priest, and Hesychius being a deacon, required that a council

† Epist. Julii  
ad Orient.  
inter Decreta  
Julii,  
[Athanas. opp.  
ii. 670.]

might be summoned<sup>53</sup>.” And again: *Vellem vos magis ad*

*jam dictam canonicam convenire vocationem, ut coram uni-*

*versali synodo reddatis rationem*: “I would you rather to come to this canonical calling, that ye may yield your account of your doings before the general council.” So likewise St. Basil writeth to Athanasius, by way of counsel, in

Basil. epist.  
48. ad Athan.  
[iii. 159.]

that heavy time of trouble: *Viros igitur ecclesie tue potentes ad occidentales episcopos mitte, qui, quibus calamitatibus premamur, illis exponant*: “Send some worthy men of your churches” (not unto the bishop of Rome, but)

“unto the bishops of the west, that may let them understand with what miseries we are beset.” Likewise again

Basil. ad A-  
thanas. epist.  
52. [iii. 162.]

he saith: *Visum mihi est consentaneum, ut scribatur episcopo Romæ, ut ea, quæ hic geruntur, consideret, detque*

<sup>53</sup> [Julius. Μακάριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος, καὶ Μαρτύριος, καὶ Ἡσύχιος οἱ διάκονοι . . . ἠξίωσαν ἡμᾶς, ὥστε συνόδον συγκροτῆσαι . . . This is from the genuine letter of Julius, reported by St. Athanasius; the next quotation (though pre-

faced by the words “and again,” without any mark of difference) is from the spurious one, which may be found inter Athanas. Opp. Bened. ii. p. 670. extant only in Latin.]

*concilium*: “ I think it good, ye write to the bishop of Rome, that he may consider that is here done, and may appoint us a council <sup>54</sup>.”

Neither did the bishop of Rome, by his own authority, summon the bishops of the east, but by the counsel and conference of other bishops. For so Athanasius saith:

*Misit omnium Italicorum episcoporum consilio Julius ad*

*episcopos orientales, certum illis synodi diem denuntians:* Athan. in ep. ad solitariam vitam agentes.

“ Julius sent unto the bishops of the east, by the counsel of all the bishops of Italy, giving them to understand the certain day of the council <sup>55</sup>.” Which thing Julius also him-

self avoucheth by these words: *Tametsi solus sim, qui scripsi, tamen non meam solius sententiam, sed omnium Italicorum, et omnium in his regionibus episcoporum scripsi:* Epist. Julii in Apologia Athanasii 2. [i. part. 1. p. 146.]

“ Notwithstanding I alone wrote, yet it was not mine own mind only that I wrote, but also the mind of the bishops of Italy, and of all other bishops of these countries.”

So likewise Innocentius the bishop of Rome, being very desirous to restore Chrysostom, and to recover the unity Nicæphor. lib. 13. cap. 33. [ii. 417.]

of the church, not of himself, or by his own authority, but by the decree and consent of a council holden in Italy, sent messengers into the east. And sitting with others in the council, he took not upon him that universal power that is now imagined, but had his voice equal with his

brethren, as it appeareth by Miltiades bishop of Rome, that sat with three bishops of Gallia, and fourteen other bishops of Italy, to determine the controversy between Cæcilianus and Donatus a Casis Nigris. Optatus, lib. 1.

Now to come to the prosecution of the matter. M. Harding knoweth that the bishops of the east understood not this singular authority or prerogative of the bishop of Rome, and therefore, being called, obeyed not the sum-

<sup>54</sup> [St. Basil. “ Detque concilium.” By these words a sense is conveyed quite foreign to the Greek, as if the bishop of Rome was to appoint a Council: “ detque consilium” would have been a nearer translation; ἐφάνη δὲ ἡμῖν ἀκολουθῶν, ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης, ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ ἐνταῦθα,

καὶ δοῦναι γνώμην. Jewel missed this, probably from using only the Latin translation.]

<sup>55</sup> [The only passage which the Editor has found respecting the calling of a Council by Julius (i. 349.) does not name the Italian bishops.]

Inter Decreta Julii Concil. tom. 1.

mons, nor had any regard unto his sentence, as it is many ways easy to be seen. Therefore they returned unto Julius this answer: *Si nostris placitis assentiri volueritis, pacem vobiscum, et communionem habere volumus. Sin vero aliter egeritis, et eis amplius quam nobis assentiri judicaveritis, contraria celebrabimus: et deinceps nec vobiscum congregari, nec vobis obedire, nec vobis vestrisve favere volumus:* “If you will agree unto our orders, we will have peace and communion with you: but if you will otherwise do, and rather agree unto our adversaries than unto us, then will we publish the contrary: and henceforth neither will we sit in council with you, nor obey you, nor bear good-will either to you or to any of yours.”

Inter Decreta Innocent. epist. 27.

This imperfection and weakness of their own doings, the bishops of Rome themselves understood, and confessed. For thus Innocentius writeth unto St. Augustine, Alypius, and others in Africa, touching Pelagius: *Si adhuc taliter sentit, cum sciat se damnandum esse; quibus acceptis literis, aut quando se nostro iudicio committet? Quod si accersendus esset, id ab illis melius fieret, qui magis proximi, et non longo terrarum spatio videntur esse disjuncti:* “If he continue still in one mind, knowing that I will pronounce against him; at what request of letters, or when will he commit himself to our judgment? If it be good he were called to make answer, it were better some others called him, that are near at hand,” &c.

Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 9. [cap. 10. tom. ii. 105.]

And therefore Julius the bishop of Rome, finding his own infirmity herein, wrote unto the emperor Constans, and opened unto him the whole matter, and besought him to write unto his brother Constantius, that it might please him to send the bishops of the east to make answer to that they had done against Athanasius. Even so the clergy of the city of Antioch, in the like case of trouble and spoil, wrote unto John the patriarch of Constantinople, to intreat the emperor in their behalf. It appeareth hereby, that this infinite authority, and prerogative power over all the world, in those days was not known.

Concil. Constantinop. (quintum) actio. 1. [viii. 1039.]

I think it hereby plainly and sufficiently proved, first, that the bishop of Rome had no authority to receive



appeals from all parts of the world, and that by the councils of Nice, of Tele, of Milevitum, and of Africa, by St. Cyprian, and by the emperors Martian and Justinian: next, that M. Harding, the better to furnish his matter, hath notoriously falsified Chrysostom's words three times in one place: thirdly, that Chrysostom's letter unto Innocentius contained matter of complaint, but no appeal: which thing is also proved by the very words and tenor of the letter, by the bishops of Rome's own confession, and by the imperfection and weakness of their doings. For the law saith: *Jurisdictio sine modica coercionem nulla est*: "Jurisdiction without some compulsion is no jurisdiction."

De officio  
ejus, cui man-  
data est ju-  
risdictio.  
Mandatam.

Indeed, by way of compromise and agreement of the parties, matters were sometimes brought to be heard and ended by the bishop of Rome, as also by other bishops; but not by any ordinary process or course of law. And so it appeareth, this matter between Athanasius and the Arians was first brought unto Julius: for that the Arians willingly desired him, for trial thereof, to call a council. For thus Julius himself writeth unto the bishops of the east, as it is before alleged: *Si Macario et Hesychio nullam synodum postulantibus adhortator fuissem, ut ad synodum, qui ad me scripsissent, convocarentur, idque in gratiam fratrum, qui se injuriam pati conquerebantur, etiam ita justa fuisset mea cohortatio: jam vero, ubi iidem illi, qui a vobis pro gravibus viris, et fide dignis habiti sunt, authores mihi fuerint, ut vos convocarem, certe id a vobis ægre ferri non debuit*: "If I had given advice unto" (your messengers) "Macarius and Hesychius, that they that had written unto me might be called to a council, and that in consideration of our brethren, which complained they suffered wrong, although neither of them had desired the same, yet had mine advice been void of injury. But now, seeing the same men, whom you took to be grave, and worthy of credit, have made suit unto me that I should call you, verily ye should not take it in ill part."

Epist. Julii,  
in Apol. A-  
than. 2. [1.  
pt. 1. p. 142.]

Hereby it is plain, that Julius took upon him to call these parties, not by any such universal jurisdiction, as M. Harding fancieth, but only by the consent and request

Regulariter. of both parties. And therefore Julius saith, he caused Athanasius to be cited *regulariter*, that is, according to order : for the order of judgment is, that a man be first called, and then accused, and last of all condemned : but he meaneth not thereby the order of the canons, as M. Harding expoundeth it. For touching appeals to Rome, there was no canon yet provided. The counterfeit epistle of Athanasius to Felix is answered before.

Theodore-tus. Theodoretus was deposed, and banished, and cruelly intreated, as it appeareth by his letters unto Renuat : and therefore the words that he useth are rather tokens of his miseries and want of help, than certain testimonies of his judgment. For every man is naturally inclined to extol him, and to advance his power, at whose hand he seeketh help.

But if it were granted, it was lawful then for the bishop of Rome to receive all manner appeals, in such order as it is pretended, yet cannot M. Harding thereof necessarily conclude, that the bishop of Rome was the head of the universal church. For Ostiensis saith, " Appeals may be made, not only from the lower judge unto the higher, but also from equal to equal." And in this order, as it shall afterward be shewed more at large, Donatus a Casis Nigris was by the emperor lawfully removed from the bishop of Rome to the bishop of Arles in France. Ostiensis' words be these : *Non nocebit error, si appelletur ad majorem, quam debuerit, vel ad parem* : " The error shall not hurt, if the appeal be made either to a higher judge than was meet, or to an equal." Where also it is thus noted in the margin : *Appellari potest ad parem, si de hoc sit consuetudo* : " Appeal may be made unto the equal, if there be a custom of it." Hereby it is plain, that the right of appeal, by fine force of law, concludeth not any necessary superiority, much less this infinite power over the whole universal church.

But M. Harding might soon have foreseen, that this his first principle of appeals would easily be turned against himself.

First, for that it is well known, that appeals then, even

Aug. epist.  
162. [ii. 90.]

In 6°. de Ap-  
pellationib.  
Roman. Ec-  
cles. in Gloss.

in the ecclesiastical causes, were made unto the emperors and civil princes.

Secondly, for that the bishop of Rome determined such cases of appeal by warrant and commission from the emperor.

Thirdly, for that matters, being once heard and determined by the bishop of Rome, have been by appeal from him removed further unto others.

As touching the first, that appeals in ecclesiastical causes were lawfully made unto the prince, it is clear by Eusebius, by Socrates, by Nicephorus, and by St. Augustine, in sundry places. <sup>a</sup> Donatus being condemned by three-score and ten bishops in Africa, appealed unto the emperor Constantinus, and was received. St. Augustine saith: <sup>b</sup> *Parmenianus ultro passus est suos adire Constantinum*: “Parmenianus willingly suffered his fellows to go unto the emperor Constantinus.” Again he saith: <sup>c</sup> *Infero adhuc et verba Constantini ex literis ejus.....ubi se inter partes cognovisse, et innocentem Cæcilianum comperisse, testatur*: “Here I bring in the words of Constantine out of his own letters, wherein he confesseth that he heard the parties, and found Cæcilianus to be innocent.” Likewise he saith: *An forte de religione fas non est, ut dicat imperator, vel quos miserit imperator? Cur ergo ad imperatorem legati vestri venerunt?* “What, is it not lawful for the emperor, or for such as shall be sent by the emperor, to pronounce sentence of religion? Wherefore then came your ambassadors unto the emperor?” And so likewise again: *Si nihil debent in his causis imperatores jubere, si ad imperatores Christianos hæc cura pertinere non debet, quis urgebat majores vestros causam Cæciliani ad imperatorem.....mittere?* “If emperors have nothing to command in these cases, or if this matter nothing touch a Christian emperor’s charge, who then forced your predecessors to remove Cæcilianus’ matter unto the emperor?” Therefore the emperor Constantinus summoned the bishops of the east, that had been in the council of Tyrus, to appear before him, to render account of their doings. His words be these: *Ut re ipsa quam sincere ac recte judicaveritis, ostendatis: idque coram*

Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5. [l. 480.]

Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 21. [cap. 33. ii. 69.]

Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 43. [l. 507.]

<sup>a</sup> Aug. epist. 162. [ii. 94.]

<sup>b</sup> Contra ep. Parmen. lib. 1. cap. 5. [ix. 17.]

<sup>c</sup> Contra Cresconium Grammat. lib. iii. cap. 71. [ix. 476.]

Contra ep. Parmen. lib. 1. cap. 8. [ix. 20.]

Aug. epist. 68. [ii. 215.]

Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 22. [cap. 34. ii. 70.]



me: "I will you to make your appearance, and to shew indeed how sincerely and justly ye have dealt: and that even before me." By these few examples it may well appear, that appeals in ecclesiastical causes, in those days, were made unto the prince, and that it was thought lawful then for the prince to have the hearing of the same. Yet was not the prince therefore the head of the universal church. Certainly St. Gregory thought it not amiss to commit a spiritual matter, touching the purgation of a bishop, to Brunichilda the French queen<sup>55</sup>. Notwithstanding it be noted thus in the Gloss: *Fuit tamen hic nimium papaliter dispensatum*. As touching the bishop of Rome's power herein, it is certain, he heard such matters of appeal, by warrant of the emperor's commission, and not as having authority of himself. St. Augustine, opening the contention between Cæcilianus and Donatus a Casis Nigris, uttereth this matter at large, in this wise:

Gregor. lib.  
11. epist. 8.  
[ii. 1219.]  
2. quæst. 5.  
Mennam.

Aug. ep. 162.  
[ii. 94.]

*An forte non debuit Romanæ ecclesiæ episcopus Miltiades cum collegis transmarinis episcopis illud sibi usurpare iudicium, quod ab Afris septuaginta, ubi primas Tigisitanus præsedet, fuerat terminatum? Quid, quod nec ipse usurpavit? Rogatus quippe imperator, iudices misit episcopos, qui cum eo sederent:* "But should not the bishop of Rome Miltiades, with other his fellows, bishops beyond the seas, joined together in commission, take upon him the judgment of that thing that was determined before by three-score and ten bishops of Africa, amongst whom the primate of Tigisita sat as president? And what if he never took it upon him?" (as of himself.) "For the emperor, being intreated by the party, sent other bishops to sit with him." The very copy of this commission is yet to be seen, both

Euseb. lib.  
10. cap. 5.  
[1. 484.]  
Nicephor.  
lib. 7. cap. 43.  
[1. 507.]

in Eusebius and also in Nicephorus. Neither was the bishop of Rome alone in that commission, but joined together with Rheticus, Maternus, Marinus, and Marcus,

<sup>55</sup> [This is an instance of Gratian's inaccuracy. The latter part of the Causa 2. quæst. 5. Mennam, is not found in the epistle of Gregory referred to, nor does

Gratian hint at the place whence he takes it. It is on that part that Jewel founds his assertion as to the delegation of power to Brunichilda.]

whom the emperor calleth his commission-fellows. The words of the commission be these: *Constantinus imperator Miltiadi episcopo Romano, et Marco, &c.* “Constantinus emperor, unto Miltiades the bishop of Rome, and unto Marcus. Forasmuch as sundry letters have been sent unto me from Anylinus, our most noble president of Africa, wherein Cæcilianus the bishop of Carthage is accused of many matters, by certain his fellows of the same country, &c. Therefore I have thought it good, that the said Cæcilianus, together with ten bishops his accusers, and other ten, such as he shall think meet, sail to Rome, that there in your presence, together with Rheticius, and Maternus, and Marinus, your fellow commissioners, whom for that cause I have willed to travel to Rome, he may be heard,” &c.

Here it is evident to be seen, that the bishop of Rome was the emperor’s delegate, and in ecclesiastical jurisdiction had his authority and power, not from St. Peter, but from the emperor. Whereby it is easy to be gathered, that the bishop of Rome’s power was not so universal then as M. Harding would seem now to make it; and that the world then understood not this decree of pope Clemens the Fifth, which, as it is reported, he afterward published in the council of Vienna: *Omne jus regum pendet a papa:* “All the right of the prince is derived from the pope.”

Neither was the bishop of Rome’s determination of such force, but that it was lawful then for the party grieved to refuse his judgment, and to appeal further. And therefore Donatus, being condemned before Miltiades, appealed from him, and upon his complaint unto the emperor was put over unto the bishop of Arles in France, and to certain others. And in conclusion, understanding that judgment there would pass against him, last of all he appealed to the emperor’s own person. And the emperor himself confesseth by his letters, that he sat in judgment, and heard both parties.

Now if receiving of appeals necessarily import this universal power, then was the emperor’s power universal: for he received all appeals, out of all countries, without excep-

Collegas.  
[κολλη-  
γων.]

Clemens V.

Aug. epist.  
68. [ii. 214.]

August. con-  
tra Cresco-  
nium, Gram-  
mat. lib. 3.  
cap. 71. [ix.  
476.]

tion, and that even in causes ecclesiastical. Again, then was the bishop of Rome's power not universal: for it was lawful then to refuse him, and to appeal to some other. And thus M. Harding's reasons run roundly against himself.

M. HARDING: *Twenty-second Division.*

For which cause, that see hath ever hitherto of all Christian nations, and now also ought to be heard and obeyed in all points of faith. For that see, though it hath failed sometimes in charity, and hath been in case, as it might truly say the words of the gospel, spoken by the foolish virgins, "Our lamps be without light," Matt. xxv. 8. yet it never failed in faith, as Theodoretus witnesseth, and St. Augustine affirmeth the same: which special grace, and singular privilege, is to be imputed unto the prayer of Christ, by which he obtained of God, for Peter and his successors, (108) that their faith should not fail. Therefore the evil life of the bishops of Rome ought not to withdraw us from believing and following the doctrine preached and taught in the holy church of Rome.

The 108th untruth. For many popes have erred in faith, as shall appear.

For better credit hereof, that is earnestly to be considered which St. Augustine writeth, *Epistola 165*, where, after that he hath rehearsed in order all the popes that succeeded Peter, even to him that was pope in his time, he saith thus: *In illum ordinem episcoporum*, &c. "Into that row of bishops, that reacheth from Peter himself to Anastasius, which now sitteth in the same chair, if any traitor had crept in, it should nothing hurt the church, and the innocent Christian folk, over whom our Lord having providence, saith of evil rulers, 'What they say unto you, Matt. xxlii. 3. do ye; but what they do, do ye not: for they say, and do not;' to the intent the hope of a faithful person may be certain, and such, as being set, not in man, but in our Lord, be never scattered abroad with tempest of wicked schism." And in his 166th epistle, he saith: "Our heavenly Master hath so far forewarned us to beware of all evil of dissension, that he assured the people also of evil rulers, that for their sakes the seat of wholesome doctrine should not be forsaken, in which seat even the very evil men be compelled to say good things. For the things, which they say, be not theirs, but God's, who in the seat of unity hath put the doctrine of verity."

St. Augustine speaketh generally of all bishops, and not one word namely of the bishop of Rome.

By this we are plainly taught, that, albeit the successors of Peter, Christ's vicars in earth, be found blameworthy for their evil life, yet we ought not to dissent from them in doctrine, nor sever ourselves from them in faith, forasmuch as, notwithstanding they be evil, by God's providence, for the surety of his people, they be compelled to say the things that be good, and to teach the truth: the things they speak not being theirs, but God's, who hath put the doctrine of verity in the seat or chair of unity: which singular grace cometh specially to the see of Peter, either of the force of Christ's prayer, as is said before, or in respect of



place and dignity, which the bishops of that see hold for Christ, as Balaam could be brought by no means to curse that people, whom God would have to be blessed. And Caiaphas also prophesied, because he was high bishop of that year, and prophesied truly, being a man otherwise most wicked. And therefore the evil doings of the bishops of Rome make no argument of discrediting their doctrine. To this purpose the example of Gregory Nazianzen may very fitly be applied, of the golden, silver, and leaden seal. As touching the value of metals, gold and silver are better, but for the goodness of the seal, as well doth lead imprint a figure in wax, as silver or gold. For this cause, that the see of Rome hath never been defiled with stinking heresies, as Theodoretus saith, and God hath always kept in the chair of unity the doctrine of verity, as Augustine writeth: for this cause (I say) it sitteth at the stern, and governeth the churches of the whole world: for this cause bishops have made their appellations thither; judgment in doubts of doctrine, and determination in all controversies and strifes, hath been from thence always demanded.

M. Harding compareth the pope with Balaam and Caiaphas.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This is a very poor help indeed. M. Harding here is fain to resemble the bishops of Rome touching their doctrine, to Balaam, to Caiaphas, and to a leaden seal: and touching their lives, to confess, they are lamps without light. "Yet," saith he, "all this notwithstanding, we may not therefore depart from them. For Christ saith, 'The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair: do ye that they say: but that they do, do ye not: for they say, and do not.'" Forasmuch as it liketh M. Harding to use these comparisons, it may not much mislike him, if some man upon occasion hereof happen to say, as Christ said in the like case: "Woe be unto you, ye scribes and Pharisees: ye blind guides: ye painted graves: ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men; ye neither enter yourselves, nor suffer others that would enter: ye have made the house of God a cave of thieves."

Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.

Luke xi.

Certainly Balaam, notwithstanding he were a false prophet, yet he opened his mouth, and blessed the people of God; Caiaphas, although he were a wicked bishop, yet he prophesied, and spake the truth; a seal, although it be cast in lead, yet it giveth a perfect print; the scribes and

Num. xxiii. xxiv.

John xi. 51.

Pharisees, although they were hypocrites, and lived not well, yet they instructed the congregation, and said well; the Manichees, although they were heretics, and taught not well, yet outwardly in the conversation and sight of the world, as St. Augustine saith, they lived well. But these, unto whom M. Harding claimeth the universal power over all the world, neither bless the people of God; nor preach God's truth; nor give any print of good life, or doctrine; nor instruct the congregation; nor say well, as the scribes and Pharisees did; nor, by M. Harding's own confession, live well, as the Manichees did. St. Augustine saith: *Qui nec regiminis in se rationem habet, nec sua crimina detersit, nec filiorum culpam correxit, canis impudicus dicendus est magis, quam episcopus*: "He that neither regardeth to rule himself, nor hath washed off his own sins, nor corrected the faults of his children, may rather be called a filthy dog, than a Bishop."

Augustin.  
Confess. lib.  
3. cap. 6. [1.  
91.]  
Retract. lib.  
7. cap. 7. [1.  
9.]

2. Quæst. 7.  
Qui nec.

Luke xxii.  
32.

Micah iii.  
11.

Jerem. xviii.  
18.

Micah iii. 6.

24. Quæst. 1.  
in Gloss.

Yet, all this corruption of life notwithstanding, M. Harding saith, The see of Rome can never fail in faith. For Christ said unto Peter, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith may not fail." The like confidence and trust in themselves the priests had in the old times, as it may appear by these words of the prophet Micheas: *Sacerdotes in mercede docuerunt, et prophetæ in pecunia prophetaverunt, et super Dominum requiescebant, dicentes: Nonne Dominus est in medio nostri?* "The priests taught for hire, and the prophets prophesied for money: and yet they rested themselves upon the Lord, and said, 'Is not the Lord in the midst amongst us?'" With like confidence the priests said, as it is written in the prophet Hieremy: *Non peribit lex a sacerdote, nec consilium a seniore*: "The law shall not decay in the priest, nor counsel in the elder." But God answereth them far otherwise: *Nox vobis erit pro visione, et tenebræ pro divinatione*: "Ye shall have dark night instead of a vision: and ye shall have darkness instead of prophecy." Certainly, the very Gloss upon the Decretals putteth this matter utterly out of doubt; these be the words: *Certum est, quod papa errare potest*: "It is certain, that the pope may err." And Alphonsus de

Castro: *Omnis homo errare potest in fide, etiamsi papa sit*: Alphons. contra Hæreses, lib. 1. cap. 4. [p. 20.]  
 “Every man may err in the faith: yea although it be the pope.” And for proof hereof he saith: *De Liberio papa, constat [l. Platina refert] fuisse Arianum*: “Touching pope Liberius, it is certain, he was an Arian heretic.” Pope Honorius was an heretic, of the sect of them that were called Monothelitæ, condemned for the same in the sixth council holden at Constantinople. Pope Marcellinus openly made sacrifice unto an idol. Pope John the Twenty-second held a wicked heresy against the immortality of the soul, and for the same was reprovèd, not by his cardinals, but by Gerson, and the school of Sorbona in Paris.

Concil. Constantin. 6. act. 12. [act. 13. xi. 556.]  
 Concil. tøm. 1. in Vita Marcellini. [Crabb. 1. p. 184.]

Gerson.

Pope Sylvester the Second was a sorcerer, and had familiar conference with the devil, and by his procurement was made pope. Pope Anastasius communicated with Photinus the heretic, and therefore was forsaken of his clergy. Pope Hildebrand, that first of all others in these countries forbade the lawful marriage of priests, both for his life, and also for his religion, is set out at large in a council holden at Brixia: where he is called and published to the world, to be a vicious man; a burner of houses; a robber of churches; a maintainer of murders and perjuries; an heretic against the apostolic doctrine; the old disciple of Berengarius; a sorcerer; a necromancer; a man possessed with the devil; and therefore out of the catholic faith<sup>57</sup>. The fathers in the council of Basil say: *Multi pontifices in errores et hæreses lapsi esse leguntur*: “We read, that many bishops of Rome have fallen into errors and heresies.” And the bishop of Rome himself saith: “Notwithstanding the pope draw innumerable companies of people by heaps with him into hell, yet let no mortal man once dare to reprove him: *nisi deprehendatur a fide devius*: unless it be found, that he stray from the faith.” To conclude, Nicolas Lyra is driven to say: *Multi papæ inventi sunt apostatæ*: “We find, that many popes have forsaken the faith<sup>58</sup>.”

Holcot. in lib. Sapient. lect. 189.

Dist. 19. Anastasius.

Abbas Ursperg. in Chronica. [A.D. 1060. p. 237.]

Concil. Basil. in Epist. Synodali. [xxix. 246. c.]

Dist. 40. Si papa.

Nic. Lyra in 16. cap. Matt.

<sup>57</sup> [See Bowden's Life and Pontificate of Greg. VII. vol. ii. 275.]

<sup>58</sup> [Nicol. Lyr. “Multi principes,

“et summi pontifices et alii inferiores inventi sunt apostatasse a fide.”]



All this notwithstanding, by M. Harding's resolution, the see of Rome never failed from the faith, nor never can fail. The Valentinian heretics, as Irenæus reporteth, were wont to say of themselves, that they were naturally made of an heavenly substance, and therefore needed not to flee from sin, as others needed. For, lived they never so wickedly, yet said they, "We are spiritual still: no sin can hurt us. For we are as pure tried gold, which notwithstanding it be laid in a heap of dung, yet keepeth it still the brightness and nature of gold, and receiveth no corruption of the dung." Even so these men seem to say, that, whatsoever the pope either believe, or speak, or do, his faith still remaineth sound, and can never fail, because he sitteth in Peter's chair: as if he had a lease of the church of God, without any manner impeachment of waste. And therefore they say: *Quod si totus mundus sententiet in aliquo adversus papam, tamen videtur, quod magis standum est sententiæ papæ*: "If all the world give sentence in any thing contrary to the pope, it seemeth, we ought rather to stand to the pope's judgment, than to the judgment of all the world." Again they say: *In papa si desint bona acquisita per meritum, sufficiunt ea quæ a loci prædecessore præstantur*: "If there want in the pope good things gotten by merit, yet the things that he hath of (Peter) his predecessor in that place, are sufficient." Likewise again: *Papa sanctitatem recipit a cathedra*: "The pope receiveth his holiness of the chair." <sup>a</sup>And pope Sixtus saith, "that St. Peter dwelleth in the bishop of Rome, and directeth him in his doings, and beareth all his burdens." Thus they feast and cheer themselves, and smooth the world with vain talk. But St. John saith: *Nolite dicere, Patrem habemus Abraham*: "Never say" (Peter or) "Abraham was our father." St. Paul, speaking of his successors, saith thus: *Equidem scio, quod post discessum meum ingressuri sint ad vos lupi graves, non parcentes gregi*: "I know, that after my departure from you, there shall ravening wolves come amongst you, that shall not spare the flock." And St. Hierom saith: *Non sunt sanctorum filii, qui tenent loca sanctorum*: "They be not evermore the

Irenæ. lib. 1.  
cap. 1. [Ben.  
ed. cap. 6.  
p. 29.]

Extra de  
elect. po-  
testate.  
Significasti.  
In Glossa.  
Idem Albert.  
Pigghius,  
[Hierarch.  
Eccles.] lib.  
6. cap. 13.  
Dist. 40. Non  
nos.  
Dist. 40. Si  
papa.

Dist. 19. Sic  
omnes.  
In Glossa.  
ἐν ὀλβίῳ  
ἰλαβία πάλ-  
τα.  
a Epist. Sixti.  
2. [Crabb. i.  
163.]  
Matt. iii. 9.

Acts xx. 29.

Dist. 40. Non  
est facile.

children of holy men, that sit in the rooms of holy men."

Now, whereas M. Harding saith, Christ prayed for Peter, that his faith should not fail; that prayer pertained to all the rest of the apostles, and not only unto Peter. Origen saith: *Num audebimus dicere, &c.*: "Shall we dare to say, that the gates of hell prevailed not only against Peter, but shall prevail against the rest? Why may we not rather say, that the words, that Christ spake, were verified in every of them, of whom they were spoken?".....*Nam et quæ prius dicta sunt, et quæ sequuntur, velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnium communia*: "For both the things that were spoken of before, and also the things that follow, as spoken unto Peter, are common to all." So likewise Beda expoundeth the same generally of all the faithful, and not of Peter only. And so Christ himself expoundeth his own words: for thus he prayeth unto his Father: *Pater sancte, serua eos per nomen tuum, &c.*: "O holy Father, save them for thy name's sake.....I pray not for them only, but for all them that by their preaching shall believe in me."

"But," saith M. Harding, "be the bishop of Rome's life never so wicked, yet may we not sever ourselves from the church of Rome." Howbeit St. Cyprian saith otherwise: *Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis, et Deum metuens, a peccatore præposito separare se debet*: "The people obeying God's commandments, and fearing God, must sever themselves from the wicked, that ruleth over them." And pope Nicolas hath straitly commanded upon pain of excommunication, that no man should be present, to hear mass said by a priest, that he knoweth undoubtedly to live in advoutry. Howbeit indeed, it is not their life only, that the church of God is offended withal, but also and specially, the filth and corruption of their religion, the oppressing of God's word, the open deceiving of the people, and the manifest maintenance of idolatry. And what if the silver of Rome be turned into dross? What if the city that was faithful be become an harlot? What if they can abide no sound doctrine? What if they have made the house of God a cave of thieves? What if Rome be become the

Origen. in  
Matt. tract.  
1. [ed. Froben.  
ben. tom. ii.  
pp. 38, 39.]

Bed. in Lu-  
cam, cap. 22.

John xvii. 11.

Cyprian. lib.  
1. epist. 4.  
[p. 118.]

Dist. 32.  
Nullus.

Isa. i. 22.  
and 21.

2 Tim. iv. 3.  
Jerem. vii. 11.  
Matt. xxi. 13.  
Rev. xvii. 5.

great Babylon, the mother of fornication, imbrued and drunken with the blood of the saints of God? And what if abomination sit in the holy place, even in the temple of God? Yet may we not depart from thence? Yet must that be the rule and standard of God's religion? Truly Christ

Dan. ix. 27.  
2 Thess. ii. 4.

Matt. xvi. 6. saith: "Take heed of the leaven of the scribes and Pharisees;" and God himself saith: *Exite de illa populus meus, ne participes sitis delictorum ejus, et de plagis ejus ne accipiatis*: "O my people, come away from her, lest ye be partakers of her sins, and so receive part of her plagues."

Rev. xviii. 4. Irenæus saith: *Presbyteris illis, qui sunt in ecclesia, obaudire oportet, qui successionem habent ab apostolis: qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum patris, acceperunt*: "We ought to obey the bishops in the church, that have their succession from the apostles, which, together with the succession of the bishopric, have received the certain gift of the truth, according to the will of the Father." This holy father saith, bishops must be heard and obeyed with a limitation, that is, not all, whatsoever they be, or whatsoever they say, but that have the undoubted gift of God's truth. And, for that M. Harding seemeth to claim by the authority of the scribes and Pharisees, saying, "They sit in Moses' chair: and that therefore we ought to do that they say;" St. Augustine expoundeth the same place in this sort: *Sedendo in cathedra, legem Dei docent: ergo per illos Deus docet. Sua vero si illi docere velint, nolite audire, nolite facere*: "By sitting in the chair" (is meant) "they teach the law of God: therefore it is God that teacheth by them. But if they will teach any thing of their own," (as the church of Rome hath done, and yet doth above number,) "then," saith St. Augustine, "hear it not, then do it not."

Irenæus, lib. 4. cap. 43.  
[Ben. ed. cap. 26. p. 262.]

Augustin. in Johan. tract. 46. [iii. pt. 2. 604.]

#### M. HARDING: *Twenty-third Division.*

Now, that the bishop of Rome had always cure and rule over all other bishops, (109) specially of them of the east, (for touching them of the west church it is generally confessed,) beside a hundred other evident arguments, this is one very sufficient, that he had in the east, to do his stead, three delegates or vicars, now commonly they be named legates. And this for the commodity

The 109th untruth. For the bishops of the east never yielded such subjection to the pope.



of the bishops there, whose churches were far distant from Rome. The one was the bishop of Constantinople, as we find it mentioned in *Epistola Simplicii ad Acacium Constantinopolitanum*. The second was the bishop of Alexandria, as the epistle of Bonifacius the Second to Eulalius recordeth. The third was the bishop of Thessalonica, as it is at large declared in the eighty-second epistle of Leo, *ad Anastasium Thessalonicensem*. By perusing these epistles every man may see, that all the bishops of Greece, Asia, Syria, Egypt, and, to be short, of all the orient, rendered and exhibited their humble obedience to the bishop of Rome, and to his arbitrement referred their doubts, complaints, and causes, and to him only made their appellations.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

What we may think of the other hundred proofs, which M. Harding, as he saith, hath left untouched, it may the sooner appear, for that this one proof, that is here brought forth instead of all, is not only untrue, but also utterly without any shadow or colour of truth. These authorities of Leo, Symmachus and Bonifacius, forasmuch as they are alleged without words, may likewise be passed over without answer. Howbeit this Bonifacius the Second, in defence of this quarrel, is forced to say, that St. Augustine that godly father, and all other the bishops of Africa, Numidia, Pentapolis, and other countries adjoining, that withstood the proud attempt of the bishops of Rome, and found out their open forgery in falsifying the Nicene council, were altogether inflamed and led by the devil.

But how doth this appear to M. Harding, that the bishop of Rome had all the bishops of the east in subjection, to use and command them, as his servants? In what council was it ever decreed it should be so? who subscribed it? who recorded it? who ever saw such canons? The best plea, that pope Nicolas can make in this behalf, is, that Peter was first bishop of Antioch, and after of Rome: and St. Mark his scholar, bishop of Alexandria. Hereof, he thinketh it may very well and substantially be gathered, that the bishops of Rome ought to have all the world in subjection. Indeed in the counterfeit charter, or donation of the emperor Constantine, authority is given to the bishop of Rome over the other four patriarchs, of Antioch, of

Nicolaus pp.  
ad Michael.  
imperat.  
[Crabb. ii.  
758.]

Alexandria, of Constantinople, and of Hierusalem. But the bishops of Rome themselves, and of themselves, devised and forged this charter, and that so fondly, that a very child may easily espy the folly. For, beside a great number of other untruths, at that very time, when it is imagined that charter was drawn, there was neither patriarch, nor bishop, nor priest, nor church in Constantinople, nor the city itself yet built, nor known to the world by that name. This notwithstanding, the bishop of Rome, upon this simple title, hath beset his mitre with three crowns, in token that he hath the universal power over the three divisions of the world, Europe, Asia, and Africa. And so as the king of Persia in old times entituled himself, *frater solis et lunæ*, even so pope Nicolas calleth himself, “the prince of all lands and countries.”

Nicol. pp. ad Michael. imperat. [Crabb. ii. 758.]

Princeps super omnem terram.

Conc. Nicen. can. 6.

Rufin. lib. i. cap. 6.

Athanas. in Epist. ad solitariam Vitam agentes. [i. 364.]

Cassiodor. lib. 4. cap. 24. Cyril. epist. 27. p. 294. [tom. v. pt. 2. epist. p. 40.]

But what duty the bishops of the east parts owed to the bishops of Rome, whosoever hath read and considered the story and practice of the times, may soon perceive. First the council of Nice appointed every of the three patriarchs to his several charge, none of them to interrupt or trouble other; and willed the bishop of Rome, as Rufinus reporteth the story, to oversee *ecclesias suburbanas*<sup>58</sup>, which were the churches within his province: and therefore Athanasius calleth Rome, the chief, or mother city of the Roman jurisdiction<sup>59</sup>. And for that cause, the bishops of the east in their epistle unto Julius, call him their fellow-servant; and Cyrillus the bishop of Alexandria, writing unto Cælestinus, calleth him his brother<sup>60</sup>. Fellows and brothers be titles of equality, and not of subjection.

Certain it is, that sundry of the bishops of Rome began very rathe to seek this preeminence, even with manifest forgery, and corruption of councils, as is already proved. But the bishops of other countries never yielded unto them, nor understood these vain titles. The bishops of the east, writing unto Julius, allege, that the faith, that

<sup>58</sup> [Concil. Nicen. can. 6. apud Rufinum. “. . . suburbicariarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat.”]

<sup>59</sup> Metropolis Romanæ ditionis.

[. . . μητρόπολις ἡ Ῥώμη τῆς Ῥωμανίας. . . .]

<sup>60</sup> [Cælestinus gives this title to Cyril, but not (so far as the Editor can discover) Cyril to Cælestinus.]

then was in Rome, came first from them, and that their churches, as Sozomenus writeth, “ought not to be accounted inferior to the church of Rome<sup>61</sup>.” And as Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 7. [ii. 103.]

And as Sozocrates further reporteth, “That they ought not to be ordered by the Roman bishop<sup>62</sup>.” Gennadius the bishop of Constantinople, together with the council there, thus writeth unto the bishop of Rome: *Curet sanctitas tua universas tuas custodias, tibi que subjectos episcopos*: “Let thy holiness see unto thine own charge, and unto the bishops appointed unto thee.”

The council of Alexandria committed the visitation and reforming of all the churches in the east unto Asterius; and of all the churches in the west, unto Eusebius the bishop of Vercellæ. By authority of which commission, Eusebius, together with Hilarius, visited and corrected all the churches of Illyricum, France and Italy. A man might say, Where was then the universal power of the bishop of Rome? St. Basil saith: “The state and safety of the church of Antioch dependeth of Athanasius,” (the bishop of Alexandria, and not, as M. Harding here saith, of the bishop of Rome)<sup>63</sup>. And therefore he desireth Athanasius to see unto it.

The emperors Honorius and Theodosius appointed over all matters of doubt arising within the country of Illyricum, to be heard, and ended before the bishop of Constantinople, and not before the bishop of Rome. And the very Gloss upon the decrees, expounding that same law of Honorius and Theodosius, hath these words: *Imperator dicit, quod patriarcha Constantinopolitanus habet idem in suis subditis, quod papa habet in suis*: “The emperor saith, the patriarch of Constantinople hath the same authority over the people of his province, that the pope hath over his.” The emperor’s words be these: *Constantinopolitana ecclesia Romæ veteris prærogativa lætatur*: “The church of Constantinople enjoyeth now the prerogative of

<sup>61</sup> Sozomenus. Οὐ παρὰ ταῦτα τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρειν ἤξιουν.

<sup>62</sup> Sozocrates. Μὴ δεῖν κανονίζεσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ.

<sup>63</sup> [The words in parenthesis were printed in former editions as if they were a part of the quotation from St. Basil.]



Litteræ synodice.

Greg. lib. 1.  
epist. 24, 25.  
[ii. 516.] et  
lib. 6. epist.  
5. [ii. 852.]

Gregor. lib.  
7. epist. 30.  
[ii. 919.]

Paulus Æmil-  
lius in Hist.  
Gallorum,  
lib. viii.  
[p. 169.]

old Rome." And therefore, for more proof hereof, whensoever any patriarch, in any of these four principal sees, was newly chosen, he wrote letters of conference and friendship unto the other patriarchs; wherein every of them declared unto other their religion and consent of faith. Thus did the bishop of Rome unto others: and thus did others unto him. This is an infallible token, that their authority was equal, and none of them had power and government over his fellows. And therefore, when Eulogius the bishop of Alexandria had written thus unto Gregory, being then bishop of Rome, *Sicut jussistis*, "As ye commanded," Gregory utterly shunned and refused that kind of writing; for thus he answereth him: *Hoc verbum jussionis, quæso, a meo auditu remove. Scio enim quis sim, et qui sitis. Loco mihi fratres estis: moribus patres. Non ergo jussi, sed quæ utilia visa sunt, indicare curavi*: "I pray you have away this word of commanding from my hearing. For I know, both what I am, and also, what you are. Touching your place, you are my brethren; touching manners, you are my fathers. Therefore I commanded you not; but only shewed you what I thought good."

Finally, for that Michael Palæologus the emperor of the east parts, in the council holden at Lyons, about the year of our Lord 1442, after great entreaty made unto him by the bishop of Rome, had acknowledged the bishops of the east to be subject unto him, after he returned home again into his empire, and was dead, his clergy would not suffer him to be buried. Yet, saith M. Harding, "All the bishops of Grecia, Asia, Syria, Egypt, and to be short, all the orient, rendered and exhibited their humble obedience to the bishop of Rome."

M. HARDING: *Twenty-fourth Division.*

Of the bishop of Rome his punishing of offenders, by censures of the church, and otherwise, as by excommunication, election, deposition, and enjoining penance for transgressions, we have more examples than I think good to recite here. They, that have knowledge of the ecclesiastical stories, may remember, how Timotheus bishop of Alexandria was excommunicated with Peter his deacon, by Simplicius the pope; Nestorius bishop of Constantinople, by Cælestinus; Theophilus bishop of Alexandria with

Arcadius the emperor, and Eudoxia the empress, by Innocentius, for their wicked demeanour toward Chrysostom; how Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria was deposed, though the whole second Ephesine council stood in his defence; how Peter bishop of Antioch was not only put out of his bishopric, but also of all priestly honour; how Photius was put out of the patriarchship of Constantinople, into which he was intruded by favour of Michael the emperor, at the suit of his wicked uncle, by Nicolas the First.

For proof of this authority, the epistle of Cyprian which he wrote to Stephanus, pope in his time, against Martianus, the bishop of Arelate in Gallia, maketh an evident argument. For that this Martianus became a maintainer of the heresy of Novatianus, and therewith seduced the faithful people. Cyprian having intelligence of it by Faustinus from Lyons, advertised Stephanus of it, and moved him earnestly to direct his letters to the people of Arles, by authority of which Martianus should be deposed, and another put in his room, to the intent (saith he there) the flock of Christ, which hitherto by him scattered abroad, and wounded, is contemned, may be gathered together. Which St. Cyprian would not have written, had the bishop of Rome had no such authority.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This reason maketh no great proof. For it was ever lawful, not only to the bishop of Rome, but also to all other bishops, both to rebuke and also to excommunicate wicked doers. Anthymus with his fellows was excommunicate<sup>64</sup> by every of the patriarchal sees<sup>a</sup>; Paulus Samosatenus, as Nicephorus saith, by all the bishops under heaven<sup>b</sup>; Auxentius and Jovinianus, by St. Ambrose<sup>c</sup>; Dioscorus and Eutyches, by the council of Constantinople<sup>d</sup>; Cyrillus, albeit he were a catholic, and a godly bishop, by all the bishops of the east<sup>e</sup>. Yet were none of these, that thus used the right of excommunication, either bishops of Rome, or heads of the universal church. And whereas M. Harding saith, we may remember by the ecclesiastical stories, that Innocentius the bishop of Rome excommunicated Arcadius the emperor<sup>f</sup>, it may please him also to remember, by the same ecclesiastical stories, that St. Ambrose excommunicated the emperor Theodosius<sup>g</sup>: and Anastasius the bishop of Antioch, both by private letters

<sup>a</sup> Conc. Constantinop. 5. act. 1. [viii. 921. &c.]

<sup>b</sup> Nicephor. lib. 6. c. 28. [1. 422.]

<sup>c</sup> Ambros. lib. 10. epist. 81. [ii. 969.]

<sup>d</sup> Conc. Constantinop. 5. act. 5. [viii. 984.]

<sup>e</sup> Conc. Chalcedon. act. 10. [vii. 240.]

<sup>f</sup> Niceph. lib. 13. c. 34. [ii. 419.]

<sup>g</sup> Theodoret. lib. 5. c. 18. [iii. 215, 216.]

<sup>64</sup> [In the council of Constantinople held A. D. 536. Crabbe and Mansi differ much from each other in the report of this council, and in the order of its proceedings. See Mansi viii. p. 1158.]

Evagr. lib. 4. c. 37. [al. 40. tom. iii. p. 423.]

reproved the emperor Justinian for his heresy, and also oftentimes said of him openly in the church, "Whosoever followeth any other gospel, accursed be he." Yet was neither St. Ambrose nor Anastasius the bishop of Rome.

As for the execution of sentence, and depriving or deposing of bishops, M. Harding knoweth, the bishop of Rome's authority was too weak. And therefore Innocentius saith of Pelagius: *Quibus acceptis literis, aut quando committet se nostro judicio?* "Upon what letters, or when will he yield himself to my judgment?" For this cause, Felix the bishop of Rome prayed aid of the emperor

Inter decreta Innocent. [Epist. ad Aurelium, &c. Mansi iii. 1079.]

Zeno<sup>a</sup>: and the emperor<sup>65</sup> answered<sup>b</sup>: *Admisimus depositionem Anthymi*: "We have admitted the deposition of Anthymus:" otherwise the pope's sentence had been in vain. And therefore the emperor Constantinus saith of himself: *Si quis episcoporum inconsulte tumultuatus sit, ministri Dei, hoc est, mea executione, illius audacia coercetur*: "If any bishop indiscreetly rear tumult, his rashness shall be repressed by the hands of God's minister, that is, by my execution." And likewise the emperor Justinian hath set out a law in this sort: *Si quis episcopus definitum tempus emanserit, &c.* "If any bishop tarry out his time appointed, and, being called home, refuse to come, let him be deprived, and put from his church, and another better chosen in his room," (he addeth,) "by the virtue of this present law." By the force of this law bishops were deposed: for without it, the pope was not able to put his sentence in execution.

a Conc. Constantinop. 5. act. 1. [Crabb. ii. 18.]

b Conc. Constantinop. 5. act. 4. [act. 5. Mansi viii. 1152.]

Theodoret. lib. 1. c. 20. [iii. 51.]

Authen. de Ecclesiast. diversis capitulis. [Novell. 123.]

Κατὰ τὴν τοῦ παρόντος νόμου δύναμιν.

Now, if M. Harding will reason thus:

The pope excommunicated other bishops:

*Ergo*, he was head of the church:

then of the same principle we may well to the contrary reason thus:

The pope himself was excommunicate by other bishops:

*Ergo*, the pope was not the head of the church.

For the antecedent, that the pope was pronounced excommunicate by other bishops, it is out of question. For it is recorded in the ecclesiastical story, that Julius,

<sup>65</sup> [Not (as Jewel, misled by Crabbe, implies) the emperor Zeno, who died A. D. 491, but Justinian.]



being bishop of Rome, was excommunicate by the bishops of the east; pope Leo was excommunicate by Dioscorus; a pope Vigilius was excommunicate by Menna the bishop of Constantinople; and pope Honorius was excommunicate by the sixth council holden at Constantinople.

Or, if M. Harding repose more force in deposing of bishops than in excommunication, then let him likewise remember, that pope Julius was deposed by the bishops of the east, as it is recorded by Sozomenus; pope Hildebrand, by the council of Brixia; pope John, by the council of Constance; pope Eugenius, by the council of Basil; and two popes together, Sylverius and Vigilius, by the emperor Justinian. Thus M. Harding's own grounds overthrow his whole building, and conclude plainly against himself.

Sozomen. lib. 3. cap. 10. [ii. 107.] Dist. 21. In tantum. a Niceph. lib. 17. c. 26. [ii. 774.] Concil. Constantinop. 6 actio. 1. [xi. 556.]

Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 10. [ii. 107.] Καθέλκων Ἰουλίον τὸν Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον. In Vita Vigili.

M. HARDING: *Twenty-fifth Division.*

For the pope's authority concerning confirmation of the ordinances and elections of (110) all bishops, many examples might easily be alleged, as the request made to Julius by the ninety Arian bishops assembled in council at Antioch against Athanasius, that he would vouchsafe to ratify and confirm those that they had chosen in place of Athanasius, Paulus, Marcellus, and others, whom they had condemned and deprived.

The 110th untruth. For the bishop of Rome confirmed the bishops of his own province, but not all bishops throughout the world.

Also the earnest suit which Theodosius the emperor made to Leo for confirmation of Anatolius, and likewise that Martianus the emperor made to him for confirmation of Proterius, both bishops of Alexandria, as it appeareth by their letters written to Leo in their favour. And as for Anatolius, Leo would not in any wise order and confirm him, unless he would first profess that he believed and held the doctrine which was contained in Leo his epistle to Flavianus, and would further by writing witness that he agreed with Cyrillus, and the other catholic fathers, against Nestorius. For this, if nothing else could be alleged, the testimony of holy Gregory were sufficient to make good credit; who, understanding that Maximus was ordered bishop of Salonæ, a city in Illyrico, without the authority and confirmation of the see apostolic, standing in doubt, lest perhaps that had been done by commandment of Mauritius the emperor, who did many other things wickedly, thereof writeth to Constantina the empress thus: *Salonitanæ civitatis episcopus, me, ac responsali meo nesciente, ordinatus est. Et facta est res, quæ sub nullis anterioribus principibus evenit*: "The bishop of the city of Salonæ," saith he, "is ordered, neither I nor my deputy made privy to it. And herein that thing hath been done, which never happened in the

time of any princes before our days." Thus it appeareth, that before a thousand years past, bishops had their ordination and election confirmed by the see apostolic.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

If this reason may stand for good, and whosoever hath the allowing of the election or consecration of bishops, must therefore be taken as head of the church, then must the church of necessity have many heads. For it is certain, the allowance hereof pertaineth to many. St. Ambrose saith: "That all the bishops, both of the east and of the west, gave their consent and allowance to his election<sup>64</sup>." Theodosius the emperor, standing in the defence of Flavianus the bishop of Constantinople, saith, "That all the bishops of the east, of Asia, Pontus, Thracia, and Illyricum, had allowed his election<sup>65</sup>." Eudoxius entered into the bishopric of Antioch without the allowance and consent of Georgius the bishop of Laodicea, and of Marcus the bishop of Arethusa, and of other bishops that had interest therein: and is reproved for the same<sup>66</sup>. Gregory presbyter saith: For that the election and installation of Gregory Nazianzen was past, before the bishops of Egypt and Macedonia were come, and so made without their consent, that therefore they utterly refused to allow him, or to admit him as bishop there, not for any misliking in the party, but for that they thought themselves defrauded of their voices<sup>67</sup>.

Anacletus decreeth thus: *Episcopus non minus, quam a tribus episcopis, reliquisque omnibus assensum præbentibus, ullatenus ordinetur*: "Let a bishop in no wise be ordered of less than three bishops, all the rest giving their assent to the same."

Hereby it appeareth, that to the ratifying of the election of any one bishop, the consent of all other bishops within that province was thought necessary. Which consent they

Ambros. lib. 10. epist. 82. [ii. 1037.]

Theodoret. lib. 5. c. 23. [iii. 225.]

Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 12. [ii. 145.]

Greg. Presb. in Vita Naz.

† Anaclet. epist. 2.

<sup>64</sup> [Ambros. "Tamen ordinationem meam occidentales episcopi judicio, orientales etiam exemplo probarunt."]

<sup>65</sup> Theodoret. Αἱ τῆς ἐώας ἐκ-

κλησίαι τῆς Φλαβιανοῦ προεδρίας ἀντέχονται.

<sup>66</sup> Sozom. Μῆτε τῶν ἄλλων, οἷς ἡ χειροτονία διέφερε συνθεμένων.

<sup>67</sup> Gregor. Ἀντέλεγον τῇ ψήφῳ.

testified among themselves, by writing letters of conference one to another. And therefore when John the bishop of Constantinople had entitled himself the universal bishop, Gregory counselled Eulogius the bishop of Alexandria, and other bishops of the east, neither to write to him, nor to receive letters from him by that title. Likewise the bishops of the east, when they had excommunicate Julius the bishop of Rome, gave commandment, that no man should either receive his letters, or write unto him, in token they held him for no bishop.

Neither did only bishops allow such elections, but also both the prince and the people. When St. Ambrose, being once chosen, and appointed bishop of Milan, began roughly to deal with the nobles of the court, and to rebuke their faults, the emperor Valentinian said: "All this I knew before; and therefore I not only said not nay, but also gave my voice and assent to his election <sup>68</sup>."

Touching the election of Nectarius, Sozomenus writeth in this wise: "The bishops, that were present at the election, gave unto the emperor in writing sundry names of such as they thought meet for that room: the emperor, weighing the persons, set his seal upon Nectarius' name, and elected him <sup>69</sup>."

Gratianus the emperor, at his coming to Constantinople, embraced Gregory Nazianzen, and, after some conference with him had, said unto him: "O father, unto thee, and unto thy labours, God through us committeth this church. Behold, I give unto thee this holy house, and the stall.' And the people besought the emperor to set the bishop in his chair <sup>70</sup>." The like might be said of the consent and allowance of the people. Anacletus, as he is commonly alleged, writeth thus: *Sacerdotes a proprio ordinentur episcopo, ita ut cives et alii sacerdotes assensum præbeant*: "Let priests be ordered by their own several bishops, so that the people and other priests give their assent thereunto."

<sup>68</sup> Theodoret. Καὶ σύμψηφος τῆς χειροτονίας γέγνημαι.

<sup>69</sup> Sozom. Τὸν δακτύλιον ἐπιθείς τῇ τελευταία γραφῇ. [The edition

of Valesius (Reading) reads δάκτυλον.]

<sup>70</sup> Greg. Ἐγκαθεδρῆσαι [leg. ἐγκαθιδρῆσαι] τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῷ θρόνῳ.

Gregor. lib. 4. epist. 36. [ii. 771.]

Sozomen. lib. 3. cap. 10. [ii. 107.]

Theodoret. lib. 4. cap. 7. [iii. 154.]

Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 8. [ii. 287.]

Greg. Presb. in Vita Naz.

†Anaclet. ep. 2.



Cypr. lib. x.  
epist. 4. [p.  
118.]

St. Cyprian saith likewise: "The people, being obedient unto God's commandments, hath power specially either to choose worthy priests, or to refuse the unworthy<sup>71</sup>."

Cyprian. lib.  
4. epist. 2.  
[p. 68.]

Thus many voices were then thought necessary to the admission of any bishop. Therefore this seemeth no sufficient ground to prove that the bishop of Rome is head of the church. For M. Harding might soon have seen, that the bishop of Rome himself, touching his own election, was wont to be allowed by other bishops. Verily, St. Cyprian writeth thus of the allowance of Cornelius, bishop there: *Ut Cornelium noveris ..... coepiscoporum testimonio, quorum numerus universus per mundum concordi unanimitate consensit*: "That thou mayest know Cornelius by the testimony of his fellow-bishops, the whole number of whom throughout the world hath agreed" (to the allowing of his election) "with one consent<sup>72</sup>." Afterward, in an epistle unto Cornelius himself, he writeth thereof more at large:

Cyprian. lib.  
4. epist. 8.  
[p. 59.]

*Ad comprobendam ordinationem tuam, facta autoritate majore ..... placuit ut per episcopos omnes omnino in ista provincia positos, literæ fierent ..... ut te universi collegæ nostri, et communicationem tuam, id est, ecclesiæ catholicæ unitatem, pariter et charitatem, probarent, pariter [al. firmiter] et tenerent*: "To allow thy consecration, more authority being gathered, I thought it good, that letters should be sent unto all the bishops of this province, that all our brethren might both allow and hold both thee and thy communion, that is to say, the unity of the catholic church." If M. Harding will say, this was not the confirmation of the election of Cornelius, it followeth immediately: *Sic episcopatus tui veritas, pariter et dignitas, aper-*

<sup>71</sup> [Cyprian. ad Clerum et plebes in Hispania consistentes. "Propter quod plebs obsequens "præceptis Dominicis et Deum "metuens a peccatore præposito "separare se debet, nec se ad "sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere: quando ipse maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi "dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos "recusandi."]

<sup>72</sup> [Id. ad Antonianum. "... ut "Cornelium nobiscum verius no- "veris non de malignorum et "detrahentium mendacio, sed de "Domini Dei judicio, qui eum epi- "scopum fecit, et coepiscoporum "testimonio, quorum numerus "universus per totum mundum "concordi unanimitate consen- "sit."]

*tissima luce, et manifestissima et firmissima confirmatione fundata est*: “ Thus is the truth and dignity of thy bishopric founded in the open light, and with most manifest and most certain confirmation.” Thus, whensoever any bishop was either installed or deposed, knowledge thereof was given unto the other bishops, and the same either allowed or disallowed by his brethren.

But that the bishop of Rome ordered and admitted all the bishops throughout the world, besides that it hath no possibility, or colour of truth in itself, it is also easy, by good record and authority, to be reproved. Agapetus, bishop of Rome, about the year of our Lord 540<sup>73</sup>, after he had, upon occasion, consecrate Menna, the bishop of Constantinople, he uttered these words in commendation of the party: *Et hoc dignitati ejus (Mennæ) accedere credimus, quod, a temporibus Petri apostoli, nullum alium unquam orientalis ecclesia suscepit episcopum manibus nostræ sedis ordinatum*: “ And this is an augmentation of Menna’s dignity, that, sithence the time of Peter the apostle, the east church never received any other bishop consecrate by the hands of our see.” Now advise thyself (good reader) whether thou wilt believe pope Agapetus, or M. Harding.

Concil. Constantinop. 5. actio. 2. [al. act. 1. Mansi, viii. 924.]

And let not M. Harding find fault, for that I place the ordering of bishops instead of their confirmation. For he himself seemeth to make confirmation and ordering both one thing, or at least to join them both together. These be his words: “ Leo would not in any wise order and confirm Anatolius.”

Truly Liberatus saith, the manner was in Alexandria, Liberat. c. 20. that whosoever was chosen bishop there, should come to the bier, and lay his predecessor’s hand upon his head, and put on St. Mark’s cloak, and then was he sufficiently confirmed bishop, without any mention made of Rome.

<sup>73</sup> [This council of Constantinople, in which Menna presided, was held A. D. 536, just after the death of Agapetus, (whose epistle

to Peter of Jerusalem containing the words here alleged was read there.) So that the date assigned in the text is not quite correct.]

Cyprian. lib.  
1. epist. 4.  
[p. 119.]

And St. Cyprian writeth unto the bishops of Spain, that Sabinus, whom they had lawfully chosen bishop, should so continue still, yea notwithstanding Cornelius<sup>74</sup>, being then bishop of Rome, misliked him, and would not confirm him. And that very counterfeit decree of Anacletus, that requireth all bishops once in the year to present themselves in Rome, extendeth not his commandment throughout all the world, but only to the bishops of the province of Rome.

† Anaclet. ep.  
3.  
Dist. 93.  
Juxta san-  
ctorum.

Thus stand the words: *Omnes episcopi, qui hujus apostolicæ sedis ordinationi subjacent, &c.*: “All bishops, that be bound to have their orders confirmed by this apostolic see,” &c. Whereby it may be gathered, that other bishops were not subject to the ordinance of that see. And this was the fault that Gregory found in the bishop of Salonæ, that, being within the jurisdiction of his province, he was consecrate without his knowledge. And that Gregory meant it not of all bishops, but only of the bishops within his own charge, it is evident by his words. For thus he writeth: *Episcopi mei: Episcopi mihi commissi*: “My bishops: Bishops being within my cure.” And that the city of Salonæ, standing in Illyricum, was sometime within

Gregor. lib.  
4. epist. 34.  
[il. 752.]

Sozom. lib. 6.  
cap. 23. [il.  
247.]  
Πάντας τοὺς  
ἐν τῷ Ῥω-  
μαίων κό-  
σμῳ διδα-  
σκάλους.

the province of Rome, it is plain by the epistle that Damasus the bishop of Rome sent unto the bishops of Illyricum. These be his words: *Par est, omnes qui sunt in orbe Romano magistros, consentire*: “It is meet, that all

<sup>74</sup> [Jewel has made a mistake in the pope's name. It was not Cornelius, but Stephen, (who succeeded him A. D. 253, the date of this epistle being A. D. 254; see Fell:) to whom Basilides, after the resignation of his bishopric on the detection of his crimes, had appealed against his deposition and against the election of Sabinus. Cyprian's words are worth quoting, as decisive against the validity and reasonableness of appeals to Rome. “Nec rescindere ordinationem (sc. Sabini) jure perfectam potest, quod Basilides, post crimina sua detecta et conscientiam etiam propria confes-

sione nudatam, Romam pergens “Stephanum collegam nostrum longe positum et gestæ rei ac veritatis ignarum fefellit, ut ex ambiret reponi se injuste in episcopatum de quo fuerat jure depositus.” Ad Cler. et Pleb. in Hispan. Strange to say, the Bened. editors, after Baronius, deduce from this passage the antiquity of appeals to Rome! (See the note in the Bened. edit. p. 492.) It was at best the appeal of a self-convicted criminal, and St. Cyprian's words do any thing but acknowledge its admissibility either in reason or justice.]



the teachers, that be within the precincts of the Roman jurisdiction, agree together.”

Whereas it is alleged, that the bishop of Rome was required to ratify the election of Flavianus, Anatolius, and of the Arian bishops; that was meant of a general allowance, such as was common to all bishops, specially to the four principal patriarchs, and not only to the bishop of Rome. Neither was the bishop of Rome’s admission thought so necessary, as if he only had a voice negative, to take in, and to put out, whom he listed; but only of congruity and consent, that it might appear there was no bishop in the church, but was liked and allowed of all his brethren. For otherwise the bishops of the east wrote thus unto Julius: *Si ordinatos a nobis episcopos*, &c.: “If you will allow the bishops that we have ordered, we will be at peace, and communicate with you: if not, we will proclaim the contrary<sup>75</sup>.” And the emperor Gratian made Nectarius bishop of Constantinople, contrary to the minds of the most part of the bishops. Therefore M. Harding’s argument might better have been framed thus: ‘The bishop of Rome confirmed the bishops within his own province, and had no other special authority to confirm all other bishops in the world, no more than others had to confirm him: therefore he was not then taken for the head of the church, nor was thought to have this universal power.’

Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 8. [ii. 103.]

Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 8. [ii. 287.]

M. HARDING: *Twenty-sixth Division.*

That the bishops of Rome, by accustomed practice of the church, had authority to approve or disprove councils, I need to say nothing for proof of it, seeing that the ecclesiastical rule (as we read in the Tripartite story) commandeth (111) that no council be celebrate and kept, without the advice and authority of the pope. Verily the councils bolden at Ariminum, at Seleucia, at Sirmium, at Antiochia, and the second time at Ephesus, for that they were (112) not summoned nor approved by the authority of the bishop of Rome, have not been accounted for lawful councils; but as well for that rejected, as also for their

The 111th untruth, standing in the wilful falsifying of the text.

The 112th untruth. For in those days the bishop of Rome had no authority to summon councils.

<sup>75</sup> [Sozomenus (lib. 3. c. 8.) quotes the passage, as if it were gives an account of this letter in the third person; bishop Jewel an extract from the letter.]

Lib. 4. cap. 19.

heretical determinations. The fathers assembled in the council of Nice sent their epistle to Sylvester the pope, beseeching him with his consent to ratify and confirm whatsoever they had ordained. Isidorus witnesseth, that the Nicene council had set forth rules, "the which," saith he, "the church of Rome received and confirmed." The second general council holden at Constantinople was likewise allowed and approved by Damasus, specially requested by the fathers of the same thereto. So was the third council holden at Ephesus ratified and confirmed by Cœlestinus, who had there, for his vicars or deputies, Cyrillus the famous bishop of Alexandria, and one Arcadius, a bishop out of Italy. As for the fourth council kept at Chalcedon, the fathers thereof also, in their epistle to Leo the pope, subscribed with the hands of forty-four bishops, made humble request unto him to establish, fortify, and allow the decrees and ordinances of the same. This being found true, for the four first chief councils, we need not to say any thing of the rest that followed. But for the sure proof of all this, that chiefly is to be alleged, that Constantius the Arian emperor made so importune and so earnest suit to Liberius the pope, to confirm the acts of the council holden at Antioch by the ninety Arian bishops, wherein Athanasius was deprived, and put out of his bishopric. For he believed, as Amianus Marcellinus writeth, that what had been done in that council should not stand, and take effect, unless it had been approved and confirmed by the authority of the bishop of Rome, which he termeth the eternal city.

Quas Romana suscipiens confirmavit ecclesia. In præfatione Niceni concilii.

Lib. 15.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding hath avouched two great untruths, the one in his translation in the English, the other in the allegation of the story. Touching the first, Cassiodorus in his Latin translation writeth thus: *Canones jubent, extra Romanum nihil decerni pontificem* <sup>76</sup>. Socrates in the Greek, out of which the Latin was taken, writeth thus: *Μὴ δεῖν παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης, κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας* <sup>77</sup>. The English hereof is this: "It is provided by the canons, that rules to bind the church be not made without the consent of the bishop of Rome." Wherein M. Harding hath purposely corrupted and falsified alto-

Cassiodor. lib. 4. cap. 19.

Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 17. [ii. 96.]

<sup>76</sup> [Cassiodor. Hist. Tripart. It must be remembered that these were the words of pope Julius. ".... Deinde cur eum ad synodum suam non vocassent, canonibus

"quippe jubentibus extra Romanum," &c.]

<sup>77</sup> [Socrates. .... τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος κελεύοντος μὴ δεῖν παρὰ γνώμην κ. τ. λ.]

gether both the Greek and the Latin, not reporting one word that he found in the original: *καρνούζειν*, or *decernere*, he Englisheth “to keep,” or, as he termeth it, “to celebrate” a council: *παρὰ γνώμην*, which is, *præter sententiam*, or, as Cassiodorus turneth it, *extra*, he Englisheth “without the advice and authority.” No, he would not suffer, no not him, in whose quarrel he thus fighteth, to pass without a venew<sup>78</sup>: for, where he saw him named in the Greek *ἐπίσκοπον Ῥώμης*, and in the Latin *Romanum pontificem*, “the Roman bishop,” he thought it best to leave both the Greek and the Latin, and to call him “the pope.” And thus, to increase the pope’s authority, he hath altered and corrupted the whole place, and not translated one word as he found it.

Touching the story, he saith, the Arians’ councils were not allowed, for that they were not summoned by the pope. And yet he knoweth right well, it was no part of the pope’s office in those days to summon councils. For it is evident, even by the policy and practice of that time, that Constantinus the emperor summoned the council of Nice; Theodosius the First, the council of Constantinople; Theodosius the Second, the council of Ephesus; and Marcianus, the council of Chalcedon<sup>79</sup>. And Socrates in his story saith thus: *Idcirco imperatores in historia complexus sum, quia ex quo tempore coeperunt esse Christiani, ecclesiastica negotia pendent ab illis, et maxima concilia de illorum sententia et facta sunt, et fiunt*: “Therefore I have comprised the emperors within my story, for that, sithence they began to be christened, the state of the church dependeth of them, and the greatest councils have been kept, and be still kept by their advice.” And the bishops in the council of Constantinople witness, that they were summoned to come to the Roman council by Damasus the bishop of Rome: but they add withal, “by warrant of the emperor’s letters,” not by any his own authority. And likewise in their epistle to the emperor Theodosius, they write thus: ..... *Literis, quibus nos convocasti, ecclesiam*

Socrat. lib. 5.  
in Proœmio.  
[ii. 204.]  
... τὰ τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας  
πράγματα  
ἤρτητο ἐξ  
αὐτῶν.....

Theodoret.  
lib. 5. cap. 9.  
[iii. 204.]  
διὰ τῶν τοῦ  
θεοφιλε-  
στάτου βα-  
σιλέως  
γραμματίων.

<sup>78</sup> [“Venue,” a thrust or bout in fencing.]

<sup>79</sup> [See Barrow, Supremacy, vii. 1.]



Inter acta  
concilii [Ge-  
ner. 2.] Con-  
stantinop. 5.  
[iii. 584. and  
557.]

*honore prosecutus es* ..... : "Your majesty hath honoured the church by the letters, wherewith ye summoned us together <sup>80</sup>."

Gregor. lib.  
4. epist. 34.  
[ii. 752.]

As for the bishop of Rome, he was not yet of authority able to call a general council. For the world as yet had no skill of his universal power over all others, neither would they have appeared upon his summon. Gregorius, being bishop of Rome, could not cause the bishop of Salonæ, being but one man, to come before him. Thus he writeth by way of complaint, unto the empress Constantia :

Leo, epist.  
23. [i. 521.]

*Contempto me atque despecto, ad me venire secundum jussionem Dominorum noluit* : "He despised me, and set me at nought, and would not come unto me, according to my lords the emperors' commandment." Therefore Leo, finding this weakness in himself, wrote unto the clergy and people of Constantinople, and willed them to crave a general council at the emperor's hand : *Exposcite, ut petitioni nostræ, qua plenariam indici synodum postulamus, clementissimus imperator dignetur annuere* : "Make your request, that the emperor's majesty would vouchsafe to grant my humble petition, wherein I besought him to summon a general council."

Liberat. cap.  
12.  
Genibus pro-  
volutus.

Liberatus saith, that Leo the bishop of Rome, with other mo bishops of Italy, fell upon their knees<sup>81</sup>, and desired the emperor Valentinian, and the empress Eudoxia, to appoint a council, and yet could not obtain it. Afterward he desired the emperor Theodosius<sup>82</sup>, that he would call a council to some place within

<sup>80</sup> [Concil. Constantinop. (5). This was the 2nd œcumenical council, A. D. 381. It is difficult to understand why it should be named in the margin the 5th; particularly as at p. 251. another council (that of A. D. 536.) is cited also as the 5th. It cannot be said that this was the fifth of those councils which were held at Constantinople, as according to the list of those councils generally given, it was the fourth in order. Cave for instance calls it the fourth. It is not a matter of much moment, and care will be taken in this edition to notice the error when it occurs.]

<sup>81</sup> [Garnerius the Jesuit, editor of Liberatus, is much scandalized at this undignified proceeding, for which he says there is no other authority but Liberatus; but he admits, that pope Leo prosecuted his entreaties almost to tears.]

<sup>82</sup> [Leo ad Theodos. Augustum. There are three letters from Leo to Theodosius, in which the same request is made. The numbering of Leo's epistles is retained according to the edition used by Jewel; the volume and page between brackets refer to Quesnel's edition, 1675.]

Italy<sup>a</sup>, and the emperor, contrary to the bishop of Rome's petition, appointed it to be holden at Ephesus<sup>b</sup>. After that, he made the same request to the emperor Marcianus<sup>c</sup>, and the emperor likewise, contrary to the bishop's humble request, commanded the council to be kept at Chalcedon. And whereas Leo had besought both these emperors, that it might please them to take a longer day for the council, for that the time of the summon seemed very short, and the ways were laid with enemies, and therefore dangerous for the bishops to travel; yet would neither of them alter one day, but charged each man to appear, as they were summoned. And Leo the bishop of Rome, with all his universal power, was fain to yield. Hereby we may soon conjecture, how true it is, either that pope Gelasius writeth, "that only the apostolic see of Rome decreed by her authority, that the council of Chalcedon should be summoned;" or else, that M. Harding would have us believe, "that all councils were summoned by the pope."

<sup>a</sup> Leo, epist. 11. [al. 9. l. 476.] ad Theodos. August.

<sup>b</sup> Leo, epist. 13. [l. 491.]

<sup>c</sup> Leo, epist. 50. [l. 574.]

Leo, epist. 13. [l. 491.]  
44. [p. 561.]  
58 [ ]

Epist. Gelasii ad Episcopos Dardaniæ. [Mansi, viii. 55. a.]

Neither was the bishop of Rome, nor his legate in his absence, evermore the president, or chief of the council. For it is known, that in the council of Nice, Eustathius, the patriarch of Antioch, was the president, and the bishop of Rome's legates, Vitus and Vincentius, sat in the fourth room beneath. In the council of Constantinople, Menna was the chief. In the council of Sardica, Osius of Corduba in Spain; in the council of Aquileia, St. Ambrose of Milan; in the council of Carthage, Aurelius the bishop there; in the council of Chalcedon, Leo the bishop of Rome's legate had chief room, but by way of entreaty only, and by the emperor's special grant, and not of due right, or universal authority.

"But," saith M. Harding, "the bishop of Rome allowed general councils." This is not denied. So did others, not only patriarchs or bishops, but also civil princes. In the council of Chalcedon it is written thus: *Dive memorie Theodosius confirmavit omnia, quæ judicata sunt a sancta et universali synodo generali lege*: "Theodosius the emperor, of godly memory, hath confirmed all things by a general law, that were determined in the universal council." So

Concil. Chalcedon. act. 1. [vi. 601.]

Concil. Chalcedon. act. 3. [vii. 480.]

likewise the emperor Marcianus : *Sacro nostræ serenitatis edicto, venerandam synodum confirmamus* : “ By the holy edict of our majesty, we confirm that reverend council.”

Euseb. in Vita Constantini. [i. 589.]

So Eusebius witnesseth, that the emperor Constantinus confirmed the determinations of the council of Nice. So the bishops in the council of Constantinople wrote unto the emperor Theodosius, by these words : *Rogamus tuam clementiam, ut per literas tuæ pietatis ratum esse jubeas, confirmesque concilii decretum* : “ We desire your favour, by your highness’ letters, to ratify and confirm the decree of the council.”

Inter acta Concil. [Gener. 2.] Constantin. 5. [iii. 557.]

Now, seeing it was lawful for princes and civil governors, to confirm the decrees and determinations of councils, how can we doubt, but it was lawful for bishops also to do the same ? Therefore Theodoretus saith, “ The conclusions of the council of Nice were sent abroad to other bishops, that were away.” And Victorinus saith : “ That many thousands of bishops allowed that same council, and agreed unto it.”

Theodoret. lib. 1. cap. 9. et lib. 2. cap. 8. [iii. 31 et 73.] Victorin. lib. 2.

Above all others, the subscription and confirmation of the four principal patriarchs was specially required, for that both their charge, and also their countenance and credit, was greater than others. Among which four, the bishop of Rome was ever the first, and therefore his consent seemed to bear greatest weight. And for that cause

Leo, epist. 60. [i. 618.]

the emperor Marcianus required Leo the bishop of Rome, to write unto the council of Chalcedon, and to declare that he gave his consent to the rule of faith, that was there determined. And in like sort the emperor Theodosius requireth all bishops to subscribe and to give their assent to the council of Nice. For it is a rule agreeable unto

Inter acta Concil. Chalcedon. [vi. 231.]

Regula juris.

law and reason, *quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus debet approbari* : “ the thing that toucheth all, ought to be allowed by all.” And therefore Julius being bishop of Rome pronounced, that all the acts of the council of Antioch were void, and of no force, for that he, being one of the four patriarchs, was not called thither, as well as others. For

Euseb. Oratio 3. de Vita Constan. [i. 579.] Theodoret. lib. 1. cap. 7. [iii. 25.]

it appeareth by Eusebius, Theodoretus and others, that to all general councils, all primates and metropolitans were



specially summoned. And this seemeth to be that canon [Soerat. lib. ii. cap. 17. li. 96.] that Julius allegeth, That it was not lawful to make rules and orders for the whole church, without the consent of τὰς ἐκκλησίας καγο- νίσειν. the bishop of Rome, being one of the four chief patriarchs, and having in his province one great portion of the church. And therefore Leo bishop of Rome testifieth his consent to the council of Chalcedon by these words: *Fraternitas vestra novit, me definitionem sanctæ synodi toto corde complexum esse*: “Your brotherhood knoweth that I have embraced with my whole heart the determination of that holy council.” And likewise unto the emperor Marcianus he writeth Leo, epist. 61. [i. 612.] thus: *Constitutionibus synodalibus.....libens adjeci sententiam meam*: “Unto these constitutions of the council, I have gladly given my assent.” The end hereof was not to shew his sovereign power above all others, but that the decrees, so ratified by him and others, might be had in more estimation. So Leo himself writeth: *Clementia vestra arbitratur, malum facilius delendum, si, per universas ecclesias, definitiones sanctæ synodi apostolicæ sedi placuisse doceantur*: “Your highness thinketh this evil will the rather be suppressed, if it be declared throughout all churches, that the decrees of the holy council be well liked of the apostolic see.” Leo, epist. 59. [i. 617.]

But, that the whole ratification of councils depended, not only of the bishop of Rome, but also of others, no less than of him, it is easy to be proved. The bishops in the Roman Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 23. [ii. 246.] council in the time of Damasus, condemned the council of the Arians holden at Ariminum, for that neither the bishop of Rome, whose mind should have been known before all others, nor Vincentius, nor any of the rest had agreed unto it. Likewise the council of Carthage and of Africa are allowed for good, notwithstanding the bishop of Rome would not allow them<sup>80</sup>. The council of Chalcedon decreed, that the bishop of Constantinople should be in dignity next unto the bishop of Rome, and should consecrate the metropolitans of Asia, Pontus and Thracia. This decree Leo Leo, epist. 13. [leg: 53. i. 598.] the bishop of Rome very much disliked<sup>81</sup>, and would

<sup>80</sup> [The council alluded to is evidently a misprint for 53. The probably that of A. D. 418.] letter intended must be that

<sup>81</sup> [Leon. epist. 13. This is to Anatolius, patriarch of Con-

never assent unto it: yet that notwithstanding, it is in force and continueth still. Liberatus thereof writeth thus: *Cum Anatolius consentiente concilio primatum obtinuisset, legati vero Romani episcopi contradicerent, a iudicibus et episcopis omnibus, illa contradictio suscepta non est. Et licet sedes apostolica nunc usque contradicat, tamen quod a synodo firmatum est, imperatorio patrocínio permanet:* “When Anatolius by consent of the council had obtained the primacy, and the bishop of Rome’s legates stood against it, their gainsaying of the judges and bishops there was not received. And albeit the apostolic see of Rome even hitherto stand against it, yet the decree of the council by the maintenance of the emperor standeth still in force<sup>82</sup>” Which thing seemeth agreeable to that St. Hierom writeth: *Major est autoritas orbis, quam urbis:* “The authority of the world is greater than the authority of one city:” meaning thereby the city of Rome.

Liberatus,  
cap. 13.

Hieronym.  
ad Evagri-  
um. [iv. pt.  
2. 803.]

It may appear by that I have thus shortly touched, that the bishop of Rome had authority neither to summon councils, nor to be president or chief in councils, nor to ratify and confirm the decrees of councils, more than any other of the four patriarchs; and last of all, that councils may stand in force, although the pope mislike them, and allow them not. I think it will be hard hereof to gather M. Harding’s conclusion, “that the bishop of Rome was head of the universal church.”

#### M. HARDING: *Twenty-seventh Division.*

Now what authority the bishops of Rome have ever had, and exercised in the assoiling of bishops unjustly condemned, and in restoring of them again to their churches, of which they were wrongfully thrust out by heretics or other disorder: it is a thing so well known of all that read the stories, in which the ancient state of the church is described, that I need not but rehearse the names only. Athanasius of Alexandria, and Paulus of Constantinople, deprived and thrust out of their bishoprics, by the violence of the Arians, assisted with the emperor Constantius, appealed to Rome, to Julius the pope and bishop there, and by his

stantinople, remonstrating with him on his ambition.]

<sup>82</sup> [Liberatus. “Legati papæ Leonis. . . lectis gestis cognoverunt, quid Anatolius, consen-

“tiente concilio, egerat et obtinuerat; quibus ejus præsumptioni contradicentibus, a iudicibus,” &c.]

(113) authority, were restored to their rooms again. So Leo the 113th untruth. For the emperor restored Athanasius, and not the pope. Pope Nicolas died in the year of our Lord 868.

Leo the emperor, excommunicated by Dioscorus. So Nicolaus the First restored Ignatius to the see of Constantinople, though Michael the emperor wrought all that he could against it. Many other bishops have been in all ages assoiled, and restored to their churches by the authority of the see apostolic, who have been (without desert) excommunicated, deprived, and put from all their dignities. But to have rehearsed these few, it may suffice.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Athanasius and Paulus, saith M. Harding, being deposed by the Arians, assisted with the emperor Constantius, appealed to the pope, and by the pope's authority were restored. Here I appeal unto the judgment and discretion of the reader, that can consider the state of that time, how likely it may seem, either that Athanasius should appeal from the emperor to the pope, or that the pope's commandment should be of sufficient force and authority against the emperor. For neither was pope Bonifacius the Eighth yet born, that determined, <sup>a</sup> that the emperor should be inferior to the pope; nor pope Innocentius the Third<sup>b</sup>, or his Gloss<sup>c</sup>, that rated the matter by good geometrical proportion, and pronounced, that the pope is fifty and seven degrees above the emperor, even just as much as the sun is above the moon; nor pope Alexander the Third, that set his foot in the emperor's neck.

<sup>a</sup> Extrav. Coum. de Major. et Obedien. Unam Sanctam.  
<sup>b</sup> Extra. de Majorit. et Obed. Solitae.  
<sup>c</sup> Et in Gloss. Carion in Frederico. [Barbaross.]

Verily, the pope then, by his authority, was able neither to depose, nor to restore, nor to call before him any bishop, as appeareth by that I have already alleged of pope Innocentius, and pope Gregory, by their own confessions. No, pope Leo himself confesseth, that he was not able to remove a poor monk, abbot Eutyches, from his abbey, but was fain to desire the empress Pulcheria to see him removed.

Epist. Decretalis Innocen. 27. Gregor. lib. 4. epist. 34. [ii. 752.] Leo, epist. 45. [i. 563.]

As touching Athanasius, it was the emperor Constantinus the Great, that by his authority removed and banished him, as it appeareth by Socrates: and therefore the emperor Justinian saith, "If any bishop offend herein, let him

Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 23. [al. 35. ii. p. 71.] De Ecclesiast. Divers. Capitul. [Novell. 123.]



κατὰ τὴν  
τοῦ παρόν-  
τος νόμου  
δύναμιν.

be deprived by force of this law." And as he was banished by the emperor Constantinus the father, so by his son Constantius the emperor, and not by the pope, he was restored: which thing is testified, not only by Socrates, that wrote the story, but also by sundry epistles and letters, taken out of the emperor's records, concerning the same.

a Socrat. lib.  
2. cap. 22.  
[ii. 109.]

First it is known, that the <sup>a</sup>emperor Constans, that ruled the west part of the world, unto whom Athanasius, being deposed, fled for aid, wrote in his behalf unto his brother Constantius, that then was the emperor of the east, and besought him, to see Athanasius restored unto his room. Otherwise he threatened, that he himself would come with his power to Alexandria, and restore him. Upon the sight of which letters, the emperor Constantius wrote unto Athanasius, and willed him to repair with speed unto his court, that he might be restored unto his country: and <sup>b</sup>at his coming, he directed out his letters unto the clergy and people of Alexandria, commanding them to receive him with favour, and to abolish all such acts as they had before made against him. - To report the whole letters at large, it would be tedious. Among other words, the emperor Constantius writeth thus: *Recipiat voluntate Dei, nostroque*

b Sozom. lib.  
3. cap. 19.  
[al. 20. ii.  
126.]  
Theodoret.  
lib. 2. cap. 8.  
[iii. 83.]  
Theodoret.  
lib. 2. cap.  
11. [iii. 86.]

*judicio, patriam suam, pariter et ecclesiam*<sup>c</sup>. And again:

c Cassiodor.  
lib. 4. cap.  
31.

*Omnes episcopum, superno judicio nostraque sententia destinatum, libenter et pie suscipite*<sup>d</sup>:

d [Ibid. cap.  
32.]

"Let him both by God's appointment, and by our decree, recover both his country and his church," &c. Further saith Cassiodorus: *His literis confidens Athanasius, rediit in orientem*<sup>e</sup>:

e Cassiodor.  
lib. 4. cap. 30.

"Athanasius, upon trust of these letters, returned again into the east." Likewise the bishops in the council of Hierusalem wrote abroad letters of gratulation upon his return, in this form: *Debetis ergo etiam, &c.*<sup>f</sup>:

f Cassiodor.  
lib. 4. cap. 36.

"You ought also continually to pray for the emperors' majesties, for that, understanding your desires, they have restored Athanasius again unto you." And Theodoretus, touching the same, writeth thus: *Procerum senatorumque conjuges, &c.*: "The lords' and counsellors' wives besought their husbands to entreat the emperor's majesty, that he would restore Athana-

Theodoret.  
lib. 2. cap. 17.  
[iii. 95.]

sus<sup>82</sup> unto his flock: and said further, unless they would so do, they would forsake them, and go to him.”

So likewise the bishops, that the Arians had deposed with Flavianus, were restored again by the emperor, and not by the pope. For pope Leo himself thereof writeth thus unto the empress Pulcheria: *Vos sacerdotes catholicos, qui de ecclesiis suis injusta fuerunt ejecti sententia, reduxistis*: “Your majesties have restored home again the catholic bishops, which by wrongful sentence were thrust from their churches.”

Pope Nicolas, as upon occasion I said before, was the second bishop in Rome, after pope Joan the woman, which was almost nine hundred years after Christ. Wherefore his authority might well have been spared. It is well known that as the pope’s power increased, so the empire abated. Therefore was Platina forced to say: *Periit et potestas imperatorum, et virtus pontificum*: “Now the emperors have lost their civil power, and the popes have lost their holiness<sup>83</sup>.” In old times the emperor confirmed the pope: now the pope confirmeth the emperor. In old times the emperor called the pope to the council: now contrariwise the pope calleth the emperor.

As touching the restoring of Athanasius, pope Julius entreated the emperor in his behalf, which, as it appeareth, was his greatest request. For thus he writeth unto Liberius<sup>a</sup>: *Precamur ut vestris exhortationibus, tam per vos, quam per apocrisarios vestros adjuvemur*: “We beseech you, that through your good exhortations, both by yourself, and by other your agents we may be holpen<sup>84</sup>.” Moreover for that he was a patriarch he summoned a particular council, and laboured the bishops<sup>b</sup>. For the Arians said: “There was an ecclesiastical canon, That no man being once deposed should be restored again, unless he

Leo, epist. 39. [l. 554.]

Platina in Adriano II.

<sup>a</sup> Epistola Athanasii ad Liberium. [ii. 674.]

<sup>b</sup> Sozomen. lib. 4. cap. 7. [al. 8. ii. 139.]

<sup>82</sup> [It was not for Athanasius, but for Liberius, that these noble women interceded.]

<sup>83</sup> [No such expression is found in the life of Hadrian II. or of any pope of that name.]

<sup>84</sup> [This epistle is spurious, as is also the pretended letter of the

oriental bishops. Bishop Jewel was well aware of this; but he turns these authorities against those who professed to believe them genuine. Both the letters are printed in vol. ii. of the Ben. edit. of Athanasius.]

had first cleared himself before a council: and that the bishops that would restore him, ought to be mo in number than were they, that had deposed him<sup>c</sup>.” And therefore Chrysostom was much blamed of his adversaries, for that he, being once deposed, had recovered his room without a council of other bishops<sup>d</sup>. And therefore Flavianus, being wrongfully put from his bishopric, offered up his bill of appeal, not unto the bishop of Rome alone, but unto him with other bishops. The truth hereof may well appear by these words of Leo bishop of Rome unto the emperor Theodosius: *Omnes partium nostrarum ecclesiæ, omnes mansuetudini vestræ cum gemitibus et lachrymis supplicant sacerdotes, ut, quia.....eisdem libellum appellationis Flavianus episcopus dedit, generalem synodum jubetis intra Italiam celebrari.....*: “All the churches of these our countries, and all the priests with sighs and tears beseech your highness, that, forasmuch as Flavianus hath offered up his bill of appeal unto them, it may please you to command a general council to be kept in Italy.”

In such councils the bishop of Rome, being sometimes the chief, pronounced the party worthy either to be restored, or to be deposed. But that sentence was not always put in execution. The council of Antioch deposed pope Julius: yet was not Julius therefore deposed. The council of Basil deposed pope Eugenius: yet Eugenius continued pope still. The decree of bishops in such cases without the emperor’s authority was then of small force. And therefore Athanasius himself reporteth, that the emperor gave his consent to the determination of the council of Sardica, and so commanded him to be sent for home.

But M. Harding will say, The words be plain, that Julius restored Athanasius. It is true, and not denied. But the meaning of these words is, that Julius pronounced him clear in that he was accused of, and therefore worthy to be restored. For it is certain, and M. Harding well knoweth, that Athanasius upon pope Julius’ letters was not restored. The like is also written of others. Cassiodorus saith: *Maximus quoque.....restituit beato Athanasio, et communionem, et dignitatem*: “Maximus also restored unto

c Orienta-  
lium Epist.  
ad Julium.  
[ii. 670.]

d Socrat. lib.  
6. cap. 14.  
[al. 18. ii.  
336.]

Leonis epist.  
24. [i. 508.]

Sozom. lib.  
3. cap. 10.  
[al. 11. ii.  
107.]  
καθειλον.  
Concil. Basill.  
[xxix. 179.]

Athanas. in  
Apolog. 2. [1.  
pt. 1. 173.]

Cassiodor.  
lib. 4. cap.  
34.

Sozomen.  
lib. 3. cap. 7.  
[al. 8. ii. 103.]

Cassiodor.  
lib. 4. cap. 34.



Athanasius, both his communion and also his dignity :'' that is to say, pronounced him worthy to be restored. For Maximus was not the bishop of Rome.

These things considered, M. Harding may make up his reason thus : The pope had no authority to restore them that were deposed : *ergo*, the pope was not head of the church.

Or thus : The emperor restored such as were deposed : *ergo*, the emperor was head of the church.

M. HARDING : *Twenty-eighth Division.*

Concerning the reconciliation of the prelates of the church, both bishops and patriarchs, to the bishop of Rome, (114) whereby his primacy is acknowledged and confessed, I need not say much, the matter being so evident. After that the whole church of Africa had continued in a schism, and withdrawn themselves from the obedience of the see apostolic, through the enticement of Aurelius archbishop of Carthago, for the space of one hundred years, <sup>b</sup>during which time by God's punishment they came into captivity of the barbarous and cruel Vandals, who were Arians; at the length when it pleased God of his goodness to have pity on his people of that province, sending them Bellisarius the valiant captain that vanquished and destroyed the Vandals, and likewise Eulalius that godly archbishop of Carthago, that brought the church home again, and joined the divided members unto the whole body the catholic church; a public instrument containing the form of their repentance, and of their humble submission, was offered and exhibited solemnly to Bonifacius the Second then pope, by Eulalius in the name of that whole province, which was joyfully received, and he thereupon forthwith reconciled. Of this reconciliation and restoring of the African churches to the catholic church, the mystical body of Christ, Bonifacius writeth his letters to Eulalius bishop of Thessalonica, requiring him with the churches thereabout, to give Almighty God thanks for it.

But here if I would shew, what bishops dividing themselves through heresy, schism, or other enormity, from the obedience of the see of Rome, have upon better advice submitted themselves to the same again, and thereupon have been reconciled; I had a large field to walk in. As inferior bishops of sundry provinces have done it, so have the great patriarchs done likewise. Among them, that, to satisfy the malicious mind of Eudoxia the empress, practised their wicked conspiracy against Chrysostom, through which he was deposed and carried away into banishment, Alexander bishop of Antioch, and primate of the orient, was one; (115) who at length, stricken with repentance for that he had been both a consenter and a promoter of that wicked act, sub-

The 114th untruth. For reconciliation is no necessary token neither of primacy nor of subjection.

a St. Augustine was one of these schismatics. b During the same time Rome itself was six times sacked: which thing M. Harding hath quite forgotten.

The 115th untruth. For this story is here interlaced with many untruths.

mitted himself humbly to Innocentius the pope, and by all means sought to be assoiled and reconciled. And therefore sent his legates to Rome, to exhibit to Innocentius a solemn instrument of his repentance and lowly submission, and to accept what should be enjoined. By which his humbleness Innocentius moved, granted to his petitions, received him into the lap of the catholic church again: and thus was he reconciled. Sundry the like reconciliations of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Hierusalem to the see of Rome in like cases, might easily be recited; which for avoiding of tediousness I pass over, as likewise of the patriarchs of Constantinople, which, as we read in ancient stories, have forsaken the church of Rome twelve times, and have been reconciled to the same again.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

First, M. Harding supposeth, that this Latin word, *reconciliatio*, can in no wise stand amongst equals: and besides that, touching the reconciliation of the church of Antioch, as it shall appear, he misreporteth the whole story. Upon such grounds these proofs be builded. For M. Harding knoweth, that, as submission is made by the subject towards his prince, so reconciliation, in proper manner of speech, is made between equal friends.

Concerning that is here touched of Eulalius, the matter needeth no long answer. The story being truly known is sufficient to answer itself. It is certain, as we have before declared more at large, and as it plainly appeaeth by the acts of the council of Africa, that Zosimus the bishop of Rome, to the intent to advance himself over all other bishops, manifestly falsified the Nicene council. This forgery in the council of Africa was disclosed and laid abroad to the eyes of all the world. The bishops there, being in number two hundred and seventeen, saw, that one Apiarius a priest, whom they for his open outrage and wickedness had excommunicate, was without any further examining of the matter, only upon his bare complaint, admitted again unto the communion, and received into favour, in despite of all their doings, by the bishop of Rome.

They saw, that the accusers and witnesses, without whom no ordinary judgment can proceed, either for age,

or for sickness, and other causes, could not well travel so far : therefore they desired the bishop of Rome by their letters, that he would bring no such ambitious puff of vanity into the church : and made a strait decree in the council among themselves, that it should not be lawful for any man to appeal out of Africa to any foreign bishop<sup>85</sup>. An hundred years after that, this Eulalius the bishop of Carthage, if it be true that is reported of him, and not forged at Rome, as were many things mo, reconciled himself to the church of Rome, in the time of Bonifacius the Second, as it is recorded in the Pontifical : for other record thereof to my remembrance there is none. The words of the reconciliation be these : *Hanc professionem meam manu mea subscripsi, &c.* : “ This profession I have subscribed with mine own hand, and have directed the same to Bonifacius the holy and reverend pope of the city of Rome, utterly condemning my predecessors and successors, and all others that shall go about to frustrate the privileges of the apostolic see of Rome.” Likewise Bonifacius writeth hereof unto Eulalius the bishop of Alexandria in this wise : *Aurelius Carthaginensis ecclesie olim episcopus cum collegis suis, instigante Diabolo, superbire temporibus predecessorum nostrorum contra Romanam ecclesiam cepit* : “ Aurelius sometime bishop of Carthage, together with his fellows,” (his fellows were St. Augustine, Alypius, and two hundred and fifteen other bishops,) “ being set on by the Devil, in the time of my predecessors, began to bear himself disdainfully against the church of Rome.” The one of these, by a public instrument under his hand and seal, utterly condemneth and accurseth St. Augustine, with two hundred and sixteen other godly bishops, together with four general<sup>86</sup> councils, of Africa, Carthage, Milevitum, and Hippo : the other saith, they were all set awork and pricked forth by the Devil, and lived out of the church of God, and died in schism.

Famosum  
sæculi ty-  
phum.

Inter De-  
creta Bonif.  
2. [Mansl,  
viii. 734.]

Epist. Bonif.  
2. ad Eulal.  
[viii. 732.]

St. Augustine  
condemned  
and accursed,  
and set on by  
the devil.

<sup>85</sup> [Supra, vol. ii. pp. 164. 223.]

<sup>86</sup> [The petition of Eulalius and the epistle of Bonifacius are allowed by Baronius, Bellarmine and others, to be gross forgeries.]

<sup>87</sup> [This is another instance of bishop Jewel's misapplication of the term *general* to councils, which could be called so only in a very limited sense.]



If this be true, then ought St. Augustine no longer to be holden for a saint, neither to have any room in the calendar.

But, if all these godly fathers, that justly and truly defended the holy council of Nice, were led with the Devil, with what spirit then was he led, that openly and in the sight of all the world, durst to corrupt and falsify the same council? Verily Dionysius the bishop of Corinth,

Pope Zosimus a forger of councils.

Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 22. [al. 23. i. 187.] οἱ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀποστολοὶ ζῆσαντων γεγεμικαν.

complaineth thus: *Rogatu fratrum meorum scripsi epistolas: sed illas apostoli diaboli, alia eximentes, alia interserentes, impleverunt zizaniis: quibus vœ reponitur:* “At the request of my brethren, I wrote certain epistles; but the Devil’s apostles by putting to, and taking fro, have filled them full of tares and cockle. But woe be unto them.”

“But in the mean while,” saith M. Harding, “the country of Africa, even by the punishment of God, was brought into subjection, and spoiled by the Vandals.” Here M. Harding entereth into God’s judgments, and pronounceth that all this misery happened unto that country, for leaving the see of Rome, which thing he reckoneth all one with the leaving and forsaking of God himself. Howbeit M. Harding might soon know, that about the very same time, while Africa was thus afflicted, the city of Rome itself was six times taken by wild and barbarous enemies, the Visigothi, Ostrogothi, Heruli, Vandali, Hunni, and Longobardi, within the space of an hundred and forty years. The walls were rased; the towers thrown down; the houses burnt; the nobility taken captive; the people spoiled and banished; the city itself a long time left waste and desolate without inhabiter. If M. Harding can guess so rightly of the miseries of Africa, how happeneth it, that he can guess nothing of sixfold greater miseries, that at the same time befell upon Rome? If the bishops and people of Africa were thus plagued for their schism, wherefore then were the bishops and people of Rome plagued, that, as it is supposed, continued still without schism? Notwithstanding Posidonius saith, that God of special mercy granted St. Augustine, who then was

Rome six times taken by enemies and sacked within the space of 140 years. Gregor. lib. 4. epist. 32. [ii. 747.]

besieged by the enemies, that, during his life, his city of Hippo should not be taken. And yet was the same St. Augustine the greatest discloser of the forgery and pride of the bishop of Rome, that is to say, the greatest author and maintainer of all this schism.

Touching the reconciliation of Alexander the bishop of Antioch, M. Harding, for the better furniture of the tale, hath woven in and interlaced many words of his own. For in all that is written thereof by Innocentius, there is no manner mention, neither of solemn instrument of repentance, nor of accepting of penance, nor of subjection or humble submission. Indeed this Alexander at his first entry into the bishopric of Antioch, finding his church full of division, by mean of one Eustathius, by his wisdom and godly exhortations, brought the whole people there unto unity: and afterward wrought the like godly policy in other churches, and ceased all the strife that had long continued for the condemnation of Chrysostom, and caused his name, that his enemies had rased out<sup>88</sup>, to be enrolled again among other catholic bishops: and likewise wrote unto the emperor Theodosius the younger, and to the bishops of other countries, to do the like. In the end, having appeased all contentions, in token, not of subjection, as M. Harding surmiseth, but of full consent and agreement, he desired that his church might be joined in communion and fellowship with the church of Rome and other churches of the west, from whence before by reason of their dissensions they had been divided. Which thing also appeareth by the words of Innocentius himself unto Alexander touching the same: *Gratias agens Domino, communionem ecclesiæ vestræ ita recepi, ut præ me feram, apostolicæ sedis condiscipulos primos dedisse cæteris viam pacis*: "I, giving God thanks, so received the communion and fellowship of your church, that I profess, that you,

Theodoret.  
lib. 5. cap. 35.  
[iii. 234.]  
Nicephor.  
lib. 14. cap.  
26. [cap. 25.  
ii. 490.]

Innocentii  
epist. 17. ad  
Alexandrum.  
[Mansi, iii.  
1053.]

<sup>88</sup> [Theodoretus says nothing here of St. Chrysostom's name having been erased; οὗτος τὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ πανυ προσηγορίαν πρῶτος τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς διπτύ-

χοις ἐνέταξε: and Nicephorus says no more. The probability seems, that, owing to the influence of his enemies, the name had not been before inserted at Antioch.]

being our schoolfellows of the apostolic see, have first opened unto others the way of peace." Here Innocentius calleth Alexander his schoolfellow, not his subject or underling. And therefore he calleth him his schoolfellow of the apostolic see, for that St. Peter sat first at Antioch, and after that in Rome, and, for that cause, both these sees of Peter the apostle were called apostolic.

Innocentii  
epist. 15. [iii.  
1052.]

Again in another epistle unto the same Alexander he writeth thus: *Voluit compresbyter noster Cassianus, hanc amicitiarum nostrarum paginulam, . . . . quasi primitias pacis nostræ conscribi, &c.*: "Cassianus our fellow-priest, would have this instrument of our friendship to be written, as the firstfruits of our peace. Therefore I greet well your brotherhood, and all others of that church that are of your mind." Here Innocentius himself calleth this composition an instrument of friendship or fellowship, not of repentance or humble submission, as it pleaseth M. Harding untruly to translate it. Neither doth this word "reconciliation" necessarily import a superiority or a mastership, but also, and that most commonly, a fellowship or equality,

Ephes. ii. 16.

as it is said before. So saith St. Paul: "Christ hath reconciled both the Jew and the Gentile in one body."

Galat. iii. 28.

And what is meant by that reconciliation, he expoundeth thus: *Omnes unum sumus [estis] in Christo Jesu*: "We are all one in Christ Jesu."

Plin. in Pa-  
negyrico.

So saith Pliny the younger: *Principis . . . . est reconciliare æmulas civitates*: "It is a prince's part to reconcile cities that contend for the sovereignty."

Matt. v. 24.

Not that the one may be brought into subjection to the other; but that they may be made friends, and live in peace. So likewise saith Christ: *Vade, reconcilieris fratri tuo*: "Go, and be reconciled unto thy brother."

Innocentii  
epist. 17.

Thus therefore was the patriarch of Antioch reconciled to the bishop of Rome: not as a subject unto his prince, but as in a body one member unto another: and (forasmuch as Innocentius himself useth this word *condiscipuli*) as in a school, one scholar unto his fellow.

Concil. Afri-  
can. can. 68.  
[iv. 502.]

So, whereas there was matter of dissension between the church of Rome and the church of Alexandria, it seemed good to the fathers in the council of Africa, to intreat



between them, not that the church of Alexandria should submit herself, as unto her head, and live in subjection, but that they might be reconciled, and live in peace together. So Liberatus saith, Petrus Moggus was reconciled unto Acacius<sup>89</sup>, not as unto his superior, but as unto his brother. In this sense writeth Hormisda bishop of Rome, unto Epiphanius the bishop of Constantinople; *Æquale studium, et æqualem curam suscipiamus, quibus una est in communione et fide amicitia*: "Seeing we have one friendship in communion and in faith, let us therefore take like study and like care."

Liberatus,  
cap. 17.

Concil. Con-  
stantinop. 5.  
act. 2. [viii.  
103t.]

This manner of reconciliation is largely set forth by Socrates in his story, and may be abridged in this sort: The Macedonian heretics, having forsaken their heresies, sent their messengers Eustathius, Sylvanus, and Theophilus, unto Liberius the bishop of Rome, and to other the bishops of the west. Liberius, understanding that their faith agreed fully with the council of Nice, and with the faith that he himself and all the other bishops of the west church professed, received them unto the communion, and wrote favourably unto the bishops of the east in their behalf. These messengers, departing thence, went into Sicily, and, in a council of the bishops there, likewise reconciled themselves unto them: and being returned home, they sent abroad into all the churches of those countries, and willed them to consider the letters sent from Liberius the bishop of Rome, and from other bishops of Italy, Africa, France, Sicily, and all the west, and to agree, and to communicate together with them.

Socrates, lib.  
4. cap. 11.  
[12. ii. 223—  
228.]

Another like example of reconciliation we have made by one Arsenius the bishop of Hypsilitæ, unto Athanasius the bishop of Alexandria. The words of the reconciliation are these: *Nos volentes ecclesiastico canonis, &c.*: "We desiring to be subject to the ecclesiastical canon, according to the ancient order, do write these unto you" (*dilecte papa*) [*ἀγαπητὸ πάπα*] "beloved pope, and likewise do promise in

Athanas.  
Apolog. Se-  
cundæ. [i. pt.  
1. 185.]

<sup>89</sup> [These are not the exact words of Liberatus; he merely asserts that Acacius allowed the name of Petrus Moggus to be inscribed in the diptycha.]

the name of our Lord, that we henceforth will not communicate with any schismatics, or with any that have not peace with the catholic church, whether they be bishops, priests, or deacons." This submission or reconciliation was made unto Athanasius: yet was not Athanasius the bishop of Rome.

This then was the manner of reconciliation of churches, without any such humble subjection as M. Harding fancieth, or knowledge or token of supremacy, or any manner universal power.

M. HARDING: *Twenty-ninth Division.*

Thus having declared the supreme authority and primacy of the pope by the common practice of the church, I need not to shew further, how in (116) all questions, doubts, and controversies, touching faith and religion, the see of Rome hath always been consulted; how the decision of all doubtful cases hath been referred to the judgment of that see; and to be short, (117) how all the world hath ever fetched light from thence. For proof whereof, because it cannot be here declared briefly, I remit the learned reader to the ecclesiastical stories, where he shall find this matter amply treated.

The 116th untruth. For many great questions were never removed to Rome.

The 117th untruth. For Rome itself had her light from Græcia.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

As Rome, having atchieved the empire of the whole world, both for renown and honour, and also for wisdom and learning, which commonly follow the empire, was the noblest and most famous of all other cities, so for commodity of access out of all kingdoms and countries, both of the east and of the west, and also out of Africa and Egypt, and other countries of the south, and also for receiving of questions and resolution of doubts, it seemed to be planted in the fittest place of all the world. For, as Thucydides calleth the city of Athens, "Græcia of all Græcia," so some called the city of Rome in those days of her honour, *epitome orbis terrarum*, "the abridgment of the whole world." The admiration of this glory drew such resort of people thither, that Beda, a learned man of this country, being there<sup>90</sup>, and seeing the multitude of strangers that

Ἑλλάς ἑλλα-  
δος.  
Cælius Rho-  
diginus, lib.  
18. cap. 25.

<sup>90</sup> [It is very questionable whether Bede ever travelled abroad; so that this story must probably belong to some one else.]

came only to gaze and to see news, expounded these four solemn letters, S. P. Q. R., in this wise: *Stultus populus querit Romam*: "Foolish folk fly to Rome." Therefore for opportunity of the place, and expedition of answer, many matters of question and doubtful cases were brought thither. Many, I say, but not all. For men that wanted counsel wrote and sought unto them, that had the fame of learning, and were thought best able to make them answer. So Marcellinus, Dulcitus, Bonifacius, Euodius, and others, sent their questions to St. Augustine, and desired his counsel. St. Ambrose saith, as it is before alleged<sup>91</sup>, that many, that had been with the bishop of Rome, would afterward for their better satisfaction send to him. And Leo himself, being bishop of Rome, and therefore, as M. Harding thinketh, the oracle of all the world, thought it not amiss to submit himself, and to ask counsel of other bishops. Therefore this saying of M. Harding's neither is universally true, nor proveth his purpose. For if he will say, "Some men in cases of doubt sought to Rome for council: *ergo*, the bishop there was called the head of the church," this conclusion will hardly follow.

Ambros. lib.  
10. epist. 83.  
[ii. 881.]

Leo. epist. 37.  
[i. 716.]

King Josias, in a great case of religion, sent to a woman named Olda, [Huldah,] the wife of Sellum, [Shallum,] to know her counsel: and it was a proverb among the Jews, *Qui interrogat, interroget in Abila*: "Whoso will seek counsel, let him seek it in Abila." Yet neither was Olda the head of the church; nor Abila the chief town in Israel or Judah.

2 Kings xxii.  
14.  
2 Chron.  
xxxiv. 22.

2 Sam. xx.  
18.

"But all the world," saith M. Harding, "hath received light from Rome." But all the world seeth, this is another manifest untruth: and nevertheless being granted, yet would it not conclude of his side.

Indeed in a kind of speech both Rome, and Antioch, and Alexandria, and any other great city famous for religion, may be called the head or spring of the gospel. So St. John calleth Babylon, *Magna mater fornicationum, et abominationum terræ*, "The great mother of the fornicationum, et abominationum terræ," "The great mother of the fornications and abominations of the earth," Rev. xvii. 5.

<sup>91</sup> [See vol. ii. p. 212, note 42.]



tions, and of the abominations of the earth." And so Arnob. lib. 7. Arnobius calleth Etruria, which is the country wherein adversus Gentes. [p. 137.] Rome standeth; and St. Ambrose calleth Rome itself, *caput superstitionis*, "the head of superstition"<sup>91</sup>.

†Ambros. Ser. 66. [August. opp. Ben. v. app. 336.]

But if we seek the place itself, from whence the light of religion first sprang forth, we must needs confess, it was Jerusalem, and not Rome. For so it is written in the prophet Isaiah: *De Sion exhibit lex, et verbum Domini de Hierusalem*: "The law shall proceed from Sion, and the word of God from Jerusalem." And therefore the bishops of the east, being in a convocation at Constantinople, call Jerusalem, "the mother of all churches." Yet nevertheless, every great metropolitan city, within her own province, may be honoured with the like title. So saith Nazianzenus of the city of Cæsarea, where St. Basil was bishop: *Cæsarea prope mater est omnium ecclesiarum, &c.* "Cæsarea is in a manner the mother of all churches, and the whole Christian commonwealth so embraceth and beholdeth it, as the circle embraceth and beholdeth the centre." So Chrysostom likewise advanceth the city of Antioch: *Cogita urbis magnitudinem, quod non de una, vel de duabus, vel de tribus, vel de decem animabus, nunc nobis est consideratio: sed de millibus infinitis, de totius orbis capite*: "Consider the greatness of this city: we have to deal not for one, two, three, or ten souls: but for infinite thousands, even for the head of the world"<sup>92</sup>. Thus Chrysostom calleth Antioch, "the head of the world," for that, in that province of Syria, it was the head: like as Rome also was the head city and principal church of the west.

Isa. li. 3.

Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 9. [iii. 207.]

Gregor. Naz. in Epist. ad Cæsarienses. [ii. 36.]

Ad populum Antiochen. hom. 3. [ii. 36.]

#### M. HARDING: Thirtieth Division.

Now for a brief answer to M. Jewel, who denieth, that within 600 years after Christ the bishop of Rome was ever called an universal bishop, or head of the universal church, and maketh

<sup>91</sup> [The writer of Serm. 66 (not St. Ambrose) applied this term to pagan Rome. "Et in quo tandem loco martyrimum pertulerunt (sc. Petrus et Paulus)? In "urbe Romana, quæ principatum

"et caput obtinet nationum, scilicet ut, ubi caput superstitionis erat, illic caput quiesceret sanctitatis," &c.]

<sup>92</sup> [Chrysost. . . . περί του κεφαλαίου της οικουμένης άπάσης.]

himself very sure of it, although it be a childish thing to stick at the name any thing is called by, the thing by the name signified being sufficiently proved; yet to the intent good folk may understand that all is not truth of the old gospel, which our new gossellers either affirm or deny, I will bring good and sufficient witness, that the bishop of Rome was then called both universal bishop, or œcumenical patriarch, which is one, to wit, bishop or principal father of the whole world, and also head of the church. Leo, that worthy bishop of Rome, was called the universal bishop, and universal patriarch, of six hundred and thirty fathers, assembled together from all parts of the world in general council at Chalcedon; which is both (118) expressed in that council, and also clearly affirmed by St. Gregory in three sundry epistles, to Mauritius the emperor, to Eulogius patriarch of Alexandria, and to Anastasius patriarch of Antioch. Thus that name was deferred unto the pope by the fathers of that great council; which by them had not been done, had it been unlawful. In very deed neither Leo himself, nor any other his successor, ever called or wrote himself by that name, as St. Gregory saith, much less presumed they to take it unto them, but rather used the name of humility, calling themselves each one *Servum servorum Dei*, "The servant of the servants of God." Yet sundry holy martyrs, bishops of Rome, used to call themselves bishops of the universal church, (119) which in effect is the same, as the fathers of Chalcedon understood. <sup>a</sup>So did Sixtus in the time of Adrianus the emperor, in his epistle to the bishops of all the world. So did Victor, writing to Theophilus of Alexandria. So did Pontianus, writing to all that believed in Christ, before 1300 years past. So did Stephanus, in his epistle to all bishops of all provinces, in the time of St. Cyprian. And all these were before Constantine the Great, and before the council of Nice, which times our adversaries acknowledge and confess to have been without corruption. The same title was used likewise after the Nicene council by Felix, by (120) Leo, and by divers others, before the 600 years after Christ were expired. Neither did the bishops of Rome use this title and name only themselves to their own advancement, as the adversaries of the church charge them, but they were honoured therewith also by others: as namely, Innocentius, by the fathers assembled in council at Carthago; and Marcus, by Athanasius, and the bishops of Egypt.

The 118th untruth. For there is no mention made hereof in any canon in that council.

The 119th untruth. For these names import not one thing, as shall appear.

<sup>a</sup> All these be bastard epistles without credit.

The 120th untruth. For immediately before M. Harding confesseth that Leo never wrote himself by that name.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding secretly confesseth, that, in all he hath hitherto alleged, he hath not yet found that the bishop of Rome was known in the world within the space of the first six hundred years after Christ, by the name either of the universal bishop, or of the head of the uni-

The pope above a thousand years since called universal bishop, and head of the universal church.

versal church: notwithstanding he hath much guessed about the matter, both by misreporting the practice of government that then was used, and also by wresting and misconstruing the words of the holy fathers. Thus hitherto he hath taken great pains to small purpose.

But hereunto he putteth his rhetorical correction and saith: "It is a childish thing to stick at the name of any thing." And so all this long talk is driven in the end to a childish conclusion. Howbeit it appeareth St. Gregory was not so persuaded of it, nor thought the matter to be so childish. For, after that John of Constantinople had entitled himself the universal bishop, Gregory, being then bishop of Rome, withstood him earnestly, and wrote against him in this wise: *Deus ab unitate atque humilitate ecclesie hoc malum superbie et confusionis avertat*: "God turn away this mischief of pride and confusion from the unity and humility of the church." Again: *Omnibus viribus providendum est, ne, in unius veneno sermonis, viventia in Christi corpore membra moriantur*: "We must labour and provide, with all that we can do, lest the members that live in Christ's body happen to perish in the poison of one word." Moreover, as it is before at large declared, he calleth it a new, a perverse, a superstitious, an arrogant, an ungodly, an antichristian name; a name of singularity; a name of error; a name of confusion; a name of blasphemy; against the canons, against the whole church, against St. Peter, and against the gospel. Yet saith M. Harding, "To stick at this name it is but a childish matter." Howbeit if the thing itself, that this name importeth, had been lawful, then had this name not been so horrible. But contrariwise, the very usurpation of the name is horrible: therefore the thing itself, thereby signified, must of necessity be much more horrible.

Now for a brief answer. M. Harding hath found six hundred and thirty bishops, that gave this title to Leo bishop of Rome, in the council of Chalcedon, and called him the universal bishop: which thing, as he saith, is recorded by St. Gregory in three sundry places. Here, good Christian reader, by the way, this one thing, I trust,

Gregor. lib.  
4. epist. 36.  
[ii. 773.]



thou wilt consider of thyself. If the name of universal bishop were given to the bishop of Rome in the council of Chalcedon, which was holden in the year of our Lord 488, then by M. Harding's own grant, and by the witness of this council, the bishop of Rome before that time had not the name of universal bishop. Otherwise, how could either they give that they had not to bestow, or he receive that he had already? Indeed such bestowing of gifts had been very childish. Thus of the whole number of six hundred years, M. Harding freely, even at the sight, hath yielded us back four hundred fourscore and eight years towards the reckoning. Before we pass further, let us see what credit the pope himself giveth to this council of 630 fathers holden at Chalcedon. Pope Gelasius saith: "The apostolic see of Rome in part allowed it not: for that things were there borne out by inordinate presumption<sup>93</sup>." Pope Leo accuseth the whole council of ambition and wilful rashness. And St. Hierom in the case of matrimony, *inter raptorem et raptam*, is received against all those 630 bishops, and against the determination of that whole council. In such regard they have the councils when they list. But the law saith: *Absurdum videtur, licere eidem partim comprobare judicium defuncti, partim evertere*: "It is against reason that one man should in part allow the will of the dead," (so far forth as it maketh for him,) "and in part overthrow it," (where it seemeth to make against him.)

Gelasius inter acta Concil. Tarracon. [viii. 88. B.]  
Per incompetentem presumptionem ventilata.  
Leo, ambitionem et inconsultam temeritatem. 36. quæst. 2. Tria legitima.

Pand. de bonis libertor. Nam absurdum. Caius. [tom. ii.]

But M. Harding will say: "Of what credit soever this council ought to be, it gave Leo the name of universal bishop." And what if all this be utterly untrue? what if there were no such title either given or offered in the council? Certainly, the whole council of Chalcedon is extant abroad, both written and printed, and may soon be seen. Why doth not M. Harding allege, either the place, or the canon, or the words? At the least, why giveth he no note in the margin where this authority may be found?

<sup>93</sup> ["Gelasii Tomus de Anathematis Vinculo," is the proper title of the work referred to.]

Perhaps he will say, this canon was burnt by some heretics, as he said before of the council of Nice. Howbeit, it were much for him to say, that of that whole council, only six lines should be burnt, and that in all the examples throughout the world, and yet all the rest of the same council remain safe: or, that the words, whereby the pope claimeth his title, should so negligently be lost, and that in Rome itself, in the pope's own library; and yet the words, that the pope reproveth and condemneth, should stand whole. M. Harding hath no other council within six hundred years after Christ to hold by, but only this, and yet the same cannot be found. But St. Gregory is witness sufficient: he saith, "that 630 bishops in the council of Chalcedon, named the bishop of Rome the universal bishop." This is an untruth to beguile the reader. For Gregory saith not, the bishops in that council saluted, entitled, proclaimed, or called the bishop of Rome by that name. Only he saith: *Romano pontifici universitatis nomen oblatum est*: "The name of universal bishop was offered by the council of Chalcedon to the bishop of Rome." He saith, they offered to call him so: but that they called him so indeed, he saith not. Therefore M. Harding herein overreacheth and mistelleth his author's tale. But St. Gregory saith further: "That neither Leo, nor any other of his predecessors bishops of Rome, would ever receive that arrogant and ungodly name, or suffer himself to be so called; notwithstanding it were offered by the council." The bishops of Rome never so used that name, notwithstanding it were offered them. Therefore they ought to lose it by non-usure.

M. Harding will say, "This was only their humility, and not want of right." And therefore they chose rather to be called *servi servorum Dei*, "the servants of God's servants." Verily it may well be thought, that Gregory, who first used these words as his familiar style, named himself so without hypocrisy, only in respect of his intolerable pains and continual travails. For so he himself complaineth: *Veni in altitudinem maris, et tempestas demersit me*: "I am come into the deep of the sea, and the rage of

Greg. lib. 4.  
epist. 32. [ii.  
771.] et 36.  
[749.]

Superbum  
prophanum  
nomen.

Gregor. lib.  
1. epist. 7.  
[ii. 494.] et  
25. [516.]

tempest hath drowned me up." So St. Augustine long before St. Gregory's time, for that he was likewise troubled, used sometimes the like style. For thus he writeth of himself: *Augustinus episcopus servus Christi, servorumque Christi*: "Augustine bishop, the servant of Christ, and the servant of Christ's servants." But he, that neither feedeth the flock, nor plougheth the Lord's ground, nor dresseth his vine, nor ministereth the sacraments, nor comforteth, nor exhorteth, nor teacheth; that is carried on high through the streets on noblemen's backs, and may not touch the ground for holiness; that causeth that noble prince, the French king, to hold his stirrup; the emperor of all Christendom to lead his horse by the rein; and the princes and governors of the world to kiss his shoe; that doth no manner of service or ministry in Christ's church: how can he call himself, either the servant of Christ, or the servant of Christ's servants, without hypocrisy? This indeed is open dissimulation, and a childish playing with words, and an open mocking of the world. So one writeth of Julius Cæsar: *Deposuit nomen Dictaturæ, at vim retinuit*: "He refused the name of Dictator, but the power and force thereof he kept still." So likewise saith Appianus: "The princes of Rome name themselves *imperatores*, emperors," which was a name of government in the field, and lasted but for the while: but kings they will in no wise be called, for that the name of a king among them then was odious. "Howbeit," he saith, "indeed they are very kings." So Augustus Cæsar, notwithstanding he were a tyrant, and had oppressed the people, yet he chose to be called *tribunus plebis*, "the defender and patron of the people." And Verres, notwithstanding he had miserably wasted and consumed the whole island of Sicily, yet in his title he would be called *Σωτήρ*, that is, the keeper and saviour of that island. Thus they dissemble openly, and as one saith, "With fair names they cover foul faults." But it was not any such dissimulation or countenance of humility, that moved Leo, Gregory, or any other godly bishop of Rome, to refuse this name, as M. Harding imagineth, but the very iniquity and injury therein contained. For thus

De Meritis  
et remissione  
Peccatorum,  
ad Marcellinum,  
lib. 3.  
cap. 1. [x.  
71.]

Dion. [lib.  
41.]

Appianus.  
[Præfat. ed.  
Schw. i. 8.]

εἰσι δὲ τὰ  
ἔργα [ἔργων  
τὰ πάντα]  
Βασιλείς.  
Cornelius  
Tacitus in  
Augusto.  
[Annal. i.]  
Cicero in  
Verrem. [li.  
63.]

τῷ ὀνόματι  
περιπέπτου-  
σι τὴν μοχ-  
θηρίαν.  
[Aristoph.  
Πλουτ.  
159.]



Gregor. lib.  
4. epist. 36.  
[ii. 771.]

saith St. Gregory: *Si unus patriarcha universalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur, &c.*: “If one be called the universal patriarch, then is the name of patriarchs taken from others. But God keep it far from any Christian mind, that any man should take so much upon him.—The consenting unto this wicked name, is the losing of the faith.” Therefore in the council of Carthage

Gregor. lib.  
4. epist. 39.  
[ii. 747.]

it is decreed thus: *Primæ sedis episcopus ne appelletur princeps sacerdotum, vel summus sacerdos, vel aliquid hujusmodi: sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus. Universalis autem nec etiam Romanus pontifex appelletur*: “Let not

Concil. Carthagen. 3. can. 26. [iii. 884.]

The bishop of Rome may not be called, The universal bishop.

the bishop of the first see be called the chief of bishops, or the highest bishop, or by any other like name. But the bishop of Rome himself may not be called the universal bishop.” This latter clause of that canon (*universalis autem episcopus, nec etiam Romanus pontifex appelletur*) one Peter Crabbe the setter forth of the councils, of purpose, and contrary to good faith, dissembled and left out. Howbeit the fraud is soon discovered. For the same clause is to be found whole, both in written examples of the councils, and

Dist. 99. Primæ sedis.

also in Gratian, that compiled the Decrees: and in the very barbarous Gloss upon the same, by these words: *Hic dicitur, quod papa non debet vocari universalis*: “Here it is said, that the pope may not be called the universal bishop.” M. Harding saith, “the pope was called by that name;” and for proof thereof allegeth a council without a canon. But the whole general council of Carthage saith, “The bishop of Rome may not in any wise be so called;” and the canon thereof is apparent and may be seen. Now let the Christian reader judge, to whether he will give greater credit.

“This council,” saith M. Harding, “would not have offered this name unto Leo, unless it had been lawful.” Yet he knoweth all is not law that is moved in council. Leo and Gelasius, as it is before said, condemned certain decrees of this same council of Chalcedon, as unlawful: notwithstanding the determination of six hundred and thirty bishops. The fathers in the council of Nice attempted, contrary to God’s commandments, to break the

Inter Decreta Concil. Tarracon. [viii. 88.]

lawful matrimony of priests and bishops. But their attempt, because it was unlawful, was reprov'd and stay'd by Paphnutius. M. Harding therefore might better conclude thus: Leo, Gregory, and other holy fathers bishops of Rome refused the name of universal bishop, as it appeareth by their words, for that it was injurious unto other bishops, and a corruption of the faith: and for the same cause the general council of Carthage determin'd, that the bishop of Rome should not, ne might not so be call'd: therefore that name was not lawful.

All this notwithstanding, true it is, that M. Harding saith, "Leo in that council of Chalcedon was thus call'd." The places be known: and may not be deny'd. He is so saluted in three sundry epistles<sup>94</sup>: the one sent by one Athanasius a priest<sup>a</sup>; the other by one Ischyriion a deacon<sup>b</sup>; the third by one Theodorus, likewise a deacon<sup>c</sup>. But of that whole number of six hundred and thirty bishops there assembled, I trow M. Harding is not well able to shew, that any one ever saluted or call'd him so.

Therefore, whereas M. Harding, the better to put his reader in remembrance, hath set this note in the margin, that "the bishop of Rome was call'd the universal bishop, and head of the church above a thousand years sithence," he might with more truth, and much better have noted his book thus: ST. GREGORY'S WORDS MISALLEGED; THE COUNCIL FALSIFIED; THIS ONLY CANON LOST; ALL THE REST WHOLE AND SAFE; A STRANGE PRIEST, AND TWO POOR DEACONS, IN THEIR PRIVATE SUITS FOR THEIR GOODS AND LEGACIES, NAMED LEO THE UNIVERSAL BISHOP. BUT OF THE SIX HUNDRED AND THIRTY BISHOPS, THAT HAD VOICES IN THE COUNCIL, NOT ONE EVER NAMED HIM SO. Thus much M. Harding might truly have noted in the margin.

"Yet," saith M. Harding, "the bishops of Rome, that were godly fathers and holy martyrs, used this name, as it appeareth by their epistles." And here are brought in the titles of letters under the names of Sixtus, Pontianus,

<sup>94</sup> [Besides these three, named title, there was a fourth, Sophro- by bishop Jewel as having used this nus Christianus. Mansi, vi. 1029.]

Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 8. [li. 39.]

Council. Chalcedon. act. 3.

a [vi. 1021.]  
b [vi. 1012.]  
c [vi. 1005.]

and certain others, written, as it is before declared, a long time after the writers were dead. Such ruinous foundations M. Harding hath chosen to build upon.

But what are these old fathers taught to say? or how is M. Harding relieved by their words? In their salutation before their letters they write thus: "Sixtus, Pontianus, Victor, bishop of the universal church." "This," saith M. Harding, "is even all one thing with *universalis episcopus*: there is no manner difference." O what ranging and hunting here is, to beat up that thing that will not be found. M. Harding, because he cannot find "the universal bishop" that he sought for, therefore he hath sought out the next of kin, that is, "the bishop of the universal church;" and these two, he saith, be both one. Howbeit this matter needed no great seeking; every child might soon have found it. But if an universal bishop, and a bishop of the universal church, be all one thing; how then is it true, that St. Gregory saith, *Nemo decessorum*, &c.: "None of my predecessors would ever consent to this name?" Or how can he find such fault with the name of universal bishop, and bear so easily with the name of bishop of the universal church, which he knew his predecessors had used, if he took them both for one thing, without difference? To be short, if these names, as M. Harding assureth himself, be both one, how is the one godly, the other ungodly; the one arrogant, the other not arrogant; the one blasphemous, the other not blasphemous?

This error riseth of misunderstanding these words, *universalis ecclesia*. For the church universal, and the church catholic, the one being Greek, the other Latin, are both one; and are commonly used of the learned fathers, as contrary to a particular church, as be the churches of heretics and schismatics. In this sense, every godly bishop is a bishop of the catholic or universal church: like as also every godly man is a member of the same. Thus writeth Calixtus: *Calixtus archiepiscopus ecclesie catholice urbis Romae*. Thus Marcellus: *Marcellus episcopus sancte et apostolice, et catholice urbis Romae*. In these places Rome is called a catholic, that is to say, an universal city;

Gregor. lib.  
4. epist. 32.  
[li. 77r.] et  
36. [749.]

Calixti Epist.  
Decret. 1.  
[Crabb. i.  
100.]  
Marcelli  
epist. 2.  
[i. 207.]



partly to exclude the churches of heretics, which were mere particular, and partly also to signify, that the church there was then a church of the catholic and universal doctrine. So likewise it is written in the council of Constantinople: *Clerici, et monachi apostolici throni Antiochenæ magnæ civitatis, catholicæ sanctæ ecclesiæ Dei*: “The clerks, and monks of the apostolic throne of the great city of Antioch, of the catholic, or universal holy church of God.”

Concil. Constantin. 5. act. 1. [viii. 1038.]

Again, every bishop may be called the bishop of the universal church, for that it is his duty to care, not only for his own flock, but also for all others of the whole church of God. So saith Origen: *Qui vocatur ad episcopatum, vocatur ad servitatem totius ecclesiæ*: “Whoso is called to a bishopric, is called to the service of the whole church.” So Chrysostom exhorting the whole people together, saith unto them: *Universæ ecclesiæ curam geramus*: “Let every one of us take the care of the universal church.” So likewise pope Eleutherius writeth unto the bishops of France: *Hujus rei gratia universalis vobis a Christo commissa est ecclesia, ut pro omnibus laboretis, et cunctis opem ferre non negligatis*: “For that cause the whole universal church is committed unto you, that you should travail for all, and not be negligent to help all.”

Origen. in Esai. hom. 6. [iii. 116.]

Thus many ways the bishops both of Rome, and of Antioch, and of France, were called the bishops of the universal church. But The Universal Bishop none of them all was ever called. Of John of Constantinople, that first began to usurp that name, Gregory the bishop of Rome writeth thus: *Despectis omnibus, solus conatur appellari episcopus*: “Despising all other bishops, he would only be called a bishop.” So likewise saith pope Pelagius: “If the chief patriarch be called universal, then the rest have lost the name of patriarchs<sup>95</sup>.”

Chrysost. in 2 Cor. hom. 18. [x. 568.]

† Epist. Eleutherii ad Episcopos Galliæ. [Crabb. i. 92.]

Gregor. lib. 4. epist. 34. [ii. 751.]

† Pelagii II. epist. 1. [Crabb. ii. 155.] Distinct. 9. Nullus.

This is the meaning of an universal bishop, and the very selfsame infinite and immoderate power, that M. Harding

<sup>95</sup> [This epistle, as well as that of Eleutherius, is one of the Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianæ. (See Oudin. Script. Eccles. tom. ii. 46.)

But the lateness of their date makes their witness more available for Jewel's purpose.]

Folio 86.  
divisto 23.

claimeth for the bishop of Rome. For so he hath already said, "That the other three patriarchs are no patriarchs indeed, but only his delegates, and servants, to do that shall please him to command them." Instead hereof M. Harding hath found out a bishop of the universal church; and so, leaving the thing that is demanded, he answereth to that is not in question, and privily confesseth by his silence, that hitherto he hath not found, nor can find, his universal bishop.

Concil. Afric.  
can. 92. [iv.  
507.]

This answer may serve, to that is here alleged of the council of Africa, and the epistle of Athanasius: saving that the epistle bearing that holy father's name, as it is already proved, is nothing else but apparent forgery. The bishops in the council of Africa, besides that they utterly denied the pope's universal power, forbidding their clerks upon pain of excommunication to appeal to him, sundry times in the same council writing unto him, they use the name of familiarity, and equality, and call him their brother.

Canon. 101.  
[iv. 511.] et  
105. [iv. 515.]

Now, for a surplusage, forasmuch as M. Harding with all his study, and conference with his friends, cannot yet find out his universal bishop in the church of Rome, let us see, whether we may find him in some other place, and that not by the witness of a simple priest, or a deacon, but by the authority of catholic emperors and councils, and of the bishop of Rome himself; and that not by shifting of terms, one for another, as M. Harding is driven for want, instead of an universal bishop, to bring in a bishop of the universal church, but in plain, manifest, express words, and such, as in no wise may be denied.

Concil. Con-  
stantinop. 5.  
act. 1. [viii.  
1038 et 1139.]

In the council of Constantinople, the bishop there is scarcely saluted, or entituled by other name. For this is his common style: *Œcumenico patriarchæ Johanni*: "To John the universal patriarch." "To John the father of fathers, and universal bishop." "The holy universal archbishop and patriarch Mennas."

Niceph. lib.  
14. cap. 34.  
[ii. 512.]

Nicephorus saith, The bishop of Alexandria was entituled *judex universi orbis*: "the judge of the whole world." Clement unto St. James the bishop of Jerusalem writeth

thus<sup>96</sup>: *Clemens Jacobo fratri Domini, episcopo episcopo-*  
*rum, regenti Hebræorum sanctam ecclesiam Hierosolymis,*  
*sed et omnes ecclesias, quæ ubique Dei providentia fundatæ*  
*sunt:* “Clement unto James the brother of our Lord, the  
 bishop of bishops, governing the holy church of the Jews at  
 Jerusalem, and, besides that, all the churches that be  
 founded every where by God’s providence.” The empe-  
 ror Justinian writeth thus: “Unto Epiphanius the arch-  
 bishop of this imperial city (Constantinople) and universal  
 patriarch.” To conclude, the bishop of Rome himself thus  
 saluteth the bishop of Constantinople: *Tharasio generali*  
*patriarchæ, Adrianus servus servorum Dei:* “Unto Tha-  
 rasius the general patriarch, Adrian the servant of God’s  
 servants<sup>97</sup>.” And, in the last council holden at Florence,  
 Joseph the bishop of Constantinople being there, used the  
 same title, and wrote himself, “The archbishop of new  
 Rome, and the universal patriarch.” If M. Harding had  
 so good evidence for the bishop of Rome, I believe he  
 would not thus pass it away in silence.

† Clementis  
 epist. 1.  
 [Crabb. i. 31.]

Authen. Con-  
 stitutio. 3.  
 [tom. v.]  
 οἰκουµενικῆ  
 πατριάρχῃ.  
 [ed. 1553.  
 p. 8.]

Concil. Ni-  
 cen. 2. act. 2.  
 [xii. 1077,  
 1078.]

[Concil. Flo-  
 rent. Sessio  
 ult. Crabb.  
 iii. 474.]

M. HARDING: *Thirty-first Division.*

Concerning the other name (head of the church), I marvel not  
 a little that M. Jewel denieth that the bishop of Rome was then  
 so called. Either he doth contrary to his own knowledge,  
 wherein he must needs be condemned in his own judgment and  
 of his own conscience, or he is not so well learned, as of that side  
 he is thought to be. For whosoever travaileth in the reading of  
 the ancient fathers, findeth that name almost every where attri-  
 buted to Peter the first bishop of Rome, (121) and consequently  
 to the successor of Peter; that name, I say, either in terms equi-  
 valent, or expressly. First the scripture calleth Peter *Primum*,  
 “the first among the apostles.” “The names of the twelve apo-  
 stles,” saith Matthew, “are these:” *a primus Simon, qui dicitur*  
*Petrus:* “first Simon, who is called Peter.” And yet was not  
 Peter first called of Christ, but his brother Andrew before him,  
 as is before said. Dionysius that ancient writer calleth Peter  
 sometime *supremum decus*, “the highest honour,” for that he  
 was most honourable of all the apostles; sometime *summum*; some-  
 time *verticalem*: “the chiefest and the highest apostle.” Origen

This is a  
 fresh kind of  
 rhetoric.

The 121st  
 untruth. For  
 Peter only is  
 so called, yet  
 was not Peter  
 then bishop  
 of Rome.  
 a These  
 terms be not  
 equivalent.

Matt. x.

De divinis  
 Nominibus,  
 cap. 3.

<sup>96</sup> [It will be remembered that  
 this epistle is spurious. Yet it  
 furnished a legitimate argument  
 against Harding, who maintained

its genuineness.]

<sup>97</sup> [Mansi reads, “Tarasio Patri-  
 archæ Adrianus,” &c.—Jewel’s  
 reading is from Crabb, ii. 483.]



upon the beginning of John saith : “ Let no man think that we set John before Peter. Who may so do ? for who should be higher of the apostles than he, who is, and is called the top of them ? ” Cyprian calleth the church of Rome in consideration of that bishop’s supreme authority, *ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est* : “ the principal or chief church, from whence the unity of priests is sprung.” Eusebius Cæsarensis, speaking of Peter sent to Rome by God’s providence to vanquish Simon Magus, calleth him, *potentissimum, et maximum apostolorum, et reliquorum omnium principem* : “ the mightiest of power, and greatest of the apostles, and prince of all the rest.” Augustine commonly calleth Peter *primum apostolorum*, “ first or chief of the apostles.” Hierom, Ambrose, Leo, and other doctors, “ prince of the apostles.” Chrysostom upon the place of John xxi. *Sequere me*, “ Follow me,” among other things saith thus : a “ If any would demand of me, how James took the see of Jerusalem, that is to say, how he became bishop there, I would answer, that this” (he meaneth Peter) “ master of the whole world, made him governor there.” And in another place bringing in that God said to Hieremy, “ I have set thee like an iron pillar, and like a brazen wall : ” “ but the Father,” saith he, “ made him over one nation, but Christ made this man,” meaning Peter, “ ruler over the whole world,” &c. And lest these places should seem to attribute this supreme authority to Peter only, and not also to his successors, it is to be remembered, that Irenæus and Cyprian acknowledge and call the church of Rome chief and principal. And Theodoretus, in an epistle to Leo, calleth the same in consideration of the bishop of that see his primacy, *orbi terrarum presidentem* : “ president, or (122) bearing rule over the world.” Ambrose upon that place of Paul, 1 Tim. iii, where the church is called “ the pillar and stay of the truth,” saith thus : *Cum totus mundus Dei sit, ecclesia tamen domus ejus dicitur : cujus hodie rector est Damasus* : “ Whereas the whole world is God’s, yet the church is called his house, the ruler whereof at these days is Damasus.”

Lib. 1. epist.  
3. [P. 86.]

τὸν καρτε-  
ρόν καὶ μέ-  
γαν τῶν  
ἀποστόλων  
καὶ τῶν λο-  
πῶν ἀπάν-  
των προή-  
γορον.  
Homil. 87.  
[viii. 527.]

In Matth.  
homil. 55.  
[vii. 548.]  
Jerem. 1.

τῆς οἰκου-  
μένης προ-  
καθημένην

[† Ambros.  
1 Tim. iii.]

a These words are craftily added to Chrysostom, as to the discreet reader may soon appear.

The 122nd untruth, standing in true translation.

b All these words notwithstanding, M. Harding hath not yet found the head of the universal church.

c A miserable syllogism : it concludeth in *secunda figura affirmativa*.

b I would not weary and trouble the reader with such a number of allegations, were it not that M. Jewel beareth the world in hand, we have not one sentence or clause for us, to prove either this, or any other of all his articles.

But perhaps some one will say, Yet I hear not the bishop of Rome called head of the universal church. What forceth it whether that very term be found in any ancient writer, or no ? Other terms of the same virtue and power be oftentimes found. Is it not one to say, “ head of the universal church,” and to say, “ ruler of God’s house,” which Ambrose saith ? Whereof this argument may be made : c The church, yea the universal church, is the house of God : but Damasus bishop of Rome is ruler of the house of God after Ambrose : ergo, Damasus is ruler of the universal church. And by like right and title is the pope, who is

bishop of Rome, now also ruler of the same. What other is it to call the church of Rome the principal church, respect had to the bishop there, and not otherwise (wherein a figure of speech is used) as Irenæus and Cyprian do, and president, or (123) set in authority over the whole world, as Leo doth, than to call the bishop of Rome, head of the universal church? What meaneth Chrysostom calling Peter, *totius orbis magistrum*, “the master and teacher of all the world;” and saying in another place, <sup>d</sup>“that Christ made Peter, not ruler over one nation, as the Father made Jeremy over the Jews, but over the whole world?” What other, I say, meaneth he thereby, than that he is head of the whole world, and therefore of the universal church?

The 123rd untruth. For Leo hath not one such word.

<sup>d</sup> Even so Gregory saith of Paul, *Obtinuit totius ecclesie principatum*, in 1 Reg. lib. 4. cap. 4.

In locum Johan. 21. homil. 87. Exponens illud, Sequere me. In Matth. homil. 55.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Touching the name of the universal bishop, M. Harding hath but one authority: and yet the same cannot be found. Touching the other name, of head of the church, he cometh in only with jolly brags, and great vaunts, as if he were playing at post, and should win all by vying<sup>98</sup>. He saith, If M. Jewel know this, then he speaketh against his conscience: if he know it not, then is he not learned. To contend for learning, it were a childish folly. He is sufficiently learned, that saith the truth. But, if M. Harding with all his learning be able to find out his head of the church, he shall have his request: I will grant him to be learned.

He saith, “The bishop of Rome is so named, either in terms equivalent, or expressly.” Thus he doubteth at the matter, and stammereth, and faltereth at the beginning. But, if the bishop of Rome were the head of the church indeed, and so allowed, and taken in the world, why was he never expressly and plainly named so? Was there no man then in the world, for the space of six hundred years, able to express his name? His terms of like force and meaning, which he calleth equivalent, must needs import thus much, That the bishop of Rome is above all general councils; that he only hath power to expound the scriptures, and cannot err, nor be judged of any man; and that without him there is no health; and that all the world ought to

Terms equivalent.

<sup>98</sup> [Post and Pair, an old game of cards; vying,—wagering, staking. See Todd’s Johnson.]

know him for the universal head, upon pain of damnation. Thus much the pope himself claimeth by that name. If M. Harding's terms sound not thus, they are not equivalent. It had been the simpler and plainer dealing for M. Harding to have said, THIS NAME CANNOT YET BE FOUND; and so to have taken a longer day.

As for the matter, the question is moved of the bishop of Rome; the answer is made of St. Peter: as if St. Peter continued there bishop still unto this day. But it is presumed, that whatsoever privilege was in Peter, the same must needs be in the bishop of Rome by succession, yea although he have not one spark of Peter. St. Peter in the old fathers is diversely called, the first, the chief, the top, the high honour of the apostles: and in Eusebius and St. Augustine, *πρωτόγονος*, and *princeps apostolorum*. In which last words of St. Augustine and Eusebius, I must do thee, good reader, to understand, that *princeps* is not always taken for a prince, or governor endued with power, but oftentimes for the first man, or best of a company. So we read in the scriptures, *princeps familie*; *princeps legationis*; *princeps coquorum*: that is, "the chief of the house, or flock; the chief of the embassage; the chief of the cooks." In this sense Cicero saith, *Servius princeps in jure civili: philosophorum princeps Aristippus*: "Servius the chief in the civil law: Aristippus the chief of philosophers." So is St. Peter called *princeps apostolorum*; and therefore St. Augustine calleth him, *primum, et præcipuum*, that is, "the first, and the chief of the apostles."

We may not imagine, as M. Harding seemeth to do, that Peter was made a lord, or prince, and had power and dominion over his brethren. St. Ambrose, as it is before alleged, comparing Peter and Paul together, saith thus: *Inter ipsos, quis cui præferatur, incertum est*: "Whether of these two I may set before the other, I cannot tell." Likewise St. Cyprian saith: *Hoc erant cæteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi, et honoris, et potestatis*: "The rest of the apostles were the same that Peter was, endued with like fellowship both of honour and of power." St. Ambrose saith: "He cannot discern between Peter and

Exod. vi. 25.  
Numb. x.  
[Josh. xxii.  
30.]  
2 Kings xxv.  
8.  
Dist. 44.  
Cum autem.  
In Bruto.  
Tusculana.  
2. 6.

August. de  
Verbis Dom.  
in Evang.  
Matt. c. xlv.  
[v. 416.]

Ambros.  
[leg. Maxim.]  
serm. 66. [ed.  
Froben. iii.  
292.]  
Cypr. de  
Simplicitate  
Praelatorum.  
[p. 195.]



Paul, whether he may set before other." St. Cyprian saith: "All the apostles had like honour, and like power;" yet, by M. Harding's phantasy, Peter only was the prince, and all the rest were subjects and underlings unto him.

But Chrysostom saith: "Christ made Peter ruler over the whole world." I know not what special power M. Harding will gather of these words. For the same commission, that was given to Peter, in as large and as ample sort was given also to the rest of the apostles. Christ said unto them all: *Ite in universum mundum, &c.*: Chrysost. in Matt. hom. 55. [vii. 548.] "Go into the whole world and preach the gospel." And St. Paul saith, it was prophesied of them before, *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum*: "The sound of them went out into all the world." Therefore, that St. Chrysostom speaketh here of St. Peter, the same otherwhere he speaketh in like form of words of all the apostles. Thus he writeth upon St. John: *Apostoli suscipiunt curam totius mundi*: Chrysost. in Johan. hom. 87. [viii. 528.] "The apostles receive the charge of all the world"<sup>99</sup>. Likewise he writeth of St. Paul: *Michaeli gens commissa est Judæorum: Paulo vero terræ, ac maria, atque universi orbis habitatio*: "Unto Michael is committed the nation of the Jews: but land, and sea, and all the habitation of the world, is committed unto Paul<sup>1</sup>." And again: *Paulo Deus omnem prædicationem, et res orbis, et mysteria cuncta, universamque dispensationem concessit*: "God hath given unto Paul all manner preaching, the matters of the world, all mysteries, and the ordering of all<sup>2</sup>." So likewise saith St. Gregory: *Paulus catenis vincitus Romam petit occupaturus mundum*: "Paul, being bound with chains, went to Rome, to conquer the whole world." And again he saith: *Paulus, ad Christum conversus, caput effectus est nationum*: Chrysost. in Epist. ad Romanos, hom. 18. [ix. 635.]

<sup>99</sup> [Chrysostom. in Johan. 87. (alluding to our Lord's answer about St. John's death.) Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησεν, τῆς ἀκαίρου συμπαθείας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔνεκεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔμελλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀναδέξασθαι οὐκ ἔδει συμπλέχθαι λοιπὸν ἀλλήλοις.]

<sup>1</sup> [The reference to Chrysost. homil. 3. in Acta is entirely wrong, the passage alluded to being found in his 2nd homily, "De Laudibus

"Pauli." Ὁ Μιχαὴλ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐνεχειρίσθη. Παῦλος δὲ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ τὴν αἰόκητον.]

<sup>2</sup> [Chrysost. in Rom. hom. 18. Οὐκ ἂν δὲ εἰ ἀποθῆσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔμελλον, ᾧ τὸ κήρυγμα πάντων, καὶ τὰ πράγματα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐνεπίστευσε, καὶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα, καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ὅλην, τοῦτον ἂν ἐκέλευεν ἐξελέξασθαι.]

Gregor. in Job. lib. 27. cap. 11. [l. 86r.]  
Gregor. in 1 Regum, lib. 4. cap. 4. [iii. pt. 2. 250.]

Chrysost. in Acta, hom. 3. [de Laud. Paul. ii. 486.]

Matt. xxviii. 19.  
Mark xvi. 15.  
Psalm xix. 4.  
Rom. x. 18.

*quia obtinuit totius ecclesiæ principatum*: “Paul, being converted unto Christ, was made the head of nations, because he obtained the chieftly of all the church.” This was that universal power, that Chrysostom saith was given unto St. Peter; and that not severally unto him alone, but jointly, and together, with all the rest of Christ’s apostles. Which thing the same Chrysostom otherwhere plainly declareth by these words: *Apostoli universum orbem terrarum pervaserunt, et omnibus principibus fuerunt magis proprie principes, regibus potentiores*: “The apostles ranged over the whole world, and were more like princes, than the princes indeed, and more mighty than the kings<sup>3</sup>.” Thus was, not only Peter, but also all the rest, and every of the apostles made rulers over the whole world.

Chrysost. in  
Psalm. xliiv.  
[v. 181.]

It is further alleged, “That Peter appointed James bishop of Jerusalem,” and the same avouched by Chrysostom<sup>4</sup>. Although this place of Chrysostom import not greatly, yet, being well sifted and considered, it may seem very suspicious, as nothing agreeing either with that went before, or with that followeth afterward: but altogether savouring of some corruption. If M. Harding himself would consider the words with indifferent judgment, I doubt not but he would marvel how they came thither.

Chrysost. in  
Johan. hom.  
87. [viii. 527.]

Neither is it likely, that James took authority of Peter, having before taken sufficient authority of Christ himself. For this commission Christ gave to every of his apostles all alike: “As my living Father sent me, so do I send you: ye shall be witnesses to me, even to the ends of the world.” And if Peter gave authority unto James, who then gave authority unto Paul? Certainly St. Paul dwelt in no peculiar, but was as much subject to jurisdiction as St. James.

Luke xxiv.  
48.  
John xv. 27.  
Acts i. 8.  
John xvii. 18.  
John xx. 21.

<sup>3</sup> [Chrysost. in Psalm. xliiv. Καὶ γὰρ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ἐπέδραμον οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ πάντων ἀρχόντων ἄρχοντες ἐγένοντο κυριώτεροι, βασιλείων δυνατώτεροι.]

<sup>4</sup> [Chrysost. in Johan. hom. 87. Εἰ δὲ λέγοι τις, πῶς οὖν ὁ Ἰάκωβος τὸν θρόνον ἔλαβε τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων; ἐκεῖνο ἂν εἶπομι, ὅτι τοῦτον οὐ τοῦ θρόνου ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐχειρο-

τόνησε διδάσκαλον. Harding’s assertion, that Peter appointed James bishop of Jerusalem, is founded on a mistranslation of the Latin, “responderem hunc totius orbis magistrum proposuisse,” (Paris ed. 1588. tom. iii. 353.) The passage certainly does look like an interpolation.]

But St. Paul saith, "He was an apostle," *non ab homini-* Galat. i. 1.  
*bus, neque per hominem*: "neither of men, nor by man,  
 but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father.—They that were Galat. ii. 6, 7.  
 the chief of the apostles, gave nothing unto me. The  
 preaching of the gospel among the Gentiles was committed  
 unto me, even as unto Peter the preaching of the gospel  
 among the Jews." And Chrysostom expounding the same  
 place saith thus: *Paulus nihil opus habebat Petro, nec illius* Chrysost. in  
*egebant voce: sed honore par erat illi: nihil hic dicam am-* Galat. c. ii.  
*plius*: "Paul had no need of Peter's help, nor stood in [x. 677.]  
 need of his voice: but was in honour as good as he: I will  
 say no more." Hereby it may appear, that the rest of the  
 apostles took not their apostleship or authority of St. Peter.

But being granted, that Peter appointed James to  
 preach in Jerusalem, yet will it not follow therefore,  
 that Peter had rule and dominion over the apostles. For  
 thereof would follow this great inconvenience: "The apo- Acts viii. 14.  
 stles at Jerusalem appointed Peter to go, and to preach  
 in Samaria: *ergo*, the apostles had rule and dominion over  
 Peter." Which were an overthrow of M. Harding's  
 greatest principle.

But let us grant, that Peter was the head of the apo-  
 stles, as a matter nothing pertaining to this question: will  
 M. Harding thereof conclude, that the pope is therefore  
 the head of the universal church? For what is there in the  
 pope, that was in Peter? Preaching of the gospel? He  
 preacheth not. Feeding of the flock? He feedeth not. He  
 will say, Succession, and sitting in Peter's chair, which is  
 in Rome. A man may answer, "The scribes and Phari- Matt. xxiii. 2.  
 sees sat in Moses' chair." But M. Harding knoweth, that  
 Peter, when he received this privilege, was in Jerusalem,  
 and not in Rome. Therefore this argument would better  
 stand thus: Peter neither had dominion over the rest of  
 the apostles, nor was bishop of Rome, when Christ spake  
 unto him: therefore the bishop of Rome cannot justly  
 claim hereby the universal power and dominion over all  
 the world. Verily St. Augustine saith, *Paulus ipse non*  
*poterat esse caput eorum, quos plantaverat, &c.*: "Paul August. con-  
 tra Literas  
 Petilian, lib.  
 i. [ix. 208.]  
 himself could not be the head of them that he had planted:  
 for he saith, that we being many are one body in Christ: 1 Cor. xii. 20.  
 Rom. xii. 3.



Ephes. i. 22,  
23.

and that Christ himself is the head of that universal body<sup>5</sup>." Of these words of St. Augustine we may gather this reason: St. Paul could not be the head of them, that he had planted: therefore much less may the pope be the head of them, that he never planted.

Yet reply will be made, "That Theodoretus calleth the church of Rome, τῆς οἰκουμένης προκαθημένην, which words M. Harding untruly translatheth, "president, or bearing rule over the world." For he knoweth, that the Greek word προκαθήμεναι signifieth, "sitting in the first place," and forceth not of necessity any rule or government over others. He might better have turned it, *ecclesiam orbis terrarum primariam*, "the most notable, or chief church of the world;" and so would his translation have well agreed with the constitutions of the emperor Justinian: wherein the pre-eminence of sitting in the first place in all councils and assemblies, is by special privilege granted to the bishop of Rome.

Authen. Coll.  
9. De Eccles.  
titul. i.  
[tom. v.]  
Cod. de Sa-  
crosanctis  
Eccles. cap.  
Decernimus.  
[tom. iv.]

Likewise it will be replied, That Cyprian calleth the church of Rome, *ecclesiam principalem*: "the principal church;" whereof it were much for M. Harding to reason thus:

The church of Rome is a [the] principal church:

*Ergo*, the bishop of Rome is head of the universal church.

For Cyprian himself in the same epistle in plain express words saith, "The authority of the bishops of Africa is as good as the authority of the bishop of Rome<sup>6</sup>."

Cyprian. lib.  
1. epist. 3.  
[p. 86.]

Cicero in  
Catil. oratio.  
4. 6.

Cicero, to blaze the nobility of that city, calleth it, *lucem orbis terrarum, atque arcem omnium gentium*; "the light of the world, and the castle of all nations."

Petrus Cri-  
nit. lib. 1.  
cap. 18. [de  
honest. dis-  
cipl.]

Hieron. ad  
Algasiam,  
quæst. II.  
[iv. 209.]

Frontinus likewise: *Roma urbs indiges, terrarumque dea*: "Rome is a wantless [deified] city, and the goddess of the world." And St. Hierom of the same in his time saith, *Romanum imperium nunc universas gentes tenet*: "The empire of Rome now possesseth all nations." And in the council of

<sup>5</sup> [August. in Petilian. "Caput etiam eorum [quos plantaverat] quomodo esse poterat, cum dicat nos multos unum esse corpus

"in Christo, ipsumque Christum caput esse universi corporis pluribus locis apertissime prædicet." <sup>6</sup> [Supra, vol. ii. p. 147. note <sup>86</sup>.]

Chalcedon the emperor of Rome is called, *dominus omnis terræ*, and, *dominus universi mundi*: “the lord of all the earth,” and, “the lord of the whole world.” In consideration as well of this worldly state and majesty, as also of the number and constancy of martyrs, of the place of Peter’s travail, of the antiquity of the church, and of the purity of doctrine, the church of Rome was called the principal church of all others. But he addeth further, *Unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*: “From whence the unity of the priesthood first began.” For that these words seem to weigh much, I think it good herein to hear the judgment of some other man, that may seem indifferent. Polydorus Virgilius expounding the same words of Cyprian writeth thus: *Ne quis erret, nulla alia ratione sacerdotalis ordo a Romano episcopo profectus esse dici potest, nisi apud Italos* [i. in Latina ecclesia] *duntaxat id factum esse intelligatur: cum, per diu ante adventum Petri in urbem Romanam, apud Hierosolymos sacerdotium rite institutum fuisse, liquido liqueat*: “Lest any man hereby deceive himself, it cannot in any other wise be said, that the order of priesthood grew first from the bishop of Rome, unless we understand it only within Italy. For it is clear and out of question, that priesthood was orderly appointed at Jerusalem a good while before Peter ever came to Rome.” This commendation therefore, by the judgment of Polydore, was given by St. Cyprian to the church of Rome in respect of Italy, and not in respect of the whole world. And therefore St. Augustine saith, *Civitas, quasi mater et caput est cæterarum: unde etiam metropolis appellatur*: “The city is as the mother and the head of other towns: and thereof (in respect of such towns) it is called the mother city.” And in this sense Chrysostom calleth the city of Antioch, *metropolim fidei*, “the mother of the faith<sup>7</sup>.”

Concil. Chalcedon. act. 1.

Polydor. Virgil. de Inventorib. Rerum, lib. 4. [cap. 5.]

August. de Consensu Evangelist. lib. 3. [iii. pt. 2. 141.]

Ad Populum Antiochen. hom. 17. [ii. 176.]

M. Harding saith further, “The church is called the house of God: the ruler whereof,” saith St. Ambrose<sup>8</sup>, “in

[† Ambros. in 1 Tim. iii. vol. ii. app. 296.]

<sup>7</sup> [Chrysost. ad Pop. Antioch. . . . τοῦτο μητρόπολιν αὐτὴν ποιεῖ οὐκ ἐν τῇ γῆ ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.]

self much trouble, if he had known that these commentaries are spurious.]

<sup>8</sup> [Jewel might have saved him-

these days is Damasus." Here is narrow seeking to find out somewhat: and yet the same somewhat will be worth nothing. First, what opinion St. Ambrose had herein, it is easy elsewhere of other his words to be seen. In his epistle unto the emperor Valentinian, he calleth Damasus, not prince of the people, nor head of the church, nor universal bishop; but only bishop of the church of Rome. And writing unto Siricius the bishop of Rome, he calleth him his brother.

Ambros. lib. 5. epist. 30. [ii. 826.]

Ambros. lib. 10. epist. 81. [ii. 1106.]

But he calleth Damasus by express words, "the ruler of God's church." He might have had the like witness of St. Hierom: *Damasus ..... virgo, ecclesie virginis doctor est*: "Damasus, being a virgin, is the teacher of the church that is a virgin." And what will M. Harding gather hereof? or what thinketh he of Ambrose himself, and of other bishops? was not every of them the ruler of the church of God? Verily St. Paul thus exhorteth the clergy of Ephesus at his departing thence: "Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to rule the church of God, which he hath gotten with his blood." There appeareth no other difference between these words of St. Paul and the other of St. Ambrose, saving only, that St. Ambrose saith, *rector ecclesie*, and St. Paul saith, *regere ecclesiam*. Yet did not St. Paul by his words appoint the ministers of Ephesus to rule over the whole church of God. Thus St. Hierom calleth Origen, *magistrum ecclesiarum*, "the master or teacher of the churches." Thus Theodoretus called Chrysostom, *doctorem orbis terrarum*, "the teacher of all the world." Thus Nazianzen calleth St. Basil, "the pillar and buttress of the church."

De Apologia adversus Jo. vinianum. [iv. part. 2. 240.]

Acts xx. 28.

Hieron. de Nom. Hebraicis. [Præf. ii. part. 2.]  
Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 32. [iii. 232.]

Nazianzen. in Laudem Patris sui. [i. 330.]  
ἐστύλον καὶ ἑδραίωμα . .

But mark well, gentle reader, and thou shalt see, that M. Harding hath prettily wrested up this place of St. Ambrose quite out of tune, and of an indefinite or a particular proposition, contrary to his rules of logic, will needs conclude an universal, the better to maintain the pope's universal power. For that St. Ambrose speaketh indefinitely of a church, without limitation of one or other, that M. Harding stretcheth and forceth to the whole universal



church: as if the whole church of God had been at Rome. The like kind of error led Bonifacius the Eighth to reason thus: *Dominus dixit generaliter, Pasce oves meas, non singulariter, has, aut illas: ergo, commisisse intelligitur universas*: “The Lord said generally unto Peter, Feed my sheep: he said not specially, Feed these, or them: therefore we must understand, that he committed them unto Peter altogether.” If M. Harding had not taken St. Ambrose up so short, by the words that immediately follow, he might well have known his meaning. For thus he openeth what he meant by the house of God: *Ibi necesse est dicatur esse domus Dei et veritas, ubi secundum voluntatem suam timetur*: “There we must needs say, God’s house and truth is, wheresoever God is feared according to his will.” This house was in all places where God was known and served: and not only in the church of Rome.

De Major. et Obedien. Unam Sanctam. John xxi. 16.

†Ambros. in 1. Tim. cap. 3. [ii. App. 296.]

Yet will M. Harding say, “These be evasions.” For St. Ambrose seemeth to acknowledge a special rule and government in Damasus, that was not common unto others. Certainly his words import not so. And how can we know his meaning, but by his words? But, to put the matter out of doubt, let us consider whether the selfsame form of speech have been applied unto any others in like sort. Arsenius in his submission writeth thus unto Athanasius: *Nos quoque diligimus pacem, et unitatem cum ecclesia catholica, cui tu per Dei gratiam præfectus es*: “We also love peace and unity with the catholic church, over which you by the grace of God are made governor.” Here Athanasius is pronounced “governor of the catholic church:” yet was he not the bishop of Rome. So likewise saith St. Cyprian: *Hæc ecclesia una est, quæ tenet, et possidet omnem sponsi sui gratiam* [1. et Domini potestatem]: *in hac præsidemus*: “This church is one, that keepeth and holdeth the grace of her spouse: in this church we are the rulers.” Here St. Cyprian calleth himself the president or ruler of God’s church: yet was he the bishop of Carthage, and not of Rome. To be short; in like sort

Athanas. in Apolog. 2. [1. 185.]

Cyprian. ad Jubalanum de Hæreticis Baptizandis. [p. 132.]

Orig. in Matt.  
tract. i.

Origen pronounceth generally of all priests: *Si tales fuerint, ut a Christo super illos ædificetur ecclesia*: “If they be such, as upon them the church of God may be built.” Here Origen imagineth, that every priest is the foundation of God’s church: yet were it hard to say, every priest is bishop of Rome. St. Ambrose’s meaning therefore is, that every bishop or patriarch, within his precincts or province, is the ruler of the whole church. And this is it, that Cyprian seemeth to say: *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*: “The bishopric is one, a portion whereof is possessed in whole of every bishop.” Therefore M. Harding seemeth to do wrong to St. Ambrose, thus violently to abuse his words, to prove the bishop of Rome’s universal power.

Cyprian. de  
Simplicitate  
Praelatorum.  
[p. 195.]

Here M. Harding, doubting lest his reader, being weary of these cold slender shifts, and looking for some other more substantial and formal reasons, would say, “I hear not yet the head of the universal church,” purposely preventeth the matter, and saith: “What forceth that, whether that very term be used in any ancient writer or no?” Gentle reader, I beseech thee, mark well this dealing. This name, the head of the universal church, is the very thing that we deny, and that M. Harding hath taken in hand to prove, and boldly avoucheth, that he hath already plainly shewed and proved the same. Yet now in the end, finding himself destitute, he turneth it off, as a thing of nought, and saith, “What forceth that, whether he were called by that very name or no?” As though he would say, All the old fathers of the church, both Greeks and Latins, wanted words and eloquence, and either they could not or they durst not call the head of the church by his own peculiar name. Howbeit, if the bishop of Rome be so called, it may be shewed: if not, then is my first assertion true. Verily, touching the title of universal bishop, St. Gregory calleth it, *novum nomen*: “a new name, unacquainted and unknown unto the world.” And saith further: “If we quietly take this matter, we destroy the faith of the universal church.” This therefore was the

Gregor. lib.  
4. epist. 32.  
[li. 748.]  
Gregor. lib.  
6. epist. 24.  
[li. 873.]  
Universæ  
ecclesiæ  
fidem cor-  
rumpimus.

cause, that the ancient doctors never called the bishop of Rome the head of the church: for that they knew he was neither reputed nor taken so, nor was indeed the head of the church. M. Harding, having not yet found the thing that he so long sought for, at the last is fain to make it up by shift of reason:

“The universal church,” saith he, “is the house of God; Damasus is the ruler of the house of God; *ergo*, Damasus is ruler of the universal church.”

This syllogismus is a manifest fallax, and hath as many faults as lines.

First, there is an equivocation or double understanding of these words, “the house of God.” For both the universal church, and also every particular church, is God’s house.

Again, there is another fallax, which they call *ex meris particularibus*, or, *a non distributo ad distributum*.

Thirdly, there is another foul fault in the very form of the syllogism, easy for any child to espy: for, contrary to all logic and order of reason, he concludeth *in secunda figura affirmative*; whereas M. Harding knoweth, all the moods or forms of the second figure must needs conclude *negative*. The weakness hereof will the better appear by the like:

“The universal church is the catholic church: but Arsenius saith, Athanasius the bishop of Alexandria was ruler of the catholic church: *ergo*, Athanasius the bishop of Alexandria was ruler of the universal church.”

Thus hitherto M. Jewel may truly say, M. Harding hath yet brought neither clause nor sentence sufficient to prove, that the bishop of Rome was called either the universal bishop, or the head of the universal church.

M. HARDING: *Thirty-second Division.*

But, to satisfy these men, and to take away occasion of cavil, I will allege a few places where the express term (head) is attributed to Peter, the first bishop of Rome, and by like right to his successors, and to the see apostolic. Chrysostom, speaking of the virtue and power of Peter, and of the steadfastness of the church, in the fifty-fifth homily upon Matthew, hath these words



A head for  
worthiness  
and boldness  
of spirit. So  
St. Gregory  
saith : *Pau-  
lus caput ef-  
fectus est  
nationum.*  
In 1 Reg. lib.  
4. cap. 4. [iii.  
part. 2. 250.]

among other : *Cujus pastor et caput homo piscator, atque ignobilis, &c.* By which words he affirmeth, that the pastor and head of the church, being but a fisher, a man, and one of base parentage, passeth in firmness the nature of the diamond. Again, in an homily of the praises of Paul, he saith thus : “ Neither was this man only such a one, but he also which was the head of the apostles, who oftentimes said, he was ready to bestow his life for Christ, and yet was full sore afraid of death.” If he were head of the apostles, then was he head of the inferior people, and so head of the universal church.

Hierom, writing against Jovinian, saith : *Propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite constituto schismatis tollatur occasio* : “ For that cause among the twelve, one is specially chosen out, that the head being ordained, occasion of schism may be taken away.” Whereby it appeareth, that Peter was constituted head for avoiding of division and schism. Now the danger of the inconvenience remaining still, yea more than at that time, for the greater multitude of the church, and for sundry other imperfections ; the same remedy must be thought to continue, unless we would say that Christ hath less care over his church, now that it is so much increased, than he had at the beginning, when his flock was small. For this cause, except we deny God’s providence toward his church, there is one head for avoiding of schism also now, as well as in the apostles’ time : which is the successor of him that was head by Christ’s appointment then, the bishop of Rome sitting in the seat that Peter sat in.

Cyrillus saith, *Petrus ut princeps caputque cæterorum primus exclamavit, Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi* : “ Peter as prince and head of the rest, first cried out, ‘ Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.’ ” Augustine also, in a sermon to the people, calleth him head of the church, saying, *Totius corporis membrum in ipso capite curat ecclesia, et in ipso vertice componit omnium membrorum sanitatem* : “ He healeth the member of the whole body, in the head itself of the church, and in the top itself he ordereth the health of all the members.” And in another place : *Salvator quando pro se, et Petro exsolvi jubet, pro omnibus exsolvisse videtur. Quia sicut in Salvatore erant omnes causa magisterii, ita post Salvatorem in Petro omnes continentur : ipsum enim constituit caput (124) omnium*<sup>8</sup> : “ Our Saviour,” saith Augustine, “ whenas he commandeth payment (for the emperor) to be made for himself, and for Peter, he seemeth to have paid for all. Because, as all were in our Saviour for cause of teaching, so, after our Saviour, all are contained in Peter, for he ordained him head of all.” Here have these men the plain and express term, “ head of the rest, head of the church, head<sup>a</sup> of all,” and therefore of the universal church. What will they have more ?

The 124th  
untruth,  
standing in  
the wilful  
falsifying of  
St. August-  
tine.

a S August-  
tine saith,  
*caput eo-  
rum, not ca-  
put omnium.*

Serm. 124.  
[v. app. 145.]

Lib. Quest.  
Vet. et Nov.  
Test. q. 75.

<sup>8</sup> [These Quæstiones, as well as placed in the Appendix as spurious the 124th sermon, just quoted, are in the Bened. edit.]

Neither here can they say, that although this authority and title of the head be given to Peter, yet it is not derived and transferred from him to his successors. For this is manifest, that Christ instituted his church so as it should continue to the world's end, according to the saying of Isaiah the prophet, *Super solium David*, &c. "Upon the seat of David, and upon his kingdom, shall Messias sit, to strengthen it, and to establish it in judgment and righteousness, from this day for evermore." And thereof it is evident, that he ordained those who then were in ministry, so as their authority and power should be derived unto their after-comers for the utility of the church for ever; specially, whereas he said, "Behold I am with you until the end of the world." And therefore, as Victor writeth in his story of persecution of the Vandals, Eugenius bishop of Carthago, convented of Obadus, a great captain of Hunneric, king of the Vandals, about a council to be kept in Africa for matters of the faith, betwixt the Arians, supported by the king, and the catholics, said in this wise: *Si nostram fidem*, &c.: "If the king's power desire to know our faith, which is one and the true, let him send to his friends. I will write also to my brethren, that my fellow-bishops come, who may declare the faith that is common to you and us," (there he hath these words,) *et præcipue ecclesia Romana, quæ caput est omnium ecclesiarum*: "and specially the church of Rome, which is the head of all the churches." Naming the church of Rome, he meaneth the bishop there, or his legates to be sent in his stead.

Thus it is proved by good and ancient authorities, that the name and title of the head, ruler, president, chief, and principal governor of the church, is of the fathers attributed not only to Peter, but also to his successors, bishops of the see apostolic. And therefore M. Jewel may think himself by this charitably admonished to remember his promise of yielding and subscribing.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I might well pass all these authorities over without answer, as being no part of this question. For, I trust, the indifferent reader of himself will soon believe, we seek no quarrel against St. Peter, nor go about to scan his titles, or to abridge him of his right. It is known that St. Peter by these fathers here alleged, Augustine, Hierom, Chrysostom, and Cyril, is called the top and head of the apostles. And, if need so required, the same might be avouched by authorities many mo. For who is he that knoweth not this?

But M. Harding knoweth, the case is moved, not of St. Peter, but specially and namely of the bishops of Rome:

Chap. ix. 7.

Matt. ult.  
lib. 2.

and of them he knoweth he should have answered, if his mind had been to deal plainly, and, as he saith, fully to satisfy his reader. Within the space of the first six hundred years, there were in Rome sixty-eight bishops, for their constancy in the faith, for their virtue and learning, far exceeding the rest, that have been sithence. The number of them being so great, their learning so notable, their life so holy, it is marvel M. Harding should not be able to shew that any one of them all, in so long a time, was once called the head of the church, and therefore should thus rest only upon St. Peter, who, when he received these titles, was not bishop of Rome; and of whom there is no question moved. Wherefore M. Harding may better consider his note in the margin: and whereas he hath written thus: "Peter and his successors called the head of the church expressly:" he may rather amend it, and make it thus: "Only Peter, and not one of his successors, called head of the church expressly." So should his note and his text agree together: and so should he not deceive his reader.

Here, by the way, I must put M. Harding in remembrance, notwithstanding, for his estimation's sake, he would fain have his forth<sup>8</sup> in these matters, yet should he not therefore thus beguile the eyes of the simple, and thus misreport and falsify the words of the ancient fathers. For, alleging St. Hierom, he leaveth out words, and altogether dissembleth the whole meaning. In St. Augustine he hath shifted and placed one word for another. St. Hierom in that place, with great contention of words, commendeth St. John above St. Peter, namely, for that St. Peter was a married man, and St. John a virgin. In the heat of his talk, he layeth this objection against himself: *At dices, super Petrum fundatur ecclesia: licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cælorum accipiant, et ex æquo super eos ecclesie fortitudo solidetur:* "But thou wilt say, the church was built upon Peter," and not upon John. "Albeit in another place the same is done" (that is, the church is built) "upon all the apostles:

M. Harding misallegeth the old doctors.

Hieronym. adversus Jovinianum, lib. i. [iv. pt. 2. 168.]

The apostles all equal.

<sup>8</sup> [Forth—old English for "way."—Todd.]



and all receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and the strength of the church is built equally upon them all." M. Harding thought it good to skip and dissemble these words, notwithstanding they be joined all together in one sentence with the rest. It followeth: *Tamen propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut, capite constituto, schismatis tollatur occasio. Sed cur non Johannes electus est virgo? Ætati delatum est: quia Petrus senior erat: ne adhuc adolescens, et pene puer progressæ ætatis hominibus præferretur:* "Notwithstanding the disciples were all equal, yet therefore one is chosen among the twelve, that, a head being appointed, occasion of schism might be taken away. Thou wilt say again, And why was not John, being a virgin, chosen to be this head?" He answereth: "Christ gave the preeminence unto age. For Peter was an aged man: lest that John, being a young man, and in manner a child, should be placed before men of years." This therefore is St. Hierom's meaning, that Christ, to avoid confusion, which lightly happeneth in all companies whereas is none order, appointed St. Peter, for that he was the eldest man, to speak and to deal for the rest, as the chief and head of all his brethren. Which order also was afterward universally taken throughout the world, that in every congregation of priests one should have a special preeminence above others, and be called *episcopus*, "the bishop." This was thought a good politic way, to avoid contention in the church; and not, as M. Harding imagineth, "to make one man the universal ruler over all the world." But touching this whole matter, I have answered more at large in the fifteenth division of this article.

In the allegation of St. Augustine's words, M. Harding, for his pleasure, hath uttered manifest corruption, in the stead of this word *eorum* purposely using this word *omnium*. For, whereas St. Augustine saith, *Ipsum constituit caput eorum*, "Christ appointed him to be the head of them<sup>9</sup>;" M. Harding thought it better to allege it thus,

Hieronym. ad Nepotiun. [l. Rusticum, iv. pt. 2. p. 775.] 7. quæst. i. in Apibus. Hieron. in Epist. ad Titum, cap. i. [iv. 413.] Hieron. contra Luciferian. [iv. pt. 2. p. 295.]

M. Harding misreporteth St. Augustine. August. in Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. quæst. 75. [iii. pt. 2. app. 73.]

<sup>9</sup> [These Quæstiones in Vet. et Nov. Test. are not genuine. See Cave, Dupin, and the Bened. ed.]

*Ipsum constituit caput omnium*, "Christ appointed him to be head of all." He saw right well, that corrupt doctrine would not stand without some corruption.

Further, I doubt not but M. Harding doth well remember, that the question, that lieth between us, riseth not of any extraordinary name, once or twice given upon some special affection, but of the usual and known style of the bishops of Rome. For Theophrastus saith: *Quæ semel aut bis accidunt, contemnunt leges*: "The lawmakers have no regard to such things as never happen but once or twice." Neither whatsoever name is given to any man of favour or admiration of his virtue, is therefore to be reckoned as his ordinary title. St. Chrysostom writeth

Pan. de Leg. et Senatus. con. et Lon. Con. Nam ad ea. [tom. 1.]

Chrysost. ad populum Antioch. hom. 2. [il. 23.]

thus of the emperor Theodosius: *Læsus est, qui non habet parem ullum super terram: summitas, et caput omnium super terram hominum*: "He is offended, that in the earth hath no peer: the top and the head of all men in the world<sup>10</sup>." Eleutherius, the bishop of Rome, gave this title unto Lucius the king of this island: *Vos estis vicarius Christi*: "You (being the king) are Christ's vicar." Chry-

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Roman. 11. hom. 18. [ix. 636.]

sostom, speaking of Elias, calleth him *prophetarum caput*, "the head of the prophets." The council of Ephesus, writing unto the emperors Theodosius and Valentinianus, expresseth Cyrillus the bishop of Alexandria by this title: *Caput episcoporum congregatorum Cyrillus*: "Cyrillus the head of the bishops there assembled." Likewise Gregory

Cyri. tom. 4. epist. 5.

Gregor. in 1 Regum, lib. 4. cap. 5. [iii. pt. 2. 250.]

entitleth St. Paul in this wise: *Paulus ad Christum conversus caput effectus est nationum*: "Paul, being converted unto Christ, was made the head of nations." And to take nearer view of the bishop of Rome's own special titles,

Dist. 66. Satis evidenter.

[Bernard. de Consider. lib. 2. cap. 8. tom. 2. p. 428.]

pope Nicolas thereof writeth thus: *Constat, pontificem a pio principe Constantino Deum appellatum*: "It is well known that the pope of that godly prince Constantinus was called God." And further they say: *Papa est in primatu Abel, in zelo Elias, in mansuetudine David, in potestate Petrus, in unctione Christus*: "The pope in primacy is

<sup>10</sup> [Chrysost. ad Pop. Antioch. 2. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ὑβρισθεὶς ὁμοτιμὸν τινα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἐστὶν, κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων.]

Abel, in zeal is Elias, in mildness is David, in power is Peter, in anointing is Christ<sup>11</sup>." These names, as I have said, of affection and favour have been given: yet will not M. Harding therefore say, that either the emperor ought to be called the head of all men upon earth; or the king, Christ's vicar; or Elias, the head of the prophets; or Cyrillus, the head of the council; or St. Paul, the head of nations; or the bishop of Rome, God or Christ, as by an usual and ordinary title. And although, as I have said, St. Peter's titles be nothing incident to this question, yet we may examine M. Harding's argument touching the same:

Peter, saith he, was head of the apostles:

*Ergo*, he was head of other inferior people; and so head of the universal church.

This is a deceitful kind of argument, and riseth by degrees and steps, and in the schools is called *sorites*. In like sort M. Harding might conclude thus:

Elias, as Chrysostom saith, was head of the prophets:

*Ergo*, He was head of the inferior people; and so of the whole universal church.

But the error hereof will better appear by that argument that Themistocles, the governor of Athens, sometimes made of himself, his wife, and his child. Thus he said:

"The people of Athens is ruled by me: I am ruled by my wife:

My wife is ruled by my child:

*Ergo*, The people of Athens is ruled by my child."

In this reason this one word "rule," hath three significations. For Themistocles ruled as a governor; his wife, as a shrew; his child, as a wanton. And therein standeth the error of the argument. So likewise this word "head" signifieth sometime the chief in learning, sometime the chief in dignity, sometime the chief in government. And hereof also in reasoning riseth great error. For it were

<sup>11</sup> [Bernard. ad Eugenium de Consider. "Quis es? Sacerdos magnus, summus pontifex. Tu princeps episcoporum, tu hæres apostolorum, tu primatu Abel, ubernatu Noe, patriarchatu Abraham, ordine Melchisedech, dignitate Aaron, auctoritate

"Moyses, iudicatu Samuel, potestate Petrus, unctione Christus." It is grievous to think, that such words should have proceeded from such a man as Bernard! See Def. of Apol. part 4. chap. 17. division 2.]



great folly to reason thus: Paul in learning and dignity was the head of all others: *ergo*, he was the head in government over all others.

[Victor Uti-  
censis de  
Persec. Van-  
dal.]

Touching Victor that wrote the story of the Vandals, he is neither scripture, nor council, nor doctor, nor writeth the order or practice of the primitive church: nor is it well known either of what credit he was, or when he lived: nor doth he call the bishop of Rome the head of the universal church. Only he saith, "Rome is the chief or head church of all others." Which thing of our part, for that time, is not denied: as may better appear by that is written before in sundry places of this article. So doth Prudentius call Bethlehem the head of the world: *Sancta Bethlehem caput est orbis*. So likewise Chrysostom, giving instructions unto Flavianus touching the city of Antioch, saith unto him: *Cogita de totius orbis capite*: "Think thou of (Antioch, that is) the head of all the world<sup>12</sup>." Hereby is meant a head of dignity or honour, and not of rule.

Prudentius  
[Diptychon.]  
in Enchiridio.

Chrysost. ad  
Populum An-  
tioch. hom.  
3. [ii. 36.]

M. Harding, finding not one of the whole number of the bishops of Rome once named the head of the whole church, therefore thought it best to found his proof upon St. Peter. And for that cause, others of his side have advanced St. Peter above all creatures. Bonifacius<sup>13</sup> [I. Nicolaus III.] saith, that God took Peter *in consortium individuae Trinitatis* [al. leg. *unitatis*]: "into the fellowship even of the indivisible Trinity—and that from him, as from the head, he poureth all his gifts into the body." Hereof M. Harding forceth his argument thus:

In 6<sup>o</sup>. de elec-  
tion. et elec-  
ti potestate  
(Bonif. 8.)  
[I. Nicol. 3.]  
Fundamenta.  
Ab ipse, qua-  
si quodam  
capite, dona  
sua omnia  
diffundit in  
corpus.

Peter was the head of the apostles, and so of all other inferiors:

*Ergo*, The bishop of Rome is the head of the universal church.

<sup>12</sup> [Chrysost. ad Pop. Antioch. 3. ἐννόησον τὸ τῆς πόλεως μέγεθος . . . περὶ τοῦ κεφαλαίου τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης. Bishop Jewel is mistaken in saying that these words were addressed to Flavianus; they are the words which St. Chrysostom represents Flavianus as addressing to the emperor.]

<sup>13</sup> [In all the edd. of the Corpus Jur. Canon. which the Editor has

seen, the reading is "unitatis;" but it by no means follows that Jewel may not have seen the reading, "Trinitatis." This decree was by Nicolas III. and not by Boniface VIII. Jewel's mistake originated probably in his looking to the end instead of the beginning of the decree for its author. The next decree is by Boniface VIII.]

Thus, as Julianus the emperor in his phrensy some-  
 time imagined that the great Alexander's soul was come Socrates, lib. 3, cap. 18. [ii. 197.]  
 by succession to dwell in him; even so now the bishops  
 of Rome imagine by like phantasy or phrensy, that St.  
 Peter's soul cometh by succession to dwell in them: and  
 that therefore they ought to have whatsoever title or in-  
 terest Peter had. And for that cause they say, "We are  
 Peter's successors." Even as the Pharisees sometime said,  
 "We be the children of Abraham." But St. John the  
 Baptist said unto them, "Put not your affiance in such Matt. iii. 9.  
 succession. For God is able even of the stones to raise  
 up children unto Abraham." And when the children of  
 Scæva, being sorcerers and infidels, began to practise in the  
 name of Christ and Paul, the man possessed made them  
 answer: "Christ I know, and Paul I know, but what are Acts xix. 14, 15.  
 you?" Surely Peter was not the head of the apostles, be-  
 cause he was bishop of Rome. For he was so appointed  
 by Christ, in consideration of age, and boldness of spirit,  
 long before he came to Rome: yea and had so been, and  
 so had continued, although he had never come to Rome.  
 Therefore M. Harding's argument is a fallax, and in the  
 schools is called *fallacia accidentis*.

Thus, notwithstanding St. Peter were head of the church,  
 yet cannot the bishop of Rome therefore of right claim the  
 same title. And albeit St. Peter, of special reverence, and  
 admiration of his spirit and virtues, were sometimes so  
 called, as St. Paul sometimes also was, yet understanding Paul the head as well as Peter.  
 this chiefly for universal power, and government, and au-  
 thority to command, St. Peter neither was the head of  
 the universal church indeed, nor was so esteemed or taken  
 among his brethren, as many ways it may well appear.  
 And therefore St. Gregory saith: *Paulus membra Domi-* Gregor. lib. 4. epist. 38. [ii. 742.]  
*nici corporis certis extra Dominum quasi capitibus, et ipsis*  
*quidem apostolis subjici particulariter evitavit:* "St. Paul  
 forbade that the members of Christ's body should not be  
 subject particularly unto any certain heads besides the  
 Lord, no not unto the apostles themselves." So saith Augustin. contra Litteras Petilianas, lib. 1. cap. 5. [ix. 208.]  
 St. Augustine, as it is before alleged: *Nec apostolus Paulus*  
*caput est, et origo eorum, quos plantaverat:* "Neither is

August. contra Epistolam Parmeniani, lib. 2. c. 8. [ix. 34.]

Gregor. lib. 4. epist. 38. [ii. 743.]

Paul himself the head of them whom he planted<sup>14</sup>." Likewise again he saith: *Paulus apostolus, quanquam sub capite præcipuum membrum, tamen membrum est corporis Christi*: "Paul the apostle, although he be a special member under" (Christ) "the head, yet is he a member" (and not the head) "of Christ's body<sup>15</sup>." To conclude; St. Gregory saith: *Certe Petrus apostolus primum* [Ben. leg. *primus*] *membrum sanctæ et universalis ecclesiæ est. Paulus, Andreas, Johannes, quid aliud, quam singularium sunt plebium capita? Et tamen sub uno capite omnes membra (sunt ecclesiæ). Atque ut cuncta brevi cingulo locutionis astringam, sancti ante legem, sancti in [l. sub] lege, sancti sub gratia: omnes hi, perficientes corpus Domini, in membris sunt ecclesiæ constituti: et nemo se unquam universalem vocari voluit*: "Indeed Peter the apostle is the chief member of the holy universal church. Paul, Andrew, and John, what are they else, but the heads of several people? Yet notwithstanding under one head they are all members of the church. To be short; the saints before the law, the saints in the law, the saints under grace, all accomplishing the Lord's body, are placed among the members of the church: and there was never yet none that would call himself universal<sup>16</sup>."

Hereof we may well conclude thus: St. Peter, touching government and ordinary rule, was not the head of the universal church: *ergo*, much less is the pope the head of the universal church.

#### M. HARDING: *Thirty-third Division.*

I will add to all that hath been hitherto said of this matter, a saying of Martin Luther, that such as do little regard the gravity of ancient fathers of the old church, yet may somewhat

<sup>14</sup> [August. contr. Lit. Petilian, "Aut vero apostolus Paulus caput est et origo eorum quos plantaverat, aut Apollo radix eorum quos rigaverat, ac non ille qui eis in credendo fidem dederat.,"]

<sup>15</sup> [For other authorities, especially from St. Chrysostom, for St. Paul being called the head as well as St. Peter, see Def. of Apology, part 2. chap. 3. divis. 2. (fol. ed. p. 93.)]

<sup>16</sup> [In the Bened. edit. the reading is *primus*; the word "est," and the full stop after it, are omitted; and the construction is, "Petrus primus, . . . Paulus, Andreas &c. singularium sunt plebium capita." Here St. Peter (with his *primacy* allowed) is placed upon the same footing with the other apostles, as a head of a particular church, under an universal head, Christ.]



be moved with the lightness of the young father Luther, patriarch and founder of their new church. Lightness I may well call it, for in this saying which I shall here rehearse, he doth not so soberly allow the pope's primacy, as in sundry other treatises he doth rashly and furiously inveigh against the same. In a little treatise entituled, *Resolutio Lutheriana super propositione sua 13. De potestate Papæ*, his words be these: *Primum quod me movet Romanum pontificem esse aliis omnibus, quos saltem noverimus se pontifices gerere, superiorem, est ipsa voluntas Dei, quam in ipso facto videmus. Neque enim sine voluntate Dei, in hanc monarchiam unquam venire potuisset Romanus pontifex. At voluntas Dei, quoquo modo nota fuerit, cum reverentia suscipienda est, ideoque non licet temere Romano pontifici in suo primatu resistere. Hæc autem ratio tanta est, ut si etiam nulla scriptura, nulla alia causa esset, hæc tamen satis esset ad compescendam temeritatem resistentium. Et hæc sola ratione gloriosissimus martyr Cyprianus, per multas epistolas, confidentissime gloriatur contra omnes episcoporum quorumcunque adversarios. Sicut 3. Regum legimus, quod decem tribus Israel discesserunt a Roboam filio Salomonis, et tamen quia voluntas Dei, sive auctoritate factum est, ratum apud Deum fuit. Nam et apud theologos omnes, voluntas signi, quam vocant operationem Dei, non minus quam alia signa voluntatis Dei, ut præcepta prohibitiva, &c. metuenda est. Ideo non video quomodo sint excusati a schismatis reatu, qui, huic voluntati contravenientes, sese a Romani pontificis auctoritate subtrahunt. Ecce hæc est una prima mihi insuperabilis ratio, quæ me subjicit Romano pontifici, et primatum ejus confiteri cogit: "The first thing, that moveth me to think the bishop of Rome to be over all other that we know to be bishops, is the very will of God, which we see in the fact or deed itself. For without the will of God the bishop of Rome could never have comen unto this monarchy. But the will of God, by what mean soever it be known, is to be received reverently. And therefore it is not lawful rashly to resist the bishop of Rome in his primacy. And this is so great a reason for the same, that if there were no scripture at all, nor other reason, yet this were enough to stay the rashness of them that resist. And through this only reason, the most glorious martyr Cyprian in many of his epistles vaunteth himself very boldly against all the adversaries of bishops, whatsoever they were. As in the third book of the Kings, we read, that the ten tribes of Israel departed from Roboam Salomon's son. Yet because it was done by the will or authority of God, it stood in effect with God. For among all the divines, the will of the sign, which they call the working of God, is to be feared no less than other signs of God's will, as commandments prohibitive, &c. Therefore I see not how they may be excused of the guilt of schism, which, going against this will, withdraw themselves from the authority of the bishop of Rome. Lo this is one chief invincible reason that maketh me to be under the bishop of Rome, and compelleth me to confess his primacy." Thus far Luther.*

Thus I have briefly touched some deal of the scriptures, of the canons and councils, of the edicts of emperors, of the fathers' sayings, of the reasons and of the manifold practices of the church, which are wont to be alleged for the pope's primacy and supreme authority. Withal, I have proved that which M. Jewel denieth, (125) that the bishop of Rome, within six hundred years after Christ, hath been called the universal bishop, of no small number of men of great credit; and very oftentimes head of the universal church, both in terms equivalent, and also expressly. Now to the next article.

The 125th untruth. For, Peter only excepted, either of these titles resteth yet unproved.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The case goeth somewhat hardly of M. Harding's side, when he is thus driven for want of other authorities, to crave aid at Luther's hand. Touching alteration in religion, which it pleaseth him to name "lightness," if he would soberly remember his own often changes, and the light occasions of the same, he should find small cause to condemn others. Certainly D. Luther, after God had once called him to be a minister of his truth, never looked backward from the plough, nor refused the grace that God had offered him, notwithstanding he saw all the powers of the world were against him. His argument is taken of the effects or tokens of God's will. The pope, said he, is advanced unto a monarchy or imperial state of a kingdom: but he could never be so advanced without God's will: *ergo*, it was God's will it should be so.

Arguments, that be taken of God's permission, or of the tokens of his will, make no necessary proof, either that the things in themselves be good, or that God is pleased with them. For God suffered Nebuchadnezzar, Sennacherib, Pharaoh, and others; and their very estates and proceedings were evident tokens of God's will. For, if his will had been otherwise, they could not have reigned: yet neither were they good men, nor was God pleased with their doings. So shall God suffer Antichrist to sit even in the holy place. Daniel saith: *Faciet, et prosperabitur*: "He shall take his pleasure, and shall prosper." And again: *Roborabitur fortitudo ejus, et non in viribus suis*: "His power shall be confirmed, but not through his own strength," but through the strength of God. Yet shall

Isa. xxxvi. 10.

Dan. viii. 12.  
Matt. xxiv.

Dan. viii. 24.

not God therefore love or favour Antichrist, or delight in his wickedness. For St. Paul saith: "The Lord shall kill <sup>a Thess. ii. 8.</sup> him with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness and glory of his coming."

Now, forasmuch as it hath pleased M. Harding, for the conclusion hereof, to touch the effects of God's will, I trust it shall not be painful to thee, gentle reader, likewise shortly to consider the effects and sequels of this universal power. It is granted, that the church of Rome, for sundry causes before alleged, was evermore from the beginning the chief and most notable above all others. Notwithstanding Æneas Sylvius<sup>17</sup>, being himself a bishop of Rome, saith: *Ad Romanos pontifices ante Nicenum concilium, aliquis sane, etsi non magnus, respectus fuit*: "Verily there was some respect had to the bishops of Rome before the council of Nice, although it were not great." St. Cyprian in his time complained, "that pride and ambition seemed to lodge in priests' bosoms<sup>18</sup>." Origen in his time complained, that the ministers of Christ seemed even then to pass the outrage of worldly princes. Yet was the church of God in those days every where under cruel and vehement persecution. Therefore, to abate this ambitious courage, order was afterward taken in the council of Carthage, "That no man should be entitled the highest bishop, or the prince of bishops, or by any other like name." The Greek bishops in the council of Antioch, and the bishops of Africa, being in number two hundred and seventeen, in the council there found themselves grieved with the pride and arrogance of the see of Rome. For that John the bishop of Constantinople, took upon him to be called the universal bishop, therefore Gregory the bishop of Rome called him Lucifer, and the messenger of Antichrist; and said, he had chosen unto him a proud, an arrogant, a pompous, and a blasphemous name: But after that, by great suit made unto the emperor Phocas, the

Æneas Sylvius. [p. 802. d.]

Cyprian. in Sermone de Jejunio et Tentatione. [app. cvil.]

Origen. in Matth. tract. 12. [ed. Frob. ii. 98.]

Dist. 99. Primæ Sedis. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 7. [ii. 107.] Concil. Afric. [c. 6. iv. 483.]

Epist. ad Cœlest. [iv. 516.]

Gregor. lib. 4. epist. 34. 38. &c. [ii. 751. &c.] Anno Dom. 602.

<sup>17</sup> [Æneas Sylvius (Pius ii.) See ante, vol. ii. p. 219, note <sup>48</sup>.]

<sup>18</sup> [Cyprian de Jejun. et Tentat. This is one of the twelve treatises

"De Cardinalibus Oper. Christi," which are not by St. Cyprian, but by Arnoldus Abbas Claræ Vallis. Ad calc. Opp. Cyprian.]



bishops of Rome themselves had once obtained the same title, and had possessed and enjoyed the same a long while, in the end, their pride was such, that it seemed intolerable.

a De Major. et Obed. Unam Sanctam. Ibidem in Glossa.

Then they began to decree and determine, <sup>a</sup>That every mortal man is bound to be subject to the see of Rome, and that upon pain of damnation; and that, without the obedience of that see, no man is saved: that the bishop of Rome is an universal judge over all men: <sup>b</sup>And that he himself may be judged by no man, neither by emperor, nor by king, nor by all the clergy, nor by the whole people: For

b 9. Quæst. 3. Nemo.

<sup>c</sup>that it is written by the prophet Isaiah, "The axe shall not glory against him that heweth with it:" That <sup>d</sup>whatsoever he do, no man may presume to say unto him,

c Dist. 21. In ferior sedes. Isa. x. d [Extrav. Joan. xxii.] De Concess. Præb. [ad Apostolat. Gloss. e In 60. De Constitution. Licet. f Durand. lib. 2. g Extra de Electio. et Electi Potest. Significasti. h Dist. 40. Si papa.

*Domine cur ita facis?* "Sir, why do you thus?" "That he hath all manner law and right <sup>e</sup>*in scrinio pectoris sui*: 'in the closet of his breast:" <sup>f</sup>"That all other bishops receive

of his fulness:" <sup>g</sup>That no councils can make laws for the church of Rome, and that the bishop of Rome's authority is plainly excepted out of all councils: <sup>h</sup>That notwithstanding the pope draw innumerable companies of people after him into hell, "yet no mortal man may dare to reprove him:" <sup>i</sup>That the pope's will or pleasure standeth as a law:

i Extra de Translatio. Episcopi. Quanto. In Glossa.

*In illis quæ vult, est ei pro ratione voluntas*: and that there is none other reason to be yielded of his doings but only this: *quia ipse voluit*: "for he would:" <sup>k</sup>"For of that, that is nothing, he is able to make something:" *Quia de eo, quod nihil est, potest facere aliquid*: <sup>l</sup>That he hath the right

k Extra de Concessio. Præbendæ. Proposuit. In Glossa. l Extrav. Comm. de Major. et Obed. Unam Sanctam m Clem. de Appellatio. [l. de Sent. et Re judic.] Pastoralis. n Extra. de Major. et Obed. Solitæ. In Gloss. o In 60. De Senten. et Re judicata. Ad Apost.

of both swords, as well of the temporal as of the spiritual: that the temporal prince may not draw his sword, but only at his beck and sufferance; *ad nutum et patientiam ecclesiæ*: <sup>m</sup>That he is *hæres imperii*, "the heir apparent of the empire<sup>19</sup>;" and <sup>n</sup>is seven and fifty degrees greater than the emperor; and that because in such proportion the sun is greater than the moon: <sup>o</sup>That it is lawful for him to

<sup>19</sup> [Clementin. Jewel has referred to the 12th title of the 2nd book of the Clementines, instead of the 11th. The words of Clement V. are as follows, "... nos

"tam ex superioritate, quam ad imperium non est dubium nos habere, quam ex potestate, in qua vacante imperio imperatori succedimus," &c.]

depose kings and emperors ; as he did the emperor Henry the Sixth, and Chilpericus the French king.

Then he made the emperor of Christendom to lie down flat before him, and spared not to set his foot upon his neck, adding withal these words of the prophet David :

<sup>p</sup> “Thou shalt walk over the asp and the cockatrice :” <sup>p</sup> Psalm xci. 13.  
<sup>q</sup> Then he was content that the emperor should be called *procurator ecclesiæ Romanæ* : “the proctor or steward of the church of Rome :” <sup>r</sup> Then, as if he had been Nebuchadnezzar, or Alexander, or Antiochus, or Domitian, he claimed unto himself the name and title of Almighty God ; and said further, that, being God, he might not be judged of any mortal man : <sup>s</sup> Then he suffereth men to say : *Dominus Deus noster papa* : “Our Lord God the pope ;” <sup>t</sup> *Tu es omnia, et super omnia* : “Thou art all, and above all. All power is given unto thee as well in heaven as in earth.” <sup>u</sup> I leave the miserable spoil of the empire ; the losing of sundry great countries and nations, that sometimes were christened ; the weakening of the faith ; the encouraging of the Turk ; the ignorance and blindness of the people. These and other like be the effects of the pope’s universal power. Would to God he were indeed that he would so fain be called, and would shew himself in his own particular church to be Christ’s vicar, and the “dispenser of God’s mysteries. Then should godly men have less cause to complain against him. As now, although that he claimeth were his very right, yet by his own judgment he is worthy to lose it. For pope Gregory saith : *Privilegium meretur amittere, qui abutitur potestate* : “He that abuseth his authority is worthy to lose his privilege.” And pope Sylverius saith : *Etiam quod habuit, amittat, qui, quod non accepit, usurpat* [i. *assumpserit*] : “He that usurpeth that he received not, let him lose that he had.”

Now, briefly to lay abroad the whole contents of this Article :

First, M. Harding hath wittingly alleged such testimonies under the names of Anacletus, Athanasius, and other holy fathers, as he himself knoweth undoubtedly to be forged, and, with manifest absurdities and contradictions,

<sup>p</sup> Psalm xci. 13.

<sup>q</sup> Dist. 96. Si imperator. In Glossa.

<sup>r</sup> Dist. 96. Satis evidenter.

<sup>s</sup> Extrav. Johan. xxii. de Verbor. Signific. In Glossa. Cum inter.

<sup>t</sup> In Concil. Lateranen.

<sup>u</sup> Sub Julio. ed. Reg. xxxiv. 453.]

<sup>u</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 1.

<sup>1</sup>. Quest. 2. Privileg.

<sup>25</sup>. Quest. 2. Sic decet.

do betray themselves, and have no manner colour or show of truth.

- 2 He hath made his claim by certain canons of the council of Nice, and of the council of Chalcedon: and yet he knoweth, that neither there are, nor never were, any such canons to be found.
- 3 He hath dismembered and mangled St. Gregory's words, and, contrary to his own knowledge, he hath cut them off in the midst, the better to beguile his reader.
- 4 He hath violently and perforce drawn and racked the old godly fathers, Irenæus, Cyprian, Ambrose, Cyrillus, Augustine, Theodoretus, Hierom, and others, contrary to their own sense and meaning.
- 5 Touching appeals to Rome, the government of the east part of the world, excommunications, approbations of orders, allowance of councils, restitutions and reconciliations, he hath openly misreported the whole universal order and practice of the church.
- 6 All this notwithstanding, he hath as yet found neither of these two glorious titles, that he hath so narrowly sought for: notwithstanding great pains taken, and great promises, and vaunts made touching the same.

Therefore, to conclude, I must subscribe, and rescribe, even as before, That, albeit M. Harding have travailed painfully herein, both by himself, and also with conference of his friends: yet cannot he hitherto find, neither in the scriptures, nor in the old councils, nor in any one of all the ancient catholic fathers, that the bishop of Rome within the space of the first six hundred years after Christ was ever entitled, either the universal bishop, or the head of the universal church.



# OF REAL PRESENCE.

## THE FIFTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

**O**R that the people was then taught to believe, that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament.

M. HARDING: *First Division.*

(126) Christian people hath ever been taught, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ, by the unspeakable working of the grace of God, and virtue of the Holy Ghost, is present in this most holy sacrament, and that verily and indeed. This doctrine is founded upon the plain words of Christ, which he uttered in the institution of this sacrament, expressed by the evangelists, and by St. Paul. "As they were at supper," saith Matthew, "Jesus took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said: 'Take ye, eat ye, this is my body.' And taking the cup, he gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, 'Drink ye all of this: for this is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many in remission of sins.'" With like words almost, Mark, Luke, and Paul do describe this divine institution. Neither said our Lord only, "This is my body;" but, lest some should doubt how his words are to be understood, for a plain declaration of them, he addeth this further, "which is given for you." Likewise of the cup he saith not only, "This is my blood;" but also, as it were to put it out of all doubt, "which shall be shed for many."

The 126th untruth. For M. Harding is not able to prove, that the people in the primitive church was thus taught.

Matt. xxvi. 26.

Mark xiv. 22.  
Luke xxii. 19.  
1 Cor. xi. 25.

Luke xxii. 19.

Now, as faithful people do believe, that Christ gave not a figure of his body, but his own true and very body in substance,

and likewise not a figure of his blood, but his very precious blood itself, at his passion and death on the cross for our redemption : so they believe also, that the words of the institution of this sacrament admit no other understanding, but that he giveth unto us in these holy mysteries, his selfsame body, and his selfsame blood, in truth of substance, which was crucified and shed forth for us. Thus to the humble believers scripture itself ministereth sufficient argument of the truth of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, against the sacramentaries, who hold opinion, that it is there but in a figure, sign, or token (127) only.

The 127th  
untruth. For  
this is no  
part of our  
doctrine.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I know not well, whether M. Harding do this of purpose, or else it be his manner of writing. But this I see, that, being demanded of one thing, he always turneth his answer to another. The question is here moved, "Whether Christ's body be really and corporally in the sacrament." His answer is : "That Christ's body is joined, and united, really and corporally unto us ;" and herein he bestoweth his whole treaty, and answereth not one word unto the question.

In the former Articles he was able to allege some forged authorities ; some counterfeit practice of the church ; some words of the ancient doctors, although mistaken ; some show of natural and worldly reason ; or, at the leastwise, some colour or shift of words. But in this matter, for direct proof he is able to allege nothing : no, not so much as the help and drift of natural reason.

Where he saith, "Christian people hath ever been thus taught from the beginning," it is great marvel, that either they should be so taught, without a teacher ; or their teacher should thus instruct them, without words ; or such words should be spoken, and never written. Verily M. Harding, by his silence, and want herein, secretly confesseth, that these words, "really, carnally," &c. in this matter of the sacrament, were never used of any ancient writer : for if they were, either he or his fellows would have found them.

But Christ saith, "This is my body : this is my blood : " and, to put the matter out of doubt, he addeth, "which is given for you : which shall be shed for you." Hereupon

M. Harding foundeth his carnal presence : notwithstanding Christ himself useth not any of these words, nor any other word leading thereunto. And doctor Fisher, sometime bishop of Rochester, a famous man of M. Harding's side, saith expressly, that this sense cannot in any wise be gathered of the bare words of Christ. For thus he writeth : *Hactenus Matthæus : qui et solus Testamenti Novi meminit. Neque ullum hic verbum positum est, quo probetur, in nostra missa veram fieri carnis et sanguinis Christi præsentiam :* "Hitherto St. Matthew : who only maketh mention of the New Testament. Neither are there any words here written, whereby it may be proved, that in our mass is made the very presence of the body and blood of Christ." And further he avoucheth it thus : *Non potest igitur per ullam scripturam probari :* "Therefore it cannot be proved by any scripture." Here we see great variety of judgment in M. Harding's own side, and that in matters of greatest weight. M. Harding thinketh his carnal presence is proved sufficiently by these words of Christ, "This is my body ;" doctor Fisher contrariwise saith : "It cannot be proved, neither by these words of the scripture, nor by any other." And yet it was ever thought M. Fisher was as learned in every respect as M. Harding.

And albeit M. Harding lay such hold upon these words of Christ, as if they were so plain, yet others of his friends, by their diverse and sundry constructions touching the same, have made them somewhat dark and doubtful, and cannot yet thoroughly agree upon them. Some of them say : "Christ's natural body is in the sacrament, howbeit, not naturally ;" some others say : "It is there both naturally, and also sensibly ;" some of them say precisely : "Never man used either of these two terms, 'naturally,' or 'sensibly,' in this case of Christ's presence in the sacrament." Yet others of them put the matter out of doubt, and say, "Christ is there present naturally ;" and in the council holden in Rome under pope Nicolas the Second it was determined, and Berengarius forced to subscribe, "That Christ is in the sacrament sensibly : or, as they then grossly uttered it in Latin, *sensualiter*." Some of them

Joan. Fisherus contra Captivita. Babyloniam. N. 8. et O. [cap. 10. p. 226.]

D. Smyth de Eucharist.

Steph. Gardinerus. D. Smyth. Steph. Gardiner in the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 6.

De Con. dist. 2. Ego Bereng.



Steph. Gardiner in the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 15.

Ego Bereng. Manibus tractari, frangi: dentibus atteri.

say, "Christ's body is not divided, or broken in the sacrament, but only the accidents." But pope Nicolas, with his whole council, saith, "Christ's body itself is touched with fingers, and divided and broken, and rent with teeth, and not only the accidents<sup>20</sup>." Thus to leave other mo contrarieties, it is plain hereby, that the best learned of that side are not yet fully agreed upon the sense of Christ's words: notwithstanding their suitors and well-willers are otherwise persuaded of them. And doth M. Harding believe, that Christian people were thoroughly resolved herein, when their doctors and teachers were not resolved? or that the scholars were better instructed than their masters?

Now, if this Article cannot be proved, neither by any words of the scriptures, as doctor Fisher saith, and as it further appeareth by the dissension of the teachers, nor by any one of all the old doctors, and fathers, as M. Harding granteth by his silence, then may godly and catholic Christian people well stay their judgments, and stand in doubt of this carnal and fleshly presence. Indeed the question between us this day, is not of the letters or syllables of Christ's words: for they are known and confessed of either party: but only of the sense and meaning of his words: which, as St. Hierom saith, is the very pith and substance of the scriptures<sup>21</sup>. And the law itself saith: *In fraudem legis facit, qui salvis verbis legis, sententiam ejus circumvenit*: "He committeth fraud against the laws, that, saving the words of the law, overthroweth the meaning." And St. Augustine seemeth herein to find fault with certain in his time. His words be these: *Cum in unam partem procliviter ire cœperint, non respiciunt divinæ autoritatis alia testimonia, quibus possint ab illa intentione revocari, et in ea, quæ ex utrisque temperata est, veritate, ac moderatione consistere*: "When they once begin to run headlong of one side, they never consider other testimonies of divine authority, whereby they might be withdrawn from their pur-

Hieron. ad Galat. cap. 1. [iv. 230.] Pand. de Leg. et Senatus- con. et longa Consuet. Contra legem. [tom. i.]

August. de Fide et Oper. cap. 4. [vi. 167.]

<sup>20</sup> [De Con. Dist. 2. Ego Berengarius. "... et non solum sacramentum." There is nothing to answer to the word *accidents*.]

"putemus in verbis scripturarum esse evangelium, sed in sensu, non in superficie sed in medio." "dulla."]

<sup>21</sup> [Hieronym. ad Galat. "Nec

pose, and so might rest in that truth and measure that is tempered and tuned of both." If it be true that M. Harding saith, that this is the only sense and meaning of Christ's words, that his body is in such gross sort really and fleshly in the sacrament, and that, unless Christ mean so, he meaneth nothing: it is great wonder, that none of the ancient catholic doctors of the church, no not one, could ever see it: or if they saw it, yet, being so eloquent, lacked words, and weré never able to express it.

But he saith, "It is no bare figure, as the sacramentaries hold opinion;" and therefore he thinketh he may conclude, that Christ's body is really present. So might he also say, "The sacrament of baptism is no bare figure, therefore Christ is therein really present." Certainly St. Augustine, speaking of the rock in the wilderness, writeth thus: *Hinc est, quod dictum est, Petra erat Christus. Non enim dixit, Petra significat Christum, sed tanquam hoc esset: quod utique per substantiam non hoc erat, sed per significationem*: "Therefore it is written, The rock was Christ. For St. Paul saith not, The rock signified Christ, but as though it had been Christ indeed: whereas it was not Christ in substance, but by way of signification, or by a figure." St. Paul saith not, The rock was a figure of Christ, but The rock was Christ. And St. Basil in the like sort saith: *Christus re vera Petra est immobilis, et inconcussa*: "Christ indeed is the sure and the firm rock<sup>22</sup>." Yet I trow M. Harding will not therefore say, Christ was really or carnally in the rock.

Neither can I think M. Harding is such a deadly enemy unto figures as he would now seem to be. For he himself, in these few words of Christ, touching the institution of this holy sacrament, as it shall be shewed hereafter more at large, is fain to seek help of sixteen or more sundry figures: and the same so strange, so gross, and so insensible, that neither St. Augustine, nor St. Hierom, nor any other old divine, ever knew them, nor any good gram-

<sup>22</sup> [Basil. de Poenit. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ πέτρα ἀσάλευτος. Πέτρος δὲ διὰ τὴν πέτρα, οὐχ ὡς Χριστὸς πέτρα, ὡς πέτραν.] Πέτρος πέτρα· Χριστὸς γὰρ ὄντως

marian would allow them. So many, and such figures, it is lawful for him to devise and use, to maintain the falsehood. But for us, in defence of the truth, it may not be lawful to use one.

Verily the old catholic fathers were never so curious in this behalf, nor thought it such heresy, to expound Christ's words by a figure. Briefly for a taste hereof, St. Augustine saith, *Christus adhibuit Judam ad convivium, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis suis commendavit, et tradidit*: "Christ received Judas to his banquet, where-in he gave unto his disciples the figure of his body and blood." Likewise Tertullian saith: *Christus.....acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei*: "Christ receiving the bread, and the same being divided unto his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body,' that is to say, the figure of my body." St. Ambrose saith: *Ante benedictionem verborum caelestium alia species nominatur: post consecrationem corpus (Christi) significatur*: "Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is called another kind: after the consecration, the body of Christ is signified<sup>23</sup>." Here I must protest, that, as M. Harding is troubled with want of witness in this case, so am I oppressed with multitude. If I should allege all the rest of the ancient godly fathers that write the like, I should be over-tedious to the reader. And another place hereafter following will serve more aptly to this purpose. But by the way, gentle reader, I must give thee to understand, that St. Augustine hereof writeth thus: *Ea demum est miserabilis animæ servitus, signa pro rebus accipere: et supra creaturam corpoream oculum mentis ad hauriendum æternum lumen levare non posse*: "Indeed this is a miserable bondage of the soul, to take the signs in the stead of things that be signified; and not to have power to lift up the eye of the mind above the bodily creature, to receive

Augustin. in  
Psalmum 3.  
[iv. 7.]

Tertull. con-  
tra Marcion.  
lib. 4. [c. 40.  
pp. 457, 458.]

Ambros. de  
illis qui ini-  
tiantur My-  
steriis, cap.  
ult. [ii. 339.]

August. de  
Doctrina  
Christiana,  
lib. 3. cap. 5.  
[iii. 47.]

The bondage  
of the soul.

<sup>23</sup> [The genuineness of this work is doubtful; indeed some consider it to be a part of the work de Sacramentis, which even Ro-

manists (cardinal Bona for instance) confess to be spurious. Oudin. tom. i. 659.]



the light that is everlasting." And again: *In principio* Ibid.  
*cavendum est, ne figuratam locutionem ad literam accipias.*  
*Et ad hoc enim pertinet, quod ait apostolus, Litera occidit:*  
*Spiritus autem vivificat. Cum enim figuratæ dictum sic acci-*  
*pitur, tanquam proprie dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur. Neque*  
*ulla mors animæ congruentius appellatur.....:* "First of all,  
 thou must beware that thou take not a figurative speech  
 according to the letter. For thereunto also it appertaineth  
 that the apostle saith, 'The letter killeth, the Spirit giveth  
 life.' For when the thing that is spoken in a figure is so  
 taken, as if it were plainly spoken (without figure), there  
 is fleshly understanding; neither is there any death more  
 fitly called the death of the soul." By these words, good The death of  
the soul.  
 reader, St. Augustine stirreth up thy senses, to consider  
 well what thou doest, lest perhaps thou be deceived.

And whereas M. Harding thus unjustly reporteth of us,  
 that we maintain a naked figure, and a bare sign or token  
 only, and nothing else: if he be of God, he knoweth well  
 he should not thus bestow his tongue or hand to bear false  
 witness. It is written, "God will destroy them all that Deut. v. 20.  
Exod. xxii.  
Psalm v. 6.  
Galat. iii. 1.  
Rom. v.  
 speak untruth." He knoweth well, we feed not the people  
 of God with bare signs and figures; but teach them, that  
 the sacraments of Christ be holy mysteries, and that in the  
 ministration thereof Christ is set before us, even as he was  
 crucified upon the cross; and that therein we may behold  
 the remission of our sins, and our reconciliation unto God,  
 and, as Chrysostom briefly saith, "Christ's great benefit,  
 and our salvation." † Chrysost.  
ad populum  
Antioch. ho-  
mil. 60. Herein we teach the people, not that  
 a naked sign, or token, but that Christ's body and blood  
 indeed and verily is given unto us; that we verily eat it;  
 that we verily drink it; that we verily be relieved and  
 live by it; that we are bones of his bones, and flesh of his  
 flesh; that Christ dwelleth in us, and we in him. Yet we  
 say not, either that the substance of the bread or wine is Ephes. v. 30.  
1 John iv. 13.  
 done away; or that Christ's body is let down from heaven,  
 or made really or fleshly present in the sacrament. We  
 are taught, according to the doctrine of the old fathers, to  
 lift up our hearts to heaven, and there to feed upon the  
 Lamb of God. Chrysostom saith: *Ad alta contendat opor-*  
Sursum  
corda.  
Chrysost. in  
1 Cor. x.  
hom. 24. [x.  
216.]

August. in  
Johan. tract.  
50. [iii. pt. 2.  
638.]

*tet, qui ad hoc corpus accedit*: “Whoso will reach to that body, must mount on high<sup>24</sup>.” St. Augustine likewise saith: *Quomodo tenebo absentem? Quomodo in cœlum manum mittam, ut ibi sedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, et tenuisti?* “How shall I take hold of him being absent? How shall I reach up my hand into heaven, and hold him sitting there? Send up thy faith, and thou hast taken him.” Thus spiritually, and with the mouth of our faith, we eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, even as verily as his body was verily broken, and his blood verily shed upon the cross. And thus St. Augustine, and St. Chrysostom, and other holy fathers, taught the people in their time to believe. Indeed the bread, that we receive with our bodily mouths, is an earthly thing, and therefore a figure; as the water in baptism is likewise also a figure: but the body of Christ, that thereby is represented, and there is offered unto our faith, is the thing itself, and no figure. And in respect of the glory thereof, we have no regard unto the figure. Therefore St. Bernard, alluding to the same, saith thus: *Annulus non valet quicquam: hæreditas est, quam quærebam*: “The sealing ring is nothing worth: it is the inheritance that I sought for.”

Bernard. de  
Cœna Domi-  
ni. [1. 897.]

To conclude; three things herein we must consider:  
1 first, that we put a difference between the sign and the thing itself that is signified.

2 Secondly, that we seek Christ above in heaven, and imagine not him to be present bodily upon the earth.

3 Thirdly, that the body of Christ is to be eaten by faith only, and none otherwise.

And in this last point appeareth a notable difference between us and M. Harding. For we place Christ in the heart, according to the doctrine of St. Paul: M. Harding placeth him in the mouth. We say, Christ is eaten only by faith: M. Harding saith, he is eaten with the mouth and teeth. But God’s name be blessed, a great number

Ephes. iii. 17.

<sup>24</sup> [Chrysost. ὑψηλὸν εἶναι δεῖ τὸν προσιόντα τῷ σώματι τούτῳ; καὶ . . . ἄνω πέτεσθαι διηκεῶς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐνο-  
ρᾶν, καὶ ὀξυτερὸς τὸ ὄμμα τῆς διανοίας ἔχειν. ἀετῶν γὰρ, οὐ κολοῖων αὕτη ἢ τράπεζα.

of godly people doth already perceive the uncomfortable and unsavoury vanity of this doctrine. For they have learned of St. Cyprian, that Christ's blessed body is *cibus mentis, non ventris*: "meat for the mind, not for the belly." And they have heard St. Augustine say: *Quid paras dentem, et ventrem? Crede, et manducasti*: "What preparest thou thy tooth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast already eaten." [In Johan. c. 6. tract. 25. tom. iii. pt. 2. 489.]

Now consider thou, good Christian reader, with thyself, whether it be better to use this word "figure," which word hath been often used of Tertullian, St. Augustine, and of all the rest of the ancient fathers, without controlment; or else these newfangled words, "really, corporally, carnally," &c. Which words, M. Harding is not able to shew, that, in this case of being really in the sacrament, any one of all the old fathers ever used.

M. HARDING: *Second Division.*

Again, (128) we cannot find where our Lord performed the promise he had made in the sixth chapter of John, "The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world," but only in his last supper: where, if he gave his flesh to his apostles, and that none other but the very same which he gave for the life of the world; it followeth, that in the blessed sacrament is not mere bread, but that same his very body in substance. For it was not mere bread, but his very body, that was given and offered up upon the cross. The 128th untruth, joined with dangerous doctrine.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This principle is not only false in itself, but also full of dangerous doctrine, and may soon lead to desperation. For if no man may eat the flesh of Christ, but only in the sacrament, as here by M. Harding it is supposed, then all Christian children, and all others whosoever, that depart this life without receiving the sacrament, must needs be damned, and die the children of God's anger. For Christ's words be plain and general: "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, ye (shall) have no life in you." John vi. 53. Whereunto we may add this minor: "Christian children receive not the sacrament;" and therefore, by M. Harding's judgment, "eat not the flesh of the Son of man:" hereof it



must needs follow, "that Christian children have no life in them, but are the children of damnation." This is the conclusion of M. Harding's doctrine. But little care these men, who, or how many perish, so their phantasies may stand upright. But our doctrine, grounded upon God's holy word, is this, that, as certainly as Christ gave his body upon the cross, so certainly he giveth now the selfsame body unto the faithful: and that, not only in the ministration of the sacrament, as M. Harding untruly imagineth, but also at all times, whensoever we be able to say with St. Paul, "I think I know nothing but Jesus Christ, and the same Christ crucified upon the cross." Therefore St. Ambrose writeth thus: *Quid petis O Judæe? ut tribuat tibi panem, quem dat omnibus, dat quotidie, dat semper?* "O thou Jew, what desirest thou? that Christ should give thee bread? He giveth it to all men: he giveth it daily: he giveth it at all times." If it be true, that St. Ambrose saith, that Christ giveth that bread, which is his body, at all times, then is it false that M. Harding saith, that Christ performeth his promise, and giveth his body, only at the ministration of the sacrament. And therefore St. Augustine saith: *Non tantum [solo] (in) sacramento, sed (etiam) re ipsa comedunt corpus Christi*: "They eat Christ's body, not only in the sacrament, but also in very deed<sup>25</sup>." Here

1 Cor. ii. 2.

Ambros. in  
Psalm. 118.  
serm. 18. [1.  
1203.]

August. de  
Civitat. lib.  
21. cap. 20.  
[vii. 639.]  
Non solum.

<sup>25</sup> [St. Augustine is alluding to the opinion (which he afterwards combats) of those who held that salvation will be granted only to such as have been once within the catholic church, however bad their lives may be, on the ground of their *having really eaten* the Lord's body, as being members of the one body. "Item sunt qui hoc nec omnibus habentibus baptismatis Christi, et ejus corporis sacramentum, sed solis catholicis, quamvis male viventibus, pollicentur, quia non solo [edd. vett. l. solum] sacramento sed re ipsa manducaverunt corpus Christi, in ipso ejus corpore constituti, de quo dicit apostolus, Unus panis, unum corpus

"multi sumus," &c. The introduction of the preposition *in*, (which is not found in the old edd. any more than in the Bened.) before the word "sacramento," seems to make an important difference; and it may be doubted whether the right translation is not "they have eaten the Lord's body not only in a sacrament, i. e. outwardly, but 'verily and indeed,' in their character of members of the catholic church." According to this view, the allusion here is not so much to *other* means of eating Christ's body (as Jewel expresses it "otherwise") as to the ground upon which the holy eucharist is made efficacious to a real communion. At all events too

St. Augustine saith, contrary to M. Harding's doctrine, that we eat Christ's body, not only in the sacrament, but also otherwise: yea, and so far he forceth this difference, that he maketh the eating of Christ's body in the sacrament to be one thing, and the very true eating thereof indeed to be another thing. Again, touching the fathers of the old law, he saith, that Abraham, Moses, Aaron, and others, received the body of Christ truly and effectually, long time before that Christ either had received flesh of the blessed Virgin, or had ordained the sacrament; and that even the selfsame body that is received now of the faithful. To be short: of Christian children, and other faithful that never received the sacrament, he writeth thus:

*Nulli est aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc unumquemque fidelium corporis sanguinisque Domini participem fieri, quando in baptisate efficitur membrum Christi, &c.:* "No man may in any wise doubt, but that every faithful man is then made partaker of the body and blood of Christ, when in baptism he is made a member of Christ; and that he is not without the fellowship of that bread and of that cup, although, before he eat of that bread and drink of that cup, he depart this world, being in the unity of Christ's body. For he is not made frustrate of the communion, and benefit of that sacrament, while he findeth that thing, which is signified by the sacrament<sup>26</sup>." So far St. Augustine. By

Augustin. de Utilitate Penitentiae, serm. 2. cap. 1. [v. 1365.]  
Manducaverunt eundem cibum [spiritualem] quem nos.

Augustin. in Sermone ad Infantes. Clatur a Beda. 1 Cor. x.

Quando ipse hoc, quod illud sacramentum significat, invenit.

much stress must not be laid upon *this* passage, as though it directly embodied St. Augustine's own sentiments, seeing that it is only his *report* of certain opinions entertained in his day. And so, when he repeats their assertion in ch. 25, with a view of confuting that part of it which relates to the compatibility of sacramental privileges with a wicked life, he adds the word "inquiunt," "quia non solo, *inquiunt*, sacramento," &c. He then proceeds to express his acquiescence in that part of their argument, which asserts the necessity of union with the true church to the *efficacy* of the holy eucharist; and so he con-

firms the view above stated. "Ac per hoc hæretici et schismatici ab hujus unitate corporis separati possunt *idem percipere sacramentum*, sed non sibi utile, immo vero etiam noxium . . . . Non sunt quippe in eo vinculo pacis, quod *illo* exprimitur *sacramento*."]

<sup>26</sup> [This "Sermo ad Infantes" is not found entire in St. Augustine's published works. Some of the passages cited out of it occur both in other parts of that Father's writings, and in the Sermo ad Infantes, tom. v. part. 2. p. 1103, which however does not contain the passage quoted in the text.]

these we may see, it is not all true that M. Harding so constantly avoucheth. If it might have pleased him to take advice of Beda, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and other godly fathers, he should soon have found, that the faithful may otherwise eat Christ's body, and that verily, and indeed: and not only in the sacrament.

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

If the words spoken by Christ in St. John, of promise that he performed in his holy supper, "The bread that I will give is my flesh," had been to be taken, not as they seem to mean, plainly and truly, but metaphorically, tropically, symbolically, and figuratively, so as the truth of our Lord's flesh be excluded, (129) as our adversaries do understand them; then the Capernaïtes had not any occasion at all of their great offence; then should not they have had cause to murmur against Christ, as the evangelist sheweth: "The Jews," saith St. John, "strove among themselves, saying, How can he give us his flesh to eat?" And much less his dear disciples, to whom he had shewed so many and so great miracles, to whom he had before declared so many parables, and so high secrets, should have had any occasion of offence. And doubtless, if Christ had meant they should eat but the sign or figure of his body, they would not have said, *Durus est hic sermo*, "This is a hard saying, and who can abide to hear it?" For then should they have done no greater thing than they had done oftentimes before in eating the Easter lamb. And how could it seem a hard word or saying, if Christ had meant nothing else but this, "The bread that I will give is a figure of my body, that shall cause you to remember me?"

The 129th untruth, joined with untrue report. For we understand these words of Christ's very flesh and blood.

Chap. vi.

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This reason holdeth only of the ignorance of the Capernaïtes, and hangeth thus: The Capernaïtes mistook Christ's words, and understood not what he meant: *ergo*, Christ's body is really and carnally in the sacrament. And thus M. Harding, as his manner is, buildeth one error upon another.

For understanding hereof, it shall be necessary, first, to open the very sense and meaning of Christ's words: next, to shew how perversely and grossly the Capernaïtes were deceived: and last of all, to consider M. Harding's conclusion.



First of all, the Jews desired Christ to give them bread in the wilderness, as Moses had given before unto their fathers. Christ, to pull them from the gross and material cogitations of their bellies, promised them another kind of bread, that should be spiritual, and last for ever. Thus he said unto them: "My Father giveth you true bread John vi. 32. from heaven.....Whoso eateth of this bread shall live for Ver. 51. ever." And that they might understand what he meant, he said further: "I am the bread that came from heaven Ver. 51. .....The bread that I will give you is my flesh, which I shall give for the life of the world." Thus he spake of the spiritual eating and digesting of his flesh in the hearts of the faithful. And so immediately after he opened his own mind. For, when he saw the Jews, for that they understood him not, were offended, he said further unto them: "It is the spirit that giveth life: the flesh profiteth no- Ver. 63. thing. The words that I speak are spirit and life." Which words St. Augustine in plain sort expoundeth thus: *Spiritualiter intelligite, quod locutus sum. Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt, qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum ali- quod vobis commendavi: spiritualiter intellectum vivificat vos:* "Understand ye spiritually that I have spoken. Ye shall not eat" (with your bodily mouth) "this body that you see: nor shall ye" (with your bodily mouth) "drink that blood which they shall shed, that shall crucify me. I give you a certain sacrament. The same being spiritually understood, giveth you life <sup>27</sup>." So saith St. Basil: *Gu- state, et videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus:* "Taste ye, Basil. in Ps. xxxiii. [1. 148.] and see that the Lord is gracious." And further he saith: "We have oftentimes marked" (in the scriptures) "that the inward powers of the mind have their names of the outward members of the body. Therefore, forasmuch as our Lord is the true bread, and his flesh the true food, it must needs be, that the delectation and pleasure of the same be moved and caused within us by a spiritual kind of taste."

<sup>27</sup> [St. Augustine adds, "etsi "brari, oportet tamen invisibiliter  
"necesse est illud visibiliter cele- "intelligi."]

[1. 144.]  
 ἐστὶ μὲν τι  
 καὶ νοητὸν  
 στόμα τοῦ  
 ἔνδον ἀν-  
 θρώπου.

Aug. epist.  
 95. [li. 349.]  
 Aug. in Jo-  
 han. tract.  
 25. [iii. pt. 2.  
 493.]

Ibidem. [p.  
 494.]  
 De Consecra-  
 tione. Dist.  
 2. In quibus.

Origen. In  
 Cant. Cantic.  
 lib. 2. [iii.  
 66.]

Tertul. de  
 Resurrect.  
 Carn. [c. 37.  
 p. 347.]

Chrysost. ex  
 variis locis  
 in Matth.  
 hom. 9.  
 Aug. in Jo-  
 han. tract.  
 26. [iii. pt. 2.  
 p. 494.]

Again he saith: "Further we say, that there is a certain spiritual mouth of the inner man, wherewith he is fed, receiving the word of life, which is the bread that came from heaven<sup>28</sup>." Likewise saith St. Augustine: *Fides habet oculos suos*: "Faith hath eyes of her own to see withal." Again: *Intus bibendo felix sum*: "Happy am I, when I drink" (in my heart) "within." And again: *Panis iste interioris hominis quærit esuriam*: "This bread seeketh the hunger of the inner man." So saith Leo: *Circa hoc corpus aquilæ sunt, quæ alis circumvolant spiritalibus*: "About this body be eagles, that flee about it with spiritual wings." So likewise Origen: *Idcirco et verum lumen dicitur, ut habeant oculi animæ, quo illuminentur: idcirco et verbum, ut habeant aures, quod audiant: et idcirco panis vitæ, ut habeat gustus animæ, quod degustet*: "Therefore is Christ called the Light, that the eyes of the soul may have whereby they may be lightened: therefore he is called the Word, that the ears of the soul may have what to hear: and therefore he is called the Bread of life, that the sense of the soul may have what to taste." So Tertullian: ..... *Auditu devorandus est, intellectu ruminandus, et fide digerendus*: "Christ by hearing must be devoured; by understanding must be chewed; and by faith must be digested." In like sort Chrysostom: *Magnus iste panis, qui replet mentem, non ventrem*: "This is that great bread that feedeth not the belly, but the mind<sup>29</sup>." Therefore St. Augustine saith: *Christus dixit, se esse panem, qui de cælo descendit, hortans ut credamus in ipsum. Credere enim in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum*: "Christ named himself the bread that came from

<sup>28</sup> [St. Basil in Psalm xxxiii. . . .  
 πολλαχοῦ τετηρήκαμεν, ὅτι τοῖς  
 ἔξωθεν μέλεσιν ὁμῶνυμῶς αἱ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς προσαγορεύονται δυνάμεις·  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄρτος ἐστὶν ἀληθινὸς ὁ Κύ-  
 ριος ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ ἀληθὴς  
 ἐστὶ βρωσίσις.] ἀνάγκη τὴν ἡδονὴν  
 τῆς εὐφροσύνης τοῦ ἄρτου διὰ γεύ-  
 σεως ἡμῖν νοητῆς ἐγγίνεσθαι.—[The  
 remainder of the quotation oc-

curs a few pages before (p. 144.)  
 Πρὸς δὴ τοῦτο λέγομεν, ὅτι] ἐστὶ  
 μὲν τι καὶ νοητὸν στόμα τοῦ ἔνδον  
 ἀνθρώπου, [ᾧ τρέφεται μεταλαμβά-  
 νων τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς, ὅς ἐστιν  
 ἄρτος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς.]  
<sup>29</sup> [Chrysost. ex variis locis in  
 Matth. The Editor has not suc-  
 ceeded in finding this work.]

heaven, exhorting us to believe in him. For believing in him is the eating of the bread of life."

Hereby it is plain, that Christ's meaning is spiritual, as Christ himself, and all the old fathers, and doctors of the church, have expounded it: not real, carnal, gross, and fleshly, as M. Harding imagineth. M. Harding will say, "that the eating with the mouth, and the grinding with the teeth, is a work spiritual." By this sense he is a good proctor for the Capernaïtes, and must needs say, that they had a spiritual understanding. Howbeit Chrysostom will not well suffer this evasion. His words be plain: *Quid est carnaliter intelligere? Simpliciter, ut res dicuntur: neque aliud quippiam cogitare*: "What is it to understand carnally? It is to understand plainly, even as the things be uttered: and to think upon nothing else<sup>30</sup>." Therefore St. Augustine saith: *Figura est, præcipiens passioni Domini communicandum esse, et suaviter atque utiliter recon-dendum in memoria, quod Christus pro nobis mortuus sit*: "The saying of Christ, touching the eating of his flesh, is a figure, or manner of speech, commanding us to be partakers of Christ's passion, and with comfort and profit to lay up in our memory that Christ hath suffered death for us." This therefore was Christ's meaning, and this is the very eating of his flesh.

Now let us see, what sense the Capernaïtes gathered hereof. Origen saith: *Accidit, ut simpliciores nescientes distinguere, quæ sint, quæ in scripturis divinis interiori homini, quæ exteriori deputanda sint, vocabulorum similitudinibus falsi, ad ineptas quasdam fabulas, et figmenta inania se contulerint*: "It happeneth sometime, that simple men, being not able to put difference between those things in the scriptures that pertain to the inner man, and those things that pertain to the outer man, are deceived by the likeness of words, and so fall into foolish fables and vain phantasies." So saith St. Hierom: *Cum seniores putentur in ecclesia, et principes sacerdotum, simplicem sequendo*

Chrys. in Jo-han. hom. 46. [viii. 278.]

Aug. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. 3. cap. 16. [iii. p. 52.]

Origen. in Prolog. in Cant. Cantic. [iii. 28.]

Hieronym. lib. 3. in Matt. cap. 16. [iv. 75.]

<sup>30</sup> [Chrysost. in Johann. Hom. τὸ ἀπλῶς εἰς τὰ προκείμενα ὀρᾶν, 46. τί δέ ἐστι τὸ σαρκικῶς νοῆσαι; καὶ μὴ πλεόν τι φαντάζεσθαι.]



*literam, occidunt Filium Dei*: "Whereas they are taken for the elders in the church, and the chief of the priests, by following the plain letter, they kill the Son of God."

Aug. in Jo-  
han. tractat.  
11. [iii. pt. 2.  
377.]

Even thus it happened unto the Capernaïtes: that Christ spake spiritually of eating with faith, they understood grossly of eating with the teeth: as though they should swallow down his flesh into their bodies, as other meats<sup>30</sup>: even in such gross sort, as M. Harding would now teach the people to eat Christ's body.

Tertul. de  
Resurrect.  
Carnis. [c.  
37. p. 347.]

Tertullian openeth their error in this wise: *Durum, et intolerabilem existimarunt sermonem ejus: quasi vere carnem suam illis edendam determinasset*: "They thought his speech was hard and intolerable: as though he had determined to give them his flesh verily and indeed to be eaten" (with their mouths). "Therein," saith Tertullian, "stood their error." Now, to consider M. Harding's guesses. First, he saith: "The Capernaïtes were offended with Christ's words: *ergo*, it is likely, Christ meant, he would give his body really and carnally in the sacrament." First, Nicolas Lyra, M. Harding's own doctor, saith, "that these words of Christ, in the sixth of John, pertain not<sup>31</sup> unto the sacrament." Again, it is but a simple guess, to build religion upon an error. He might rather say thus: The Capernaïtes thought they should eat Christ's flesh really and fleshly, with their mouths: but that was not Christ's meaning, as it well appeareth, for they were deceived: *ergo*, Christ meant not they should eat his flesh really and fleshly, with their mouths.

Nicol. Lyra  
in Psal. cx.  
[iii. 1300.]

He addeth further: "If Christ had meant, he would give them only a figure of his body in his remembrance, there had been no cause, why either the Carpernaïtes or any other should be offended." Neither do we say, that Christ in the sixth chapter of John, speaking of the spiritual eating by faith, made mention of any figure, but only of his very flesh, and very blood, indeed, and verily to be

<sup>30</sup> [August. in Johann. tract.  
11. "Putabant enim hoc dicere  
Jesum, quod eum possent conci-

sum sicut agnum coquere et man-  
ducare."]

<sup>31</sup> [". . . "nil directe pertinent . . ."]

eaten and drunken. Notwithstanding we say, that Christ afterward, in his last supper, unto the same spiritual eating added also an outward sacrament, which of the old fathers is oftentimes and commonly called a figure. But hereof groweth M. Harding's error, for that, as Origen saith, "he putteth no difference between the body and the spirit: and things severally pertaining to them both." The bread is a figure, but Christ's body is the thing itself, and no figure. The bread is in the earth: Christ's body is in heaven. The bread is subject to corruption: Christ's body is immortal, and glorious, and subject to no corruption. Therefore Rabanus Maurus saith: *Sacramentum ore percipitur: virtute sacramenti interior homo satiatur. Sacramentum in alimentum corporis redigitur: virtute sacramenti æternam vitam adipiscimur*: "The sacrament is received with the mouth: by the virtue of the sacrament the inner man is repaired. The sacrament is turned into the nourishing of the body: by the virtue of the sacrament we get everlasting life<sup>32</sup>." And St. Augustine saith: *Sacramentum..... de mensa Dominica sumitur, quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium: res vero ipsa, cujus sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicumque ejus particeps fuerit*: "The sacrament is received from the Lord's table, of some unto life, of some unto destruction. But the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament," (that is, the body of Christ,) "is received of every man unto life, and of no man unto destruction, whosoever be partaker of it."

Origen. in Prologo in Cantica Cantorum. [iii. 28.]

Rabanus Maurus, lib. 1. cap. 31. [de Instit. Clericorum, tom. vi. p. 11.]

August. in Johan. tract. 26. [iii. pt. 2. 500.]

#### M. HARDING: Fourth Division.

To conclude shortly: If Christ would so have been understood, as though he had meant to give but a figure only of his body, it had been no need for him to have alleged his omnipotency and almighty power to his disciples, thereby the rather to bring them to belief of his true body to be given them to eat. *Hoc vos scandalizat?* "Doth this offend you?" saith he. "What if you see the Son of man ascend where he was before? It is the spirit that giveth life," &c. As though he had said: "Ye consider only my humanity, that seemeth weak and frail, neither

A simple proof. For Christ likewise sheweth his omnipotent power in the water of baptism.

<sup>32</sup> [Rab. Maur. "... æternæ vitæ dignitas adipiscitur." Edit. Colon. 1626.]

do you esteem my divine power by the great miracles I have wrought : but, whenas ye shall see me by power of my Godhead ascend into heaven, from whence I came unto you, will you then also stand in doubt whether ye may believe, that I give you my very body to be eaten ?” Thus, by signifying his divine power, Christ confounded their unbelief, touching the verity and substance of his body, that he promised to give them in meat.

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M. Harding wandereth still about his figures, and, out of God’s omnipotent power, deviseth a very feeble argument. For thus he reasoneth :

Christ maketh mention of his ascension into heaven :

*Ergo*, his body is really in the sacrament.

He hath no just cause to be offended, for that I lay his logic thus abroad. It behoveth the reader to see, by what force each thing is proved. Verily, if he conclude not thus, he runneth at riot, and concludeth nothing.

As touching Christ’s ascension into heaven, St. Augustine, and other ancient fathers seem to use the same, to prove, that there is no such gross presence in the sacrament. St. Augustine thereof writeth thus : *Si ergo videritis Filium hominis ascendentem*, &c. : “ ‘ If you shall see the Son of man ascending up, where he was before, ’ &c. And what is this ? Hereby he openeth that thing, where-with they were offended. For they thought, he would give them his body : but he told them, that he would ascend into heaven, and that whole as he was. When ye shall see the Son of man ascend thither, where he was before, then shall you see, that he giveth not his body in such sort as you imagine : then shall you perceive, that his grace is not consumed or wasted by morsels<sup>33</sup>.”

August. in  
Johan. tract.  
27. [iii. pt. 2.  
502.]

Chrysost. in  
1 Cor. x.  
hom. 24. [x.  
216.]

St. Chrysostom saith, as it is before alleged<sup>34</sup> : *Ad alta oportet eum contendere, qui ad hoc corpus accedit. Aquilularum, non graculorum, est hæc mensa* : “ He must mount on high, that will come to this body. For this table serveth for eagles, and not for jays.” So saith St. Hierom : *As-*

Hieronym.  
ad Hedibiam,  
quæ. 2. [iv.  
172.]

<sup>33</sup> “ Illi enim putabant eum  
“ erogaturum corpus suum. . . .  
“ Certe vel tunc intelligetis, quod

“ Gratia ejus non consumitur mor-  
“ sibus.”

<sup>34</sup> [Supra, vol. ii. p. 326. note<sup>24</sup>.]



*cendamus cum Domino in cœnaculum magnum, stratum, et mundatum: et accipiamus ab eo sursum calicem novi testamenti*: “Let us go up with the Lord (into heaven), into that great parlour spread, and clean: and let us receive of him above the cup of the new testament.” The like might be alleged of other mo catholic, and ancient fathers. For Cyrillus saith in most plain words: *Sacramentum nostrum hominis manducationem non asserit, mentes credentium ad crassas cogitationes irreligiöse inducens*: “Our sacrament avoucheth not the eating of a man, leading the minds of the faithful in ungodly manner to gross” (or fleshly) “cogitations<sup>35</sup>.”

Cyril. ad Objection. Theodor. Anathemat. 11. Ἀνθρώπου φαγία. [ed. Basil. 1546. vol. iv. 215.]

Doubtless it seemeth to make very simple proofs of M. Harding’s side, to say thus:

Christ’s body is ascended into heaven:

*Ergo*, the same body is really and fleshly in the sacrament.

But M. Harding will say, Christ, speaking to the Capernaïtes, made mention of his omnipotent power, therefore in the sacrament there must needs be a fleshly presence. First, as it is before alleged, Nicolas Lyra saith: “Christ’s words to the Capernaïtes pertain nothing<sup>36</sup> to the sacrament, but only unto the spiritual eating of Christ’s body,” which indeed is the omnipotent work of the Spirit of God.

Nicol. Lyra. in Psalm. cx. [iii. 1300.]

And again, would M. Harding make all the world believe, if Christ’s body be not fleshly and grossly in the sacrament, according to his phantasy, that then God therefore is not omnipotent? Verily, the old catholic fathers acknowledge God’s omnipotency in the water of baptism: yet is not Christ therefore really present in the water. St. Chrysostom saith: *Cum baptizaris, sacerdos te non baptizat: sed Deus est, qui caput tuum invisibili potentia continet: et nec angelus, nec archangelus, nec ullus alius audet accedere, et tangere*: “When thou art baptized, it is not the priest that dippeth thee: but it is God, that by his invisible power holdeth thy head: and neither angel nor

Chrysost. in Matt. hom. 51. [vii. 517.]

<sup>35</sup> [See vol. i. p. 243, note <sup>78</sup>, 1546; which here differs widely where this passage is correctly from Aubert’s Paris edit.]

<sup>36</sup> [“. . . nil directe pertinent. . .”]

August. in  
Johan. tract.  
5. [iii. pt. 2.  
323.]

August. con-  
tra literas  
Petiliani lib.  
3. cap. 49.  
[ix. 327.]

Leo de Na-  
tivity. serm.  
4. [i. 155.]

archangel, nor any other power dareth to approach and touch thee<sup>36</sup>." St. Augustine saith: *Paulus baptizavit tanquam minister : Dominus baptizavit tanquam potestas :* "Paul baptized as a servant : the Lord baptized as the power itself." Again: *Nec jam baptizare cessavit Dominus : sed adhuc id agit : non ministerio corporis, sed invisibili opere majestatis :* "The Lord letteth not yet to baptize : but continueth baptizing still : not by the ministry of his body, but by the invisible work of his majesty." So likewise saith Leo the bishop of Rome: *Christus dedit aquæ, quod dedit matri. Virtus enim Altissimi et obumbratio Spiritus Sancti, quæ fecit ut Maria pareret Salvatorem, eadem facit, ut regeneret unda credentem :* "Christ gave unto the water the same that he gave unto his mother. For the power of the Highest, and the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, that caused Mary to bear the Saviour, the same causeth that water doth regenerate the believer." It appeareth by these authorities, that Christ in the water of baptism sheweth his invisible and omnipotent power. Yet will not M. Harding say, that Christ is therefore really and fleshly present in the water of baptism.

Therefore it was but vain labour to allege Christ's omnipotent power, to prove this fleshly presence in the sacrament.

#### M. HARDING : *Fifth Division.*

The 130th untruth. For not one of the ancient fathers ever used any of these terms, touching Christ's presence in the sacrament. The 131st untruth. For M. Harding himself is forced in the same words to acknowledge a great many figures.

These places of the scripture, and many other, reporting plainly, that Christ at his supper gave to his disciples his very body, even that same which the day following suffered death on the cross, have ministered just cause to the (130) godly and learned fathers of the church, to say, that Christ's body is present in this sacrament really, substantially, corporally, carnally, and naturally. By use of which adverbs they have meant only a truth of being, and not a way, or mean of being. And though this manner of speaking be not thus expressed in the scripture, yet is it deduced out of the scripture. For if Christ spake plainly (131) and used no trope, figure, nor metaphor, as the scripture itself sufficiently

<sup>36</sup> [Chrysost. in Matt. hom. 51. ὡσπερ γὰρ ὅταν βαπτίζῃ, οὐκ αὐτός (sc. ὁ ἱερεὺς) σε βαπτίζει, ἀλλ' ὁ Θεός ἐστιν ὁ κατέχων σου τὴν κεφα-

λὴν ἀοράτῳ δυνάμει, καὶ οὔτε ἄγγελος, οὔτε ἀρχάγγελος οὔτε ἄλλος τις τολμᾷ προσελθεῖν καὶ ἄψασθαι. οὕτω καὶ νῦν (sc. in Eucharistia).]

declareth to an humble believer, and would his disciples to understand him, so as he spake in manifest terms, when he said, "This is my body which is given for you;" then may we say, that in the sacrament his very body is present, yea really, that is to say, indeed; substantially, that is, in substance, and corporally, carnally, and naturally; by which words is meant, that his very body, his very flesh, and his very human nature is there, not after corporal, carnal or natural wise, but invisibly, unspeakably, miraculously, supernaturally, spiritually, divinely, and by way to him only known.

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"By these words that Christ at his last supper spake unto his disciples, 'This is my body,' it is plain," saith M. Harding, "that he gave unto them the very same body, that was crucified the next day upon the cross; and upon occasion thereof the learned fathers had just cause to say, that Christ's body is really and carnally in the sacrament." This argument is called *petitio principii*, which is, when a thing is taken to make proof, that is doubtful, and standeth in question, and ought itself to be proved. This fallax may well beguile children; but, among the learned, it is counted in reasoning a great folly. The order or form hereof is naught: the antecedent unproved: the consequent false, as shall appear.

M. Harding saith, These words, "This is my body," must needs be taken without metaphor, trope or figure, even as the plain letter lieth, and none otherwise. So saith M. Harding only upon his own credit. But the old catholic doctors of the church, of whom, he saith, he hath such store, say not so. St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Hierom, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, Tertullian, and others, call the sacrament a figure, a token, a sign, an example, an image, a similitude, a remembrance: as hereafter, God willing, shall be shewed more at large upon better occasion, in an article specially touching the same. Even Duns himself, with sundry others of that side, saw, that, following the very bare letter, we must needs say, "That the bread itself is Christ's body." For so the words stand. This (bread) is my body: which were a great inconvenience, and a repugnance in nature. For salving whereof, they are driven



to say, That Christ, when he pointed to the bread, and said, "This," meant not "this bread," but, as they call it, *individuum vagum*, which is one certain thing in general: but what one thing they cannot tell: but sure they be, it was no bread. *Est*, they expound *erit*, that is to say, "This shall be;" again: *Erit, hoc est, transubstantiabitur*: that is, "The substance of this uncertain general one thing, that no man knoweth, shall be changed into the substance of my body." "Is given," they expound, "shall be given;" "Is broken," they expound, "shall be broken;" "Do ye this," they expound, "sacrifice ye this." "This bread," they expound thus, "this, that was bread." And, whereas these verbs stand together in order and construction, and rule all one case, *accepit, benedixit, fregit, dedit*: "he took, he blessed, he brake, he gave:" they are fain to shift it thus: "He took the bread; he blessed it away, and in place of it put another substance; he brake the accidents or shows of bread; he gave his body." Upon these few words of Christ, thus many figures have they imagined; and besides these, a great many mo, as, in place more convenient, it shall be declared; yet saith M. Harding, These words of Christ must of fine force be taken even according to the order and nature of the bare letter. "And this," he saith, "is sufficient to the humble believer." Howbeit, Christian humility standeth not in error, but in truth; and St. Augustine saith, as it is before alleged: *Ea demum est miserabilis animæ servitus, signa pro rebus accipere*: "To take the signs instead of the things that thereby be signified, is" (not the humility of Christian faith, but) "the miserable servitude of the soul." And Origen that old learned father saith: *Si secundum literam sequaris id, quod dictum est, (Nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis, non habebitis vitam in vobis,) litera illa occidit*: "If you follow these words of Christ according to the letter, (Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, ye shall have no life in you,) this letter killeth."

Upon these grounds of his own, M. Harding reareth up this conclusion: "Then," saith he, "may we say, that Christ is in the sacrament really," &c. Indeed a man may

Hoc.

Est.  
Erit.

Traditur.

Frangitur.  
Facite.  
Panis.Accipit.  
Benedixit.  
Fregit.  
Dedit.August. de  
Doctrina  
Christiana,  
lib. 3. cap. 5.  
[lib. 47.]Origen, hom.  
7. in Leviti-  
cum. [li.  
225.]

say much, that hath no regard what he say. But if he will say, as the old godly fathers said, then must he say: *Hoc est corpus meum: hoc est, figura corporis mei*: "This is my body: that is to say, a figure of my body:" for so the old learned father Tertullian saith. Then must he say: *Christus corporis sui figuram discipulis suis commendavit*: "Christ delivered unto his disciples a figure of his body:" for so the old learned father St. Augustine saith. Then must he say: *Sacramentum corporis Christi secundum quendam modum corpus Christi est*: "The sacrament of Christ's body, after a certain phrase, or manner, or trope, or figure of speech, is the body of Christ:" for so again St. Augustine saith.

Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. 4. [cap. 40. p. 458.]

August. in Psaim. lli. [iv. 7.]

August. ad Bonifacium, epist. 23. [ll. 267.]

Here M. Harding, seeing the inconveniences and absurdities of his doctrine, thought good to heal it up with some plaster. By these words, "really, carnally," &c. "the godly learned fathers," saith he, "meant, that Christ's very body and flesh is there, but not in any natural or carnal wise." And thus M. Harding's doctors wrote one thing, and meant another. For M. Harding knoweth, that all adverbs, taken of nouns, signify evermore a quality, and never the substance: which thing children are taught to know in the grammar school: and may be resolved thus: *Viriliter, virili modo: muliebriter, muliebri modo*. And therefore his very canonists say in their manner of eloquence: *Deus non est remunerator nominum, sed adverbiorum*: "God rewardeth not nouns, but adverbs:" that is to say, God regardeth not the doing of any thing, but the manner of the doing. But M. Harding thinketh, he may take upon him to overlook and to master the grammar rules. For, unless we make nouns adverbs, and adverbs nouns, these men's divinity cannot stand. Therefore, as they have devised a new divinity, so must our children learn for their pleasure a new grammar.

But what are these old learned fathers, that say, Christ's body is thus really and fleshly in the sacrament? Where be their words? What be their names? If they have neither names nor words, how can they be allowed for sufficient witnesses? M. Harding well knoweth, that the

old learned fathers never said so : yet must he needs imagine both causes, that moved them so to say, and also expositions, what they meant by so saying. So Montanus the blind senator, being at supper with the emperor Tiberius, highly commended the great mullet, that, he heard say, was set on the table before them ; and shewed, how round, how fair, how fat it was, how it filled the charger, and how it lay ; and evermore turned his face, and pointed with his finger to the higher end of the table : and yet was not the mullet there, but far beneath at the lower end. Reason would, that M. Harding had first been sure of the effect, before he had thus gone about to guess the causes.

M. HARDING : *Sixth Division.*

The 132nd untruth. For the fathers never used these terms.

(132) And the fathers have been driven to use these terms, for the more ample and full declaration of the truth, and also for withstanding and stopping objections made by heretics. And, because the catholic faith, touching the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament, was not impugned by any man for the space of a thousand years after Christ's being in earth, and about that time

The 133rd untruth. For beside St. Augustine, St. Hierom, St. Ambrose, and others, Johan. Scotus and Bertramus wrote hereof two hundred years before Berengarius. The 134th untruth. For the old writers in this case used them never.

(133) Berengarius first began openly to sow the wicked seed of the sacramentary heresy, which, then soon confuted by learned men, and by the same first author abjured and recanted, now is with no less wickedness, but more busily, and more earnestly set forth again ; the doctors, that sithence have written in the defence of the true and catholic faith herein, have (134) more often used the terms before mentioned, than the old and ancient fathers that wrote within M. Jewel's six hundred years after Christ. Who doubtless would no less have used them, if that matter had been in question or doubt in their time. And, albeit these terms were strange and new, as used within these five hundred years only, and that the people were never taught for six hundred years after Christ, as M. Jewel saith more boldly than truly, and therefore more rashly than wisely ; yet the faith, by them opened and declared, is universal and old : verily no less old, than is our Lord's supper, where this sacrament was first instituted.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding thinketh, he may lead along his simple reader, and easily carry away the matter under the bare titles and names of the learned fathers. But what privy mystery is this ? As I said before, have M. Harding's doctors no names ? Or is not he able to name his own



fathers? He should have set them out, as his wont is, with all their circumstances, what they were, when, and where they lived, what they wrote, and how they have been ever, and are now, esteemed among the learned. But he well knew, that these good fathers lived all within the compass of two hundred or three hundred years past, as Thomas, Duns, Ockam, Henricus de Gandavo, Robertus de Collo Torto, and such others. These be M. Harding's great fathers, by whom he claimeth his new doctrine: in respect of St. Augustine, St. Hierom, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and others, not worthy to have the name of children.

"But the catholic faith touching the sacrament," saith M. Harding, "for the space of a thousand years stood upright. Berengarius was the first that began to sow the seed of the sacramentary heresy." It is likely, M. Harding hath no great regard how his tales hang together. For before in the first Article, to serve his turn, he said: The Thirty-third Division. [vol. i. 313.] The Messalians were the first fathers of this heresy. Now he seemeth to be otherwise advised, and saith: This heresy was never heard of within six hundred years after the Messalians were repressed: and that the first founder of it was Berengarius. Yet M. Harding might soon have known, that one Johannes Scotus, a famous learned man, Johannes Scotus. Bertramus. and scholar unto Beda, and one Bertramus, as appeareth by his book, held and maintained the same doctrine in the time of the emperor Lotharius, two hundred years and more before Berengarius. Wherefore it seemeth not to be so true, as M. Harding assureth it, that Berengarius was the first author of this doctrine.

But, for further declaration hereof, it shall be necessary to open Berengarius' whole judgment in this matter: and afterward to consider the confutation of the same. Thus therefore Berengarius wrote, as his greatest adversary Lanfrancus reporteth of him: *Per consecrationem altaris, panis, et vinum fiunt sacramentum religionis: non ut desinant esse quæ erant, &c.*: Lanfrancus, de Sacramen. Eucharistie. "By the consecration of the altar, the bread and the wine are made a sacrament of religion: not that they leave to be the same they were before, but that they be altered into another thing, and become that they

Ambros. de  
Sacramentis,  
lib. 4. cap. 4.  
Sacramen-  
tum, et res  
sacramenti.

were not before, as St. Ambrose writeth<sup>37</sup>. And the sacrifice of the church standeth of two things, the one visible, the other invisible: that is to say, the sacrament, and the matter or substance of the sacrament. Which substance notwithstanding, that is to say, the body of Christ, if it were before our eyes, it should be visible. But being taken up into heaven, and sitting at the right hand of the

Acts iii. 21.

Father, until all things be restored, according to the words of the apostle St. Peter, it cannot be called thence. Therefore St. Augustine saith, When Christ is eaten, life is eaten: and when we eat him, we make no parts of him.

August. De  
Con. dist. 2.  
Qui mandu-  
cas.

And again, St. Augustine saith: *Sacramentum est sacrum signum*: 'A sacrament is a holy token.' And what this word *signum* meaneth, he declareth in his book, De

Augustin. De  
Doctrina  
Christiana.  
lib. 2. cap. 1.  
[iii. 19.]

Doctrina Christiana: *Signum est res, præter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud quiddam faciens in cogitationem venire*: 'A sign is a thing, that, besides the sight that it offereth unto the eyes, causeth another thing to come into

Augustin. ad  
Bonifac.  
epist. 23. [ii.  
267.]

our mind.' Again, unto Bonifacius: 'Unless sacraments had some likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, then were they no sacraments at all.' And again:

Augustin. de  
Catechizand.  
Rudibus. [vi.  
293.]

'Sacraments be visible signs of heavenly things: but the things themselves, being invisible, are honoured in them: neither is that element [*speciem*], being consecrate by the blessing, so to be taken, as it is in other uses." This is the judgment of Berengarius, agreeing throughly with the words and sense of the holy fathers, and confirmed and avouched by the same.

De Con. dist.  
2. Ego Be-  
rengarius.

Now let us see the confutation hereof. In a council holden at Rome under pope Nicolas the Second, Berengarius was forced to recant in this wise: *Credo corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi sensualiter, et in veritate, manibus sacerdotum tractari, et frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri*: "I believe, that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ sensibly and in very deed is touched with the hands of the priests, and broken, and rent, and ground with the teeth of the

<sup>37</sup> [The work De Sacramentis is not by St. Ambrose; see vol. i. p. 188, note <sup>30</sup>.]

faithful." This was the consent and judgment of that council. And what thinketh M. Harding of the same? Certainly the very rude Gloss findeth fault herewithal, and giveth this warning thereof unto the reader : *Nisi sane intelligas verba Berengarii, &c.* : " Unless you warily understand these words of Berengarius, you will fall into a greater heresy, than ever he held any." Thus these fathers, by their own friends' confession, redress the less error by the greater : and in plain words in general council, by solemn way of recantation, profess a greater heresy, than, by their own judgment, ever was defended by Berengarius.

This is an  
horrible  
blasphemy.  
Glossa, ibi-  
dem.

Further, if this be indeed the catholic faith, as M. Harding would so fain have all the world to believe, and Bertramus and Johannes Scotus, both very famous and great learned men, wrote openly against it, with the good contentation of the world, and without the apparent controlment of any man, two hundred years or more before Berengarius was born : let him better advise himself, whether these words were truly, or boldly, or rashly, or wisely, with such affiance uttered and avouched of his side, " That this his faith was never impugned by any man before the time of Berengarius."

But that M. Harding calleth the catholic faith, is indeed a catholic error, the contrary whereof hath evermore been taught and defended by all the old learned catholic fathers, as may well appear by that is already, and hereafter shall be, alleged of their writings. Certainly, they, that now condemn Berengarius for using the plain words and expositions of the old fathers, would as well condemn St. Augustine, St. Hierom, St. Ambrose, and the rest, were it not for the credit and authority of their names.

" The doctors that have been sithence the time of Berengarius," saith M. Harding, " have more often used these terms, ' really, carnally,' &c. than other old doctors within six hundred years after Christ." In these few words, M. Harding hath handsomely conveyed in a great untruth. For this comparative (more often) presupposeth the positive. Therefore the sense hereof must be this : The old doctors often used these terms, ' really, fleshly,' &c. albeit



not so often as others of the later years. But, M. Harding knoweth, this is untrue. For neither hath he here yet shewed, nor is he able to shew, that, in this case of the sacrament, any of these terms was ever used by any one of all the old ancient writers. Whereof we may well reason thus: The old catholic fathers, entreating of the substance of the sacrament, never used any of these words, 'really, carnally,' &c. : Therefore it is likely, they never taught the people to believe that Christ's body is present really and fleshly in the sacrament. Contrariwise, they in their sermons called the sacrament a figure, a sign, a remembrance of Christ's body: therefore it is likely, they would have the catholic people so to judge and believe of the sacrament.

M. HARDING: *Seventh Division.*

Here, before that I bring in places of ancient fathers, reporting the same doctrine, and in like terms, as the catholic church doth hold concerning this article, lest our opinion herein might haply appear over carnal and gross, I think it necessary briefly to declare what manner a true body and blood is in the sacrament. Christ in himself hath but one flesh and blood in substance, which his Godhead took of the Virgin Mary once, and never afterward left it off. But this one flesh and blood, in respect of double quality, hath a double consideration. For, at what time Christ lived here in earth among men in the shape of man, his flesh was thrall and subject to the frailty of man's nature, sin and ignorance excepted. That flesh, being passible unto death, the soldiers at the procurement of the Jews crucified. And such manner blood was at his passion shed forth of his body, in sight of them which were then present. But, after that Christ rose again from the dead, his body from that time forward ever remaineth immortal, and lively, in danger no more of any infirmity or suffering, much less of death; but is become, by divine gifts and endowments, a spiritual and a divine body, as to whom the Godhead hath communicated divine and godly properties and excellencies, that been above all man's capacity off understanding. This flesh and body thus considered, which sundry doctors call, *corpus spirituale, et deificatum*, "a spiritual and a deified body," is given to us in the blessed sacrament. This is the doctrine of the church, uttered by St. Hierom in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, where he hath these words: *Dupliciter vero sanguis et caro intelligitur, vel spiritualis illa atque divina, de qua ipse dixit: Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus; et: Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam et sanguinem*

*meum biberitis, non habebitis vitam æternam ; vel caro quæ crucifixa est, et sanguis, qui militis effusus est lancea.* That is, “The blood and flesh of Christ is understood two ways; either that it is that spiritual and divine flesh, of which he spake himself: ‘My flesh is verily meat, and my blood is verily drink;’ and, ‘Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye shall not have life in you:’ or that flesh which was crucified, and that blood which was shed by piercing of the soldier’s spear.” And to the intent a man should not take this difference according to the substance of Christ’s flesh and blood, but according to the quality only, St. Hierom bringeth a similitude of our flesh, as of which it hath been in double respect said: *Juxta hanc divisionem, et in sanctis etiam diversitas sanguinis et carnis accipitur; ut alia sit caro, quæ visura est salutare Dei, alia caro et sanguis, quæ regnum Dei non queant possidere:* “According to this division, diversity of blood and flesh is to be understood in saints also, so as there is one flesh, which shall see the salvation of God; and another flesh and blood, which may not possess the kingdom of God.” Which two states of flesh and blood seem (as it appeareth to the unlearned) quite contrary.

But St. Paul dissolveth this doubt, in the fifteenth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, saying, that flesh, of such sort as we bear about us in this life, earthly, mortal, frail, and burdalous to the soul, cannot possess the kingdom of God, because corruption shall not possess incorruption. But after resurrection we shall have a spiritual, glorious, incorruptible, and immortal flesh, and like in figure to the glorious body of Christ, as St. Paul saith: “This corruptible body must put on incorruption; and this mortal, immortality.” Then such flesh, or our flesh of that manner and sort, shall possess the kingdom of God, and shall behold God himself. And yet our flesh now corruptible, and then incorruptible, is but one flesh in substance, but diverse in quality and property. Even so it is to be thought of our Lord’s flesh, as is aforesaid. The due weighing of this difference giveth much light to this matter, and ought to stay many horrible blasphemies, wickedly uttered against this most blessed sacrament.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding much troubleth his head with a needless labour, and in the end concludeth against himself. For that the Son of God was made man, even like unto one of us, thrall and subject to the infirmities and miseries of this mortal life: and that, as he himself complaineth in the psalm, he seemed a vile worm and no man: the shame Psalm xxii. 6. of the world and the outcast of the people: and that God Ephes. i. 20. the Father afterward advanced him with glory, and set Philipp. ii. 9.

him at his right hand, above all powers and principalities, and gave him a name above all names, and endued him with a spiritual and a glorious body: and united the same unto the Godhead, and crowned him with honour and glory; all these things are known even unto babes and children, that have been godly brought up, and have learned the principles of their faith: and are so far from all doubt amongst us, that we believe Christ shall 'transform our mortal bodies, and make them like unto the body of his glory.' And therefore St. Augustine saith: *Corpus Domini, pro ipsa caelesti habitatione, caelestem accepit mutationem: et hoc nos sperare in die ultimo jussi sumus. Ideo dicit apostolus, Qualis caelestis, tales et caelestes: id est, immortales, non solum animis, sed etiam corporibus:* "The body of our Lord, according to that heavenly habitation, hath received an heavenly change: and we ourselves are commanded at the last day to hope for the same. Therefore the apostle saith, 'As he is that is heavenly, so are they that are heavenly:': that is to say, 'immortal,' and that, not only in soul, but also in body." This is the comfortablest article of our belief, and therefore with us, and with all other faithful, it is out of all doubt and question.

Only Stephen Gardiner, who, for his constancy and fastness in his religion, would needs be called Constantius, hath given the world to understand by public writing, that Christ is not yet fully possessed in this glory. These be his words: *Tempus humilitatis Christi in conversatione visibili et terrena praestandae plane praeteriit: sed humilis dispensationis tempus eo usque manet, donec tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri:* "The time of Christ's humility in visible and earthly conversation is undoubtedly past. But the time of the dispensation or service of his humility remaineth still, until he deliver up the kingdom unto God his Father." Thus one of them saith: "Christ's body is deified and become God." Another saith, it is yet still in the dispensation and service of humility, and therefore is not yet deified. It seemeth, they be not yet well resolved of Christ's glory, how much or how little they may allow him. Neither indeed have they any certain direction to guide

Philipp. iii.  
21.

August. contra Adimantum. cap. 12.  
[viii. 125.]

1 Cor. xv. 48.

Marcus Antonius Constantius. Ad objectum  
144.



themselves herein : but only, as occasion is offered, to shift off objections, they are fain to take hold in any thing, true or false, to serve their turn. A man may well say unto them, as St. Augustine sometime said unto the heretic Faustus Manichæus : *Dices,.....Hoc pro me facit [sonat] : illud contra me. Te es ergo regula veritatis. Quicquid contra te fuerit, non est verum* : “Thou wilt say, This thing is for me: that thing is against me. Then art thou the rule of truth. Whatsoever is against thee is not true.”

August. contra Faust. Manichæum, lib. 11. cap. 2. [viii. 219.]

But to what end allegeth M. Harding the spiritual state of Christ's glorious body? Doth he not remember, that the old heretic abbot Eutyches maintained his phantasies by the same, and was deceived? “Christ's body,” said he, “is glorious : therefore it is changed into the very substance and nature of God, and hath now no shape or proportion of a body.” This is an old heresy, long sithence reprov'd by Leo, Gelasius, and other old fathers, and condemned by the council of Chalcedon ; very much like unto this of M. Harding's, if it be not fully the same. We believe, “the body of Christ is endued with immortality, brightness, light, and glory :” yet is it nevertheless the same body it was before. And therefore St. Augustine saith : *Corpus Domini secundum substantiam, etiam post resurrectionem, caro appellata est* : “The body of our Lord in respect of the substance of it, yea after it is risen again, is called flesh.” And again : *Dominus corpori suo immortalitatem dedit : naturam non abstulit* : “The Lord gave to his body immortality : but he took not away the nature or substance of it<sup>38</sup>.”

Eutyches in Concilio Chalcedon.

August. Re-tracta. lib. 1. cap. 22. [i. 33.]

August. epist. 57. Ad Dardanum. [ii. 681.]

And, notwithstanding certain of the old fathers call the body of Christ *corpus deificatum*, as M. Harding allegeth, yet it is not their meaning that the same body, according to the natural signification and sound of that word, is changed, and transformed into a divine nature, and made God ; and so is no longer a natural body. For, as it is true that God was made man, even so, and in like sense, it is also true, that man was made God, without any change

<sup>38</sup> [August. ad Dardanum. . . . “stantia, cui profecto immortalitati in eadem carnis forma et substantiam,” &c.]

of substance of either nature<sup>39</sup>. And therefore the fathers say, Christ's body is deified, or made God, for that it is united in person and glory with the nature of God. To this purpose, although not altogether in like sense, St. Augustine seemeth to say, that men are deified, and made gods. Thus he writeth: *Homines dixit deos, ex gratia sua deificatos; non de substantia sua natos*: "He called men gods, as being deified, and so made by his grace; but not as born so of his substance." So saith Dionysius: *Pontifex ipse mutatur in Deum*: "The bishop himself is turned into God<sup>40</sup>." Likewise St. Cyprian call-eth the scriptures, *scripturas deificas*: "The scriptures, that make men gods<sup>41</sup>." And Clemens Alexandrinus saith, *Sacræ literæ nos deificant*: "The holy scriptures make us gods<sup>42</sup>." By these and other like words is meant, not that men are changed from their own natural substance, and indeed become gods, as the letter seemeth to import, but only that men are endued with godly virtues and qualities, and so made the children of God. And so Dionysius himself saith: *Hæc mutatio nostri in Deum, est Dei in nobis similitudo, quantam capere natura potest*: "This changing of us into God is the likeness or image of God within us, as far as nature can receive<sup>43</sup>."

But St. Hierom saith, "Christ's flesh hath double understanding, and may be taken either for his spiritual or divine flesh, or else for his mortal flesh, as it was crucified:" and is thought to make much for M. Harding. For

<sup>39</sup> [It is of course true, that in the unity of our blessed Lord's person there is no "change in the substance of either nature." And this is all, that Jewel meant to assert, viz. that the human nature is no more changed into the divine, than the divine is into the human. But his language seems very unguarded. It is true, that the eternal Word, who was God from all eternity, was made man; but it is not true, "in the like sense," or in any other sense, that man was made God.]

<sup>40</sup> [Dionys. αὐτόν τε τὸν ἱεράρχην, ὡς ἢ κατ' αὐτὸν οὐσία καὶ ἀναλογία καὶ τάξις ἔχει τελεσθῆναι

κατὰ τὰ θεῖα καὶ θεωθῆναι. . . .]

<sup>41</sup> [Cyprian. The expression used in both the places of St. Cyprian referred to, is not "deificæ scripturæ," but "deifica disciplina." The words "scripturæ deificæ," were employed however by one of the bishops in the council of Carthage as reported inter opp. Cyprian. Bened. ed. p. 331.]

<sup>42</sup> [Clem. Alex. . . . ἱερά γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, τὰ ἱεροποιούντα καὶ θεοποιούντα γράμματα.]

<sup>43</sup> [Dionys. (Pseudo-Areopag. see vol. i. p. 174. note 13.) ἢ δὲ θέωσις ἐστὶν ἢ προὸς Θεὸν ὡς ἐφικτὸν ἀφομοίωσις τε καὶ ἔνωσις.]

August. in Psalm. xlix. [iv. 444.]

Dionys. de Eccles. Hier. cap. i. [p. 104.]  
ἔχει θεωθῆ-  
ναι.

Cypr. de zelo et li-  
voro. [p. 260.] Et lib. 2. epist. 8. [p. 64.]

Clemens in Protreptico. [i. 71.]

Dionys. de Eccles. Hier. cap. i. [p. 107.]

answer hereunto, first of all, this one thing I pray thee, good reader, to consider, that St. Hierom in that whole place speaketh not one word neither of the sacrament<sup>44</sup>, nor of any real or fleshly presence. Therefore M. Harding can have but very poor help hereof to prove his purpose.

Only he expoundeth what St. Paul meant by these words, *“We have redemption by his blood:”* and his meaning,<sup>Hieronym. ad Ephes. i. [iv. 328.]</sup>

as it appeareth by the whole drift of his words, is this, that the salvation, which we have in Christ, standeth not in that he was a mere natural man, as were Codrus, Decius, Curtius, or such others, that died for the safety and delivery of their countries; but in that his humanity was united and joined in one person with the nature of God.

His words be these: *Quis iste, aiunt, tantus, ac talis, qui possit pretio suo totum orbem redimere? Jesus Christus Filius Dei proprium sanguinem dedit, et nos de servitute eripiens libertate donavit. Et re vera, si historiis Gentilium credimus, quod Codrus, et Curtius, et Decii Mures pestilentias urbium, et fames, et bella suis mortibus represserint: quanto magis hoc in Dei Filio possibile judicandum est, quod cruore suo non urbem unam purgaverit, sed totum orbem?*<sup>Hieronym. ad Ephes. i. [ibid.]</sup>

*Filius Dei proprium sanguinem dedit, et nos de servitute eripiens libertate donavit. Et re vera, si historiis Gentilium credimus, quod Codrus, et Curtius, et Decii Mures pestilentias urbium, et fames, et bella suis mortibus represserint: quanto magis hoc in Dei Filio possibile judicandum est, quod cruore suo non urbem unam purgaverit, sed totum orbem?*

“They say, what was he, such a one, and so mighty, that by his price was able to redeem the whole world? Jesus Christ the Son of God gave his own blood, and, delivering us from bondage, hath made us free. And indeed, if we believe the heathen story, that Codrus, Curtius, and Decii Mures removed pestilences, famines, and wars from their cities by their death; how much more may we judge the same possible in the Son of God, that he by his blood hath purged, not only one city, but also the whole world?” Immediately after this follow the words that M. Harding hath here alleged: *Dupliciter vero, &c.* “For the blood and flesh of Christ hath double understanding.” By the whole course of these words thus going before, it is easy to perceive St. Hierom’s meaning: that is, that we have our salvation in Christ, and do eat him, and drink him, and live by

<sup>44</sup> [Jerome. The Ben. Edd. ever is not used; but there is a reference to the 6th chapter of St. John.]  
assert that Jerome *does* speak of the Eucharist. The word how-



him, not for that his flesh was mortal only, and crucified upon the cross; but for that it was spiritual and divine, that is to say, the flesh of the Son of God. And herein stood that great contention, that Cyrillus and other godly fathers had against Nestorius: as it is well known unto the learned. And therefore St. Paul saith, “That I live now, I live in the flesh of the Son of God <sup>45</sup>.”

Galat. ii. 20.  
 Aug. in Jo-  
 han. tract. 98.  
 [iii. part. 2.  
 742.]

Angelomus  
 in 1 Regum,  
 i. [p. 6.]

Therefore, notwithstanding St. Augustine say, *Christus crucifixus est lac sugentibus, et cibus proficientibus*: “Christ crucified is milk unto the sucklings, and harder meat unto the strong;” and notwithstanding Angelomus say, “Christ’s body is hay, whereby the Gentiles are fed;” yet must both these, and also all other like places be taken, not of bare mortal flesh alone, but of the flesh of the Son of God: which St. Hierom calleth divine and spiritual, for that it is personally and inseparably joined with the Godhead.

Again, St. Hierom’s meaning is, that the same flesh of Christ, being thus divine and spiritual, must also spiritually be received, and not in any such carnal or fleshly wise, as it is here imagined by M. Harding. For, notwithstanding Christ’s body be spiritual, yet is that no sufficient warrant to prove, that therefore M. Harding’s opinion is not, as he saith, over gross and carnal. For the Manichees and the Messalian heretics had gross and carnal imaginations of God himself, notwithstanding God be only spirit, and most spiritual. And therefore St. Augustine saith of them: *Ecce ego derideo carnales homines, qui nondum possunt spiritualia cogitare*: “Behold, I laugh to scorn these carnal and fleshly men, that are not yet able to conceive things spiritual.”

Aug. contra  
 Epist. Fun-  
 damenti, cap.  
 23. [viii. 165.]

De Consecr.  
 Dist. 2. De  
 hac.

For proof hereof St. Hierom himself saith: *De hac quidem hostia, quæ in Christi commemoratione mirabiliter fit, edere licet: de illa vero, quam Christus in ara crucis obtulit, secundum se nulli edere licet*: “Of this oblation, which is marvellously made in the remembrance of Christ, it is

<sup>45</sup>. [Galatians ii. 20. “. . . and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.” It cannot be denied, that Jewel is here guilty, to say the least, of very unjustifiable carelessness.]

lawful to eat: but of that oblation, which Christ offered upon the altar of the cross, according to itself," (that is to say, in gross and fleshly manner,) "it is lawful for no man to eat." By these words St. Hierom also sheweth a great difference between the sacrifice that is made in the remembrance of Christ, and the very sacrifice indeed that Christ made upon the cross. So St. Chrysostom saith: *Si carnaliter quis accipiat, nihil lucratur*: "If a man take it fleshly he gaineth nothing." So likewise St. Augustine saith, as it is alleged before: "It is a figure or form of speech, willing us to be partakers of Christ's passion, and comfortably to remember, that Christ hath died for us"<sup>46</sup>." This St. Hierom calleth the eating of the divine and spiritual flesh of Christ. Therefore Clemens Alexandrinus saith, not only in like sense, but also in like form of words: *Duplex est sanguis Domini: alter carnalis, quo redempti sumus: alter spiritualis, quo uncti sumus. Et hoc est bibere Jesu sanguinem, participem esse incorruptionis Domini*: "There are two sorts of Christ's blood: the one fleshly, wherewith we are redeemed; the other spiritual, wherewith we are anointed. And this is the drinking of the blood of Christ, to be partakers of his immortality"<sup>47</sup>." In like sort St. Augustine saith: *Judas Christum carnalem [al. carnaliter] tradidit, tu spiritualem [al. spiritualiter]: furens evangelium sanctum flammis sacrilegis tradidisti*: "Judas betrayed Christ carnal: but thou hast betrayed Christ spiritual. For in thy fury thou betrayedst the holy gospel to be burnt in wicked fire"<sup>48</sup>." Here St. Augustine calleth Christ spiritual, for that the manner of the betraying was spiritual. Likewise that ancient father Clemens calleth Christ's blood spiritual, not in respect of difference in itself, but only in respect of the spiritual receiving. And I think M. Harding will not deny, but these words of Clemens

Chrysost. in  
Johan. hom.  
46. [viii. 278.]

August. de  
Doct. Christ.  
lib. 3. c. 16.  
[iii. 52.]

Clem. Alex.  
in Paedagog.  
lib. 2. c. 2.  
[i. 177.]

Aug. contra  
Liter. Petil.  
lib. 2. c. 8.  
[ix. 221.]

<sup>46</sup> [Supra, vol. ii. p. 333.]

<sup>47</sup> [Clem. Alex. Διπλὸν δὲ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ σαρκικόν, ᾧ τῆς φθορᾶς λευτρώμεθα· τὸ δὲ πνευματικόν, τουτέστιν ᾧ κεχρίσμεθα· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ πικρὸν τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τῆς

κυριαῆς μεταλαβεῖν ἀφθαρσίας.]

<sup>48</sup> [August. contra Liter. Petilianii. These are not the words of St. Augustine; but an extract from the letter of Petilianus to that father.]

and Augustine, agreeing so near both in sense and phrase with the words of Hierom, may stand for sufficient exposition to the same. Certainly, as Christ's blood is not really or bloodily present to anoint us; so is it not really or bloodily present to nourish us. For this nourishing and this anointing are both spiritual. And therefore the old learned father Athanasius writeth thus: *Quomodo unum unius hominis corpus universo mundo sufficeret? Quod, tanquam in illorum cogitationibus versatum, Christus commemorat. A quibus cogitationibus ut eos avocaret, quemadmodum paulo ante sui descensus e cælis, ita nunc reditus sui in cælum mentionem facit:* "The Capernaïtes demanded, how one body of one man might suffice the whole world: which thing, as being in their cogitations, Christ calleth to remembrance. To remove them from which cogitations," (of gross and fleshly eating,) "as he before made mention of his coming down from heaven, so now likewise he maketh mention of his repair again into heaven <sup>49</sup>."

Athanas. de  
Peccato in  
Spiritu  
Sanctum.  
[tom. i. pt. 2.  
p. 710.]

To conclude, once again, gentle reader, I must do thee to remember, that St. Hierom in this whole place never spake one word, neither of any real or fleshly presence, nor of the sacrament. Yet notwithstanding, M. Harding, as though St. Hierom had plainly and undoubtedly spoken of both, hereof gathereth his reason thus: "St. Hierom saith, We eat not the flesh of Christ that was crucified: *ergo*, Christ's flesh is really and fleshly in the sacrament." This argument is evident to the eye, and needeth no answer.

His reason would better have framed thus: St. Hierom saith, We cannot eat the flesh of Christ that was crucified: *ergo*, we cannot really and carnally eat the flesh of Christ. Whereof it must necessarily follow, even by the authority that M. Harding hath here alleged, that Christ's body is not really and fleshly in the sacrament. Such relief hath M. Harding found in these words of St. Hierom.

<sup>49</sup> [Athanas. This discussion respecting the sin against the Holy Ghost is in the 4th epistle to Serapion. The substance of the passage is given rather than the words themselves.]



M. HARDING : Eighth Division.

Now, whereas M. Jewel denieth, that Christian people were of old time taught to believe, that Christ's body is really, substanti- ally, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament, I do plainly affirm the contrary. Yet I acknowledge, that the learned fathers, (135) which have so taught, would not thereby seem to make it here outwardly sensible or perceptible. For they confess all with St. Chrysostom, that the thing which is here given us, is not sensible, but that, under visible signs, invisible things be delivered unto us. But they thought good <sup>a</sup>to use the aforesaid terms, to put away all doubt of the being of his very body in these holy mysteries, and to exclude the only imagination, phan- tasy, figure, sign, token, virtue, or signification thereof. For in such wise the sacramentaries have uttered their doctrine in this point, as they may seem, by their manner of speaking and writing, here to represent our Lord's body only, indeed being absent, as kings oftentimes are represented in a tragedy, or mean persons in a comedy. Verily, the manner and way, by which it is here present, and given to us, and received of us, is secret, not human, ne natural: true for all that. And we do not attain it by sense, reason, or nature, but by faith. For which cause we do not over basely consider, and attend the visible elements, but as we are taught by the council of Nice, lifting up our mind and spirit, we behold by faith on that holy table put and laid (so for the better signification of the real presence their term soundeth) the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. And here, say they, we receive his precious body and blood, ἀληθώς, that is to say, "verily, and indeed:" which is no otherwise, nor less, than this term really importeth.

The 135th untruth. For the old fa- thers never taught us so.

a Another untruth, as afore.

Lifting up the mind. Behold by faith.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding once again, as before, will teach us, what the old fathers meant by those words that they never uttered. I trow he hath some privy divination, that thus taketh upon him, to know what men mean, before they speak. Cicero saith: *Peritum esse necesse est eum, qui silentium quid sit, intelligat*: "It must needs be some cunning fellow that understandeth what silence meaneth, and knoweth what they speak, that speak nothing." He saith, "the fathers thought good, to use the aforesaid term, to put away all doubt of the being of Christ's very body in these holy mysteries." Verily, this is a marvellous bold- ness, so often, and with such confidence and countenance to say, The old fathers used these terms, and yet not once to shew any one of them all that ever used them. It may

Cicero de Divinatione, 2. [c. 34.]

Homil. 83. in Matt. [vii. 787.] et † 60. ad popul. Antioch.

Κείσθαι.

be thought, that he hath either too great affiance in himself, or too little regard unto his reader. As for this vain muster of names, of Chrysostom, Hilary, Gregory Nyssen, and Cyril, as it shall appear by the view, it helpeth him nothing.

“The sacramentaries,” saith M. Harding, “utter their doctrine by these terms, ‘figure, sign, token, signification and virtue.’” I may not answer this discourtesy of talk with like discourtesy. Only I will say of these men, as St. Augustine sometime said of the Arians: *Cum se tanta voragine impietatis immergant, nos, tanquam opprobrio novi nominis, Homousianos vocant..... : quia contra illorum errorem..... Homousion defendimus*: “Whereas they have drowned themselves in such a dungeon of wickedness, now they call us Homousians, to reproach us with a new name: because we defend the unity of the holy Trinity against their error.” But, if they be all sacramentaries that use these terms, then must St. Augustine, St. Hierom, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and all other the holy fathers that used the same, needs be condemned for sacramentaries. But, if they be sacramentaries, that shamefully abuse, and corrupt the holy sacraments, then may M. Harding, and his friends rightly be called sacramentaries. M. Harding addeth: “Chrysostom saith, In visible signs, things invisible be delivered: *ergo*, the body of Christ is really and fleshly in the sacrament.” First, if M. Harding had well considered that whole homily, haply he would have charged Chrysostom himself with his sacramentary quarrel, as now he doth others. For, touching the sacrament, Chrysostom even there writeth thus: *Quando dicunt, Unde patet, Christum fuisse immolatum? hæc afferentes mysteria, ora ipsorum consuimus. Si enim mortuus Jesus non est, cujus symbolum, ac signum hoc sacrificium est?* “When they say, How may we know that Christ was offered? bringing forth these mysteries, we stop their mouths. For if Christ died not, whose sign and token is this sacrifice<sup>50</sup>?”

August. cont.  
Sermon. Ari-  
anorum,  
cap. 36. [viii.  
646.]

Chrysost. in  
Matt. hom.  
83. [vii. 783.]

<sup>50</sup> [Chrysost. in Matth. Ὅταν γὰρ λέγωσι, Πόθεν δῆλον ὅτι ἐτύθη ὁ Χριστός; μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοὺς ἐπιστομίζομεν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀπέθανεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, τίνας σύμβολα τὰ τελούμενα;]

But to return to the matter: O how light occasions these men take to deceive the simple! M. Harding knoweth, that Chrysostom speaketh not these words only of the sacrament of Christ's body, but also generally of all other mysteries. For he addeth immediately: *Sic et in baptismo, per aquam, quæ res sensibilis est, donum illud conceditur.* [Chrysost. in Matt. tom. vii. 787.] *Quod autem in ea conficitur, regeneratio scilicet, et renovatio, intelligibile quiddam est:* "Even so in baptism, the gift is granted by water, which is a thing sensible. But the regeneration, and renovation that therein is wrought, is a thing spiritual<sup>51</sup>." Wherefore, if M. Harding, upon occasion of these words, will force his real and fleshly presence in the one sacrament, he must likewise force the same in the other.

And, forasmuch as, these two sacraments being both of force like, these men, to advance their phantasies in the one, by comparison so much abase the other: and specially for the better opening of Chrysostom's mind, I think it good, briefly, and by the way, somewhat to touch what the old catholic fathers have written of God's invisible working in the sacrament of baptism. Dionysius generally of all mysteries writeth thus: *Angeli Deum, &c.:* "The angels being creatures spiritual, so far forth as it is lawful for them, behold God, and his godly power. But we are led, as we may, by sensible outward tokens," which he calleth "images," "unto the contemplation of heavenly things<sup>52</sup>." The fathers in the council of Nice say thus: "Baptism must be considered, not with our bodily eyes, but with the eyes of our mind. Thou seest the water: think thou of the power of God, that in the water is hidden. Think thou, that the water is full of heavenly fire, and of the sanctifica-

Dionys. Eccles. Hierar. cap. i. [p. 105.]

Concil. Nice. [ii. 888.]

πλήρη τοῦ θείου πυρὸς νόει τὰ ὕδατα.

<sup>51</sup> [Ibid. p. 787. Harding had referred to the following words:—*ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ λόγος φησὶ, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου, καὶ πειθώμεθα καὶ πιστεύωμεν, καὶ νοητοῖς αὐτὸ βλέπωμεν ὀφθαλμοῖς: οὐδὲν γὰρ αἰσθητὸν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ Χριστός. ἀλλ' αἰσθητοῖς μὲν πράγμασι, πάντα δὲ νοητά.* Jewel goes on with the quotation:—*οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ*

*βαπτίσματι δι' αἰσθητοῦ μὲν πράγματος γίνεται τοῦ ὕδατος τὸ δῶρον, νοητὸν δὲ τὸ ἀποτελούμενον, ἢ γέννησις καὶ ἡ ἀναγέννησις, ἧτον ἀνακαίνισις.]*

<sup>52</sup> [Dionys. Pseudo-Areopag. *Θεόν τε καὶ θείαν ἀρετὴν αἱ μὲν ὡς νόες νοοῦσι κατὰ τὸ αὐταῖς θεμιτόν ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰσθηταῖς εἰκόσω ἐπὶ τὰς θείας ὡς δυνατὸν ἀναγόμεθα.]*



tion of the Holy Ghost<sup>53</sup>." Chrysostom speaking likewise of baptism saith thus: *Ego non aspectu judico ea, quæ videntur, sed mentis oculis*, &c.: "The things that I see, I judge not by sight, but by the eyes of my mind. The heathen, when he heareth the water of baptism, taketh it only for plain water: but I see not simply, or barely, that I see: I see the cleansing of the soul by the Spirit of God<sup>54</sup>." So likewise saith Nazianzenus: *Mysterium (baptismi) majus est, quam ea quæ videntur*: "The mystery of baptism is greater than it appeareth to the eye." So St. Ambrose: *Aliud est, quod visibiliter agitur: aliud quod invisibiliter celebratur*: "In baptism there is one thing done visibly to the eye: another thing is wrought invisibly to the mind<sup>55</sup>." Again he saith: *Ne solis corporis tui oculis credas: magis videtur, quod non videtur*, &c.: "Believe not only thy bodily eyes" in this sacrament of baptism: "the thing that is not seen, is better seen: the thing that thou seest, is corruptible: the thing that thou seest not, is for ever<sup>56</sup>." To be short, in consideration of these invisible effects, Tertullian saith: "The Holy Ghost cometh down and halloweth the water<sup>57</sup>." St. Basil saith: "The kingdom of heaven is (there) set open<sup>58</sup>." Chrysostom saith: "God himself (in baptism) by his invisible power, holdeth thy head." St. Ambrose saith: "The water hath the grace

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. cap. 2. hom. 7. [x. 51.] *Ego non simpliciter video, quod video.*

Nazianz. De sanc. Baptis. [1. 711.] *μείζον των δρωμένων ἐστὶ τὸ μυστήριον.*

Ambros. de Spiritu Sancto, lib. 3. cap. 11. [ii. 678.]

Ambros. de his, qui initiatur myst. cap. 3. [ii. 328.]

Tertull. de Baptis. [cap. 4. p. 225.]

Basil. de sancto Baptismo. [ii. 114.]

Chrysost. in Matt. hom. 51. [vii. 517.]

Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 5. [ii. 352.]

<sup>53</sup> [This passage, as well as that quoted by Harding, is from "Gelasii Cyziceni commentarius actorum Concilii Nicæni," see Mansi, ii. 888.]

<sup>54</sup> [Chrysostom. in 1 Corinth. Ἐτέρως γοῦν ἐγὼ, καὶ ἕτερος ὁ ἄπιστος περὶ τούτων διακείμεθα. . . ἀκούων λουτρὸν ἐκείνος ἀπλῶς ὕδωρ νομίζει· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ τὸ ὄρωμενον ἀπλῶς βλέπω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς καθαρμὸν τὸν διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. . . οὐ γὰρ τῇ ὄψει κρίνω τὰ φαινόμενα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς διανοίας· ἀκούω σώμα Χριστοῦ· ἕτερος ἐγὼ νοῶ τὸ εἰρημένον, ἕτερος ὁ ἄπιστος.]

<sup>55</sup> [Ambros. de Spirit. Sancto. "Alterum igitur invisibile, alterum visibile testimonium sacramento consequimur spirituali." The above is the nearest which

the Editor has been able to find in that place.]

<sup>56</sup> [Ambros. de Mysteriis. The genuineness of this work is doubtful.]

<sup>57</sup> [Tertull. de Baptismo. "Sumpervenit enim statim Spiritus de cœlis, et aquis superest, sanctificans eas de semetipso."]

<sup>58</sup> [Basil. in Sanctum Baptismo. Βασιλεία οὐρανῶν ἡνοικται. This genuine treatise, "De Sancto Baptismo," must not be confounded with the one under the same name (now called "De Spiritu Sancto"), referred to below under the Tenth Division of this Article, (fol. ed. p. 257,)—which is pronounced by the Bened. spurious, and placed in the Appendix accordingly.]

of Christ:—in it is the presence of the Trinity<sup>59</sup>.”  
 St. Bernard saith: *Lavemur in sanguine ejus*: “Let us be washed in his blood<sup>60</sup>.”

Bernard. super Missus est Gabriel, serm. 3. [l. 755.]

By the authorities of thus many ancient fathers it is plain, that, in the sacrament of baptism, by the sensible sign of water the invisible grace of God is given unto us. Wherefore, as M. Harding, by force of Chrysostom’s words, proveth his fleshly presence in the one sacrament, so may he by the force of the same words as well prove, that the power of God, the heavenly fire, the grace, and the blood of Christ is really, and fleshly present in the other.

All this notwithstanding, he hopeth to find some help in two words, uttered, as he saith, in the council of Nice: *κεῖσθαι* and *ἀληθῶς*: one of which words, either of forgetfulness, or of purpose, he hath devised, and set to of himself. For as this whole Greek authority, alleged here by M. Harding, was never found in the old allowed Nicene council, but only hath been sought out, and published of late years: even so this word, *κεῖσθαι*, was never found in the Greek, neither as it is commonly set abroad, nor as it is alleged by D. Cuthbert Tonstall.

Κεῖσθαι.  
 Ἀληθῶς.

Tonstall. de Eucharistia, lib. 1. [p. 40.]

But let it be lawful for M. Harding to use some corruption, and to do in this place, as he commonly doth in other, the better to furnish out the matter. Yet, must this word, *κεῖσθαι*, which signifieth “to be set,” or “placed,” needs sound a real presence? Or when St. Paul saith: *Christus habitat in cordibus nostris per fidem*: “Christ dwelleth in our hearts by faith,” must he needs mean, that Christ is really and fleshly placed within our hearts? Verily, St. Hierom<sup>61</sup> writing unto Marcella of the holy grave, wherein Christ’s body sometime was laid, hath these words: *Quoties ingre-*

Ephes. iii. 17.

Hieronym. [l. Paulæ et Eustochii] ad Marcellam. [iv. 548.]

<sup>59</sup> [Ambros. de Sacrament. (not genuine, see vol. i. p. 188, note <sup>30</sup>.) The words quoted are not in one context, but taken from different pages of the same chapter, tom. ii. p. 352. “Aqua sanat quæ habet gratiam Christi,” p. 353. “—ut adsit præsentia Trinitatis æternæ.”]

<sup>60</sup> [Bernard. super Missus est

Gabriel. The four honilies formerly so called, are entitled in the Bened. ed. “De Laudibus Virginis Matris.”]

<sup>61</sup> [Hieronym. ad Marcell. This is a mistake. This letter, though printed in St. Jerome’s works, was written by Paula and Eustochium “ad Marcellam, ut commigraret “Bethlehem.”]

*dimur in sepulchrum Domini, toties jacere in sindone cernimus Salvatorem* : “As often as we enter into the sepulchre of our Lord, so often we see our Saviour lying in his shroud.” And in the council of Chalcedon it is written

Concil. Chalcedon. act. 1.  
[vi. 725.]  
κείνται.

thus: *In qua scriptura duæ naturæ jacent?* “In what scripture lie these two natures of Christ?” Here is the same self word that M. Harding hath added of his own to the council of Nice. Yet, I think, he will not therefore say, that either the two natures of Christ are really contained in the scriptures: or the very body of Christ lieth still shrouded fleshly and really in the grave. Again, this word, *κείσθαι*, which signifieth “to be laid,” or “placed,” in the natural signification requireth both situation of place, and also a bodily description and order of parts. But M. Harding himself in the next article following saith: “Christ’s body is not here by local presence, either by filling, or by changing of place:” therefore it followeth, that Christ’s body is not laid on the table by any natural or fleshly presence.

In the next Article, division 1.

The words of the council of Nice only withdraw us from the natural and visible elements of the bread and the wine, and require our inner spiritual sight, and the contemplation of the mind. The words be plain: *Ne proposito pani, et poculo humiliter intenti simus*: “That we consider not basely the bread and the wine, that are set before us.”

τῷ προκειμένῳ ἄρτῳ, καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ.  
[ii. 888.]

Augustin. de Dono Perseverantiae. [x. 839.]

And therefore St. Augustine saith: *In sacramentis fidelium dicitur, Sursum corda*: “In the sacraments of the faithful it is said, ‘Lift up your hearts.’” By which words we are put in remembrance, that there is nothing in the action to be considered, but only Christ the Lamb of God, that hath taken away the sins of the world. And therefore Chrysostom saith: “We must become eagles, and soar above, if we list to come near to that body.” Thus with the spiritual eyes of our hearts we see the Lamb of God.

Chrysost. 1 Cor. hom. 24. [x. 216.]

Ambros. de his qui Initiuntur myster. cap. 3. [ii. 328.]

Augustin. contra Maximin. lib. 3. cap. 22. [viii. 725.]

And as St. Ambrose saith, *Magis videtur quod non videtur*: “The thing is better seen, that,” with our bodily eyes, “is not seen.” For the same cause St. Augustine saith, *In sacramentis videndum est, non, quid sint, sed quid ostendant. Signa enim rerum sunt, aliud existentia, et aliud*



*significantia* : “ In sacraments we must consider, not what they be indeed, but what they represent. For they are tokens of things, being one thing in themselves, and signifying another.” And, as touching our beholding of Christ in the sacrament, in most plain wise he writeth thus : *Sic nos facit moveri, tanquam videamus præsentem Dominum in cruce* : “ It worketh such motions in us, as if we saw our Lord himself present upon the cross.” And this is it that Eusebius Emissenus writeth, as he is alleged of Gratian, *Ut coleretur jugiter per mysterium..... : et perennis illa victima viveret in memoria, et semper præsens esset in gratia* : “ That the body,” that was once offered for our price, “ should evermore be worshipped by a mystery : and that that everlasting sacrifice should live in remembrance, and be present in grace for ever.” In this spiritual sort is Christ laid present upon the table : but not in M. Harding’s gross and fleshly manner. And therefore St. Augustine saith in like sense unto the faithful communicants : *Vos estis in mensa, vos estis in calice* : “ You are upon the table, you are in the cup <sup>62</sup>.” As St. Augustine saith, The people is laid upon the table, even so, and none otherwise, the council of Nice saith, The Lamb of God is laid upon the table.

The other Greek word, that M. Harding holdeth by, is, ἀληθῶς, which is, “ verily,” or “ truly ;” and that, in his judgment, soundeth no less, than “ really,” or “ fleshly.” And thus, although he hunt like a wanton spaniel, and range at riot, and beat up butterflies, yet at the last he thinketh he hath found somewhat. Howbeit, I marvel he seeth no better his own error. For he might soon have known, that these two words, “ truly,” and “ fleshly,” have sundry meanings : and that, in the sense that Christ spake unto the Jews, the one of them doth utterly exclude the other. For neither doth he, that eateth grossly and sensibly with his teeth, eat “ truly,” and “ verily,” as Christ meant : nor doth he, that eateth spiritually with his faith, eat grossly, and fleshly, as the Capernaïtes meant. Therefore it is great folly

<sup>62</sup> [Augustini Serm. ad Infantes : see p. 329 of this volume, note <sup>26</sup>.]

to say, “verily,” and “fleshly,” are all one thing. Indeed, the spiritual eating of Christ’s body by faith, is the true eating : and he that eateth the same most spiritually, eateth most truly. Otherwise Christ saith : *Ego sum vitis vera* :

John xv. 1.

“I am the true vine.” St. Hierom calleth the faithful people<sup>a</sup>, *Vitem veram* : “The true vine.” Cyrillus calleth Christ<sup>b</sup>, *Verum manna* : “The true manna” St. Hierom

a Hieronym. in 2. cap. Hierem. lib. i. [iii. 537.]

b Cyril. lib. 3. cap. 24. in Johan. [al. cap. 6. iv. 312.]

c Hieronym. ad Galat. cap. 4. [iv. 265.]

d Origen. in Gen. cap. 1. hom. i. [ii. 57.]

e In Manuali. [Ebor. Ben. cerel.]

saith<sup>c</sup> : *Nos vere sumus unus panis* : “We are verily one bread<sup>63</sup>.” Origen saith<sup>d</sup> : *Apostoli vere erant cæli* : “The apostles verily were the heavens.” And to be short, they

were wont to sing at the blessing of the paschal taper, ° *Hæc sunt festa paschalia, in quibus vere [ille] Agnus occiditur* :

“This is the paschal feast, wherein verily, and indeed the Lamb is slain.” By these few examples, both the differ-

ence between these two words, “truly,” and “fleshly,” and also the slenderness of M. Harding’s collection, may soon appear. For, notwithstanding we do verily eat Christ,

yet it followeth not, that we do grossly and naturally eat him with our bodily mouths ; and, although Christ be verily meat, yet it followeth not, that he is therefore really and fleshly in the sacrament. And therefore St. Augustine in this respect utterly removeth the natural office of the body.

His words be plain : *Quid paras dentem, aut ventrem ?*

*Crede, et manducasti* : “What preparest thou thy tooth, or thy belly ? Believe, and thou hast eaten.” Again, *Cre-*

*dere in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum* : “Believing in him, is the eating of the bread of life.”

[August. in Johan. tract. 25. iii. pt. 2. 489.]

August. in Johan. tract. 26. [iii. pt. 2. 494.]

#### M. HARDING : Ninth Division.

The 136th untruth. For these terms are not all one.

And touching these terms : first, “verily,” or, (136) which is all one, “really, and substantially,” methinketh M. Jewel should bear the more with us for use of the same, sith that Bucer himself, one of the greatest learned men of that side, hath allowed them : yea, and that after much writing against Luther in defence of Zwinglius and Œcolampadius by him set forth, and after that he had assured himself of the truth in this article by divine inspiration : as most constantly he affirmeth with these words :

*Hæc non dubitamus divinitus nobis et per scripturam revelata de hoc sacramento* : “We doubt not,” saith he, “but these

In respon- sione ad Luther.

<sup>63</sup> [Hieronym. in Gal. cap. 4. “Vere in Christo omnes unus panis “sumus.”]

things concerning the sacrament, be revealed unto us from God, and by the scripture." If you demand where this may be found: in the acts of a council holden between the Lutherans and Zwinglians, for this very purpose in Martin Luther's house at Wittenberg, in the year of our Lord 1536, you shall find these words: *Audivimus D. Bucerum explicantem suam sententiam de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, hoc modo: Cum pane, et vino, vere, et substantialiter adest, exhibetur, &c. Sumitur corpus Christi, et sanguis. Et sacramentali unione panis est corpus Christi: et porrecto pane, vere adest, et vere exhibetur corpus Christi:* "We have heard M. Bucer declaring his mind touching the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, in this sort: With the bread and wine, the body of Christ, and his blood is present, exhibited, and received verily and substantially. And by sacramental union, the bread is the body of Christ: and the bread being given, the body of Christ is verily present, and verily delivered."

Though this opinion of Bucer, by which he recanted his former Zwinglian heresy, be in sundry points false and heretical, yet in this he agreeth with the catholic church against M. Jewel's negative assertion, that the body and blood of Christ is present in the sacrament, verily: that is, truly, and really, or indeed and substantially: (137) wherein he speaketh as the ancient fathers spake long before a thousand years past.

The 137th untruth. For the ancient fathers in this matter of the sacrament spake not so.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Hitherto M. Harding hath alleged neither ancient doctor, nor old council, to serve his purpose. The first that he can find is doctor Bucer, that died in Cambridge the fourth year of king Edward the Sixth, in the year of our Lord 1551. Of his judgment herein I will say nothing. What reasons led him to yield to the other side, for quietness' sake, I remit it wholly unto God. But thus much I may well and justly say: If M. Harding could have found any other doctor, he would not thus have made his entry with M. Bucer.

Touching that brotherly and sober conference, that was between D. Luther, and D. Bucer, Philip Melancthon, and other godly learned men of Germany in the university of Wittenberg, I see no great cause, why M. Harding should thus sport himself with it, and call it a council. He might rather, and more justly have scoffed at the vain council of the eight special chosen cardinals holden in Rome under



pope Paulus the Third, *anno Domini* 1538, two years after that conference at Wittenberg.

Concil. selector. cardinalium Romæ anno 1538. [Crabbe, iii. 819.]

For, if he will compare voices, they of Wittenberg were mo in number ; if knowledge, they were better learned ; if purposes, they sought peace in truth, and the glory of God ; if issue, God hath blessed their doings, and given force, and increase unto his word, as it appeareth this day. His holy name be praised therefore for ever. But these eight picked cardinals, after great study, and long debating of the matter, espied out only such faults, as every child might have soon found without study : and yet never redressed any of the same.

If master Harding had been in the apostles' times, perhaps he would have made some sport at their councils. For, where, or in what house assembled they together ? What bishop or Pharisee was among them ? Certainly St. Augustine had conference and disputation with Pascen- tius the Arian at Hippo, in the private house of one Anitius<sup>64</sup> : and yet was never scoffed at for his doing. Thus there be ever some, that laugh and scorn at the repairing of Jerusalem. Origen saith : *Inimici veritatis..... videntes, sine.....philosophia consurgere muros evangelii, cum irrisione dicunt, Hoc facile posse destrui calliditate sermonum, et per astutas fallacias* : " The enemies of the truth seeing the walls of the gospel rise without worldly policy, say scornfully among themselves, All this, by our crafty speech and falsehood, will soon be overthrown." But he, that sitteth in heaven, will laugh them to scorn.

August. ep. 178. in Domino Anitiana. [ii. app. 41.]

Origen. in Cantica Cant. hom. 4. [iii. 93.]

#### M. HARDING : Tenth Division.

Christ maketh himself one with us not with the sacrament.

Let Chrysostom for proof of this be instead of many that might be alleged. His words be these : *Nos secum in unam, ut ita dicam, massam reducit, neque id fide solum, sed re ipsa corpus suum efficit* : " By this sacrament," saith he, " Christ reduceth us, as it were, into one lump with himself, and that not by faith only : but he maketh us his own body in very deed : " *re ipsa* : which is no other to say, than " really." The other adverbs, " corporally, carnally, naturally," be found in the fathers not seldom : specially, where they dispute against the Arians.

In 26. cap. Matth. hou. 83. [tom. ii. p. 570. edit. 1588.]

Untruth, as afore.

<sup>64</sup> [This is not a genuine epistle of St. Augustine.]

And therefore it had been more convenient for M. Jewel, to have modestly interpreted them, than utterly to have denied them. The old fathers of the Greek and Latin church, deny that faithful people have an habitude, or disposition, union or conjunction, with Christ only by faith and charity, or that we are spiritually joined, and united to him only by hope, love, religion, obedience and will. Yea further they affirm, that, by the virtue and efficacy of this sacrament duly and worthily received, Christ is really, and indeed, communicated by true communication, and participation of the nature and substance of his body and blood, and that he is, and dwelleth in us truly, because of our receiving the same in this sacrament. The benefit whereof is such, as we be in Christ, and Christ in us, according to that he saith: *Qui manducat meam carnem, manet in me, et ego in illo*: "Who eateth my flesh, he dwelleth in me, and I in him." The which dwelling, union, and joining together of him with us, and of us with him, that it might the better be expressed, and recommended unto us, they thought good in their writings to use the aforesaid adverbs.

For they proved the same by the sacrament of baptism, by faith, by the birth of Christ, &c.

Hilarius, writing against the Arians alleging the words of Christ, John xvii. : *Ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu Pater in me, et ego in te, ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint*: "That all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, they also may be one in us:" going about by those words to shew, that the Son and the Father were not one in nature, and substance, but only in concord and unity of will; among other many and long sentences for proof of unity in substance, both between Christ and the Father, and also between Christ and us, hath these words: *Si enim vere Verbum caro factum est, et nos vere Verbum carnem cibo Dominico sumimus, quomodo non naturaliter manere in nobis existimandus est, qui et naturam carnis nostrae jam inseparabilem sibi homo natus assumpsit, et naturam carnis suae ad naturam aeternitatis sub sacramento nobis communicandae carnis admiscuit?* "If the Word be made flesh verily, and we receive the Word being flesh in our Lord's meat verily: how is it to be thought not to dwell in us naturally, who both hath taken the nature of our flesh now inseparable to himself, in that he is born man, and also hath mingled the nature of his own flesh to the nature of his everlastingness under the sacrament of his flesh to be received of us in the communion?" There afterward this word, *naturaliter*, in this sense, that, by the sacrament worthily received, Christ is in us, and we in Christ naturally, that is, in truth of nature, is sundry times put and rehearsed; whoso listeth to read further his eighth book, *De Trinitate*, he shall find him agnize, *a Manentem in nobis carnaliter Filium*, that the Son of God, through the sacrament, dwelleth in us carnally, that is, in truth of flesh, and that by the same sacrament, we with him, and he with us are united and knit together, *corporaliter et inseparabiliter*, "corporally and inseparably," for they be his very words.

St. Hilary saith Christ dwelleth naturally in us: but not in the sacrament.

a Not in the sacrament: but in us.

Hilar. de Trinit. lib. 8. p. 954.]

[Hilar. de Trin. p. 957.]



Gregory Nyssen, speaking to this purpose, saith : *Panis, qui de caelo descendit, non incorporea quædam res est. Quo enim pacto res incorporea corpori cibus fiet ? res vero, quæ incorporea non est, corpus omnino est. Hujus corporis panem non aratio, non satio, non agricolarum opus efficit : sed terra intacta permansit : et tamen pane plena fuit, quo famescentes, mysterium virginis perdocti, facile saturantur :* (138) which words report so plainly the truth of Christ's body in the sacrament, as all manner of figure and signification must be excluded. And thus they may be Englished : "The bread, that came down from heaven, is not a bodiless thing. For by what mean shall a bodiless thing be made meat to a body ? and the thing which is not bodiless is a body, without doubt. It is not earing, not sowing, not the work of tillers, that hath brought forth the bread of this body : but the earth which remained untouched, and yet was full of the bread, whereof they that wax hungry, being thoroughly taught the mystery of the virgin, soon have their fill<sup>65</sup>." Of these words may easily be inferred a conclusion, that in the sacrament is Christ, and that in the same we receive him corporally, that is, in verity and substance of his body ; forasmuch as that is there, and that is of us received, which was brought forth and born of the Virgin Mary.

Cyrillus that ancient father and worthy bishop of Alexandria, for confirmation of the catholic faith in this point, saith thus : *Non negamus reecta nos fide, charitateque sincera Christo spiritualiter conjungi : sed nullam nobis conjunctionis rationem secundum carnem cum illo esse, id profecto pernegamus, idque a divinis scripturis omnino alienum dicimus :* "We deny not, but that we are joined spiritually with Christ, by right faith, and pure charity, but that we have no manner of joining with him according to the flesh," which is one as to say *carnaliter*, "carnally," "that we utterly deny, and say, that it is not agreeable with the scriptures." Again, lest any man should think this joining of us and Christ together to be (139) by other means, than by the participation of his body in the sacrament, in the same place afterward he saith further : *An fortassis putat ignotam nobis mystica benedictionis virtutem esse ? Quæ cum in nobis fiat, nonne corporaliter quoque facit communicatione corporis Christi, Christum in nobis habitare ?* "What, troweth this Arian heretic perhaps,

The 138th untruth. For Gregory Nyssen in this place speaketh not one word of the sacrament.

The 139th untruth. For Christ dwelleth in us, and we are incorporate into him by baptism, &c. as shall appear.

<sup>65</sup> [Gregor. Nyssen. de vita Mosis. "... ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς οὐκ ἀσώματόν τι χρῆμα ἐστὶ. πῶς γὰρ ἂν σώματι τροφή γενοίτο τὸ ἀσώματον ; τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀσώματον σῶμα πάντως ἐστὶ· τὸ δὲ σῶμα τούτου τοῦ ἄρτου οὔτε ἄροσις οὔτε σπορὰ ἐγεώργησεν, ἀλλ' ἡ γῆ οἷα ἐστὶ μέλαινα πλήρης εὐρίσκειται τῆς θείας ταύτης τροφῆς, ἥς οἱ πεινῶντες μετέχουσι, τὸ κατὰ τῆν

παρθένον μυστήριον διὰ τῆς θαυματοποιίας ταύτης προκαυδόμενοι, οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ ἀγεώργητος ἄρτος καὶ λόγος ἐστὶ. ... The words following will be found printed below, p. 373, note<sup>71</sup>. Taken with the whole context, they fully justify Jewel's assertion, that St. Gregory Nyssen was speaking not of the sacrament, but of our Lord's birth by the blessed virgin.]

In lib. De Vita Mosi [1. 214.]

In Johan. lib. 10. cap. 13. [cap. 2. tom. iv p. 862.]



that we know not the virtue of the mystical blessing?" (whereby is meant this sacrament;) "which when it is become to be in us, In us. doth it not cause Christ to dwell in us corporally by receiving of Christ's body in the communion?" And after this he saith as plainly, that Christ is in us, *non habitudine solum, quæ per charitatem intelligitur, verumetiam et participatione naturali*: "not by charity only, but also by natural participation."

The same Cyril saith in another place, that, through the holy communion of Christ's body, we are joined to him in natural union: *Quis enim eos, qui unius sancti corporis unione in uno Christo uniti sunt, ab hac naturali unione alienos putabit?* "Who will think," saith he, "that they which be united together by the union of that one holy body in one Christ, be not of this natural union?" He calleth this also a corporal union in the same book, and at length after large discussion, how we be united unto Christ, not only by charity and obedience of religion, but also in substance, concludeth thus: *Sed de unione corporali satis*: "But we have treated enough of the corporal union." Yet afterward in divers sentences he useth these adverbs, (140) (for declaring of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament,) *naturaliter, substantialiter, secundum carnem, or carnaliter, corporaliter*, as most manifestly in the twenty-seventh chapter of the same book: *Corporaliter Filius per benedictionem mysticam nobis ut homo unitur, spiritualiter autem ut Deus*: "The Son of God is united unto us corporally, as man; and spiritually, as God."

Again, whereas he saith there: *Filium Dei natura Patri unitum corporaliter, substantialiterque accipientes, clarificamur, glorificamurque, &c.*: "We receiving the Son of God, united to the Father by nature, corporally, and substantially, are clarified, and glorified, or made glorious, being made partakers of the supreme nature." The like saying he hath, lib. 12. cap. 58. Now this being and remaining of Christ in us, and of us in Christ naturally and carnally, and this uniting of us and Christ together corporally, presupposeth a participation of his very body, (141) which body we cannot truly participate, but in this blessed sacrament. And therefore Christ is in the sacrament, naturally, carnally, corporally, that is to say, according to the truth of his nature, of his flesh, and of his body. (142) For were not he so in the sacrament, we could not be joined unto him, nor he and we could not be joined and united together corporally.

Divers other ancient fathers have used the like manner of speech: but none so much as Hilarius and Cyrillus: (143) whereby they understand, that Christ is present in the sacrament, as we have said, according to the truth of his substance, of his nature, of his flesh, of his body and blood.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Now at the last M. Harding draweth near the matter, and bringeth forth the old fathers with these very terms,

The 140th untruth. For here is not one word of presence in the sacrament.

The 141st untruth, joined with pernicious and dangerous doctrine.

The 142nd untruth. For Christ is likewise joined corporally to us by the sacrament of baptism.

The 143rd untruth. For they neither understand so, nor write so.

ib. in Johan. i. cap. 26. iv. 998, 999.]

ib. p. 1001.]

“really, substantially, corporally, carnally,” &c. and allegeth these few, as he saith, instead of many, having indeed no mo to bring. And, although these fathers speak not any one word, that is either denied by us, or anywise serveth to this purpose, yet he cunningly leadeth away the eyes of the ignorant, with the show of old names, and, like a juggler, changeth the natural countenance of things, and maketh them appear what him listeth.

For, whereas he hath taken in hand to prove, that Christ’s body is really and fleshly in the sacrament, he, finding his weakness and want therein, altereth the whole case, and proveth that Christ’s body is really, fleshly, and naturally within us. But this matter was not in question: and therefore needed no proof at all. Herein standeth the whole guile: and thus the simple is deceived. To this end M. Harding so useth the words and witness of these holy fathers, as Cacus the outlaw sometime used Hercules’ kine: because he cannot handsomely drive them forward, he taketh them by the tails, and pulleth them backward.

But, because M. Harding will hereof reason thus: “If Christ’s body by mean of the sacrament be really and carnally in us: it is likely the same body is also really, and carnally in the sacrament:” for answer hereunto, it shall be necessary, first to understand, how many ways Christ’s body dwelleth in our bodies, and thereby afterward to view M. Harding’s reason. Four special means there be, whereby Christ dwelleth in us, and we in him: his nativity, whereby he embraced us; our faith, whereby we embrace him; the sacrament of baptism; and the sacrament of his body. By every of these means, Christ’s body dwelleth in our bodies; and that not by way of imagination, or by figure, or phantasy: but really, naturally, substantially, fleshly and indeed.

And touching Christ’s nativity, St. Bernard saith: *Corpus Christi de meo est, et meum est: parvulus enim natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis*: “The body of Christ is of my body, and is now become mine: for a babe is born unto us: and a son is given unto us.” So saith St. Basil: *Participes facti sumus verbi, et sapientiæ per incarnationem*

Bernard. de  
Epiphani.  
serm. i. [1.  
804.]

Basilii in  
Apologia ad  
Cæsarienses.  
[lib. 84.]

*et sensibilem vitam. Carnem enim, et sanguinem appellavit* Σάρκα γὰρ  
καὶ αἷμα πᾶ-  
σαν τὴν μυ-  
στικὴν ἐπι-  
δημίαν ὠνό-  
μασε.  
*omnem illam mysticam conversationem* : “ We are partakers  
of the word, and of the wisdom,” which is Christ, “ by his  
incarnation, and by his sensible life. For flesh and blood  
he called all his mystical conversation<sup>66</sup>.” So saith Gre-  
gorius Nyssenus : *Corpus Christi est omnis humana natura,* In dictum  
apostoli,  
Tunc etiam  
ipse Filius  
subjicietur  
ei. [ii. 17.]  
Ephes. v. 30.  
*cui admixtus est* : “ His body is all mankind, whereunto  
he is mingled<sup>67</sup>.” And thus, Christ, being in the womb of  
the blessed virgin, became flesh of our flesh, and bone of  
our bones. And in that sense, St. John saith : *Verbum caro* John i. 14.  
*factum est, et habitavit in nobis* : “ The word was made flesh,  
and dwelt in us.” And therefore Christ calleth himself the John xv. 5.  
vine, and us the branches ; St. Paul calleth Christ the head, Ephes. iv. 15.  
Coloss. ii. 19.  
and us the body : which be names of most near and natural  
conjunction.

Touching faith, St. Paul saith : *Christus habitat in cordi-* Ephes. iii. 17.  
*bus nostris per fidem* : “ Christ by faith dwelleth in our  
hearts.” And St. Peter saith : “ Hereby we are made par- 2 Pet. i. 4.  
takers of the divine nature<sup>68</sup>.” So saith Ignatius : “ By his  
passion and resurrection,” that is, by our faith in the same, Ignatius ad  
Trallian.  
[Russel ii.  
182.]  
“ we are made the members of his body<sup>69</sup>.”

And, notwithstanding by these means Christ be in us,  
and we in him, yet forasmuch as both our life and faith is  
unperfect, as we daily desire God to amend our life, and to  
augment our faith, even so we daily pray, that this con-  
junction between Christ and us may be increased, that  
Christ may come nearer and nearer unto us, and that we  
may grow into a perfect man in him. And to this end Ephes. iv. 13.  
God hath specially appointed us his holy sacraments. And  
therefore St. Paul saith, concerning the sacrament of

<sup>66</sup> [Basil. in Apol. ad Cæsarienses. Τρώγομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ πίνομεν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, κοινῶν ἡμῶν, διὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς ζωῆς, τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς σοφίας.] σάρκα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐπιδημίαν ὠνόμασε. . . .

<sup>67</sup> [Gregor. Nyssen. in dict. Apostol. Tunc etiam. Σῶμα δὲ αὐτοῦ, καθὼς εἶρηται πολλάκις, πᾶσα ἡ ἀνθρώπινη φύσις, ἣ κατεμίχθη.]

JEWELL, VOL. II.

<sup>68</sup> [2 Pet. i. 4. “. . . that by these ye might be partakers,” &c. ; where the word “ these ” refers to the “ exceeding great and precious promises,” not to faith.]

<sup>69</sup> [Ignatius ad Trallianos (the larger edition). Ὑμᾶς δὲ παρακαλεῖ Χριστὸς εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀφθαρσίαν διὰ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, ὄντας μελη αὐτοῦ. Jewel’s punctuation differs from that adopted in modern editions.]



Rom. vi. 5. baptism : " They that are baptized, are planted into Christ : Galat. lii. 27. —they have put Christ upon them :—by one spirit, 1 Cor. xii. 13. they are baptized into one body." St. Augustine saith :

De Con. dist. 4. Ad hoc. *Ad hoc baptismus valet, ut baptizati Christo incorporentur :* " This is the use of baptism, that they that be baptized, may be incorporate into Christ." Which word, *incorporari*, he useth also in sundry other places, speaking of baptism.

In this respect Dionysius saith : *Baptizati transimus in Deum :* " Being baptized, we are turned into God<sup>69</sup>." And Pachymeres saith ; " We are graft into Christ, and made one nature with him by holy baptism."

De Eccles. Hierar. cap. 1.

Pachymeres in Dionys. cap. 4. [p. 161.]

σύμφυτοι  
γεγονότες  
αὐτῷ διὰ  
τοῦ θεοῦ  
βαπτίσμα-  
τος.

Bonavent. in 4. sent. dist. 1. quæ. 3.

Thus much may suffice to descry M. Harding's slender argument. For notwithstanding by the sacrament of baptism Christ be naturally in us, yet may not he therefore conclude, that Christ is naturally in the sacrament of baptism. Bonaventura saith well : *Non est aliquo modo dicendum, quod gratia contineatur in sacramentis essentialiter, tanquam aqua in vase.....Hoc enim dicere, est erroneum. Sed dicuntur continere gratiam, quia eam significant :* " We may not in any wise say, that the grace of God is contained in the sacraments, as water in a vessel. For so to say, it were an error. But they are said to contain God's grace, because they signify God's grace."

But Chrysostom saith : " Christ mingleth his body with our bodies, and driveth us, as it were, into one lump of dough with himself." This place would have stood M. Harding in better stead, if Chrysostom had said, Christ mingleth his body with the sacrament, and driveth himself and it into one lump. For this is it, that should be proved. Neither will M. Harding say, that either Christ mingleth himself with us, or we are made one lump of dough with him simply and according to the letter, and without figure. Whereof he seeth, it must needs follow, that much less is Christ's body in the sacrament, according to that he would have the letter to sound, plainly, simply, or, as he saith, really and fleshly, and without figure. It is a vehement, and a hot kind of speech, such as Chrysostom was most

<sup>69</sup> [The Editor has not succeeded in finding these words, but the substance is contained in more passages than one.]

delighted with, far passing the common sense and course of truth: and therefore he himself thought it necessary to correct and to qualify the rigour of the same, by these words, *ut ita dicam*, which is, “as it were,” or “if I may be bold so to say.” In such phrase of talk Anacletus saith:

*In oleo* [i. *sancto chrismati*] *virtus Spiritus Sancti invisibilis permista est*: “The invisible power of the Holy Ghost is mingled with the oil.” And Alexander saith: *In sacramentorum oblationibus.....passio Domini miscenda est*:

“The passion of Christ must be mingled with the oblations of the sacraments.” So saith Gregorius Nyssenus of St. Stephen: *Gratia Sancti Spiritus permixtus, et contemplatus, per illum sublatus, et erectus est ad contemplationem Dei*:

“St. Stephen, being mingled and tempered with the grace of the Holy Ghost, was by him advanced, and taken up to the sight of God<sup>69</sup>.” These and other such like sayings of holy fathers, may not be hardly pressed according to the sound of the letter: but rather must be gently expounded and qualified, according to the sense and meaning of the writer.

Chrysostom’s purpose was, by this word *massa*, which in this place signifieth a lump of dough, to make resemblance unto these words of St. Paul, “We are one loaf, and one body;” and, by such majesty of speech, the more to quicken and lift up our spirits, and to cause us thereby the better to consider that wonderful conjunction and knitting that is between Christ and us, whereby either is in other, he in us, and we in him: and that even in one person: in such sort as he is neither in the angels, nor in the arch-angels, nor in any other power in heaven. And therefore St. Paul saith: “The angels he took not, but he took the seed of Abraham.” But this wonderful conjunction, and, as Chrysostom calleth it, this mixture is wrought, not only in the holy mysteries, but also in the sacrament of baptism. And in that sense Leo saith: *Susceptus a Christo Christumque suscipiens, non est idem post lavacrum, qui ante*

† Anaclet. epist. 2. [Crabb. i. 59.]

† Inter De-eret. Alex. 1. [Crabb. i. 73.]

Gregor. Nyssen. de S. Stephano. [iii. 304.]

1 Cor. x. 17

Heb. ii. 16.

Leo. sermo. 14. De Pas- sione. [iii. 254.]

<sup>69</sup> [Gregor. Nyssen. de S. Stephano; . . . ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος χάριν ἀνακραθεῖς δι’ ἐκέ-

νου, ἐψώθη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ κατα- νόησιν.]

*baptismum fuit: sed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi:*  
 “A man received of Christ, and receiving Christ (in baptism) is not the same after baptism, that he was before: but the body of him that is regenerate, is made the flesh of him that was crucified.” Likewise St. Augustine saith:

August. in  
 Johan. tract.  
 21. [iii. pt. 2.  
 459.]

*Ergo gratulemur, et agamus gratias, non solum nos Christianos factos esse, sed etiam Christum. Intelligitis, fratres, gratiam Dei super nos: capitis: admiramini: gaudete: Christus facti sumus. Si enim ille caput est, et nos membra, totus ille homo, et nos:* “Let us rejoice and give thanks, that we are not only made Christian men, but also made Christ. Brethren, ye understand the grace of God, that is upon us: ye understand it: ye wonder at it: rejoice ye: we are made Christ. For, if he be the head, and we the members, both he and we are one whole man.”

Now, gentle reader, as Leo saith, “our bodies by baptism are made Christ’s flesh;” as St. Augustine saith, “we are made Christ himself;” and as Gregory Nyssen saith, “St. Stephen was tempered and mingled with the grace of the Holy Ghost;” even so, and in the same sense Chrysostom saith, We are made one lump of dough with Christ, and Christ hath tempered and mingled himself with us. These things considered, the force of M. Harding’s reason must needs fail. Certainly Primasius saith: “As the breaking of this bread is the partaking of the body of our Lord, even so the bread of idols is the partaking of devils.” And addeth further: *Si de eodem pane manducamus, quo idololatæ, unum cum illis corpus efficitur:* “If we eat of one bread with idolaters, we are made one body with them.”

Primasius in  
 1 Cor. x.  
 [p. 82.]

These other three authorities of Hilary, Gregory Nyssen and Cyril, may well be discharged with one answer: saving that Gregory Nyssen an old writer, newly set abroad with sundry corruptions, is brought in only to make a show, not speaking any one word, neither of Christ’s natural dwelling in us, nor of the sacrament. His purpose was only to speak of Christ’s birth, and of that body which he received of the blessed virgin, which was not a shadow, or a phantasy, but real, fleshly, and indeed. And in like manner of speech St. Hierom saith: *Triticum, de quo panis*

Gregorius  
 Nyssenus.

Hieronym. in  
 Esa. lxii. [iii.  
 462.]



*caelestis efficitur, illud est, de quo loquitur Dominus, Caro mea vere est cibus*: “The wheat, whereof the heavenly bread is made, is that, of which our Lord saith, My flesh is meat indeed.” And to this purpose Amphilochius saith, as he is alleged by Cyrillus: *Nisi Christus natus fuisset carnaliter, tu natus non fuisses spiritualiter*: “Unless Christ had been born carnally, thou hadst not been born spiritually<sup>70</sup>.” Touching Gregorius Nyssenus, as he saith, “Christ is made our bread,” so he saith likewise in the same place: *Quicquid assumenti conveniens sit, in id mutatur.....Fit perfectioribus solidus cibus,.....inferioribus olus, infantibus lac*: “Whatsoever thing is convenient for the receiver, into the same thing Christ turneth himself. He becometh strong meat unto the perfect: herbs unto the weaker: and milk unto children<sup>71</sup>.” And as Christ is herbs or milk, even so, and none otherwise, he is bread or flesh. Neither will this ancient father agree unto M. Harding’s error, That we cannot receive Christ’s body, but only in the sacrament. For even in the same place he holdeth the contrary. His words be these: *Qui abundanter ex apostolicis fontibus biberit,.....is jam totum recepit Christum*: “Whoso hath abundantly drunken of the apostles’ springs, hath already received whole Christ<sup>72</sup>.” The argument, that M. Harding gathereth hereof, must needs stand thus: “Christ was born of the virgin: ergo, his body is really and fleshly in the sacrament.” This conclusion is

Cyrrillus in  
Apologetico.  
[vi. 163.]

Gregorius  
Nyssen. in  
Vita Mosis.  
[i. 215.]

Ibidem.  
[i. 214.]

<sup>70</sup> [The Apologeticus of St. Cyril, to which Jewel here refers, is that “pro xii. Capitibus adv. Oriental. Episcopos;” not that which is printed in Aubert’s edition after the treatise Contra Object. Theod.]

<sup>71</sup> [Greg. Nys. (ante, p. 366.). . τῷ πολυειδί τῆς ποιότητος κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἐσθιόντων ἐπιτηδειότητος συναλλάσσωσιν τὴν δύναμιν οἶδε γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἄρτος εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ γάλα γίνεσθαι, καὶ κρέας, καὶ λάχανον, καὶ οἷα περ ἂν ἢ τῶν προσφερομένων καταλλήλων τε καὶ καταθύμων ὡς διδάσκει ὁ τὴν τοιαύτην τοῖς αὐτοῦ παρατιθεῖς ἡμῖν τράπεζαν, Παῦλος

ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος, ὁ τοῖς τελειοτέροις στερροτέραν τε καὶ κρεώδη βρῶσιν τὸν λόγον ποιῶν, καὶ λάχανον τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις, καὶ γάλα τοῖς ἠπιάζουσι. The edition of Gregor. Nyssen. to which Jewel alludes, as “newly set abroad with sundry corruptions,” was probably that of Basle. 1562.]

<sup>72</sup> [Gregor. Nyssen. Ὁ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καταλιπὼν νεκρὸν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ γλυκανθεῖς, καὶ ταῖς ἀποστολικαῖς ἐντρύφισις πηγαῖς, ὑπὸ τε τῆ σκιᾷ τῶν φοινίκων ἀναπανσάμενος, οὗτος ἤδη καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ δεκτικὸς γίνεται.]

but childish: yet, if he conclude not thus, he concludeth nothing.

Hilarius de  
Trinit. lib. 8.  
[p. 955.]

The greatest weight of this matter lieth upon two old fathers, Cyril and Hilary. For Hilary saith: "We receive Christ," *vere sub mysterio*, "verily under a mystery;" and either of them useth these terms, "carnally, corporally, naturally:" and that not once or twice, but in sundry places. The authorities be great: the words be plain. But, God be thanked, these places be common, and not unknown. And for answer of the same, once again remember, good Christian reader, that, notwithstanding M. Harding have found in these two fathers, that Christ's body is corporally and naturally in us, yet hath he not hitherto found that thing that he sought for, neither in these fathers, nor in any other: that is, that Christ's body is naturally or corporally in the sacrament. Wherefore I much marvel, that either he would avouch this matter so strongly, finding himself so weak, or else thus vainly dally, and shew one thing for another, and deceive his reader.

That we verily and undoubtedly receive Christ's body in the sacrament, it is neither denied, nor in question.

Augustin. in  
Psalm. ciii.  
[serm. 3. iv.  
1160.]

St. Augustine saith: *Panis est cordis:.....intus esuri: intus siti*: "It is the bread of the heart: hunger thou within: thirst thou within." And the thing, that is inwardly received in faith, and in spirit, is received verily and indeed. St. Bernard meant no falsehood when he said:

Bernard.  
super Missus  
est Gabriel.  
serm. 3. [1.  
755.]

*Lavemur in sanguine ejus*: "Let us be washed in the blood of Christ." Notwithstanding he meant not, that our bodies really, and indeed should be washed with the blood of Christ. And, whereas St. Augustine saith: *Quid parades dentem et ventrem? Crede, et manducasti*: "What preparest thou thy tooth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten;" we may not think that he meant any fantastical or false eating: notwithstanding he utterly refuseth, in this behalf, both the teeth and the belly, and all other office of the body. And therefore Cyrillus saith: *Sacramentum nostrum hominis manducationem non asserit, mentes credentium ad crassas cogitationes irreligiose introducens*:

August. in  
Johan. cap. 6.  
tract. 25.  
[iii. pt. 2.  
489.]

Cyrillus ad  
Objectiones  
Theodreti.  
[ed. Basil.  
1546, vol. iv.  
215.]

“Our sacrament teacheth us not to eat a man,” with the material mouth of our body, “in ungodly sort leading the minds of the faithful unto gross cogitations<sup>73</sup>.” It is a holy mystery, and a heavenly action, forcing our minds up into heaven, and there teaching us to eat the body of Christ, and to drink his blood: not outwardly by the service of our bodies: but inwardly by our faith, and that verily and indeed. The truth hereof standeth not in any real, or corporal presence, but, as Hilarius saith, in a mystery, which is, in a sacrament: whereby, outwardly and unto our senses, we express that thing in our bodies, that must be wrought inwardly in our minds. For this cause Dionysius saith: *Regeneratio naturali illa purgatione, quæ fit per aquam, corporali quodam modo denuntiat animæ purgationem*: “Our regeneration, which we have in baptism, by that natural purgation, that is wrought by water, in a certain bodily sort teacheth us the purgation of the mind.” Thus are we truly washed with Christ’s blood in the holy mystery of baptism: thus are we truly and indeed fed with Christ’s body in the holy mystery of his supper. And, albeit Christ be in neither of these mysteries in bodily and fleshly presence, yet doth not that thing any wise hinder, either the substance of the holy mystery, or the truth of our receiving. And for that cause St. Augustine saith: *Non fallit nos apostolus, qui dicit, Christum habitare in cordibus nostris per fidem. In te est, quia ipsa fides in te est*: “The apostle deceiveth us not in saying, that Christ dwelleth in our hearts by faith. He is in thee,” not really or bodily, but “because his faith is within thee<sup>74</sup>.” M. Harding will reply: This cannot suffice. For Cyril and Hilary say, “That Christ, not only by faith, but also corporally, carnally, and naturally is within us.” These words in their own rigour, without some gentle construction, seem very hard. Even so Hilarius in the same book of the Trinity, saith: “That we are one with God the

Dionys. Eccles. Hierar. cap. 2. [p. 120.]

σωματικώτερον αὐτῷ διαγγέλλει.

Augustin. de Verbis Apostoli, serm. 16. [v. 764.]

Hilarius, lib. 8. de Trinit. [952.]

<sup>73</sup> [Cyrill. ad Object. Theodoret. See vol. i. p. 243, note 78.]

<sup>74</sup> [Augustin. de Verb. Apostol. “Ecce ubi est. In te est, quia et

“fides ipsa in te ipso est. An fallit nos apostolus, qui dicit habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus nostris?”]



Non tantum  
adoptione,  
aut consen-  
su, sed etiam  
natura.

Father, and the Son, not only by adoption or consent of mind, but also by nature<sup>75</sup>." Which saying, according to the sound of the letter, cannot be true. Therefore the fathers have been fain to expound and to mollify such violent and excessive kinds of speech. Chrysostom where he saith: "We are made one lump with Christ<sup>76</sup>," addeth, as it is said before, his correction withal, *ut ita dicam*, "as it were," or, "if I may use such manner of speech."

Chrysost. in  
Matt. hom.  
83. [vii. 788.]

Augustin. de  
Verbis Do-  
mini, secun-  
Johan. serm.  
61. [v. 694.]

In like manner saith St. Augustine: *Qui in Christum credit, credendo in Christum venit, et in eum Christus, et quodammodo unitur in eum, et membrum in corpore ejus efficitur*: "He that believeth in Christ, by believing cometh into Christ, and Christ into him, and, after a certain manner, is united unto him, and made a member in his body." "In a manner," he saith, but not according to the force of the letter. Again he expoundeth this word, *corporaliter*, in this wise, *Non umbraliter.....sed vere, et solide*: "Not as in a shadow, but truly, and perfectly<sup>77</sup>."

Augustin. in  
Psalm. lxxvii.  
[iv. 677.]

Cyrrillus in  
Apologetico,  
ad Anathem.  
3. [vi. 167.]

So Cyrillus expoundeth his own meaning: *Naturalis unio non aliud est, quam vera. Natura sumus filii iræ,.....id est, vere*: "Natural union is nothing else, but a true union. We are by nature the children of anger, that is, we are indeed and truly the children of anger<sup>78</sup>." In which

Ephes. iii. 6.  
συσσωμα.

sense St. Paul saith: *Gentes factæ sunt cohæredes, et concorporales, et participes promissionis in Christo Jesu*: "The heathens are become coinheritors, concorporal, and partakers of the promise in Christ Jesu." Thus much of these words "corporally, naturally," &c. Whereby is meant

<sup>75</sup> [Hilarius lib. 8. de Trinitate. Jewel probably quoted the words in the margin from memory. The only passage which the Editor has found in the whole eighth book, approaching to the words, is as follows: "Qui per rem eandem unum sunt, natura etiam unum sunt, non tantum voluntate."]

<sup>76</sup> [Chrysost. in Matt. hom. 83. Τουτῶ ἀναφυρόμεθα. Jewel's quotation is from the Latin edition, republished 1588, tom. ii. p. 570.]

<sup>77</sup> [Augustin. in Psal. lxxvii.

"In ipso quippe inhabitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis, non umbraliter, tanquam in templo a rege Salomone facto, sed corporaliter, id est, solide et veraciter."]

<sup>78</sup> [Cyrill. Alex. Apol. adv. Oriental. Εἰ δὲ δὴ λέγοιμεν φυσικὴν τὴν ἔνωσιν, τὴν ἀληθῆ φαιμέν, ἔθος ἐχούσης τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς οὕτω κεχρηῆσθαι τῇ λέξει γράφει γὰρ πού τισιν ὁ θεοπέσιος Παῦλος, Καὶ ἡμεν τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς . . . ἀλλὰ τὸ, φύσει, δηλοῖ τὸ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν.]

a full perfect spiritual conjunction, excluding all manner of imagination or phantasy: not a gross and fleshly being of Christ's body in our bodies, according to the appearance of the letter. Otherwise there must needs follow this great inconvenience, that our bodies must be in like manner corporally, naturally, and fleshly in Christ's body. For Hilarius saith: *Nos quoque in eo sumus naturaliter*: "We also are naturally in him." And Cyrillus, as he saith: "Christ is corporally in us:" so he saith: "We are corporally in Christ."

Hilarius de Trinit. lib. 8. [956.]

Cyril. in Johan. lib. 10. cap. 13. [iv. 862. 864.]

Further, that we be thus in Christ, and Christ in us, requireth not any corporal or local being, as in things natural. We are in Christ sitting in heaven: and Christ sitting in heaven is here in us, not by a natural, but by a spiritual mean of being. St. Augustine saith: *Postquam ex mortuis resurrexit, et ascendit ad Patrem, est in nobis per Spiritum*: "After that Christ is risen from the dead, and ascended unto his Father, he is in us by his Spirit<sup>78</sup>." Which saying agreeth well with these words of St. Basil:

August. de Trinit. lib. 6.

*Paulus ait, Si quis Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus. Deinde addit, Si tamen Christus sit in vobis: ac si diceret, Si Spiritus Christi sit in vobis*: "St. Paul saith:

Basilii de Sancto Baptismo. [ii. 584.]

'If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is not of him.' He addeth further these words: 'If Christ be in you:' which is as much as if he had said, 'If the Spirit of Christ be within you<sup>79</sup>.' " So likewise St. Augustine imagineth Christ to say unto Mary Magdalene: *Ascendam ad*

Εἰ δὲ Χριστός ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀντὶ τοῦ λέγειν, εἰ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν ὑμῖν.

*Patrem meum: tum tange me*: "I will ascend up unto my Father: then touch thou me:" meaning thereby, that distance of place cannot hinder spiritual touching. Again St. Augustine imagineth Christ thus to say unto the people: *Qui venit ad me, incorporatur mihi*: "He that cometh unto me, is incorporate into me." He addeth of his own: *Veniamus ad eum: intremus ad eum: incorporemur ei*: "Let us go unto him: let us enter unto him: let us be incorporate into

Augustin. Sermon. de Tempore, 155. [v. 1020.]

August. in Johan. tract. 25. [iii. pt. 2. 493. 494.]

<sup>78</sup> [There is some mistake in Jewel's reference.]

<sup>79</sup> [This treatise of St. Basil's, anciently called "De Sancto Baptismo," or as the Bened. entitle

it, "De Spiritu Sancto," is considered by the Benedict. spurious, and placed in the appendix accordingly.]

him." Thus, notwithstanding Christ were in heaven, and distant in place, yet was he present in St. Paul: for so <sup>2 Cor. xlii. 3.</sup> St. Paul saith, "Will ye have a trial of Christ, that speaketh within me?" This conjunction is spiritual, and therefore needeth not, neither circumstance of place, nor corporal presence. Likewise St. Cyprian saith: *Nostra et Christi conjunctio, nec miscet personas, nec unit substantias: sed affectus consociat, et confœderat voluntates*: "The conjunction that is between Christ and us, neither doth mingle persons, nor unite substances: but it doth knit our affects together, and join our wills<sup>80</sup>." Yet notwithstanding, the same conjunction, because it is spiritual, true, full, and perfect, therefore is expressed of these holy fathers by this term, "corporal," which removeth all manner light and accidental joining; and "natural," whereby all manner imagination or phantasy, and conjunction only of will and consent is excluded: not that Christ's body is corporally or naturally in our body, as is before said: no more than our bodies are corporally or naturally in Christ's body: but that we have life in us, and are become immortal, because by faith and spirit, we are partakers of the natural body of Christ. M. Harding saith: We are thus joined unto Christ, and have him corporally within us, only by receiving the sacrament, and by none other means. This is utterly untrue, as it is already proved, by the authorities of St. Augustine, St. Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Leo, Ignatius, Bernard, and other holy fathers: neither doth either Cyrillus or Hilary so avouch it. Certainly, neither have they all Christ dwelling in them, that receive the sacrament: nor are they all void of Christ, that never received the sacrament. Besides the untruth hereof, this doctrine were also many ways very uncomfortable. For what may the godly father think of his child, that, being baptized, departeth this life, without receiving the sacrament of Christ's body? By M. Harding's construction, he must needs think, his child is damned: for that it had no natural participation of Christ's flesh, without which there is

Cyprian. de  
Coena Dom.  
[App. cxi.]

<sup>80</sup> [This is not St. Cyprian's, Arnoldus, "De Cardinalibus Ope-  
but one of the twelve treatises by "ribus Christi."]



no salvation : which participation, as M. Harding assureth us, is had by none other means, but only by receiving of the sacrament. Yet St. Chrysostom saith : “ In the sacrament of baptism we are made flesh of Christ’s flesh, and bone of his bones<sup>81</sup>.”

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Ephes. hom. 20. [xl. 147.]

For better trial hereof, understand thou, gentle reader, that both Cyrillus and Hilarius, in those places, dispute against the Arians, whose error was this, that God the Father and the Son are one, not by nature, but only by will and consent. Against them Hilarius reasoned thus :

Christ is as really joined unto the Father, as unto us :

But Christ is joined unto us by nature :

Therefore Christ is joined to God the Father by nature.

The minor, that is, “ That Christ is joined unto us by nature,” he proveth thus : “ We are joined unto Christ by faith,” that is, “ by the nature of one faith, and that is to say, naturally.” Likewise he saith : “ We are joined unto Christ by the regeneration of one nature.” And again : “ We are joined to Christ by the nature of one baptism<sup>82</sup>.” Hereof he concludeth : “ Therefore are we naturally joined unto him.” Thus it appeareth by St. Hilary, we may have Christ naturally within us, by three other sundry means : and therefore not only, as M. Harding holdeth, by receiving of the sacrament. And like as Christ is naturally, corporally, and carnally in us by faith, by regeneration, and by baptism : even so, and none otherwise, he is in us by the sacrament of his body. In which holy mystery Christ is joined unto us corporally, as being man, because we are fed, indeed and verily, with his flesh : and spiritually is joined to us, as God.

Hilar. de Trinit. lib. 8. [95r.]

Per naturam unius fidei, id est, naturaliter.

Ejusdem regeneratione naturæ.

Per naturam ejusdem baptismi.

Thus much unto Cyrillus and Hilarius, in whom M. Harding is not yet able to find, that Christ’s body is

<sup>81</sup> [Chrysost. in Epist. ad Ephes. See the original in vol. i. p. 208.]

<sup>82</sup> [Hil. de Trinit. p. 951. “ Si ergo per fidem, per unius fidei naturam unum omnes erant, quomodo non naturalem in his intelligis unitatem, qui per naturam unius fidei unum sint.” Ibid. “. . . cessat in his assensus

“ unitas, qui unum sunt in ejusdem regeneratione naturæ.” p.

952. “ Quid ergo hic animorum concordia faciet, cum per id unum sint, quod uno Christo per naturam unius baptismi induantur ?”

The conclusion, “ Therefore are we naturally joined to him,” is in p. 955. &c.]

either corporally received into our bodies : or corporally present in the sacrament : which was the only thing that M. Harding hath here taken in hand, and should have proved : and now not having proved that, notwithstanding all this great ado, hath proved nothing.

But he saith, " It had been more convenient, rather modestly to have interpreted these words, than thus utterly to have denied them." Verily, perhaps it were so for him, that can make somewhat of nothing ; and devise a commentary without a text ; and imagine constructions, as M. Harding doth, of words that were never spoken.

Hereof M. Harding guesseth thus :

" These fathers say, That Christ is naturally and corporally in us : *ergo*, it is likely their meaning was, that Christ is naturally and corporally present in the sacrament." This reason is very simple ; for notwithstanding Christ were naturally within our bodies, yet the like being in the sacrament would not follow. But this argument would conclude the contrary, and hold better, in this wise :

Christ's body is not naturally, or corporally present within us :

Therefore much less it is corporally present in the sacrament.

M. HARDING : *Eleventh Division.*

All these were very young fathers.

And the catholic fathers, that sithence the time of Berengarius have written in defence of the truth in this point, using these terms sometimes for excluding of metaphors, allegories, figures and significations only, whereby the sacramentaries would defraud faithful people of the truth of Christ's precious body in this sacrament ; do not thereby mean, that the manner, mean, or way of Christ's presence, dwelling, union, and conjunction with us, and of us with him, is therefore natural, substantial, corporal or carnal : but they and all other catholic men confess the contrary, that it is far higher, and worthier, supernatural, supersubstantial, invisible, unspeakable, special and proper to this sacrament, true, real, and indeed notwithstanding : and not only tropical, symbolical, metaphorical, allegorical ; not spiritual only, and yet spiritual ; not figurative or significative only. And likewise concerning the manner of the presence and being of that body and blood in the sacrament, they and we acknowledge and confess, that it is not local, circumscriptive, diffinitive, or subjective, or natural : but such, as is known to God only.

## THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

These doctors lived within these two or three hundred years, and are such, as M. Harding thought not worth the naming. Their doctrine in these cases is very unsavory and without comfort. Generally, they hold that Christ's body remaineth no longer in our bodies, but only until the forms of the bread and wine begin to alter. Some others say, that as soon as our teeth touch the bread, straightways Christ's body is taken up into heaven. The words be these: *Certum est, quod quam cito species dentibus teruntur, tam cito in cælum rapitur corpus Christi.* This doctrine notwithstanding, they say, That Christ is naturally and corporally within us. Here a man may say unto M. Harding, as he did before to the Arian heretic: "What troweth M. Harding, or his new doctors, that Christ cometh to us from heaven, and by and by forsaketh us? Or, that we eat Christ, and yet receive him not? Or, that we receive Christ, and yet have him not? Or, that Christ is corporally within us, and yet entereth not? Is this Christ's natural being in us? Is this the virtue of the mystical benediction? Is this the meaning of these holy fathers? Or troweth M. Harding, that, holding and maintaining such absurdities, his reader, be he never so simple, will believe him?"

De Con. dist.  
2. Tribus gradibus. In Glossa.

The absurdities of M. Harding's doctrine.

Last of all, to declare the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, he saith, it is not local, not circumscriptive, not diffinitive, not subjective. By these terms his reader may rather wonder at his strange divinity and eloquence, than well conjecture what he meaneth. And as it appeareth, he himself is not yet able to conceive his own meaning. For thus he saith: "This presence is known to God only." Then it followeth, "M. Harding knoweth it not." And so this Article at last is concluded with an "ignoramus." Howbeit, the old learned fathers never left us in such doubts. Emissenus saith, as it is before alleged: *Præsens est in gratia*: "Christ is present by his grace." St. Augustine saith, *Est in nobis per Spiritum*: "Christ is in us by his Spirit." Likewise again he saith, *Non hoc corpus,*

De Con. dist.  
2. Quia corpus.  
Augustin. de Trinit.  
Augustin. in Psal. xcviij.  
[iv. 1066.]



*quod videtis, manducaturi estis..... : sacramentum aliquod vobis trado [l. commendavi] : "Ye shall not eat this body, that ye see. It is a certain sacrament, that I deliver you."* Thus, the holy fathers say, Christ is present : not corporally, carnally, naturally : but, as in a sacrament, by his Spirit, and by his grace.

# OF BEING IN MANY PLACES.

## THE SIXTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

**O**R that Christ's body is, or may be in a thousand places, or mo at one time.

M. HARDING: *First Division.*

(144) Among the miracles of this blessed sacrament, one is, that one and the same body may be in many places at once, to wit, under all consecrated hosts. As for God, it is agreeable to his Godhead to be every where, *simpliciter et proprie*: but as for a creature, to be but in one place only. But as for the body of Christ, (145) it is after a manner between both. For whereas it is a creature, it ought not to be made equal with the Creator in this behalf, that it be every where. But, whereas it is united to the Godhead, herein it ought to excel other bodies, so as it may in one (146) time be in mo places under this holy sacrament. For the uniting of Christ's natural body unto the almighty Godhead, duly considered, bringeth a true Christian man in respect of the same, to forsake reason, and to lean to faith, to put apart all doubts and discourses of human understanding, and to rest in reverent simplicity of belief.

Thereby through the Holy Ghost persuaded, he knoweth, that although the body of Christ be natural, and human indeed, yet, through the union and conjunction, many things be possible to the same now, that to all other bodies be impossible: as to walk upon waters, to vanish away out of sight, to be transfigured, and made bright as the sun, to ascend up through the clouds: and after it became immortal, death being conquered, to rise up again out of the grave, and to enter through doors fast shut. Through the

The 144th untruth. For none of the ancient fathers ever knew this miracle.

The 145th untruth. And a doctrine hitherto seldom heard of.

The 146th untruth. For, notwithstanding the body of Christ be joined with the Godhead, yet it remaineth still a creature.

Matt. xiv.  
Luke xxiv.  
Matt. xvii.  
Luke xxiv.  
Acts i.  
Matt. xxviii.  
John xx.

The 147th  
untruth. For  
Christ utter-  
eth no such  
word : and  
faith without  
God's word  
is no faith.

same faith, he believeth, and acknowledgeth, that (147) accord-  
ing unto his word, by his power it is made present in the blessed  
sacrament of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, where-  
soever the same is duly consecrated, according unto his institu-  
tion in his holy supper : and that not after a gross, or carnal  
manner, but spiritually, and supernaturally, and yet substantially :  
not by local, but by substantial presence ; not by manner of quan-  
tity, or filling of a place, or by changing of place, or by leaving  
his sitting on the right hand of the Father, but in such a manner,  
as God only knoweth, and yet doth us to understand by faith the  
truth of his very presence, far passing all man's capacity to  
comprehend the manner how.

Whereas some against this point of belief do allege the article  
of Christ's ascension, and of his being in heaven at the right  
hand of God the Father, bringing certain texts of the scriptures  
pertaining to the same, and testimonies of ancient doctors sig-  
nifying Christ's absence from the earth : it may be rightly un-  
derstood, that he is verily both in heaven at the right hand of  
his Father, in his visible and corporal form, very God and man,  
after which manner he is there, and not here ; and also in the  
sacrament invisibly, and spiritually, both God and man in a mys-  
tery : so as the granting of the one may stand without denial of  
the other, no contradiction found in these beings, but only a dis-  
tinction in the way and manner of being.

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Having somewhat largely answered the five first Articles,  
wherein seemed to lie the greatest weight, I trust, I may  
now the more slightly pass over the rest. Herein M. Hard-  
ing seemeth in words thoroughly to yield unto us without  
exception. For whereas the question is moved of the  
being of Christ's body in a thousand places, or mo, his  
answer is, that Christ's body is local only in one place, and  
so cannot be in a thousand places, but only in one place at  
one time. Howbeit, thus saying, he swerveth much from  
the old fathers, whose words, as it shall appear, sound far  
otherwise.

Further, for the better understanding hereof, it shall  
behave thee, gentle reader, to understand, that, touching  
the body of Christ, there have been sundry great errors  
raised and maintained in the church of old time, and that  
not only by heretics, but also by holy learned fathers.  
The Manichees held, that Christ had only a fantastical  
body, without any material flesh, blood, or bone, in ap-



pearance and in sight somewhat, but in very deed, and in substance, nothing. Eutyches held, that Christ's body, after his incarnation, was made equal with his divinity: an error much like unto this, that is now maintained by M. Harding. St. Hilary held, that Christ received no flesh of the blessed virgin<sup>83</sup>, but brought the same from heaven: and, that his body was impassible, and felt no more grief, when it was stricken, than water, fire, or air, when it is divided with a knife<sup>84</sup>. Theodoretus saith, that the heretics called *Helcesæi* held, that there be sundry Christs, two at the least: the one dwelling in heaven above: the other in the world here beneath. All these, and other such like errors and heresies grew only of admiration, and reverence towards Christ's divine nature: and the authors and maintainers of the same, leaving reason, according to M. Harding's counsel, and cleaving wholly to their imagination, which they called faith, were far deceived.

Augustin. ad Quodvult-Deum.  
Leo. epist. 97. [i. 708.]  
Epist. Flavianus ad Leonem. [i. 474.]  
Hilar. de Trinitate, lib. 10. [pp. 1046. 1050.]  
Theodoret. de Fabulis Hæreticorum, lib. 2. [tom. iv. 221.]  
August. de Mirab. Sacr. Script. tom. iii. [705.]  
Nazianzen.

But M. Harding layeth the foundation hereof upon a miracle: whereof notwithstanding, touching this gross and fleshly presence, he hath no manner warrant, neither in the scriptures, nor in any of the holy fathers. As for that is alleged of Chrysostom and Basil, it is to a far other purpose, as shall appear, and may soon be answered. St. Augustine wrote three special books, namely of the miracles of the Old and New Testament<sup>85</sup>: and Gregory Nazianzen wrote in like sort of the same: yet did neither of them both ever make mention of this miracle. And albeit this kind of reasoning, *ab autoritate negative*, in such cases imply no great necessity, yet must it needs be thought either great negligence, or great forgetfulness, writing purposely and namely of miracles, to leave out untouched

<sup>83</sup> [Hilar. de Trinitate, p. 1046. The passage alluded to seems to be that which Erasmus interpreted as Jewel has done, and which the Benedict. edd. maintain does not bear that meaning. The Bened. assert that Erasmus introduced the words "ex se," which are not found in the MSS. "Non enim (ex se) corpori Maria originem dedit, licet ad incrementa pas-

"tumque corporis omne quod sexus sui est naturale contulerit." See the note in the Bened. edit.]

<sup>84</sup> [Ibid. p. 1050 D. The Bened. maintain that Hilary did not mean this. In the old editions, the words "caute lege" are printed in the margin.]

<sup>85</sup> [Not genuine.—Erasmus.]

Augustin. de  
Trinitat. lib.  
3. cap. 10.  
[viii. 803.]

the greatest miracle. Certainly, St. Augustine hereof writeth thus: *Quia hæc hominibus nota sunt, quia per homines fiunt, honorem, tanquam religiosa, habere possunt: stuporem, tanquam mira, non possunt*: "These things," speaking of the sacrament of Christ's body, "because they are known unto men, and by men are wrought, may have honour, as things appointed to religion: but wonder, as things marvellous, they cannot have." Thus St. Augustine overthroweth M. Harding's whole foundation: and saith, that in his great miracle there is no wonder or miracle at all.

Gerson con-  
tra Flo-  
retum. [lib.  
4. cxvi. col.  
3.]

He saith further, "It is agreeable to the Godhead, to be every where, *simpliciter*, and *proprie*: for a creature, it is agreeable to be in one place. But as for the body of Christ," he saith, "it is after a manner between both." This is the whole countenance of this matter. And this whole place M. Harding hath borrowed even word by word out of Gerson<sup>86</sup>. But whereas he addeth, That the body of Christ, as it is united unto the Godhead, may be at one

<sup>86</sup> [The "Liber Floreti" (particularly in the edition which contains Gerson's Commentary upon it) is a very curious book, giving in monkish hexameters a condensed account of the doctrine and discipline of the church in the eleventh century. It is divided into six parts, and the following introductory lines sufficiently describe their distribution and contents:

"Dogma sacræ fidei ponit prius ordo  
libelli:  
Postea præcepta ponuntur parte se-  
cunda:  
Tertia pars vere monstrat peccata  
cavere:  
Inde docet quarta pars ecclesiæ sacra-  
menta:  
Virtutes quinta mores notat et docu-  
menta:  
Concludit sexta de morte suaque se-  
quela."

There is some difficulty in ascertaining the author. If the title-page may be trusted, it was written by St. Bernard: but there is no other evidence of the fact; and

plausible reasons have been adduced in the Benedict. Histoire Literair. de la France, (tom. viii. pp. 83—92. ed. Paris, 1747,) for assigning the authorship to Jean de Garlande, as some say an Englishman who flourished about A.D. 1040, but more probably a native of France, who came over to England with William the Conqueror, and died about 1081. He was eminent as a poet, grammarian, and orator, and contributed much to the revival of learning in England.

There are two copies of "Floretus" in the British Museum, one with Gerson's Commentary printed A.D. 1499, (which the Editor has used for the verification of Jewel's references,) and an earlier one (with a different commentary) without date, but with a legend connecting it with the University of Paris.

The references to Gerson contra Floretum supr. vol. i. 288. 413. and vol. ii. 83, printed in Italics, are quite correct.]

time in sundry places, he should have remembered, that this is an old error, long sithence reprov'd, and condemn'd by St. Augustine, and other learned fathers. St. Augustine saith thus: *Cavendum est, ne ita divinitatem astruamus hominis, ut veritatem corporis auferamus. Non est autem consequens, ut, quod in Deo est, ita sit ubique, ut Deus:*

Augustin. ad Dardanum, epist. 57. [il. 68r.]

“ We must beware, that we do not so maintain the divine nature of Christ being man, that we take away the truth of his body. Neither doth it follow, that the thing that is in God, is therefore every where, as God is.” St. Augustine’s words be plain, that whoso saith, The body of Christ is every where, (or in infinite places at one time, which is all one thing, the reason and miracle being like,) utterly denieth the verity of Christ’s body.

But what a phantasy is this, “ That Christ’s body is, neither the Creator, nor a creature, but,” as it is here avouched, “ after a manner between both.” Who ever would warrant this doctrine, but that old heretic abbot Eutyches?

Verily St. Augustine saith: *Omnis substantia, quæ Deus non est, creatura est: et quæ creatura non est, Deus est. Et quod Deo minus est, Deus non est:*

In libro Sententiar. Pro-speri. [sent. 55. x. app. 227.]

“ Every substance, that is not God, is a creature: and that is not a creature, is God: and, whatsoever is less than God, is not God.”

Here St. Augustine knoweth a Creator, and a creature: but M. Harding’s mean between both, he knoweth not. Leo writing against Eutyches, of whom M. Harding seemeth to have received this learning, writeth thus: *Emergunt alii,*

Leo, epist. 97. ad Leon. Aug. [l. 708.]

*qui carnem Domini, et divinitatem dicunt unius esse naturæ. Quæ tantum sacrilegium inferna vomuere? Tolerabiliiores sunt Ariani, &c.*

“ Up there start others that say, The flesh of Christ and his divinity are both of one nature. What hell hath poured us out such wicked sacrilege? The very Arians are more to be borne withal, than these men<sup>87</sup>.”

St. Augustine saith: *Quod ad hominem attinet, creatura est Christus:*

Augustin. epist. 57. [il. 68o.]

“ Christ, as concerning his manhood, is” (not a mean between both, but) “ a creature.” Again he saith:

<sup>87</sup> [Leo Epist. ad Leonem Imper. The words quoted as Leo’s form part of an extract made by that

pope from St. Ambrose, “ De Incarnatione Domini.”]



De Verbis  
Domini in  
Evangelio  
secundum  
Johan. cap.  
58. [v. ap-  
pend. 403.]

*Duas substantias, id est, naturas esse fatemur: divinitatis, scilicet, et humanitatis: creatricis, et creatæ: quæ tamen substantiæ, non confusæ, sed unitæ, atque in una eademque persona inseparabiles, et in sua semper proprietate manentes:* “We confess there are in Christ two substances or natures: the one, of the Godhead, the other, of the manhood: the one of the Creator, the other, of the creature: which substances, notwithstanding, are not confused, but united, and in one self-same person inseparable, and remaining evermore in their own properties<sup>87</sup>.” The like writeth Leo, Cyrillus, Gelasius, and all the rest of the old learned fathers. Therefore M. Harding was much overseen, either to teach the people, that Christ’s body is neither the Creator, nor the creature, but a mean between both: or else to say, that the same body, being united unto the Godhead, may therefore be in sundry places at one time. Herein rested the old heresy of Eutyches. For thus Flavianus writeth of him: *Corpus Domini humanum quidem vocat: tamen negat esse nobis consubstantiale:* “He calleth the body of our Lord, a man’s body: but yet he saith, it is not one in substance with our bodies<sup>88</sup>.”

Flavianus ad  
Leonem. [1.  
p. 51.]

But M. Harding replieth, “Christ’s body is now become immortal and glorious.” This is most true, and without all question. Howbeit, it may please him to remember, that, when Christ ministered the holy communion to his disciples, his body was then mortal, and subject to death and other injuries, and not glorious. Therefore if Christ’s body in the sacrament be immortal and glorious, it must follow, that, for that present, Christ had two manner bodies: the one mortal, the other immortal: the one glorious, the other not glorious. Thus M. Harding’s rules and examples match not together.

He addeth further, “Christ’s body walked upon the waters: vanished out of sight: ascended through the clouds: and entered through the doors being fast shut,” &c. These

<sup>87</sup> [A work “incerti auctoris.”  
Ben.]

<sup>88</sup> [Flavian. ad Leonem; Coteler.  
Monum. tom. i. p. 51. . . . ἀλλ’

ἀνθρώπινον μὲν αὐτὸ ἀποκαλεῖ, οὐ  
τὴν ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιον, οὐδὲ τῇ τεκούσῃ  
αὐτὸν κατὰ σάρκα.]

were the reasons that deceived the old Manichees. I marvel that M. Harding, being, as he saith, lately become a professor of the catholic faith, would found the whole substance of his doctrine upon heretics. Touching the special trust that the Manichees reposed in this argument, St. Hierom writeth thus: *Cum dicit Manichæus, et similis Manichæorum, Dominus non resurrexit in corporis veritate, et, ut scias non fuisse verum corpus, clausis ingressus est ostiis, nos quid dicemus? Domine libera animam meam a labiis iniquis, et a lingua dolosa*: “When the Manichee, or any other like the Manichees, saith, ‘The Lord arose not again in the truth of his body,’ and for proof thereof, saith thus, ‘He entered in, when the doors were shut,’ what then shall we say? Even thus: ‘O Lord, deliver my soul from wicked lips, and deceitful tongues.’” Here we see M. Harding is driven to seek upon old condemned heretics, and to borrow their weapons: wherefore it shall be good to follow St. Hierom’s counsel, and to say, “O Lord, deliver my soul from wicked lips, and deceitful tongues.”

Likewise St. Ambrose saith, The apostles of Christ, by the same manner of reasoning, were deceived. For upon that, “Christ entered, the gates being shut,” he writeth thus: *Denique conturbati discipuli æstimabant, se spiritum videre. Et ideo Dominus, ut speciem nobis resurrectionis ostenderet, Palpate, inquit, et videte: quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me videtis habere*: “The disciples, being astonished, thought they saw a spirit, or a phantasy. Therefore the Lord, to shew a token of his resurrection, said unto them, ‘Feel, and see: for a spirit, or phantasy, hath not flesh and bone, as you see that I have.’” Now if these arguments were able to deceive the apostles of Christ, it is not impossible, but they may likewise deceive M. Harding. Chrysostom saith: *Clausa erant ostia, et ingressus est Jesus: non erat phantasma: non erat spiritus: vere corpus erat: habebat carnes et ossa*: “The doors were shut, and Jesus entered: it was no phantasy: it was no spirit: it was verily a body: it had flesh and bones.” Thus, notwithstanding these marvellous effects, yet the ancient godly fathers said, Christ’s body nevertheless is, and continueth still a crea-

Hieronym.  
in Psal. cxix.

Ambros. in  
Lucan, lib.  
10. cap. 24.  
[l. 1540.]

Chrysost. in  
homil. de  
Johan. Bap-  
tista. [ed.  
Lat. Paris.  
tom. III. 359.]

ture: not a mean between both: as M. Harding here strangely hath imagined. Now let us consider M. Harding's arguments:

Christ's body walked upon the waters:  
It entered through the doors being shut:  
It ascended through the clouds:

*Ergo*, it may be at one time in sundry places.

Although this argument may soon be espied, having utterly no manner sequel in reason, yet the folly thereof may the better appear by the like:

Matt. xiv. 29.

St. Peter walked upon the water:

2 Kings II. 11.

Elias was taken up into the clouds:

St. Bartholomew entered through the doors being shut:

*Ergo*, St. Peter, Elias, and St. Bartholomew may be at one time in sundry places.

And that I allege here of St. Bartholomew, although it be but a vain fable, yet it may not easily be denied. For it is recorded by Abdias the bishop of Babylon, who, as master Harding supposeth, saw Christ in the flesh, and was one of the apostles' fellows.

Abdias in  
Bartholo-  
mæo. [Apost.  
Hist. lib. 8,  
p. 94.]

Over all this M. Harding throweth a sweet mist, to carry away the simple in the dark: "Christ's body," saith he, "is in the sacrament, not by local, but by substantial presence: carnally, but not in carnal manner: placed in the pix, in the hand, in the mouth: and yet in no place at all: a very natural body, even as it was upon the cross: yet without all manner quantity, and dimensions, or proportions of a body, that is, neither thick, nor broad, nor short, nor long: there now, where before it was not: and yet without any shifting or change of places." Unless this man were fast asleep, he could never fall into so deep a dream. In these phantasies he seemeth well to agree with the old heretics, Eutyches and Manichee. For even such a body they imagined, that Christ received of the blessed virgin: and yet were they heretics notwithstanding. For which of all the old learned fathers ever taught us this strange doctrine? Whoever durst to spoil Christ of his place, of his quantity, and of the natural proportions of his body? If the doctors of the church say thus, why are they not



alleged? If they say not thus, why is this matter carried away with such countenance of antiquity? Or why doth M. Harding thus avouch this unsensible and unsavory learning, only upon his own credit, without the authority of any doctor? The Manichees in old times, the better to maintain their error, and to avoid absurdities, were driven to say, there were two Gods: the one good, the other ill. Even so M. Harding, to maintain his errors, and to avoid infinite absurdities, is driven to say, "There are two Christs: the one local, the other not local: the one above, the other beneath: the one with proportion of body, the other without proportion." Howbeit, he seemeth to publish this principle unawares against himself. For if Christ's body in the sacrament be not local, as he saith, then is it no natural, or real body. This rule St. Augustine taketh to be infallible. His words be these: *Tolle loca [spatia locorum] corporibus, et nusquam erunt: et quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt*: "Take away the places from the bodies, and the bodies shall be nowhere; and because they shall be nowhere, they shall have no being:" and so shall be no bodies at all. And he speaketh not thus only of other natural bodies, but specially, and namely of the body of Christ.

Epiphanius.  
[Hæres. 66.  
tom. i. p.  
642.]  
Augustin. ad  
Quodvult-  
Deum. [viii.  
13.]

Augustin.  
epist. 57. [H.  
683.]

Certainly, the more spiritual a thing is, the more it is void from the circumstance and necessity of place. Wherefore, when M. Harding saith, "The body of Christ is in heaven, as in a place, and in the sacrament without place:" he seemeth secretly to say, that Christ's body in the sacrament is more glorious, more spiritual, and divine, than is the very body of Christ indeed, that is in heaven, in the glory of God the Father. Which conclusion, how well it may stand, either with the rest of his own doctrine, or with the truth of our Christian religion, I leave it in consideration to the reader.

Christ's body  
more glorious  
in the  
sacrament,  
than in heaven.

But what needeth this new devised difference, of Christ's body local, and Christ's body not local? Or what forceth these men to say, that only the bare substance of Christ's body is in the sacrament, without length, breadth, or any other respect of quantity? Will M. Harding now at the last forsake the reverend simplicity of his belief, and lean

to reason? or will he in God's secret mysteries give credit to his eyes, and hearken to the course of nature? Verily God, as he is able by his omnipotent power, to make Christ's body present without place and quantity: so is he likewise able, to make the same body present in place, and with quantity, and all other natural dimensions. If M. Harding will say nay, Duns himself, his own doctor, will reprove him. His words be plain: *Idem corpus localiter, et dimensive potest esse in diversis locis. Et Deus potest quodcunque corpus univarsi convertere in corpus Christi, sicut panem: et facere corpus Christi ubique esse, non solum sacramentaliter, sed etiam localiter, et dimensionaliter*: "One body both locally, and with the natural dimensions of a body, may be in sundry places. And God is able to turn any body in the world, into the body of Christ, as well as bread: and to cause Christ's body to be every where, not only by way of sacrament, but also by way of place and dimensions." Which saying seemeth also to be well liked and allowed of Durandus. Therefore M. Harding should not thus nicely shrink back, and so dissemble in dark speeches: but should rather boldly and plainly say, "Christ's body is in the sacrament, not only substantially, but also locally, and by way of place:" as having as good warrant for the one, as for the other. For it is a catholic man's part, to be bold of God's omnipotent power: and whatsoever God, being omnipotent, is able to do, to believe, it is already done, without any regard had to his will, or promise. If he think it lawful for him, without cause to deny this manner of Christ's presence, let him not be offended, if we upon good and just cause deny the other. Verily Alexander de Hales, a great doctor of that side, reckoneth M. Harding to be in a great error in this behalf. This is his resolution: *Quidam ponebant corpus Christi esse sub sacramento, non secundum quantitatem, &c. Sed hæc positio est erronea*: "Some hold that Christ's body is under the sacrament, not according unto quantity: but this opinion is erroneous." Thus much I thought good only to touch; not so much for any great credit of the author, but that it may appear, that, notwithstanding all these men would so

Scotus 4.  
Sen. dist.  
10. quæst. 2.

Lib. 4. de 6.  
parte cano-  
nis.

Alexander de  
Hales, 4.  
q. 40. m. 3.  
art. 4.

fain have Christ really and fleshly present, yet they reprove one another of error and ignorance, and cannot agree among themselves, in what sort they may have him present. Howbeit, the ancient fathers of the church have written far otherwise in this behalf. For like as Athanasius saith: *Æqualis Patri secundum divinitatem: minor Patre secundum humanitatem*: “Christ according to his divine nature, is equal unto the Father: and according to his manhood, is inferior unto the Father.” Even so saith Gregory Nazianzen, “Christ according to his body, is within the limitation of place: according to his Spirit, and Godhead, he is without the limits of any place<sup>89</sup>.” But, that any one of all the old fathers ever said, “Christ’s body is sometime in one place, and sometime in many: sometime limited, and sometime not limited:” I think it not easy for M. Harding well to prove.

Gregor. Nazianzenus  
contra Apollinarium.  
[ii. 85.]

As for the difference that he hath devised, of visible, and invisible: local, and not local: which is both trench and bulwark to maintain this piece<sup>90</sup>, it is a very toy, only meet to beguile children: as neither having foundation in the scriptures, or holy fathers, nor effectually serving to prove his purpose. For we reason not of respects and qualities: but, as St. Augustine, St. Cyril, and other catholic doctors do, of the very nature and substance of Christ’s body. Neither can M. Harding well maintain, that whatsoever is invisible, is therefore of nature infinite, or may be at one time in a thousand places. As touching Christ’s being in a mystery, as it requireth no local presence, according to M. Harding’s own confession, so likewise it requireth no natural or real body: as hereafter, God willing, it shall be shewed more at large.

M. HARDING: *Second Division.*

And how the ancient fathers of the church have confessed, and taught both these beings, of Christ in heaven, and in the sacrament together, contrary to M. Jewel’s negative, by witness of their own words we may perceive. Basil in his Liturgy, that is to say, Service of Mass, saith thus in a prayer: “Look down upon us, Lord Jesus Christ, our God, from thy holy tabernacle, and

[Liturg. Basil. ed. de Sainctes, p. 49.]

<sup>89</sup> Περίγραπτος σώματι, ἀπερίγραπτος πνεύματι. . . χωρητός, καὶ ἀχώρητος.

<sup>90</sup> [Peece or piece—obsolete for castle.—Todd.]



a Not bodily,  
but by spirit  
and grace.

from the throne of glory of thy kingdom, and come to sanctify us, which sittest above with thy Father, and art <sup>a</sup> conversant here invisibly : and vouchsafe to impart unto us thine undefiled body, and precious blood, and by us, to all thy people."

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Touching these ancient fathers that here be alleged, notwithstanding the credit of some of them might well come in question, as namely that Chrysostom in his liturgy prayeth for the emperor Alexius, which was not born within five hundred years after that Chrysostom was dead<sup>90</sup> : yet will I spare both this, and also all other like advantages, and receive all these authorities, as if they were good and perfect without exception.

[Liturg.  
Chrysost. p.  
70. Lat. ed.]

But first, for the clearer conceiving of the answer hereunto, understand, good Christian reader, that, by the record of the old fathers, Christ is present amongst us sundry ways. By his holy Spirit, as Cyrillus saith ; by his grace, as Eusebius Emissenus saith ; by his divinity and majesty, as St. Augustine saith ; by faith dwelling in our hearts, as St. Paul saith. Thus is Christ most comfortably present in his holy word : in the mystery of baptism : and in the sacrament of his body. We deny only that gross and fleshly presence that M. Harding here defendeth : wherein we have the authority and consent of the old learned fathers. For to allege one instead of many, St. Augustine saith : *Corpus, in quo resurrexit, in uno loco esse oportet* [al. *potest*] : "The body, wherein Christ rose again, must be in one place<sup>91</sup>."

Cyrl. in  
Johan. lib. 8.  
cap. 7.

Emissen. De  
Con. dist. 2.  
Quia corpus.  
Augustin.  
Tractat. in  
Johan. 50.  
[iii. pt. 2.  
631. 634.]

Ephes. iii. 17.

Augustin. de  
Con. dist. 2.  
Prima. [Au-  
gust. in  
Johan. Tr. 30.  
iii. pt. 2. 517.]

Here M. Harding, as his manner is, taketh one thing in hand, and proveth another. For to prove, that Christ is

<sup>90</sup> [This only applies to the Latin edit. The argument is evidently inconclusive, as against the genuineness of a liturgy ; it only proves that the MS. from which the edition was printed, was later than the reign of Alexius. The prayer would be the same, although the name inserted would be changed "pro re nata." See, however, vol. i. p. 175.]

<sup>91</sup> [See Def. of Apology, (fol. ed. 1611.) p. 72. On Jewel quoting the same passage in his Apo-

logy, Harding asserted that the true reading is "potest," and not "oportet ;" and he is right, as far as St. Augustine's own words are concerned. The passage occurs in Augustin. Tract. 30. in Johan. (Bened. ed. tom. iii. pt. 2. p. 517.) The Bened. ed. (in loc.) says, that all the MSS. without exception read "potest," but that the reading "oportet" is found in Ivo, in Peter Lombard, in Aquinas, and in Gratian.—It was from Gratian that Jewel derived it.]

really and fleshly present in the sacrament, he allegeth the old fathers, that never spake one word of this real or fleshly presence. And therefore setting such countenance upon the matter, with the names of holy fathers, and not once coming near that thing, wherein standeth the whole question, he dallieth vainly, and abuseth the simplicity of the people. For touching Chrysostom and Basil, we grant, that Christ, being in heaven in his humanity, and in the substance of his body, is nevertheless by his Spirit and grace invisibly present in his sacraments. Which answer, notwithstanding it might serve generally to all these authorities here brought in, yet I have thought it not amiss to consider them all severally, as they come.

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

St. Chrysostom prayeth with the very same words also in his liturgy, or mass. Where we read further, that the priest, and the deacon do adore, and worship, saying three times secretly, "God be merciful to me a sinner," and that the people do all likewise devoutly adore<sup>92</sup>. Now sith he will adoration to be made, he acknowledgeth Christ present, whom he granteth to be also at the same time in heaven.

Et populus  
similiter om-  
nis cum pie-  
tate ado-  
rant. [Gr. ed.  
p. 103.]

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It is likely, saith master Harding, that Christ is fleshly present in the sacrament, for that the priest and the people adoreth him. This guess hath very slender hold. For would he, that the people should never worship Christ, but only when they have him present before their face? Certainly St. Hierom writeth thus of a gentlewoman named Melania, *Ad Christi pedes provoluta est*: "She fell down and worshipped at Christ's feet:" notwithstanding she had not Christ there bodily present. Likewise Chrysostom teacheth us, to worship Christ in the sacrament of baptism; for thus he saith unto the people, *Et vos, qui accepturi estis baptismum,.....tenete pedes Salvatoris: lavate lachrymis: crine tergite*: "You, that will receive baptism, hold the feet of our Saviour: wash them with your tears: wipe them

Hieronym.  
ad Paulam de  
obitu Blesil-  
le. [lv. pt. 2.  
p. 58.]

Chrysost. in  
Marc. hom.  
14. [ed. Paris.  
1588. tom. II.  
1080.]

<sup>92</sup> [This rubric is found in de ostom's Liturgy, but not in the Sainctes Gr. ed. of St. Chrys-Latin.]

with your hair<sup>92</sup>." Yet will not M. Harding therefore say, that Christ is bodily and carnally present in the water of baptism. Thus the faithful then were taught to worship Christ, although they had him not corporally in real presence. The idolaters worshipped the sun and the moon: yet they pulled them not down from heaven, to receive their worship. Therefore M. Harding's argument of adoration can stand him but in little stead. For we are taught to worship Christ sitting in heaven: not lying bodily present before our eyes.

M. HARDING: *Fourth Division.*

Which he uttereth more plainly in these words, *O miraculum, O Dei benignitatem*: "O miracle, O the goodness of God, who sitteth above with the Father, at that very instant of time, is handled with the hands of all, and giveth himself to those, that will receive, and embrace him. And that is done by no crafty sleightness, but openly in the sight of all that stand about. How sayest thou, seem these things no better to thee, than to be contemned and despised?" By which words of St. Chrysostom we may see, that Christ's being in heaven maketh no proof, that he is not in earth, sith both these verities may well stand together.

Chrysost. de  
Sacerdotio,  
lib. 3. [i. 382.]

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This argument would serve well, if there were none other miracle, but carnal presence. But if M. Harding had conferred with the old catholic fathers, he should have found miracles in the sacrament of baptism, no less than in this sacrament of Christ's body. Leo saith, (*Deus*) *mirabile nobis sacramentum regenerationis indulisit* [al. *illuxit*]: "God hath granted us the marvellous sacrament of regeneration." So saith Eusebius Emisenus: *Veniant nunc, qui futurae resurrectionis gloriam sitiunt: jam nunc de remissione peccatorum digno miraculo reficiant fidem suam. Homo in fonte tingitur, &c.*: "Let them draw near, that thirst after the glory of the resurrection that is to come: even now let them refresh their faith with that worthy miracle of remission of sin. A man is washed in

Leo. epist.  
13. [i. 490.]

Hom. Sextae  
Feriae de  
Baptismo.

<sup>92</sup> [These Homil. in Marc. are published, only in Latin, in the Paris ed. of 1588; Cave says, "monachi alicujus satis inficeti opus."]



the font<sup>93</sup>," &c. In like sort writeth Chrysostom touching the same: *Nulla pacto de intellectuali per baptismum regeneratione, et admirabili partu rationem reddemus. Nam et angeli, qui adfuerunt, tam inenarrabilis operis modum minime possunt enarrare. Adfuerunt tantum, et viderunt: nihil autem operati sunt: sed Pater tantum, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus*: "We are never able to yield a reason of the spiritual regeneration, and miraculous birth, that we have by baptism. The very angels that were present, are not able to utter the manner of that unspeakable work. They were present only, and saw: but they wrought nothing: but only the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost<sup>94</sup>." Here we see a miracle in baptism: and such a miracle as the angels of God are not able to utter it. Yet will not M. Harding say, that Christ's body is therefore really present in the water of baptism. So weakly these proofs hang together.

But Chrysostom's words are very vehement: That Christ is present at the holy ministration: that every man, both toucheth him with his fingers, and also seeth him with his eyes, and that clearly, and openly, without guile, or error. I grant, these words be very vehement, and much exceed the common sense. But here would I learn of master Harding, whether he will take these words plainly, and simply, as they lie, or else will rather qualify them with a courteous and gentle interpretation. If he follow the rigour of the words, then appeareth there a manifest contradiction: and Chrysostom, in uttering one sentence, is found clean contrary to himself. For first he saith, "Christ is there invisibly, in such sort as no man can see him:" and

<sup>93</sup> [It is allowed on all hands, that the homilies attributed to Eusebius Emisenus are not by that father, indeed that very little of his works has come down to us. The question as to the probable author is discussed by Oudin, tom. i. 390.]

<sup>94</sup> [Chrysost. in Johan. hom. 24. Πώς οὖν περὶ τῆς νοητῆς τῆς διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος γεννήσεως δυνασόμεθα δοῦναι εὐθύναι τῆς πολλῆς

τούτων ἰψηλοτέρας, καὶ λογισμοὺς ἀπαιτεῖσθαι τῆς θαυμαστῆς καὶ παραδόξου ταύτης λοχείας; ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄγγελοι τῇ γεννήσει ταύτῃ παρσστηκασὶ γνωμένῃ· εἰπεῖν δὲ τὸν τρόπον οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τις τῆς θαυμαστῆς ἐκείνης γεννήσεως τῆς διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος· καὶ παρσστηκασὶ, τελούντες μὲν οὐδέν· μόνον ὁρῶντες δὲ τὰ γινόμενα. Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα πάντα ἐργάζεται.]

yet immediately after, with one breath he saith, "Every man seeth him with his eyes plainly, and without guile, or error." Again, by the rigour of the same words, we must needs grant, that the people both verily and indeed seeth Christ's very body, and also handleth and toucheth it with their fingers; which is not only a manifest untruth, but also a greater heresy, than ever was defended by Berengarius, as it is confessed by the doctors of M. Harding's own side. Indeed, the marvellous effects that God worketh in the faithful, in that dreadful time of the holy communion, wherein the whole mystery of our redemption, that we have in the blood of Christ, is expressed, Chrysostom calleth a miracle: and therefore the more to stir the people's minds to the consideration of the same, he inflameth his speech with rhetorical amplifications, and heat of words. He saith: "Christ is crucified before our eyes: his blood gusheth out of his side, and streameth, and floweth over the holy table: and the people is therewith made red and bloody." This advancing and ravishing of the mind, he calleth a miracle: but of any corporal or fleshly presence, he speaketh nothing. By such figurative and fiery speech, he meant not, that we should understand him precisely according to the sound of his words, but sought only to lift up and enkindle his hearers' minds. So St. Paul saith to the Galatians: "Christ was crucified before your eyes." So St. Hierom: "Our faces are marked in baptism with the blood of Christ<sup>94</sup>." So saith Tertullian: "We are washed in the passion of our Lord<sup>95</sup>." So St. Gregory saith: *Eundem Agnum Johannes ostendendo, Esaias prævidendo, Abel offerendo locutus est: et quem Johannes in ostensione, quem Esaias in locutione, hunc Abel significando in manibus tenuit*: "St. John the Baptist spake of the same Lamb by pointing, Isaiah by seeing, Abel by offering. And the Lamb that John held in his hand by pointing, and Isaiah by speaking, the same Lamb Abel held in his hand by signifying." These sayings and otherlike are vehe-

De Con. dist.  
2. Ego Berengarius. In  
Glossa.

Galat. iii. 1.

Hieronym.  
in Psalm.  
lxxxiv. [il.  
pt. 2. 344.]  
Tertull. de  
Baptismo.  
[cap. 19. p.  
232.]  
Gregor. in  
Job. lib.  
29. cap. 16.  
[l. 948.]

<sup>94</sup> [The Benedict. dispute the genuineness of this commentary.]

<sup>95</sup> [Tertull. de Baptism. "Diem "baptismo solenniorem pascha

"præstat, cum et passio Domini, "in quam tinguimur, adimpleta "est."]

ment, as is that of Chrysostom : and, as M. Harding knoweth, may not be taken as they lie, but must be mollified with a gentle construction.

M. HARDING : *Fifth Division.*

The same father confesseth the body of Christ to be in divers places, likewise in his homilies, *Ad Populum Antiochenum*, most plainly alluding to Elias. *Elias*, saith he, *melotem quidem discipulo reliquit : Filius autem Dei ascendens suam nobis carnem dimisit. Sed Elias quidem exutus : Christus autem et nobis reliquit, et ipsam habens ascendit* : “Elias,” when he was carried up in the fiery chariot, “left to his disciple Elizeus his mantle of sheeps’ skins : but the Son of God, when he ascended, left to us his flesh. But Elias did put off his mantle : and Christ both left his flesh to us, and also ascended having it with him.” Nothing can be spoken more plainly, whereby to shew, that we have the same flesh here in earth, that was received into heaven, which Christ hath not put off, to give it to us. By which doctrine of St. Chrysostom (148) we are taught to believe, that Christ’s flesh or his body is both in heaven, and also in the earth, in how many places soever this blessed sacrament is rightly celebrated.

Chrysostom’s words not justly and fully reported.

The 148th untruth. For the very order of the comparison plainly concludeth the contrary.

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This place, well considered, both openeth itself, and also giveth light unto otherlike. Chrysostom sheweth, in what sort Christ hath both taken up his flesh into heaven, and also left the same here amongst the faithful in the earth : and to that end compareth Elias and Christ together. The story is known, that when Elias was taken up in a fiery chariot, he let down his coat unto Elizeus that stood beneath : who took it up, and by the power of the same divided the water of Jordan. Upon occasion hereof Chrysostom saith : *Tanquam maximam hæreditatem Elizeus melotem suscepit. Etenim vere maxima fuit hæreditas omni auro pretiosior. Et erat postea duplex Elias : et erat sursum Elias, et deorsum Elias* : “Elizeus received the coat made of sheeps’ skins, as a great inheritance. And doubtless it was an inheritance more precious than any gold. After that time, Elias was double. For there was Elias above, and Elias beneath.” Above was the very true Elias in the natural substance and presence of his body : beneath was nothing else, but Elias’ coat : which coat notwithstanding, because of the powers that were wrought

2 Kings ii. 13.

Chrysost. ad populum Antiochen. hom. 2. [H. 34.]



with it, he calleth Elias. Thus Chrysostom compareth Elias with Christ, and Elias' coat with the sacrament; and thus he saith: Christ is above, and Christ is beneath: as he saith: Elias is above, and Elias is beneath. For as Elias' coat was called Elias, even so the sacrament of Christ's body is called Christ's body. Which saying agreeth well with these words of St. Augustine: *Sacramentum corporis Christi secundum quendam modum corpus Christi est*: "The sacrament of Christ's body, after a certain manner, is the body of Christ:" not substantially or really, or indeed, but as Elias' coat is Elias.

Augustin.  
epist. 23. ad  
Bonifacium.  
[li. 267.]

Hereof M. Harding might well have formed this argument:

Elias, being above, was not verily and indeed present beneath in his coat:

Therefore, by Chrysostom's comparison, Christ's body is not indeed really and fleshly present in the sacrament.

#### M. HARDING: *Sixth Division.*

The 149th  
untruth,  
joined with  
a slander.

(149) And, whereas many measuring all things by the common order and laws of nature, believe nothing can be done above nature, and therefore think, that the body of Christ, forasmuch as it is of nature finite, cannot by power of God be in many places at once; of which opinion M. Jewel seemeth to be himself: it shall not be beside the purpose, though the places already alleged prove the contrary, to recite the testimonies of an old doctor or two, wherein they confess most plainly, that which by this Article is most untruly denied.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding hopeth to win the victory by untrue reports. For with what truth or modesty can he say, That we measure all things by the laws of nature, and believe nothing above the judgment of our senses? He knoweth well, our doctrine is according to the doctrine of <sup>a</sup>St. Cyprian<sup>96</sup>, <sup>b</sup>St. Augustine, and other old fathers, that Christ's body is meat for our minds, and not for our bellies: and that the same cannot be eaten with our mouth or teeth, or by any other natural or material means, but only spiritually by

a Cyprian. de  
Cœna Dom.  
[app. p.  
cxiv.]

b Cibus men-  
tis, non ven-  
tris.

<sup>96</sup> [De Cœna Domini: a work not by St. Cyprian, but by Arnoldus Carnotensis, A. D. 1162.]

faith, which is the mouth of the inner man. He knoweth, we teach the people to lift up their hearts, and, as St. Chrysostom saith, “to become eagles in this life, and to mount up unto the gates of heaven, even unto the heavens of heavens, and so to draw near to Christ’s body<sup>97</sup>.” He knoweth, we say, Christ is present by his Godhead, by his Spirit, and by his grace, and worketh miraculously in the sacrament of his body, as he doth in the sacrament of baptism. All this it pleaseth M. Harding to call the law of nature, and the judgment of our senses. Verily we yield no more unto nature, than it is meet we should. Neither do we abridge God’s omnipotent power. But all vain phantasies of man’s head, may not be measured by the power of God. This argument the heretic Praxeas used against Tertullian. For thus he said: God is omnipotent, and can do it: therefore we must believe that he doth it. But Tertullian answereth him: *Si tam abrupte in presumptionibus nostris hac sententia utamur, quidvis de Deo confingere poterimus: quasi fecerit, quia facere potuerit. Non autem, quia omnia potest facere, ideo credendum est illum fecisse.....: sed an fecerit, requirendum:* “If we use this saying so rashly in our presumptions, we may imagine of God what we list: as though, because God can do it, that therefore in deed he hath done it. But we may not believe, that God hath done every thing because he is able to do it: but rather we must search out, whether he have done it or no.” Thus M. Harding’s new catholic faith is called of Tertullian, a vain presumption.

Chrysost.  
1 Cor. hom.  
24. [x. 216.]

Tertull. ad-  
versus Prax-  
eam. [cap.  
10. p. 505.]

M. HARDING: Seventh Division.

St. Ambrose hath these words: . . . *Etsi Christus nunc non videtur offerre, tamen ipse offertur in terris, quando Christi corpus offertur. Imo ipse offerre manifestatur in nobis, cujus sermo sanctificat sacrificium quod offertur:* “If Christ now be not seen to offer, yet he is offered in earth, when the body of Christ is offered. Yea it is manifest, that himself offereth in us,

St. Ambrose speaketh only of the spiritual sight, and fruition of mind, and requireth no manner gross or corporal presence.

<sup>97</sup> [This is the substance of οὐράνον, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ οὐρά-  
St. Chrysostom’s words. The Be-  
ned. state that one MS. has τὸν  
νον.]

In Psalm.  
xxxviii. [1.  
853.]

whose word sanctifieth and consecrateth the sacrifice that is offered." Now if Christ's body be offered in earth, as this father affirmeth, and that of Christ himself, in respect that the sacrifice, which is offered, is by his word consecrated: then it followeth, Christ's body to be in so many places, as it is offered in.

The 150th untruth. For St. Augustine calleth it the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

Where by the way this may be noted, that the sacrifice of the church, (150) is not thanksgiving (as our new masters do teach) but the body of Christ itself, which of the fathers is called an unbloody and quickening, or lifegiving sacrifice.

Sacrificium incruentum et vivificum

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

In all these words, there is no mention of carnal presence: and therefore M. Harding's purpose is hereby but weakly furthered. But, good Christian reader, to put thee out of all doubt of St. Ambrose's judgment in this behalf, I beseech thee to consider these words, that he writeth upon the Gospel of St. Luke: *Quæ sursum sunt, sapite: non quæ supra terram. Ergo non supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundum carnem te quærere debemus, si volumus invenire*: "Seek the things that be above: not the things that be upon earth. Therefore we must seek thee neither upon the earth, nor in the earth, nor according to the flesh, if we list to find thee." This is St. Ambrose's undoubted and most certain judgment: from which we may not be removed by any amplification or show of words. If M. Harding will needs force and press the bare letter, as I said before of St. Chrysostom, he will make St. Ambrose in one sentence plain contrary to himself. For first he saith: *Vidimus principem sacerdotum, &c.*: "We have seen (Christ) the Prince of priests coming unto us: we have seen him and heard him offering up for us his blood." He addeth immediately: *Etsi nunc Christus non videtur offerre, &c.*: "Although Christ be not seen to offer, yet is he offered in the earth." If we follow the very force and sound of the words, this contradiction of seeing and not seeing cannot be salved. Wherefore to avoid this inconvenience, we must say, that St. Ambrose speaketh of the spiritual eyes of our faith, with which eyes we see Christ indeed offering up himself upon the cross. And thus, as St. Ambrose saith: *Magis videtur, quod non videtur*: "The

Coloss. iii. i. Ambros. in Lucam, lib. 10. cap. 24. [l. 1538.]

[l. 853.]

De his qui initiantur Mysteriis, cap. 3. [ll. 328.]



thing is the better seen, that is not seen<sup>98</sup>." It is best seen with our faith, that is least seen with our body. For our faith is sharper than our eye. And in like sense St. Augustine saith: *Non vides, quomodo rubeat pars Christi? Interroga oculos fidei. Si crucem vides, attende et cruorem. Si vides, quod pendet, attende, quod fudit:* Augustin. serm. 119, De tempore, [v. 942.] "Seest thou not, how Christ's portion is red with blood? Ask the eyes of thy faith. If thou see the cross, behold also the blood. If thou see, that hangeth, behold also that it shed." Of these eyes, and of this sight St. Ambrose speaketh: unto which is required, neither circumstance of place, nor any manner corporal or fleshly presence. In this sense, St. Ambrose writeth unto certain holy virgins: *Vestras mentes confidenter altaria dixerim, in quibus quotidie, pro redemptione corporis, Christus offertur:* Ambros. de Virginib. lib. 2. [ii. 166.] "I may boldly call your minds altars, for that in them Christ is daily offered for the redemption of the body."

Hereof M. Harding reasoneth thus:

Christ is offered in the earth:

*Ergo*, Christ's body is at one time in many places.

If this argument were good, then would this argument likewise be good:

The lamb, that is, Christ, was offered from the beginning of the world: Rev. xlii. 8.

*Ergo*, Christ's body was really in sundry places, before it was born in the world.

M. Harding might better have reasoned thus, and have concluded the contrary;

Christ is not now really and fleshly offered in the earth:

*Ergo*, Christ's body is not really and fleshly present in many places.

But M. Harding saith: "The sacrifice of the church is not thanksgiving, as our new masters teach us." Certainly our sacrifice is the very body of Christ, and that for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech, evermore standing in God's presence, and evermore obtaining pardon for us: Heb. vi. vii. x.

<sup>98</sup> [De Mysteriis. The genuineness of this work is doubtful; see supr. vol. ii. 324. note<sup>23</sup>.]

Rom. viii. 34. not offered up by us, but offering us up unto God the Father. For the same, it is our part to offer unto God our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. And this is the doctrine, not only of them, whom it liketh M. Harding to call new masters, but also of the oldest and most catholic doctors of the church. And to allege one instead of many, St. Augustine hereof writeth thus : *In illis carnalibus victimis, figuratio fuit carnis, quam Christus fuerat oblaturus.* *In isto autem sacrificio est gratiarum actio, et commemoratio carnis, quam pro nobis obtulit :* “ In those fleshly sacrifices,” of the Jews, “ there was a figure of the flesh, that Christ afterward would offer : but in this, sacrifice of the church, there is thanksgiving, and a remembrance of that flesh, which Christ hath already offered for us<sup>99</sup>.” If M. Harding will haply refuse St. Augustine, as mistrusted for one of these new masters, yet he may not well refuse his own mass book. There he himself even at his mass is taught to say : *Qui tibi offerimus hoc sacrificium laudis :* “ We, that do offer up unto thee this sacrifice of praise.” Wherefore, unless M. Harding will leave his mass, he himself must needs pass in the number of these new masters.

Augustin. de Fide ad Petrum Diacon. cap. 19. [vi. app. 30.]

Augustin. in Johan. tract. 50. [iii. pt. 2. 633.]

But to conclude, who can better expound St. Ambrose’s meaning than St. Augustine, that was sometime his scholar? He sheweth us by how many ways we may have Christ present among us. His words be these : *Habes Christum et in præsentia, et in futuro. In præsentia per fidem : in præsentia per signum : in præsentia per baptismatis sacramentum : in præsentia per altaris cibum et potum :* “ Thou hast Christ both in the time present, and also in the time to come. In the time present thou hast Christ by faith : in the time present by his token : in the time present by the sacrament of baptism : in the time present by the meat and drink of the altar.” The like hereof is written also by Origen, and that in like order and form of words ; saving that he addeth, By the preaching of the apostles ; and instead of *signum*, hath these words : *Per*

Origen. in diversos, hom. i. [ed. Froben. tom. ii. 501.]

<sup>99</sup> [The work de Fid. ad Petr. Diacon. is not by St. Augustine, but by Fulgentius (A. D. 507).]

*gloriosum crucis signaculum*<sup>1</sup>. Verily the same Origen saith: *Si virtus Jesu una sit cum eis [congregatur his], qui congregantur in nomine ejus, non peregrinatur a suis, sed semper præsto est eis*: “If the power of Jesus be together with them that be assembled in his name, he is not away from his own, but is still present with them.” And again he saith: *Nihil est contrarium, ipsum Jesum secundum quendam intellectum esse ubique: secundum alium (intellectum) peregrinari*: “It is no inconvenience nor contrariety, that Christ in one sense be everywhere; and in another sense be a stranger, and absent from us.” Thus many ways, saith St. Augustine and Origen, we have Christ present amongst us: and even thus, saith St. Ambrose, “Christ is offered in the earth.” Whereupon we may conclude thus: We have Christ in faith, in the sign and in the sacrament of baptism, without real or fleshly presence: therefore, we have him likewise without any such real presence in the sacrament of his body.

Origen. in  
Matt. tract.  
33. [iii. 882.]

Origen. eo-  
dem tract.  
[iii. 883.]

#### M. HARDING: Eighth Division.

We find in Chrysostom a most manifest place for the being of Christ's body in many places at once, so as, though he be offered in many places, yet is he but one Christ, not many Christs. His words be these: *Unum est hoc sacrificium: alioquin hac ratione, quoniam multis in locis offertur, multi Christi sunt? Nequam: sed unus ubique est Christus, et hic plenus existens, et illic plenus; unum corpus. Sicut enim qui ubique offertur, unum corpus est, et non multa corpora: ita etiam et unum sacrificium*: “This sacrifice is one, else by this reason, sith it is offered in many places, be there many Christs? Not so: but there is but one Christ every where, being here both fully, and there fully also, one body. For as he, that is offered every where, is but one body, and not many bodies, so likewise it is but one sacrifice.” By this place of Chrysostom we see what hath been the faith of the old fathers touching this article: even the same which the catholic church professeth at these days, that one Christ is offered in many places, so as he be fully and perfectly here, and fully and perfectly there. And thus we perceive what force their arguments have in the judgment of the learned fathers, by which they take away from Christ power to make his body present in many places at once. St. Bernard uttereth the

Chrysostom expoundeth himself. He calleth it a commemoration, a figure, a remembrance: whereunto is required no corporal presence.

Bernard lived after Christ, anno 1120.

<sup>1</sup> [Origen. in diversos. The locos are spurious, and are not printed in the Bened. edition.]

<sup>9</sup> Homil. in diversos Evangel.



faith of the church in his time, agreeable with this, in these words: *Sed unde hoc nobis piissime Domine, ut nos vermiculi reptantes, &c.*: “From whence cometh this, most loving Lord, that we silly worms creeping on the face of the earth, yea we that are but dust and ashes, be admitted to have thee present in our hands, and before our eyes, which all and whole sittest at the right hand of thy Father, which also art present all in one moment of time from the east to the west, from the north to the south; one in many, the same in divers places: from whence, I say, cometh this? Soothly, not of our duty or desert, but of thy good will, and of the good pleasure of thy sweetness: for thou hast prepared in thy sweetness for the poor one, O God.” In the same sermon, exhorting the church to rejoice of the presence of Christ, he saith: *In terra sponsum habes in sacramento, in caelis habitura es sine velamento; et hic, et ibi veritas; sed hic palliata, ibi manifestata*: “In the earth thou hast thy spouse in the sacrament, in heaven thou shalt have him without veil or covering: both here and there is the truth (of his presence), but here covered, there opened.”

Serni. in  
Cœna Do-  
mini.

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This place is uttered by St. Ambrose, Primasius, Remigius, Haimo, Sedulius, in like manner and form of words, and hath been often alleged, and often answered. If it had pleased M. Harding to suffer St. Chrysostom to tell out his own tale, the place had been plain of itself. For thus he saith: *Offerimus quidem, sed recordationem, facientes mortis ejus.....Hoc sacrificium exemplar illius est .....Hoc, (quod nos facimus,) in commemorationem fit ejus, quod factum est. Christus enim ait, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem: id ipsum semper offerimus: magis autem sacrificii recordationem operamur*: “We offer indeed, but we do it in remembrance of his death. This sacrifice is an exemplar, or figure of that sacrifice. The thing, that we do, is done in remembrance of that thing that was done before. For Christ saith, Do this in my remembrance. We offer up the same thing: nay, rather we work the remembrance of a sacrifice<sup>2</sup>.” By thus many sundry

Chrysost. in  
Ep. ad Heb.  
hom. 17. [xii.  
168.]

<sup>2</sup> [Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebræos. Τί οὖν; ἡμεῖς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν οὐ προσφέρομεν; προσφέρομεν μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνάμνησιν ποιούμενοι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ· καὶ μία

ἐστὶν αὐτῆ καὶ οὐ πολλαί. πῶς μία καὶ οὐ πολλαί; ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ προσήνεχθη, ὡσπερ ἐκείνη ἢ εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων· τοῦτο ἐκείνης τύπος ἐστὶ, καὶ αὕτη ἐκείνης. τὸν γὰρ αὐ-

ways Chrysostom opened his own meaning. Yet all this M. Harding thought best to dissemble closely, and to pass it in silence. Certainly, the commemoration, or figure, or remembrance of Christ's death, maketh small proof for corporal or fleshly presence. True it is, that whole Christ is fully at every communion, as Chrysostom saith: not that he is there in fleshly or bodily presence; for so St. Chrysostom saith not: but for that, by his grace and Holy Spirit, he worketh wholly and effectually in the hearts of the faithful. St. Augustine and other learned fathers, have used the like manner of speech, and in the same seem fully to express Chrysostom's mind. St. Augustine writeth thus:

*Veritas una est, qua illustrantur animæ sanctæ: sed quoniam multæ sunt animæ, in ipsis multæ veritates dici possunt. Sicut ab una facie multæ in speculis imagines appa-*

August. in  
Psalm. 11.  
[iv. 65.]

rent: "There is but one truth, wherewith the blessed souls are lightened. But, forasmuch as the souls be many, it may be said, that in the same are many truths: as sundry images appear in sundry glasses, notwithstanding the face be one." Again, St. Augustine saith: *Sapientia Dei, ver-*

*bum Dei, Dominus Jesus Christus ubique præsens est: quia ubique est veritas, ubique est sapientia. Intelligit quis in oriente justitiam: intelligit quis [al. alius] in occidente justitiam. Nunquid alia est justitia, quam ille intelligit, alia, quam iste?*

Aug. In Jo-  
han. tract.  
35. [iii. pt. 2.  
540.]

"The wisdom of God, the word of God, our Lord Jesus Christ is every where present: for the truth is every where, and wisdom is every where. One man understandeth righteousness in the east, another understandeth righteousness in the west. And doth the one of them understand one righteousness, and the other another?" So

τὸν αἰὲ προσφέρομεν· οὐ νῦν μὲν ἕτερον πρόβατον, αὔριον δὲ ἕτερον, ἀλλ' αἰὲ τὸ αὐτό· ὥστε μία ἐστὶν ἡ θυσία. ἐπεὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ἐπειδὴ πολλαχοῦ προσφέρεται, καὶ πολλοὶ Χριστοὶ; ἀλλ' οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλ' εἰς πανταχοῦ ὁ Χριστός, καὶ ἐνταῦθα πλήρης ὢν καὶ ἐκεῖ πλήρης, ἐν σώμα. ὥσπερ οὖν πολλαχοῦ προσφερόμενος ἐν σώμα ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ σώματα, οὕτω καὶ μία θυσία. . . τοῦτο

εἰς ἀνάμνησιν γίνεται τοῦ τότε γενομένου· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιεῖτε, φησὶ, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. οὐκ ἄλλην θυσίαν, καθάπερ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τότε, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰὲ ποιοῦμεν· μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας. This extract contains the whole of the quotation as separately given by Harding and Jewel. They have both used the translation of Mutianus Scholasticus.]

likewise, and somewhat near to the manner of Chrysostom's speech, Origen speaketh: .....*Et hodie in hac congregatione Dominus loquitur: et non solum in hac, sed etiam in alio cœtu, et in toto orbe docet Jesus, quærens organa, per quæ doceat:* "And even this day, in this congregation, the Lord speaketh: and not only in this, but also in another company, and in the whole world, Jesus teacheth, seeking instruments, by which he may teach." In this sort is Christ present at the holy ministration, because his truth, his wisdom, his righteousness, his word, is there present, as the face is present in the glass: not by any bodily or fleshly presence. In this manner St. Ambrose writeth: *Cælum aspice: Jesus illic est. Terram intueri: Jesus adest.....Si ascenderis in cælum, Jesus illic est: si descenderis ad infernum, adest. Hodie, cum loquor, mecum est: intra hunc [l. hoc] punctum, intra hoc momentum. Et si in Armenia nunc loquatur Christus, Jesus adest. Nemo enim dicit Dominum Jesum, nisi in Spiritu Sancto:* "Look up into the heaven: there is Jesus. Behold the earth: Jesus is there. If thou mount up into heaven, there is Jesus. If thou go down into hell, Jesus is present. Even now while I speak, Jesus is with me, even at this hour, even at this minute. And if any Christian man speak now in Armenia, so far hence Jesus is with him. For no man saith, The Lord Jesus, but in the Holy Ghost." And such kind of presence at one time in sundry places, is avouched by St. Chrysostom, not only of Christ's body, which is immortal and glorious, but also of any other godly mortal man. For thus he writeth: *Vidistis charitatis excellentiam, quemadmodum unum hominem inexpugnabilem reddat, et multiplicet: et quemadmodum unus in multis locis esse possit: idem et in Perside et Romæ. Nam quod natura non potest, potest charitas. Nam ejus hoc quidem hic erit, hoc autem illic. Quin potius integer hic, et integer illic. Itaque si mille habeas amicos, vel duo millia, perpende quorsum possit potentia pervenire. Vides quemadmodum charitas res sit augmentativa. Hoc enim est mirabile, quod unum facit millicuplum:* "Thou hast seen the excellent working of charity, how it fortifieth a man, as it were, in a castle,

Origen. in  
Lucam, hom.  
32. [ill. 970.]

Ambr. in Lu-  
cam, lib. 2.  
cap. 1. [l.  
1286.]

†Chrysost.  
ad Populum  
Antiochen.  
hom. 51.



and multiplieth him, and being one man, maketh him many. Thou hast seen how one man may be in many places: one man in Persia, and the same man in Rome. For charity can do that nature cannot do. Of one man, one portion shall be here, and another portion there. Nay rather, he shall be whole here, and whole there. Therefore if one man have a thousand friends, or two thousand, consider how far he may reach by his power. Thou seest how that charity is a matter of increase. And this is a wonder; it maketh one man to be a thousand fold more than he is, and as if he were a thousand men<sup>3</sup>."

The same answer may serve also for St. Bernard: howbeit his authority in this case is not great, as living in the very time of corruption, at the least eleven hundred years after Christ, and so five hundred years at the least without the compass of the first six hundred years.

M. HARDING: *Ninth Division.*

Thus all these fathers, as likewise the rest, confess as it were with one mouth, that Christ sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and yet is here present in the sacrament the same time; that he is in heaven and in earth at once, in many and diverse places, one and the same is every where offered, the one true sacrifice of the church. And this article is by them so clearly and plainly uttered, that (151) figures, significations, tropes and metaphors can find no appearance nor colour at all. Whereby the new masters' reasons seem very peevish: Christ is ascended; *ergo*, he is not in the sacrament. Christ is in heaven sitting at the right hand of his Father; *ergo*, he is not in earth. Christ's body is of nature finite; *ergo*, it is contained in a place circumscriptively; *ergo*, it is not in many places.

The 151st untruth. For these very words of Ambrose and Chrysostom are full of figures, as shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding needeth no great study to answer our arguments. It is sufficient for him to pronounce by authority, "These new masters' arguments be all peevish." Verily it appeareth by the whole substance and course of M. Harding's book, that he hath some good pretty skill in peevish

<sup>3</sup> [Chrysost. ad Pop. Antioch. There are only 21 genuine Homil. ad Pop. Antiochen.]

arguments: otherwise he could not have them, and use them in such plenty. But the old learned fathers oftentimes and commonly used such arguments of Christ's humanity, and yet were they never reproved as peevish for the same, but only by heretics. St. Augustine saith: *Donec sæculum finiatur, sursum est Dominus: sed tamen etiam hic nobiscum est veritas Domini* [al. *Dominus*]. *Corpus enim, in quo resurrexit, in uno loco esse oportet* [al. *potest*]: "Until the world be ended, the Lord is above; yet notwithstanding, even here is the truth of the Lord. For the body wherein he rose again must needs be in one place<sup>4</sup>." St. Cyrillus saith: *Christus non poterat in carne versari cum apostolis, postquam ascendisset ad Patrem*:

De Con. dist.  
2. Prima.  
[August. iii.  
pt. 2. 517.]

Cyril. in Jo-  
han. lib. 11.  
cap. 2. [iv.  
932.]

"Christ could not be conversant with his apostles in his flesh, after that he had ascended unto his Father<sup>5</sup>." So St. Augustine, writing against the heretic Manichee, that seemed much to savour of M. Harding's error, saith:

Aug. contra  
Faustum Ma-  
nichæum, lib.  
20. cap. 11.  
[viii. 341.]

*Christus secundum præsentiam corporalem, simul et in sole, et in luna, et in cruce esse non potuit*: "Christ, according to the presence of his body, could not be both in the sun, and in the moon, and upon the cross at one time." Again

Aug. epist.  
57. [ii. 681.]

he saith: *Christus venturus est, illa angelica voce testante, quemadmodum ire visus est in cælum, id est, in eadem carnis forma atque substantia: cui profecto immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit*: "Christ shall come again, as it is witnessed by the angel, even as he was seen to go into heaven: that is, in the same shape and substance of his flesh; unto which flesh, as he hath given immortality, so hath he left unto it the same nature that it had before." Thus St. Augustine. And further he saith: "That whoso holdeth that Christ's body is both in heaven and in earth at one time, utterly dissolveth and destroyeth the nature of the body of Christ." To be short, and not to overcharge the reader with allegations, St. Augustine seemeth to give a special note by way of prophecy, touching the same. For thus he saith: *His dictis mox ascendit in cælum: præmu-*

Aug. de Uni-  
tate Eccles.  
cap. 10. [ix.  
355.]

<sup>4</sup> [See supr. p. 394. note <sup>91</sup>.]

<sup>5</sup> [Cyril. in Johan. . . . οὐ γὰρ τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις ἄνω γεγονότα  
ἦν ἔτι συνδιατᾶσθαι μετὰ σαρκὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.]

*nire voluit aures nostras adversus eos, quos, procedentibus temporibus, exurrecturos esse prædixerat, et dicturos: Ecce hic Christus, ecce illic: quibus ne crederemus, admonuit. Nec ulla nobis excusatio est, si crediderimus adversus vocem Pastoris (nostri) tam claram, tam apertam, tam manifestam, ut nemo vel obtusus, et tardus corde, possit dicere, Non intellexi: “ These words spoken, he ascended into heaven. Hereby he gave our ears a premunire against them, which he foretold us would rise in process of time, and say, Behold, here is Christ: behold, there is Christ. Unto whom he warned us we should give no credit. Neither have we now any manner excuse, if we believe them against the voice of our Shepherd, being so clear, so open, and so plain, that no man, be he never so heavy or dull of heart, can justly say, I understood him not.” Thus the old catholic doctors thought they might warrant the arguments for good and effectual, that they took of Christ’s humanity, and of the natural substance of his body. But perhaps they must all go for new masters, and their arguments likewise be condemned for peevish.*

Matt. xxiv.  
23.  
Luke xvii.  
23.

Let us therefore consider the arguments that M. Harding and his company have founded hereupon. Thus therefore reason they: Christ is ascended into heaven in his humanity: the heavens must hold his body, as St. Peter saith, until all things be restored: St. Paul saith, Our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour Jesus Christ: Christ saith, I leave the world, and go to my Father: The poor ye shall still have among you, but me ye shall not have: *ergo*, say they, Christ is still here in the world in his corporal and fleshly presence. Christ’s body is of nature and substance finite: *ergo*, it is in places infinite. Christ hath two sorts of bodies: one only local; all the rest of the other sort not local. It is in place, yet it occupieth or filleth no place. It is a very natural man’s body; yet is it neither round, nor square, nor thick, nor broad, nor short, nor long. It hath in it no distance, or difference of parts; as between eye and eye, or eye and ear, or head and foot; but eye, ear, arm, hand,

Acts i. 9. iii.  
21.

Phil. iii. 20.

John xvi. 10.

Matt. xxvi.  
11.

Thomas in 3.  
quæst. 76. art.  
3, 4, 5.



heel, toe, head and foot are all together, and each is other, and all is one. In ten thousand several places Christ's body is full and whole: and yet all these are but one body. Thus one is many, and many are one: above is beneath, and beneath is above: local is not local, and not local is local: and all this without the authority, either of God's holy word, or of any one old catholic father. These be M. Harding's catholic conclusions: even the very same that were used and avouched by Eutyches, Apollinarius, Manichæus, and other like heretics in old times: and therefore they may not now be counted peevish. And that thou mayest the better feel the savour and soundness of these men's doctrine, I beseech thee, gentle reader, to consider these words of Robert Holcot, a great doctor of that side:

Holcot, in 4.  
Senten. q. 3.

*Si fuissent mille hostiæ in mille locis, (eo tempore, quo Christus pependit in cruce,) Christus fuisset crucifixus in mille locis:* "If there had been a thousand hosts in a thousand places, at that very time when Christ hung upon the cross, then had Christ been crucified in a thousand places." Again he saith: *Pono, quod tempore illo, &c.:* "I suppose, that, at the same time, the soul of Christ, departing from his body upon the cross, had come unto, and rested in one of the said hosts: if so, then had Christ's body been both quick and dead at one time." Thus much D. Holcot. Here hast thou, good reader, a taste of M. Harding's doctrine, in respect whereof all other doctrine must needs be condemned, and cast as peevish. Alas! they wander up and down in mere vanities, and, as St. Paul saith, they would be the doctors of the law, not understanding neither what they say nor what they affirm. Verily St. Augustine saith: *Quando de forma servi cogitas in Christo, humanam effigiem cogita, si est in te fides:* "When thou thinkest of the form of a servant in Christ, think of the form of a man, if thou have any faith in thee."

1 Tim. i. 7.

Aug. in Jo-  
han. tract.  
40. [iii. pt. 2.  
566.]

This matter, saith M. Harding, is so clearly uttered by these fathers, that figures, significations, tropes and metaphors, can have no place. M. Harding would not thus have said, if he had any regard unto his reader. By the

very order and tenour of these fathers' words: "Christ cometh, and yet cometh not. Christ is not seen, and yet is seen. Christ is touched with hands, yet no man can touch him. Every man seeth him without guile or error, yet no man seeth him. Elias is above, and at the same time the same Elias is beneath. Elias' coat is called Elias." Chrysostom and Ambrose are fain both to correct the rigour of their speech, and to use these words, memory, exemplar, commemoration, and remembrance. And what is there here else but figures? Yet saith M. Harding, "Significations and figures here can have no place." It is too great tyranny so much to mock and abuse God's people.

M. HARDING: *Tenth Division.*

In making of which slender arguments, they will not seem to acknowledge whose body it is, even that which is proper to God, whose power is over all, and to whom all things obey.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Yes undoubtedly we acknowledge the body of Christ to be the body of the Son of God, and therefore the body of very God. Yet nevertheless we know, and M. Harding also ought to know, that the same body of Christ is a creature, and therefore no God. And surely, if M. Harding had well considered the principles of his own doctrine, he might soon have found out the folly of this reason. For Albertus Magnus, his own doctor, is full against him. Thus he writeth: *Corpus Christi non est in pluribus locis ratione unionis, sed ratione consecrationis, quia consecratur in pluribus locis*: "The body of Christ is not in many places by mean of the union it hath with the Godhead, but by mean of the consecration, because it is consecrate in many places." Thus Albertus wrote of Christ's body, contrary to M. Harding's meaning, notwithstanding he was not ignorant whose body it was.

Indeed Eutyechianus<sup>6</sup> saith: *Hæc fallendi simplices atque ignorantes hæreticis occasio est, &c.*: "This occasion

Albertus Magnus in Dionys. Eccl. Hierarch.

Eutyechiani PP. epl. 1. [Crabb. l. p. 175.]

<sup>6</sup> [This is one of the Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianæ.]

heretics have to beguile the simple and the ignorant; that the things that are spoken of Christ according to his manhood, they imagine the same to be spoken according to the infirmity of the divine nature: and because Christ, being one person, speaketh all things of himself, they say, he spake all things of his Godhead." Thus Eutyechianus saith. M. Harding's reason served well heretics in old times, therewith to beguile the people then, as he doth now. So the old heretics Saturninus, Manichæus, and Marcion, denied the verity of Christ's flesh, because it is joined and united to the Godhead. So <sup>a</sup>Athanasius<sup>7</sup> and <sup>b</sup>Epiphanius say, that the heretic Apollinarius held, and taught the people, that Christ's body was of one substance with the Deity.

In consideration of the same union, the <sup>c</sup>emperor Justinian was led into the heresy of certain that were called <sup>d</sup>Aφθαρτοδοκηταί, and held, that Christ's body was evermore glorious, and without corruption. So likewise was Eutyeches deceived: likewise the godly learned father St. Hilary, as it is said before. All these heresies and errors sprang only of M. Harding's reason, for that the authors and maintainers thereof, yielding reverence unto Christ's body, as duty required, overmuch considered whose body it was.

It is indeed, as I said before, the body of God. But St. Augustine saith: *Non, quod in Deo est, est ubique, ut Deus*: "Whatsoever is in God, is not therefore every where, as God is." And again: *Cavendum est, ne ita divinitatem astruamus hominis, ut veritatem corporis auferamus*: "We must beware that we do not so defend the Godhead of the man, that we destroy the truth of his body." And therefore Epiphanius, expressing the state of Christ's immortal body, as it is now in heaven, writeth thus: *Sedet ad dextram Patris, &c.*: "He sitteth at his Father's right hand in glory, not putting away his body, but joining the same in spiritual condition in the perfection of one Godhead: even as our bodies, that now are

<sup>a</sup> Athanas. de Incarnatione Christi. [i. 923.]

<sup>b</sup> Epiphani. de Ebionæis. [De Dimertis, tom. i. p. 997.]

<sup>c</sup> τὸ σῶμα Χριστοῦ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τῆ θεότητι.

<sup>d</sup> Euagr. lib. 4. c. 39. [iii. 422.]

Nicéph. lib. 17. cap. 29. [ii. 783.]

Hilar. lib. 10. de Trinitat. [p. 1058.]

Aug. epist. 57. ad Dardanum. [ii. 681.]

Epiphani. lib. 3. 2. In brevi declaratione de Fide Catholica. [i. p. 1100.]  
ὡς καὶ τὰ ἡμῶν σώματα μέλει, &c.

<sup>7</sup> [Athanas. de Incarn. Christi. . . . ποτὲ μὲν ἄκτιστον καὶ ἐπουρά- νιον λέγοντες τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σάρκα, ποτὲ δὲ ὁμοούσιον τῆς θεότητος.]



sown according to the flesh, shall be raised again according to the Spirit." So saith the godly martyr Vigilus<sup>8</sup>: *Caro Christi, quando in terra fuit, non erat in cælo: et nunc, quia est in cælo, non est utique in terris*: "The flesh of Christ, when it was in the earth, was not in heaven: and now, because it is in heaven, is not verily in the earth." This holy father assureth it, and avoucheth it for true, and saith: "Verily it is not in the earth:" and his reason is only this: "Because it is in heaven." And he concludeth thus at the last: *Hæc est fides, et professio [al. confessio] catholica, quam apostoli tradiderunt, martyres roboraverunt, et fideles hucusque custodiunt*: "This is the catholic profession and faith, which the apostles have delivered, the martyrs have confirmed, and the faithful hitherto do continue." Thus the old catholic fathers in old times believed, and wrote of Christ's body: and yet they had not forgotten whose body it was.

Vigilius contra Eutychem, lib. 4. [Bibl. Patr. viii. p. 733.] Quia est in cælo.

The catholic faith.

#### M. HARDING: Eleventh Division.

But because M. Jewel, and they of that sect, seem to set little by these fathers, though very ancient, St. Bernard excepted, and of the church holden for saints, I will bring forth the authority of Martin Bucer, a late doctor of their side, though not canonize for a saint as yet, for that I know. This new father, whom they esteem so much, and was the reader of divinity in Cambridge in king Edward's time, very vehemently, and for so much truly, affirmeth the true real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. For he saith, Christ said not, This is my spirit; this is my virtue: but, This is my body. Wherefore we must believe, saith he, Christ's body to be there, even the same that did hang upon the cross, our Lord himself. Which in some part to declare, he useth the similitude of the sun for his purpose, contrary to M. Jewel's negative, to prove Christ's body present, and that really and substantially, in what places soever the sacrament is rightly ministered. His words be these: *Ut sol vere uno in loco cæli visibilis circumscriptus est, radius tamen suis præsens vere*

This similitude of the sun clearly openeth the whole matter. For the substance or body of the sun is really present only in one place.

In Comment. in 16 cap. Matthei.

<sup>8</sup> [The Vigilus, who wrote against Eutyches, is now by learned men considered to have been Vigilus Tapsitanus (of Africa), A. D. 484, who, according to Cave's account, does not appear to have suffered martyrdom. In Jewel's age, that and other works of his were attributed to the martyr Vigilus Tridentinus, (A. D. 390.)]

*et substantialiter exhibetur ubilibet orbis: ita Dominus, etiamsi circumscribatur uno loco cæli arcani, et divini, id est, gloriæ Patris; verbo tamen suo, et sacris symbolis, vere, et totus ipse, Deus et homo, præsens exhibetur in sacra cæna, eoque substantialiter; quam præsentiam non minus certo agnoscit mens credens verbis his Domini, et symbolis, quam oculi vident, et habent solem præsentem demonstratum, et exhibitum sua corporali luce. Res ista arcana est, et Novi Testamenti, res fidei: non sunt igitur huc admittendæ cogitationes de præsentatione corporis, quæ constat ratione hujus vitæ etiam patibilis et fluxæ. Verbo Domini simpliciter inhærendum est, et debet fides sensuum defectui præbere supplementum.* Which may thus be Englished: "As the sun is truly placed determinately in one place of the visible heaven, and yet is exhibited truly and substantially by his beams every where abroad in the world: so our Lord, although he be contained in one place of the secret and divine heaven, that is to wit, the glory of his Father, yet for all that, by his word and holy tokens, he is exhibited present in his holy supper truly, and himself whole, God and man, and therefore substantially, or in substance. Which presence the mind, giving credit to these our Lord's words and tokens, doth no less certainly acknowledge, than our eyes see, and have the sun present shewed and exhibited with his corporal light. This is a secret matter, and of the New Testament; a matter of faith: therefore herein thoughts be not to be admitted of such a presentation of the body as consisteth in the manner of this life passible and transitory. We must simply cleave to the word of our Lord; and where our senses fail, there must faith help to supply." Thus we see how Bucer, in sundry other points of faith both deceived and also a deceiver, confirmeth the truth of this article pithily and plainly. Such is the force of truth, that oftentimes it is confessed by the very enemies of truth.

Fight not with the church, M. Jewel, but fight with the enemy of the church. Fight with him whom you have followed in departing from the church, who nevertheless by force of truth is driven against you to confess the truth in those most plain words: *Vere et totus ipse, Deus et homo, præsens exhibetur in sacra cæna, eoque substantialiter*: "In this holy supper himself, God and man, is exhibited present, truly and whole, and therefore substantially."

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

God's name be praised, neither do we refuse the judgment of the ancient fathers in these cases; neither hath Master Harding, for aught that may yet appear, any just cause thus to vaunt himself of the same. Here he allegeth

the authority of Dr. Bucer, even as the heretic Eutyches sometime, to maintain his heresy, alleged St. Cyprian<sup>9</sup>, [leg. Cyril,] or as the Nestorian heretics alleged the authority of the Nicene council. For, notwithstanding Dr. Bucer, to avoid contention, as a man desirous of peace, was content to yield unto certain indifferent terms, as Osius, that learned father, sometime did in the council of Ariminum, to the Arians, yet was his resolution herein evermore thoroughly and fully known. And the very similitude or example, that he useth of the sun, putteth the matter out of all question. For like as the body or compass of the sun being in one certain place of the heavens, reacheth out his beams, and giveth influence into the world; even so Christ, the Sun of justice, being in heaven, in one place at the right hand of God, likewise reacheth out his beams, and giveth his influence into the faithful, and so feedeth them, not by bare imagination or phantasy, but truly, substantially, and indeed. And as the sun is more comfortable, and more refresheth the world, being absent, by his beams, than if his very natural substance and compass lay here upon the earth; even so the body of Christ, being in the glory of his Father, in the very substance and nature of our flesh, and there evermore intreating mercy for our sins, is much more comfortable unto us, and more quickeneth both our bodies and souls by his heavenly and spiritual influence, than if it were here present fleshly before our eyes. And as the sun not coming down from heaven, nor leaving his place, is nevertheless present with us in our houses, in our faces, in our hands, and in our bosoms; even so Christ being in heaven, not coming down, nor leaving his room there, yet nevertheless is present with us in our congregations, in our hearts, in our prayers, in the mystery of baptism, and in the sacrament of his

In Concil. Chalcedon. act. 1. [vi. 809.]

Concil. tom. 1. in Apologético Cyrilli.

In Præfatione Concil. Sardiæn. [Crabb. i. 328.]

Hilarius.

The sun.

<sup>9</sup> [Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. Bishop Jewel, by an oversight here and at p. 54. (fol. ed. 1609.) of the Defence of the Apology, names St. Cyprian instead of St. Cyril. “. . . ego legi scripta beati Cyrilli,

“et sanctorum patrum et sancti Athanasii. . .” At p. 441. of the Defence of the Apology the name of St. Cyril is given correctly.]



- Ambros. in Lucam, lib. 10. c. 24. [l. 1538.] body and blood. Therefore St. Ambrose saith: *Maria, quia querebat in terra, tangere non potuit: Stephanus tetigit, quia querebat in caelo*: "Mary could not touch Christ, because she sought him upon the earth: but Stephen touched him, because he sought him in heaven." And
- Ibidem. [l. 1537.] again he saith: *Non enim corporali tactu, sed fide tangimus*: "For we touch not Christ by any bodily mean, but by our faith." And therefore again he saith: *Stephanus intra caelos [al. inter Judaeos] Dominum cernit absentem*: "Stephen seeth Christ, being absent, within the heavens<sup>10</sup>." So saith Origen: *Per evangelistarum, et apostolorum praedicationem: per sui sancti corporis, et sanguinis sacramentum: per gloriosum crucis signaculum, nobiscum Deus*: "God is with us by the preaching of the evangelists and apostles; by the sacrament of his body and blood; and by the glorious sign of his cross<sup>11</sup>." So St. Augustine: *O stulta infidelitas persequentis! Si quaeris exilium, quo Christianus jubeatur ire, prius si potes inveni, quo Christus cogatur exire*: "O the fond infidelity of this persecutor! If thou seek a place of banishment, whither thou mayest command a Christian man to go; first, if thou can, find a place from whence thou mayest command Christ to depart." And again, thus he writeth unto the godly widow
- Augustin. de Natali B. Cypriani Serm. 12. [v. 1247.] Italica: *Non debes te desolatam arbitrari, cum in interiore homine habeas Christum praesentem per fidem in corde tuo*: "Thou mayest not think thyself to be desolate, while thou hast Christ present in thy heart, in the inner man by faith."
- Aug. epist. 6. [ii. 227.] So again: *Non est Judaeus, non est Graecus, &c. Sed omnia, et in omnibus Christus*: "There is no Jew, there is no Gentile; but Christ is all and in all." In like sense St.
- Aug. de Ser-mone Domini in Monte, lib. 1. [iii. pt. 2. 182.] Hieronym. [ad Theoph.] adversus errores Johan. Hieros. [iv. pt. 2. 338.] Hierom saith: *Tangat digitulo: et ultro exhibimus. Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus. Christus loco non tenetur inclusus*: "Let him push us with his finger; and we will

<sup>10</sup> [The Sermo de Maria Magdal., though printed in the Frobenian edition of 1555, is not by St. Ambrose, but, as is stated in that edition, by Maximus, amongst

whose works it will also be found in Bibl. Patrum.]

<sup>11</sup> [This is not a genuine work of Origen; but it is printed in the Frob. edition of 1557.]

forth willingly. The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. Christ is not holden prisoner in any place."

Thus is Christ present amongst us: thus we feel him: thus we see him. But all this is the work of faith: it needeth no fleshly or local presence. Therefore St. Augustine saith: *Non recte tangitur, id est, non recte in illum creditur*: "He is not touched well; that is to say, he is not believed well." So saith St. Bernard: *Tangitur, sed affectu, non manu: voto, non oculo: fide, non sensibus*: "He is touched, but with devotion, not with hand: with zeal, not with eye: with faith, not with sense." And thus we say, we have Christ present, not as M. Harding saith, only for a minute of an hour, wherein is neither savour nor comfort: but verily, effectually, and, if he be delighted with that word, substantially, and for ever, even unto the consummation of the world. Neither doth he deny that Christ is present, that denieth this imagination of gross and fleshly presence. Origen saith: *Si virtus Jesu congregatur cum his, qui congregantur in nomine ejus, non peregrinatur a suis, sed semper præsto est eis*: "If the power of Jesus be together with them that are gathered in his name, then is not he absent from his own, but is evermore present with them."

By these few, I trust, it may appear, that we neither are departed from the church of God, nor fight against the church. But you, M. Harding, under this glorious title of the church, think to carry yourself invisible. Howbeit, as there be two sorts of faiths, so are there two sorts of churches: the one true, the other false. Your church, being as now utterly void of God's word, is as a lantern without light. Leo writing against such as you be, saith thus: *Ecclesiæ nomine armamini, et contra ecclesiam dimicatis*: "Ye arm yourselves with the name of the church: and yet ye fight against the church." St. John in his Revelations saith: "They name themselves Jews," that is, "the people of God, but they are the synagogue of Satan." O fight not, M. Harding, thus against God: fight not against your own conscience. "It is hard for you thus to kick against the prick." The more ye fight, the more ye

August. in  
Johan. tract.  
121. [iii. pt.  
2. 808.]

Bernar. in  
Cantica Cant.  
serm. 28.  
[tom. iv.  
1373.]

Orig. in Mat-  
thæ. tractat.  
33. [iii. 88a.]

Leo ad Palæ-  
stinos. [l.  
637.]

Rev. ii. 9.

Acts ix. 5.

bewray your own nakedness. These colours and shadows must needs fade : God with his truth will have the victory. *Amen.*

M. HARDING : *Twelfth Division.*

Now to be short, whereas the chief arguments, that be made against the being of Christ's body in many places at once, be deduced of nature, in respect that this article seemeth to them to abolish nature, it may please them to understand, that God, who is Author of nature, can by his power do with a body, that which is above the nature of a body, nature not destroyed, but kept and preserved whole. Which Plato, the heathen philosopher, would soon have been induced to believe, if he were alive ; who asked : "What was nature ?" answered, *Quod Deus vult*, "That which God will." And therefore we believe, that Enoch and Elias, yet mortal by nature, do by power of God live in body, and that above nature. Habbacuc was by the same power caught up, and in a moment carried from Jewry to Babylon, his nature reserved whole. St. Peter by God according to nature walked on the earth, the same by God besides nature walked upon the waters. Christ, after condition of nature assumed, suffered death in body ; the same Christ by his divine power entered with his body in to his disciples through doors closed.

M. Harding seemeth not well to consider what Plato meant.

[Bel. and Drag. v. 36.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Our proofs are grounded, not only upon natural reason, but also upon the express and known will of God. And by such arguments the learned fathers were wont in old times to dispute of Christ's humanity against Apollinarius, Manichæus, Eutyches, and other like heretics, without controlment. For natural reason, holden within her bands, is not the enemy, but the daughter of God's truth. And therefore he must be very unreasonable, that will thus without cause be angry with reason. But it appeareth that M. Harding, as he is utterly without scriptures and doctors in these cases, so is he also void of reason. As touching Plato, it seemeth there was hard hold, when a natural philosopher must stand forth, to prove Christ's mysteries. This matter, within these few hundred years, hath been attempted many ways : by logic, by philosophy, by the metaphysics, and by the names of old fathers. But when none of all these helps would serve, they imagined,



and brought forth *animosam fidem*, a faith without any word of God, bold to believe they knew not what. In the end finding their want and weakness herein, for that this faith had no ground, they devised miracles, and fires enow, and joined them with it: then was the matter sufficiently and fully proved.

But Plato saith: *Natura est, quod Deus vult*: "Nature is that thing that God will." First, what if M. Harding understand not what Plato meant? and what if Plato never understood what M. Harding meaneth? Yet must Plato's name serve to prove all M. Harding's phantasies? Plato saith: "Nature is whatsoever God will." Must we therefore conclude, that cold is hot: white is black: accident without subject: subject without accident: a body is no body: a nature finite is infinite? What a strange kind of philosophy hath M. Harding found out! It is a simple weapon that these men will refuse, to serve their turn.

The philosophers called *Epicuræi* held this phantasy, that God sitteth in heaven idly, and at ease, never encumbering or troubling himself with the rule of the world: and that therefore nature ruleth itself only by chance, and at adventure, without any certain direction of God's government: and that whatsoever is done therein, is no part of God's doing. Contrariwise, the philosophers called *Stoici*, held another phantasy, that God himself is nothing else but nature, and that therefore all things are wrought by necessity, and force of destiny, and that God is able to work no miracle, nor to do any thing contrary to the common course of nature. Both these follies Plato reproved by this short answer, *Natura est, quod Deus vult*. His meaning is, that nature is subject and obedient unto God, and that there is neither chance nor necessity in the course of nature: but all things are ordered by God's appointment, and natural causes are only the instruments of God's will. And therefore some compare nature to the horse, and God to the horseman, that bridleth her, and turneth her whither he listeth. And for the same cause Origen saith: *Anima mundi est virtus Dei*: "The soul of

Origen.  
περι ἀρχῶν.  
lib. 2. cap. 1.  
[1. 77.]

Basil. Hexae-  
meron. hom.  
1. [i. 6.]  
ψυχῶν διδα-  
σκαλείον,  
καὶ θεογνω-  
σίας παιδευ-  
τήριον.

the world is the power of God<sup>12</sup>." And St. Basil saith : " The world is the school of our souls, to lead us to know God." Therefore God was able by his power to divide the sea : to pull back, and to stay the sun : to open the earth : to make the water of Jordan to stand as a wall : to stay the fire from burning, and the water from drowning. If any man list to know the cause hereof, there is none other, but God's will. In this sense the philosopher Simonides was wont to say, *Solus Deus est metaphysicus* : " God alone is supernatural." And Pindarus for the same called God, Ἀριστότεχνον : " The best or skilfulest Artificer." Likewise St. Augustine saith : *Quomodo est contra naturam, quod Dei fit voluntate, cum voluntas tanti Conditoris sit cuscunq̄ue rei natura ?* " How is it against nature, that is done by God's will, seeing the will of so noble a Creator is the nature of every thing?" This undoubtedly was Plato's meaning. Now let us examine M. Harding's reasons.

" Nature is whatsoever God will : Elias and Enoch are yet alive in their bodies : Habbacuc was caught, and carried to Babylon : St. Peter walked upon the sea : *ergo*, Christ's body is at one time in a thousand places." These arguments hold a *posse, ad esse*, and might have stood the heretics Manichæus and Eutyches in some good stead : but in catholic schools they have no place.

But how is M. Harding so well assured of God's will? How knoweth he, that God will have Christ's body to be in a thousand places at one time : to be every where : to be infinite : to be nobody ? Verily, the ancient fathers, for any thing that may appear, never knew it. Contrariwise, he might have said, God's holy will was, that Christ should take the natural substance of a man's body : and, that in all things he should be like unto his brethren : and, that his body should be a creature : and, as St. Augustine saith, should be in one place. This is God's known and express will : therefore by Plato's judgment, this is nature. Cer-

Heb. ii. 17.

Augustin. de  
Civ. dist. 2.  
Prima.

<sup>12</sup> [Origen. "... ita et uni-  
" versum mundum velut animal  
" quoddam immane opinandum  
" puto, quod quasi ab una anima  
" virtute Dei ac ratione teneatur."]

tainly St. Augustine saith, as it is before alleged: *Christus corpori suo immortalitatem dedit: naturam non abstulit:* Augustin. epist. 57. [ii. 681.] "Christ gave immortality to his body: but he took not from it the former nature of a body." Thus much hath M. Harding gotten by the authority of Plato.

M. HARDING: *Thirteenth Division.*

Christ at his last supper according to nature sat down with his twelve disciples, and among them occupied a place at the table visibly, by his divine power there he held his body in his hands invisibly: (152) for, as St. Augustine saith, *Ferebatur manibus suis*, "He was borne in his own hands<sup>13</sup>:" where nature gave place, and his own body was in no places than one. Verily, *Non est abbreviata manus Domini*, "the hand of our Lord is not shortened," his power is as great as ever it was. And therefore let us not doubt, but he is able to use nature finite, infinitely: specially now, the nature of his body being glorified after his resurrection from the dead. And as the living is not to be sought among the dead, so the things that be done by the power of God above nature, are not to be tried by the rules of nature.

The 152nd untruth, standing in insufficient reporting, and misconstruing St. Augustin's words.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

St. Augustine saith: *Christus ferebatur in manibus suis*: "Christ was borne in his own hands." These words are often alleged, and seem at the view to sound somewhat of M. Harding's side. But being well weighed and considered, they discharge themselves, and are soon answered. First it is known and confessed that St. Augustine in reporting these words, either by mean of the translation, or by some other error, was much overseen, and alleged that for scripture, that indeed neither is any portion of the scripture, nor elsewhere to be found. For where he saith, David was borne in his own hands, the very text is this, *Collabebatur in manibus eorum*: "He went reeling in their hands." And so St. Basil allegeth, and expoundeth the same place: *παραφερόμενος ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν*, "carried along in the servants' hands." And thus St. Au-

1 Sam. xxi. 13.

Basil. in Psal. xxxiii. [i. 143.]

<sup>13</sup> [Augustin. in Psalm. xxxiii. "Et ferebatur in manibus suis. Hoc vero, fratres, quomodo posset fieri in homine, quis intelligat? Quis enim portatur in manibus suis? Manibus aliorum potest portari homo, manibus suis nemo portatur. Quomodo intelligatur

"in ipso David secundum literam non invenimus, in Christo autem invenimus. Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis, quando commendans ipsum corpus suum ait 'Hoc est corpus meum.' Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis."]

In expositione Psal. xxxiii. [lv. p. 214.]



gustine being deceived in the text, was fain to force the same to some violent construction.

Yet saith M. Harding, St. Augustine's words be plain, "Christ was borne in his own hands." It is neither indifferent, nor true dealing, thus to nip, and to proine<sup>15</sup> the doctors' sayings: and alleging a few words, to leave out the rest, and especially such words as be material, and able to give light unto the whole. For St. Augustine saith not, Christ bare himself really, substantially, and indeed in his own hands, as it is here untruly supposed: neither as master Harding hath added of his own, "by his divine power, or invisibly." But contrariwise he expoundeth himself by these words: *Ipse se quodammodo portabat*: "In a manner, and after a sort, he carried himself<sup>14</sup>." This word, *quodammodo*, in the schools is called *terminus diminuens*: which oftentimes in reasoning breedeth error. For these words, *quodammodo*, "after a sort," and, *vere*, "verily," or "indeed," are ever contrary. So saith St. Augustine: *Sacramentum corporis Christi, secundum quendam modum corpus Christi est*: "The sacrament of Christ's body, in a certain sort, is the body of Christ." And this sort or manner he expoundeth thus: *Nisi enim sacramenta similitudinem quandam earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent*: "Unless sacraments had some likeness of those things, whereof they be sacraments, they should utterly be no sacraments."

Likewise saith Bertramus: *Secundum quendam modum corpus Christi est [esse cognoscitur]*. *Modus hic in figura est, et in imagine*: "The sacrament after a certain manner

Quodammodo.  
[August. in  
Psal. xxxiii.  
serm. 2. tom.  
iv. 216.]

Augustin.  
epist. 23. ad  
Bonifac. [ii.  
267.]

Ibidem.

Bertramus  
de Sacram.  
Euchar.  
[sect. 84.]

<sup>14</sup> [It is to be observed, that the qualifying word "quodammodo" is not found in the same sermon upon Psalm xxxiii. which Harding meant to quote (printed in the preceding note); but in the sermon (on the same Psalm) which immediately follows, where St. Augustine is recapitulating his yesterday's sermon upon the title, "Quomodo ferebatur in manibus suis? Quia, cum commendaret ipsum corpus suum, accepit in manus suas quod norunt fideles, et ipse se portabat quodammodo,

"cum diceret 'Hoc est corpus meum.'" But whatever weight this may be allowed in palliation of Harding's "dealing," yet he was surely bound to consider the commentary on St. Augustine's words, furnished in a sermon immediately following, by that father himself on the same text.]

<sup>15</sup> [This word, now obsolete, is used by B. Jonson and Chaucer; "probably," says Mr. Tyrwhitt, "from the Fr. *provignier*, to take cuttings from vines, in order to plant them out."]

is the body of Christ: this manner standeth in a figure, and in a representation." So likewise the very barbarous gloss upon the decrees expoundeth the same: *Cœleste sacramentum, quod vere repræsentat corpus Christi, dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie. Unde dicitur, suo modo: sed non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio: ut sit sensus, vocatur corpus Christi: id est, significat corpus Christi:* "The heavenly sacrament, which verily doth represent the flesh of Christ, is called Christ's body: but not in plain kind of speech. Therefore St. Augustine saith, *suo modo*, 'after a sort:' which is, not in the very truth of the matter, but by a mystery signifying: that the meaning be thus, It is called the body of Christ, because it signifieth the body of Christ." Touching the thing that Christ held in his hand, St. Augustine confesseth it was bread: for thus he writeth: *Quamvis panem, quem Dominus gestavit in manibus, oculis suis non aspexerint:* "Albeit they never saw with their eyes the bread, that the Lord held in his hands." Yet the same bread, because it is a sacrament of Christ's body, "after a sort," as St. Augustine saith, is also called Christ's body. Thus doth St. Augustine oftentimes use this word, *quodammodo*. For example, he writeth thus: *Ecclesia, quos lucrata fuerit aliquo modo, eos manducat quodammodo:* "The church after a sort eateth them, whom by any mean she hath gotten." And again upon the same psalm: *Quid est hærere cornibus, nisi quodammodo crucifigi? Figura est ista de Christo:* "What was it else, that the wether was tied by the horns, but after a sort to be crucified? Therefore this is a figure of Christ." In this sense St. Augustine saith, Christ, *quodammodo*, "after a sort," not verily, or indeed, but in a sacrament, or in a figure, bare himself in his hands.

But M. Harding will reply: St. Augustine saith thus: *Hoc quomodo intelligatur in ipso David secundum literam, non invenimus: in Christo autem invenimus:* "How this may be taken in David himself, according to the letter, we find not: but in Christ we find it." Therefore he will say, this must be verified in Christ, "even according to the letter." This error riseth of the misunderstanding of

De Con. dist.  
2. Hoc est.  
In Gloss.

Augustin. de  
Verb. Dom.  
in Evangel.  
Matt. [Luc.]  
serm. 33.  
[v. 566.]

Augustin. in  
Psalm. xxx.  
[Enarr. 3.  
iv. 159.]

Augustin. in  
Psalm. xxxiii.  
[iv. 214.]

Secundum  
literam.

these words of St. Augustine, *secundum literam*. Which sometime are used for the literal sense, or the very sound of the bare words: sometime for the historical sense, that is to say, for the course and tenor of the story. Now saith St. Augustine, that David should any way bear himself, *secundum literam*, "according to the story written of him," it doth not appear: but that Christ, "after a sort," that is, by way of a sacrament, thus carried himself, even in the story of the gospel, which is to say, *secundum literam*, it doth appear. And that these words, *secundum literam*, be oftentimes thus used, any man may soon perceive, that shall diligently note and consider the ancient fathers. First, St. Augustine, in the place alleged, uttereth this matter of David, in this sort: *In Regnorum libris, ubi omnia nobis scripta sunt, quæ pertinent ad res gestas David, non invenimus hoc*: "In the books of the Kings, whereas all things are written to us, that pertain to the doings of David, this thing we find not." And again in the same place: *Christus cum commendaret corpus et sanguinem suum, humilitatem suam commendavit, in eo, quod in ipsa historia scriptum est in illo quasi furore Davidis*: "When Christ recommended unto us his body and blood, he recommended unto us his humility, in that thing, that is written in the very story touching that madness of David." This is it that St. Augustine meant by these words, *secundum literam*. Now that this word, *litera*, is often taken for the story, it doth many ways appear. St. Augustine saith thus: *Ambrosius cum tractaret hunc locum, ait: Nec historia, nec litera docet, Mariam gladio finivisse vitam*: "Ambrose writing hereof, saith thus: Neither the story, nor the letter doth teach us, that Mary was slain with the sword<sup>15</sup>." So St. Hierom: *Escam dedit timentibus se*: "He gave food to them that fear him:" in the time of hunger he fed Elias: in the wilderness he rained manna unto the Jews. He addeth, *Et hoc secundum literam*: "And this according to the letter:" which is, according to the

Augustin. in  
Psal. xxxiii.  
[iv. 209.]

Ibidem.  
Conclon. 2.  
[iv. 216.]

Augustin. de  
Sanctis,  
serm. 35.  
[v. append.  
344.]

Hieronym.  
in Psalm. cx.  
et cxi. [li. pt.  
2. 425.]

<sup>15</sup> [Augustin. de Sanctis, serm. to Fulbertus Carnotensis, A.D. 35. The Bened. pronounce this 1007. Cave.]  
sermon spurious. It is attributed



story. So likewise St. Gregory : *Subditur, quod de eo minime scriptum legitur : Effudit in terram viscera mea : ex qua re necesse est, ut, dum hæc juxta literam invenire non possumus, ea, quæ in verbis ejus secundum historiam sonant, juxta spiritum inquiramus* : thus, St. Augustine useth these words, *secundum literam*, not for the literal sense, as these men would fain have it, but for the record, and knowledge of the story written of David. M. Harding should have remembered, that misunderstanding of his doctor maketh no sufficient proof. Howbeit, it is much to be feared, that M. Harding of purpose left out this word, *quodammodo* : and not of ignorance, but wittingly and willingly misrepresented and falsified St. Augustine's meaning. Certainly St. Augustine hath not one of all these words, neither, "by divine power:" nor, "invisibly:" nor, "nature gave place:" nor, "Christ's body was in mo places than one."

Gregor. in  
Joh. III. 13.  
cap. 6. [l.  
424.]

M. HARDING : *Fourteenth Division.*

And that all absurdities, and carnal grossness be severed from our thoughts, where true Christian people believe Christ's body to be in many places at once, they understand it so to be in a mystery. Now to be in a mystery, is not to be comprehended in a place, but by the power of God to be made present in sort and manner as he himself knoweth, verily so as no reason of man can attain it, and so, as it may be shewed by no examples in nature. Whereof that notable saying of St. Augustine may very well be reported : *O homo, si rationem a me pscis, non erit mirabile : exemplum quæritur, non erit singulare* : that is, "O man, if (153) (herein) thou require reason, it shall not be marvellous : seek for the like example, and then it shall not be singular<sup>16</sup>." "If God's working be comprehended by reason," saith holy Gregory, "it is not wondrous : neither faith hath meed, whereto man's reason giveth proof."

Being in a  
mystery re-  
quireth no  
corporal or  
real pre-  
sence.

The 153rd  
untruth. For  
these words  
of Augustine  
and Gregory  
pertain no-  
thing to the  
sacrament.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Being in a mystery, as it is before answered, like as it requireth no circumstance, or necessity of place, so it requireth no bodily, or real presence. Contrariwise, if

<sup>16</sup> [Harding's quotation from St. Augustine's Epist. to Volusianus should be this : "Si ratio quæritur, non erit impossibile, "si exemplum pscitur, non erit

"singulare." St. Augustine is answering certain questions of Volusianus touching the miraculous birth of our Lord.]

Augustin.  
Epist. ad  
Volusianum.  
[ii. 405.]  
Item, serm.  
159. De tem-  
pere. [v.  
app. 294.]

De Con. dist.  
2. Hoc est.  
In Glossa.

Christ's body were present indeed, and that in such gross and fleshly sort, as is here conceived, then were it no mystery. For, to be present in a mystery, and to be bodily and fleshly present, are taken for contraries. And therefore the Gloss saith, as is before alleged : *Sacramentum dicitur corpus Christi, non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio* : "The sacrament of Christ's body is called Christ's body, not in truth of the matter, but by a mystery signifying."

But, whereas it is further said, that this mystical presence is known only unto God, and, I trow, to M. Harding, and to no man beside, all this is nothing else but religious folly, imagined only to astonne and amaze the simple. For the scriptures and holy fathers are acquainted with no such mystery. The sacrament of baptism is a mystery, even as is the sacrament of Christ's body : and as Christ is present in the one, so is he also present in the other : that is to say, truly, verily, effectually, and indeed : howbeit not in this gross manner of M. Harding's fleshly presence. The places of St. Augustine and St. Gregory concern only Christ's incarnation, the union of the divinity and the humanity, and other such articles, and grounds of Christian religion, wherein nature and reason utterly have no place : and therefore being spoken of one thing, are applied by M. Harding unto another. Neither is M. Harding able truly to say, that in any of all those places, there is either mention once made, or one word spoken of the sacrament. Wherefore it seemeth, M. Harding would purposely mislead his reader, and teach him to reason in this sort :

Christ was miraculously incarnate of the blessed virgin :

*Ergo*, Christ's body is really and fleshly in the sacrament.

True it is, that the faith of our religion cannot be proved by discourse of reason. But every phantasy may not go for Christian faith. St. Paul saith : *Fides ex auditu : auditus ex verbo Dei* : "Faith cometh by hearing : hearing cometh by the word of God." Certainly M. Harding's new faith, or phantasy, in the time of the old catholic fathers, was neither christened, nor known in the world : as may ap-

Rom. x. 17.

pear by their own witness of good record. For besides others, whom in this treatise I have touched upon occasion by the way, St. Augustine writeth purposely hereof unto Dardanus in this wise: *Noli dubitare, ibi nunc esse hominem Christum Jesum, unde venturus est, &c.*: “Doubt thou not, but Christ Jesus, as man, is there, from whence he shall come: and have thou in remembrance, and faithfully hold the Christian confession, that he is risen from the dead: that he is ascended into heaven: that he sitteth at the right hand of his Father: and that from thence, and from nowhere else, he shall come, to judge the quick and the dead,..... even as he was seen going into heaven: that is, in the same form, and substance of his body: to which body undoubtedly he hath given immortality, but hath not taken from the same the nature of a body. According to this form,” of man, “we may not think, that Christ is poured abroad into all places. For we must beware, we do not so defend the Godhead of the Man, that we destroy the truth of his body.” Again: *Unus Christus Jesus*<sup>16</sup>: *ubique per id, quod Deus est: in cælo autem per id, quod homo*: “Christ Jesus is one person, and the same every where in that he is God: but he is in heaven, in that he is Man.” Again he saith: *Semper quidem divinitate nobiscum est: sed, nisi carnaliter abiret a nobis, semper ejus corpus carnaliter videremus*: “Christ by his Godhead is ever with us: but unless he had departed away bodily from us, we should evermore carnally see his body.” These words are specially to be noted. If Christ were bodily here, he should carnally be seen: therefore, by St. Augustine’s judgment, if Christ were bodily present in the sacrament, we should see him carnally in the sacrament. Again: *Et abiit, et hic est: et rediit, et nos non deseruit. Corpus enim suum intulit cælo: majestatem autem non abstulit mundo*: “He is gone, and yet is here. He is returned to his Father, and yet hath not forsaken us. For he hath carried his body into heaven: but he hath not taken his majesty from the world.” Again: *Pauperes semper habebitis vobiscum, &c.*: “The poor ye shall have evermore with you, but me you shall not have.”

Augustin.  
epist. 57 [ll.  
682.]

Cul profecto  
immortalita-  
tem deit :  
naturam non  
abstulit. . . Ca-  
vendum est,  
ne ita divini-  
tatem astrua-  
mus homi-  
nis, ut veri-  
tatem corpo-  
ris aufera-  
mus.

August. de  
Verb. Dom.  
in Evangel.  
secundum  
Johan. serm.  
60. [v. 692.]

August. in  
Johan. tract.  
50. [ll. pt. 2.  
631.]

Ibidem.  
[p. 634.]

<sup>16</sup> [Augustin. de Verb. Dom. “Utrumque est unus,” &c.]



Let good men hear this, and not be careful. For this he spake of the presence of his body. For according to his majesty, according to his providence, according to his unspeakable and invisible grace, it is fulfilled, that he said, 'I am with you always, until the consummation of the world.' But according to the flesh, that the Word received: according to that, he was born of the virgin: according to that, he was taken of the Jews: according to that, he was nailed to the cross: according to that, he was taken down, and lapt in a shroud, and laid in the grave, and rose again, and shewed himself: in this respect, (it is true, that he said,) 'Ye shall not evermore have me with you.'

Augustin. in  
Epist. Johan.  
tract. 1. [iii.  
pt. 2. 828.]

Likewise again: *Dominus consolatur nos, qui ipsum jam in cælo sedentem manu contrectare non possumus, sed fide contingere*: "The Lord doth comfort us, that cannot touch him with our hand sitting now in heaven: but may touch him notwithstanding with our faith." And again: *Si illi propterea crediderunt, quia tenuerunt, et palpaverunt, nos quid facimus? Jam Christus ascendit in cælum, et non est venturus, nisi in fine, ut judicet de vivis et mortuis*: "If they therefore believed in Christ, because they held him, and touched him, what do we then? For Christ is now ascended into heaven, and will not come again, but in the end, to judge the quick and the dead." So saith Origen:

Augustin. in  
Epist. Johan.  
tract. 2. [iii.  
pt. 2. 836.]

Origen. in  
Matt. tract.  
33. [iii. 883.]

*Christus secundum divinitatis suæ naturam non peregrinatur (a nobis): sed peregrinatur secundum dispensationem corporis, quod suscepit*: "Christ, according to the nature of his Godhead, is not a stranger unto us: but he is a stranger to us, touching the dispensation of the body, which he hath received." Again: *Nec est homo qui est, ubicunque duo vel tres in ejus nomine fuerint congregati, &c.*: "It is not Christ as man, that is wheresoever two or three be gathered in his name: neither is Christ, as man, with us always until the consummation of the world." So likewise

Origen. in  
eadem hom.

Hieronym. in  
Proverb. lib.  
1. cap. 7. [v.  
538.]

saith St. Hierom: *Christus non est corporaliter in ecclesia: surgens enim a mortuis, ascendit in cælum*: "Christ is not now bodily in the church: for being risen from the dead, he is ascended into heaven<sup>17</sup>."

<sup>17</sup> [Hieron. de Proverb. This work is not considered genuine by the Bened. edd. or by Cave.]

I pass over St. Ambrose, St. Gregory, St. Cyril, St. Basil, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Didymus, Beda, and otherlike ancient fathers. Thus were they then resolved of Christ's body : and this they took to be the catholic faith.

Yet neither were they therefore condemned for new masters : nor followed they only the judgment of nature, nor led they the world with peevish reasons : nor touching Christ's body, had they forgotten whose body it was : nor were they counted the enemies of God's omnipotent power : nor were they then thought to fight against the church. But M. Harding with his new devised phantasy, is a patron, and a maintainer of the Manichees, of the Apollinarists, of the Eutychians, and other mo horrible and old condemned heretics<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> [See an account of the Ubiquitarian Controversy in Le Bas' *Life of Jewel*; also Jewel's correspondence with Bullinger, (*Humphrey*, 217. 238,) and Peter Martyr's letter to Parkhurst, Aug. 1562. (Gen. ed. 1623.) In the *British Magazine* for January 1841. will be found references to Hooker and others.]

# OF ELEVATION.

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## THE SEVENTH ARTICLE.

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THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

**O**R that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head<sup>18</sup>.

M. HARDING.

Of what weight this ceremony is to be accounted, catholic Christian men, whom you call your adversaries, M. Jewel, know no less than you. Verily, whereas it pleaseth you thus to jest, and, like a Lucian, to scoff at the sacraments of the church, and the reverent use of the same, calling all these Articles in general the highest mysteries and greatest keys of our religion, without which our doctrine cannot be maintained, and stand upright: understand you, that this, as sundry other Articles, which you deny, and require proof of, is not such, ne never was so esteemed.

<sup>a</sup> The elevation of the sacrament is now no article of religion, yet in the late time of tyranny it was more looked unto, than any one article of the Trinity.

<sup>a</sup> The priest's lifting up, or shewing of the sacrament, is not one of the highest mysteries, or greatest keys of our religion: and the doctrine of the catholic church may right well be maintained, and stand without it. But it appeareth, you regard not so much what you say, as how you say somewhat for colour of defacing the church; which whiles you go about to do, you deface yourself more than you seem to be ware of, and do that thing, whereby among good Christian men, specially the learned, you may be

<sup>18</sup> [“The Elevation is comparatively speaking not an ancient rite. The Roman Ritualists, Bona, Merati, Benedict XIV, Le Brun, &c. acknowledge that the time of its origin is uncertain, and that there

is no trace of its existence before the eleventh or twelfth century in the West.”—Palmer's Treatise on the Church, i. 311, with references.]



ashamed to shew your face. For as you have over-rashly, yea, I may say, wickedly affirmed the negative of sundry other Articles, and stoutly craked of your assurance thereof, so you have likewise of this. For perusing the ancient fathers' writings, we find record of this ceremony used even (154) from the apostles' time forward. St. Dionyse, that was St. Paul's scholar, sheweth, that the priest at his time, after the consecration, was wont to (155) hold up the dreadful mysteries, so as the people might behold them. His words be these according to the Greek:

The 154th untruth, as shall appear.

The 155th untruth. For Dionysius hath no such words.

*Pontifex divina munera laude prosecutus, sacrosancta et augustissima mysteria conficit, et collaudata in conspectum agit per symbola sacre proposita:* "The bishop, after that he hath done his service of praising the divine gifts, consecrateth the holy and most worthy mysteries, and bringeth them so praised into the sight of the people, by the tokens set forth for that holy purpose<sup>19</sup>." On which place the ancient Greek writer of the Scholies

upon that work, saith thus: Τὸν κουφισμὸν, καὶ τὴν ὑψωσιν τῆς μιᾶς εὐλογίας τοῦ θείου ἄρτου φησὶ, ὃν ὑψοῖ ἱερεὺς λέγων, Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις: *Loquitur de unius benedictionis, nimirum panis divini, elevatione, quem pontifex* (156) *in sublime attollit, dicens, Sancta sanctis:*

"This father speaketh in this place, of the lifting up of the one blessing," that is to say, of the one form or kind of the sacrament, "even of that divine bread which the bishop lifteth up on high, saying, Holy things for the holy." <sup>a</sup> In St. Basil's and Chrysostom's Mass, we find these words: *Sacerdos, elevans sacram panem, dicit, Sancta sanctis:* "The priest, holding up that sacred bread, saith: Holy things for the holy." In St. Chrysostom's Mass we read, that as the people is kneeling down after the example of the priest and of the deacon, the deacon seeing the priest stretching forth his hands, and taking up that holy bread, πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι τὴν ἁγίαν ὑψωσιν, ἐκφωνεῖ, πρόσχωμεν: *ad sacram elevationem peragendam palam edicit, Attendamus:* "to do the holy elevation, speaketh out aloud, Let us be attent; and" (then) "the priest saith," as he holdeth up the sacrament, "Holy things for the holy."

The 156th untruth, standing in false translation. He meaneth, lifting up a little from the table, not over the head. Chrysostom, saith, Modicum.

Here is no mention of lifting over the head. M. Harding mistaketh one thing for another.

Amphilochius, of whom mention is made before, in the Life of St. Basil, speaking of his wondrous celebrating the mass, among other things saith thus: *Et post finem orationum, exaltavit panem, sine intermissione orans, et dicens, Respice Domine Jesu Christe, &c.:* "And after that he had done the prayers of consecration, he lifted up the bread, without ceasing praying, and saying, Look upon us, Lord Jesus Christ," &c. The same St. Basil meant likewise of the elevation and holding up of the sacrament after the custom of the occidental church, in his book *De Spiritu*

<sup>19</sup> [Dionys. Pseudo-Areopagita Eccl. Hierarch. Καὶ τὰς ἱεράς θεωουργίας ὁ ἱεράρχης ὑμνήσας, ἱερούργει τὰ θεϊότατα, καὶ ὑψοῦσιν ἅγει τὰ ὑμνημένα διὰ τῶν ἱερώς προκει-

μένων συμβόλων. καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς τῶν θεωργιῶν ὑποδείξας, εἰς κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν ἱεράν αὐτὸς τε ἔρχεται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προτροπέπειται.]

*Sancto*, where he saith thus, *Invocationis verba, dum ostenditur panis eucharistiæ, et calix benedictionis, quis sanctorum nobis scripto reliquit?* “Which of the saints hath left unto us in writing the words of invocation, whiles the bread of *eucharistia*,” (157) that is to wit, the blessed sacrament, in form of bread, “and the consecrated chalice, is shewed in sight?” He speaketh there of many things that be of great authority and weight in the church, which we have by tradition only, and cannot be avouched by holy scripture. Of shewing the holy mysteries to them that be present in the sacrifice, the old doctors make mention not seldom.

The 157th untruth, standing in false construction.

St. Chrysostom declareth the manner of it, saying, that such as were accounted unworthy and heinous sinners, were put forth of the church, whiles the sacrifice was offered, whiles Christ and that lamb of our Lord was sacrificed. Which being put out of the church, then were the veils (of the altar) taken away, to the intent the holy mysteries might be shewed in sight, doubtless to stir the people to more devotion, reverence, (158) and to the adoration of Christ’s body in them present. And thus for the elevation or holding up of the sacrament, we have said enough.

In Epist. ad Ephes. serm. 3. [xl. 23.] in Moral.

The 158th untruth. For the Grecians knew neither this kind of adoration, nor real presence.

#### THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding seemeth in part to disclaim this Article, as a matter of small weight, and none of the principal keys of his religion: wherein I see not, but I may safely and easily grant unto him: adding notwithstanding thus much withal, That the less it is, the less hurt is in it. Yet notwithstanding, of late days it was otherwise esteemed, and most severely exacted, as the thing wherein stood their adoration, which was the whole price and beauty of their mass. The priest was wicked, that would not use it: the people was wicked, that would not allow it: their greatest doctors have travailed painfully to know the cause and signification of this mystery, and yet cannot find it. All this notwithstanding, it is now confessed to be a small matter, of no great weight, and such as the church may well spare without hinderance. But as M. Harding here saith, his doctrine may sufficiently be maintained, and stand upright without this ceremony of elevation: even so may we truly and justly say, That the heavenly and infallible doctrine of the gospel of Christ may likewise stand upright, and be maintained, not only without this new ceremony, but also without their private mass, without their half-communion,

without their strange unknown prayers, without their supremacy of Rome, without their transubstantiation, and other like phantasies by them devised.

Yet are not they all of that side hitherto fully resolved, touching their own elevation, neither when, nor where, nor wherefore it first came in use, nor what it meaneth. Some of them say, the lifting up of the sacramental bread signifieth Christ's incarnation; some of them say, it signifieth Christ hanging upon the cross; some of them, that it signifieth the taking down of his body from the cross; some, his resurrection; some, his ascension into heaven; some, that it signifieth a sacrifice special, above all sacrifices; some others say, that the priest lifteth up the chalice, to signify, that Christ, crying out with a loud voice, gave up the spirit<sup>20</sup>. M. Harding saith: "It is lifted up doubtless, to the intent the people may adore." Thus many and mo mysteries they have imagined in one thing, and yet the same, as it is confessed, no key of their religion. Disagreement evermore argueth ignorance. St. Augustine saith: *Si vix, aut omnino nunquam inveniri possint causæ, quas in istis rebus instituendis homines sequuti sunt, ubi facultas tribuitur, sine ulla dubitatione rescanda existimo*: "If the causes, which men followed in devising such things, can hardly or never be found, I think it best, when opportunity and occasion is given, they be abolished, and put away without scruple or staggering."

They have essayed earnestly, to prove this ceremony by the warrant of God's word, as if God himself had commanded it. Gerardus Lorichius saith: *Hunc ritum David videtur prævidisse in Spiritu*: "David seemeth to have foreseen this order in the Spirit." And to this purpose he allegeth the authority of Rabbi Johai, whom I marvel M. Harding had forgotten. Durandus for the same allegeth the words of Christ: *Ego si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad meipsum*: "If I be once lifted up from the earth, I shall draw all things to myself." And to speed the matter the better forward, Linwood saith: "The pope

*Gerardus Lorichius, lib. 3.*

*Durandus, lib. 4. de sexta parte canonis.*

*Titilmannus, de officio missæ.*

*August. ad Janu. epist. 119. [li. 142.]*

*Gerardus Lorichius, lib. 3.*

*Rab. Johai.*

*Durand. lib. 4. de sexta parte canon. John xii. 32.*

*Lyndewode de Celebra. Missarum. Altissimus.*

<sup>20</sup> [The works referred to of Gerardus Lorichius and of Titilmannus have not as yet been found.]



hath given liberal dole of pardons<sup>21</sup>." And the more to astone the simple people, Alexander of Hales saith, "They have of themselves invented and devised many strange miracles." They have earnestly and sadly disputed, whether the cup should be holden up open, or covered. They say, "It is a matter of special meed, and able to confound heresies." They have wrested and corrupted the scriptures, and falsified the rabbins for the same. M. Harding also would seem to allege a multitude of old doctors, and long continuance, even from the apostles' time. To be short, they have holden them for heretics, and burned them, that durst to speak against it. Yet now in the end M. Harding saith: "It is but a small matter, and the rest of their religion may well stand without it." I wonder he proceedeth not herein with as good courage as in the rest.

Neither did I scoff hereat, as a Lucian, as it pleaseth M. Harding in his choler to report, but reverently and soberly spake the truth, even as in the presence of God. It pitied me to see God's people so deceived, and that even by such as had taken upon them to be the fathers and guiders of the people. But, O merciful God! what religion may this be, that no man may touch or truly report of it, without surmise or suspicion of scoffing? And whereas M. Harding, as a man somewhat overmuch subject to his passions, saith further, I may be ashamed to shew my face among learned men: if he mean the learned of his own side, verily, it can be no great glory for me to behold those faces, that have been so often turned. O M. Harding, we have no cause to be ashamed of the gospel of Christ; "It is the mighty power of God unto salvation." I pray God, that both you and I may leave these worldly respects, and faces of men: and so use the gifts that God hath lent us, and so freely discharge our consciences in this life, that Christ be not ashamed of us before his Father, but we may come to see God face to face. Touching the matter itself, M. Harding thinketh it

<sup>21</sup> [Lyndewode de Celebr. Miss. "concessas a pluribus episcopis  
" . . . flectant genua, indulgentias "habituri."]

Alexander.  
de Hales, 4.  
q. 53. m. 4.  
art. 3.

Durand. lib.  
4.  
Gerardus  
Lorichius,  
lib. 3.

Rom. i. 16.

Luke ix. 26.

best, to claim his elevation even from the apostles' time. So the Romans in old times, because they knew not from whence their *ancilia* came unto them, they thought it not amiss, for the more credit of the matter, to say they were sent to them from heaven.

Titus Livius, lib. 1.

So Romulus and Theseus, because they were base born, and no man knew their fathers, therefore were reckoned to be the children of the gods. Dionysius, Chrysostomus, and Basil, as they are worthy of much credit for their antiquity, so in this case they say nothing, that of our part is denied. The question is, "Whether the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head, or no." This thing M. Harding dissembleth, and passeth by: and turneth his whole proof to another thing, that neither is doubted of nor denied. First, whereas Dionysius saith: *In conspectum agit*: "He bringeth the mysteries into sight:" this maketh very small proof of M. Harding's side, except haply he will say, No man can bring a thing to sight, unless he hold it over his head. But that thou mayest thoroughly and fully see both the very ground and sense of these words of Dionysius, and also M. Harding's perverse and strange construction touching the same, it may please thee, gentle reader, to understand, that in those days the manner was, that the sacrament, being all in one whole loaf or cake, undivided, should remain still upon the holy table, covered under a fair cloth, until the time of the distribution thereof unto the people. Touching which ceremony, Pachymeres the Greek paraphrast writeth thus: 'Αποκαλυπτομένων τῶν παναγίων δάρων μετὰ τὰς εὐχὰς, μενόντων δὲ κεκαλυμμένων ἕως καιροῦ μεταλήψεως: "The holy gifts being opened after the prayers or consecration, and yet remaining still covered until the time of the distribution<sup>22</sup>," &c. So likewise saith Maximus in his scholy upon the same place. And addeth further: Not only the holy bread was set forth covered,

Plutarchus in Numa.

Dionys. Eccles. Hierar. cap. 3. [l. 134.]

Pachymeres in tertium caput Eccles. Hierar. [p. 136.] Maximus. [p. 84.] ὅτι κεκαλυμμένον ἔμενε τὸ θεῖον δᾶρον ἕως καιροῦ μεταλήψεως.

22 [Pachymeres in Dionys. Jewel ought to have stated here, (as he does a few pages further,) that the following words precede

his quotation in the same sentence: ἰποδείκνυσι δὲ, ἤγουν ἀνιψοὶ τότε ἀποκαλυπτομένων, κ. τ. λ.]

but also the holy cup, which thing, he saith, now is not done.

This order or ceremony of the church then well considered, Dionysius is plain enough of himself without other commentary. For thus stand his words: *Profert ea, quæ laudavit, in conspectum, per symbola reverenter proposita: et dona sacrificiorum commonstrans, ad sacram illorum communionem et ipse accedit, et hortatur alios*: “The priest bringeth forth the things, that he hath praised, into sight, by the tokens reverently set before him: and shewing forth the gifts of the mysteries, both he himself draweth near to the holy communion of the same, and also exhorteth others<sup>23</sup>.” This shewing and bringing into sight was nothing else, but the uncovering and laying abroad of the mysteries.

If M. Harding will say, this exposition is wrested or violent, let him then hear Dionysius expound himself: thus he writeth afterward in the speculation or exposition of the same: *In conspectum profert, &c.*: “He bringeth forth the things, that he hath praised, into sight,” &c. It followeth: *Nam opertum, et indivisum panem aperiens, et in multas partes dividens, et unitatem poculi omnibus impertiens, symbolice implet unitatem*: “For uncovering the bread that was covered, and stood whole and undivided, and cutting it into many parts, and parting the unity of the cup unto all the people, by way of a sacrament, he fulfilleth unity.”

If all this will not content M. Harding, yet Dionysius saith again in plainer sort: *Tὰ μὲν ἐγκεκαλυμμένα δῶρα εἰς [πρὸς] τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἄγει: Munera, quæ tecta fuerant, in apertum profert*: “He bringeth forth into open sight, the gifts or sacraments, that before were covered.” This undoubtedly was the meaning of these words: unless perhaps M. Harding will say, Dionysius understood not his own meaning. Verily Pachymeres the paraphrast expoundeth it thus: *Profert in conspectum, ostendens hæc esse Christi symbola*: “He bringeth these things into sight, shewing, that they

Dionys. Ec-  
cles. Hierar.  
cap. 3. [p.  
134.]  
εἰς ὄψιν  
ἄγει.

τὸν γὰρ  
ἐγκεκαλυμ-  
μένον, καὶ  
ἀδιαίρητον  
ἄρτον ἀνα-  
καλύψας,  
καὶ εἰς πολ-  
λὰ διελθὼν.  
[p. 157.]

εἰς τὸ ἐμ-  
φανὲς ἄγει.  
[p. 158.]

Pachyme-  
res. [p. 136.]  
σαφηνίζων  
ὡς Χριστοῦ  
εἰσι τὰ  
τοιᾶτα  
σύμβολα.

<sup>23</sup> [See the original printed at p. 433.]



be tokens and signs of Christ." Hitherto there is no manner mention of holding the sacrament over the head.

But M. Harding replieth, "Maximus saith, Dionysius meant the holding up of the one part of the sacrament." This may easily be granted. But the same Maximus, whatsoever he were, or whensoever he lived<sup>24</sup>, saith not, The same one part was holden over the priest's head: and therefore M. Harding is but weakly relieved by his authority. And again, the same Maximus, as a man not very certain what to say, deviseth two other expositions of Dionysius' words besides this. But let this exposition of Maximus stand for good. The priest held up from the table, and shewed forth, the sacrament, to declare, that the holy communion was ready, that the people might prepare themselves, and draw near. And therefore he spake aloud: "Holy things for the holy." Which words Chrysostom

expoundeth thus: *Quando sacerdos dicit, Sancta sanctis, hoc dicit: Si quis non est sanctus, non accedat*: "When the priest saith, 'Holy things unto the holy,' thus he saith: If any man be not holy, let him not come near." So like-

wise Nicolaus Cabasilas, a Greek writer of late days: *Sacerdos clamat, Sancta sanctis, propemodum dicens, Ecce panis vite:.....accurrite participes futuri: sed non omnes: verum, si quis (est) sanctus*: "The priest speaketh aloud, 'Holy things for the holy:' as though he should say, Behold the bread of life: come near and take part: howbeit not all, but if any man be holy." And, lest he should seem to discourage any man in respect of his unworthiness, he saith further: *Sanctos autem vocat, non virtute perfectos, sed quicumque ad illam tendunt perfectionem*: "He calleth them holy, not, that be full perfect in virtue, but that be inclined to perfection." To this end therefore the minister shewed forth the bread, that the people might prepare themselves to the distribution: and therefore it is written thus in Chrysostom's Liturgy: *Sacerdos ostendit calicem populo, dicens, Cum timore Dei, et fide, et dilectione acce-*

Sancta sanctis.  
Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebraeos hom. 17. [xii. 171.]

Nicolaus Cabasilas. [Ad calcem ed. Liturg. Vett. de Sainctes, p. 145.]

[Liturg. Chrysost. Latin. p. 73.]

<sup>24</sup> [The Maximus, who wrote the Commentary upon Dionysius, was born at Constantinople, A. D. 580.

Many other of his works are still extant. Cave.]

*dite*: “The priest sheweth the cup unto the people, saying unto them, Draw near with the fear of God, and with faith and love<sup>25</sup>.” And the people answereth, “Blessed is he, that cometh in the name of the Lord.” This same was St. Basil’s meaning, in his book, *De Spiritu Sancto*. The words of invocation, that there are spoken of, were of such authority in the church, and of such weight, that neither M. Harding, nor, I believe, any other of that side, is able now to shew us what they were. In the liturgy, that beareth St. Basil’s name, it is only noted thus: “When the priest saith, *Sancta sanctis*, the people answereth, *Unus sanctus: unus Pater: unus Filius*<sup>26</sup>.” The very same was Chrysostom’s meaning upon the Epistle to the Ephesians. The curtains of the holy communion table were drawn<sup>27</sup>, that the mysteries prepared for the people might be seen upon the table, not, that the priest should lift them up over his head. The vain fable of M. Harding’s Amphilochius, so often repeated, is not worth the answering.

All this notwithstanding, M. Harding doubteth not to make us believe, that all these fathers spake plainly of the elevation of the sacrament over the priest’s head: and that, as he saith, according to the custom of the occidental church. And to that end he hath prettily falsified the words of Maximus. For, whereas Maximus in the Greek writeth thus: ὃν ἄρτον ὑψοῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς, M. Harding hath translated it in this wise: *Quem panem pontifex in sublime*

<sup>25</sup> [In de Sainctes ed. of St. Chrysostom’s Liturgy, (the one generally used by bishop Jewel,) p. 73, the deacon says only, “Cum Dei timore accedite;” the fuller form, “Cum timore Dei, et fide et dilectione,” occurs in St. James’ Liturgy, p. 27. In the Bened. ed. of the Liturgy (Chrysost. Opp. xii. 797), the words stand thus: Ὁ διάκονος. . . ὑψῶν τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον δείκνυσιν αὐτὸ τῷ λαῷ λέγων, Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγάπης προσέλθετε. Ὁ χορός: Ἀμήν, ἀμήν, ἀμήν, εὐλογουμένους ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.]

<sup>26</sup> [Liturgy. Basillii, ed. Bened. ii.

684; Ὁ ἱερεὺς ὑψοῖ τὸ σπουδικόν (i. e. majorem hostiæ partem), καὶ ἐκφωνήσῃ, Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις. ὁ λαὸς λέγει· Κύριε ἐλέησον, γ. εἰς Πατὴρ ἅγιος εἰς Υἱὸς ἅγιος, ἐν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Ἀμήν. The Gr. ed. of de Sainctes, p. 49, corresponds: the Latin differs, “Unus sanctus, unus Dominus, unus Jesus Christus in gloria Dei Patris cum Spiritu Sancto. Amen.”]

<sup>27</sup> [Chrysost. in Ephes.: Ὅταν ἀκούσῃς, δεηθῶμεν πάντες κοινῇ, ὅταν ἴδῃς ἀνελκόμενα τὰ ἀμφίβυρα, τότε νόμισον διαστέλλεσθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄνωθεν, κ. τ. λ.]

Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. 27. [iii. 55.]

Liturgia Basillii. [Lat. p. 49.]

Chrysostom. in Epist. ad Ephes. hom. 3. [xi. 23.]

*attollit*: "Which bread the bishop lifteth on high." And so it were easy to deceive the simple, unless the fathers had otherwise declared their own meaning. Pachymeres expoundeth that word thus: *ὑποδείκνυσιν, ἤγουν ἀνυψοῖ*, Pachymeres. [p. 136.] "He sheweth or lifteth up." He saith not, The priest lifted the sacrament above his head, or on high, as M. Harding hath turned it: but, He shewed the sacrament a little up from the table, that it might be seen of the people. And so saith Chrysostom touching the same: *Sacerdos modicum* Chrysost. in Liturgia. Modicum. *tollens [sustollens] portionem, quæ est in sancta patena, dicit, Sancta sanctis*: "The priest a little lifting up the portion, that is in the holy dish, saith, Holy things for the holy." Claudius du Sainctes. [Lat. p. 72.] And so likewise Claudius du Sainctes readeth it<sup>28</sup>. And in St. Basil's Liturgy it is thus noted in the margin: *Hic sacerdos hostiam fractam in patena jacentem, una cum patena sublevat, et ostendit populo*: "Here the priest lifteth up the host, or sacrament lying broken in the dish, and together with the dish sheweth it unto the people<sup>29</sup>." Yet must all these be brought forth to prove this new manner of elevation now used in the church of Rome. So bold is M. Harding of the simplicity of the people.

But one strange thing, among others, I note by the way in M. Harding's answer; that, being demanded of this late devised ceremony in the church of Rome, he foundeth his whole answer upon the east church of Græcia, and sheweth not one example, nor moveth one word of the church of Rome; and yet notwithstanding he knoweth right well, that this kind of elevation, from the beginning until this day, was never used in the church of Græcia.

It seemeth likely, that as well this usage, as also sundry others, of apparel, of oil, &c. grew first from the imitation of the ceremonies of the Jews: among whom the priest, in the time of their sacrifices, held up the oblation before his breast. So in the primitive church, whatsoever was offered by any man to the relief of the poor, it was taken by the

<sup>28</sup> [This is a proof, that Jewel used some other edition of the Liturgies, besides that of Cl. de Sainctes. In the Bened. edition, the rubric "*Sacerdos modicum*

"*tollens,*" &c. is not given. It will be found in Cassander.]

<sup>29</sup> [Basil. Liturg. This marginal note is not found in de Sainctes edition, nor in Cassander.]



priest, and holden up, and presented in the church, as a pleasant sacrifice before God. So Chrysostom saith: The priest in the time of the holy ministration lifted up the gospel. His words be these: *Sacerdos in altum tollit evangelium*<sup>30</sup>. And Nicolas Cabasilas likewise saith: *His peractis, sacerdos, stans super altare, in altum tollit evangelium, et ostendit*: "These things being done, the priest, standing over the altar, lifteth the gospel on high and sheweth it."

In Liturgia.  
[Gr. ed. p.  
82.]

Nicolas Cabasilas in  
Expositione  
Liturgie. [p.  
134. Lat. ed.]

But, that the holding up of the sacrament should import adoration to the same, as M. Harding surmiseth, neither is it thought true by all others of that side, nor hath it any good savour or show of truth. Indeed great pardons and charters have been liberally given of late years for the better maintenance thereof. And Durandus saith, Therefore elevation is made, *ut populus intelligat, Christum venisse super altare*: "that the people may understand, that Christ is come down upon the altar." But the old learned fathers, both Greeks and Latins, when they held up a little, or shewed, the sacrament, evermore they called the people to draw near, to receive, to be partakers of the holy mysteries, and to lift up their hearts: but, in the time of the same ceremony, they never spake one word of adoration.

Durandus,  
lib. 4. [in 6.  
parte canon.]

Pachymeres saith: *Sacerdos ostendit, hæc esse Christi symbola*: "The priest sheweth, that these be tokens or signs of Christ." He saith not, The sacraments be Christ himself: but, tokens and signs of Christ. Maximus saith: "*Οτι σύμβολα ταῦτα, καὶ οὐκ ἀλήθεια: Symbola ista sunt: non autem veritas*: "These be tokens" of the truth, "but not the truth itself." And perhaps upon this occasion, Beguinæ and Beguardi<sup>31</sup> held, That no man ought to rise up, or to give reverence at the elevation of the sacrament.

Pachymeres  
in Eccles.  
Hierar. cap.  
3. [p. 136.]

Maximus in  
Schollis. [p.  
84.]

Clement. lib.  
5. [tit. 3.]  
Ad nostrum.

To conclude, Gerardus Lorichius, in his book that he writeth in the defence of the private mass, hath these

<sup>30</sup> [Ὁ διάκονος. . . ἀνυψοῖ μικρὸν τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ δεικνύων τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον, λέγει ἐκφώνως. Chrys. Lit. Gr. de Sanctes.]

<sup>31</sup> [For an account of these fanatics, see Mosheim, cent. xiii. pt. 2.]

words: *Ex hoc ritu elevationis inferimus, missam neutiquam rite celebrari, nisi in usum publicum ecclesiæ, hoc est, propter populum, vel sacramentum eucharistiæ sumentem, vel sacrificium laudis votis et encomiis celebrantem. Siquidem propter eum usum hostia elevatur. Missæ igitur privatæ, quæ absente populo catholico fiunt, abominatio verius, quam oblatio, dicendæ sunt:* “By this very usage of elevation, we conclude, that no mass is rightly said, but for the public use of the church, that is to say, for the people, either receiving the sacrament, or else advancing the sacrifice of praise with heart and devotion. For to this end,” and not to be adored, “the sacrament is holden up. Therefore private masses, which are said without catholic people being present, may rather be called an abomination, than an oblation.” Thus much Gerardus Lorichius, a doctor of M. Harding’s own side.

END OF VOL. II.













