

the ball

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*Relig. Phil.
Theol. Phil.*

99-2-1212



THE
WORKS

OF

JOHN JEWEL, D.D.

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

EDITED BY

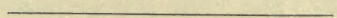
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OF ADORATION.

THE EIGHTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR that the people did then fall down, and worship the sacrament with godly honour.

M. HARDING: *First Division.*

If the blessed sacrament of the altar were no other, than M. Jewel and the rest of the sacramentaries think of it, then were it not well done the people to bow down to it, and to worship it with godly honour. (159) For then were it but bare bread and wine, how honourably soever they speak of it, calling it sym-
bological, that is, tokening, and sacramental bread and wine.

The 159th untruth, joined with a slander.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding, as a man overmuch obedient unto his affections, in the beginning hereof calleth us "sacramentaries:" by which word he understandeth schismatics, heretics, and the enemies of God: and so breaketh up his way into this treatise with unsavory and bitter talk: and as a cock that is well pampered with garlick before the fight, he seeketh to overmatch his fellow, rather with rankness of breath, than with might of body.

And, forasmuch as he striveth to make the world think, our doctrine is injurious to the Godhead and glory of Christ: first we protest, That, as we believe "that Christ
is the Lamb of God, that hath taken away the sins of the

John i. 29.

Acts iv. 12. world :” and “ that there is none other name under heaven, whereby we can be saved :” and that, as the prophet Isaiah
 Isa. lx. 6. saith, “ He is the mighty God, the Father of the world,
 1 Tim. iii. 16. that was to come :” and that, as St. Paul saith : “ He is
 God revealed in the flesh :” even so we yield unto him the
 very honour that is due unto God : and that not only to his
 Godhead alone, but also to his humanity inseparably joined
 with his Godhead in one person, sitting now at the right
 hand of God. Thus we teach the people : “ That God
 Phillipp. ii. hath advanced him into all height, and hath given him a
 9—11. name above all names, that at the name of Jesus every
 knee shall be bowed, all things in heaven, in the earth,
 and under the earth : and that every tongue shall confess,
 that Jesus Christ is the Lord in the glory of God the
 Father.”

Neither do we only adore Christ, as very God, but also
 we worship and reverence the sacrament, and holy mystery
 of Christ’s body : and as St. Augustine teacheth us : *Bap-*
 Augustin. *tismum Christi, ubicunque est* [l. *ubique*], *veneramur* : “ We
 epist. 146. worship the baptism of Christ, wheresoever it be.” We
 [li. 212.] worship the word of God, according to this counsel of
 De Con. dist. Anastasius : *Dominica verba attente audiant, et fideliter*
 1. Apostolica. *adorent* : “ Let them diligently hear, and faithfully wor-
 ship the words of God.” Briefly, we worship all otherlike
 things, in such religious wise unto Christ belonging. But
 these things we use and reverence as holy and appointed
 or commanded by Christ : but we adore them not with
 godly honour, as Christ himself. St. Ambrose saith of the
 wise men : *Cognoverunt, hanc stellam esse, quæ hominem*
 Ambros. in *Deumque signabat* [significat] : *sed adoraverunt parvulum* :
 Lucam, lib. “ They knew this was the star that signified him unto
 2. cap. 2. them, that was both man and God : but they adored the
 [l. 1297.] little one,” and not the star.

And whereas M. Harding, as well herein as also in the
 rest, untruly and unjustly diffameth us, as making the
 sacraments of Christ nothing else but bare tokens, let him
 well understand, that we do both think and speak soberly
 and reverently of Christ’s sacraments, as knowing them to
 be the testimonies of God’s promises, and the instruments

of the Holy Ghost. And, as we make not the sacrament of baptism bare water, notwithstanding the nature and substance of water remain still, so we make not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, bare bread and wine. We use the same words and definitions that St. Augustine and other ancient fathers, and Peter Lombard and Gratian, M. Harding's own doctors, have used before us: *Sacramentum est signum rei sacræ:—sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ visibilis forma*: "A sacrament is a token of a holy thing: a sacrament is a form visible of grace invisible." Neither do we hereof make a bare or naked token, as M. Harding imagineth: but we say, as St. Paul saith: "It is a perfect seal, and a sufficient warrant of God's promises, whereby God bindeth himself unto us, and we likewise stand bounden unto God, so as God is our God, and we are his people." This, I reckon, is no bare or naked token. And touching this word, *signum*, what it meaneth, St. Augustine sheweth in this sort: *Signum est, quod præter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud quiddam facit ex se in cognitionem venire*: "A sign is a thing, that, besides the form, or sight, that it offereth to our senses, causeth of itself some other thing to come to our knowledge." And hereof it is called a mystery, or a holy secrecy: for that our eye beholdeth one thing, and our faith another. For example, in baptism our bodily eye seeth water: but our faith, which is the eye of our mind, seeth the blood of Christ, which, as St. John saith, "hath washed us from all our sins." Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Incredulus, cum baptismatis lavacrum audit, persuadet sibi, simpliciter esse aquam. Ego vero non simpliciter video, quod video, sed animæ per Spiritum purificationem.....: et sepulturam, resurrectionem, sanctificationem, justitiam, redemptionem, adoptionem, hæreditatem, regnum cælorum, Spiritus satietatem considero. Non enim aspectu judico ea, quæ videntur, sed mentis oculis*: "The infidel, when he heareth of the water of baptism, thinketh it to be only plain water: but I, that believe in Christ, do not only and simply see water, but I see the cleansing of the soul by the Spirit of God: I consider Christ's burial, his resur-

De Con. dist. 2. Sacrif. Pet. Lombard. lib. 4. dist. 1. Samaritanus.

Rom. iv. 11. Signaculum justitiæ fidei.

Augustin. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. 2. cap. 1. [iii. 19.]

De Con. dist. 2. Signum.

1 John i. 7.

Chrysost in 1. Epist. ad Cor. hom. 7. [x. 51.]

rection, our sanctification, our righteousness, our redemption, our adoption, our inheritance, the kingdom of heaven, and the fulness of the Spirit. For the things that I see, I judge not with my bodily eyes, but with the eyes of my mind¹.” Now, will M. Harding say, that Chrysostom only for a countenance speaketh thus honourably of the sacrament of baptism, meaning notwithstanding, it is nothing else but bare water? Certainly St. Augustine saith:

Augustin. contra Maximinum, lib. 3. cap. 22. [viii. 725.]

In sacramentis videndum est [attenditur], non, quid sint, sed, quid significant [ostendant]: “In sacraments we must consider, not what they be indeed, but what they signify.”

If that every thing, according to M. Harding’s judgment, must needs be accounted bare, wherein Christ’s body is not really present, then is the sacrament of baptism a bare sacrament: and M. Harding’s book must likewise of necessity seem a very bare book: unless perhaps he will say, Christ’s body is really enclosed in it. Plato saith, It is the greatest part of wisdom, to discern *aliud* and *idem*, one and the same thing, from another thing. For of error herein evermore riseth all confusion. But St. Augustine

Plato.

Augustin. in Johan. tract. 26. [iii. pt. 2. 498.]

saith, *Aliud est sacramentum, aliud res [l. virtus] sacramenti:* “The sacrament is one thing: and the substance of the sacrament,” which is Christ’s body, “is another thing.”

And lest M. Harding should shift off this matter, and say, as his manner is, that the sacrament is nothing else but the outward form and appearance, or show of bread and wine, Rabanus Maurus hath prevented him in this wise: *Sacramentum in alimentum corporis redigitur:* “The sacrament is turned into the nourishment of the body.” Therefore these two things being diverse and sundry, the one the token, the other the thing tokened: the one Christ’s body, and the other the sacrament of the same body: the one

Rabanus Maurus, [de Cleric. Inst. et Cærem. Eccl.] lib. 1. cap. 31. [tom. vi. p. 11.]

¹ [Chrysost. in Epist. ad Corinth. Part of the original has been already printed, vol. i. p. 242. The remainder is as follows: . . . ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ τὸ ὁρώμενον ἀπλῶς βλέπω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς καθαρὸν τὸν διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. ἐκεῖνος λελοῦσθαί μοι τὸ σῶμα νομίζει μόνον· ἐγὼ δὲ πεπίστευκα ὅτι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ

γέγονε καθαρὰ τε καὶ ἅγια, καὶ λογιζομαι τὸν τάφον, τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τὸν ἁγιασμόν, τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τὴν ἀπολυτρωσιν, τὴν υιοθεσίαν, τὴν κληρονομίαν, τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν χορηγίαν· οὐ γὰρ τῇ ὄψει κρίνω τὰ φαινόμενα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς διανοίας.]

naturally feeding the body, the other supernaturally feeding the soul: it were great confusion, either to make them both one, or else by error to take the one for the other. And for that cause St. Augustine saith, as it is before alleged: *Ea demum est miserabilis animæ servitus, signa pro rebus accipere*: “That indeed is a miserable servitude of the soul, to take the signs instead of the things that be signified.”

Now touching the adoration of the sacrament, M. Harding is not able to shew, neither any commandment of Christ, nor any word, or example of the apostles, or ancient fathers concerning the same. It is a thing very lately devised by pope Honorius, about the year of our Lord 1226: afterward increased by the new solemn feast of *Corpus Christi* day, by pope Urbanus, anno 1264: and last of all confirmed for ever by multitudes of pardons in the council of Vienna by pope Clement the Fifth, anno 1310. The church of Asia and Græcia never received it until this day. The matter is great, and cannot be attempted without great danger. To give the honour of God to a creature, that is no god, it is manifest idolatry. And all idolaters, as St. John saith, “shall have their portion in the lake burning with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.”

M. HARDING: *Second Division.*

But now, this being that very bread, which God the Father gave us from heaven, as Christ saith: This bread being the flesh of Christ, which he gave for the life of the world—

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding would seem to have trained all the ancient doctors unto his side, and to that end hath mustered them here in an army all together. Howbeit of them all, there is not one, that teacheth us one word of the adoration of the sacrament. Wherefore, if he bring them forth only for a show, they are too many: but if he bring them as witnesses, they are too few: for, touching the case, they say nothing. Yet M. Harding, as a man much doubting his reader's memory, whatsoever he hath shortly alleged here,

Augustin. de
Doctrin.
Christ. lib. 3.
cap. 5. [Ill.
47.]

Extra de
Celebra.
Missar.
[Sane.]

Clem. lib. 3.
tit. 16. Si
Dominum.

Rev. xxi. 8.

hath elsewhere repeated, and doubled the same in other places of his book: so that, if I would answer all in particular, I should be over tedious. For avoiding whereof, it shall be sufficient to refer myself over to such places, whereas these authorities are answered severally more at large.

First, as I have said before, there is not one of all these fathers, that willeth us to adore the sacrament with godly honour. Which thing notwithstanding they were able to have written, if it had been then either used, or thought convenient: and M. Harding was able to have found it, if it had been written. The bread of the sacrament is not that bread, of which Christ speaketh in the sixth of St. John: but very material bread indeed, and as St. Cyprian saith, *ex multorum granorum adunatione congestus*, "moulded together of the mingling of many corns²," and a sacrament of that bread, that came from heaven. But this matter is answered in the fifth Article, and in the first, second, and third Division³.

Cyprian. lib.
1. epist. 6.
[p. 153.]

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

This being that bread, and that cup, whereof whosoever eateth or drinketh unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of our Lord—

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

St. Hierom saith: *Dum sacramenta violantur, ipse, cujus sacramenta sunt, violatur*: "When the sacraments be misused, God himself, whose sacraments they be, is misused." And the greatest abuse, and villainy, that can happen to any sacrament, is, contrary to Christ's institution and the nature of a sacrament, to be honoured instead of God. And St. Augustine saith: *Qui indigne accipit baptismum, judicium accipit, non salutem*: "Whoso receiveth baptism unworthily, receiveth his judgment, and not his health⁴."

Hieronym.
in Malachi.
cap. 1. [iii.
1811.]

Augustin.
contra Fulgentium,
cap. 6. [ix.
app. 6.]

² [Cyprian. Epist. "Nam
"quando Dominus corpus suum
"panem vocat, &c. multorum
"granorum adunatione conges-
"tum, populum nostrum quem

"portabat, indicat adunatum. . ."]

³ [See vol. ii. pp. 320—335.]

⁴ [The work, attributed to St. Augustine, "contra Fulgentium," is a work "incerti auctoris."]

Wherefore, if M. Harding think this warrant sufficient to prove adoration, then must he also adore the water of baptism.

M. HARDING: *Fourth Division.*

(160) In this sacrament being contained the very real and substantial body and blood of Christ, as himself saith expressly, in the three first evangelists, and in St. Paul—

The 160th untruth, five together, in the report of four words.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It is a bold enterprise, in the report of these four plain words of Christ, *Hoc est corpus meum*, to commit five manifest untruths, and that all together with one breath. Certainly M. Harding well knoweth, that neither Christ, nor Paul, nor any of the evangelists, I add further, nor any of the catholic doctors, in this case of the sacrament, ever used any of these terms, either “carnally contained,” or “expressly,” or “very,” or “real,” or “substantial.” Only they say, “This is my body:” which words the ancient father Tertullian expoundeth thus: “This is a figure of my body.”

Tertull. contra Marcion, lib. 4. [cap. 40. p. 458.]

M. HARDING: *Fifth Division.*

This being that holy *eucharistia*, which Ignatius calleth the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that hath suffered for our sins, which the Father by his goodness hath raised up to life again⁵: this being not common bread, but the *eucharistia*, after consecration consisting of two things, earthly and heavenly, as Irenæus saith, meaning by the one, (161) the outward form: by the other, the very body and blood of Christ, who partly for the Godhead inseparably thereto united, and partly for that they were conceived of the Holy Ghost in the most holy virgin Mary, are worthily called heavenly—

The 161st untruth. For Irenæus meaneth not the forms or shows of bread, but the substance of very bread itself.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

What Theodoretus thought in this behalf, it is plain by his own words. For thus he writeth: *Signa mystica post sanctificationem non recedunt a natura sua*: “The mystical tokens after the sanctification, or consecration, go not from

Theodoret. dialogo. 2. [tom. iv. 85.]

⁵ [Ignatius ap. Theodoret. in Polymorpho, sive Eranista, Dial. 3. *τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἀποδέχονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν ἣν χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἤγειρεν.*]

In Epistola quadam ad Smyrnenses, ut citatur a Theodoret. in Polymorph. [Dial. 3. tom. iv. p. 154.] Irenæus, b. 4. contra Hæreses, cap. 34. [p. 251.]

their own nature⁶:" that is to say, remain in substance and nature, as they were before. By these words we may plainly see Theodoretus' judgment. Howbeit, in all sacraments two things must be considered, whereof, as Irenæus saith, they do consist. The one is earthly, the other is heavenly: the one we see with our bodily eyes, the other we see with the eyes of our faith: the one is in the earth, the other is in heaven. These parts because they are joined in one mystery, therefore oftentimes they scorse⁵ names, the one interchangeably with the other. For as Christ's very body is called bread, although indeed it be not bread: so the sacramental bread is called Christ's body, although indeed it be not Christ's body. Therefore, as the sacrament is called Christ's body, even so, according to the saying of Ignatius, it is the flesh of Christ, even the same that hath suffered for our sins, and that the Father hath raised again to life: that is to say, a sacrament of that flesh. In like sort St. Chrysostom writeth of the sacrament of baptism: *Ostendit hoc loco, idem esse sanguinem, et aquam. Baptisma enim ejus, etiam passio ejus est*: "St. Paul sheweth in this place, that the blood," of Christ, "and the water," of baptism, "are both one. For Christ's baptism is Christ's passion⁷." He saith, The water and the blood of Christ are both one thing; and that, he saith, was St. Paul's meaning. Yet notwithstanding, neither is the water Christ's blood indeed: neither is Christ's blood indeed material water. But thus they borrow each of them the other's name, because they are joined together in one mystery. So is the blood of Christ called water, because it cleanseth: so is the water called Christ's blood, because it is a sacrament of that blood. And as St. Chry-

Theodoret. in Polymorpho. [dial. 3. tom. iv. 154.]

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebræ. hom. 16. [xii. 159.]

⁵ [To scorse, scourse, scoss = *ὄντα ἄπερ πιστεύεται.*]
to exchange.]

⁶ [Theodoret. Dialog. 2. in Polymorpho. Οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκίας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἶδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἐστὶ καὶ ἅπτὰ οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν νοεῖται δὲ ἄπερ ἐγένετο, καὶ πιστεύεται, καὶ προσκυνεῖται, ὡς ἐκεῖνα

⁷ [Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebr. Bishop Jewel is quoting (as usual) from the version of Mutianus, printed in the Bened. ed. at the foot of the page. The Greek differs slightly, *δείκνυσιν ἐνταῦθα τὸ αὐτὸ ἢν καὶ αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ. τὸ γὰρ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ τοῦ πάθους ἐστὶ σύμβολον.*]

sostom saith, The water of baptism is Christ's blood : even so Ignatius saith, The bread is the flesh ; and none otherwise. These things are plain, and without cavil.

Therefore St. Augustine saith : *Sacramenta ex similitudine plerunque etiam rerum ipsarum nomina accipiunt.* Augustin. epist. 23. [ff. 267.]
Ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi, corpus Christi est : et sacramentum sanguinis Christi, sanguis Christi est : " Sacraments because of a certain likeness, oftentimes receive the names of the things themselves (whereof they be sacraments). And therefore the sacrament of Christ's body, after a certain manner" of Secundum quendam modum. speech, " is the body of Christ : and the sacrament of Christ's blood is likewise," after a certain manner, " the blood of Christ."

But here hath M. Harding taken great pains, to wrest and to falsify the plain words of that holy father Irenæus. For that part of the mystery, that Irenæus calleth *rem terrenam*, " an earthly thing," that is to say " bread," the same M. Harding, contrary to his author's meaning, calleth " forms," or " accidents," or " shows of bread." For this fond and heathenish kind of speech was not heard of in the church in that holy father's days : but was brought in well near a thousand years afterward, to accompany transubstantiation. But Irenæus in plain wise calleth it a creature. Thus he saith : *Sanctificamus creaturam :* " We do sanctify a creature." *Offerimus.....ei ex creatura ejus :* Irenæus, lib. 4. cap. 34. [251. col. 2.] " We offer up unto him of his creature⁸." And that he meaneth, not a miraculous creature, as is *accidens sine subjecto* : the like whereof was never seen : but he saith simply, *Creaturam, quæ est secundum nos :* " Such a creature as we have in common use : " such as we see : such as we feel : such as we eat : such as we drink : and, utterly to cut off M. Harding's shifts, he saith : *Ex illa augetur, et* Irenæus, lib. 5. [294.]

⁸ [Irenæus, p. 251. col. 2. "... sanctificante creaturam." Ibid. p. 251. col. 1. " Et hanc oblationem ecclesia sola puram offert " fabricatori, offerens in eum gratiarum actione ex creatura ejus." Ibid. "... ea quæ secundum nos creata (al. leg. creaturæ) " sunt." The expression καθ' ἡμᾶς

noted in the margin, is not found in the Greek. Irenæus, lib. 5. p. 294. 'Ὅποτε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, καὶ ὁ γεγωνὸς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ἐκ τούτων δὲ αὐξῆι καὶ συνίσταται ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ὑπόστασις, κ. τ. λ.]

Irenæus eodem loco. [251. col. 2. and 1.]
Ibidem. Secundum nos. καθ' ἡμᾶς.

consistit carnis nostræ substantia : “ Of the same the substance of our flesh is increased, and standeth.” Therefore it is certain and most manifest by Irenæus, that, as Christ’s body is the one part of the sacrament, so is material bread the other. Likewise in baptism, as the one part of that holy mystery is Christ’s blood, so is the other part the material water. Neither are these parts joined together in place, but in mystery : and therefore they be oftentimes severed, and the one is received without the other. And for that cause St. Augustine saith : *Qui discordat a Christo, nec panem ejus manducat, nec sanguinem bibit : etiam si tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suæ præsumptionis quotidie indifferenter accipiat* : “ Whoso disagreeeth from Christ, neither eateth his bread, nor drinketh his blood : although he daily receive the sacrament of so great a thing without difference to the judgment of his presumption.”

Augustin. in libro Sententiarum, senten. 338. [x. app. 247.] Et in Johan. tract. 26. [iii. pt. 2. 501.]

If any man think it strange that the sacrament is called the body and the flesh of Christ, being not so indeed, let him understand, that the written word of God is likewise called Christ’s body, and Christ’s flesh, even the same that was born of the virgin, and that the Father raised again to life : although indeed it be not so. So saith St. Hierom : *Quando dicit, Qui non comederit carnem meam, et biberit sanguinem meum, &c. : licet in mysterio possit intelligi, tamen verius corpus Christi et sanguis ejus sermo scripturarum est* : “ When Christ saith, He that eateth not my flesh, and drinketh not my blood, &c. : notwithstanding it may be taken of the mystery, yet the word of God is more truly the body of Christ, and his blood⁸.” Here note, good reader, that by these words of St. Hierom the word of God is the body and blood of Christ, and that more truly, than is the sacrament.

Hieronym. in Psalm. cxlvii. [ii. pt. 2. 504.]

Verius.

M. HARDING : Sixth Division.

This being that bread, which of our Lord given to his disciples, not in shape, but in nature changed, by the almighty power of the word is made flesh, as St. Cyprian termeth it—

⁸ [The greater part of this commentary on the Psalms is not by St. Jerome ; see Bened. ed. and Cave.]

† In Serm. d. Cœna Dom.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This authority is answered more at large in the tenth Article, and in the second Division.

M. HARDING : *Seventh Division.*

This being that holy mystery, wherein the invisible Priest turneth the visible creatures (of bread and wine) into the substance of his body and blood, by his word, with secret power, as Eusebius Emissenus reporteth⁹—

[Hom. 5. de Pascha.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This authority is answered in the tenth Article, and in the sixth Division.

M. HARDING : *Eighth Division.*

^aThis being that holy food, by worthy receiving whereof Christ dwelleth in us naturally, that is to wit, in us by truth of nature, and not by concord of will only, as Hilarius affirmeth—

[Lib. 8. de Trinitate. [p. 955.]

So St. Hilary saith, Christ dwelleth in us naturally by the water of baptism. De Trinit. lib. 8. [p. 952.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This authority is answered before in the fifth Article, and the tenth Division¹⁰.

M. HARDING : *Ninth Division.*

Again this being that table, whereat in our Lord's meat we receive the Word truly made flesh of the most holy virgin Mary, as the same Hilary saith—

[Lib. 8. de Trinitate, p. 954.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This authority as it nothing hindereth us, so it nothing furthereth M. Harding. We say, that at that holy table our faith is directed, not unto a phantasy, but unto the very body and blood of Christ, and tasteth it, and feedeth on it: and that as verily, and as effectually, as our body feedeth upon material food. And we add further, That, whosoever eateth not Christ's flesh, nor drinketh his blood, shall not have everlasting life. But the thing that we receive with our mouth, is not the same thing that we receive

John vi. 53.

⁹ [The genuine works of Eusebius Emissenus are not extant, except in fragments.—Cave. Supr. vol. ii. 397, note ⁹³.]
¹⁰ [Vol. ii. 379.]

August. in
Johan. tract.
26. [iii. pt. 2.
498.]

with our faith. For, as it is before alleged out of St. Augustine: *Aliud est sacramentum, aliud res sacramenti*: “The sacrament is one thing, and the matter, or substance of the sacrament,” which is Christ’s very body, “is another thing.”

But being granted, that Christ’s body is verily and really in the sacrament: yet cannot M. Harding thereof conclude his purpose. His argument standeth thus:

Christ’s body ought to be adored with godly honour:

Christ’s body is in the sacrament:

Ergo, The sacrament ought to be adored with godly honour.

This argument is made up of four terms: and therefore in the schools would be counted childish. The error whereof will the better appear by the like.

Christ’s body ought to be adored with godly honour:

Christ’s body is in heaven:

Ergo, heaven ought to be adored with godly honour.

M. HARDING: *Tenth Division.*

This being that bread which neither earing, nor sowing, nor work of tillers hath brought forth, but that earth, which remained untouched, and was full of the same, that is, the blessed virgin Mary, as Gregory Nyssen describeth—

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Gregory Nyssen in this whole place speaketh not one word, neither of any adoration, nor of the sacrament: but only of Christ’s birth of the blessed virgin. These words are alleged, and answered before in the fifth Article, and tenth Division¹⁰. Yet shortly, and by the way, these words yield us one good reason against M. Harding. For, whereas Gregory Nyssen saith, The bread of Christ’s body cometh not of the labour of tillers, that is to say, of material corn: and nevertheless St. Cyprian and St. Augustine say, the sacrament is wrought of many corns: of these fathers thus considered together, we may conclude, That Christ’s body and the sacrament are sundry things. The argument that M. Harding can gather hereof standeth thus:

Cyprian. lib.
1. epist. 6.
[p. 153.]
Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
26. [iii. pt.
2. 500.]

¹⁰ [Vol. ii. pp. 366. (note ⁶⁵.) 373. (note ⁷¹.)]

Christ was born of the blessed virgin :
Ergo, we ought to adore the sacrament.
 For other necessity of sequel out of these words there is none.

M. HARDING : *Eleventh Division.*

Constitut.
 Apostolica-
 rum, lib. 8.
 cap. ult.
 in Levit. lib.
 c. cap. 4.
 fol. 20. A.]

This being that supper, in the which Christ sacrificed himself, as Clemens Romanus, and as Hesychius declareth : who furthermore in another place writeth most plainly, that these mysteries, meaning the blessed sacrament of the altar, are *sancta sanctorum*, "the holiest of all holy things," because it is the body of himself, of whom Gabriel said to the virgin, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee : therefore that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God : " and of whom also Isaiah spake, "Holy is our Lord, and dwelleth on high," verily in the bosom of the Father—

Hesychius speaketh these words, not of the sacrament, but of Christ himself.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Christ, as he had shewed his disciples before, that he must go up to Jerusalem, and there be crucified, so, being at that his last mournful supper, he ordained a sacrament of his death, and took bread, and brake it, and described and expressed before their eyes the whole order and manner of his passion : as if he should have said, "Thus shall my body be broken : thus shall my blood be shed." This description of Christ's death so plain, and so lively, Hesychius calleth a sacrifice, that is to say, an exemplar, or resemblance of that sacrifice, which he had to offer the day following upon the cross. And indeed, as the bread was Christ's body, so the breaking of the same was Christ's passion. And in this manner of speech the ancient fathers seem to call baptism a sacrifice. Chrysostom saith : *Baptisma Christi, passio Christi est* : "The baptism of Christ, is Christ's passion." So Tertullian : *Tingimur in passione Domini* : "We be washed in the passion of our Lord"¹¹. So likewise again Chrysostom saith : *Quod crux, et sepulchrum fuit Christo, id nobis baptismus factus est* : "That is baptism unto us, that the cross and grave was unto Christ." In this sense Hesychius saith, Christ offered himself at his last supper : that is to say, by way of a sacrament, and in a

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebræ. hom. 16. [xii. 159.]

Tertull. de Baptismo. [p. 232.]

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. hom. 10. [ix. 525.]

¹¹ [Tertull. de Baptismo. See vol. ii. p. 398, note ⁹⁵.]

Hesy chius in
Levit. lib. 1.
cap. 2. [fol.
13. C.]

mystery, but not indeed: to take away the sins of the world. In like sense the same Hesy chius calleth the birth of Christ a sacrifice: these be his words; *Sacrificium coctum Christi appellat incarnationem*: "The baked sacrifice he calleth the incarnation of Christ."

August in
Johan. tract.
26. [iii. pt. 2.
498.]
Origen. in
Levit. hom.
5. [ii. 207.]

Touching this word, *sancta sanctorum*, it is not the outward sacrament that Hesy chius calleth by that name, but the very body of Christ itself: which, as St. Augustine saith, is, *res [virtus] sacramenti*, "the substance and matter of the sacrament." So writeth Origen upon Leviticus: *Quæ est hostia, quæ pro peccatis offertur, et est sancta sanctorum, nisi unigenitus Filius Dei, Dominus meus Jesus Christus? Ipse solus est hostia pro peccatis, et ipse est hostia, sancta sanctorum*: "What is that sacrifice, that is offered up for sin, and is the holy of the holy, but the only begotten Son of God, my Lord Jesus Christ? He only is the sacrifice for sin: and he is the sacrifice, of holy things the most holy." And this he speaketh of the sacrifice, that Christ made upon the cross. And therefore he added thus: *Quod uno verbo apostolus explicavit, cum dicit, Qui seipsum obtulit Deo*: "Which thing the apostle expressed in one word, saying thus, 'Which hath offered up himself unto God.'"

Inter Decret.
Bonifac. 1.
decret. 3.
12. Quest. 2.
Nulli liceat.
Levit. xxvii.

Howbeit, not only the sacrament, but also other things appointed unto godly use, may be called *sanctu sanctorum*. So it is written, and determined by Bonifacius the First:

Omne, quod Domino consecratur, sive fuerit homo, sive animal, sive ager, vel quicquid fuerit semel consecratum, sanctum sanctorum erit Domino: "Every thing, that is consecrate unto the Lord, be it man, or beast, or lands, or whatsoever, being consecrate, it is holy of the holy unto the Lord." Neither doth he call the holy mysteries *sancta sanctorum* in that sense that M. Harding meaneth, for that they are the holiest of all holy things, but because they are appointed for holy people. For thus he expoundeth it himself: (*Panis iste, et calix,*) *sancta sanctorum sunt. Vides, quomodo non dixerit, sancta tantummodo, sed sancta sanctorum. Ac si diceret, panis iste non est communis omnium, nec cujusque indigni, sed sanctorum est. Quanto magis*

Origen. in
Leviticum,
hom. 13. [ii.
357. 358.]

hoc et de verbo Dei dicemus, Hic sermo non est omnium, nec cujuscunque, sed sanctorum est? "This bread, and this cup, are the holy things of the holy. You see, that he saith not only, 'they are holy things:' but he addeth besides, 'of the holy.' As if he would say, This bread is not common to all men, nor to every unworthy: but it is the bread of the holy. How much more may we say the same of God's word, This word is not of all men, or of every body, but of the holy?" Therefore St. Chrysostom saith, The priest was wont to shew forth the bread in the time of the holy mysteries, and to say, *Sancta sanctis*: "Holy things for the holy." And this is the meaning of *sancta sanctorum*.

As for Clemens of Rome, the apostle's fellow, as M. Harding every where calleth him, he saith not, That Christ offered himself at his last supper: but rather far otherwise. Thus he saith: *Propter nos homo factus, et spirituale sacrificium offerens Deo*: "Christ being made man for us, and offering unto God a spiritual sacrifice." And in plainer sort, he maketh this prayer unto God, touching the same: *Offerimus tibi Regi, et Deo, juxta Christi institutionem, hunc panem, et hoc poculum*: "We offer up unto thee, O King and God, this bread, and this cup." He saith not, We offer up really the body of thy Son: but this bread, and this cup. Which also he calleth *antitypa*, that is to say, *signa corporis, et sanguinis Christi*: "the tokens, or pledges of Christ's body and blood." And so Theodoretus writeth hereof: *Ecclesia offert corporis et sanguinis ejus symbola*: "The church offereth the tokens, or signs of his body and blood"¹².

^{Lab. 8. cap. 13.}

^{Theodoret. in Psalm. cix. [1. 85a.]}

M. HARDING: Twelfth Division.

On the holy table, where these mysteries are celebrated, the Lamb of God being laid, and sacrificed of priests unbloodily, as that most ancient and worthy council of Nice reporteth¹³—

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

As the council of Nice saith, "The Lamb is laid upon the altar," alluding unto the sacrifices of the old law, even

¹² [Theodoret. in Psalm. cix. ἀπαρχῆς ἁγιάζουσα.]
 Προσφέρει δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία τὰ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος σύμβολα, πᾶν τὸ φύραμα διὰ τῆς
¹³ [Gelasii Cyziceni Comm. Act. Concil. Nic. Mansi, ii. 888.]

Augustin. in
Sermone ad
Infantes. Ci-
tatur a Beda.
1 Cor. x.

so doth St. Augustine say unto the people, *Vos estis in mensa : vos estis in calice* : “ You are upon the table : you are in the cup¹⁴.” As the people is laid upon the table, so is Christ laid upon the table. But this authority is answered more at large in the fifth Article, and the eighth Division¹⁵.

M. HARDING : *Thirteenth Division.*

The 162nd
untruth :
misreporting
the scrip-
tures, the
councils,
and ancient
fathers.

Briefly, in this highest sacrament under visible shape invisible things, soothly the very true, real, lively, natural, and substantial body and blood of our Saviour Christ being contained, as (162) the scriptures, doctors, councils, yea and the best learned of Martin Luther’s school, do most plainly and assuredly affirm—

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Now soothly, if M. Harding could have found any of all these terms, “ real, lively, natural,” or “ substantial,” either in the scriptures, or in the doctors, or in any council, he would not have spared the allegation. But thus avouching these terms, and so constantly assuring us thereof by these authorities, being nevertheless not able any where to find the same, we must needs think, he misreporteth the scriptures, the doctors, and the councils, and much abuseth the simple credulity of the people.

M. HARDING : *Fourteenth Division.*

The 163rd
untruth. For
these speech-
es were never
known, nor
heard of in
any time of
the ancient
fathers.

The 164th
untruth. For
the bread and
wine remain
still, as shall
appear in the
tenth Article.

The 165th
untruth. As
may more
largely ap-
pear by the
fifth and
sixth Article.

This (I say in conclusion) being so, as it is undoubtedly so : we that remain in the catholic church, and can by no persecution be removed from the catholic faith, whom it liketh M. Jewel and his fellows to call papists, believe verily, that it is our bounden duty to adore the sacrament, and to worship it with all godly honour. By which word, sacrament, notwithstanding in this respect we mean not the outward forms, (163) that properly are called the sacrament, but the thing of the sacrament, the invisible grace, and virtue therein contained, even the very body and blood of Christ.

And when we adore and worship this blessed sacrament, we do not adore and worship the substance itself of bread and wine, (164) because after consecration none at all remaineth. Neither do we adore the outward shapes and forms of bread and wine which remain : for they be but creatures, that ought not to be adored : but the body itself and blood of Christ, (165) under those

¹⁴ [August. Serm. ad Infantes. See vol. ii. p. 329, note ²⁶.]

¹⁵ [Vol. ii. p. 359—362.]

forms verily and really contained, lowly and devoutly do we adore. And therefore, to speak more properly, and according to skill, lest our adversaries might take advantage against us through occasion of terms, where right sense only is meant, we protest and say, that we do and ought to adore and worship the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

If M. Harding be persecuted, as he saith, verily it seemeth a delicate kind of persecution. They of his side did not so persecute others. But Solomon saith, "There be certain that flee, when no man followeth them." Thus did Arius the heretic sometimes complain of his persecutors: *Ἀρειος ὁ διωκόμενος ἀδίκως διὰ τὴν πάντα νικῶσαν ἀλήθειαν*: "Arius that wrongfully suffereth persecution for the truth's sake, that conquereth all things." Prov. xxviii. 1.
Eriphan. lib. 2. De Arrianitiss. [1. 730.]

As for M. Harding's constancy, which is here brought in, as instead of some proof, I will say nothing. Howbeit his friends think, so many, so light, and so sudden changes, can scarcely stand well with the title of constancy. Certainly the maintenance of open and known error should rather have some other name. The prophet Zechariah saith: *Posuerunt ut adamantem cor suum*: "They have set their hearts, as the adamant stone." Job saith, *Stetit cor ejus sicut incus*: "His heart stood as a steadie." Yet might not they therefore be called constant. St. Hilary saith: *Gravis et periculosus est lapsus in multis. Etsi enim se intelligant, tamen pudor exurgendi auctoritatem sibi præsumit.....: ut, quod errant, prudentiam velint existimari: quod cum multis errant, intelligentiam esse asserant veritatis.....*: "Falling from God in many men is grievous and dangerous. For albeit they understand themselves, yet, for that they are ashamed to rise again, they therefore take upon them some authority, and will have their error counted wisdom; and that they are deceived with many, they call it the understanding of the truth." Zechar. vii. 12.
Job xli. 24.
Hilarius de Trinitate, lib. 6. p. 84. [ed. 1550. Ben. ed. p. 879.]

¹⁵ [So spelt in the original ed., in conformity with the Anglo-Saxon derivation: for *stithy*.]

¹⁶ [Hilar. de Trinit. "Gravis enim et periculosus est error in

"plurimis, et multorum lapsus, etiamsi se intelligat, tamen exurgendi pudore auctoritatem sibi præsumit, ex numero habens hoc impudentiæ, ut quod errat

the purpose, it appeareth, this matter cannot stand without the disordering and confounding of the natural course and sound of words. Sometimes the accidents and shows of bread must be the sacrament: sometimes Christ's body, which, as M. Harding confesseth, indeed is not the sacrament, yet, to maintain this new adoration, must needs become the sacrament. And thus now we have two sacraments together in one sacrament. And yet, in the conclusion, we may not worship the very sacrament, but only Christ's body in the sacrament. And this, as M. Harding telleth us, is a proper, plain, familiar kind of speech, and according unto skill. Thus he teacheth us to lift up our hearts, and to worship God in spirit and truth. Unless the simple people go to the universities and learn this new skill, what is, *accidens absque subjecto: corpus sine loco: locus sine corpore: quantitas sine modo quanti*, they cannot skilfully worship Christ's body. Or, if they worship without this skill, they worship one thing for another, and become idolaters.

M. HARDING: *Fifteenth Division.*

And here this much is further to be said, that in the sacrament of the altar the body of Christ is not adored by thought of mind sundered from the Word, but being inseparably united to the Word. For this is specially to be considered, that in the most holy sacrament the body and blood of Christ are not present by themselves alone, as being separated from his soul, and from the Godhead: but that there is (166) here his true and living flesh and blood joined together with his Godhead inseparably, and that they be as himself is, perfect, whole, and inseparable. Which is sufficiently confirmed by sundry his own words in St. John. "I am," saith he, "the bread of life." Again: "This is bread coming down from heaven, that if any eat of it he die not. I am the lively bread that came down from heaven: if any eat of this bread he shall live everlastingly." And to shew what bread he meant, he concludeth with these words: "And the bread which I shall give is my flesh, which I shall give for the life of the world." By which words he assureth us plainly, that his flesh which he giveth us to eat is full of life, and joined with his Godhead, which bringeth to the worthy receivers thereof immor-

The 166th untruth, often avouched, and never proved. For these words pertain only to Christ himself: and nothing at all unto the sacrament.

"prudentiam velit existimari, et The Froben. ed., which bishop
"quod cum multis errat, intelli- Jewel used, corresponds with the
"gentiam esse asserat veritatis." Bened.]

tality, as well of body as of soul. Which thing flesh and blood of itself could not perform, as our Lord himself declareth plainly, where he saith, as there it followeth: "It is the spirit that quickeneth or giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words which I have spoken to you be spirit and life." As though he had said thus: "The flesh of itself profiteth nothing, but my flesh, which is full of Godhead and Spirit, bringeth and worketh immortality and life everlasting to them ^a that receive it worthily." Thus we understand in this blessed sacrament, not only the body and blood of Christ, but all and whole Christ, God and Man, to be present in substance, and that for the inseparable unity of the person of Christ: and for this cause we acknowledge ourselves bounden to adore him, as very true God and Man.

a A vain addition. For St. Augustine saith, The body of Christ itself is received of all men unto life, and of no man unto judgment.

For a clearer declaration hereof, I will not let to recite a notable sentence out of St. Augustine, where he expoundeth these words of Christ: "Then, if ye see the Son of man go up, where he was before." "There had been no question," saith he, "if he had thus said: 'If ye see the Son of God go up where he was before.' But whereas he said, 'The Son of man go up where he was before,' what, was the Son of man in heaven, before that he began to be in earth? Verily here he said, 'where he was before,' as though then he were not there when he spake these words. And in another place he saith: 'No man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended from heaven, the Son of man which is in heaven.' He said not, 'was,' but 'the Son of man,' saith he, 'which is in heaven.' In earth he spake, and said himself to be in heaven. . . . To what pertaineth this, but that we understand Christ to be one person, God and Man, not two: lest our faith be not a Trinity, but a quaternity? Wherefore Christ is one: the Word, the soul and the flesh, one Christ: the Son of God, and the Son of man, one Christ. The Son of God ever, the Son of man in time. Yet one Christ, according to the unity of person, was in heaven, when he spake in earth. So was the Son of man in heaven, as the Son of God was in earth. The Son of God in earth in flesh taken, the Son of man in heaven in unity of person." Thus far St. Augustine.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It is true, that Christ's body and his Godhead are joined inseparably, and therefore must be adored both together. For we may not divide the Godhead from the Manhead, and so imagine two sundry Christs, the one to be honoured, the other to stand without honour, as did the heretic Nestorius. But as the body and soul of man, being joined both in one, are honoured both together: so must the humanity and divinity of Christ, being joined both in one,

Cyrrillus in Apologetico. [vi. 166.] In edict. imper. Justiniani inter edicta Joan. ii. [Crabb, tom. i. p. 1064.] Inter Decret. Johan. ii.

Johan. act. 27. li. pt. 2. 13.]

likewise be honoured both together. Otherwise to say, as the heretic Nestorius said, "Thomas touched him, that was risen again: and honoured him, that raised him up," it were great blasphemy. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the body and Godhead of Christ be joined in one person, yet are they distinct and sundry natures: the one finite, the other infinite: the one in place, the other incomprehensible without place: the one a creature, the other the creator¹⁷. Neither is there any godly honour due unto the body of Christ in respect of itself: but only, for that it is joined in one person with the divinity. All these things be true and out of question.

Concil. Chalcedon, Act. 1.
[vi. 664.]

Likewise, the words that Christ spake in the sixth chapter of St. John, and are here alleged by M. Harding, are undoubtedly true: howbeit, not according to the simple sound and tenor of the letter: for that, as St. Augustine saith, were *flagitium et facinus*: "an heinous wickedness¹⁸:" and as Origen saith: "It would kill the soul¹⁹." And therefore Christ himself expoundeth his own meaning touching the same: "It is the Spirit that giveth life: the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken, be Spirit and life." Which words St. Augustine expoundeth thus: *Spiritualiter intelligite, quæ locutus sum. Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis*: "Understand ye spiritually the things that I have spoken. Ye shall not eat this body that ye see." Likewise Chrysostom: *Secundum spiritum verba mea audienda sunt: qui secundum carnem audit, nihil lucratur, nihil utilitatis accipit*: "My words must be heard spiritually: whoso heareth them carnally or according to the flesh, getteth nothing, nor hath any profit by them." He saith further by way of objection against himself: *Quid ergo est carnaliter intelligere? Simpliciter, ut res dicuntur: neque aliud quicquam cogitare*: "And

August. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. 3. cap. 16.
[iii. 52.]
Origen. in Levit. hom. 7. [ii. 225.]

August. in Psal. xcviij.
[iv. 1066.]

Chrysost. in Johan. hom. 46. [viii. 277.]

[Ib. 278.]

¹⁷ [Concil. Chalced. Οὐτω Χριστὸν ὄντα καὶ κύριον ὁμολογήσομεν οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπον συμπροσκυνοῦντες τῷ λόγῳ.]

¹⁸ [August. de Doctr. Christ. "Nisi manducaveritis," &c. "Facinus vel flagitium videtur ju-

"bere; figura est ergo."]

¹⁹ [Origen commenting on St. John vi. 54. "Est et in novo testamento litera, quæ occidat eum, qui non spiritualiter quæ dicuntur adverterit."]

what is meant by these words, 'to understand according to the flesh?' He answereth: "It is to understand simply and plainly, even as things be spoken, and to think upon nothing else¹⁹." Thus therefore Christ said, to cut off their carnal cogitations: "The words that I spake are spirit and life." As if he should say, "Neither is my flesh meat, nor my blood drink, to enter into your mouths, and to feed your bodies. But if your souls be hungry, I am spiritual meat to feed you: if your souls be thirsty, I am spiritual drink to refresh you." To this purpose St. Chrysostom saith thus: *Omnia tibi Christus factus est: mensa, vestimentum, domus, caput, et radix, &c.*: "Christ is become all things unto thee: thy table, thy apparel, thy house, thy head, and thy root, &c. St. Paul saith: 'As many of you as are baptized in Christ, ye have put on Christ:' behold, how Christ is made thy apparel. And wilt thou learn, how he is become thy table? he saith, 'Whoso eateth me, shall live through me;' and that he is thy house, he saith, 'Whoso eateth my flesh, dwelleth in me, and I in him;' and that he is thy root, again he saith, 'I am the vine, and you are the branches²⁰.'" So saith Gregorius Nyssenus: "Christ unto the strong is strong meat: unto the weaker sort he is herbs: and unto infants he is milk²¹." So saith Origen: *Ne mireris: quia verbum Dei et caro dicitur, et panis, et lac, et olera, et pro mensura credentium, vel possibilitate sumentium diverse nominatur*: "Marvel not: for the word of God is called both flesh, and bread, and milk, and herbs: and according to the measure of the believers, and the possibility of the receivers, is diversely named." And likewise Gregory Nazianzen²²:

¹⁹ [Chrysost. in Johan. hom. 46. (p. 278.) *Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ σαρκικῶς νοῆσαι; τὸ ἀπλῶς εἰς τὰ προκείμενα ὀρᾶν, καὶ μὴ πλέον τι φαντάζεσθαι.*]

²⁰ [Chrysost. ad Pop. Antioch. hom. 21; so numbered in the old edd.; but edited by the Bened. under the name of "Catech. 2. ad Illuminand." It seems to have been composed about the time, when the ἀνδριάντες (the subject of the twenty-one genuine homilies ad Pop. Ant.) still occupied men's minds.]

²¹ [Greg. Nyss. supra, vol. ii. p. 373. note 71.]

²² [This is a mistake; Gregory Nazianzen has left no Commentary on the Psalms. The passage is from St. Basil in Psalm. xlv. and is as follows: *ὡς οὖν ζωὴ ἐστὶ καὶ ὁδὸς, καὶ ἄρτος, καὶ ἄμπελος, καὶ ἀληθινὸν φῶς, καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὀνομάζεται, οὕτω καὶ μάχαιρα διατέμνουσα τὸ παθητικὸν μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς, κ. τ. λ.*]

Chrysost. ad Popul. Antiochen. hom. 21. [ii. 236.]

Gal. iii. 27.

John vi. 54.

John xv. 1.

Gregor. Nyssen. In Vita Mosis. [i. 215.]

Origen. in Exod. cap. 15. hom. 7. [ii. 155.]

Nazianzen.
[Basil.] in
Psalm. xlv.
[Basil. Opp.
i. 163.]

Quemadmodum Dominus noster Jesus Christus appellatur vita, via, panis, vitis, lux vera, et mille alia, sic etiam appellatur gladius: “Like as our Lord Jesus Christ is called the life, the way, the bread, the vine, the true light, and a thousand things else, so is he also called the sword.” Now as Christ is bread, even so, in like manner of speech, he is a sword, and none otherwise. Thus is Christ unto us a spiritual table, a spiritual apparel, a spiritual house, a spiritual head, a spiritual root, spiritual meat, spiritual herbs, spiritual milk, spiritual flesh, life, way, bread, wine, and light. And to this end Christ saith: “My words be spirit and life.”

Hitherto the words of Christ, that be here alleged, weigh very little of M. Harding’s side.

Besides all this, he saith, That whole Christ, both God and man, is really, substantially, and carnally in the sacrament. This thing, because he is not able any way to prove, he presumeth of himself by authority, as though it were already proved. It shall be good, to give him a day to consider the matter, and to prove it better. In the mean season the substance of his reason standeth thus:

The humanity and divinity of Christ are joined together in one person:

Ergo, we must adore the sacrament with godly honour.

M. HARDING: *Sixteenth Division.*

Hereupon he expoundeth these words, “It is the spirit that quickeneth or giveth life, the flesh availeth nothing,” thus: “The flesh profiteth nothing, but the only flesh. Come the spirit to the flesh, and it profiteth very much. For if the flesh should profit nothing, the Word should not be made flesh to dwell among us.” “For this unity of person to be understood in both natures,” saith the great learned father Leo, “we read that both the Son of man came down from heaven, whenas the Son of God took flesh of that virgin, of whom he was born: and again, it is said that the Son of God was crucified and buried, whereas he suffered these things not in the Godhead itself, in which the only begotten is coeverlasting and consubstantial with the Father, but in the infirmity of human nature. Wherefore we confess all in the Creed also, the only begotten Son of God crucified and buried, according to that saying of the apostle: ‘For if they had known, they would never have crucified the Lord of majesty.’”

According to this doctrine, Cyrillus writing upon St. John saith, “He that eateth the flesh of Christ, hath life everlasting.”

Epist. ad
Flavianum
Constanti-
nopolitan
Episc. cap

1 Cor. ii. 8

In Johan.
lib. 4. cap
15. [iv. 36]

For this flesh hath the Word of God, which naturally is life. Therefore he saith : ' I will raise him again in the last day. For I,' said he, that is, my body, which shall be eaten, ' will raise him again.' For he is not other than his flesh. I say not this because by nature he is not other, but because after incarnation, he suffereth not himself to be divided into two sons." By which words he reproveth the heresy of wicked Nestorius, that went about to divide Christ, and of Christ to make two sons : the one the Son of God, the other the Son of Mary, and so two persons. For which Nestorius was condemned in the first Ephesine council²², and also specially for that he said, (167) we receive in this sacrament only the flesh of Christ in the bread, and his blood only in the wine, without the Godhead, because Christ said, " He that eateth my flesh," and said not, " He that eateth or drinketh my Godhead," because his Godhead cannot be eaten, but his flesh only. Which heretical cavil Cyrillus doth thus avoid. " Although," saith he, " the nature of the Godhead be not eaten, yet we eat the body of Christ, which verily may be eaten. But this body is the Word's own proper body, which quickeneth all things, and, inasmuch as it is the body of life, it is quickening or lifegiving. Now he quickeneth us or giveth us life, as God, the only fountain of life." Wherefore such speeches uttered in the scriptures of Christ, whereby that appeareth to be attributed to the one nature, which appertaineth to the other, and contrariwise, according to that incomprehensible and unspeakable conjunction and union of the divine and human nature in one person, are to be taken of him inseparably, inasmuch as he is both God and Man : and not of this or that other nature only, as being severed from the other. For through cause of this inseparable union, whatsoever is appertaining or peculiar to either nature, it is rightly ascribed, yea and it ought to be ascribed, to the whole person. And this done, as the learned divines term it, *per communicationem idiomatum*. And thus Cyrillus teacheth, how Christ may be eaten, not according to the divine, but human nature, which he took of us, and so likewise he is of Christian people adored in the sacrament according to his divine nature. And yet not according to his divine nature only, as though that were separated from his human nature, but his whole person together, God and Man. And his precious flesh and blood are adored for the inseparable conjunction of both natures into one person, which is Jesus Christ God and Man. " Whom God hath exalted," as St. Paul saith, " and hath given him a name, which is above all names, that in the name of Jesus every knee be bowed, of the heavenly and the earthly things, and of things beneath, and that every tongue confess, that our Lord Jesus Christ is in glory of God the Father," that is, " of equal glory with the Father." " And when God," saith St. Paul, " bringeth his first begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God

The 167th untruth. For neither was there any such error defended by Nestorius, nor any such canon ever moved in that council.

ide [Apol. iv. Orient.]
nathema-
smum 11.
71. 193.]
tem ad The-
dosi. de
cta Fide,
7. pt. 2. 35.]
lib. 2. ad
eginas de
cta Fide.

quipp. 11. 9.

eb. 1. 6.
al. xcvii. 7.

²² [Harding probably derived council from Thomas. qu. 76. his opinion about the Ephesine art. 1 and 2.]

adore him." St. John writeth in his Revelation, that he heard Rev. v. 13. all creatures say, "Blessing, honour, glory and power, be to him which sitteth in the throne, and to the Lamb for ever. And the four and twenty elders fell down on their faces, and adored him that liveth until worlds of worlds."

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I marvel M. Harding would bestow so many waste words to so small purpose. These authorities be all true, and, saving only that of the council of Chalcedon, touching Nestorius, all truly alleged. But every thing that is true, maketh not by and by proof sufficient in every case. Pliny the Second giveth good sad counsel, that whosoever will take in hand to write a book, have evermore a good eye unto his title, or to the purpose, whereof he writeth, lest he happen to wander, and to run at random. As now M. Harding seemeth to shoot fair, although a great way from the mark. For in all these words there is no manner mention, neither of the sacrament, nor of the adoration thereof, nor of any other thing thereto belonging. Unless M. Harding upon occasion of these words will reason thus :

The Son of man came down from heaven :

Ergo, we must adore the sacrament.

The words of Cyrillus be likewise true. "Christ's flesh is joined with the Godhead, and therefore it naturally giveth life." And when Christ said, "I will raise him up at the last day," he meant, even as Cyrillus saith, that his flesh that we eat, shall raise us up at the last day. For, whatsoever favour or mercy we have from God, we have it only by the flesh of Christ. St. Augustine saith: *Mortalis factus est immortalis, ut, peracta sua morte, nos faceret immortales*: "He that is immortal became mortal, that through his death he might make us immortal." Again he saith: *Nos non efficeremur participes divinitatis ejus, nisi ipse factus fuisset particeps mortalitatis nostræ*: "We could not be partakers of his Godhead, unless he had been partaker of our mortality." All these words be true, as containing nothing else but the exposition of these words of Christ: "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, shall live for ever."

But M. Harding, to make these words of Cyrillus to

Plin. Sæpe respiciendum est ad titulum.

John vi. 54.

Augustin. in Psalm. cix. [iv. 1236.]

Augustin. in Psalm. cxviii. [serm. 16. tom. iv. p. 1319.]

serve his turn, hath imagined two great errors: the one is: "That Christ's body cannot be eaten, but only in the sacrament:" the other is: "That unless we receive Christ's body with our mouth, and swallow it down into our belly, we eat it not:" as though either Christ or these holy fathers had meant a carnal or fleshly eating. This whole doctrine is horrible, and full of desperation. For M. Harding's position being true, that no man shall be partaker of that blessed resurrection, but only such as have eaten Christ's body in the sacrament, what then shall become of Christian children, that have departed this life, never having received the sacrament? Who shall raise them up again at the last day? Or doth M. Harding believe, that such little ones being baptized, and so the members of Christ, shall never rise again, but lie damned for ever, only because they have not received the sacrament?

Verily Christ in these words, as it is witnessed by all the holy fathers, speaketh not of the sacrament, but of the spiritual eating with our faith: and in this behalf utterly excludeth the corporal office of our body. Therefore St. Augustine saith: *Crede, et manducasti*: "Believe, and thou hast eaten." And again: *Illud manducare, refici est: illud bibere, quid est, nisi vivere?* "That eating is to be refreshed: and that drinking, what is it else, but to live?" Likewise St. Basil saith: *Est spirituale os interni hominis, quo recipitur verbum vitæ, quod est panis, qui de cælo descendit*: "There is a spiritual mouth of the inner man, wherewith is received the word of life, which is that bread that came down from heaven²²."

And touching our rising again from the dead, he saith: *Tò βάπτισμα δύναμις ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀνάστασιν*: "Our baptism is a strength or power to resurrection." So St. Augustine: *Nemini dubitandum [ambigendum] est, &c.*: "No man may doubt, but every man is then made partaker of the body and blood of Christ, when in baptism he is made the member of Christ's body." Likewise St. Chrysostom: "In baptism we are incorporate unto Christ, and made flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones²³." Thus by faith we eat the body of

Augustin. in
sex. caput
Johan. [iii.
pt. 2. 489.]
Augustin. de
Verbis Apo-
stoli, serm. 2.
[v. 641.]
Basil. in
Psalm. xxxiii.
[i. 144.]

Basilus in
Exhorta-
tione ad
Sanctum
Baptis. [ii.
114.]
Augustin.
[Serm. ad
Infantes] ci-
tatur a Bedæ,
in 1 Cor. x.

Chrysost. in
Epist. ad
Ephes. hom.
20. [xi. 147.]

²² [Basil. in Psalm. xxxiii. see
vol. ii. p. 332. note ²⁸.]

²³ [Chrysost. in Ephes. supra,
vol. i. p. 208, note ⁴⁷.]

Christ, and that, not by way of imagination or phantasy, but effectually, verily, and indeed, and therefore Christ shall raise us up again at the last day.

M. Harding's error, as I have said, resteth herein, that he imagineth, That Christ's body cannot be eaten, but only in the sacrament, and that by mean and office of our bodily mouth. But, as it is before²⁴ alleged out of Rabanus Maurus: "The sacrament is received outwardly with the mouth of our body: but the body of Christ is received into the inner man, and that with the spiritual mouth of our soul." And thus both may the sacrament be received without Christ's body, and also the body of Christ may be received without the sacrament.

Rabanus Maurus. [de Cler. Inst. et Cærem. Eccl.] lib. I. cap. 31. [tom. vi. p. 11.]

Hitherto M. Harding hath not once touched one word of adoration.

Concerning Nestorius, M. Harding in the drift of his tale hath handsomely couched in a great untruth. For whereas he saith, Nestorius held this opinion, That in the sacrament of the bread, we receive only Christ's body without his blood; and in the cup, the blood of Christ alone without the body: neither did Nestorius, notwithstanding he were an heretic, ever hold this peevish error, nor is there any such record either in the council of Ephesus, that here untruly is alleged, or in any other old council or ancient father.

M. Harding untruly allegeth the council of Ephesus.

But the right of M. Harding's cause hangeth of such evidence, as never was found in any record. If there be any such canon to be found in that whole council, or any mention thereof made in any of all the ancient doctors, let M. Harding shew it, that we may believe him. If, having alleged it so constantly and so often, he be able utterly to shew nothing, let him give men leave to think, that he abuseth the world with vain titles, and meaneth no truth.

Although he might be bold freely to devise matter against Nestorius, as being an heretic, yet he should not thus report untruth of a general council.

But Cyrillus saith further: "We cannot eat the Godhead of Christ: it is his manhead only, that is eaten." Hereby M. Harding thinketh, he is able to overthrow our

²⁴ [Vol. ii. p. 335.]

whole doctrine of spiritual eating, that is wrought by faith. For thus he will reason :

By your doctrine, eating of Christ's body is believing :
But Cyrillus saith, " We cannot eat God :"

Ergo, by your doctrine we cannot believe in God.

Thus he thinketh we are driven to confess a great inconvenience. This reason seemeth to have some show. And therefore I beseech thee, good reader, to consider both the parts thereof, and also the answer.

Eating, in common use of speech, is the receiving of food and sustenance, and the turning of the same into the substance of our bodies, and by a metaphor, or an extraordinary kind of speech, is often used for the spiritual eating, and turning of heavenly food to the refreshing and nourishing of our souls. By neither of these ways it can rightly be said, That we eat the Godhead. For neither can we receive the majesty of God's divine nature, neither turn the same into the substance of our nature. But we may receive, and eat, and feed upon the humanity and body of Christ, and become bone of his bones, and flesh of his flesh, so as he may dwell in us, and we in him. Wherefore, notwithstanding Christ be both God and Man, yet we have not our feeding and life of Christ in respect of his Godhead alone, but first and principally, in respect of his humanity, in that he was made man, and became partaker of flesh and blood, and was crucified, and shed his blood, and yielded up his spirit upon the cross. This is our spiritual feeding : herein standeth our whole life. Therefore St. Paul saith : *Quod nunc vivo in carne, in fide vivo Filius Dei, qui dedit semetipsum pro me* : " That I live now in the flesh, I live in the faith of the Son of God, that hath given himself for me." And again : " God forbid, that I should rejoice in any thing, saving only in the cross of Jesus Christ." Likewise St. Peter : " There is none other name given unto men under heaven, whereby they may be saved, but only the name of Christ Jesus." Thus as Cyrillus saith : " We have our life and feeding, not of the Godhead, but of the manhead of Christ."

And therefore it is very well noted upon the Decrees :

De Con. dist. *Christus per hoc est factus noster panis, et sustentatio, et*
 2. Christus. *vita, quia assumpsit carnem nostram*: “Christ in this is
 In margine. become our bread, and our sustenance, and our life, be-
 cause he hath taken our flesh.”

But M. Harding will say, according to the judgment of
 Cyrillus, “We cannot eat the Godhead: yet nevertheless
 we do believe in God: *ergo*, contrary to your doctrine,
 believing and eating are not both one.” Verily, it ap-
 peareth both by Cyrillus himself, and also by a general
 consent of other old learned fathers, that we cannot neither
 know God, nor believe in God, nor call upon God, as he is
 in himself, in his divine majesty, but only, as it pleased
 him to become like unto us, and to take upon him our

Chrysost. ci-
 tatur a Cassi-
 odoro in
 Psalm. xvii.
 [fol. xxv.
 ed. Paris
 1519.]

mortal nature. St. Chrysostom saith: *Illum, si in nuda*
deitate venisset, non cælum, non terra, non maria, non ulla
creatura sustinere potuisset: “If God had come in his
 manifest divinity, neither the heaven, nor the earth, nor
 the sea, nor any creature could have borne his presence.”

Hilarius in
 Psalm. cxliii.
 [p. 556.]

So St. Hilary: *Cognitus fieri Deus homini, nisi as-*
sumpto homine, non potuit. Quia incognoscibilem cogno-
scere, nisi per naturam nostram, natura nostra non po-
tuit.....: “Unless God had taken man, he could never
 have been known unto man. For him, that cannot be
 known, our nature, saving only by mean of our own
 nature, could never have known.” Likewise saith Cy-

Cyrillus in
 1. ad Regi-
 nas. [v. pt.
 2. p. 45.]

rillus: *Christus non aliter erit adorabilis, nisi credamus,*
quod ipsum Verbum caro factum sit: “Christ is not other-
 wise to be adored, unless we believe, that the very Word
 was made flesh.” Likewise saith St. Augustine: *Respice*

Augustin. in
 Psal. xxxiii.
 [iv. 211.]

altitudinem ipsius: In principio erat Verbum, &c.: “Behold
 the highness of him: ‘In the beginning was the Word, and
 the Word was with God, and God was that Word.’ Behold
 the everlasting meat: but the angels and high powers, and
 the heavenly spirits feed upon it.....But what man can
 attain unto that meat? what heart can be meet for it?
 Therefore it was necessary that that meat should turn into
 milk, and so should come unto us little ones.” It follow-

John 1. 1.

eth: *Quomodo ergo de ipso pane pavit nos sapientia Dei?*
Quia Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis: “How

then did the wisdom of God feed us with that bread?" He answereth: "Because the Word was made flesh, and dwelled in us." Again he saith: *Ita Verbum incarnatum factum est nobis receptibile: quod recipere non valeremus, si Filius æqualis Deo non se exinaniret formam servi accipiens:* August. in Psal. cix. [lv. 1236.]
 "Thus were we able to receive the Word incarnate, which we could not receive, unless the Son, being equal unto the Father, had abased himself, receiving the form of a servant." I pass over other allegations to like purpose. This therefore is the meaning of Cyrillus: We are not able neither to receive, nor to know, nor to believe in, nor to adore, nor to eat, nor to feed upon the divine majesty of God, being pure and simple in itself: but our knowledge, our faith, our food, and our life is in this, that Christ hath taken our mortal nature, and joined the same inseparably in one person to his Godhead.

M. HARDING: *Seventeenth Division.*

But it shall be more tedious than needful, to recite places out of the scriptures for proof of the adoration of Christ; there may of them be found so great plenty. Yet, because Luther was either so blind, or rather so devilish, as to deny the adoration, where notwithstanding he confessed the presence of Christ's true and natural body in the sacrament: I will here recite what the sacramentaries of Zurich have written against him therefore. "What," say they, "is the bread the true and natural body of Christ, and is Christ in the supper, (as the pope and Luther do teach,) present? Wherefore then ought not the Lord there to be adored, where ye say him to be present? Why shall we be forbidden to adore that, which is not only sacramentally, but also corporally, the body of Christ? Thomas toucheth the true body of Christ raised up from the dead, and, falling down on his knees, adoreth, saying: 'My God, and my Lord.' The disciples adore the Lord, as well before, as after his ascension, Matt. xxviii. Acts i. And the Lord in St. John saith to the blind man, 'Believest thou in the Son of God?' and he answereth him saying, 'Lord, who is he, that I may believe in him? And Jesus said to him: 'Thou hast both seen him, and who speaketh with thee, he it is. Then he saith, 'Lord, I believe: and he adored him.' Now if we were taught, our Lord's bread to be the natural body of Christ, verily we would adore it also faithfully with the papists." Thus much the Zuingleians against Luther. Whereby they prove sufficiently the adoration of Christ's body in the sacrament, and so consequently of Christ himself God and Man, because of the

inseparable conjunction of his divine and human nature in unity of person, so as, where his body is, there it is joined and united also unto his Godhead: and so there Christ is present perfectly, wholly, and substantially, very God and Man.

For the clear understanding whereof the better to be attained, the scholastical divines have profitably devised the term *concomitantia*, plainly and truly teaching, that in this sacrament after consecration, under the form of bread, is present the body of Christ; and, under the form of wine, his blood, *ex vi sacramenti*: and with the body, under form of bread, also the blood, the soul and Godhead of Christ; and likewise with the blood, under the form of wine, the body, soul, and Godhead, *ex concomitantia*, as they term it, in shorter and plainer wise uttering the same doctrine of faith, (168) which the holy fathers did in the Ephesine council against Nestorius. Whereby they mean, that, where the body of Christ is present, by necessary sequel, because of the indivisible copulation of both natures in the unity of person, (forasmuch as the Word made flesh never left the human nature,) there is also his blood, his soul, his Godhead, and so whole and perfect Christ, God and Man. And in this respect, the term is not to be disliked of any godly learned man, though some new masters scoff at it, who fill the measure of their predecessors, that likewise have been offended with terms for the apter declaration of certain necessary articles of our faith, by holy and learned fathers in general councils wholesomely devised. Of which sort been these: *homoousion, humanatio, incarnatio, transubstantiatio, &c.* Now here is to be noted, how the Zuinglians, whom M. Jewel followeth, in the article of Adoration, confute the Lutherans; as on the other side, the Lutherans, in the article of the Presence, confute the Zuinglians. As though it were by God's special providence, for the better stay of his church, so wrought, that both the truth should be confessed by the enemies of truth, and also, for uttering of untruth, the one should be condemned of the other, that by the war of heretics the peace of the church might be established, and by their discord the catholic people might the faster grow together in concord.

Now having sufficiently proved by the scriptures, and that with the Zuinglians also, adoration and godly honour to be due unto Christ's body, wheresoever it please his Divine Majesty to exhibit the same present: let us see whether we can find the same doctrine affirmed by the holy and ancient fathers.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Whereas M. Harding thus checketh us with some dissension that hath been between doctor Luther and doctor Zuinglius, touching this matter of adoration, I may justly say unto him, as one sometime said unto Philippus the

The 168th untruth. For there was no such doctrine moved in the council of Ephesus.

Transubstantiation was but lately found in the council of Lateran in Rome, ann. 1215.

[Thomas pt. 3. quest. 76. art. 1. et 2.]

king of Macedony, entreating a peace between Peloponnesus and the rest of Græcia: "Go first, and conclude a peace in thine own house at home." For at the same time his own wife Olympias and his own son Alexander were known to live in deadly dissension: and therefore he seemed no fit instrument to conclude a peace between others.

M. Harding should have remembered, that the greatest buttresses and pillars of his gospel, sithence the first beginning of his new doctrine, have evermore lived in contradiction, and could never yet be reconciled. He should have remembered, that his own doctors, and chiefest doctors, pope Innocentius and Scotus, teach contrary doctrines: that Scotus is against Thomas: Ockam against Scotus: Petrus de Alliaco against Ockam: and the Nominals against the Reals: and not only thus, but also Scotists against Scotists, and Thomists against Thomists, at civil war within one band: and that touching the very words of consecration, and otherlike matters both great and many: whereof to shew the particulars, it would be tedious. But the matters hang still in mortal enmity, and are never like to be reconciled. Having such bloody fields at home, M. Harding should not be so ready to reproach others, for some one or other matter of dissension²⁴.

It were much to be wished, and God of his mercy so grant it, if it be his holy will, that the gospel of Christ may pass forth freely, without any such occasion of offence or hinderance. Howbeit, from the beginning it hath been otherwise. For even at the first planting of the gospel, whiles the martyrs' blood was yet warm, there were some that said, "I hold of Paul: some others that said, I hold of Peter:" and thus were they divided among themselves. St. Paul "withstood and gainsaid Peter unto his face." St. Hierom chargeth St. Augustine with heresy: St. Augustine willeth St. Hierom to recant: St. Hierom despiseth St. Ambrose, and findeth fault with St. Basil: St. Cyprian

Demaratus.
[ap. Plu-
tarch.]

1 Cor. 1. 12.

Gal. 11. 11.

Augustin.
epist. 9. [H.
86.]

²⁴ [To these instances of internal war amongst the Romanists must now be added, the dissensions between the Jansenists and the Jesuits.]

in judgment is contrary to St. Cornelius: pope Sabinianus would have burned all St. Gregory's his predecessor's books. Hereby it appeareth, that saints have been against saints, and martyrs against martyrs, even in matters and cases of religion.

And hereof heretics, and other wicked and godless people, have evermore taken occasion to slander the gospel. Marcion the heretic thought he had found contrarieties between the New Testament and the Old: and therefore said, He was able to prove falsehood in the scriptures. St. Hierom saith: *Hunc locum [hoc loco] nobis objecit Julianus Augustus, de dissonantia [dissonantiam] evangelistarum*: "This place of the disagreeing of the evangelists, the heathen emperor Julianus charged us withal." Again he saith: *Sceleratus Porphyrius, in primo libro, quem scripsit adversus nos, objecit, Petrum a Paulo esse reprehensum, quod non recto pede incederet ad evangelium [evangelizandum]*: "That wicked man Porphyrius, in the first book that he wrote against us, laid to our charge, that Peter was rebuked of Paul, for that he walked not uprightly towards the gospel." So Socrates and Sozomenus say, that the Christians, because of their dissensions, were scorned at of the infidels in open assemblies and market places, and pointed at with their fingers.

Notwithstanding, such diversity of judgment, as it is an offence unto the weak, and an occasion of ill unto the wicked, that seek occasions against God: even so unto the godly, it is occasion of much good. For unto them, that God hath called according to his purpose, all things help, and further unto good. Nicholas Lyra saith: *Expositorum diversitas excitat attentionem*: "The diversity of expositors stirreth up attention in the hearers," and causeth them to consider, that men be men, and see unperfectly, as in a glass, as having received faith only by measure: and therefore to search, and examine the scriptures, and not to glory in men: that whoso will glory, may glory in the Lord.

These two worthy members of God's church, whom it liketh M. Harding thus to control, never differed, or dissented in any foundation, or principle of the Christian

Tertullian.
lib. 4. contra
Marcion.
[p. 413.]
Hieronym.
in Matt. lib.
1. cap. r. [iv.
p. 7.]

Hieronym. in
Proemio in
Epist. ad Galatas, [iv.
223.]

Socrat. lib. 1.
cap. 6. [il.
14.]
Sozom. lib.
1. cap. 16.
[il. 33.]

1 Cor. xi. 19.
Rom. viii. 28.

Nich. Lyra
in Prologo in
Genesisim.

1 Cor. xiii. 12.

2 Cor. x. 13.

1 Cor. iii. 21.

2 Cor. x. 17.

faith: but only of one certain conclusion, and phrase of the scriptures.

Either of them knew, and confessed, that Christ's body ought to be adored with godly honour, for that it is joined in one person with the divinity. But the one of them saith, Notwithstanding Christ's body be present in the sacrament, yet it is not there, to that use and purpose, to be honoured: neither have we any warrant of God's word, so to honour it. So is Christ's body in us naturally, really, corporally, carnally, substantially, and indeed. Yet may we not therefore one kneel down to another, so to adore Christ being there present with godly honour. Thus the whole disagreement of these two learned fathers stood only in this one point, of the manner of Christ's presence. Otherwise their whole hearts were joined and bent together to the disclosing of falsehood and hypocrisy, and to the advancing of God's glory.

We wonder not, as M. Harding thinketh, at his strange term, *concomitantia*, which he hath here brought in, as a special stay of his ruinous doctrine: notwithstanding St. Paul hath charged us, to beware of such newfangled wicked words²⁵: but we wonder to see the same term so childishly applied to so vain a purpose. Indeed these terms, *homousios*, *humanatio*, *incarnatio*, are not found expressed in the scriptures. Yet is the sense and meaning of the same terms, as Epiphanius saith, easy every where to be found.

Neither was that name first devised in the council of Nice. For long before the time of that council, it was used by Origen, and by other ancient learned bishops: as appeareth well by Socrates, whose words be these: *Doctos quosdam ex veteribus, et illustres episcopos, homousii dictione usos esse cognovimus*: "We know that of the old writers,

1 Tim. vi. 20.
Profanas
verborum
novitates.
βεβήλους
καινοφω-
νίας.

Epiphanius
contra Semi-
arian. lib. 3.
[i. 859.]
ὁ δὲ νοῦς
πανταχοῦ.

Socrat. lib. 1.
cap. 8. [ii.
25.]

²⁵ [1 Tim. vi. 20. The received reading, on the authority of the best MSS. is *κενοφωνίας*: but certain of the fathers read, as Jewel does, *καινοφωνίας*, which is also

supported by the Vulgate. See Mill. To the fathers named by him may be added, Epiphan. adv. Hær. lib. 3. tom. i. 858, the page before Jewel's next reference.]

Augustin.
contra Maxl-
minum, lib.
3. cap. 14.
[viii. 704.]
Firmatum
est.

certain learned men, and notable bishops, have used this word, *homousion*." And therefore St. Augustine saith not, "This name, *homousios*, was invented or devised," but, "this name was confirmed, and stablished in the council of Nice." Therefore M. Harding as well herein, as also elsewhere, hath reported untruth.

Concil. Flo-
rent. ses-
sione ultima.
[xxxii. 1004,
1005.]

As for transubstantiation, it is numbered here among these words, *homousios*, *humanatio*, and *incarnatio*, as Judas is numbered among the apostles. God wot, a very young name, newly brought at last into the world, about twelve hundred years after the birth of Christ, at what time king John was king of England: neither had it any manner face or foundation in the word of God. Yet was the same name given a long while before any such child was thoroughly born. For, as it appeareth by the council of Florence, the east church of Grecia and Asia received it not, nor never would receive it until this day: neither be the first inventors and devisers of it fully resolved upon the same.

For this word, *transubstantiatio*, signifieth a passing, or turning of one substance into another. But that, they think, were not tolerable to say, That the substance of bread is changed into the substance of Christ's body. And therefore Duns himself utterly refuseth and shunneth it; and thinketh it better to hold, That the bread departeth, and getteth itself away, and that then in place of it succeedeth Christ's body. And this is now the common opinion of the schools. But this kind of change cannot in any wise be called *transubstantiatio*; but rather *cessio*, *annihilatio*, *successio*, or *substitutio*. Therefore M. Harding must go and seek a new name: for "transubstantiation" will not serve so well. Thus after twelve hundred years' study, they have found out a thing: and yet cannot hitherto tell what to make of it. Yet must their determination herein be compared even with the council of Nice. Verily cardinal Beno, that was then alive, saith, That pope Gregory the Seventh appointed three days fast, and a solemn procession, to the end he might have some sign from

Benno in Vita
Hildebrandi.
[lib. 1.]

heaven for the certainty hereof: and yet in the end concluded without any revelation at all²⁶.

Now, touching this new phantasy of *concomitantia*, after they had once devised a new religion, it was necessary, for aid of the same, to devise also new words. Whereas Christ saith, "This is my body:" they say, "This is my body, and my blood." Where Christ saith, "This is my blood," they say, "This is my blood, and my body:" and in either part, they say, is whole Christ, God and Man. If ye demand how they know it, they say, not by the word of God, but by this new imagination of *concomitantia*. So likewise M. Harding here confesseth, that he cannot prove the adoration of the sacrament by any warrant of the scriptures, but only, I trow, by his *concomitantia*.

M. HARDING: *Eighteenth Division.*

What the apostles taught in their time concerning this Article, we may judge by that we read in Dionysius, that was St. Paul's scholar, and for that it is to be believed. He adoreth and worshippeth this holy mystery with these very words: *Sed O divinum penitus sanctumque mysterium, &c.*: "But O divine and holy mystery, which vouchsafest to open the coverings of signs laid over thee, utter thy light to us openly and plainly, and fill our spiritual eyes with the singular and evident brightness of thy light!"

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I marvel, M. Harding would ever allege this place, for the adoration of the sacrament. For doth he think, that whatsoever thing is so called upon, is therefore adored with godly honour? Or hath he forgotten, that in his church of Rome they use thus to salute the holy oil, *Ave sanctum oleum* — "All hail, O holy oil?" Or hath he forgotten that he himself, in his church, thus saluteth a cross of wood: *Ave rex noster* — "All hail our king?" Or that he maketh his prayer and petition to the same material wooden cross in this wise: *O crux, ave, spes unica, hoc passionis tempore: auge piis justitiam, reisque dona veniam*:

²⁶ [The Editor confesses, that the general tone of Card. Benno, and his evident malignity against Gregory, justifies the severe opin-

ion respecting him, pronounced by Mr. Bowden in his Life of that pope.]

“ All hail, O cross, our only hope, in this time of the passion : give thou increase of righteousness unto the godly : and give thou pardon unto sinners ?” Or shall we think therefore, either, that he giveth godly honour unto a corruptible creature, or that Christ is there present hidden under the form of wood ? This might suffice, to answer this place of Dionysius. I think M. Harding doth remember, that Epiphanius saith : “ The sacrament is a thing insensible²⁷,” that can neither see us, nor hear our prayer : and he knoweth that Pachymeres the Greek paraphrast in this sense expoundeth the words of Dionysius : *O divinum, et sacrum mysterium. Affatur illud, tanquam rem animatam*, &c. : “ He speaketh unto the sacrament, as if it were a thing endued with sense and life. And well. For so Gregory the great divine saith : *O magnum, et sanctum pascha* : ‘ O great and holy passover.’ For our Lord Jesus Christ, as he is our passover, so is he that holy mystery. And unto him the bishop directeth his speech.” Unto him being in heaven, not unto the thing that presently lieth before him upon the table. And that this was Dionysius’ very meaning, it appeareth by that immediately went before. *Ingre diamur ab effectis ad causas* : “ Let us enter from these outward effects into the causes :” that is to say, Let us withdraw our eyes from the visible sacraments, and spiritually let us behold Christ, whose sacraments they be, and who by the same is represented. In like manner Dionysius speaketh of the consecration of the oil : *Adducamus vela*, &c. : “ Let us remove the veils, and behold that spiritual brightness itself,” &c. By which spiritual brightness doubtless he meant, Christ. Thus he teacheth us with our bodily eyes to see one thing, and with our spiritual eyes to see another : with our bodily eyes, the things that be present ; with our spiritual eyes, the things that be absent. For the more likelihood hereof, let us consider what words St. Andrew useth to the very material wooden cross of his execution. *Salve crux*, &c. : “ All hail, thou cross, that here standest, thus long looking

Epiphanius
in Anchorato.
[li. p. 60.]

Pachy-
meres : [p.
138, 139.]
ὡς ἐμψύχῳ
αὐτῇ διαλέ-
γεται.

[Dionys.
Hierar. Eccl.
4. p. 166.]

Abdias in
Andrea.
[Apost. Hist.
lib. 3. p. 41.]

²⁷ [Epiphanius in Ancorato. καὶ ἀναισθητον, ὡς πρὸς τὴν δύνα-
τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστι στρογγυλοειδὲς μιν.]

for me. I come merrily unto thee. For I know thy secrecy : I know thy mystery, I see in thee the things that are promised unto me of my Lord. Receive thou me, O thou chosen cross, that am thus humble for my God, and help the poor servant unto his Master." Here are plain words of invocation : here is manifest adoration. Yet, may the force of these words make us believe, that St. Andrew indeed gave godly honour to a cross of tree ?

But, because M. Harding seemeth to make some account of this place of Dionysius, let us answer one mystery by another. St. Ambrose speaketh thus to the water of baptism : *O aqua, quæ humano aspersum sanguine, &c.* : " O Ambrosius in Lucam, lib. 10. cap. 22. [i. 1514.] thou water, that hast washed the world, stained with man's blood. O thou water, that deservedst to be a sacrament of Christ. Thou beginnest, thou fulfillest the perfect mysteries," &c. Must we needs think, because St. Ambrose thus speaketh unto, and calleth upon the water, that therefore either the water had ears, and heard him ; or Christ himself was there corporally present in the water ? Doubtless, both bread and water are material elements, and void of life : therefore, as St. Ambrose spake unto the one, even so, and none otherwise, did Dionysius speak unto the other. But forasmuch as M. Harding seemeth, for Amphilochius' sake, to brook well all news that come from Verona, let us see with what devotion they teach us there to call upon our lady's girdle. The words of the prayer are these : *O [Lipomanus Veronensis de Vitis Sanctorum, tom. i. 282.] veneranda zona,.....fac nos hæredes æternæ et beatæ vitæ : et hanc nostram vitam ab interitu conserva.....Tuam hæreditatem, tuum populum, O intemeratæ zona intemerata, conserva.....Habeamus te vires, et auxilium : murum, et propugnaculum : portum, et salutare refugium* : " O blessed girdle, make us the inheritors of everlasting and blessed life : and keep our present life from destruction ! O unspotted girdle of the unspotted virgin, save thine inheritance, O save thy people ! Be thou our strength, our help, our wall, our fort, our haven, our refuge." This prayer beareth the name of one Euthymius²⁸, as it is supposed,

²⁸ [Rather of Germanus. Jew- cumstance, that the "Encomium el's mistake arose from the cir- "in adorationem venerandæ zonæ

an ancient learned Greek father, set forth this last year by Aloysius Lipomanus the bishop of Verona, and printed both in Venice and in Lovaine in two great huge volumes of like stuff. And lest the matter should seem to want earnest, the good catholic father and learned bishop of Verona, Lipomanus, hath specially marked the place in the margin in this sort: *O quam magna, et mira petit a veneranda zona!* "O how great and how marvellous things he desireth of this blessed girdle!" All this notwithstanding, I trow, M. Harding will not say, that either Euthymius, or Lipomanus, would have us to worship our lady's girdle with godly honour.

M. HARDING: *Nineteenth Division.*

Origen teacheth us how to adore and worship Christ in the sacrament, before we receive it, after this form of words: *Quando sanctum cibum*, &c.: "When thou receivest the holy meat, and that uncorrupt banquet, when thou enjoyest the bread and cup of life, thou eatest and drinkest the body and blood of our Lord: then our Lord entereth in under thy roof. And therefore thou also, humbling thyself, follow this centurion or captain, and say, 'Lord, I am not worthy that thou enter under my roof.' For where he entereth in unworthily, there he entereth in to the condemnation of the receiver²⁹."

Homil. 5.
in Diversos
Evangelii
Locos. (ii.
518. edit.
Prob.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

O how easy a matter it is to deceive the ignorant! Origen in that whole place speaketh not one word, neither of worshipping the sacrament, nor of Christ's real or corporal being therein, nor of his material entering into our bodies. But taking occasion of the centurion, that thought himself unworthy to receive Christ into his house, he sheweth, by what ways and means Christ useth to enter into the faithful. And two special ways he expressly nameth in that place: the one, when any godly man cometh to us; the other, when we receive the holy communion. His words be these: *Quando sancti, et Deo acceptabiles ecclesiarum antistites*, &c.: "When holy bishops,

Matt. viii. 8.
Luke vii. 6.

"sanctissimæ deiparæ," which is
29 [These Homil. in Diversos
printed immediately after the en-
comium by Germanus, does in
fact bear the name of Euthymius.]
are spurious. See vol. ii. p. 405,
note¹.]

acceptable unto God, enter into thy house, then by them the Lord doth enter. And be thou persuaded, that thou receivest God himself. Another mean is, when thou receivest that incorruptible and holy banquet." Thus by this holy father's judgment, as Christ entereth into us by a bishop, or holy man, even so he entereth into us by the receiving of the holy mysteries. And so likewise he saith in the first homily of the same book: *Per evangelistarum, et apostolorum prædicationem, &c.*: "God is with us by the preaching of the evangelists and apostles, by the sacrament of his holy body and blood, and by the sign of the glorious cross." By all these things God cometh to us, and is in us: as he himself saith, "Behold I am with you all days, until the consummation of the world." Thus in the Old Testament, when the ark of God was lifted up, it seemed, God himself was lifted up. And therefore in lifting up thereof, the priests said, *Exsurgat Deus*: "Let the Lord arise:" and when the ark was brought into the camp, they said, "God himself was come:" and when the ark was taken, they said, "The glory of Israel was taken³⁰."

Origen. in
Diversos
Evangelii
Locos, hom.
1. [ii. 501.
ed. Froben.]

Cometh to
us.
Matt. xxviii.
20.

Numb. x. 35.

1 Sam. iv.

Neither may we think, that Origen meant any corporal or real entering of Christ into our houses. His own words and exposition are to the contrary. For thus he writeth in the same place: *Tantum dic verbo: tantum veni verbo: verbum aspectus tuus est, opusque est consummatum: ostende absens corpore, quod præsens spiritu consummare potes*: "Only, O Lord, speak thou the word: only come by thy word: thy word is thy sight, and a perfect work: being absent in thy body, shew, that thou art able to make perfect, being present in spirit." So saith Christ, "I and my Father will come unto him, and will make our abode in him." In which words we may not conceive any material or corporal coming. Therefore, whensoever Christ entereth thus into our house, whether it be by some holy man, or by the sacrament of his body, or by the sign of the

Origen. in
Diversos
Evang. Locos
hom. 5. [ii.
518.]
Absens
corpore.

John xiv. 23.

³⁰ [1 Sam. iv. 22. "The glory is departed from Israel, for the ark of God is taken."]

Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
50. [iii. pt.
2. 633.]

cross, or, as St. Augustine saith, by faith, or by the sacrament of baptism, Origen teacheth us to humble our hearts, and to say at every such coming, or presence, "O Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest thus enter into my house." If M. Harding will gather hereof, that Origen teacheth us, to adore the sacrament: then must he also say, that Origen likewise teacheth us to adore the bishop, or any other godly man, and that even as God, and with godly honour.

M. HARDING: *Twentieth Division.*

The invisible
thing of the
sacrament is
the body
and blood of
Christ being
in heaven.

What can be thought of St. Cyprian, but that he adored the invisible thing of this sacrament, which is the body and blood of Christ: seeing that he confesseth the Godhead to be in the same, no less than it was in the person of Christ, which he uttereth by these words? *Panis iste quem Dominus discipulis porrigebat,* &c.: "This bread which our Lord gave to his disciples, changed not in shape, but in nature, by the almighty power of God, is made flesh." And as in the person of Christ the manhood was seen, and the Godhead was hidden, even so the divine essence hath unspeakably infused itself into the visible sacrament.

[Pseudo-
Cyprian.
Arnoldi Car-
not.] In
Sermonem de
Cœna Dom.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This place of St. Cyprian is often alleged by M. Harding, as matter invincible: and to answer it severally in every place it would be tedious. Wherefore I thought it good to refer thee, gentle reader, to the second Division of the tenth Article, and to the fourth Division of the twenty-first Article, where it shall be answered more at large. Howbeit, thus much we may note by the way, that St. Cyprian in this place speaketh not one word of the adoration of the sacrament. As for M. Harding's guesses, they import no proof. By the way, as St. Cyprian saith, The divine essence, as M. Harding turneth it, infuseth itself into the visible sacrament; so doth Paulinus say of the water of baptism: *Concipit unda Deum*: "The water conceiveth, or receiveth God." And St. Augustine, speaking likewise of baptism: *Sacramento suo divina virtus assistit*: "The divine power of God is assistant unto the sacrament."

[Paulinus.
ad Severum,
epist. 32. al.
12. tom. i. p.
201.]
Augustin.
contra Dona-
tist, lib. 3.
cap. 10. [ix.
113.]

M. HARDING: *Twenty-first Division.*

Chrysostom hath a notable place for the adoration of Christ's body in the sacrament, in his commentaries upon St. Paul, where he affirmeth also the (169) real presence, and the sacrifice. "Let us not, let us not," saith he, "be willing impudently to kill ourselves. And when thou seest that body set forth, say with thyself, For cause of this body, I am no longer earth and ashes, no longer captive, but free. This body fastened (on the cross) and beaten, was not overcome with death." After this, he exhorteth all to adore and worship our Lord's body in the sacrament. "a This body," saith he, "the wise men worshipped in the stall, and having taken a long journey, being both wicked, and aliants, with very great fear and trembling adored him. Wherefore let us follow at least those aliants, us, I say, that are citizens of heaven. For they, whereas they saw but that stall and cabin only, and none of all the things thou seest now, came notwithstanding with the greatest reverence and fear that was possible. But thou seest it not in a stall of beasts, but on the altar: not a woman to hold it in her arms, but a priest present, and the Holy Ghost plentifully spread upon the sacrifice." This father in his Mass maketh a prayer in presence of the blessed sacrament, almost with the same words that St. Basil did. *Attende Domine Jesu Christe Deus noster*, &c.: "Look upon us, O Lord Jesus Christ, our God, from thy holy habitacle, and from the throne of the glory of thy kingdom, and come to sanctify us: who sittest on high with the Father, and art here invisibly with us: and make us worthy by thy mighty hand, that we may be partakers of thy unspotted body and precious blood, and, through us, all the people."

In the same Chrysostom's Liturgy, or Mass, a most evident testimony of adoration of the sacrament is thus uttered: *Sacerdos adoratur, et diaconus in eo quo est loco, ter secreto dicentes: Deus propitius esto*, &c.: "The priest adoreth, and the deacon likewise in the place he standeth in, saying three times secretly: 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' So the people, and likewise all, make their adoration devoutly and reverently."

In the same father is another prayer, which the Greek priests do use to this day at their adoration of Christ's body in the sacrament, and it is expressed in these words, *b Domine non sum dignus*, &c.: "Lord, I am not worthy that thou enter under the filthy roof of my soul. But as thou tookest in good part to lie in the den and stall of brute beasts, and in the house of Simon the leprous, receivedst also a harlot, and a sinner like me coming unto thee: vouchsafe also to enter into the stall of my soul void of reason, *c* and into my filthy body being dead and leprous. And as thou didst not abhor the foul mouth of a harlot, kissing thine undefiled feet: so, my Lord God, abhor not me though a sinner, but vouchsafe of thy goodness and benignity, that I may be made partaker of thy most holy body and blood."

The 169th untruth. For St. Chrysostom affirmeth no real presence: but only advanceth our minds into heaven.

a This body here represented by this sacrament.

In the presence of the sacrament: but not to the sacrament.

b This prayer is directed unto Christ himself: not unto the sacrament, nor to any thing really contained in the sacrament.

c By a mystical manner of speech Christ entereth into our bodies, when we receive the sacrament of Christ into our bodies.

In 10. cap. Prioris ad Cor. [x. 217.]

Ibid. 218.]

Liturg. Chrysost. 3r. p. 103.]

Ibid.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The answer that is already made unto Dionysius and Origen, may also serve to that is here alleged of Chrysostom. Yet for some further declaration of Chrysostom's meaning, it may please thee, good Christian reader, to understand, that Chrysostom in the very same homily here

Chrysostom. in 1 Cor. hom. 24. [x. 213.]

alleged, writeth thus: *Quid significat panis? Corpus Christi*: "What doth the bread signify? The body of Christ³¹." And in his homilies upon St. Matthew he

Chrysost. in Opere Imperfecto, hom. 11. [vi. app. 2. p. lxiii.]

writeth thus: *In istis vasis, non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur*: "In these vessels is not the very body of Christ, but a mystery of his body is therein contained³²." And therefore in the same homily upon the Epistle to the Corinthians, he withdraweth the minds of the people from the sensible elements of the bread and the wine, and lifteth them up by spiritual cogitations into heaven. Thus he speaketh unto the people:

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. hom. 24. [x. 216.]

Ubi cadaver, ibi aquilæ. Cadaver est Domini corpus propter mortem. Aquilas autem appellat, ut ostendat, ad altam oportere contendere, qui ad hoc corpus accedit: "Whereas the carcass is, there are the eagles. The carcass is the Lord's body, because of his death. But eagles he nameth, to shew that he must flee on high, that will come near to that body." Afterward he addeth thus:

[Ibid. 218.]

Ascende ergo ad cæli portas, et diligenter attende: imo non cæli, sed cæli cælorum: et tunc, quod dicimus, intueberis: "Therefore go up unto the gates of heaven, and mark diligently: nay, I say, not to the gates of heaven, but of the heaven of heavens: then shalt thou see the things that I speak of³³." Thus therefore that godly father Chrysostom dealeth with his people, as if they were already in heaven, and willeth them to behold, not the bread and wine, which are things corruptible, but the very body and

³¹ [Chrysost. This is a strange error. The word "significat" is not found in the Lat. ed., nor is there any corresponding word in the Greek: *Τί γάρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρτος*;

σῶμα Χριστοῦ· τί δὲ γίνονται οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες; σῶμα Χριστοῦ.]

³² [Chrysost. Opus imperf. in Matt. See vol. i. p. 244, note ⁸³.]

³³ [See the next note.]

blood of Christ: not the outward sacrament, but the substance of the sacrament: not the things that be present before them, but the things, that, touching bodily presence, are away. For in the holy communion there is none other sight laid before us, but only the cross and death of Christ, and that Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world. "And the very cogitation hereof," De Con. dist. 2. Semel Christus. [August. in Psal. 21. iv. 93.] saith St. Augustine, "so moveth our hearts, as if we saw Christ hanging presently before us upon his cross."

In this wise therefore, having removed the people's hearts into heaven, and placed them even in the sight of Christ, he saith further unto them: "For this body's sake thou art no longer dust and ashes: this body hath made thee free: this body was broken for thee upon the cross: this body must we adore, as the wise men did: this body not now upon the earth, but at the right hand of God in heaven³⁴:" this body, that thou seest with thy spirit, and touchest with thy faith, whereof the sacrament that thou receivest, is a mystery. So saith Emissenus: *Sacrum Dei* De Con. dist. 2. Quia corpus.

³⁴ [Chrysost. ibid. pp. 216, 217. Μὴ παρακαλῶ, μὴ κατασφάζωμεν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τῆς ἀναισχυρίας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φρίκης καὶ καθαρότητος ἀπάσης αὐτῶ προσίωμεν' καὶ ὅταν αὐτὸ προκειμένον ἴδῃς, λέγε πρὸς σεαυτὸν' διὰ τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα οὐκέτι γῆ καὶ σποδὸς ἐγὼ, οὐκέτι αἰχμάλωτος, ἀλλ' ἐλευθερός. . . . τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα προσηλούμενον, καὶ μαστιζόμενον οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ὁ θάνατος.—p. 218. Τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐπὶ φάτνης κείμενον ἠδέθησαν μάγοι' καὶ ἄνδρες ἀσεβεῖς καὶ βάρβαροι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφέντες, καὶ ὁδὸν ἐστείλαντο μακρὰν, καὶ ἐλθόντες μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου πολλοῦ προσκύνησαν. μμησώμεθα τοῖνυν καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἡμεῖς οἱ τῶν οὐρανῶν πολῖται' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ φάτνης ἰδόντες, καὶ ἐν καλύβῃ, καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἰδόντες, οἷον σὺ νῦν, μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς φρίκης προσήσαν' σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἐν φάτνῃ ὄρας, ἀλλ' ἐν θουιαστηρίῳ, οὐ γυναῖκα κατέχουσας, ἀλλ' ἱερέα παρεστῶτα, καὶ πνεῦμα μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς θαυσιλείας

τοῖς προκειμένοις ἐφίπταμενον. . . . Καὶ τί λέγω τὰ μέλλοντα; ἐνταῦθα γὰρ σοὶ τὴν γῆν οὐρανὸν ποιεῖ τοῦτο μυστήριον' ἀναπέτασον γοῦν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰς πύλας καὶ διάκνυσον' μᾶλλον δὲ οὐχὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ τότε ὄψει τὸ εἰρημένον. Τὸ γὰρ πάντων ἐκεῖ τιμώτερον, τοῦτο σοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δεῖξω κείμενον' ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τὸ πάντων σεμνότερον οὐ τοῖχοι, οὐκ ὄροφος χρυσοῦς, ἀλλὰ τὸ βασιλικὸν σῶμα τὸ καθήμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου' οὔτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως σῶμα' ἀλλὰ τοῦτο σοὶ νῦν ἕξεισιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἰδεῖν' σὺ γὰρ ἀγγέλους, οὐδὲ ἀρχαγγέλους, οὐδὲ ουρανοῦς, καὶ οὐρανοῦς οὐρανῶν ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν τούτων σοὶ δείκνυμι δεσπότην' εἶδες, πῶς τὸ πάντων τιμώτερον ὄρας ἐπὶ γῆς; καὶ οὐχ ὄρας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄπτη; καὶ οὐχ ἄπτη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐσθίεις. This extract comprehends all the passages referred to, either by Harding or Jewel.]

tui corpus.....fide respice.....mente continge, cordis manu suscipe: "With thy faith behold the holy body of thy God, touch it with thy mind, receive it with the hand of thy heart."

But M. Harding will reply, Chrysostom saith, "As Christ was in the stall, so he is now upon the altar: and, as he was sometimes in the woman's arms, so he is now in the priest's hands." True it is, Christ was there: and Christ is here: but not in one or like sort of being. For he was in the stall by bodily presence: upon the holy table he is by way of a sacrament. The woman in her arms held him really: the priest in his hands holdeth him only in a mystery. So saith St. Paul, "Christ dwelleth in our hearts:" and no doubts, the same Christ that lay in the stall. It is one and the same Christ: but the difference standeth in the manner of his being there. For in the stall he lay by presence of his body: in our hearts he lieth by presence of faith.

If this exposition seem to M. Harding over exquisite, or curious, then will I say further: Christ is so upon the table, as the faithful people is upon the table. St. Augustine, speaking to the people, saith thus: *Vos estis in mensa, vos estis in calice*: "You are upon the table, you are in the cup³⁵." But the people is not there grossly, really, and indeed, but in a mystery. Even so is Christ's body upon the table, not grossly, not really, or indeed, but in a mystery. And as Chrysostom saith, "The priest holdeth Christ in his hand," even so St. Gregory saith, "Abel held Christ in his hand," and that four thousand years before Christ was born: and yet, not a bare sign, or a naked token, but the very same Christ that Esay saw, and that John Baptist pointed with his finger. For thus stand his words: *Quem Johannes in ostensione, quem Esaias in locutione, hunc Abel significando in manibus tenuit*. Thus Chrysostom saith, the priest holdeth Christ in his hand, as John Baptist held him: as Esay held him: as Abel held him.

Ephes. iii.
17.

Augustin.
[v. 976.]
Citatur a
Beda in
1 Cor. x.

Gregor. in
Johann, lib.
29. cap. 38.
[1. 948.]

³⁵ [This passage is found amongst St. Augustine's sermons on Easter.]

And, that this was Chrysostom's meaning, it appeareth by the very form and order of his words. For he saith, Thou seest the Holy Ghost: thou seest and touchest that princely body. Thus he speaketh of a spiritual seeing and touching, wherewith we see and touch things, be they never so far absent from us. For otherwise, touching bodily sight, M. Harding knoweth, the Holy Ghost cannot be seen: and by his own doctrine, the body of Christ is there invisible.

But lest M. Harding take occasion hereof, to say, "This is a fantastical, and a vain kind of seeing:" let him remember the words that St. Hierom writeth to Paula and Eustochium, touching their abode at Bethlehem: *Magos tria deferentes munera in visione beatis oculis vidisti. Ipsa eadem munera fide Deo obtulisti: cum iisdem magis Deum puerum in præsepio adorasti*: "Thou sawest with thine happy eyes the wise men carrying their three sorts of presents: thou tookest the same presents, and offeredst them unto God by faith: with the same wise men thou adoredst God, being a child, in the manger³⁶." She saw the wise men, and yet saw them not: she received their presents, and yet received them not: she adored the child in the manger, and yet the child was not there. Thus she did, not verily, or indeed: and yet not vainly, nor by way of phantasy notwithstanding: but truly and effectually, by presence of faith.

Hieronym. ad
Paulam et
Eustochium.
[v. 83.]

Thus did the wise men see Christ: thus do we now see Christ. Thus did they worship him: thus do we worship him. They saw him, and worshipped him being in earth: we see him, and worship him being in heaven. They had him bodily present: we have him bodily absent, and present only to our faith.

And in this behalf St. Ambrose saith: *Magis videtur, quod non videtur*: "It is best seen, that is not seen." That is to say, We see more certainly with our faith, than we

Ambros. de
his qui initi-
antur Mys-
teris, cap. 3.
[ii. 328.]

³⁶ [The Epistle "ad Paulam et Eustochium de assumptione beate Mariæ Virginis," was not written by St. Jerome, but by some writer later than the eighth cen-

tury, since the Festival of the Assumption of the B. V. was instituted after the time of Charlemagne. See Oudin. Comm. de Script. Eccl. tom. i. 830.]

can see with the eyes of our body. For our bodily eye may deceive us : but the eye of our soul, which is faith, cannot deceive us.

M. Harding's reason hereof standeth thus : 'The priest at the time of the holy ministration said, " O God be merciful to me being a sinner ;" and, " Look upon us, O Lord Jesus Christ our God, from thy holy tabernacle, and from the throne of thy glory : *ergo*, he made his prayers, and gave adoration to the sacrament." Of the same premisses he might much better conclude the contrary : The priest withdrew his mind from these sensible and corruptible elements, and adored Christ, being in heaven, in his tabernacle, and in the throne of his glory : *ergo*, he did not adore the sacrament.

M. HARDING : *Twenty-second Division.*

St. Ambrose after long search and discussion, how that saying of the prophet might be understood, " Adore and worship ye his footstool, because it is holy : " at length concludeth so, as by the footstool he understandeth the earth, because it is written, " Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my footstool : " and because the earth is not to be adored, for that it is a creature ; by this earth, he understandeth that earth, which our Lord Jesus took in the assumption of his flesh of the Virgin Mary, and hereupon he uttereth those plain words for testimony of the adoration : *Itaque per scabellum terra intelligitur, per terram autem caro Christi, quam hodie quoque in mysteriis adoramus : et quam apostoli in Domino Jesu adorarunt* : " And thus by the footstool, earth may be understood, and by earth, the flesh of Christ, which even now-a-days also we adore in the mysteries, and the apostles adored in our Lord Jesus."

St. Augustine's learned handling of this place of the Psalm, " Adore ye his footstool, because it is holy," maketh so evidently for this purpose, that of all other authorities, which in great number might be brought for proof of the same, it ought least to be omitted. The place being long, I will recite it in English only. His words be these : " ' Adore ye his footstool : because it is holy.' . . . See, ye brethren, what that is, he biddeth us to adore. In another place the scripture saith : ' Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my footstool.' What, doth he then bid us adore and worship the earth, because he said in another place, that it is the footstool of God ? And how shall we adore the earth, whereas the scripture saith plainly, ' Thou shalt adore thy Lord thy God ; ' and here he saith, ' Adore ye his footstool ? ' But he expoundeth to me, what his footstool is, and saith : ' and

De Spiritu
Sancto, lib.
3. cap. 12.
[li. 681.]

Isa. lxvi. 1.

Augustin. in
Psal. xcviij.
[iv. 1065.]

Isa. lxvi. 1.

Deut. vi. 13.
X. 20.
Matt. iv. 10.

the earth is my footstool.' I am made doubtful, afraid I am to adore the earth, lest he damn me, that made heaven and earth. Again, I am afraid not to adore the footstool of my Lord, because the psalm saith to me, 'Adore ye his footstool.' I seek what thing is his footstool, and the scripture telleth me, 'The earth is my footstool.' Being thus wavering, I turn me to Christ, because him I seek here, and I find, how without impiety the earth may be adored. For he took of earth, earth, because flesh is of earth, and of the flesh of Mary he took flesh. And because he walked here in flesh, and that very flesh he gave us to eat to salvation, and no man eateth that flesh, except first he adore it: it is found out, how such a footstool of our Lord may be adored, and how we not only sin not by adoring, but sin by not adoring. Doth not [numquid] the flesh quicken, and give life? Our Lord himself said, when he spake of the commendation itself of that earth: 'It is the spirit that quickeneth, but the flesh profiteth nothing.' Therefore, when thou bowest thyself, and fallest down to every such earth, behold it not as earth, but that Holy One, whose footstool it is that thou dost adore, for because of him thou dost adore. And therefore here he added: 'Adore ye his footstool, because it is holy.' Who is holy? He, for whose love thou adorest his footstool. And when thou adorest him, remain not by cogitation in flesh, that thou be not quickened of the Spirit. 'For the spirit,' saith he, 'quickeneth, and the flesh profiteth nothing.' And then, when our Lord commended this unto us, he had spoken of his flesh, and had said: 'Except a man eat my flesh, he shall not have in him life everlasting.'"

We eat
Christ sitting
in heaven:
and so we
adore him,
not lying
under acci-
dents, but
sitting in
heaven.

John vi. 63.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, as they agree together for the exposition of the psalm, so, touching the matter itself, neither do they any wise disagree from us, nor any wise agree with M. Harding. They teach us humbly to adore Christ's flesh; but they teach us not to adore the sacrament of Christ's flesh. Thus M. Harding hath taken a needless labour, to prove a matter that is already proved: but the thing that he should have proved, he toucheth not. This is too bold abusing of the simple reader, to bear him in hand, that these godly fathers teach us to adore the sacrament, that spake not one word of adoring the sacrament.

But M. Harding will say, "We must adore the flesh of Christ." We grant: we believe it: it is our faith: we teach the people, as the old learned fathers did, that no man eateth that flesh, but first he adorest it: and that he

deadly offendeth God, and is wicked, and guilty of the Lord's body, that adoreth it not.

But as we eat it, so we adore it. We eat it sitting in heaven at the right hand of God: thither we lift up our hearts, and there we adore it. St. Ambrose saith, *Stephanus, in terris positus, Christum tangit in cælo*: "Stephen standing in the earth, toucheth Christ being in heaven³⁷."

Ambros. in serm. 58. De Maria Magdalena. [ed. Froben. tom. iii. 284.]

Again he saith: *Non corporali tactu Christum, sed fide tangimus*: "We touch Christ by faith, and not by corporal touching." And as we touch Christ, so we see him: that is, with the spiritual eyes of our faith: and not otherwise.

Ambros. in Lucam, lib. 10. cap. 24. [1. 1537.]

So St. Ambrose saith in the place before alleged: *Stephanus intra cælos Dominum cernit absentem*: "Stephen seeth Christ being absent within the heavens³⁷." And for proof hereof, that all that glorious sight was mere spiritual, and not offered to the corporal eye of the body, St. Augustine saith³⁸, "that St. Stephen stood then under a roof before the judges, and saw the heavens open, when with his bodily eyes he was not able to look up, and to see the heavens." There we see Christ's body: there we approach unto it: there we touch it: there we taste it: there we eat it: there we adore it. And doth M. Harding think, that the religion of Christ is so gross, and so sensible, that we cannot eat or adore his body, unless it lie corporally present before our eyes? Verily St. Augustine saith: *Si resurrexistis cum Christo, dicit fidelibus, dicit corpus et sanguinem Domini accipientibus, Si resurrexistis cum Christo, quæ sursum sunt sapite, ubi Christus est in dextra Dei sedens: quæ sursum sunt querite, non quæ super terram*: "'If ye be risen again with Christ,' St. Paul saith unto the faithful, and unto them that receive the body and blood of Christ, 'If ye be risen again with Christ, savour the things that be above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God: seek the things that be above, and not the things that be upon the earth.'" And in this very place by M. Harding

Ambros. in serm. 58. De Maria Magdalena. [tom. iii. 284.]

August. de Cognitione veræ Vitæ, cap. 42. [vi. app. 181.]

August. in Psal. xxxix. [lv. 343.] Coloss. iii.

³⁷ [The author of this sermon was not St. Ambrose, but Maximus. See vol. ii. p. 418, note ¹⁰.]

³⁸ [This is not a genuine work

of St. Augustine's, but probably written by Honorius Augustodunensis, (A. D. 1130.) Bened. and Cave.]

alleged he saith : *Spiritualiter intelligite, quod locutus sum.* Augustin. in Psal. xcviil. [iv. 1066.]
Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis : “ Under-stand you spiritually that I have said unto you. You shall not eat,” with your bodily mouths, “ this body of mine that ye see.” Thus St. Augustine in the same place expoundeth, and openeth his own meaning. Doubtless, as the wicked may dishonour Christ, so may the godly honour him. But the wicked, as St. Paul saith, do crucify the Son of God being in heaven : and Christ, being in heaven, saith unto Paul being in the earth beneath : “ Saul, Saul, why dost thou persecute me ?” Therefore the godly, being in earth, may likewise adore and honour Christ being in heaven. Heb. vi. 6. Acts ix. 4.

But they will reply, St. Ambrose saith, We do adore Christ’s flesh in the mysteries. Hereof groweth their whole error. For St. Ambrose saith not, We do adore the mysteries, or the flesh of Christ really present, or materially contained in the mysteries, as it is supposed by M. Harding. Only he saith : “ We adore Christ’s flesh in the mysteries :” that is to say, In the ministration of the mysteries. And doubtless, it is our duty to adore the body of Christ in the word of God : in the sacrament of baptism : in the mysteries of Christ’s body and blood : and where-soever we see any step or token of it : but specially in the holy mysteries, for that there is lively laid forth before us the whole story of Christ’s conversation in the flesh. But this adoration, as it is said before, neither is directed to the sacraments, nor requireth any corporal or real presence. So St. Hierom saith : “ Paula adored Christ in the stall.” † And, “ that he himself adored Christ in the grave.” And St. Chrysostom teacheth us, “ to adore Christ’s body in the sacrament of baptism³⁹.” Yet neither was Christ’s body then really present in the stall or grave : nor is it now present in the water of baptism. Thus St. Ambrose saith, We adore the flesh of Christ in the mysteries. † Hieronym. ad Paulam et Eustochium. [v. 83.] Chrysost. in Marcum, hom. 14. [ed. Paris. 1588. tom. ii.]

M. HARDING : *Twenty-third Division.*

Again, St. Augustine sheweth the manner and custom of his time touching the adoration of Christ in the sacrament, writing

³⁹ [These Homilies are not considered genuine. Supr. vol. ii. p. 396, note ⁹².]

thus, *ad Honoratum*, upon the verse of Psalm xxi: *Edent pauperes, et saturabuntur*; that is, "The poor shall eat, and be filled;" and upon that other: *Manducaverunt et adoraverunt omnes divites terræ*, "All the rich of the earth have eaten and adored." "It is not without cause," saith he, "that the rich and the poor be so distincted, that of the poor it was said before, 'The poor shall eat and be filled:' and here (of the rich), 'They have eaten and adored all that be the rich of the earth.' For they have been brought to the table of Christ, and do take of his body and blood, but they do adore only, and be not also filled, forasmuch as they do not follow him."

Likewise in his exposition upon that psalm: "All the rich also," saith he there, "of the earth have eaten the body of the humbleness of their Lord, neither have they been filled as the poor, until the following. But yet they have adored and worshipped (170) it, that is, by adoration they have acknowledged Christ their Lord there present."

The 170th untruth, standing in untrue interpretation. M. Harding addeth "it" of his own.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This place may be passed over with the former answer. St. Augustine here speaketh of the adoring of Christ, and not one word of the adoring of the sacrament. The whole drift of his talk standeth in an allegory of hungering, eating, filling and adoring. We hunger Christ: we eat Christ: we be filled with Christ sitting in heaven: and likewise we adore and worship Christ sitting in heaven.

But St. Augustine saith: *Comedunt pauperem*: "They eat Christ being poor⁴⁰." We know that Christ is now no longer in the dispensation of his poverty. "God hath exalted him, and given him a name above all names, and made all things subject to his feet." But St. Augustine calleth him poor, for that he so humbled himself and became obedient unto the death, even unto the death of the cross. In this respect of his cross, of his death, of his poverty, we embrace him: we live by that body that was broken for us: we be refreshed by that blood, that was shed for us. And thus we eat Christ, and be relieved, and have our life by him, only in respect of his bloodshedding, and of his poverty.

The poor, that have refused and forsaken themselves,

⁴⁰ [Augustin. "Manducantes enim pauperem dedignantur esse "pauperes."]

Philipp. ii. 9.
Heb. ii. 8.
Ephes. i. 22.

Epist. 120.
cap. 21. [li.
447.]

In Psal. xxi.
[iv. 93.]

eat Christ sitting in heaven, and are filled with him. But the rich eat him and adore him likewise sitting in heaven: but they are not filled. They see, that Christ is the very true Messias, that was looked for: they see, that all things are fulfilled that were written of him in the prophets, and that his name is published unto the ends of the world: they believe that there is none other name under heaven, whereby they can be saved. Therefore they profess his name: they believe in him: they eat him and adore him. But they make some account of the world: they forsake not themselves: they follow not Christ: and therefore they are not filled with him. Thus doth St. Augustine expound his own meaning: *Inde erat piscator*, &c.: "Of those poor was Peter, and John, and James, and Matthew the publican. They did eat and were filled: for they suffered the same things that they had eaten. Christ gave to them his supper: he gave to them his passion: he is filled that followeth the same⁴¹." Hitherto St. Augustine speaketh not one word of adoration, either of the sacrament, or of Christ's body as being really present in the sacrament. Therefore M. Harding was the more blameworthy, thus to add words of his own unto St. Augustine, and so utterly to falsify and to corrupt his meaning. It is no good catholic point so to use the old fathers. Verily, whereas St. Augustine writeth thus: *Nec sicut pauperes saturati sunt usque ad imitationem: sed tamen adoraverunt*: "Neither were they filled as the poor, even unto the following: and yet notwithstanding they adored⁴²." M. Harding addeth thereto of his own, a pretty little "it," which he found not in St. Augustine: and so maketh it up thus: "But yet they have adored and worshipped it;" and, as if it were good text of St. Augustine, afterward he furnisheth it out with this exposition or commentary of his own: that

⁴¹ [August. in Psal. xxi. Enarr. 2. "Inde erat piscator ille Petrus, et Jacobus frater ipsius, inde etiam erat publicanus Matthæus. De pauperibus ipsi erant, qui comederunt et satiati sunt, talia passi qualia manducaverunt. Cœnam suam dedit, passionem su-

"am dedit; ille saturatur qui imitatur."]

⁴² [August. in Psal. xxi. Enarr. 1. "Manducaverunt corpus humilitatis Domini sui etiam divites terræ, nec sicut pauperes saturati sunt usque ad imitationem, sed tamen adoraverunt."]

Acts xiii. 27.

Rom. x. 18.

Acts iv. 12.

Augustin. in Psalm. xxi. [Enarr. 2. iv. p. 100.]

Augustin. in eundem Psal. [Enarr. 1. iv. 93.]

is, "They have acknowledged by adoration Christ their Lord there present." His friends will hardly think, there is so much cunning in his dealing. He cannot lightly lack authorities, as long as he can thus shape them of his own. But St. Augustine knoweth not, neither this commentary, nor this text: nor ever gave M. Harding to understand of this corporal presence. As it is said, and proved before, we see Christ, and worship Christ sitting in heaven. Certainly St. Augustine, who best knew his own mind, saith thus: *Habes aurum: sed nondum tenes presentem Christum*: "Thou hast gold, but thou holdest not yet Christ present." St. Augustine saith: "Christ is not here present." M. Harding's commentary saith: "Christ is here present." Now let the reader consider, whether of these two he will believe.

Augustin.
Domini.
quinta post
Trinita.
serm. I.
[v. 454.]

M. HARDING: *Twenty-fourth Division.*

This conclusion is not well considered. For the heathens never worshipped Bacchus and Ceres, under the forms of bread and wine.

Furthermore, writing against Faustus the heretic of the Manichees' sect, amongst other things he sheweth, how the ethnics thought that Christian people for the honour they did before the blessed sacrament, that is, of bread and wine consecrated, did honour Bacchus and Ceres, which were false gods honoured of the Gentiles for the invention of wine and corn. Whereof may justly be gathered an argument, that in those days faithful people worshipped the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine. For else the infidels could not have suspected them of doing idolatry to Bacchus and Ceres.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This guess hath neither sense nor savour in it: and therefore I marvel, that M. Harding, being learned, and having, as he saith, such store and choice of other, would ever use this for an argument. For the very children in grammar schools can tell him, that the heathens, that adored Bacchus and Ceres as their gods, yet notwithstanding never gave godly honour to bread and wine. And Cicero himself, being an heathen, was able to say, *Quis tam stultus est, ut id quo vescitur, credat esse Deum?* "Who is so very a fool, that will believe the thing that he eateth to be his God?" And in like sort Juvenal, an heathen poet, scorneth at this folly: *O sanctas gentes, quibus*

Cicero de
Natura Deo-
rum.

Juvenalis.
[Satyr. 15.
10.]

hæc nascuntur in agris [i. *hortis*] *numina!* “O happy is that people, that hath gods growing in their fields!” The heathens in their rude gentility thought, that Bacchus and Ceres had first found out, and taught them, the use of bread and wine: whereas before they fed of acorns, and drank water: and therefore, in remembrance and witness of so great a benefit, they honoured the one with bread, and the other with wine. But that they ever honoured the elements of bread and wine, I think M. Harding is not able well to shew: therefore he might have formed his argument in this sort: “The Christians were thought to honour their sacraments, as the heathens honoured bread and wine: but the heathens never honoured bread and wine with godly honour:

“*Ergo*, the Christians never honoured their sacraments with godly honour.”

M. HARDING: *Twenty-fifth Division.*

One other most evident place touching this honour and adoration, we find in him rehearsed by Gratian, *Lib. Sentent. Prosp.* “We do honour,” saith he, ^a “in form of bread and wine, which we see, things invisible, that is to say, flesh and blood. ^bNeither take we likewise these two forms, as we took them before consecration. Sith that we do faithfully grant, that before consecration it is bread and wine, which nature hath shaped; but after consecration, flesh and blood of Christ, which the blessing (of the priest) hath consecrated.”

^a By this word “form” St. Augustine meaneth the substance and kind of bread.
^b The accidents of the bread are after consecration as they were before.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

First, this authority here alleged is not to be found, neither in St. Augustine, in whose name it is brought, nor in the Sentences of Prosper ⁴³. As for Gratian, M. Harding knoweth he is a common falsifier of the doctors, and therefore his credit in such cases cannot be great. Notwithstanding, touching the matter, we know, that bread, wine, and water, of themselves be nothing else, but corruptible and simple creatures. If we conceive none otherwise of them, than they be of themselves, then all our sacraments be in vain. Therefore the godly fathers labour evermore, to draw us from the outward visible creatures, to the mean-

⁴³ [The last edit. of Gratian assigns it to Lanfrancus (contra Berengarium).]

De Con. dist.
can. Nos
utem.

ing and substance of the sacraments. And to that end St. Augustine saith: *In sacramentis videndum est, non quid sint, sed quid significant* [ostendant]: "In sacraments we must consider, not what they be indeed, but what they signify." So it is written in the council of Nice: *Vides aquam? Cogita divinam vim quæ in aqua latet*: "Seest thou the water of baptism?" (it is not that it was before,) "Consider thou that heavenly power, that lieth hidden in the water⁴³." So Chrysostom saith: *Antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus: divina autem sanctificante illum gratia, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem ab appellatione panis: dignus autem habitus est Dominici corporis appellatione: etiamsi natura panis in illo remanserit*: "The bread, before it is sanctified, is called bread: but being sanctified by the heavenly grace, by mean of the priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and thought worthy of the name of the Lord's body: notwithstanding the nature of bread remain in it still⁴⁴." Thus, as Chry-

Augustin. contra Maximinum, lib. 3. [22. viii. 725.]

Concl. Nicen. [ii. 888.] κρητισμὲν-νῆν.

Chrysost. ad Cæsarium Monachum. [iii. 744.]

⁴³ [Council of Nice. See vol. ii. p. 258, note ⁵³.]

⁴⁴ [Chrysostom. Epistola ad Cæsarium Monachum. This Epistle is celebrated for the sensation which was occasioned in the literary world, by the sentence in the text being for the first time published by Peter Martyr as a fragment. Peter Martyr had brought with him to England, and deposited in Cranmer's Library, a Latin version of the original epistle, which version he is supposed to have found at his native place, Florence. On Cranmer's death his library was plundered, and the MS. lost. In 1680, another MS. of the same version was found by Bigot; but the censor suppressed it when already printed off. It was subsequently (1685) published by Stephen Le Moine; and in 1687 by Basnage, at Rotterdam. The Greek exists only in fragments preserved in Anastasius and Johannes Damascenus. The epistle is published by the Benedictines, who dispute its genuineness, and yet interpret the passage in a Romanist sense. Walch, Biblioth. Patristica,

p. 296, decides for its genuineness, and for its value against transubstantiation. He gives a list of protestant authors (particularly specifying Allix) who have defended the epistle. He says that the papists have either denied the genuineness, "aut perverse expli-
"carunt." See also Bingham's account of the attempts of the papists to get rid of this testimony against them, book xv. chap. v. s. 4. The best protestant edition is that of Routh (Opuscula, vol. ii. p. 123).

It may be questioned, where Jewel found the passage, the Epistle itself not having been published till a century later. It was borrowed either from Peter Martyr himself, or from his "Locis Communes," class. 4. cap. 10. p. 854, ed. 1583, or still more probably from his "Defensio Eucharistiae contra Gardiner. Winton." (part. 1. ad obj. 130, p. 285, ed. 1562).

The passage is as follows (Græca desunt): "Sicut enim, antequam
"sanctificetur panis, panem nomi-
"namus, divina autem illum sanc-

sostom saith, the bread remaineth still bread, in his former kind and substance, without any such transubstantiation or change of nature as is now imagined. The words be plain: M. Harding cannot deny them. And yet notwithstanding, it is not the thing it was before, because it is also called the Lord's body. So likewise saith St. Augustine:

Quicumque in manna Christum intellexerunt, eundem, quem

August. de
Utilitate
Penitentiae.
[v. 1365.]
i Cor. x. 3.

nos spiritualem cibum manducarunt: "As many as in manna understood Christ, they did eat the same spiritual meat that we eat," that is, the very body of Christ. And so unto them manna was Christ's body, and not the same thing it was before. And for better declaration hereof,

Bertramus saith: *Christus ut nunc [qui nunc] panem.....*

Bertramus,
de Sacramen.
Eucharistiæ.

convertit in corpus suum, ita [ipse] tum manna de cælo datum suum corpus.....invisibiliter operatus est: "Christ, as he now turneth the bread into his body, even so then in like sort the manna that fell from heaven, invisibly he made his body." Thus, as the bread is Christ's body, even so was manna Christ's body: and that invisibly, and by the omnipotent power of God. Thus are the elements of manna, of the bread, of the wine, and of the water, changed, and are not as they were before: and therefore in every of the same we honour the body of Christ invisible, not as really and fleshly present, but as being in heaven. This whole matter, and the causes thereof,

St. Augustine seemeth to open in this wise: *Signacula quidem rerum divinarum esse visibilia, &c.:*

August. de
Catechizand.
Rudibus,
cap. 26. [vi.
293.]

"Let the new christened man be taught, that sacraments be visible signs of heavenly things, and that the things themselves, that he seeth not, must be honoured in them, and that the same

"tificante gratia, mediante sacer-
"dote, liberatus est quidem ab
"appellatione panis, dignus autem
"habitus Dominici corporis ap-
"pellatione, etiamsi natura panis
"in ipso permansit, et non duo
"corpora sed unum corpus Filii
"prædicamus."

he names the Eucharist, in which the body of Christ is mysteriously implied in the *consecrated* bread, although the bread itself does not cease to be bread; just so, he argues, the divine nature is combined with the human nature in the one Christ, and yet the human nature continues distinct notwithstanding. See Cosin, History of Transubstantiation, ch. 5. 21.]

The writer is arguing for the distinct yet combined two natures in Christ; and as an illustration

kind and element," bread, wine, or water, "is not so to be taken, as it is in daily use. Let him also be taught what the words mean that he hath heard, and what is hidden⁴⁵" (and to be believed) "in Christ, whose image or likeness that thing" (that is, that sacrament) "beareth." He addeth further: *Deinde monendus est, ex hac occasione, ut si quid etiam in scripturis audiat, quod carnaliter sonet, etiamsi non intelligat, credat tamen spirituale aliquid significari*: "Moreover upon occasion hereof he must be taught, that if he hear any thing even in the scriptures that sound carnally, yet he think, there is some spiritual thing meant by it."

M. HARDING: *Twenty-sixth Division.*

Leaving a number of places that might be alleged out of the ancient fathers for the confirmation of this matter, to avoid tediousness, I will conclude with that most plain place of Theodoretus, who, speaking of the outward signs of the sacrament, saith, that notwithstanding they remain after the mystical blessing (171) in the propriety of their former nature, as those that may be seen and felt, no less than before: yet they are understood and believed to be the things which they are made by virtue of consecration, and are worshipped with godly honour. His words be these: *Intelliguntur ea esse, quæ facta sunt, et creduntur, et adorantur, ut quæ illa sint, quæ creduntur*: "These mystical signs," saith he, "are understood to be those things which they are made, and so they are believed, and are adored, as being the things which they are believed to be." With which words Theodoretus affirmeth both the real presence, and also the adoration. The real presence, in that he saith, "these outward signs or tokens after consecration to be made things which are not seen, but understood and believed," whereby he signifieth the invisible thing of this sacrament, the body and blood of Christ. Adoration he teacheth with express terms, and that because through power of the mystical blessing, the signs be in existence, and indeed the things which they are believed to be, soothly, the body and blood of Christ. For otherwise God forbid, that Christian people should be taught to adore and worship the insensible creatures, bread and wine. Of which he saith, that they are adored, not as signs, not so in no wise, but as being the things which they are believed to be. Now I report me to the Christian

The 171st untruth: for Theodoretus saith, *Manent in priori substantia*. By M. Harding's construction, the outward signs are Christ's body, and must be worshipped with godly honour.

Dialog. 2.

⁴⁵ [The Bened. read "et quid in illo condiat (al. condatur) cujus illa res similitudinem gerit." They add that it refers to the "sacramentum salis, quo catechumenus initiatur."]

reader, whether this adoration of the sacrament, whereby we mean the godly worship of Christ's body in the sacrament, be a new device or no, brought into the church but lately, about three hundred years past, as M. Jewel maketh himself sure of it in his sermon.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

By these words of Theodoret, M. Harding thinketh himself able to prove both real presence, and also adoration of the sacrament: and I doubt not, but the discreet reader shall soon perceive, he hath proved as well the one as the other. Touching real presence, Theodoretus speaketh nothing, no, not one word. His manner of speech seemeth rather to incline to transubstantiation: whereunto notwithstanding Theodoretus is an enemy, and thinketh it a great folly proceeding of ignorance, as it shall appear. And whereas Theodoretus imagineth two men to reason together by way of a dialogue, a catholic man, and an heretic, M. Harding is fain, for defence of his doctrine, to take part with the heretic, and to use his arguments, as if they were catholic. For thus the heretic there saith, even as M. Harding now saith:.....*Symbola Dominici corporis, et sanguinis, alia quidem sunt ante invocationem sacerdotis: sed post invocationem mutantur, et alia fiunt*.....: "The sacraments or signs of Christ's body and blood, are one thing before the blessing of the priest: but after the blessing they are changed, and made other things." And he speaketh of the change of substance, even as M. Harding doth. The catholic man maketh answer: *Signa mystica post sanctificationem non recedunt a natura sua. Manent enim in priori substantia, et figura, et forma*: "Nay marry. The mystical signs after the blessing" (of the priest) "depart not from their own nature. For they remain in their former substance, and figure, and form." He saith further: "Yet the same bread and wine, remaining as they were before, are understood and believed, and adored, as the things that they are believed⁴⁶."

Theodoret.
Dialogo 2.
Inconfusus.
[Routh's
Opuscula,
vol. ii. 132.]

Ut quæ sint
illa quæ cre-
duntur.

⁴⁶ [Theodoret. Dialog. 2. Eranistes (Hæreticus Eutychianus). "Ὡςπερ τοῖνυν τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ Δε-

σποτικοῦ σώματος τε καὶ αἵματος, ἄλλα μὲν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἐπικλη-

Here, good Christian reader, note by the way: M. Harding saith, The nature and substance of the bread and wine is utterly abolished, and done away: but the catholic man saith: "The same nature and substance remaineth still as it was before." If the catholic man's saying be catholic, then M. Harding's saying is not catholic.

M. Harding will reply: But these signs are honoured. Even so St. Augustine saith: *Baptisma, ubicunque est [ubique], veneramur*: "We honour baptism, wheresoever it be." But for further answer hereto, understand thou, good reader, that Theodoret was a Greek bishop, and that the Grecians never used to give godly honour to the sacrament until this day. Further understand thou, that St. Ambrose, touching the sacrament, writeth thus: *Venisti ad altare: vidisti sacramenta posita super altare: et ipsam quidem miratus es creaturam. Tamen creatura solennis, et nota*: "Thou camest to the altar: thou sawest the sacraments laid upon the same: and didst marvel at the very creature. Yet is it a creature used and known." Here St. Ambrose calleth the sacrament a creature, and that twice together in one place. I think M. Harding will not have us believe, that Theodoretus, being so godly a man, gave godly honour unto a creature.

But Theodoretus saith, They are honoured. This is already answered in the last objection. For as St. Augustine teacheth us, "In sacraments we must consider, not what they be indeed, but what they signify." And in this sense they are understood and believed, and adored as by signification being, or representing, the things that are believed. St. Augustine saith: *Sacramenta sunt verba visibilia*: "Sacraments be visible words." But words are oftentimes put for the things that are signified by the words. So saith St. Hilary: *Verba Dei sunt illa quæ*

August.
epist. 164.
[ii. 212.]

† Ambros.
de Sacrament.
lib. 4.
cap. 3. [ii.
366.]

Augustin.
contra Maxi-
min. lib. 3.
[viii. 725.]

Augustin.
contra Fau-
stum Mani-
che. lib. 19.
cap. 16. [viii.
321.]

Hilar. de
Trin. lib. 6.
[p. 895.]

σιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται, οὕτω, κ. τ. λ. His respondet Orthodoxus, 'Εάλωσ αἰς ὑφηνες ἄρκυσι. οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκειᾶς ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος,

καὶ τοῦ εἶδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἐστὶν καὶ ἄπτὰ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν, νοεῖται δὲ ἄπερ ἐγένετο, καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται, ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἄπερ πιστεύεται. See Faber's Difficulties of Romanism, book ii. c. 4. p. 362, quoted by Routh.]

enuntiant: "The words of God be the very things that they utter or signify⁴⁷." So Christ saith: "My words be spirit and life," because they be instruments of spirit and life. And so Origen saith: *Hoc quod modo loquimur, sunt carnes Christi [Verbi Dei]*: "The very words that I now speak, are the flesh of Christ." Even in this sort the sacraments are the flesh of Christ, and are so understood, and believed and adored. But the whole honour resteth not in them, but is passed over from them to the things that be signified.

M. Harding will say, By this construction, *adorantur* is as much to say as *non adorantur*: "they are honoured," that is, "they are not honoured," but only lead us to those things that must be honoured. Herein is none inconvenience. For so it appeareth, Theodoretus expoundeth his own meaning. His words immediately following are these: *Confer ergo imaginem cum exemplari, et videbis similitudinem. Oportet enim figuram esse veritati similem*: "Compare therefore the image" (that is, the sacrament) "with the pattern" (that is, with Christ's body). "For the figure must be like unto the truth." Theodoretus calleth the sacrament, an image, a resemblance, and a figure. I think M. Harding will not say, that images, resemblances and figures be worthy of godly honour. And hereunto very aptly agreeth St. Augustine's lesson touching the same: *Qui adorat utile signum divinitus institutum, cujus vim, significationemque intelligit, non hoc veneratur, quod videtur, et transit: sed illud potius, quo talia cuncta referenda sunt*: "He that worshippeth a profitable sign appointed by God, and understandeth the power and signification of the same, doth not worship that thing that is seen with the eye, and passeth away: but rather he worshippeth that thing, unto which all such things have relation." Here St. Augustine thinketh it no inconvenience to say, We worship the sign, and yet worship it not. And this he speaketh, not only of the sacrament of Christ's

John vi. 63.

Origen. in Numer. hom. 23. [ii. 359.]

August. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. 3. cap. 9. [iii. 49.]

⁴⁷ [Hilarii de Trinit. lib. 6. "vim verbis Dei affers, ne sint Adimis Patri fidem, Filio professionem, nominibus naturam; "quod enuntiant."]

August, in
eodem ca-
pite.

To worship
baptism.

[Concil.
Nicen. 2.]

body, but also of the sacrament of baptism. For so he saith further in the same place: *Sicuti est baptismi sacramentum*, &c.: "As is the sacrament of baptism, and the celebration of the body and blood of the Lord. Which sacraments every man, when he receiveth them, being instructed, knoweth whereto they belong, that he may worship them, not with carnal bondage, but with the freedom of the Spirit." I might add hereto the words of that most fond and lewd second council of Nice: *Venerandas imagines perfecte adoramus: et eos, qui secus confitentur, anathematizamus*: "We do perfectly adore the reverend images, and do accurse them that profess otherwise." And yet afterward they say: *Honor imagini exhibitus refertur ad prototypum*: "The honour given to the image (is not given to the image, but) redoundeth unto the pattern." Thus that council saith: "Images are honoured:" that is to say, "they are not honoured."

Now let us examine, what construction M. Harding maketh upon these words.

- 1 Theodoretus saith: "The bread and the wine leave not, or be not changed from their former nature:" that is to say, by this new exposition, "they utterly leave their former nature."
- 2 "They remain still in their substance:" that is to say, saith M. Harding, "they remain not in their substance."

Further M. Harding saith:

- 3 The accidents of bread and wine be the signs of Christ's body: the bread and the wine be no signs.
- 4 The visible accidents are made the invisible body and blood of Christ: the bread and wine are made nothing.
- 5 The signs be made the very self thing that is signified, and that in existence, and indeed. And so one thing at one time, and in one respect, is substance and accident: visible and invisible: and as they term it in the schools, *fundamentum* and *terminus*: which was ever wont to be called a monster in nature. So many errors are scarcely sufficient to maintain one error.

Now, I trust, the Christian reader will soon consider how soundly M. Harding hath discharged his promise, and

proved the adoration of the sacrament. Verily of all these doctors that he hath here alleged, (Theodoretus only excepted, in whom he would seem to have some colour of aid, who also is already clearly answered,) there is not one that any way may be thought to touch, either the worshipping of the outward sacrament itself, or of Christ, as present in the sacrament.

The greatest doctors of that side say, that unless transubstantiation be concluded, the people cannot freely worship the sacrament, without occasion of idolatry. Now it is known, that transubstantiation is a new phantasy, newly devised in the council of Lateran in Rome. And D. Tonstall saith, that before that time it was free and lawful for any man to hold the contrary. Wherefore it is likely, that before that time there was no such adoration. Otherwise, it must needs have been with great danger of idolatry. But after that, as it is said before, pope ^aHonorius took order, and gave commandment, that the people should adore: pope ^bUrbanus added thereto a new solemn feast of *Corpus Christi* day: and pope ^bClement confirmed the same with great store of pardons. This is the antiquity and petit degree of this kind of adoration.

Anno Dom. 1215.

Tonst. lib. 1. de Sacram. Eucharistiae, fol. 46. [ed. Paris. 1534.]

a Extra. de Celebratione Missarum. [Sane.]
b Clement. lib. 3. tit. 16. Si Dominum.

M. HARDING: *Twenty-seventh Division.*

And whereas utterly to abolish this adoration, he allegeth great danger of idolatry, in case the priest do not truly consecrate: thereto may be answered, that Jacob stood in no danger of conscience, for that by the procurement of Laban, he lay with Leah instead of Rachel: neither for the same was he to be charged with advoutry, because he meant good faith, and thought himself to have had the company of his wife Rachel. So idolatry is not to be imputed unto him, that worshippeth Christ with godly honour in the bread not consecrate, which of good faith he thinketh to be consecrate. Touching this case, St. Augustine hath this notable saying: "We have need," saith he, "to put a difference in our judgment, and to know good from evil, forasmuch as Satan, changing his shape, sheweth himself as an angel of light, lest through deceit he lead us aside to some pernicious things. For when he deceiveth the senses of the body, and removeth not the mind from true and right meaning, wherein each man leadeth a faithful life, there is no peril in religion. Or if, when he feigneth himself good, and doth or saith those things that of congruence pertain to good angels, although he be thought

A very simple defence of manifest idolatry. Even so the idolaters thought their idol of good faith to be very God.

en. xxix. 5.

Gen. 60. vi. 218.]

to be good, this is not a perilous or sickly error of Christian faith. But whenas by these things he beginneth to bring us to things quite contrary, then to know him from the good spirit, and not to go after him, it standeth us much upon, diligently to watch and take heed." Thus St. Augustine. Thus much for the adoration of the sacrament, or rather of Christ in the sacrament, may suffice.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The great danger and horror of idolatry, that hereof riseth, M. Harding thinketh may easily be salved by the example of Rachel and Leah : and thus he bringeth in God's mystical providence for defence of open error : and thus teacheth us instead of Rachel, to take Leah, and to honour a creature instead of God. Wherein it shall be necessary briefly to touch, how many ways, even by their own doctrine, the poor simple people may be deceived, and yield the honour of God to that thing, that in their own judgment is no God.

Thom. par. 3.
q. 83. [art. 6.]
Johan. de
Burgo, Pu-
pilla oculi,
cap. 3. [fol.
xiii.]

Thus therefore they say, If the priest chance to forget to put wine into the cup, and so pass over the consecration without wine :

Idem.

Or, if the bread be made of any other than wheaten flour, which may possibly and easily happen :

Idem.

Or, if there be so much water in quantity that it overcome and alter the nature of the wine :

Or, if the wine be changed into vinegar, and therefore cannot serve to consecration :

Gerson. con-
tra Flore-
tum, lib. 4.
[xcvi. col. 3.]

Or, if there be thirteen cakes upon the table⁴⁹, and the priest for his consecration determine only upon twelve, in which case they say, Not one of them all is consecrate :

Extra. de
Celebrat.
Missa. De
homine.

Or, if the priest dissemble, or leave out the words of consecration : or, if he forget it, or mind it not, or think not of it : in every of these, and otherlike defects, there is nothing consecrate, and therefore the people in these cases, honouring the sacrament, by their own doctrine giveth the glory of God to a creature : which is undoubted idolatry.

Summa An-
gelica. Eu-
charistia, 1.
[27 et] 26.

And that the folly hereof may the better appear, one of them writeth thus : *Quod si sacerdos, &c.* : " If the priest having before him sundry cakes at the time of consecration,

⁴⁹ [Gerson speaks of fifteen cakes, not thirteen.]

do mind only and precisely to consecrate that only cake that he holdeth in his hand, some say, the rest be not consecrate: but say thou, as Duns saith, they be all consecrate." Yea further he saith: "If the priest do precisely determine to consecrate only the one half part of the cake, and not likewise the other half, that then the cake being whole, that one part only is consecrate, and not the other."

Pope Gregory saith: "If the priest be a known ad-^{Dist. 8r. Si}vouterer, or fornicator, and continue still in the same, that ^{qui.}his blessing shall be turned into cursing: and that the people knowing his life, and nevertheless hearing his mass⁴⁹, commit idolatry."

In this case standeth the simple people: so many ways and so easily they may be deceived. For notwithstanding they may in some part know the priest's life, and open dealing, yet how can they be assured of his secret words, of his intention, of his mind, and of his will? Or, if they cannot, how can they safely adore the sacrament, without doubt and danger of idolatry?

But they themselves see well, it cannot be: and there-^{Thom. in lib.}fore have devised a simple poor help of their own. They ^{3. senten.}say, We may not adore the sacrament, but under a con-^{dist. 9.}dition, that is to say, if it be consecrate. And so saith Thomas Salisburiensis: *Nullus quantumcunque sit simplex, vel quantumcunque sit discretus, debet præcise credere, hoc esse corpus Domini: sed cum hac conditione, si in consecratione rite sint acta omnia. Aliter enim asseret de creatura, quod ipsa sit creator: et ita esset idololatria:* "No man, be he never so simple or never so wise, ought precisely to believe, that this is the body of our Lord, that the priest hath consecrate, but only under this condition, If all things concerning the consecration be done, as appertaineth. For otherwise he shall avouch a creature to be the creator: which were idolatry⁵⁰." By this doctrine M. Harding teacheth the people thus to kneel down, and to adore the

⁴⁹ [This is the reading of the ed. of 1565; in that of 1609, the words are altered, apparently to make them more conformable to Gratian.]

⁵⁰ [Thomas Salisburiensis. So

far as the Editor has been able to discover, this work was never printed; a MS. of it exists in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. See Tanner.]

sacrament: "If thou be God indeed, then I worship thee: but if thou be not God, then I will not worship thee." Thus Arnobius saith, The heathens in old time were wont to call upon Jupiter: *Sive tu deus es, sive tu dea es*: "Whether thou be a god or a goddess, we call upon thee⁵¹." Thus God's people is led to give the honour of God, they cannot tell unto what, and to honour a creature instead of God.

Arnob. lib. 3.
[p. 61.]

Gen. xxix. 23.

Yet must all this be excused by the example of Rachel and Leah. As if M. Harding would reason thus: Jacob by God's special providence, knew Leah instead of Rachel:

Ergo, we may safely adore a bare creature with godly honour; and say unto it: Thou art our God: thou madest heaven and earth: we have none other God but thee: and all this without peril of idolatry. He would not thus dally, if he knew what it were to bestow God's glory upon that thing that is no God. Certainly, this is not the worshiping of God in spirit and truth.

John iv. 23.

St. Martin was much more circumspect in this case, as may well appear by that is written of him. For when the devil came unto him, and took upon him to be Christ, and therefore required him to bow down, and to give him honour: "No," said St. Martin, "I cannot tell whether thou be Christ or no. Unless I see Christ in the same shape and form that he was crucified in upon the cross, I will not adore him in any wise." St. Augustine saith:

Sulpitius in
Vita Martini.

August. in
Johan. tract.
7. [iii. pt. 2.
352.]

Audistis quia Messias Christus est: audistis quia Christus unctus est. Non sic posuit Jacob lapidem unctum, ut veneret, et adoraret: alioqui idololatria est, non significatio Christi: "Ye have heard that Messias is Christ: ye have heard that Christ is the anointed. Jacob did not erect the anointed stone, to the intent to come and to adore it. Otherwise it is idolatry, and not a signification of Christ." Theophilus being sometime demanded, wherefore he would not adore the emperor, as the manner then was, with godly honour, made answer thus: *Quia non ad hoc institutus est imperator, ut adoretur, sed ut legitimo honore honoretur*: "Because the emperor is not appointed, to the end we

Theophilus
contra Auto-
lycum, lib. 1.
[p. 30.]

⁵¹ [Arnob. "Nam consuētis in precibus, sive tu Deus es, sive Dea, dicere."]

should honour him, as God : but that we should give him that honour that unto him appertaineth." So if M. Harding will likewise demand, wherefore we adore not the sacrament with godly honour, the godly simple man may make him this answer : " Because it was ordained reverently to be received, and not to be adored : as a sacrament, and not as God." For in all the scriptures, and holy fathers, we have neither commandment to force us hereto, nor example to lead us hereto. We adore the body of Christ, not only for the turning of an hand, while the priest is able to hold up the sacrament, and that with doubt of ourselves, whether we do well or no, which thing is utterly uncomfortable, and dangerous, and full of terror to the conscience : but we worship that blessed and glorious body, as that blessed martyr St. Stephen did, being in heaven at the right hand of the power of God, and therefore without doubt and danger : and that at all times, and for ever : and we believe and confess, that Jesus Christ, even in the nature and substance of our flesh, is the Lord in the glory of God the Father.

OF THE CANOPY.

THE NINTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy.

M. HARDING : *First Division.*

If M. Jewel would in plain terms deny the reservation and keeping of the blessed sacrament, for which purpose the pix and canopy served in the churches of England, as of the professors of this new gospel it is both in word and also in deed denied ; it were easy to prove the same by no small number of authorities, such as himself cannot but allow for good and sufficient. But he, knowing that right well, guilefully refraineth from mention of that principal matter, and the better to make up his heap of articles for some show against the sacrament, by denial reproveth the hanging up of it under the canopy : thereby shewing himself like to Momus, who, espying nothing reprovably in fair Venus, found fault with her slipper.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This Article, as it is small of itself, and therefore might the better be dissembled and passed over, were it not accessory to idolatry, so it is warranted of M. Harding's side, by very simple and slender proofs, as shall appear. It liketh M. Harding for his entry, to solace himself and his friends withal, to call us new doctors : himself being not able hitherto to allege any one of all the old doctors without

force and fraud, plainly and directly, to serve his purpose. But these new doctors are neither so new, nor so much destitute of antiquity, as these men would fain have the world to believe. For, touching the abolishing of the reservation of the sacrament, which M. Harding hath here drawn in to help out the matter, being otherwise not necessarily incident upon this Article, they have the authorities and examples of good ancient old catholic fathers for their warrant in that behalf. For St. Cyprian saith: *Panis iste recipitur, non includitur*: “This bread is received, and not shut up.” Clemens, who, as M. Harding saith, was the apostles’ fellow, writeth thus: *Tanta in altario holocausta offerantur, quanta populo sufficere debent: quod si remanserint, in crastinum non reserventur*: “Let there be so many hosts, (or so much bread,) offered at the altar, as may be sufficient for the people. If any thing remain, let it not be kept until the morning.” Origen or Cyrillus saith, for one book beareth both their names: *Dominus panem, quem discipulis suis dabat, non distulit, nec jussit servari in crastinum*: “The bread that our Lord gave to his disciples, he lingered it not, nor bade it to be kept until the morning⁵².” His reason is grounded upon the order of Christ’s institution: for that Christ said not, “Take, and keep,” but, “Take, and eat.” St. Hierom saith: *Post communionem, quæcunque de sacrificiis superfuissent, illic in ecclesia communem cœnam comedentes pariter consumebant*: “After the communion was done, whatsoever portion of the sacrifices remained, they spent it there together in the church eating their common supper.” St. Augustine likewise seemeth to say the same: “The bread made to this purpose, is spent in receiving the sacrament.” Hesychius saith: “That the remnants of the sacrament were burnt immediately in the fire.” Nicephorus saith: “The same remnants in some places were given to children that went to school, to be eaten by them presently in the church:” the like whereof is also decreed

† Cyprian.
[Arnolius]
de Cena Do-
mini. [App.
cxv.]

Clemens,
epist. 2.
[Mansi, 1.
125.]

Origen. [ii.
211.] (Cyril.)
in Levit.
hom. 5.

† Hieronym.
1 Cor. xi. [v.
998.]

Augustin. de
Trinitate, lib.
3. cap. 10.
[viii. 803.]
Hesychius in
Levit. lib. 2.
cap. 8. [fol.
49. D.]
Nicephorus
lib. 17. cap.
25. [ii. 772.]

⁵² [This Commentary on Leviticus, which is sometimes attributed to St. Cyrill, is in fact Origen’s. See Bened. ed. of Origen; also Bellarmine.]

Concil. Matiscon. 2. cap. 6. [ix. 952.]
 Gabriel Biel, lectione 36. [fol. lxxxlii. col. 4.]

in the council of Matiscon⁵³. So saith Gabriel Biel, a new doctor of M. Harding's company: *Non dedit discipulis, ut ipsum honorifice conservarent: sed dedit in sui usum, dicens, Accipite, et manducate*: "Christ gave not (the sacrament) to his disciples, that they should reverently reserve it: but he gave it for their use, saying, 'Take, and eat'⁵⁴."

Thus many old doctors, and yet many mo, we have on our side. Therefore M. Harding was somewhat overseen, for following of them, to call us new doctors.

I know the sacrament in old times in some places was reserved, as it may appear by Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Hierom, St. Basil, Eusebius, and others. St. Cyprian saith, Women used to keep it at home in their chests: Tertullian saith, The faithful used then to have it in their private houses, and to eat it before other meats: St. Hierom saith, That Exuperius, the bishop of Toulouse, used to carry it abroad in a basket: St. Basil saith, That in Egypt, and specially about Alexandria, every man for the most part had the sacrament in his house: Eusebius seemeth to say, The priest had it in his chamber: St. Ambrose saith, Men used then to carry it about them, not only by land, but also by sea, in their napkins⁵⁵. All these were abuses of the holy mysteries: and therefore afterward were abolished. Thus was then the sacrament reserved: in private houses, in chests, in baskets, and in napkins. Now, if M. Harding be able truly to shew any such like ancient authority for his canopy, then may he say, he holdeth by the old catholic fathers. But, forasmuch as M. Harding hath leisure to call to mind his old fable of Momus, Venus, and such like: indeed they say, Momus was wont to espy faults, and to control all the gods without exception, even

Cyprian. de Lapsis, serm. 5. [p. 189.]

Tertull. ad Uxorem. [lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 169.]

Hieronym. ad Rusticum. [iv. pt. 2. 778.]

Basilius ad Cæsariam. [iii. 187.]

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 44. [1. 317.]

Ambros. de Obitu Satyri. [lib. 1. tom. ii. 1125.]

⁵³ [Concil. Matiscon. 2. can. 6. orders the remnants to be eaten "quarta vel sexta feria," not "presently," as Jewel's words seem to import.]

⁵⁴ [In former editions the marginal reference was to lectio 26 of Gabriel Biel, Expos. Can. Missæ, instead of lectio 36. In the ed. of 1510 (in the Editor's

possession) there is a false print of 26 for 36, on the very page where the passage occurs. It seems probable that this was the edition used by Jewel.]

⁵⁵ [Satyrus had been saved from drowning, as it was thought, by having the sacrament tied up in a handkerchief, "etenim ligari fecit "in orario suo."]

the great Jupiter himself, that sat in Rome in the capitol : and therefore his office oftentimes was not so thankful as some others. But one great fault he found with Vulcan for the making of man, for that he had not set a grate or a window at his breast, that others might peer in and espy some part of his secret thoughts. If M. Harding had such a grate or window at his breast, and men might look in and see his conscience, I doubt not, but they should see many mo sparks of God's truth, then as now outwardly do appear.

As for his fair lady Venus, whereby he meaneth his church of Rome, the world seeth, and he himself knoweth, she hath been taken in open advoury : and Phœbus the sun⁵⁵ of God, with the heavenly beams of his holy word hath revealed it. O, would to God we had no cause justly to say with the prophet Esay : *Quomodo facta est meretrix* Isa. l. 21. *civitas fidelis!* "O how is that faithful city become an harlot!" Verily Momus shall not need now to reprove her slipper. He shall rather have cause to say : *A planta* Isa. l. 6. *pedis, usque ad verticem capitis, non est in ea sanitas :* "From the sole of the foot, to the top of the head, there is no whole part in her."

For so St. Bernard complaineth of her miserable state in his time⁵⁶.

Bernardus de Conversione (Paull).

M. HARDING : Second Division.

Whereto we say, that if he, with the rest of the sacramentaries, would agree to the keeping of the sacrament, then would we demand, why that manner of keeping were not to be liked. And here upon proofs made of default in this behalf, and a better way shewed, in so small a matter, conformity to the better would soon be persuaded. In other Christian countries (we grant) it is kept otherwise, under lock and key, in some places at the one end or side of the altar, in some places in a chapel builded for that purpose, in some places in the vestry, or in some inward and secret room of the church, as it was in the time of Chrysostom at Constantinople⁵⁷. In some other places we read, that it was

⁵⁵ [It is doubtful, whether in this unseemly play of words, Jewel intended to write "Son" or "sun," the word in the original ed. being spelt "Sonne," which would stand for either.]

⁵⁶ [The place intended seems to

be that in the twentieth ch. of the book De Conversione ad Clericos, tom. ii. 498.]

⁵⁷ Chrysost. ad Innocentium. Καὶ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα εἰστίκει τὸ δεινόν. ἀλλ' ἐνθα τὰ ἅγια ἀπέκειντο εἰσελθόντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ὧν ἔτιοι, καθῶς

kept in the bishop's palace near to the church, and in the holy days brought reverently to the church, and set upon the altar, which, for abuses committed, was by order of councils abrogated.

Thus in divers places diversely it hath been kept, every where reverently, and surely, so as it might be safe from injury, and villany of miscreants and despisers of it. The hanging up of it on high, hath been the manner of England, as Lindwood noteth upon the Constitutions provincial: on high, that wicked despite might not reach to it; under a canopy, for show of reverence and honour.

In Conell.
Bracaren. 3.
can. 5.
[Mansi, Brac.
4. can. 6. xi.
157.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding sheweth, that this reservation of the sacrament, in divers countries, hath been diversely used: under lock and key: at the altar's end: in a chapel: in the vestry: in the bishop's palace. And all this of the usage of late years: for of antiquity, saving only the epistle of Chrysostom to Innocentius, which also, as it shall appear, maketh much against him, he toucheth nothing. But amongst all these diversities of keeping, he hath not yet found out his canopy. And touching that he allegeth of the reservation of the sacrament in the bishop's palace, it seemeth very little to further his purpose. For, whereas the sacrament was reserved only in the bishop's custody, it followeth necessarily, that there, in other parish churches and chapels, was no such reservation. Chrysostom's epistle to Innocentius is good witness, that the sacrament was reserved to be received of the people, at the communion the next day, or in very short time after. For it was reserved in both kinds, as it appeareth plainly by his words. But it is clear, both by the judgment of reason, and also by their own cautels in that behalf, that the wine, in such sort and quantity, cannot be kept any long time without souring. And the manner in Grecia was, during the time of Lent, to consecrate only upon the Saturdays and Sundays, and yet nevertheless to communicate of the same upon the other week days⁵⁸. For the end of this reservation in old times was, not that the sacrament should be adored, but that it should be received of the people: and specially that per-

Chrysostom.
ad Innocentium.
[iii, 519.]

De Con. dist.
2. Presbyter.
In Glossa.
In sexta Synodo Constantinop.
can. 52.
[Quini-Sext.
xii. 50.]
τῇ θείᾳ λειτουργίᾳ τῶν προηγασμένων.

ἔγνωμεν, ἀμήτοι ἦσαν, πάντα τε ἑώρων τὰ ἔνδον, καὶ τὸ ἀγιώτατον αἶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς ἐν τοσοῦτῳ

θορύβῳ, εἰς τὰ τῶν προειρημένων στρατιωτῶν ἰμάτια ἐξεχείτο.]
⁵⁸ [See vol. i. p. 278.]

sons excommunicate, for whose sake it was reserved, being suddenly called out of this life, upon their repentance might at all times receive the communion, and depart with comfort, as the members of the church of God.

But, methinketh, M. Harding doth herein, as Apelles the painter sometime did, in setting out king Antigonus' physnomy. For understanding that Antigonus was blind of the one side, he thought it best to paint him out only with half face, and so he cunningly shadowed the deformity of the other eye. Even so M. Harding sheweth us certain variety of keeping the sacrament, and other small matters of like weight: but the danger of idolatry, and otherlike horrible deformities, he dissembleth cunningly, and turneth from us. Loath I am, to use the comparison, but St. Hierom saith it: *Diabolus nunquam se prodit aperta facie*: "The devil never sheweth himself openly with his whole face."

Hieronym.
in Vita Mal-
chi. [iv. pt.
2. p. 91.]

In the old times, when the sacrament was kept in chests, in napkins, in baskets, and in private houses, there was no danger of adoration. But under the canopy we see, not only that the effect hath fallen out far otherwise, but also that the very cause thereof was at the first to the contrary. For so saith Lindwood himself, *Citius repræsentatur nostris aspectibus adoranda*: "It is the rather offered unto our sights to be worshipped." If there were no cause else, yet is this itself cause sufficient to abolish this new order, of hanging up the sacrament under a canopy. For there-² fore the king Hezechias took down the brazen serpent, and⁴ brake it in pieces, notwithstanding God had specially commanded Moses to erect it up, because he saw it abused to idolatry.

Gul. Lynde-
wode, lib.
3. de Custodia
Eucharistie, &c.
[In Glossa.]

2 Kings xviii.

Again, they themselves, upon smaller considerations, have utterly abolished the manner of reservation that was used in the primitive church. For they will not now suffer, neither lay people nor women to keep it in their houses: nor boys to carry it to the sick, as then the boy did to Serapion: nor infidels, or men not christened, to wear it about them, as then did St. Ambrose's brother

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 43. [cap.
44. i. 317.]
Ambros. de
Obitu Satyri.
[li. 1125.]

Satyus. I leave the rust, the mould, the canker, and the breeding of worms: whereby that holy and reverend mystery of Christ's death is oftentimes made loathsome, and brought into contempt. They themselves do testify, that such things not only may happen, but also have often happened. It is said, that Alphonsus, the king of Arragon, for the preservation of his honour and safety, so long kept the sacrament about him, that at last it putrefied, and bred worms: which, when they had eaten up, and consumed one another, in the end there remained only one great worm, that was the last, and had eaten all his fellows. In such cases they command, that the worms be burnt^a, and the ashes buried in the altar. The Gloss itself upon the decrees saith thus: "It is not necessary to keep the wine:" and the reason is this: *Quia opus esset nimia cautela*: "Because we should need to have too much ado with the keeping of it."

a Gerson.
contra Flo-
retum, lib. 4.
[xcix. col. 4.]
Concil. Aure-
lian. [viii.
365.]
De Con. dist.
2. Presbyter.
In Glossa.

In the council of Lateran it is confessed, that the sacrament so kept hath been abused *ad horribilia et nefaria facinora*, "to work horrible and wicked deeds⁵⁹." And M. Harding himself confesseth, that, for certain like abuses, the same reservation was in some part abolished in the council of Bracara.

Concil. Late-
ranen. sub
Innocent. 3.
can. 20.
[xxii. 1008.]
Concil. Bra-
caren. 3. can.
5. [can. 6.
xi. 157.]
Extra de
Celebratio.
Missarum.
Sane.
Gul. Lynde-
wode, lib.
3. de Custo-
dia Eucha-
ristiæ. [In
Glossa.]

To be short, touching the canopy, Lindwood himself findeth fault with it, as it appeareth in the Provincial. For thus he writeth: *Dicitur, quod in loco mundo et singulari debet servari*: "It is said, the sacrament ought to be kept in a clean several place sequestered from other." Whereunto he addeth thus: *Ex hoc videtur, quod usus observatus in Anglia, ut in canopæo pendeat, non est commendabilis*: "Hereby it appeareth, that the order that is used in England, of hanging up the sacrament in a canopy, is not commendable." Here M. Harding hath causes, both in general, why all manner such reservation ought to be disliked, and also in special, why the canopy cannot be liked.

⁵⁹ [Concil. Lateran. sub Inno-
centio. The canon commands the
sacrament to be kept strictly, *ut*

*μη δυνηθῆ εἰς αὐτὰ τολμηρὰ χεῖρ
εὐταθῆναι εἰς τὸ τινὰ βδελυρὰ ἢ
μαρὰ ἐξασκηθῆναι.]*

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

If princes be honoured with cloth of estate, bishops with solemn thrones in their churches, and deans with canopies of tapestry, silk, and arras, (as we see in sundry cathedral churches,) and no man find fault with it: why should M. Jewel mislike the canopy, that is used for honour of that blessed sacrament, (172) wherein is contained the very body of Christ, and through the inseparable joining together of both natures in unity of person, Christ himself, very God and very man? With what face speaketh he against the canopy used to the honour of Christ in the sacrament, that, sitting in the bishop's seat at Salisbury, can abide the sight of a solemn canopy made of painted boards spread over his head? If he had been of council with Moses, David, and Solomon, it is like he would have reprov'd their judgments, for the great honour they used, and caused to be continued towards the ark, wherein was contained nothing but the tables of the law, Aaron's rod, and a pot full of manna. King David thought it very unfitting, and felt great remorse in heart, that he dwelt in a house of cedars, and the ark of God was put in the midst of skins, that is, of the tabernacle, whose outward parts were covered with beasts' skins.

And now there is one found among other^a monstrous and strange forms of creatures, manners, and doctrines, who being but dust and ashes, as Abraham said of himself, promoted to the name of a bishop, and not chosen (I ween) to do high service of a man according to God's own heart, as David was, thinketh not himself unworthy to sit in a bishop's chair under a gorgeous testure or canopy of gilded boards, and cannot suffer the precious body of Christ, whereby we are redeemed, to have, for remembrance of honour done of our part, so much as a little canopy, a thing of small price. (173) Yet was the ark but a shadow, and this the body: that the figure, this the truth: that the type, or sign, this the very thing itself. As I do not envy M. Jewel that honour, by what right soever he enjoyeth it, so I cannot but blame him for ^bbereaving Christ of his honour, in this blessed sacrament.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

"Princes use to sit under a cloth of estate: bishops and deans under painted thrones, or cloth of arras: *ergo*," saith M. Harding, "the sacrament ought to be hanged up under a canopy." I trow, it is not lawful for all men to use such arguments. In such sort Durandus reasoneth: "The ark of the covenant was carried by the Levites: *ergo*, the pope must be carried aloft upon the deacons' shoulders." And again, they seem by practice further to reason thus: "The pope is carried upon men's shoulders: *ergo*,

The 172nd untruth. For Chrysostom saith, *In vasis sanctis, non verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis Christi continetur.* [Op. imp.]

a "Let your modesty be known to all men." Philipp. iv. 5.

The 173rd untruth: for both are figures, both types, both signs. Nazianzen saith, *Figura figurae, De Paschate.*

b Christ will say, "In vain ye worship me," &c. Matt. xv. 9.

Durand. lib. 2. [cap. 9. 2.]

the sacrament must be carried before him, whithersoever he go, upon a fair white jennet."

And, whereas it liketh M. Harding, thus merrily to sport himself with bishops sitting under painted boards; certainly, I reckon it much fitter for the church of God to have painted boards, than painted bishops, such as he is, that claimeth to be the bishop of all bishops, and yet doth not indeed any part of the office of one bishop. The bishop's chair, or stall, was appointed at the first, as a place most convenient for him to read and to preach in. But what needeth more? Such vanity of words should not be answered.

For the rest, God himself commanded Moses to make the tabernacle, and also shewed him in the mount, in what order and form it should be made. Neither durst Moses, or his workmen, to add, or to minish, or to alter any one thing of their device: or to do any thing, more or less, otherwise than God had appointed him. When David of his devotion would have built a temple unto God, God forbad him by the mouth of his prophet Nathan, and said, "Thou shalt build me no temple." Afterward Solomon set upon to build the temple: not when he would himself, but only when God had so willed him. Neither followed he therein any part of his own phantasy, but only that selfsame plat⁶⁰ and proportion that God had given to his father. For so saith David himself: "All this pattern was sent to me in writing, by the hand of the Lord, which made me understand all the workmanship of the pattern."

Here mark, good Christian reader: in every of these examples, God hath bridled our devotion, and hath taught us to worship him, not in such sort as may seem good in our eyes, but only as he hath commanded us. Yet can M. Harding by his cunning apply every of these same examples, to prove thereby, that we may honour God in such sort, as we of ourselves can best devise.

This was evermore the very root of all superstition. And therefore Almighty God saith: "My thoughts be not as your thoughts; nor my ways, as your ways." "Who

Exod. xxv.
& xxvii.

2 Sam. vii. 5.

1 Chron.
xxviii. 19.

Isa. lv. 8.

[Isa. i. 12.]

⁶⁰ [Plat=model. Jamieson.]

ever required these things at your hands?" M. Harding would fain, in all that he taketh in hand, be called catholic: and yet nevertheless maintaineth a mere particular devotion, only used within this realm, and that only within these few late years, and never either used or known in any other Christian country else: and therefore such as can in no wise be called catholic.

But he saith: "There is now found one among other monstrous and strange forms," &c. This, I trow, is not that sobriety and modesty, that was promised at the beginning. Such eloquence would better become some other person, than a man professing learning and gravity. Herein I will gladly give place to M. Harding. It is rather a testimony of his impatience and inordinate choler, than good proof of the cause.

Certainly, if the sacrament be both God and man, as here, I know not how godly, it is avouched, then is this but a very simple honour for so great a Majesty. Undoubtedly, this is a very strange and monstrous doctrine, to teach the people, that Christ being both God and man, and now immortal and glorious, may canker, and putrefy, and breed worms. The time was, when whoso had uttered such words of blasphemy, had been reckoned a monster among the faithful. But this is the just judgment of God. He "giveth men up into a reprobate mind," "to turn God's truth into a lie, and to worship and serve a creature, forsaking the Creator, which is God blessed for ever."

Rom. i. 28.
and 25.

I trust our doctrine abridgeth not any part of Christ's glory. We adore him, as he hath commanded us, sitting in heaven at the right hand of the power of God. And therefore, O M. Harding, ye have burnt your brethren, and scattered their bones upon the face of the earth, and wrought upon them, what your pleasure was, only because they would not be traitors unto God, and give his glory unto a creature.

Chrysostom expounding the complaint of Laban against Jacob, for stealing away of his gods, writeth thus: *Quare deos meos furatus es? O excellentem insipientiam! Tales sunt dii tui, ut quis eos furari queat? Non erubescis dicere,*

Gen. xxxi.
Chrysostom.
in Genes.
hom. 57.
[iv. 556.]

Quare furatus es deos meos? “Wherefore hast thou stolen away my gods? O what a passing folly is this! Be thy gods such ones, that a man may steal them? And art thou not ashamed to say, Wherefore hast thou stolen away my gods?” This matter needeth no further application. Verily the thing, that M. Harding calleth God and man, may soon be stolen away with pix, and canopy, and all together. If Chrysostom were now alive, he would say to M. Harding, as he said to Laban: Art thou not ashamed, &c. And, touching the honouring of Christ, he saith: *Discamus Christum, prout ipse vult, venerari. Honorato namque jucundissimus est honor, quem ipse vult, non quem nos putamus. Nam et Petrus eum honorare putabat, cum sibi pedes eum lavare prohibebat: sed non erat honor, quod agebat, sed contrarium*: “Let us learn to honour Christ, as he hath willed us. For to him that is honoured, that honour is most pleasant, that he himself would have, not that we imagine. For Peter thought to honour Christ, when he forbad him to wash his feet. Howbeit, that was no honour unto Christ, but contrariwise, it was dishonour⁶⁰.”

† Chrysost.
ad Populum
Antiochen.
hom. 60.

To conclude: whereas M. Harding, in the impatience of his heat, demandeth of us, “With what face” we can find fault with the hanging up of the sacrament under a canopy: we may easily answer him thus: Even with the same face wherewith Lindwood found fault with the same: and with the same face wherewith all Christendom, England only excepted, hath evermore refused to do the same.

M. HARDING: *Fourth Division.*

Now, concerning this Article itself, if it may be called an article, wherein M. Jewel thinketh to have great advantage against us, as though nothing could be brought for it, ^a(though it be not one of the greatest keys, nor of the highest mysteries, of our religion, as he reporteth it to be, the more to deface it,) of the canopy, what may be found, I leave to others, neither it forceth greatly. But of the hanging up of the sacrament over the altar, we find plain mention in St. Basil’s Life, written by Amphilo-chius, that worthy bishop of Iconium: who telleth that St. Basil at his mass, having divided the sacrament in three parts, did put

a Before it was the honouring of God: now it is no great key of religion. A vain childish fable under the name of Amphilo-chius.

⁶⁰ [See vol. i. p. 188.]

the one into the golden dove (after which form the pix was then commonly made) hanging over the altar. His words be these : *Imposuerunt columbæ aureæ pendentī super altare.* And for further evidence, that such pixes made in form of a dove in remembrance of the Holy Ghost, that appeared like a dove, were hanged up over the altar, we find in the acts of the general council holden at Constantinople⁶¹, that the clergy of Antioch accused one Severus, an heretic, before John the patriarch and the council there, that he had rifled and spoiled the holy altars, and molted the consecrated vessels, and had made away with some of them to his companions, *Præsumpsisset etiam columbas aureas et argenteas in formam Spiritus Sancti, super divina lavacra, et altaria appensas una cum aliis sibi appropriare, dicens, Non oportere in specie columbæ Spiritum Sanctum nominare.* Which is to say, "that he had presumed also to convert to his own use, beside other things, the golden and silver doves made to represent the Holy Ghost, that were hanged up over the holy fonts and altars, saying, that no man ought to speak of the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove."

Here be doves indeed: but no mention of any sacrament.

Neither hath the sacrament been kept in all places, and in all times, in one manner of vessels. So it be reverently kept for the viage provision for the sick, no catholic man will maintain strife, for the manner and order of keeping. Symmachus, a very worthy bishop of Rome, in the time of Anastasius the emperor, as it is written in his Life, made two vessels of silver to reserve the sacrament in, and set them on the altars of two churches in Rome, of St. Sylvester and of St. Andrew. These vessels they call commonly, *ciboria*. We find likewise in the Life of St. Gregory, that he also like Symmachus made such a vessel, which they call *ciborium*, for the sacrament, with four pillars of pure silver, and set it on the altar at St. Peter's in Rome.

In a work of Gregorius Turonensis, this vessel is called, *Turris in qua mysterium Dominici corporis habebatur*: "A tower wherein (174) our Lord's body was kept." In an old book, *De Pœnitentia*, of Theodorus the Greek, of Tarsus in Cilicia, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, before Beda his time, it is called, *Pixis cum corpore Domini ad viaticum pro infirmis*: "The pix with our Lord's body for the viage provision for the sick." In that book, in an admonition of a bishop to his clergy in a synod, warning is given, that nothing be put upon the altar in time of the sacrifice, but the coffer of relics, the book of the four Evangelists, and the pix with our Lord's body.

The 174th untruth, standing in untrue translation.

Thus we find, that the blessed sacrament hath always been kept, in some places in a pix hanged up over the altar, in some other places otherwise, every where, and in all times safely, and

In the fable of Amphilo-chius, and nowhere else.

⁶¹ [This was the council of doves and the ciboria, see Bing-Constantinople under Mennas, ham, book viii. c. vi. sect. 19.] A.D. 536. For an account of the

reverently, as is declared, to be always in a readiness for the viage provision of the sick. Which keeping of it for that godly purpose, and with like due reverence, if M. Jewel and the sacramentaries would admit, no man would be either so scrupulous, or so contentious, as to strive with them either for the hanging up of it, or for the canopy.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It is marvel, that M. Harding, in so short a tale, cannot avoid manifest contradiction. He holdeth and teacheth, that this is the honouring of Christ, God and man: and yet he saith, it is no great key of his religion. Verily, whatsoever key he now make of it, great or small, he bringeth in very small authorities and proofs to make it good.

Concerning the canopy, wherein all this question standeth, he is well contented to yield in the whole, as being not able to find it once mentioned in any manner old writer. But the hanging up of the sacrament, and that even over the altar, he is certain, may well be proved by that solemn fable, that we have so often heard under the name of Amphilochius. Concerning which fable, (for a very childish fable it is, and no better,) I must for shortness refer thee, gentle reader, to that is written before in the first Article of this book, and in the thirty-third Division, as answer to the same⁶². Yet thus much shortly, and by the way: first, M. Harding's Amphilochius saith, that St. Basil, after he had said mass to Christ and his twelve apostles, immediately the same night, put one portion of the sacrament in the dove, that was then hanging over the altar: and the next day following sent for a goldsmith, and caused the same dove to be made, the same dove, I say, that he put the sacrament in the night before. And so M. Harding's dove was a dove, before it was made. But dreams and fables are worthy of privilege. Yet, lest this tale should pass alone, it is accompanied with a miracle. For after that time, whensoever St. Basil was at mass, and lifted up the bread, the same dove, so saith this Amphi-

⁶² [Vol. i. p. 314.]

lochius, used evermore to rouse herself over the altar, and moved and stirred of herself hither and thither: much like to the mathematical dove that Archytas Tarentinus made, that was able to fly alone. If this golden dove had not been endued with spirit and life, this tale had lost half his grace. Again Peckham in his Provincial giveth a straight commandment to all priests, that the bread in the pix be changed and renewed every seventh day, for avoiding of putrefaction, or some other loathsomeness that may happen. But M. Harding's golden dove had a special virtue above all others, to keep the bread seven years together without corruption, and the same at the last meet to be given to a sick man in his deathbed.

But there is mention made of golden and silvern doves in the council of Constantinople. I grant. Howbeit, there is no mention made there of any pix or reservation of the sacrament. But if every dove there were a pix, or, as they call it, a monster⁶³, then hath M. Harding a great advantage. For seeking out but one pix he hath found twenty, and that altogether in one church, some about the altar, some about the holy font, and some elsewhere. And yet I could never understand, but evermore in one church, were it never so big, one pix was thought sufficient. O what pains M. Harding hath taken to furnish a fable! God grant us to be simple as doves, in obeying of God's truth, and wise as serpents in discerning and eschewing lies. Matt. x. 16.

The rest, that is alleged of Symmachus, Gregorius Romanus, Gregorius Turonensis, and Theodorus, as it is not denied, so it is no parcel of this question. The hanging of the sacrament and the canopy, wherein the greatest danger stood, being removed, somewhat may be considered touching reservation, when it shall be thought necessary. Wherein to counterpoise the credit of these four obscure and late doctors, we have the authority of eight other doctors counted learned and ancient: Clemens, Cyprian, Origen, Cyril, Hierom, Augustine, Hesychius and Nicephorus, as it is already proved.

⁶³ [The word intended seems to be "monstrantia," a repository for the sacrament, or for relics (see Du Fresne Med. Lat. Gloss.); still called in German, "die Monstranz."]

OF ACCIDENTS WITHOUT SUBJECT.

THE TENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there remain only the accidents and shows, without the substance of bread and wine.

M. HARDING: *First Division.*

The 175th untruth. For the substance of the bread and wine remaineth still, as shall appear. a Untruth, as before.

The 176th untruth. For this doctrine was neither believed nor taught from the beginning.

The 177th untruth. For this kind of real and material change is not affirmed by any father.

In this sacrament after consecration (175) nothing in substance remaineth that was before, neither bread, nor wine, but only the accidents of bread and wine, as their form and shape, savour, smell, colour, weight, and such the like, which here have their being miraculously without their subject: forasmuch as ^aafter consecration, there is none other substance than the substance of the body and blood of our Lord, which is not affected with such accidents, as the scholastical doctors term it. Which doctrine hath always, though not with these precise terms, (176) been taught, and believed from the beginning, and dependeth of the article of transubstantiation. For if the substance of bread and wine be changed into the substance of the body and blood of our Lord, (177) (which is constantly affirmed by all the learned and ancient fathers of the church,) it followeth by a necessary sequel in nature, and by drift of reason, that then the accidents only remain. For witness and proof whereof, I will not let to recite certain most manifest sayings of the old and best approved doctors.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding granteth, that this doctrine hath no express authority by precise terms, neither in the scriptures, nor

in the ancient councils, nor in any old father, Greek or Latin: yet the old fathers, both Greeks and Latins, in their kinds were counted eloquent, and were thought able to utter their doctrine in express and precise words, if there had been then any such doctrine received in the church. Wherefore, finding herein such want of all antiquity, we may be bold expressly and in precise terms to say: This seemeth to be a very new doctrine, resting only upon a false position, and a little coloured with drift of reason: which reason notwithstanding never entered into man's head, within a whole thousand years after that the gospel had been preached. By like position, and by like drift, the old heretics the Manichees held, that all, that outwardly appeared in Christ, was nothing else but accidents: that is, as M. Harding himself expoundeth it, the form, the shape, the colour, the weight, and so indeed nothing else but the show, and appearance, and phantasy of a body. From such doctors, it appeareth, these men have received their new doctrine. For doctor Tonstall confesseth, it was first determined in the council of Lateran, which was holden in Rome in the year of our Lord 1215: and that, before that time, it was evermore free for any man, without impeachment of his faith, to hold the contrary.

Cuthbert.
Tonstallus
de Eucharist.
lib. 1. p. 45.

Likewise M. Harding's own doctor Gabriel Biel saith:
.....*Quomodo ibi sit corpus Christi, an per conversionem alicujus in illud [ipsum]: an sine conversione incipiat esse corpus Christi cum pane, manentibus substantia, et accidentibus panis, non invenitur expressum in canone biblicæ:*

Gabriel Biel
de Canon.
lect. 40.
[sub init.
fol. xciv.
col. 3.]

“In what sort the body of Christ is there, whether it be by the turning of any thing into that, or without any turning,” or transubstantiation, “the body of Christ begin to be there together with the bread, both the substance and accidents of the bread remaining, it is not found expressed in the scriptures.” So likewise Duns himself saith: *De sacramentis tenendum est, sicut tenet sancta Romana ecclesia..... Nam verba scripturæ possent salvari, secundum intellectum facilem, et veriore, secundum apparentiam:* “Touching the sacraments, we must hold, as the holy church of Rome holdeth. For the words of the scripture

Scotus in
4. Senten.
dist. 11. q. 3.
[ed. Venet.
1597. fol. 56.
col. 4. F. et
fol. 57. col. 1.
A.]

might be saved," without transubstantiation, "by an easy and truer understanding in appearance." Thus it appeareth by D. Tonstall, that this doctrine hath no ground of antiquity: and by Biel and Scotus, that it hath no certain authority of God's word⁶². Upon this foundation, which by their own confession is uncertain, M. Harding buildeth up the whole certainty of this article.

But he will reply, Christ saith, "This is my body." So the Arian heretics were able to allege as many and as plain words of Christ: *Pater major me est*: "My Father is greater than I." Neither ever was there any heresy so gross, but was able to make some simple show of God's word. But Christ saith not: "This bread is now no bread:" or, "This bread is transubstantiated into my body:" or, "My body is really and fleshly contained under the accidents of this bread."

But contrariwise the evangelists do witness, that Christ took bread; and St. Paul, after consecration, sundry times calleth it bread; and the holy fathers expressly and constantly affirm, that the bread remaineth still in nature and substance, as it did before.

Nevertheless, in that sense and meaning that Christ spake in, that bread was Christ's body. For in this case we may not consider, what bread is in itself, but what it is by Christ's institution. As the body of Christ is his very natural body: so the bread in itself is very natural bread. And yet by way of a sacrament, the bread both is called, and also is, Christ's body. So St. Paul saith: "The rock was Christ:" and St. Augustine saith: *Non dicit, Petra significabat Christum: sed, Petra erat Christus*: "He saith not, 'The rock signified Christ:' but, 'The rock was Christ.'" The rock naturally and indeed was a rock, as it was before. Yet, because it gave water to refresh the people, by a sacramental understanding the rock was Christ. So is it written: *Sanguis est anima*: "The blood is the soul:" which words rightly understood are true: and yet to say, that naturally and really the blood is the

1 Cor. xi.
26—28.

1 Cor. x. 4.

Augustin. in
Levit. q. 57.
[iii. 516.]

Deut. xii. 23.

⁶² [See Jeremy Taylor "of the for other authorities to the same Real Presence," tom. ix. p. 433, purpose.]

soul, it were an error. Unto which words of Moses, St. Augustine, by way of exposition, resembleth these words of Christ, "This is my body." His words be these: *Possum interpretari præceptum illud in signo esse positum.* Augustin. contra Adimantum, cap. 12. [viii. 124.] *Non enim dubitavit Dominus dicere: Hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui:* "I may expound that commandment to consist in a sign. For our Lord doubted not to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave a sign of his body." And to come near to the institution of Christ's supper, St. Luke and St. Paul say: "This cup is the new testament." Yet was not the substance and nature of the cup changed by any force of these words: neither was that cup indeed and really the new testament. Now, as the rock was Christ: the blood is the soul: the cup is the new testament; remaining notwithstanding each of them in their several nature and substance: even so is the bread, the body of Christ; remaining still notwithstanding in the nature and substance of very bread. It is a sacrament that Christ ordained: and therefore must have a sacramental understanding. Verily, as water, remaining still water, is the sacrament of Christ's blood: so bread, remaining still bread, is the sacrament of Christ's body.

But the contrary hereof was determined in the council of Lateran in Rome, about the year of our Lord 1215. Concil. Later. sub Innocentio III. an. 1215. [c. 1. xxii. 981, 982.] Howbeit, the determination of that council neither was general, nor was ever generally received. For the Christians in Asia, and Grecia, and of all other parts of Christendom, would never agree unto it, as it appeareth by the council of Florence: but evermore refused it as an error. Concil. Florentinum, sessione ultima. [xxx. 1004, 1005.] But what special power had that council of Lateran, to alter the faith of the church: and to change the sense of God's word: and to make that catholic, that before that time was never catholic: and to make that heresy, that for the space of twelve hundred years and more before was no heresy? Certainly, the old catholic fathers of the primitive church, and these young fathers of the church of Lateran, agree not together. For Gelasius saith: *Non desinit esse substantia, vel natura panis et vini:* "It ceaseth not to be the substance, or nature of bread and wine." Gelasius contra Eutychem. [Routh's Opusc. II. 139.]

Chrysost. ad
Cæsarium
Monach. [iii.
744.]

Theodoretus
Dialogo
primo. [ap.
Routh. ii.
132.]

Augustin. ad
Infantes.
Citatur a
Beda. 1 Cor.
x.

St. Chrysostom saith : *Natura panis in sacramento remanet* : “ The nature of bread remaineth in the sacrament ⁶³.”

Theodoretus saith : *Christus naturam (panis) non mutat, sed naturæ adjicit gratiam* : “ Christ changeth not the nature (of the bread), but unto the same nature he addeth

grace ⁶⁴.” St. Augustine saith : *Quod videtis, panis est, et calix : quod vobis etiam oculi renuntiant* : “ The thing that you see, is bread and the cup : which thing your eyes do testify ⁶⁵.” Here be the plain testimonies of four ancient catholic fathers in this behalf.

But these new Lateran fathers contrariwise say : “ Here ceaseth the substance and nature of bread and wine : the nature of bread remaineth not : Christ changeth the nature and substance of the bread : believe not the witness of your eyes : the thing that you see, is no bread.” Thus these new fathers, as it may appear, of purpose are contrary to the old. Hereof we may reason thus :

The old catholic fathers understood not this new phantasy of transubstantiation :

Therefore they understood not the remaining of the accidents without substance.

Yet hath M. Harding chosen this as the only foundation of his whole cause.

M. HARDING : *Second Division.*

St. Cyprian, that learned bishop and holy martyr, saith thus : [† Cyprian. (Arnoldi) de Cæna Dom. app. cxi.] *In Sermone de Cæna Domini ; Panis iste, quem Dominus discipulis porrigebat, non effigie, sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro* : “ This bread which our Lord gave to his disciples, changed not in shape, but in nature, by the almighty power of the word” (he meaneth Christ’s word of consecration) “ is made flesh ⁶⁶.” Lo he confesseth the bread to be changed, not in shape or form, for that remaineth, but in nature, that is to

⁶³ [Chrysostom. ad Cæsarium. Supra, vol. iii. p. 54, note 44.]

⁶⁴ [Theodoret. dial. i. ‘Ο γὰρ δὴ τὸ φύσει σῶμα σίτον καὶ ἄρτον προσαγορεύσας (Joan. vi. sæpe) καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἐάντων ἀμπελον ὀνομάσας (Joan. xv. 1. 5.) οὗτος τὰ ὀρώμενα σύμβολα τῆ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορία τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν

χάριν τῆ φύσει προστεθεικός.]

⁶⁵ [August. ad Infantes. Supra, vol. i. 242, note 77.]

⁶⁶ [De Cæna Domini. The real writer of this work, falsely ascribed to St. Cyprian, lived A. D. 1162, that is, nearly six hundred years after the period specified in the Challenge. See vol. i. 207, note 46.]

say, in substance. And to signify the change of substance, and not an accidentary change only, to wit, from the use of common bread to serve for sacramental bread, as some of our new masters do expound that place for a shift: he addeth great weight of words, whereby he far overpoiseth these men's light device, saying, that, by the almighty power of our Lord's word, it is made flesh. Verily they might consider, as they would seem to be of sharp judgment, ^athat to the performance of so small a matter, as their sacramental change is, the almighty power of God's word is not needful. And now if this word, *factus est*, may signify an imaginative making, then why may not *Verbum caro factum est*, likewise be expounded, to the defence of sundry old heinous heresies against the true manhood of Christ? Thus the nature of the bread in this sacrament being changed, and the form remaining, so as it seem bread, as before consecration, and being made our Lord's flesh by virtue of the word, the substance of bread changed into that most excellent substance of the flesh of Christ: of that which was before, the accidents remain only, without the substance of bread. The like is to be believed of the wine.

^aThis is a blasphemy. For no sacrament can be made without the almighty power of God. With this example M. Harding fighteth against himself.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This place of St. Cyprian is often and much alleged⁶⁷, as if every word thereof were an argument: as indeed at the sight, and first appearance, it seemeth vehement, and soundeth much: but being well weighed and considered, it will appear in substance, as it is. Certainly of annihilations, of removing of natures, of remaining of accidents without subject, which thing M. Harding hath taken to prove, it speaketh nothing. For answer, first it is plain by these four ancient learned fathers, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, Gelasius, and Theodoretus, that the bread and wine, after the consecration, remain in their nature and substance as they were before. Which thing notwithstanding, it is not the nature of bread that worketh the effect and force of this sacrament: that is, that Christ may dwell in us, and we in him: no more than it is the nature of water, in the sacrament of baptism, that worketh the effect thereof, and maketh us flesh of Christ's flesh, and bone of his bones. And for better evidence hereof, to compare one sacrament with another, St. Basil saith, *Gratia (baptismatis) non est ex natura aquæ, sed ex præsentia Spiritus: τοῦ ὕδατος.*

Ephes. v. 30.
Basilius de Spiritu Sancto, cap. 15. [iii. 29.]
ἢ χάρις οὐκ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἐστὶ τοῦ ὕδατος.

⁶⁷ [Jewel had postponed to St. Cyprian, supra, vol. iii. this Division his answer touching p. 11.] the passage erroneously ascribed

“The grace of baptism is not of the nature of the water, but of the presence of the Spirit.” And therefore Cyril saith: *Quemadmodum viribus ignis*, &c.: “As water being vehemently heat by the strength of the fire, heateth no less than if it were fire indeed: so the water of baptism by the working of the Holy Ghost, is reformed unto a divine power (or nature).” So Chrysostom saith: *Elizeus potuit undarum mutare naturam*, &c.: “Elizeus was able to change the nature of the water, and made it able to bear iron.” Here Chrysostom saith, even as St. Cyprian saith, that the nature of the water was changed: yet the very substance of the water remained as before.

Likewise St. Ambrose, speaking of God’s marvellous working in baptism, saith: *Non agnosco usum naturæ: nullus est hic naturæ ordo, ubi est excellentia gratiæ*: “In this case I have no skill of the use of nature: the order of nature hath no rule, whereas is the excellency of God’s grace.” Again he saith: *Est hoc illud magnum mysterium, quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit? Aquas video, quas videbam quotidie. Me istæ habent mundare, in quas sæpe descendi, et nunquam mundatus sum? Hinc cognosce, quod aqua non mundat sine Spiritu*: “Is this that great mystery, that the eye never saw, that the ear never heard, that never entered into the heart of man? I see water, that I saw every day before. Is this it, that shall make me clean? I have gone oftentimes into it, and was never the cleaner. Therefore understand thou, that water” (of his own nature) “without the Holy Ghost, cleanseth not.” And again: *Per prædicationem Dominicæ crucis.....aqua fit dulcis ad gratiam*: “By the preaching of our Lord’s cross, the water” (beside his own nature) “is made sweet unto grace.” And in this respect St. Hilary saith: *Uno Christo per naturam unius baptismi induimur*: “We put upon us only one Christ, by the nature of one baptism.” And Gregory Nyssen in like sort: *Natura aquæ præcedente virga fidei*, &c. *vitam præstat*: “The nature of water” (thus considered), “the rod of faith going before, giveth life.” Otherwise he saith: *Hoc beneficium non aqua largitur, &c. sed Dei præceptum, et Spiritus. Aqua vero subservit ad ostendendam purgatio-*

Cyrl. in
Johan. lib. 1.
cap. 42. [iv.
147.]

Chrysost. de
Virtutib. et
Vitiis, hom.
5. [li. 93.]

Ambros. de
illis qui ini-
tiantur My-
steriis, cap.
9. [li. 342.]

Ambros. de
illis qui ini-
tiantur My-
steriis, cap.
4. [li. 330.]

Ambros. de
illis qui ini-
tiantur My-
steriis, cap.
3. [li. 326.]

Hilarius de
Trinit. lib. 8.
[p. 952.]

Gregorius
Nyssen. in
Vita Moseos.
[l. 211.]
Gregorius
Nyssen. de
Sancto Bap-
tismate. [iii.
369.]

nem : “ It is not water” (of his own nature) “ that giveth this benefit : but the commandment of God, and the Holy Ghost. The water serveth to shew us the cleansing of the soul.”

By these examples, I trust, it may appear, what St. Cyprian meant by the change of nature. Verily Origen, that ancient learned father, touching the bread in the sacrament of Christ’s body, writeth thus : *Non materia panis, sed super illum dictus sermo, est qui prodest, &c.* : “ It is not the matter” (or substance) “ of bread, but the word spoken over it, that doth profit.” And therefore St. Ambrose likewise saith : *Quanto magis operatorius est sermo Dei, ut sint, quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur ?* † Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 4. cap 4. [ii. 369.] “ How much more effectual is the word of God, that” (the bread and wine) “ may be” (in substance and nature) “ the same that they were before, and yet be changed into another thing.”

Notwithstanding this answer unto the discreet reader may seem sufficient, yet M. Harding forceth the matter further with this word, *factus est*. If this word, *factus est*, saith he, may signify an imaginative making, then why may not *Verbum caro factum est* be so expounded? O what simple shifts are these! Is M. Harding able to allege no bar, but that may be pleaded against himself? Or doth he think, that this Latin word *facere* must needs signify *transubstantiare*? St. Augustine saith : *Nos Christi facti sumus* : “ We are made Christs⁶⁸.” Leo saith : *Corpus regenerati, fit caro crucifixi* : “ The body of the man that is regenerate, is made the flesh of Christ that was crucified.” † Leo de Passione, serm. 14. [i. 284.] Beda saith : *Nos ipsi corpus Christi facti sumus* : “ We ourselves are made the body of Christ.” Origen saith in like manner of speech : *Spiritus Sanctus non in turturem vertitur, sed columba fit*..... : “ The Holy Ghost is not changed into a turtle, but is made a dove.” † Origen. in Cantica, hom. 2. [iii. 22.] So † Ambros. 1 Cor. v. [ii. app. 127.] St. Ambrose : *Victa anima.....libidine carnis, fit caro* .

⁶⁸ [August. in Johan. tract. 21. “ Ergo gratulemur et agamus gratias, non solum nos Christianos “ factos esse, sed Christum....

“ admiramini, gaudete, Christus “ facti sumus. Si enim caput ille, “ nos membra; totus homo, ille “ et nos.”]

“The soul, being overcome with the pleasure of the flesh, is made flesh.” And will M. Harding upon warrant of this one word conclude, that our bodies be utterly transubstantiate, and substantially and really become the body of Christ? Or that the Holy Ghost is verily transubstantiate into a dove? Or the soul into flesh? Or in these very words that he hath alleged, *Verbum caro factum est*: “The Word, that is, the Son of God, was made flesh:” doth he think, that the Son of God left the nature of his Godhead, and was verily transubstantiate into flesh? Doubtless this were a monstrous doctrine, and in old times it was Cerinthus’ and Ebion’s horrible heresy. Verily Leo saith: *Quamvis Johannes scribat, Verbum caro factum est,..... Verbum tamen non est versum in carnem*: “Although St. John say, ‘The Word was made flesh,’ yet was not the Word turned” (or transubstantiate) “into flesh⁶⁹.” St. Augustine saith of the heretics called Timotheani, *Ad confirmandam hujusmodi impietatem, qua Deum asserunt versum esse a natura sua, cogunt evangelistæ testimonium dicentis, Et Verbum caro factum est. Quod ita interpretantur, Divina natura in humanam versa est*: “These heretics, to confirm their wickedness, whereby they hold that God was changed from his own nature” (and made man), “rack the witness of the evangelist St. John saying, ‘The Word was made flesh.’ Which word they expound thus, The nature of God was changed into the nature of man⁷⁰.” Even thus M. Harding saith, “The nature of bread is changed into the nature of Christ’s body.”

Where is then that great force of this word *factus est*, wherein M. Harding seemeth to have such trust? He might better say thus: “The Word was made flesh, the nature and substance of the Word remaining still: so the bread is made flesh, the nature and substance of the bread

⁶⁹ [Leo ad Leonem Augustum. The words quoted are not Leo’s, but were extracted by him, amongst other testimonies of the Fathers, from Theophilus Alexandr. de Epist. Paschal.]

⁷⁰ [The Bened. say, that most

MSS. contain the account of the Timotheani at the end of St. Augustine’s catalogue; but add, that the account cannot be his, as the name was not given till after his death. They therefore place the passage in a note.]

Augustin. ad Quodvult. deum. [viii. 7.]

Epistola Leonis ad Leonem August. [l. 712.]

Augustin. ad Quodvult. deum. [viii. 27. note.]

nevertheless remaining still." And in this sort, the old learned father Tertullian speaketh touching the same: *Christus acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum, dicendo, hoc [id] est, figura corporis mei*: "Christ taking the bread, and dividing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body:' that is to say," saith Tertullian, "This is a figure of my body." Thus the holy fathers expound what they meant by these words, The bread is made Christ's body.

But St. Cyprian further allegeth to this purpose, the omnipotent power of God, "which," saith M. Harding, "far overpoiseth all these men's light phantasies." Thus he saith, as though, that without this light phantasy of transubstantiation God could not be omnipotent: or, as if there were such wonderful weight in his outward shows and empty accidents. But God worketh mightily, and sheweth his power omnipotent, not only herein, but also in all other his holy mysteries, as it is before declared in the fifth Article, and the fourth Division⁷¹. Leo saith: *Christus dedit aquæ, quod dedit matri. Virtus enim Altissimi, et obumbratio Spiritus Sancti, quæ fecit, ut Maria pareret Salvatorem, eadem fecit [al. facit], ut regeneraret unda credentem*: "Christ gave to the water that he gave to his mother. For the power of the Highest, and the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, that caused Mary to bear the Saviour, the same power hath caused the water to regenerate the believer." To like purpose saith Chrysostom:

Ut Saram, non natura, sed Dei promissio fecit matrem, &c.: "As the promise of God, and not nature, made Sarah a mother,.....even so our regeneration by nature is nothing. But the words of God, which the faithful know, being pronounced by the priest in the bath of water, do form and regenerate him that is baptized, as it were in his mother's womb⁷²." So they were wont to sing at the hallowing of the font: *Descendat Spiritus Sanctus in hanc plenitudinem*

⁷¹ [Vol. ii. p. 336.]

⁷² [Chrysost. in Ep. ad Galatas; Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκείνην μητέρα οὐχ ἡ φύσις εἰργάσατο, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Θεοῦ. . . οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσις

μὲν οὐδεμία, τὰ δὲ ῥήματα τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως λεγόμενα, ἅπερ ἴσασιν οἱ πιστοὶ, ταῦτα ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ τῶν ὑδάτων, καθάπερ ἐν μητρὶ τινὶ, διαπλάττει καὶ ἀναγεννᾷ τὸν βαπτιζόμενον.]

Tertullian. contra Marcionem, lib. 4. [c. 40. pp. 457, 458.]

Omnipotentia verbi.

Leo, serm. 4. de Nativitate, [i. 155.]

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. 4. [x. 711.]

Totam sub-
stantiam.

aquæ, totamque ejus substantiam regenerationis fecundet effectu: “Let thy Holy Ghost come down into this fulness of water, and let it fill the whole substance thereof with the effect of regeneration.” Thus Leo, Chrysostom, and other old fathers, acknowledge the omnipotency of God in the sacrament of baptism: yet did they not think it therefore necessary, to transubstantiate the nature and substance of the water. The same St. Cyprian, (albeit indeed it is not St. Cyprian, but a far later writer, as by good proofs it doth appear⁷³), writing only of the blessing of the holy oil, allegeth likewise the omnipotent power of God above nature. His words be these: *Sanctificatis elementis, jam non propria natura præbet effectum: sed virtus divina potentius operatur: adest veritas signo, et Spiritus sacramento*: “It is not nature that giveth effect unto the element of oil being sanctified, but the power of God worketh more mightily. The truth is present with the sign, and the Holy Ghost with the sacrament.” Therefore it was no good catholic divine’s part, so lightly to shake off these new masters’ sacramental changes, as matters of so small weight. It appeareth by these examples, that God therein sheweth his omnipotent power: and yet without any transubstantiation.

† Cyprian.
[Arnoldus]
de Uctione
Chrismatis.
[app. cxxiii.]

Now, if neither these words, *panis natura mutatus*: nor these words, *factus est*: nor these words, *omnipotentia verbi*: nor all these words together, be able to prove transubstantiation, as it is clear by that is said already; then is M. Harding’s foundation not well laid: and therefore we may the better doubt of his conclusion.

And whereas he saith, “These new masters think it sufficient to acknowledge a sacramental changing, and to say, that the bread is changed into the sacrament of Christ’s body, and that only for a shift;” it may please him to remember, that Beda, well near nine hundred years ago, expounded the same in like sort: and yet, that notwithstanding, was never counted neither shifter, nor new master. His words be plain:.....*Panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis Christi, ineffabili Spiritus*

Beda in Octavis Epiphaniæ.
[leg. in Epiphania, inter Hyemal. de Sanctis.]

⁷³ [Jewel is right; the real A.D. 1162. See vol. i. 207, author was Arnoldus Carnotensis, note 46.]

sanctificatione, transfertur : “ The creature of bread and wine, by the ineffable sanctification of the Spirit, is turned into the sacrament of Christ’s flesh and blood.”

M. HARDING : *Third Division.*

Nothing can be plainer to this purpose, than the sayings of St. Ambrose. *Licet figura panis, et vini videatur, nihil tamen aliud, quam caro Christi, et sanguis, post consecrationem credendum est* : “ Although,” saith he, “ the form of bread and wine be seen, yet after consecration we must believe, they are nothing else but the flesh and blood of Christ.” After the opinion of this father, the show and figure of bread and wine are seen, and therefore remain after consecration. And if we must believe, that which was bread and wine before, to be none other thing but the flesh and blood of Christ, then are they no other thing indeed. For if they were, we might so believe. For belief is grounded upon truth, and whatsoever is not true, is not to be believed : hereof it followeth, that after consecration the accidents and shows only remain without the substance of bread and wine. In another place he saith as much, *Panis iste, &c.* : “ This bread, before the words of the sacrament, is bread : as soon as the consecration cometh, of bread is made the body of Christ.” Again in another place he saith most plainly, “ That the power of consecration is greater than the power of nature : because nature is changed by consecration.” By this father it is evident, that the nature, (178) that is to say, the substance of bread and wine, by consecration being changed into the body and blood of Christ, their natural qualities, which be accidents, continuing unchanged for performance of the sacrament, remain without the substance of bread and wine.

This place is counterfelt, and not to be found in all St. Ambrose.

The 178th untruth standing in false interpretation : as shall appear. Accidents perform the sacrament. A strange kind of divinity.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Ambrose’s books be extant and known. Among them all, these words are not found⁷⁴. Gratian the reporter of them, either of purpose or for want of discretion, as a man living in a very barbarous and corrupt season, allegeth often one doctor for another : the Greek for the Latin : the new for the old : as may soon appear to the learned reader. This writer, whom M. Harding would so fain have to pass by the name of Ambrose, in this very place purposely depraveth the words of Christ, alleging that for scripture, that is not to be found so written in all the scriptures. Which is not the manner of St. Ambrose’s dealing.

⁷⁴ [The last ed. of Gratian says, “*mentis* ;” but that book is not “*Similia sunt in libr. 4. de Sacra-* by St. Ambrose.]

De Cons. dist. 2. ca. Omnia quaecumque.

De Sacram. lib. 4. cap. 4.

De his qui initiantur.

But for contentation of the reader, to answer that thing that seemeth worthy of no answer, we must understand, that the bread, the wine, and the water, of their own nature, without further consideration, are nothing else but usual and simple creatures. And therefore St. Augustine giveth

Augustin. .
contra Maxi-
min. lib. 3.
[viii. 725.]

this general rule touching the same: "In sacraments we must consider, not what they be of themselves, but what they signify." So St. Ambrose writeth of the water of

Ambrosius
de iis, qui
initiantur
Mysteriis,
cap. 2. [ii.
327.]

baptism: *Quid vidisti? Aquas utique: sed non solas..... Apostolus docuit, non ea contemplanda, quæ videntur, sed quæ non videntur*: "What sawest thou" (in thy baptism)? "Water, no doubt: but not only water. The apostle hath taught us, to behold not the things that be seen, but the things that be not seen." Otherwise touching the very

† Ambros.
de Sacra-
mentis, lib. 4.
cap. 4. [ii.
369.]

substance of the bread and the wine, he saith, *Sunt quæ erant*: "They be the same things that they were." And immediately before, he calleth the sacrament, touching the bread and the wine, which are the material parts thereof, "a common and a known creature."

Ambros. de
Sacram. lib.
4. cap. 3. [ii.
367.]
Creatura so-
lennis et
nota.

Yet nevertheless, touching the effect of the sacrament, we consider not the corruptible natures, or outward elements, but direct our faith only to the body and blood of Christ. St. Ambrose himself leadeth us thus to say: *Ante benedictionem verborum cælestium alia species nominatur: post consecrationem corpus Christi significatur*: "Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is called another kind: but after the consecration, the body of Christ is signified."

Ambros. de
iis, qui ini-
tiantur My-
steriis, cap.
9. [ii. 339.]

But M. Harding will reply, This Ambrose saith, *Figura panis, et vini videtur*: "The figure of bread and wine is seen:" therefore we must needs confess, there are accidents without a subject. If any old writer, Greek or Latin, learned or unlearned, ever used this word, *figura*, in this sense, to wit, to signify a show alone without any substance, then may M. Harding seem to say somewhat. If never any writer used it so, then have we good cause to doubt his conclusion. Verily, to leave other old writers

† Ambros. in
Epist. ad
Coloss. cap.
1. [ii. app.
264.]

of all sorts, St. Ambrose himself saith: *Christus apparet in figura humana*: "Christ appeareth in the form, or figure, of a man." And St. Paul saith to the like purpose:

Formam servi accepit: "Christ took upon him the form Philipp. ii. 7. of a servant." I think M. Harding will not warrant us upon the force of these words, that Christ had only the shape and show, and not the very substance and nature, of a man's body. For in so saying, he should seem openly to favour the old condemned heresy of the Manichees. In saying otherwise, this word *figura* cannot further his purpose.

But St. Ambrose saith, *Nihil aliud credendum*: "We must believe there is nothing else." "Therefore," saith M. Harding, "there is no bread." I marvel he hath no further insight, nor better skill in his own arguments. For here he concludeth a plain contradiction against himself. For if there be nothing else but the body of Christ, and we must also believe the same, then is there neither form, nor figure, nor weight, nor savour there: which is contrary to M. Harding's own first position: and yet by these words we must needs believe it. The meaning is, as it is before said, that, according to the doctrine of St. Augustine, in all sacraments we sequester our minds utterly from the sensible creatures, and with our faith behold only the things that thereby are represented.

For answer to the other two places of St. Ambrose here alleged, touching the changing of natures, and making of Christ's body, it may please thee, gentle reader, to remember, that it is answered before in the second division hereof, unto the words of St. Cyprian. I trow M. Harding will not say, that the changing of any thing is straight-way the corruption of the same. Origen saith: *Si mutantur cœli, utique non perit, quod mutatur*: "Albeit the heavens shall be changed, yet the thing that is changed is not therefore utterly abolished and put away." The question between us is not whether the bread be the body of Christ or no: but whether in plain and simple manner of speech, it be fleshly and really the body of Christ. St. Augustine saith: *Secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi, corpus Christi est*: "After a certain manner" (of speech), "the sacrament of Christ's body is the body of Christ." And St. Ambrose himself herein

Origen.
περὶ Ἀρχῶν,
lib. i. cap. 6.
[l. 71.]

Augustine,
epist. 23. [l.
267.]

seemeth well and sufficiently to open his own meaning.

a Ambros. de
lis qui ini-
tiantur My-
steriis, cap.
9. [ii. 339.
et 341.]

For thus he writeth, as is before alleged: ^a *Post consecrationem corpus Christi significatur..... : post consecrationem sanguis Christi nuncupatur.*—^b *In typum sanguinis Christi,*

b † Ambros.
i Cor. xi.
[ii. app. 149.]

nos calicem sanguinis mysticum percipimus : carnem, et sanguinem, quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, significamus.—^c *Similitudinem preciosi sanguinis bibis.*—^d *Est figura corporis, et sanguinis Domini : in similitudinem accipis sacramentum :* “After consecration, the body of Christ is signified : after consecration, it is called the blood of Christ : we receive the mystical cup of blood, in example of the blood of Christ : we signify the flesh and blood of Christ, that were offered for us : thou drinkest the likeness of that precious blood : it is a figure of the body and blood of our Lord : for a likeness, or resemblance” (of the body of Christ), “thou receivest the sacrament.” Thus many ways it seemed good to St. Ambrose, to qualify the heat and rigour of his other words.

c † Ambros.
de Sacram.
lib. 4. cap. 4.
[ii. 370, 371.]
d De Sacram.
lib. 4. cap. 5.
[ii. 371.]

Now, if M. Harding, as his manner is, will call all these naked signs, and bare figures, let him then remember, he maketh sport and game at St. Ambrose, his own doctor. But the sacraments of Christ, notwithstanding they be signs and figures, as they be commonly called of all the old fathers, yet are they not therefore bare and naked. For God by them, like as also by his holy word, worketh mightily and effectually in the hearts of the faithful. Touching the force of God's word, St. Ambrose writeth thus: *Vidimus, et oculis nostris perspeximus, et in vestigia clavorum ejus digitos nostros inseruimus. Videmur enim nobis vidisse, quem legimus, spectasse pendentem, et vulnera ejus spiritu ecclesiæ scrutante tentasse :* “We have seen him, and beholden him with our eyes, and have thrust our fingers into the very holes of his nails. For we seem to have seen him, whom we have read, and to have beholden him hanging on the cross, and with the feeling spirit of the church to have searched his wounds.” So saith St. Cyprian :..... *Cruci hæremus, et sanguinem sugimus, et intra ipsa Redemptoris nostri vulnera figimus linguam :* “We cleave to the cross, and suck up the blood, and thrust our

Ambros. in
Lucam, lib.
5. cap. 7. [i.
1378.]

Now, if M. Harding, as his manner is, will call all these naked signs, and bare figures, let him then remember, he maketh sport and game at St. Ambrose, his own doctor. But the sacraments of Christ, notwithstanding they be signs and figures, as they be commonly called of all the old fathers, yet are they not therefore bare and naked. For God by them, like as also by his holy word, worketh mightily and effectually in the hearts of the faithful. Touching the force of God's word, St. Ambrose writeth thus: *Vidimus, et oculis nostris perspeximus, et in vestigia clavorum ejus digitos nostros inseruimus. Videmur enim nobis vidisse, quem legimus, spectasse pendentem, et vulnera ejus spiritu ecclesiæ scrutante tentasse :* “We have seen him, and beholden him with our eyes, and have thrust our fingers into the very holes of his nails. For we seem to have seen him, whom we have read, and to have beholden him hanging on the cross, and with the feeling spirit of the church to have searched his wounds.” So saith St. Cyprian :..... *Cruci hæremus, et sanguinem sugimus, et intra ipsa Redemptoris nostri vulnera figimus linguam :* “We cleave to the cross, and suck up the blood, and thrust our

Cyprian.
[Arnoldus]
de Cœna
Dom. [app.
cxiv.]

tongues even within the wounds of our Redeemer." And in this respect St. Ambrose saith, *Baptismus est mysterium, quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit*: "Baptism is" (not bare water, but) "a mystery, that the eye never saw, the ear never heard, nor never entered into the heart of man." In respect hereof, the element of water seemeth nothing. Even so, in respect of Christ's body and blood, that are represented, the bread and wine seem nothing. Thus St. Ambrose saith, in either sacrament the power of consecration is greater than the power of nature: thus by consecration nature is changed.

Ambrosius
de his qui in-
tiantur My-
steriis, cap.4.
[il. 329.]

M. HARDING: *Fourth Division.*

According to the which meaning, Theodoretus saith, *Videri et tangi possunt, sicut prius; intelliguntur autem ea esse, quae facta sunt, et creduntur*: "The bread and wine may be seen and felt, as before consecration; but they are understood to be the things which they are made and believed"⁷⁴.

Dialogo 2.
[Routh's
Opuscul. vol.
ii. p. 183.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here, good Christian reader, I beseech thee to consider thus much by the way. In the university of Oxford, and in the late solemn disputation holden there against that godly father and martyr of blessed memory, doctor Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, the authority of this father Theodoretus was utterly refused in open audience, for that he was a Grecian, and therefore not thought to judge catholically of the sacraments, according to the late determination of the church of Rome. Which thing notwithstanding, it appeareth M. Harding hath now reconciled him, and made him catholic. Howbeit this thing seemeth very strange, that one man, in the uttering of one sentence, without any manner altering or change of word, should be both an heretic and a catholic, both together.

Anno 1554.

Concerning the greatest substance hereof, this place of Theodoretus is answered before, in the eighth Article, and in the twenty-sixth Division⁷⁵. Here he saith, "That the bread and the wine are seen and touched, as they were before." Hereof M. Harding concludeth thus: *ergo*, "There

⁷⁴ [Supra, vol. iii. p. 57, note 46.] ⁷⁵ [Supra, vol. iii. p. 57.]

is neither bread nor wine remaining, but only accidents and shows without substance." This argument of itself is strange and wonderful, and the more for that it concludeth plain contrary, not only to the meaning, but also to the express and evident words of Theodoretus; for thus his

Theodoret.
Dialogo 1.
Inmutabilis.

words lie: *Qui seipsum appellavit vitem, ille symbola, et signa, quæ videntur, appellatione corporis et sanguinis honoravit: non naturam mutans, &c.*: "He that calleth himself the vine, honoured the signs and tokens" (whereby he meaneth the sacraments) "that be seen with the name of his body and blood, not changing the nature thereof," &c.

Theodoretus
in Dialogo 2.
Inconfusus.

And again: *Signa mystica post sanctificationem non recedunt a natura sua. Manent enim in priori substantia*: "The mystical signs, after the consecration, depart not from their own nature; for they remain in their former substance."

Now let us compare this text with M. Harding's gloss. Theodoretus saith, "The bread and wine depart not from their own nature;" M. Harding saith, "They depart utterly from their own nature:" Theodoretus saith, "The bread and wine remain in their former substance;" M. Harding saith, "There remain only the shows and accidents of bread and wine, without any their former substance." It is a bold gloss, that thus dareth to overthrow the manifest meaning of the text. I trow such dealing should be rectified by a writ of error.

Of these plain words of Theodoretus, we may well conclude thus against M. Harding: The substance of the bread and wine remaineth still, as it was before; therefore the accidents and shows of bread and wine be not there without their substance. For the rest, how these mystical signs be understood and believed to be the body and blood of Christ, it is answered before, in the eighth Article and twenty-sixth [twenty-fifth?] Division⁷⁵.

M. HARDING: *Fifth Division.*

"We do not in like sort," saith St. Augustine, "take these two forms of bread and wine, after consecration, as we took them before. Sith that we grant faithfully that before conse-

In lib. sent.
Prosperi de
Consec. dist.
2. Ca. Nos
autem.

⁷⁵ [Supra, vol. iii. pp. 53—56.]

cration it is bread and wine that nature hath shaped; but after consecration, that it is the flesh and blood of Christ that the blessing hath consecrated⁷⁶." In another place he saith, that this is not the bread which goeth into the body, (179) (meaning for bodily sustenance,) but that bread of life, *qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit*, "which sustaineth the substance of our soul."

The 179th untruth; for Rabanus saith, *Sacramentum in alimentum corporis redigitur.*

† De Verbis Domini secundum Lucam Sermo. 28. [V. App. p. 152.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The former of these two places may be easily discharged by that is answered before to the words of St. Ambrose, in the third Division hereof. St. Augustine speaketh of the changing and advancing of the natures of bread and wine unto a spiritual and divine use, and not of the abolishing of the same. As for accidents and shows, standing without subject and substance, he saith nothing. True it is, the bread before the consecration was nothing else but bare and common bread: now it is advanced, and made a sacrament of Christ's body and blood, not by nature, but by consecration, above nature. Chrysostom saith, *Oculis intellectus ista perspicimus. Nihil enim sensibile tradidit nobis Christus, &c. Sic et in baptismo*: "Let us behold these things with the eyes of our mind; for Christ hath delivered to us nothing that is sensible, &c. So likewise in baptism⁷⁷." I think M. Harding will not deny, but the water in baptism is a thing sensible; likewise that the bread and wine in the holy mysteries, or at the least the accidents and shows thereof, are things sensible. But St. Chrysostom withdraweth us from the bread, the wine, the water, and all other like things that be sensible, to the consideration of the body and blood of Christ, that are not sensible: in comparison whereof all the rest are consumed, and seem nothing.

Chrysostom. in Matt. hom. 83. [vil. 787.]

Touching the second place, the words be written both in St. Augustine, and also in a book that is commonly known by the name of St. Ambrose *de Sacramentis*; the meaning whereof nothing toucheth neither the bread nor the wine, but only the body and blood of Christ, which

† Ambros. de Sacramen. lib. 5. cap. 4. [il. 378.]

⁷⁶ [See Jewel's observations on this alleged place of St. Augustine, supra, vol. iii. p. 53.]
⁷⁷ [Vol. ii. p. 357. note ⁵¹.]

thereby are represented. And therefore this place, so unadvisedly chosen, can little further M. Harding's phantasy of empty accidents, hanging, I know not how, without substance.

The words be plain of themselves, without further exposition: *Non iste panis, qui vadit in corpus; sed ille panis vitæ æternæ, qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit*: "Not this bread, that passeth into the body, but that bread of everlasting life that strengtheneth the substance of our soul." M. Harding knoweth, that the sacrament is received into our bodies. Rabanus saith, *Sacramentum ore percipitur, et in alimentum corporis redigitur*: "The sacrament is received with the mouth, and is turned to the nourishment of the body." But the body of Christ, as St. Cyprian saith, *est cibus mentis, non ventris*: "is meat for the mind, not for the belly." So St. Augustine saith, *Panis iste interioris hominis quærit esuriam*: "This bread seeketh the hunger of the inner man." *Intus bibendo felix sum*: "Drinking in my heart within, I am made happy." Tertullian saith,.....*ruminandus intellectu, et fide digerendus est*: "That meat ought to be chewed with understanding, and to be digested with faith." Likewise Chrysostom: *Magnus iste panis, qui replet mentem, non ventrem*: "This great bread, that filleth the mind, and not the belly 77." Of this bread St. Ambrose speaketh, and not of the sacrament, that is received into the body. Wherefore it appeareth M. Harding was not well advised how little this place would make for his purpose. The old father Origen saith, *Accidit, ut simpliciores quidam, nescientes distinguere, quæ sint, quæ in scripturis divinis interiori homini, quæ vero exteriori deputanda sint, vocabulorum similitudine falsi, ad ineptas quasdam fabulas, et figmenta inania se contulerint*: "It happeneth that simple folk, being not able to discern what things they be in the holy scriptures that are to be applied to the inner man, and what to the outer, being deceived by the likeness of words, turn themselves to vain imaginations and foolish fables."

Rabanus
Maurus, lib.
I. cap. 31.
[tom. vi. 11.]

Cyprian.
[Arnoldi] de
Cœna Dom.
Augustin.
in Johan.
tract. 26. [iii.
pt. 2. 494.]

Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
25. [iii. pt. 2.
493.]

Tertullian.
de Resurre-
ctione Carnis.
[c. 37. p.
347.]

Chrysoost. ex
variis locis in
Matthæ.
hom. 9. [ed.
Lat. 1588.
tom. ii. p.
992.]

Origen. in
Prologo in
Cantica
Cantl. [iii.
28.]

77 [St. Chrysostom's twenty- locis, are extant only in a Latin seven Homilies, ex variis in Matth. translation.]

M. HARDING : Sixth Division.

No man can speak more plainly hereof than Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, an old author who wrote in Greek, and is extant, but as yet remaining in written hand, and common to the sight of few learned men⁷⁸. His words be not much unlike the words of the school doctors : *Præbetur corpus ἐν τύπῳ ἄρτου, in specie, sive figura panis. Item, præbetur sanguis ἐν τύπῳ οἴνου* : "Christ's body," saith he, "is given us in form or figure of bread. Again, his blood is given us in form of wine⁷⁹." A little after these words, he saith thus : *Μὴ πρόσεχε οὖν ὡς ψιλοῖς τῷ ἄρτῳ, καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ, &c. Ne mentem adhibeas quasi panis, et vino nudis : sunt enim hæc corpus, et sanguis, ut Dominus pronunciauit. Nam tametsi illud tibi sensus suggerit, esse, scilicet, panem et vinum nudum, tamen firmet te fides, et ne gustatu rem dijudices, quin potius pro certo ac comperto habe, omni dubitatione relicta, esse tibi impartitum corpus et sanguinem Christi.* "Consider not," saith this father, "these as bare bread and wine ; for these are his body and blood, as our Lord said. For although thy sense report to thee so much, that it is bare bread and wine, yet let thy faith stay thee, and judge not thereof by thy taste ; but rather be right well assured, all doubt put apart, that the body and blood of Christ is given to thee⁸⁰." Again he saith thus in the same place : *Hæc cum scias, et pro certo et explorato habeas, (180) qui videtur esse panis, non esse, sed corpus Christi ; item, quod videtur vinum, non esse, quanquam id velit sensus, sed sanguinem Christi, ac de eo prophetam dixisse, Panis cor hominis confirmat : firma ipse cor, sumpto hoc pane, utpote spirituali* : "Whereas thou knowest this for a very certainty, that that which seemeth to be wine is not wine, albeit the sense maketh that account of it, but the blood of Christ ; and that the prophet thereof said, 'Bread strengtheneth the heart of man : ' strengthen then thyself thy heart by taking this bread, as that which is spiritual⁸¹." And in the third Catechesi this father

It is not bare bread ; ergo, it is bread.

The 180th untruth, standing in wilful corruption of the author's words and meaning, as shall appear.

⁷⁸ [The first edition in Greek of Cyrill. Hierosol. was published in the year 1564 (Cave), the year in which Harding published his Answer. Others say, however, that the earliest edition was published at Vienna, A. D. 1560.]

⁷⁹ [Cyrillus Hierosol. Catech. 22. (Mystagog. 4.) p. 320. "Ὡστε μετὰ πάσης πληροφορίας ὡς σώματος καὶ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνομεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἐν τύπῳ γὰρ ἄρτου δίδοται σοι τὸ σῶμα. καὶ ἐν τύπῳ οἴνου δίδοται σοι τὸ αἷμα. ἵνα γένη, μεταλαβὼν σώματος καὶ αἵματος

Χριστοῦ, σύσσωμος καὶ συναίματος αὐτοῦ.]

⁸⁰ [Ibid. p. 321. *Μὴ πρόσεχε οὖν ὡς ψιλοῖς τῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ : σῶμα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, κατὰ τὴν δεσποτικὴν τυγχάνει ἀπόφασιν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ αἰσθησις σοι τοῦτο ὑποβάλλει, ἀλλὰ ἡ πίστις σε βεβαιούτω. μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς γεύσεως κρίνης τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως πληροφοροῦ ἀνευδοιάστως, σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ καταξιώθεις.]*

⁸¹ [Ibid. p. 322. *Ταῦτα μαθὼν καὶ πληροφορηθῆς ὡς ὁ φαινόμενος ἄρτος οὐκ ἄρτος ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ τῆ*

saith : *Panis eucharistiæ, post invocationem Sancti Spiritus, non amplius est panis nudus et simplex, sed corpus*, &c. : "The bread of the sacrament, after prayer made to the Holy Ghost, is not bare and simple bread, but the body of Christ⁸²."

Now, sith that, by this doctor's plain declaration of the catholic faith in this point, we ought to believe, and to be verily assured, that the bread is no more bread after consecration, but the very body of Christ, and the wine no more wine, but his precious blood, though they seem to the eye otherwise, though taste and feeling judge otherwise, and, to be short, though all senses report the contrary, and all this upon warrant of our Lord's word, who said these to be his body and blood: and that, as he teacheth, not in the bread and wine: and further, sith we are taught by a Eusebius Emisenus, in Homilies of Easter, to believe *terrena commutari et transire*, "the earthly things to be changed, and to pass:" again, *creaturas converti in substantiam corporis Christi*, "the creatures of bread and wine to be turned into the substance of our Lord's body and blood," which is the very transubstantiation: and sith^b Chrysostom saith, *Panem absumi*, "that the bread is consumed away by the substance of Christ's body:"^c and Damascen, Bread and wine *transmutari supernaturaliter*, "to be changed above the course of nature:" and Theophylact, The bread^d *transelementari in carnem Domini*, "to be quite turned by changing of the elements;" that is, the matter of substance it consisteth of into the flesh of our Lord⁸³: and that in another place, *ineffabili operatione transformari, etiamsi panis nobis videatur*, "that the bread is transformed and changed into another substantial form," (he meaneth that of our Lord's body,) "by unspeakable working, though it seem to be bread:" finally, sith that the Greek doctors of late age affirm the same doctrine, among whom^e Samona⁸⁴ useth for persuasion of it the similitude which Gregory Nyssen and Damascen, for declaration of the same, used before: which is, that in consecration such manner transubstantiation is made as is the conversion of the bread in nourishing, in which it is turned into the substance

a Newly set abroad and justly suspected.
b In comparison of Christ's body, that is represented, the bread is nothing.
c Such a supernatural change there is in the water of baptism, and in all sacraments.
d Even so Theophylact saith, *Nos transelementamur in Christum*.
e These four, Samona, Methonensis, Cabasilas, and Marcus Ephesius, are late writers, void of credit, yet all enemies to transubstantiation.

γεύσει αισθητός, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ· καὶ ὁ φαινόμενος οἶνος οὐκ οἶνός ἐστιν, εἰ καὶ ἡ γεύσις τοῦτο βούλεται, ἀλλὰ αἶμα Χριστοῦ· καὶ ὅτι περὶ τούτου ἔλεγε πάλαι ὁ Δαβὶδ ψάλλων, Καὶ ἄρτος καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου στηρίζει. . . στηρίζου τὴν καρδίαν, μεταλαμβάνων αὐτοῦ ὡς πνευματικοῦ. See infra, p. 110, where Jewel supports his charge against Harding, as having corrupted this passage of St. Cyrill.

⁸² [Cyrill. Hierosolym. Catech. 21. (Myst. 3.) See this passage

printed below, p. 103. note⁸⁶.]

⁸³ [Theophyl. in Marc. . . . εἰς δύναμιν δὲ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος μεταστοιχειοί. Idem in Matt. xxvi. ἀρρῆτῳ γὰρ ἐνεργείᾳ μεταποιεῖται, κὰν φαίνεται ἡμῖν ἄρτος.]

⁸⁴ [The treatises on the Liturgy severally assignable to these authors, Samona, Nicolaus Cabasilas, Methonensis, and Marcus Ephesinus, are printed together in De Sancte's ed. of the Liturgies, Paris, 1560.]

Lib. 4. de Orthodoxa Fide, cap. 14. [cap. 13. tom. i. p. 270.]

Theophyl. in Mar. 14. [p. 192.]

In Matth. 26. [p. 116.]

of the nourished : Methonensis, like St. Ambrose, would not men in this matter to look for the order of nature, seeing that Christ was born of a Virgin beside all order of nature, and saith that our Lord's body in this sacrament is received under the form or shape of another thing, lest blood should cause it to be horrible : Nicolaus Cabasilas saith, that this bread is no more a figure of our Lord's body, neither a gift bearing an image of the true gift, nor bearing any description of the passions of our Saviour himself, as it were in a table, but the true gift itself, the most holy body of our Lord itself, which hath truly received reproaches, contumelies, stripes, which was crucified, which was killed : Marcus Ephesius, though otherwise to be rejected, as he that obstinately resisted the determination of the council of Florence concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost out of the Son, yet a sufficient witness of the Greek church's faith in this point, affirming the things offered to be called of St. Basil *antitypa*, that is, the samplers and figures of our Lord's body, because they be not yet perfectly consecrated, but as yet bearing the figure and image, referreth the change or transubstantiation of them to the Holy Ghost, *Donec Spiritus Sanctus adveniat, qui ea mutet* : "These gifts offered," saith he, "be of St. Basil called figures, until the Holy Ghost come upon them to change them." Whereby he sheweth the faith of the Greek church, that through the Holy Ghost in consecration the bread and wine are so changed, as they may no more be called figures, but the very body and blood of our Lord itself, as into the same changed by the coming of the Holy Ghost. Which change is a change in substance, and therefore it may rightly be termed transubstantiation, which is nothing else but a turning or changing of one substance into another substance.

This Marcus Ephesius wilfully depraveth St. Basil's words.

Two sorts of consecration: the one perfect, the other imperfect.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus is an old author newly set forth. I will not call his credit into question, notwithstanding many of his considerations be very much like to M. Harding's judgment in this Article ; that is to say, like *accidens sine subjecto* : "a show of words without substance." He seemeth both in words and sense fully to agree with Chrysostom, Œcumenius, and other Greek fathers, that never understood this M. Harding's new religion. He shutteth up the hearers' bodily eyes, where-with they see the bread and wine, and borroweth only the inner eyes of their minds, wherewith they may see the very body and blood of Christ, which is that bread that

came from heaven. And herein, notwithstanding his words be quick and violent, the more to stir and inflame the hearts of them unto whom he speaketh, yet he himself in plainest wise openeth and cleareth his own meaning. For thus he writeth: *Ne consideres, tanquam panem nudum: (.....panis eucharistiæ.....non est amplius panis simplex et nudus.....:)* "Consider it not as if it were bare bread: (the bread of the sacrament is no longer bare and simple bread⁸⁵.)" Which words are naturally resolved thus: "It is bread; howbeit not only bare bread, but bread and some other thing else beside." So, where they of M. Harding's side are wont to say, *Papa non est purus homo:* "The pope is not a bare man," I trow, their meaning is not, that the pope is no man, but only, that he is a man, and yet besides that hath another capacity, above the condition and state of common men. Of these words of Cyrillus we may well reason thus by the way: "The sacrament is not only, or bare bread; therefore it is bread, albeit not only bare bread." And thus the same Cyrillus, that is brought to testify that there remaineth no bread in the sacrament, testifieth most plainly to the contrary, that there is bread remaining in the sacrament.

And although this answer of itself might seem sufficient, yet, good Christian reader, for thy better satisfaction I pray thee further to understand, that, as this Cyrillus speaketh here of the sacrament of our Lord's body and blood, even so, and in like phrase and form of words, he speaketh of the oil that they call holy, of the water of baptism, and of other ceremonies. Of the oil he writeth

⁸⁵ [Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. 22. (Mystagog. 4. p. 321.) *Μὴ πρόσεχε ὄν ὡς ψιλοῖς τῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ· σῶμα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ κ. τ. λ.* See note ⁸⁰, supra, p. 99.) The words between brackets ("panis eucharistiæ, &c.—nudus") are not found in the same Catechesis, but occur in Catech. Myst. 3. pp. 316, 317, in a passage, (quoted by Harding, p. 100,) of

which the original is printed, infra, p. 103, note ⁸⁰. Jewel has inadvertently subjoined, as in one context, the words which he considered an illustration of St. Cyrill's meaning in the passage immediately before him. Bishop Cosin (History of Popish Transubstantiation, ch. 6. 14.) takes the same view as Jewel of St. Cyrill's words.]

thus, and further by the same expoundeth his meaning touching the sacrament: *Vide, ne illud putes esse unguentum tantum. Quemadmodum enim panis eucharistiæ, post Sancti Spiritus invocationem, non amplius est panis communis, sed corpus Christi: sic et sanctum hoc unguentum, non amplius est unguentum nudum, neque commune, sed est charisma Christi*: “Beware thou think not this to be oil only; for as the bread of the sacrament, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is no longer common bread, but the body of Christ, so this holy oil is no longer bare or common oil, but it is the grace of Christ ⁸⁶.” By these words there appeareth like change in the one as in the other. As the oil is the grace of Christ, so is the bread the body of Christ; and as the nature and substance of the oil remaineth still, although it be not bare or common oil, so the nature or substance of the bread remaineth still, although it be not common or bare bread.

In like sort he writeth of the water of baptism: *Non tanquam aquæ simplici studeas huic lavacro:.....ne aquæ simplicitati mentem adhibeas*: “Behold not this bath as simple water; consider not the simplicity of the water ⁸⁷.” Of these conferences of places we may well gather thus: The water in the holy mystery of baptism, notwithstanding it be not bare and common water, yet nevertheless continueth still in the nature and substance of very water: so likewise the bread in the holy mystery of Christ’s body, notwithstanding it be not bare and common bread, yet nevertheless in nature and substance is bread still. But Cyrillus saith, It is no bread, it is no wine, notwithstanding it appear so unto the senses: Chrysostom saith, The sub-

⁸⁶ [Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. 21. (Mystagog. 3. p. 316.) Ἄλλ’ ὄρα μὴ ὑποπόησιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ· οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο μύρον οὐκ ἔτι ψιλὸν, οὐδ’ ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις κοινὸν

μετ’ ἐπίκλησιν, ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου.... Harding had quoted as much of this passage as served his purpose, supra, p. 100.]

⁸⁷ [Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. 3. p. 40. Μὴ ὡς ὕδατι λιτῷ πρόσσεχε τῷ λουτρῷ.... p. 41. μὴ τῷ ψιλῷ τοῦ ὕδατος πρόσσεχε....]

Cyrillus in Catechesi Mystagogica tertia. [p. 316.]

Cyrillus in Catechesi Illuminandum 3. [pp. 40, 41.]

stance of bread is consumed: Emissenus saith, It is turned into the substance of Christ's body: and Damascenus and Theophylactus, later writers of no great credit, avouch the same.'

It is plain that both Cyrillus and all other old learned fathers labour evermore, with all vehemency and force of words, to sequester and pull their hearers from the judgment of their senses, to behold that bread that giveth life unto the world; and therefore he calleth it spiritual bread: and of Christ's blood he saith thus: *Bibe vinum in corde tuo, spirituale scilicet vinum*: "Drink that wine" (not with thy bodily mouth, but) "in thy heart: I mean that spiritual wine⁸⁸." Again, he sheweth wherefore the Jews were offended with Christ, and openeth the very cause of the grossness of their error: *Judæi, non audientes verba Christi secundum Spiritum, scandalizati abierunt retro, eo quod existimarent sese ad (humanarum) carnium esum incitari*: "The Jews, not hearing Christ's word according to the Spirit, were offended, and went from him, for that they thought they were encouraged to eat man's flesh⁸⁹."

Again he saith, *Gustate, et videte, quod suavis est Dominus. Num hoc corporeo palato, ut istud dijudicetis, vobis præcipitur? Nequaquam, sed potius certa fide*: "Taste, and see, that the Lord is delectable. What, are you commanded to judge this with your bodily mouth? No, not so, but with undoubted faith⁹⁰."

In this sense the water in baptism giveth place to the blood of Christ, and of itself seemeth nothing; likewise the bread in the sacrament of Christ's body giveth place

Catechesis
Mystag. 4.
[p. 322.]

Catechesis
Mystag. 4.
[p. 321.]

In Catechesi
Mystag. 5.
[p. 331.]

The translator hath turned it, *Quod Christus est Dominus*; being, as I judge, deceived by the likeness of those two words, *χρηστὸς* and *Χριστός*.

⁸⁸ [Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. 22. (Mystag. 4.) p. 322. Δεῦρο, φάγε ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ τὸν ἄρτον σου (τὸν πνευματικὸν ἄρτον. . .) Καὶ πίε τὸν οἶνον σου ἐν καρδίᾳ ἀγαθῇ, τὸν πνευματικὸν οἶνον.]

⁸⁹ [Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. 22. (Mystagog. 4.) p. 321. ἐκείνοι, μὴ ἀκηκόοτες πνευματικῶς τῶν λεγομένων, σκανδαλισθέντες ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, νομίζοντες, ὅτι ἐπὶ σαρ-

κοφαγίαν αὐτοὺς προτρέπεται.]

⁹⁰ [Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. 23. (Mystagog. 5.) p. 331. Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος. Μὴ τῷ λάρυγγι τῷ σωματικῷ ἐπιτρέπητε τὸ κριτικόν· οὐχί, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀνευδοιάστῳ πίστει. γενόμενοι γὰρ, οὐκ ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον κελεύονται γεύσασθαι· ἀλλὰ ἀντιτύπου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.]

to the body of Christ, and in respect thereof is utterly nothing. Which thing concerning the water of baptism Paulinus seemeth to express thus :

Fonsque novus renovans hominem : quia suscipit, et dat [Paulinus de Felice Natal. 10. tom. ii. p. 164.]
Munus : sive magis quod desinit esse per usum,
Tradere divino mortalibus incipit usu.

Likewise Chrysostom : *Non erit aqua potationis, sed sanctificationis* : “ It shall not be water to drink,” (as it was before,) “ but water of sanctification⁹¹,” (as before it was not.) This is the very substance of the sacraments : in respect whereof the corruptible elements of bread, wine, and water are consumed, and taken for nothing.

This thing Chrysostom expresseth notably to the eye by this example : *Lanæ cum tinguntur, naturæ suæ nomen amittunt, et tincturæ nomen accipiunt, et non ultra vocas lanam, sed, vel purpuram, vel coccinum, vel prasinum, &c. :* [Chrysost. de Fide et Lege. l. 828.]
 “ Wool, when it is dyed, loseth the name of his own nature, and taketh the name of the colour. Thou callest it no longer wool, but purple, or scarlet, or green⁹²,” &c. Notwithstanding, the very substance of wool remaineth still.

And so Pachymeres saith, “ The holy oil is no longer called oil, but it is turned into Christ.” His words be plain : *Oleum enim est Christus* : “ For the oil is Christ.” [Pachymeres in Diony. de Ecclesiast. Hierar. cap. 4. [p. 160.] μύρον γὰρ ὁ Χριστός.]
 Not meaning thereby that the oil is no oil, but only, that in respect of Christ, that thereby is signified, the oil is consumed, and appeareth nothing. So Paulus, that famous learned lawyer, saith,.....*Res una per prævalentiam trahit aliam*.....“ One thing by force of greater weight draweth another with it.” [ff. [lib. 6. tom. i.] De rei Vendicatione. In rem. Paulus.]

Thus therefore saith Cyrillus, “ The bread that we see is now not bread, but Christ’s body ; and the wine that we see is now not wine, but Christ’s blood.” As if he should say, These elements or creatures are not so much the things that they be indeed, as the things that they

⁹¹ [There is no Homil. in Psal. 22. in the Greek ed. of St. Chrysostom’s works.]

⁹² [Chrysost. de Fide et Lege : a spurious work, and placed by the Bened. in the Appendix.]

represent. For so St. Augustine saith generally of all sacraments, as it hath been alleged once or twice before, "In sacraments we may not consider what they be indeed, but what they signify." And to the same end St. Ambrose saith, *Magis videtur, quod non videtur*: "It is better seen, that is not seen." And all this is wrought, both in the mystery of baptism, and also in the mystery of Christ's body, not by the work or force of nature, but by the omnipotent power of the Spirit of God, and by the warrant of Christ's word.

Thus Emissenus, thus Damascen, thus Theophylact say, the bread is changed into the substance of Christ's body:

I mean even so as the same Theophylact saith, "We ourselves are transelemented" (and transubstantiate) "into the body of Christ⁹³." For thus he imagineth Christ to say, *Miscetur mihi, et transelementatur in me*. And in like sort Chrysostom, speaking of the corruption and renewing of the world, saith thus: *Opus erat quasi reelementationem quandam fieri*: "It was needful that the elements were" (transubstantiate, or) "made new." So St. Peter saith, *Efficimur consortes divinæ naturæ*: "We are made partakers of the divine nature." And a heathen writer saith, *Homo transit in naturam Dei.....*: "A man is turned into the nature of God."

All these and other like phrases of speech must be qualified with a sober and a discreet construction; otherwise, according to the simple tenor of the words, they cannot stand. Therefore St. Chrysostom, entreating of the exposition of the scriptures, saith thus: *Divina opus est gratia, ne nudis verbis insistamus. Nam ita hæretici in errorem incidunt, neque sententiam, neque auditoris habitum inquirentes. Nisi enim tempora, locos, auditorem, et alia hujusmodi consideremus, multa sequentur absurda*: "We have need of God's heavenly grace, that we stand not upon the bare words; for so heretics fall into error, never

August. contra Maximin. lib. iii. [viii. 725.]

Ambros. de iis qui initiantur Mysteriis, cap. 3. [iii. 323.]

Theophylact. in 6 cap. Johan. [p. 447.]

Chrysostom. in Genes. hom. 25. [iv. 239.]

2 Pet. 1. 4.

Mercurius Trismegistus in Æsculapio.

Chrysostom. in Johan. hom. 39. [viii. 236.]

⁹³ [Theophyl. in 6 Johan. vv. 56. 58.... οὕτω καὶ ὁ πρῶτων με ζήσεται δι' ἐμὲ ἀνακρινόμενος, ὡς περ καὶ μεταστοιχείούμενος εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν ζωογονεῖν ἰσχύοντα.]

considering neither the mind" (of the speaker) "nor the disposition of the hearer. Unless we weigh the times, the places, the hearers, and other like circumstances, many inconveniences must needs follow⁹⁴." Verily Bertramus, an ancient writer, saith: *Ipse, qui nunc in ecclesia, &c.* "He that now in the church by his omnipotent power spiritually turneth the bread and the wine into the flesh and blood of his body, the same invisibly made his body of the manna that came from heaven; and of the water, that flowed from the rock, invisibly he made his own blood." Thus, as the fathers say, manna was made Christ's body, or the water in the wilderness was made his blood; even so they say, the bread and wine are likewise made Christ's body and blood.

Bertram. de
Sacramen.
Eucha. [sect.
25.]

Now, that it may thoroughly appear, even unto the simple, what the godly fathers meant by such extraordinary use of speech, it shall not be from the purpose to report certain words of Gregorius Nyssenus touching the same, and that in such order as they are written. Thus therefore he saith: *Nam et hoc altare, &c.*: "This altar whereat we stand is by nature a common stone, nothing differing from other stones, whereof our walls be built and our pavements laid; but after that it is once dedicate to the honour of God, and hath received blessing, it is a holy table, and an undefiled altar, afterward not to be touched of all men, but only of the priests, and that with reverence. Likewise the bread, that first was common, after that the mystery hath hallowed it, is both called, and is, Christ's body; likewise also the wine, Christ's blood. And whereas before they were things of small value, after the blessing, that cometh from the Holy Ghost, either of them both worketh mightily. The like power also maketh the priest to be reverend and honourable, being by mean of a new bene-

Gregor. Nys-
sen. de Sanc-
to Baptism.
[iii. 369. D.]

⁹⁴ [Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. 39. [40.] Πολλῆς ἡμῖν δεῖ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐναπομείνωμεν φιλοῖς. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ αἰρετικοὶ πλανῶνται, ὅτι μῆτε τὸν

σκοπὸν ἐξετάζουσι τοῦ λόγοντος, μῆτε τὴν ἔξιν τῶν ἀκούοντων. ἂν οὖν μὴ ταῦτα προσθῶμεν, καὶ ἕτερα δέ οἷον καιροῦς, καὶ τόπους, καὶ γνώμην ἀκροατοῦ, πολλὰ ἔψεται τὰ ἄτοπα.]

diction divided from the common sort of the people⁹⁵." Hereby we see, as the altar, which in some places, both for steadiness and continuance, was made of stone, was changed from the former state, and yet remained stone still; and as the priest or bishop was changed from that he was before, and yet remained in substance one man still: so by the judgment of this ancient father, the bread and wine are changed into Christ's body and blood, and yet remain bread and wine in nature still.

And forasmuch as M. Harding, to make good and to maintain this his new error, hath here alleged together nine doctors of the Greek church as subscribing and well agreeing thereto, understand thou, good Christian reader, for the better information and direction of thy judgment, that the Grecians never consented to the same, from the first preaching of the gospel there until this day, as it is easy to be seen in the last action of the general council holden at Florence. And Duns himself, having occasion to entreat hereof, writeth thus: *Ad hanc sententiam principaliter videtur movere, quod de sacramentis tenendum est, sicut tenet sancta Romana ecclesia. Ipsa autem tenet, panem transubstantiari in corpus, et vinum in sanguinem:* "To this determination this thing seemeth specially to lead, that we must hold of the sacraments as the holy church of Rome holdeth," &c. For confirmation hereof he allegeth, not the Greek church, as knowing it had evermore holden the contrary, but only the particular determination of the church of Rome, concluded first in the

Concil. Florent. Sessione ultima. [xxxl. 1004, 1005.]

Jo. Scotus in 4. senten. dist. 11. [qu. 3.]

⁹⁵ [Gregor. Nyssen. in Baptism. Christi. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἅγιον, ᾧ παρεστήκαμεν, λίθος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν κοινός, οὐδὲν διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων πλακῶν, αἱ τοὺς τοίχους ἡμῶν οἰκοδομοῦσι, καὶ καλλωπίζουσι τὰ ἐδάφη· ἐπειδὴν δὲ καθιερώθη τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐδέξατο, ἔστι τράπεζα ἅγια, θυσιαστήριον ἀχραντων, οὐκέτι παρὰ πάντων ψηλαφώμενον, ἀλλὰ μόνον τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ τούτων εὐλαβουμένων· ὁ ἄρτος πάλιν

ἄρτος ἐστὶ τῆς κοινότητος· ἀλλ' ὅταν αὐτὸν τὸ μυστήριον ἱερουργήσῃ, σῶμα Χριστοῦ λέγεται τε καὶ γίνεται· οὕτως τὸ μυστικὸν ἔλαιον, οὕτως ὁ οἶνος, ὀλίγου τινὸς ἄξια ὄντα πρὸ τῆς εὐλογίας· μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμόν τὸν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖ διαφόρως· ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦ λόγου δύναμις καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ποιεῖ σεμνὸν καὶ τίμιον, τῇ καινότητι τῆς εὐλογίας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς κοινότητος χωριζόμενον.]

council of Lateran, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and fifteen, and never before.

And Isidorus, the bishop of Russia, for that after his return home from the council of Florence, he began to practise both for unity herein, and also in all other causes, to be concluded between his churches and the church of Rome, was therefore deposed from his office, and utterly forsaken of all his clergy: so well they liked this new device of transubstantiation.

M. Harding will reply, Cyrillus saith, ἐν τῷ φ ἄρτου, which he expoundeth, *in specie vel figura panis*: "in the form or figure of bread." And this, as he imagineth, is as much as accidents without subject. What manner consideration leadeth him hereto, I cannot tell; but it is most certain that by this very way the old heretics were led into their errors. Marcion the heretic held that Christ appeared not in the very natural body of a man, but only in a phantasy or show of a man's body; and to prove the same, he used M. Harding's reason: for it is written, said he, *In similitudinem hominum factus est, et figura inventus ut homo*: "He was made after the likeness of men, and found in figure" (which M. Harding expoundeth, in shows and accidents) "as a man." And St. Ambrose saith, *Nec sibi blandiatur virus Apollinare, quia ita legitur, Et specie inventus, ut homo*: "Let not that heretic Apollinarius flatter himself, for that it is thus written, 'He was found in figure and form as a man.'" Here we see M. Harding is driven to fight with old heretics' weapons; otherwise his friends would not judge him catholic. St. Ambrose saith, Christ appeared *in figura humana*: "in the figure of a man." Origen saith, *Christus est expressa imago et figura Patris*: "Christ is the express image and figure of his Father."

Again, St. Ambrose saith, *Gravior est ferri species, quam aquarum natura*: "The form of iron is heavier than the nature of the water." And Gregory Nyssen saith, *Sacerdos quod ad speciem externam attinet, idem est qui fuit*: "The priest, as touching his appearance or outward form, is the

Concilium
Lateranen.
sub Innocen.
III. an. 1215.
[xxii. 981,
982.]

*Romanus
Patritius in
historia de
Novo Orbe.*

Philipp. II.
7, 8.

Ambros. lib.
7. Epist. 48.
[ii. 986.]

† Ambros. ad
Colossen. i.
[ii. App. 264.]

Origen.
περὶ ἀρχῶν,
lib. i. cap. 2.
[i. 56.]

Ambros. de
his, qui intitl-
antur Myste-
riis, cap. 9.
[ii. 339.]

Gregorius
Nyssen. de
Sancto Bap-
tismate. [iii.
370 D.]

same that he was before ⁹⁶." And will M. Harding gather hereof, that Christ, or a piece of iron, or a priest, is nothing else but an accident, or a show without substance?

Besides all this, M. Harding is fain to falsify Cyrillus, his own doctor, and to allege his words otherwise than he found them. For, whereas in the common Latin translation it is written thus: *Sciens, panem hunc, qui videtur a nobis, non esse panem, etiamsi gustus panem esse sentiat*: "Knowing that this bread, that is seen of us, is no bread, albeit our taste do perceive it to be bread ⁹⁷:" M. Harding hath chosen rather to turn it thus: *Cum scias, qui videtur esse panis, non esse, sed corpus Christi*: "Knowing that the thing that seemeth to be bread is no bread, but the body of Christ." Wherein he hath both skipped over one whole clause, and also corrupted the words and meaning of his author. For Cyrillus saith, "With our outward eyes we see bread." M. Harding saith, "It appeareth or seemeth only to be bread." Cyrillus saith, "Our taste perceiveth" (or knoweth) "it to be bread." This clause M. Harding hath left out, both in his Latin translation and also in the English. But speaking of the cup, he turneth it thus: "Albeit the sense make that account of it." Corrupt doctrine must needs hold by corruption; for it is certain Cyrillus meant thus: "That as we have two sorts of eyes, corporal of the body, and spiritual of the mind, so in the sacraments we have two sundry things to behold: with our bodily eyes, the material bread; with our spiritual eyes, the very body of Christ." And thus the words of Cyril agree directly with these words of St. Augustine: *Quod videtis, panis est; quod etiam oculi vestri renuntiant. Quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi*: "The thing that you see, is bread; which thing your eyes do testify. But touching that your faith

M. Harding of purpose falsifieth and corrupteth the old fathers.

August. in Sermone ad Infantes. [v. 1103, 1104.]

⁹⁶ [Greg. Nyssen. p. 370. Καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὁς ἦν, ἀοράτω τινὲ δυνάμει ταῦτα ποιεῖ (ὁ ἱερεὺς), μηδὲν τοῦ σώματος ἢ τῆς μορφῆς ἀμφιθεῖς. ἀλλ' ὑπάρχων κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ χάριτι τὴν ἀόρατον ψυχὴν μεταμορφωθεῖς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον.]

⁹⁷ [Supra, vol. iii. p. 99. note ⁸¹.]

would be instructed of, the bread is Christ's body," in such sort and sense as is said before.

Samona, Methonensis, and Cabasilas are very young to be alleged, or allowed for doctors. As for Marcus Ephesius, he seemeth well to brook his name; for his talk runneth altogether *ad Ephesios*⁹⁸. For whereas St. Basil in his Liturgy, after the words of consecration, calleth the sacrament *ἀντίτυπον*, that is to say, a token or a sign of Christ's body, this doctor Marcus imagineth of himself that St. Basil speaketh thus of the bread, before it be consecrate. A very child would not so childishly have guessed at his author's meaning. Yet M. Harding herein seemeth not much to dislike his judgment; howbeit he knoweth that the bread, before consecration, is neither sacrament nor sign of Christ's body, no more than any other common baker's bread. Otherwise it should be a sign, and signify nothing; and a sacrament, before it were consecrate and made a sacrament.

Yet D. Stephen Gardiner seemeth to consider better, and more advisedly of the matter; for he thinketh it likely that Basil's Liturgy was disordered, and that set behind that should have been before; and that one ignorant simple scribe corrupted all those books throughout the whole world. M. Harding saith, St. Basil calleth the bread *ἀντίτυπον*, a sign or token, before it be perfectly consecrate; as if there were two sorts of consecration, the one perfect, the other unperfect. And yet he knoweth it is commonly holden in the schools, that the very beginning and end of consecration is wrought, not by degrees, but in an instant. Thus consecration is no consecration; no sacrament is a sacrament; that is a sign, is no sign; that is no sign, is a sign; books be corrupted and disordered; that cometh after, that should go before; and that is before, that should come after. And yet all these shifts will scarcely serve to help out a common error.

M. HARDING: *Seventh Division.*

Sith for this point of our religion we have so good authority,

⁹⁸ [This is perhaps an allusion 19. to apply ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσαφή τινα to the proverb ἐφέσια γράμματα; λαλούντων, καὶ δύσπαρακολούθητα.] explained by Eustathius in Odys.

[Liturg. Basil. Gr. p. 58.]

Steph. Gardiner [M. A. Constantius] ad Object. 185.

The 18th untruth. For this infallible faith was unknown to the primitive church, and openly refused of the Greek church in the council of Florence.

(181) and being assured of the infallible faith of the church, declared by the testimonies of these worthy fathers of divers ages and quarters of the world, we may well say with the same church against M. Jewel, that in this sacrament, after consecration, there remaineth nothing of that which was before, but only the accidents and shows, without the substance of bread and wine.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The certainty of this Article resteth only upon the most uncertain ground of transubstantiation; the determination whereof, for so much as it is not much more than three hundred years old, nor necessarily gathered of the force of God's word, as Duns himself confesseth, nor ever any where received, saving only in the church of Rome, therefore is neither so infallible as M. Harding maketh it, nor so ancient, nor so catholic.

Time will not suffer me to say so much as might be said to the contrary. St. Paul acknowledgeth very bread remaining still in the sacrament, and that such bread as may be divided and broken; which words cannot without blasphemy be spoken of the body of Christ itself, but only of very material bread. Christ likewise, after consecration, acknowledgeth the remaining of very wine, and that such wine as is pressed of the grape; for thus he saith, "I will drink no more of this generation of the vine." Chrysostom saith: *In similitudinem corporis et sanguinis, Christus nobis panem et vinum, secundum ordinem Melchisedech ostendit in sacramento*: "Christ shewed us" (not accidents or qualities, but) "bread and wine in the sacrament, according to the order of Melchisedech, as a likeness or figure of his body and blood"⁹⁸. Again he saith: *Christus quando hoc mysterium tradidit, vinum tradidit. Non bibam, inquit, ex hac generatione vitis. Quæ certe vinum producit, non aquam*: "Christ, when he delivered this mystery, delivered" (not shows or accidents, but) "wine. Christ saith," (after consecration,) "I will no more drink of this generation of the vine. Doubtless the vine bringeth forth

⁹⁸ [Chrysost. in Psalm. 22. This is found in the Latin edition of sermon is omitted in the Ben. 1588.]
edition of St. Chrysostom, but it

wine, and not water." Cyrillus saith, *Christus credentibus discipulis fragmenta panis dedit*: "Christ gave to his faithful disciples fragments or pieces of bread"⁹⁹. I pass by St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, Gelasius, Theodoretus, and other ancient holy fathers, according unto whose most plain words and authorities, if there be bread remaining in the sacrament, then is there somewhat else besides accidents. What M. Harding may say, that saith so much, it is easy to see; but that shows and accidents hang empty without the substance of bread and wine, none of the old fathers ever said.

Cyrillus in
Johan. lib. 4.
c. 14. [iv.
360.]

M. HARDING: *Eighth Division.*

And this is a matter to a Christian man not hard to believe. For if it please God the Almighty Creator, in the condition and state of things thus to ordain that substances created bear and sustain accidents, why may not he by his almighty power conserve and keep also accidents without substance, sith that the very heathen philosophers repute it for an absurdity to say, *Primam causam non posse id prestare solam, quod possit cum secunda*: that is to say, "that the first cause" (whereby they understand God) "cannot do that alone, which he can do with the second cause," whereby they mean a creature?

God's omni-
potent power
to bear up
accidents.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Cicero saith, "A simple poet, when he cannot tell how to shift his matters, imagineth some god suddenly to come in place a little to astone the people: and there an end." So M. Harding, finding himself much encumbered with his accidents, is fain to bring in God with his whole omnipotent power to hold them up. Children in the schools are taught to know, that an accident hath no being without a subject; which rule, being otherwise evermore true, hath exception, as M. Harding saith, only in this sacrament, wherein be the accidents and shows of bread and wine, and yet no subject. For they are not in the bread, because (as he saith) that is gone; nor in the air, for that cannot be seen; nor in Christ's body, for that is not round, &c. So there is a white thing, yet nothing is white; and

⁹⁹ [See vol. i. 242. note 76.]

a round thing, yet nothing is round. Therefore, forasmuch as these accidents neither are able to stand alone, nor have any subject there to rest in, for that cause, M. Harding saith, they be sustained by the power of God.

One saith, *Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus inciderit*: "Never bring forth any god in a tragedy, to play a part, unless it be upon some occasion of great matter, meet for a god to take in hand." St. Paul saith, *Deus portat omnia verbo virtutis suæ*: "God beareth all things by the word of his power." And the heathen poets imagine that Atlas holdeth up the heavens. But for God the Creator, and Cause of all causes, to come from heaven to hold up accidents, it seemeth a very simple service.

M. Harding's reason standeth thus:

God is omnipotent:

Ergo, Accidents in the sacrament stand without subject.

M. HARDING: *Ninth Division.*

And that this being of accidents without substance or subject in this sacrament, under which, the bread not remaining, the body of Christ is present, may the rather be believed: it is to be considered, that this thing took place at the first creation of the world, after the opinion of some doctors: who do affirm, that that first light, which was at the beginning until the fourth day, (182) was not in any subject, but sustained by the power of God, as him liked. For that first light and the sun were as whiteness, and a body whited, saith St. Basil. Neither then was Wickliffe yet born, who might teach them that the power of God cannot put an accident without a subject. For so he saith in his book *De Apostasia*, cap. 5, as Cochlæus reporteth. Hereof it appeareth out of what root the gospellers of our country spring; who, smatching of the sap of that wicked tree, and hereby shewing their kind, appoint bounds and borders to the power of God, that is infinite and incomprehensible. And thus by those fathers we may conclude, that if God can sustain and keep accidents with substance, he can so do without substance.

The 182nd untruth. For St. Basil plainly saith the contrary.

Basilus Hexaameron, hom. 6. [i. 51 E.] Damas. lib. ii. c. 7. Paulus Burgensis Gen. i. Cochlæus lib. 2. Hist. Hussitarum.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It is great violence to force an ancient father to bear false witness, and specially against himself. This report of St. Basil's meaning is as true, as is that long peevish fable so often alleged under the name of Amphilochius,

that is to wit, a vain show without substance. And because M. Harding only nameth Damascene and Paulus Burgensis in his margin, as being afraid to touch their words, he may remember that Damascene saith, *Non aliud est ignis, quam lux, ut quidam aiunt*: “The fire is nothing else but the light, as some men say.” And Burgensis saith, *Quidam tradunt lucem fuisse nubem lucidam*: “Some men write, that the light was a bright cloud.” By these expositions it appeareth, that either the fire or the cloud was a subject to receive the light. Certainly neither Burgensis, nor Damascene, nor Basil ever said, that the light stood without a subject: therefore that note in the margin might well have been spared. But it is an easy matter with show of names to deceive the simple.

St. Basil saith, “The light was in the world before the sun was made.” Therefore it was, and had his being without the sun. His words stand thus: *Aliud quidem est, &c.*: “The brightness of the light is one thing, and the body subject unto the same” (that is, the sun) “is another thing.....And say not now unto me, It is impossible to divide these things asunder; for I say not that thou or I can possibly divide the body of the sun from the light. Yet notwithstanding, the things that we may part asunder, only by imagination, the same things God, the Creator of nature, is able to sunder verily and indeed.” Hereof M. Harding gathereth his reasons thus:

The light was not in the sun: *ergo*, it was in nothing.

It was not in the sun: *ergo*, it was not in the air.

It was not in the sun: *ergo*, it was an accident without a subject.

This error cometh of the equivocation or double taking of this word, “being in.” For one thing may be in another, as in an instrument; as the light is in a candle: which is the similitude that Basil useth. The same thing may be in another, as in a subject; as light in the air. This diversity considered, now let us weigh M. Harding’s reason:

The light (saith he) was not in the sun, as in an instru-

Damascen.
lib. 2. cap. 7.

Burgensis in
i. cap. Gen.
[ap. Nic.
Lyr. tom. i.
p. 44.]

Basil. in
Hexaemeron.
hom. 6. [l.
51 E.]

ment to carry it about the world: *ergo*, it was not in the air, as in a subject.

This argument seemeth very light. A man may easily and sensibly, with his fingers, feel the folly of it in the dark. Verily St. Basil's words to the contrary shine so clear, that I marvel M. Harding could not or would not see them; for thus he writeth before in the same book: Περιελάμπετο δὲ ἄηρ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐγκεκραμένον ἑαυτῷ ὅλον διόλου εἶχε τὸ φῶς: *Illustrabatur aer; vel potius lumen sibi totum, et in totum permistum habuit*: "The air was lightened; or rather it had the whole light wholly mingled with itself." Again he saith: "The world was invisible; because the air was without light." St. Basil saith: "The light was in the air, and that wholly through the whole," as in a subject. Yet M. Harding forceth St. Basil to say contrary to himself: The light was only an accident without subject, and was stayed in nothing. Now judge thou, good Christian reader, what credit thou mayest give to M. Harding's words in reporting of the ancient doctors.

But he saith: "God's power is infinite and incomprehensible: therefore he is able to sustain accidents." This error springeth of misunderstanding St. Basil's words; for whereas St. Basil writeth thus: Τότε οὐ κατὰ κίνησιν ἡλιακῆν, ἀλλὰ ἀναχομένου τοῦ πρωτογόνου φωτὸς ἐκείνου.....ἡμέρα ἐγένετο: *Dies tum fiebat, non per motum solarem, sed diffuso illo primigenio lumine*: "The day was made, not by the moving or passing of the sun, but by pouring abroad the first light:" it appeareth that, instead of ἀναχομένου, which is "poured abroad," M. Harding by error read ἀνεχομένου, which is "borne up," or "sustained." But he may not well maintain his accidents by shifting of words, or by misunderstanding or corrupting of his doctors.

That is here alleged of Wickliffe and of his offspring, as it sheweth much choler, so it maketh small proof. We know that God is omnipotent, and able not only to sustain accidents, but also to restore the dead from the grave, yea, although he be putrified within himself, and fight against

Basilus in
Hexaemer.
hom. 2. [1.
19. A.]

Ἡ οἰκουμένη
ἀόρατος, διὰ
τὸ ἀφώτισ-
τον εἶναι
τὸν...
αἴρα.
[1. 13. A.]
ὅλον διόλου.
[1. 19. A.]

[1. 20 B.]

the Spirit of God. But Tertullian saith : *Non, quia omnia potest facere, ideo credendum est, illum fecisse.....sed, an fecerit, requirendum* : “ We may not believe that God hath done all things, because he can do them ; but rather we must see whether he have done them or no.” For arguments taken of God’s omnipotent power were a ready buckler in old times, to serve Praxeas and Eutyches, and other like heretics.

Tertul. con-
tra Praxeam.
[c. 10. p.
505.]

OF DIVIDING THE SACRAMENT.

THE ELEVENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that the priest then divided the sacrament in three parts, and afterward received all himself alone.

M. HARDING: *First Division.*

Of the priest's receiving the sacrament himself alone, enough hath been said before. This term, "all," here smatcheth of spite. For if any devout person require to be partaker with the priest, being worthily disposed and examined, he is not turned off, but with all gentleness admitted. And in this case, the priest is not to be charged with receiving all alone. Albeit, respect had to the thing received, how many soever receive, it is all, of all, and all of every one received. Concerning the breaking of the sacrament, and the dividing of it in three parts: first, it is broken by the priest, that we may know our Lord *in fractione panis*, "in the breaking of the bread," as the two disciples acknowledged him, to whom Jesus appeared in the day of his resurrection, as they were going to Emmaus. And also that thereby the passion of Christ may be represented to our remembrance, at which his precious body was for our sins broken, rent, and torn on the cross. And this manner was used at the sacrifice in the apostles' time, as it is witnessed by Dionysius, St. Paul's scholar. *Oper-tum panem pontifex aperit*, (183) *in frusta concidens*, &c.: "The bishop," saith he, "openeth the covered bread, dividing it in pieces," &c. Luke xxiv. 35.

This mystical divinity should be avouched by some ancient doctor.

The 183rd untruth: standing in untrue translation.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I marvel M. Harding would so slenderly pass this matter over. for that it is thought to make much both against his transubstantiation, and also against his private mass, which are both keys and locks of his whole religion. For first of all, the breaking itself seemeth to argue, that there is very bread there remaining to be broken. And albeit, as it is reported by Petrus Lombardus, some held, that there is in the sacrament a very real breaking, notwithstanding there be nothing there to be broken: some, that the body of Christ itself is there broken, and that verily and indeed, without any help or shift of figure: and some, that there is nothing broken, but only the shows and accidents: and some others, that there is no manner breaking there at all, notwithstanding unto our eyes and senses there appear a breaking: yet the holy evangelists witness plainly: "That Christ took bread, and blessed it, and brake it:" and St. Paul saith: (not the accidents of bread, but) "The bread, that we break, is the participation of Christ's body." And in the primitive church, the very supper of Christ was commonly called "the breaking" (not of accidents, but) "of bread." And Cyrillus calleth the broken portions of the sacrament, *fragmenta panis*, "fragments, or pieces of bread."

Further, by this same ceremony, Gerardus Lorichius, one of M. Harding's doctors, proveth, that every mass ought to be common, and none private. For thus he writeth: *Dividitur hostia, ut non solum ipse sacerdos missæ officium faciens, sed et ministri quoque, imo omnis populus astans, participet*: "The host is broken, that, not only the priest that ministereth the mass, but also the deacons, yea and all the people standing by, may communicate." Likewise saith Durandus: *In primitiva, &c.*: "In the primitive church the priest received one portion, and the deacons another: and the third was ministered to all the people that was present." And therefore Dionysius saith, as M. Harding hath alleged him: *Pontifex opertum panem aperit, et in frusta concidit*: "The bishop uncovereth

Sent. 4. dist. 12.

Matt. xxvi. 26.

Lulke xxii. 19.

Mark xiv. 22.

1 Cor. x. 16.

Acts ii. 42.
Acts xx. 7.Cyrillus in
Johan. lib. 4.
cap. 14. [iv.
360.]Gerard Lori-
chius de
Missa pub-
lica pro-
ganda, lib.
3.Durand. lib.
4. [c. 56 et
54. 8. 3.]Dionys. Ec-
cles. Hierar.
cap. 3. [p.
157.]

the bread that stood covered, and cutteth it in pieces." Here note also by the way : Dionysius saith not, The bishop cutteth the shows or accidents, but the bread in pieces. I grant, this tradition was used in the apostles' time : but it is utterly broken and abolished in the church of Rome at this time : and therefore it standeth M. Harding in small stead : unless it be to shew the world, how boldly he and his church have broken the traditions and orders of the primitive church of God. Neither is there any manner mention in Dionysius, either of the breaking in three parts, or of any these mystical significations. Again, the words of Dionysius be otherwise than M. Harding reporteth them. For he saith not, *in frusta concidens* : "dividing it in pieces," (which perhaps M. Harding would have us to understand of three,) but, *in multa concidens* : "cutting it in many pieces¹." And to that use served a knife, which, as it appeareth by Chrysostom's Liturgy, or Communion, was called *sacra lancea*. For in such sort the bread was cut in pieces, not that one man might receive the whole, but that it might suffice the congregation. And therefore it is decreed in an epistle that beareth the name of Clement : "Let so many hosts or portions be provided, as may be sufficient for all the people."

εἰς πολλὰ
διελών.

Liturg. Chry-
sostom. [Gr.
p. 72.]

Clement.
epist. 2.
[Mansi, l.
125.]

This, I say, was the cause of this ceremony : and not, as M. Harding vainly guesseth, "to know our Lord in the breaking of bread."

M. HARDING : *Second Division.*

Now touching the dividing of the sacrament in three parts, it may appear to be a tradition of the apostles, or otherwise a custom very ancient, forasmuch as Sergius the bishop of Rome, who lived within fourscore years of the six hundred years after Christ, that M. Jewel referreth us unto, wrote of the mystery of that breaking or dividing the outward form of bread, and declared the signification of the same.

The mystery
of breaking
of accidents.

The fable of
Amphilo-
chius.

It is no small argument of the antiquity of this observation, that St. Basil, as Amphilocheus writeth of him, divided the sacrament in three parts at his mass, as is above rehearsed. And whereas Sergius saith, that the portion of the host, which is put

De Con. dist.
2. can. Tri-
forme.

¹ [P. Dionys. Eccl. Hierarch. Τὸν ἄρτον ἀνακλύψας, καὶ εἰς πολλὰ γὰρ ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον διελών, κ. τ. λ.]

into the chalice, betokeneth the body of Christ that is now risen again, and the portion, which is received and eaten, sheweth his body yet walking on the earth, and that other portion remaining on the altar signifieth his body in the sepulchre: what, I pray you, is there herein, that any man should be offended withal? I acknowledge that the mystery hereof is otherwise of some declared, and of all to this end, to put us in mind of the benefits purchased to us by Christ in his body.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding, of good policy, to win credit, fathereth all his mystical phantasies upon the apostles. Of Sergius the First it is written, that he devised the *Agnus Dei* to be sung, at the breaking and distribution of the mysteries: but of the breaking of the same in three parts, notwithstanding it be strongly avouched by M. Harding, yet of Sergius the First, there is written nothing. Indeed Gratian allegeth this decree in the name of Sergius the pope: but without date, or any manner further addition. And therefore it may as well be Sergius the Second, that was called *os porci*, or Sergius the Third, that took Formosus his predecessor, being dead, out of the grave, and beheaded him, and threw out his carcass into the Tiber. Therefore this matter, for aught that may appear, beareth small certainty.

Platina. [in Vita Sergii I.]

Urspergensis. [in ann. Dom. 687.]

De Con. dist. 2. Triforme.

But let us grant that Gratian meant Sergius the First: yet was he well near seven hundred years after Christ. Neither were it any great inconvenience to say: That, as he was able to devise these mystical significations, so he was also able to devise the number of parts, and manner of breaking. But what great mysteries there may be in this breaking of outward forms and accidents, that M. Harding imagineth, I leave unto himself to consider.

The fable of Amphilochius hath been six times alleged by M. Harding in this one book, to sundry purposes: and yet he himself knoweth, it is but a very peevish fable. Whoso listeth to know it further, may find it answered in the first Article, and in the thirty-third Division².

But whereas this Sergius saith: *Triforme est corpus*

² [Vol. i. p. 315, note 35.]

Domini: "The body of our Lord is of three forms:" whatsoever his meaning therein were, his speech is very strange, or rather monstrous. For the body of Christ is not of so many forms, but only one, and uniform. One of these portions, saith Sergius, signifieth Christ after his resurrection: the second, Christ walking in the earth: the third, Christ lying in his grave. All this, saith M. Harding, is holy and mystical.

Durand. lib.
4. cap. 53.
[al. 51. p.
376. ed. 1692.
Lugd.]

Howbeit, some there were, that liked not so greatly these imaginations: and therefore of themselves devised others. Some said: The first part signifieth the saints in heaven: the second, the faithful that be alive: the third, the souls in purgatory. Some say: These three parts signify the three states of Christ, mortal, dead, and immortal. Some: That they signify the three substantial parts of Christ, his godhead, his soul, and his body. Some others, That they signify the three persons in the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And I marvel there was none that could say, they signify the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Thus having utterly lost the very use of the breaking of the mysteries, they retain a bare ceremony thereof: and yet are so far out of knowledge of the same, that they cannot agree among themselves what to make of it: I mean, neither what they break, nor wherefore they break it. This Sergius disagreeeth from Bonaventura, from Durandus, and all others: yet he liketh M. Harding best of all.

"And what hurt," saith he, "is there herein? Or wherefore should any man herewith be offended?" Verily in the house of God, that thing is hurtful that doth no good. All the ceremonies of the church ought to be clear, and lively, and able to edify. And if this mystical ceremony be not hurtful, why then doth M. Harding himself break it: and that not of ignorance or oblivion, but wittingly, and willingly, and as often as he saith his mass? For Sergius saith: One of the three portions ought to be reserved upon the altar, until the mass be done: but M. Harding, contrary, both to Sergius, and also to his mystical significations, receiveth all the parts together, and

1 Cor. xiv.
26.

reserveth none, and that by the warrant of the Gloss in that place, which is quite contrary to the text. Why doth he thus dissemble, and so openly mock the world? If this ceremony be good, why doth he break it? if it be ill, why would he have us to keep it? The guess, that M. Harding useth herein, seemeth very simple: Pope Sergius devised these mystical meanings, seven hundred years after the apostles' time: *ergo*, this order of breaking came from the apostles.

De Con. dist.
2, Triforme.
In Glossa.

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

Now that this custom, or mystical ceremony, was not first ordained by Sergius, for aught that can be gathered, but of him expounded only touching the mystery of it, as used before his time, from the beginning of the church, no one ancient council or author found, upon whom it may be fathered, of good reason, sith it hath (184) generally been observed, we may refer the institution of it to the apostles: and that according to the mind of St. Augustine, whose notable saying for that behalf is this; *Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec in conciliis constitutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi autoritate apostolica traditum, reclusissime creditur*: "What," saith he, "the universal church keepeth, neither hath been ordained in councils, but hath always been observed; of good right we believe, it hath been delivered (to the church) as a tradition, by the authority of the apostles."

The 184th
untruth. For
it was never
generally
observed.

To conclude, if any spark of godliness remain in our deceived countrymen and brethren, they will not scorn and despise this ancient ceremony of dividing the sacrament in three parts at the blessed sacrifice of the mass, whereof any occasion of evil is not only not ministered, but rather contrariwise, whereby we are admonished and stirred to tender our own souls' health, and to render thanks to God, for the great benefit of our redemption.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

"There is no mention made, neither in old father nor in ancient council, of this manner of breaking of the sacrament: *ergo*," saith M. Harding, "it came first undoubtedly from the apostles." The contrary hereof were much more likely. For he might rather have said thus: "There is no mention made of it in any old father or council: therefore it came not from the apostles."

And whereas he saith: "It hath been every where universally observed;" it is a great untruth: as, God willing,

it shall appear. And therefore St. Augustine's rule serveth nothing to this purpose.

For first, as M. Harding is deceived in the manner of breaking, so is he also deceived in the quantity of the bread, imagining, it was a little thin round cake, such as of late hath been used in the church of Rome: "Which," Durandus saith, "must be round like a penny: either because Judas betrayed Christ for some like kind of coin: or, because it is written: *Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus*: 'The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.'" But indeed it was a great cake, so large, and so thick, that all the congregation might receive of it. Durandus himself saith: *In primitiva ecclesia offerebant unum magnum panem, et omnibus sufficientem: quod adhuc Græci servare dicuntur*: "In the primitive church they offered one great cake, that was sufficient for all the people: which thing, they say, the Greeks do continue still." In Chrysostom's Liturgy, or Communion, we see both the form of the bread, and also the order of cutting, or dividing it with a knife. Genti-
 anus Hervetus in the description thereof, saith: *Est panis [satis] crassus, et [l. utpote] fermentatus, (et) figura prope- modum sphaerica*: "It is a thick cake, and leavened, and of form in manner round." It appeareth by St. Gregory³, that it was a great cake, such as men used commonly at their tables: which thing appeareth also, by that the heretics called Artotyritæ, added cheese unto it: and so ministered the communion in bread and cheese. And Paulinus sending such a cake unto St. Augustine, sent also this greeting withal: *Panem unum, quem unanimitalis indicio misimus charitati tuæ, rogamus, ut accipiendo benedicas*: "This one loaf, or cake, which I have sent unto you in token of unity, I beseech you, receiving the same, to bless it." And perhaps Ignatius in respect hereof said: *Unus est panis pro omnibus fractus*: "There is one loaf, or cake,

Durandus, lib. 4. in sexta parte Canon. [s. 8.]

Durandus, lib. 4. cap. 53. [s. 3.]

Liturgia Chrysostom. [Gr. p. 72.]

Gentian. Hervetus in S. Germani Rerum Eccl. Theoria. [ed. de Salnetes.]

Greg. Dialog. lib. 4. [cap. 55. tom. II. 463.]

Augustin. ad Quodvult-deum. [viii. 10.]

Epiphanius. [l. 418.]

Inter Epist. Augustini. epist. 31. [II. 38.]

Ignatius ad Philadelph. [Russel. II. 124.]

³ [Gregor. Dialogi. The genuineness of these dialogues (in Greek and Latin) has been disputed by protestant writers, and defended by the papists. The external evidence seems to be in their favour; the internal makes strongly against them, and proves at least that they have been interpolated. See Cave.]

broken for all." And St. Basil: *Idem est virtute, sive unam partem quis accipiat a sacerdote, sive plures partes simul*: "It is all one in effect, whether a man take one only part of the priest, or many parts together." It is likely he useth these words, "part" and "parts," in respect of one whole. Durandus saith: "That in his time, the priest in some churches, dividing the sacrament into three portions, received one himself, and ministered the other two to the deacon and subdeacon." The like is recorded by Alexander de Hales, and sundry others. All this M. Harding dissembleth, and passeth by, and seeth nothing, but a mystical ceremony.

Basiliius ad
Cesariam
Patritiam.
[iii. 187.]

Durandus,
lib. 4. cap.
54. [s. 3.]

Alexandr. de
Hales, in 4.
q. 37. [Mem.
5. art. 1, 2.]

Now this cake being so large, so thick, and so massy, and able to suffice so many, we may not well think, that the priest could conveniently divide it into three parts, and receive all alone. But rather, as I have already said, the breaking thereof, is an invincible proof of the holy communion, and a manifest condemnation of M. Harding's private mass. For it was not divided into parts, to the end to signify these mystical phantasies, that M. Harding and others have imagined: but to be distributed and delivered to the people. Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *Etiā eucharistiam, cum quidem, ut mos est, dividerint, permittunt unicuique ex populo, partem ejus sumere*: "After that certain (that is, the priests) have divided the sacrament, they suffer every of the people to take a portion of it⁴." So St. Augustine saith: *Ad distribuendum communitur*: "It is broken, that it may be distributed." And again: *Confringunt oblationes in eucharistiam*: "They divide the oblations into the sacrament⁵" (that the people may communicate). So Dionysius: *Velatum panem in multa concidens, et unitatem calicis omnibus impertiens*: "Dividing the bread, that stood covered, into many parts, and delivering the unity of the cup unto all the people." In St. Basil's Communion, taken out of the Syrian tongue, it is written thus: *Sacerdos frangit, et signat: diaconus*

Clement.
Alexandrin.
Stromat. lib.
1. [1. 318.]

Augustin. ad
Paulin. epist.
59. [il. 509.]

Augustin. ad
Quodvult-
deum; de
Ophitis.
[viii. 8. note.]

Dionys. Ec-
cles. Hierar.
cap. 3. [p.
157.]

Liturgia
Basil.

⁴ [See the Greek, vol. i. 250, note ³⁸.]

⁵ [The passage from which these words are taken, is not found in

the MSS., though contained in the old printed edd. The Bened. have printed it in a note.]

proclamat, Communionem: "The priest breaketh, and signeth" (the sacrament): "the deacon crieth aloud, The communion⁶." And what needeth the witness of so many?

1 Cor. x. 16.

St. Paul saith: *Panis, quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Christi est?* "The bread, that we brake, is it not the communication of the body of Christ?" Which

Anselmus in
1 Cor. x. [ii.
140 c.]

words Anselmus expoundeth thus: *Panis, quem nos sacerdotes frangimus, et quem unum in multas partes dividimus, ad designandam charitatem accipientium*: "The bread, that we being priests do break, and which bread, being one cake, we divide into many portions, to express the love"

Lorichius de
Missâ pub.
prorog. lib.
3.

(or unity) "of the receivers." Likewise Lorichius: *Panis, quem frangimus, participatio Domini est, hoc est, fractio significat, nos esse unum corpus*: "The bread, that we break, is the participation of the Lord: that is to say, the breaking signifieth, that all we are one body." It appeareth hereby, that the sacrament was thus divided into parts, not to the intent we should thereby learn new mysteries, but that the people might receive it.

To be short: This ceremony of three portions so broken, and so received, cannot be found, neither in the scriptures, nor in any of the old fathers or councils: it beareth witness both against transubstantiation, and also against private mass: the best learned of that side cannot yet agree, neither whence it sprang first, nor what it meaneth: the people neither seeth it, nor knoweth it: they themselves, that so highly would seem to favour it, contrary both to Sergius' decree, and also to his mystical exposition, in their masses daily, and openly are bold to break it. Now hast thou, good Christian reader, hereof indifferently to judge, whether M. Harding or his countrymen be deceived.

Augustin. ad
Januarium,
epist. 119.
[ii. 142.]

Verily St. Augustine saith: "If the causes, that first moved and led men to devise such ceremonies, can hardly or not at all be known, whensoever opportunity is offered, let them be cut off, and abolished without staggering."

⁶ [Liturg. Basilii. This rubric, which is absent in De Sainctes' ed. of the Liturgies, will be found in "Liturgia Basilii ex versione An-dreae Masii," (printed in Re-

naudot's Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio. vol. ii. p. 559,) but the reading there is "catholicam" for "communione[m]."]

OF FIGURE, SIGN, &c.

THE TWELFTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR that, whosoever had said, The sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been judged for an heretic.

M. HARDING : *First Division.*

In this Article we do agree with M. Jewel in some respect. For we confess, it cannot be avouched by scripture, ancient council, doctor, or example of the primitive church, that whosoever had said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been judged for an heretic. (185) No man of any learning ever wrote so unlearnedly. Much less to impute heresy to any man for saying thus, hath been any of the highest mysteries, or greatest keys of our religion, with which untruth M. Jewel goeth about to deface the truth. Wherefore this Article seemeth to have been put in either of malice toward the church, or of ignorance, or only to fill up the heap, for lack of better stuff. Perusing the works of the ancient and learned fathers we find, that oftentimes they call the sacrament a figure, a sign, a token, a mystery, a sampler. The words of them used to this purpose in their learned tongues are these, *figura, signum, symbolum, mysterium, exemplar, αντίτυπον, imago*, &c. By which they mean not to diminish the truth of Christ's body in the sacrament, but to signify the secret manner of His being in the same.

The 185th untruth. For M. Harding's own fellows have both taught so and written so : and therefore unlearnedly.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It appeareth, that these men's doctrine is much mutable, and subject to change. For notwithstanding they be now grown into some better liking of these terms, "figure, sign, signification, token," &c. yet not long sithence they seemed to be otherwise resolved: and thought themselves able to allege Theophylactus, Damascenus, Euthymius, and other great matter, to disprove the same. D. Tonstall, the more to make the matter odious, saith thus: "If the sacrament be a figure of Christ's body, then was a figure crucified for us, and not Christ." And whatsoever they were that used this word, *figura*, in this matter of the sacrament, D. Steven Gardiner scornfully calleth them *figuratores*, "figurers." And M. John White, late schoolmaster, and after bishop of Winton, writeth thus, in great scorn against that most reverend learned father D. Peter Martyr, touching the same:

Cuth. Tonst. de Eucharist. lib. 1. [fol. 29.]

Marcus Constantius. [ad object. 14. sub init.]

[White, Diosio-Martyr. fol. 42. col. 1.]

Audito mille locis corpus: non audio (Petre)

Signa, troposque, tuo nec symbola nata cerebro:

"I hear body, body, in a thousand places: but of signs, figures, tokens, that came only out of thy head, I hear nothing." Which words notwithstanding, in all the ancient learned fathers, by M. Harding's own confession, if he had had ears to hear, he might have heard. Therefore it was neither malice, nor ignorance, nor increase of heap, nor want of other stuff: but the fondness and folly of M. Harding's side, that added this Article to the rest.

But, forasmuch as many, either of simplicity, or of the great reverence they bear towards that holy mystery, have persuaded themselves, that Christ's words touching the institution thereof must of necessity be taken plainly, and as they sound, that is to say, without figure: and, forasmuch also, as St. Augustine saith: "It is a dangerous matter, and a servitude of the soul, to take the sign instead of the thing that is signified:" therefore, to avoid confusion, lest the simple be deceived, taking one thing for another, I think it necessary, in few words, and plainly to touch, what the ancient learned fathers have written in this behalf.

Augustin. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. 3. cap. 5. [lib. 47.]

And, to pass by that Christ himself saith, "Do this in my remembrance:" and that St. Paul saith, "Ye shall declare the Lord's death until he come:" and likewise to pass by a great many other circumstances, whereby the truth hereof may soon appear: the nature and meaning of a sacrament of the old fathers is thus defined: *Sacramentum est.....sacrum signum*: "A sacrament is a holy token." Which definition is common, and agreeth indifferently to all sacraments. Therefore St. Augustine saith: *Signa, cum ad res divinas pertinent, sacramenta appellantur*: "Signs, when they be applied unto godly things, are called sacraments." And the cause, why sacraments are ordained, is this: That by mean of such visible and outward things, we may be led to the consideration of heavenly things. Therefore Dionysius saith: *Non est possibile animo nostro, ad immaterialem illam ascendere celestium hierarchiarum...contemplationem, nisi ea quæ secundum ipsum est materiali manuactione utatur*: "It is not possible for our mind to lift up itself to the spiritual contemplation of heavenly things, unless it have the corporal leading of such natural things as be about it." Likewise again: *Nos imaginibus sensibilibus, quantum fieri potest, ad cælestes contemplationes adducimur*: "By sensible images we are led, as much as may be, to heavenly contemplations." And, touching this holy mystery of Christ's body and blood, the cause of the institution thereof was, as Chrysostom saith, to keep us still in remembrance of Christ's great benefit, and of our salvation. Which thing St. Hierom openeth in this sort: *Ultimam nobis.....memoriam reliquit. Ut si quis peregre proficiscens, aliquod pignus apud eum, quem diligit, relinquat: ut, quoties illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia et amicitiam memorare: quod ille, si perfecte dilexit, non potest videre sine ingenti dolore, et sine fletu*: "He left unto us his last remembrance. As if a man, going a far journey, leave a token with his friend, to the end that he, seeing the same, may remember his benefits, and his friendship: which token that friend, if he love unfeignedly, cannot see without great motion of his mind, and without

¹ Cor. xi. 24-26.

De Con. dist. 2. Sacramentum.

Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. 10. cap. 5. [vii. 241.]

Augustin. ad Marcellinum, epist. 5. [ii. 412.]
Dionysius Celestis Hierar. cap. 1. [p. 4.]

Dionysius Eccles. Hierar. cap. 1. [109.]
αἰσθηταῖς εἰκόσι.

† Ad Populum Antioch. hom. 61. [ed. Basil.]
Hoc facite in memoriam beneficii, salutis vestræ.
Hieronym. in 1 Cor. xi. [v. 998.]

Basil. de
Baptismate.
[il. 586.]

tears⁷." So saith St. Basil: *Quid utilitatis habent hæc verba? Nempe, ut edentes, et bibentes, perpetuo memores simus ejus, qui pro nobis mortuus est, ac resurrexit*: "What profit have these words? Verily, that we, eating and drinking, may evermore be mindful of him, that died for us,

† Ambros.
in 1 Cor. xi.
[il. app. 149.]

and rose again." So St. Ambrose: *Quia morte Domini liberati sumus, hujus rei memores, in edendo, et potando, carnem, et sanguinem, quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, significamus.....*: "Because we are made free by the death of our Lord, being mindful thereof, in eating and drinking, we signify the flesh and blood, that Christ offered for us⁸."

Origen. in
Leviticum,
hom. 7. [il.
225.]

Origen expounding these words of Christ, "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man," &c. saith thus: *Agnoscite, figuras esse, quæ in divinis voluminibus scriptæ [scripta] sunt: et ideo tanquam spirituales, et non tanquam carnales examine, et intelligite ea, quæ dicuntur. Nam, si quasi carnales ista suscipiatis, lædunt vos, non alunt*: "Know ye, that these be figures written in the holy scriptures: and therefore examine and understand ye the things that be spoken, as men spiritual, and not as carnal. For if ye take these things as carnal men, they hurt you, and feed you not." Tertullian expoundeth Christ's words in this

Tertullian.
contra Mar-
cionem, lib.
4. [c. 40. p.
458.]

wise: *Hoc est corpus meum: hoc est, Figura corporis mei*: "This is my body: that is to say, This is a figure of my body." St. Ambrose, speaking of the sacrament of Christ's

† Ambros.
de Sacram.
lib. 4. cap. 5.
[il. 371.]

Augustin. in
Psalm. lli.
[iv. 7.]

body, useth oftentimes these terms, a figure, a similitude, a sign, a token of Christ's body. St. Augustine, beside infinite other places, saith: *Christus adhibuit Judam ad convivium, in quo corporis sui figuram discipulis suis commendavit*: "Christ took Judas unto his table, whereat he gave unto his disciples the figure of his body." And

Augustin.
contra Adi-
mantum, cap.
12. [viii. 124.]

writing against the heretic Adimantus, he saith: *Non dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui*: "Our Lord doubted not to say, 'This

⁷ [The Commentary ad Heliodorum, on St. Paul's Epistles, is not by St. Jerome. See vol. i. 160.]

⁸ [The Bened. have given a different punctuation. The work however is spurious. See vol. i. 159.]

is my body,' when he gave a token of his body." So Chrysostom: *Si mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum, ac signum, hoc sacramentum est?* "If Christ died not, whose sign, and whose token is this sacrament?" So St. Hierom: *In typo sanguinis sui, non obtulit aquam, sed vinum*: "In token of his blood, he offered not water, but wine."

Chrysostom. in Matt. hom. 83. [vii. 783.]

Hieronym. adversus Jovinianum, lib. ii. [iv. pt. 2. 198.]

I leave other like authorities well near infinite. These few may suffice for a taste. This was the old fathers' manner of writing: neither was there any man then, that ever controlled them therefore, or called them figurers.

M. HARDING: *Second Division.*

For the better understanding of such places, where these terms are used in the matter of the sacrament, the doctrine of St. Augustine *In Sententiis Prosperi*⁹, may serve very well, which is thus: *Hoc est quod dicimus, quod omnibus modis approbare contendimus, sacrificium ecclesie duobus confici, duobus constare, visibili elementorum specie, et invisibili Domini nostri Jesu Christi carne et sanguine: sacramento, (id est, externo sacro signo,) et re sacramenti, id est, corpore Christi, &c.*: "This is that we say," saith he, "which by all means we go about to prove, that the sacrifice of the church is made of two things, and consisteth of two things, of the visible shape of the elements, (which are bread and wine,) and the invisible flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ: of the sacrament, (that is, the outward sign,) and the thing of the sacrament, to wit, of the body of Christ," &c. By this we understand, that this word "sacrament" is of the fathers two ways taken. First, for the whole substance of the sacrament, as it consisteth of the outward forms, and also withal of the very body of Christ verily present, as St. Augustine saith, the sacrifice of the church to consist (186) of these two. Secondly, it is taken so, as it is distinct from that hidden and divine thing of the sacrament, that is to say, for the outward forms only, which are the holy signs of Christ's very body present under them contained. Whereof we must gather, that whensoever the fathers do call this most excellent sacrament, a figure or a sign, (187) they would be understood to mean none otherwise, than of those outward forms, and not of Christ's body itself, which is there present not typically or figuratively, but really and substantially. Unless perhaps

The 186th untruth. For St. Augustine never said so.

The 187th untruth. For none of the learned fathers ever called the outward form a sacrament.

Christ's body itself is a figure.

⁹ [In the earlier edd. of Gratian was Lanfrancus contr. Berengarium; see Richter's Corpus Juris Canonici, Lips. 1839.]

De Con. dist. 2. can. Hoc est, quod dicimus.

respect be had, not to the body itself present, but to the manner of presence, as sometimes it happeneth.

So is St. Basil to be understood, in *Liturgia*, calling the sacrament, *antitypon*, that is, "a sampler," or "a figure," and that after consecration, as the copies, that be now abroad, be found to have. So is Eustathius to be taken, that great learned father of the Greek church, who so constantly defended the catholic faith against the Arians, cited of Epiphanius, in 7 *synodo*. Albeit concerning St. Basil, Damascene, and Euthymius, likewise Epiphanius in the second Nicene council, act. 6, and Marcus Ephesius, who was present at the council of Florence, would have that place so to be taken before consecration. (188) As St. Ambrose also, calling it a figure of our Lord's body and blood, *lib. 4. De Sacramentis, cap. 5.*

Lib. 4. cap.
14. in caput.
Matt. xxvi.

The 188th
untruth. For
St. Ambrose
saith: *Post
consecratio-
nem corpus
Christi signi-
ficatur.*

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding, as he is content to yield to these names, "figure, sign, token," &c. so he addeth thereto an exposition of his own, such as, I believe, he can hardly find the like in any ancient father. Therefore it must be such a figure, not as the old doctors and learned fathers have at any time used, but such, as M. Harding can best imagine: and therefore now, not the old doctors', but M. Harding's new figure. Indeed Tertullian saith: *Hæretici nudas voces conjecturis, quo volunt, rapiunt.....*: "Heretics, by their conjectural guesses, draw bare words whither they list." With such conditions, the wicked heretic Nestorius was contented to grant Christ to be God: but by his lewd exposition he made him no God. For thus he said: *Non in video Christo divinitatem suam: hoc et ego fieri possum, si volo*: "It grieveth me not, to confess Christ to be God: I myself can be God too, if I list¹⁰." The Pelagian heretics, notwithstanding they were the enemies of God's

Tertullian.
contra Mar-
cionem,
lib. 4. [c. 19.
p. 432.]

Cyrrillus, lib.
7. cap. 14.
[Lat. ed.
Basil, 1546.
tom. 1. 372.]

¹⁰ [Cyrrill. Alex. in Joann. "Unde quidam eorum suam evomens blasphemiam dixit, Non in video Christo facto Deo; hoc et fieri possum, si volo." It must be borne in mind, that of the twelve books of St. Cyrrill's Commentary on St. John, only eight genuine ones were extant in the time of Jewel, that is, the four first and the four last. The interme-

diate four books were fabricated by Judocus Chlichtovæus out of various sources, and dignified with Cyrrill's name. The imposture was fully exposed, when Aubert, in 1638, published in Greek, for the first time, the fifth and sixth books entire, and fragments of the seventh and eighth. There is nothing in those fragments to correspond to the passage in the text.]

grace, yet, being forced by disputation and conference, were content to yield, and to confess the grace of God. But, by their fantastical exposition, in the end they made it no grace at all. In like manner M. Harding, notwithstanding he be driven by force to confess the name of figure, yet, as he glosseth it with his colours, indeed he maketh it no figure. Sometimes he saith, it is a figure of Christ's body secretly being there : sometimes, it is a figure of the life to come : sometimes, common bread is a figure : sometimes, the accident and outward form of bread is a figure : sometimes, Christ's body invisible, is a figure of Christ's body visible : all hitherto M. Harding. Sometimes also, it is a figure of the church : so saith Hosius : *Sacramenta nostra sunt quodammodo per figuram ipsum corpus Christi, cujus sacramenta sunt, id est, ecclesia* : "Our sacraments are in a manner, by a figure, the very body of Christ, whereof they be sacraments : that is to say, Our sacraments be the church." Thus many ways these men have sought to make up a new kind of figure, such as neither grammarian, nor rhetorician, nor divine ever understood before. *Significat*, "it signifieth," is as much to say, saith M. Harding, as *continet*, "it containeth:" "it is a figure," that is to say, "it is the thing itself:" "it is a figure," that is, in conclusion, "it is no figure." Yet all these figures in the end be not sufficient to expound one figure. Truth is ever certain and simple : contrariwise, falsehood is doubtful and double.

Augustin. ad Innocentium, epist. 95. [ii. 623.]

In Confessione Petri coviensi, cap. 39.

How much better were it for these men to speak so, as the old learned fathers were content to speak ! St. Augustine saith : *De signis disserens hoc dico, ne quis in eis attendat, quod sunt, sed potius quod signa sunt, hoc est, quod significant* : "Reasoning of signs, I say thus : let no man consider in them, that they be, but rather that they be signs, that is to say, that they do signify." Again he saith : *Cavendum est, ne figuratam orationem ad literam accipias. Ad hoc pertinet, quod apostolus ait, Litera occidit* : "We must beware, that we take not a figurative speech according to the letter. For thereto it pertaineth, that the apostle saith, 'The letter killeth.'" St. Hierom saith :

Augustin. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. 2. cap. 1. [iii. 19.]

Augustin. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. 3. cap. 5. [iii. 47.]

Hieronym.
in Apologia
contra Rufi-
num. [lib. 1.
tom. iv. pt.
2. 381.]

Chrysost. in
Dictum Apo-
stoli, Patres
nostri omnes,
&c. ult.
tomo. [Be-
ned. ed. tom.
iii. 235.]

De Con. dist.
2. Hoc est.

Hieronym.
ad Paulinum.
[iv. pt. 2.
571.]

Concil. Ni-
cen. 2. act. 3.
[xii. 1143 C.]
Angelomus
in 1 Reg. cap.
22. [p. 46.]

Quando dico tropicam locutionem, doceo, verum non esse, quod dicitur, sed allegoriæ nubilo figuratum: “When I name a figurative speech, I mean, that the thing that is spoken is not true, but fashioned under the cloud of an allegory.” Likewise Chrysostom: *Non alienum oportet esse typum a veritate: alioqui non esset typus: neque omnino adæquari veritati: alioqui et veritas ipsa foret:* “The figure may not be far off from the truth: otherwise it were no figurè: neither may it be even and one with the truth: otherwise it would be the truth itself¹³,” and so no figure.

These things considered, it may soon appear, how faithfully and how well to his purpose M. Harding allegeth this place of St. Augustine: *Hoc est, quod dicimus, &c.:* “This is it that we say, which we go about by all means to prove, that the sacrifice of the church is made of two things, and standeth of two things: of the visible kind” (or nature) “of the elements, and of the invisible flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ: of the sacrament, the outward holy sign, and the thing of the sacrament, which is the body of Christ.” Hereof M. Harding gathereth, that the body of Christ lieth hidden under the accidents. St. Augustine’s words be true: but M. Harding with his guesses is much deceived. For of this word, *specie*, he concludeth, that the substance of bread is gone, and nothing remaining, but only accidents: and of this word, *invisibili*, he gathereth, that Christ’s body is there really enclosed. And so he maketh a commentary far beside his text.

But what would he have said, if he had seen these words of St. Hierom: *Venit Philippus: ostendit ei Jesum, qui clausus latebat in litera:* “Philip came: and shewed him Jesus, that lay hidden in the letter?” Or these words in the second council of Nice: *Christus ipse habitat in ossibus mortuorum:* “Christ himself dwelleth in dead men’s bones¹⁴?” Or these of Angelomus: *Deus Pater Filium*

¹³ [Chrysost. Οὐτε γὰρ ἀπηλ-
λοτριῶσθαι πάντη χρῆ τὸν τύπον
τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴη τύπος·
οὔτε πάλιν ἐξισάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἀλη-
θειαν, ἐπεὶ πάλιν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀλήθεια

ἔσται.]

¹⁴ [Concil. Nic. 2. Καὶ ταῦτα
διὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐνοικῆσαντος ἐν
αὐτοῖς; where αὐτοῖς refers to τὰ
τῶν μαρτύρων ὄστα.]

suum unigenitum in litera legis, Judæis nescientibus, absconditum habuit: “God the Father had his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, hidden in the letter of the law, the Jews not knowing it?” Would he of these words conclude, that Christ is really hidden, either in dead men’s bones, or in the prophet Isaiah, or in the letter of the law? Certainly St. Augustine speaketh not one word, neither here, nor elsewhere, neither of accidents without subject, nor of any real presence¹⁵. And albeit his words here be not very dark, yet in other places, both often and plainly, he expoundeth himself. For thus he saith: *Mysteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda sunt, id est, spiritualiter*: “All mysteries must be considered with the inner eyes, that is to say, spiritually¹⁶.” And again: *In sacramentis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur*: “In sacraments we see one thing, and we understand another thing.” So Chrysostom speaking of the water of baptism: *Ego non aspectu judico ea, quæ videntur*: “The things that be seen in baptism, I consider not with my bodily eye.” So likewise Origen: *Bene circumcisionem signum appellavit....., quia et in ipsa aliud videbatur, aliud intelligebatur*: “He called circumcision rightly a sign, for that in it one thing was seen, and another thing was understood.” Thus in sacraments we see one thing with our eye, and another thing with our mind. With our bodily eye we see the bread: with our faith we see the body of Christ. Thus the sacrament consisteth of two parts: of the which the one is before our eyes, the other in heaven: and so the one visible, and the other invisible. So saith St. Augustine: *Non oportet esse contentum superficie literæ, sed ad intelligentiam pervenire*: “We may not stand content with the outward sight of the letter, but must go further unto the meaning¹⁷. St. Au-

August. in Johan. tract. 46.

August. Clatur a Beda. 1 Cor. x.

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. hom. 7. [x. 51.]

Origen. in Epist. ad Roman. lib. 4. cap. 4. [iv. 525.]

Augustin. contra Adversarium Leg. et Prophet. lib. 2. cap. 5. [viii. 591.]

¹⁵ [Jewel here means any corporal or fleshly presence. See supra, vol. ii. pp. 325. 334. 361. 374.]

¹⁶ [It is remarkable, that in the twenty-fifth Article and first Division, (p. 466. fol. ed.) bishop Jewel has correctly quoted this same pas-

sage as from St. Chrysostom, in 1 Cor. hom. 7. (tom. x. 51.) and in Matt. hom. 83. (tom. vii. 787.) The Editor has not found it in St. Augustine.]

¹⁷ [August. contr. Adv. Leg. “Hoc est intrare, non esse contentum,” &c.]

gustine meaneth not by these words, that the understanding of the scriptures lieth really hidden under the letter. He himself better expoundeth his own meaning in this wise : *In Veteri Testamento occultabatur Novum, quia occulte significabatur* : “The New Testament was hidden in the Old: because it was secretly” or invisibly “signified in the Old.”

Augustin. de
Baptismo,
contra Do-
natist. lib. 1.
cap. 15. [ix.
92.]

Now let us examine the ground of M. Harding's guesses. “St. Augustine nameth *visibilem speciem*, ‘the visible kind of the elements:’” *ergo*, saith M. Harding, “he meaneth only the accidents, or outward forms of bread and wine, and not the substance.” The weakness of this conclusion proceedeth of the misunderstanding of the terms. For St. Augustine in this place useth not this word *species* for the outward show, but for the very substance of the thing itself. So St. Ambrose saith twice together in one place : *Sermo Dei species mutat elementorum* : “The word of God changeth the kinds of the elements.” And again : *Ante benedictionem alia species nominatur* : “Before the consecration it is called another kind.” In these and other like places, M. Harding cannot well say, that *species* signifieth an accident, or outward show.

Ambros. de
Mysteriis,
cap. 9. [ii.
339.]

Neither doth this word, “visible,” import any such external form as is here imagined: but only excludeth the body of Christ, which is in heaven, invisible to our bodily eyes, and visible only to the eyes of our faith. And so the water in baptism is called *forma visibilis*, “a visible kind, or element,” according to the general definition of all sacraments. So St. Augustine saith, *Aliud Judæi habebant, aliud nos: sed specie visibili, quod tamen idem significaret* : “The Jews had one thing” (for their sacrament) “and we another: indeed of another visible form or kind, which notwithstanding signified the same thing that our sacrament doth signify.” Likewise he saith: *Quod videtur, speciem habet corporalem: quod intelligitur, fructum habet spirituale* : “The thing that we see, hath a corporal show: but the thing that we understand, hath fruit spiritual.” And in this sense Chrysostom saith of the sacrament of baptism: *Christus in sensibilibus intelligibilia nobis*

Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
26. [iii. pt. 2.
499.]

Augustin.
Citatur a Be-
da. 1 Cor. x.

Chrysost. in
Matthæ.
hom. 83.
[vil. 787.]

tradidit: “Christ, in sensible things, hath given us things spiritual¹⁸.”

By these we see both M. Harding’s gross error, and also, for what cause the old godly fathers call Christ’s body “invisible:” that is, for that, being in heaven, we see it with our faith, with our mind, and with the eyes of our understanding. Neither may M. Harding of this word, “invisible,” reason thus, as he seemeth to do: “Christ’s body is invisible: *ergo*, it lieth hidden under accidents.”

For St. Ambrose in like phrase of words speaketh thus of baptism: *Sacri fontis unda nos abluit: sanguis Domini nos redemit. Alterum igitur invisibile, alterum visibile testimonium sacramento consequimur spirituali*: “The water of the holy font hath washed us: Christ’s blood hath redeemed us. Therefore by a spiritual sacrament we obtain two testimonies: the one invisible, the other visible¹⁹.” Here St. Ambrose saith: “Christ’s blood in baptism is invisible.” Yet may we not conclude thereof, that Christ’s blood is hidden under the accidents, or shows of water. So Origen saith: *Baptismus Johannis videtur: Christi baptismus est invisibilis*: “John’s baptism was seen: but Christ’s baptism is invisible.”

And, notwithstanding all these things be plain to any man that hath eyes to see, yet that the weakness and folly of these shifts may thoroughly appear, let M. Harding shew us wherein, and in what respect, his naked show of forms and accidents can be the sacrament of Christ’s body. For thus he saith, and doubleth, and repeateth the same, and maketh it the stay and ground of this whole treaty.

The sign, or signification of this sacrament, as St. Cyprian saith, standeth in refreshing and feeding. So saith Rabanus Maurus: *Quia panis corporis cor confirmat, ideo ille congruenter corpus Christi nuncupatur: et, quia vinum sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo illud ad sanguinem Christi refertur*: “Because bread confirmeth the heart of

Ambros. de Spiritu Sancto, lib. 3. [ii. 678.]

Origen. in Lucam, hom. 24. [iii. 961.]

† Cyprian. de Cæna Domini.

Rabanus Maurus, [de Cleric. Inst. et Cæc. Eccl.] lib. 1. cap. 31. [tom. vi. p. 12.]

¹⁸ [Supra, ii. 357, note ⁵¹.]

¹⁹ [Ambros. de Spiritu Sancto. This work is of doubtful autho-

rity, and is said to be full of plagiarisms; on which account some writers deny its genuineness.]

the body, therefore it is conveniently called the body of Christ. And because wine worketh blood in the flesh, therefore it hath relation to the blood of Christ." Likewise, because water washeth away the soil and filth of the body, therefore, as Gregory Nyssen saith, "Christ appointed it to the sacrament of baptism, to signify the inward washing of our souls²⁰."

Gregor.
Nyss. de
saucto Bapt.
[lib. 369.]

Now, although M. Harding can say many things, yet this thing, I think, he will not say, that our bodies be fed with his shows and accidents. Or, if he so say, as indeed they are driven so to say²¹, then will the very natural philosopher reprove his folly. For the philosopher saith, as indeed true it is, *Ex iisdem nutrimur, et sumus*: "We consist of the same things, wherewith we are nourished." Therefore if M. Harding will say, The substance of our body is fed with accidents, then must he likewise say, The substance of our body doth stand of accidents.

Mar. Anto-
nius Con-
stantius ad
Object 66.
[fol. 51.]

Hereof we may very well reason thus: The accidents or shows of bread and wine feed not our bodies, as Christ's body feedeth our souls:

Ergo, The accidents and shows of bread and wine are not the sacraments of Christ's body. Contrariwise St. Cyprian, Irenæus²², Rabanus, and other ancient fathers say, The substance of the bread feedeth our body, &c.:

† Cypr. de
Cœna Do-
mini.
Irenæus, lib.
4. cap. 34.
[p. 251.]
Rabanus [de
Cler. Instit.
&c.] lib. 1.
cap. 31. [tom.
vi. p. 11.]

Ergo, The substance of the bread is the sacrament of Christ's body.

And again, M. Harding, standing upon this simple ground, cannot possibly avoid many great inconveniences. For, if the shows and accidents be the sacrament, then, forasmuch as in one bread there be many accidents, as the whiteness, the roundness, the breadth, the taste, &c., and every such accident is a sacrament, he can by no gloss or conveyance shift himself; but instead of one sacrament he

²⁰ [Gregor. Nyssen. . . . τὴν ἀσώματον λαμπρότητα.]

²¹ M. Anton. Const. i. e. Steph. Gardiner: "Accidentia panis et vini . . . nutriendi virtutem per "miraculum retinent."]

²² [Irenæus; the passage referred to in the marginal reference seems less to the purpose than that quoted in the next Division; and supra, vol. iii. p. 9. note ⁸.]

must needs grant a number of sacraments; and avoiding one figure, he must be driven to confess a great many figures.

Touching St. Basil, M. Harding seemeth to confess that his books are disordered, and that now set after consecration that sometimes was before; and yet he sheweth us not who hath wrought this treachery. I trow they have corrupted and falsified their own books.

“But Basil calleth the sacrament *ἀντίτυπον*, that is, a sampler, a sign, or a token of Christ’s body, before the consecration: and so Damascenus, Euthymius, and one Epiphanius²³ and Marcus Ephesius, late writers, have expounded it.” Here mark well, good reader, the niceness and curiosity of this people, without cause. Sooner than they will confess, as the ancient catholic fathers do, that the sacrament is a figure of Christ’s body, they are content to say, “It is a sacrament, before it be a sacrament; and so a figure, before it be a figure.” For how can the sacrament be a sacrament, or what can the bare bread signify, before consecration? or who appointed or commanded it so to signify?

But to leave these M. Harding’s new fantastical doctors, with their mystical expositions, St. Ambrose in his time thought it no heresy to write thus: *Ante consecrationem* [i. *benedictionem verborum celestium*] *alia species nominatur; post consecrationem corpus (Christi) significatur*: “Before consecration, it is called another kind; after consecration, the body of Christ is signified.” And again, *.....In edendo et potando, corpus et sanguinem Christi, quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, significamus.....*: he saith not, before consecration, but even in receiving the holy communion, which he calleth “eating and drinking, we signify the body and blood of Christ, that were offered for us²⁴.”

Thus the old fathers called the sacrament a sign, or a figure of Christ’s body, after it was consecrate; but before

[Basil.
Liturg. Gr. ed.
de Sainctes,
p. 58.]

Ambrosius
de Mysteriis,
cap. 9. [ii.
339.]

† Ambrosius,
1 Cor. xi. [ii.
app. 149.]

²³ [Epiphanius Catanensis. A.D.

787.]

²⁴ [Ambros. in 1 Cor.: not ge-

nuine. See vol. i. 159. See also
supra, vol. iii. p. 130, note 8.]

consecration neither did they ever call it so, notwithstanding these new doctors' judgments to the contrary, nor was there any cause why they should so call it. Yet were they not therefore counted sacramentaries, nor maintainers of false doctrine.

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

And if it appear strange to any man that St. Basil should call those holy mysteries *antitypa*, after consecration, let him understand that this learned father thought good, by that word, to note the great secret of that mystery, and to shew a distinct condition of present things from things to come. And this consideration the church seemeth to have had, which in public prayer, after holy mysteries received, maketh this humble petition: *Ut quæ nunc in specie gerimus, certa rerum veritate*

Christ's body is a figure of the life to come: proved only by the portuise.

capiamus: "That in the life to come we may take that in certain truth of things, which now we bear in shape or show." Neither do these words import any prejudice against the truth of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament; but they signify and utter the most principal truth of the same, whenas, all outward form, shape, show, figure, sampler, and cover taken away, we shall have the fruition of God himself in sight, face to face, not as it were through a glass, but so as he is in truth of his majesty. So this word *antitypon*, thus taken in St. Basil, furthereth nothing at all the sacramentaries' false doctrine, against the truth of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

Sabbato 4. temporum mensis Septemb.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding, for fear of taking, altereth and shifteth himself into sundry forms; in like sort as the old poets imagine that one Proteus, a subtle fellow, in like case was wont to do. Among other his strange devices, he saith, Christ's body is a figure of the life that is to come; and that he proveth only by his portuise, without any other further authority. But if a man would traverse this new exposition, how standeth M. Harding so well assured of the same? What scripture, what doctor, what council, what warrant hath he so to say? Verily, that Christ's natural body, being now immortal and glorious, should be a sign or a token of things to come, it were very strange and wonderful; but that bare forms and accidents should so signify, yet were that a wonder much more wonderful.

The prayer that is uttered in the church is good and godly, and the meaning thereof very comfortable : that is, that, all veils and shadows being taken away, we may at last come to the throne of glory, and see God face to face. For in this life we are full of imperfections ; and as St. Paul saith, “ We know” (*ex parte*) “ imperfectly ; we profess imperfectly. But, when that thing that is perfect shall come, then shall imperfection be abolished.....Now we see as through a seeing-glass in a riddle ; but then we shall see face to face.” Therefore St. Augustine saith : *Vita est Christus, qui habitat in cordibus nostris : interim per fidem ; post etiam per speciem* : “ Christ is our life, that dwelleth in our hearts : in the mean while by faith, and afterward by sight.” So St. Ambrose : *Umbra in lege : imago in evangelio : veritas in caelestibus* : “ The shadow was in the law : the image is in the gospel : the truth shall be in the heavens.” So St. Basil : *Nunc justus bibit aquam viventem : et posthac abundantius bibet, quando adscribetur in civitatem Dei : sed nunc in speculo, et in aenigmate, per modicam comprehensionem rerum caelestium : tunc autem flumen universum recipiet* : “ Even now the just man drinketh the water of life : and hereafter he shall drink the same more abundantly, when he shall be received into the city of God. Now he drinketh as in a seeing-glass, or a riddle, by a small understanding of heavenly things ; but then he shall receive the whole stream.” This is it that the church prayeth for, that, all imperfection set apart, our corruptible bodies may be made like unto the glorious body of Christ.

Hereof M. Harding seemeth to reason in this wise : “ We shall see God face to face :” *ergo*, “ Christ’s body is really present in the sacrament.” Or thus : “ We shall see God face to face :” *ergo*, “ The sacrament signifieth not Christ’s body, but the life that is to come.” By such arguments M. Harding confoundeth all the sacramentaries’ false doctrine.

M. HARDING : *Fourth Division.*

And, because our adversaries do much abuse the simplicity of the unlearned, bearing them in hand, that, after the judgment

¹ Cor. xiii. 9, 10.

[Verse 12.]

August. Epist. 120. [c. 25. tom. ii. 445.]

Ambrosius in Psalm. xxxviii. [l. 85a.]

Basiliius in Psalm. xlv. [l. 172.]

The 189th untruth, joined with a slander. The former part was never our doctrine; the second as yet was never proved.

and doctrine of the ancient fathers, the sacrament is (189) but a figure, a sign, a token, or a badge, and containeth not the very body itself of Christ, for proof of the same alleging certain their sayings uttered with the same terms: I think good, by recital of some the chief such places, to shew that they be untruly reported, and that, touching the verity of the presence in the sacrament, they taught in their days the same faith that is taught now in the catholic church.

Holy Ephrem, in a book he wrote to those that will search the nature of the Son of God by man's reason, saith thus: *Inspice diligenter, quomodo sumens in manibus panem, benedicit, ac frangit, in figura immaculati corporis sui, calicemque, in figura pretiosi sanguinis sui benedicit, et tribuit discipulis suis:* "Behold," saith he, "diligently how, taking bread in his hands, he blesseth it, and breaketh it, in the figure of his unspotted body, and blesseth the cup, in the figure of his precious blood, and giveth it to his disciples" (190). By these words he sheweth the partition, division, or breaking of the sacrament, to be done no otherwise but in the outward forms, which be the figure of Christ's body present, and under them contained; which body, now being glorious, is no more broken nor parted, but is indivisible, and subject no more to any passion: and after the sacrament is broken, it remaineth whole and perfect under each portion.

Taketh bread, blesseth it, breaketh it.

The 190th untruth, joined with unadvised corruption of the author.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

If we abuse the simplicity of the people, uttering plainly and simply the very words of the ancient fathers, then did the fathers themselves likewise abuse the simple people: for that they, of all others, first uttered and published the same words; and specially for that they never qualified the same with any of these M. Harding's new constructions.

But if we abuse the people, speaking in such wise as the old catholic fathers spake so long before us, what then may we think of M. Harding, that cometh only with his own words, that wresteth and falsifieth the words of the holy fathers, and by his strange expositions maketh them not the fathers' words? Gelasius saith: "In the sacrament there remaineth the substance of bread and wine:"²⁵ that is to say, saith M. Harding, "There remaineth the accidents of bread and wine." Irenæus²⁶ and Justin

Gelasius contra Eutychem. [Bibl. Patr. v. pt. 2. p. 671.]

²⁵ [Supra, vol. iii. p. 83.]

²⁶ [Irenæus. See the original, printed supra, vol. iii. p. 9. note 8.]

Martyr²⁶ say, "The bread of the sacrament increaseth the substance of our flesh." "Their meaning is," saith M. Harding, "that the accidents of the bread increase the substance of our flesh." St. Ambrose saith, *Post consecrationem corpus Christi significatur*: "After consecration, the body of Christ is signified." M. Harding saith, "No, not so; but after consecration the life to come is signified." Now judge thou indifferently, good reader, whether of us abuseth the simplicity of the people.

Irenæus, lib. 5. [p. 294.]
 Justinus Martyr, Apologia 2. [p. 83.]
 Ambrosius de his qui initiantur, cap. 9. [ii. 339.]

Now let us see how he handleth this good old father Ephrem. Indeed here he maketh the darkness light, and the light darkness: for Ephrem's words be so plain, as nothing can be plainer.

Christ took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, in figure, or, as Christ himself uttereth it, in remembrance of his blessed and unspotted body. But M. Harding's exposition upon the same is so perverse, and so wilful, as if it were free for him to gloss and fancy what him listeth. Ephrem saith, "Christ took and brake bread:" M. Harding saith, "Christ brake forms and accidents, and brake no bread." Ephrem saith, "The bread is a figure of Christ's body:" M. Harding saith, "The bread is no figure of Christ's body." To be short, Ephrem saith, "Christ brake bread in figure or remembrance of his body:"

Ergo, saith M. Harding, "Christ's body is there present, under the form of bread." Such regard hath he to the simplicity of the people. Certainly Ephrem saith not, neither that the forms or shows be broken; nor that the same forms be figures of Christ's body; nor that Christ's body is presently in them contained. And therefore M. Harding, in his guileful construction of the same, hath included great untruth.

M. HARDING: Fifth Division.

Again, by the same words he signifieth that outward breaking to be a certain holy figure and representation of the crucifying of

²⁶ [Justin. Martyr. Apol. 1. (aliter 2.)... οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγον τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστήθεισαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.]

The breaking
of accidents
is a figure.

Christ, and of his bloodshedding; which thing is with a more clearness of words set forth by St. Augustine: *In Sententiis Prosperi*²⁷; *Dum frangitur hostia, dum sanguis de calice in ora fidelium funditur, quid aliud quam Domini corporis in cruce immolatio, ejusque sanguinis de latere effusio designatur?* "Whiles the host is broken, whiles the blood is poured into the mouths of the faithful, what other thing is thereby shewed and set forth, than the sacrificing of Christ's body on the cross, and the shedding of his blood out of his side?" And by so doing the commandment of Christ is fulfilled: "Do this in my remembrance."

De Con. dist.
2. can. Quum
frangitur.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here hath M. Harding found out a new kind of figures, far differing from all the rest. The breaking of the accidents, saith he, is a token of the breaking of Christ's body; and this he thinketh himself well able to prove by certain words of St. Augustine. Wherein, notwithstanding he find but small help in the text, (for St. Augustine maketh no manner mention, neither of any real or fleshly presence, nor of breaking of forms or accidents,) yet is he somewhat relieved by the gloss. For the words thereof are these: *Secundum hoc dices, ipsa accidentia frangi, et dare sonitum*: "According to this thou shalt say, that the very accidents and shows are broken, and give a crack." Thus we see, there is no inconvenience so great, but these men can well defend it.

De Consec.
dist. 2.
Quum fran-
gitur. In
Glossa.

But St. Augustine saith, *Sanguis in ora fidelium funditur: ergo*, saith M. Harding, "Christ's blood is there present." I marvel much where M. Harding learned this strange logic; for St. Hierom saith in like sort: *Quando audimus sermonem Domini, caro Christi, et sanguis ejus in auribus nostris funditur*: "When we hear the word of God, the flesh of Christ and his blood is poured into our ears." Will M. Harding conclude hereof, by his new logic, that, when we hear God's word, Christ's flesh and blood are really present? Here once again I must do thee, good reader, to understand, that a

Hieronym.
in Psalm.
cxlviii. [ii. pt.
2. 504.]

²⁷ [The last correctors of the *Decretum* observe, that, here and elsewhere, what Gratian quotes as from St. Augustine, in *Sentent. Prosperi*, will be found in Lanfrancus contra Berengarium. See another instance, supra, iii. 131, note 9.]

sacrament, according to the doctrine of St. Augustine, beareth the name of that thing whereof it is a sacrament.

And for example he saith: *Sacramentum sanguinis Christi secundum quendam modum sanguis Christi est*: “The sacrament of Christ’s blood, after a certain manner” (of speech), “is the blood of Christ.” Again he saith, in the same epistle: *Consepulti sumus Christo per baptismum: non ait, Sepulturam significamus; sed prorsus ait, Consepulti sumus. Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei, non nisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit*: “We are buried together with Christ by baptism: He saith not, We do signify our burial; but he saith plainly, We are buried together. Therefore St. Paul would not call the sacrament of so great a thing, but only by the name of the thing itself.” Like-

wise he saith: *Solet res, quæ significat, ejus rei nomine, quam significat, nuncupari..... Non dixit, Petra significat Christum, sed tanquam hoc esset, quod utique per substantiam non erat, sed per significationem*: “The thing, that signifieth, is commonly called by the name of that thing that it signifieth. St. Paul saith not, The rock signified Christ, but, The rock was Christ; as if the rock had been Christ indeed. Yet it was not so in substance and indeed, but by way of signification.” Thus therefore saith St. Augustine: “Whiles the sacrament is broken, and the sacrament of Christ’s blood” (which is called blood) “is poured into the mouths of the faithful, what thing else is thereby shewed, but the offering up of Christ’s body upon the cross, and the shedding of his blood from his side?” Therefore St. Augustine saith: *Ita facit nos moveri, tanquam videamus præsentem [l. pendentem] Dominum in cruce*: “So it causeth us to be moved, even as though we should see our Lord present on the cross²⁷.” This is St. Augustine’s undoubted meaning. These things considered, the weight of M. Harding’s argument will soon appear. For thus he reasoneth: The renting of Christ’s body, and

August. in Epist. 23. [ii. 267.]

August. in Epist. 23. [ii. 268.] Rom. vi. 4. Coloss. ii. 12.

August. in Leviticum, qu. 57. [iii. 516.]

August. in Psalm. xxi. [Enarr. 2. iv. 93.]

²⁷ [Jewel probably derived the reading “præsentem” from Gratian, De Consec. dist. 2. Semel Christus. “Pendentem” is the reading of the Frobenian as well as of the Bened. ed. of St. Augustine.]

the shedding of his blood, is expressed in the mysteries : *ergo*, Christ's body is there really present, under shows and accidents.

M. HARDING : *Sixth Division.*

That it may further appear that these words, "figure, sign, image, token," and such other like sometimes used in ancient writers, do not exclude the truth of things exhibited in the sacrament, but rather shew the secret manner of the exhibiting : amongst all other, the place of Tertullian in his fourth book *contra Marcion*. is not to be omitted, specially being one of the chief, and of most appearance, that the sacramentaries bring for proof of their doctrine. Tertullian's words be these : *Acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis suis, corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei* : "The bread, that he took and gave to his disciples, he made it his body, in saying, 'This is my body : ' that is, the figure of my body."

The 191st
untruth.
Four un-
truths toge-
ther, packed
up in one.

The double taking of the word sacrament, afore-mentioned, remembered, and consideration had how the sacraments of the new testament comprehend two things, (191) the outward (1) visible forms, that be (2) figures, signs, and tokens, and also, and that chiefly, a divine thing under them (3) according to Christ's promise (4) covertly contained, specially this being weighed, that this most holy sacrament consisteth of these two things, to wit, of the visible form of the outward elements, and the invisible flesh and blood of Christ ; that is to say, of the sacrament, and of the thing of the sacrament : Tertullian may seem to speak of these two parts of the sacrament jointly in this one sentence. For first he speaketh most plainly of the very body of Christ in the sacrament, and of the marvellous turning of the bread into the same : "The bread," saith he, "that he took and gave to his disciples, he made it his body." Which is the divine thing of the sacrament. Then forthwith he saith, that our Lord did it by saying, "This is my body : that is, the figure of my body." By which words he sheweth the other part, the sacrament only ; that is to say, that holy outward sign of the form of bread, under which form Christ's body, into the which the bread by God's power is turned, is contained : which outward form is verily the figure of Christ's body present, which our Lord under the same contained delivered to his disciples, and now is likewise at that holy table to the faithful people delivered, where the order of the catholic church is not broken.

This is *vani-
tas vanita-
tum.*

Holy out-
ward acci-
dents.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

If this place of Tertullian be the chief, and of greatest appearance for the sacramentaries, as M. Harding saith, I

marvel it is so coarsely answered. The words be both very few, and also very plain. But with this copious commentary of M. Harding's glossing, it will be very hard for the reader to find out any part of Tertullian's meaning. I will first open the occasion of the writing, and then lay forth the words. That done, I doubt not but the sense will stand clear and easy of itself.

Marcion the heretic, against whom Tertullian wrote, held and maintained this error, that Christ received of the blessed Virgin, not the very nature and substance, but only the outward forms and shows of man's body. Out of whose springs M. Harding and the rest of that side, as it may appear, have drawn their doctrine of accidents, standing without subject. This fond heresy Tertullian reproveth by this reason :

A figure of a body presupposeth a very natural body : for of a show or a phantasy there can be no figure :

But Christ gave unto his disciples a figure of his body :

Therefore it must needs follow, that Christ had a very natural body.

As every part of this argument is true, so the proportion and form of the same importeth a necessary sequel in reason. The words stand thus : *Acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non esset [fuisset], nisi veritatis esset corpus. Cæterum vacua res, quæ [quod] est phantasma, figuram capere non potest [possit]* : " Christ, taking the bread and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body ; saying, ' This is my body : ' that is to say, ' This is a figure of my body. ' But a figure it could not be, unless there were a body of a truth and indeed. For a void thing, as is a phantasy, can receive no figure. " These words are plain of themselves, and, if truth only might suffice, would require no long exposition.

Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. 4. [pp. 457, 458.]

Now, good reader, mark well M. Harding's considerations touching the same, and thou shalt see the darkness of Egypt brought in to clear the shining sun. First he saith : " The accidents and shows may well be the sacrament. "

Yet again he saith: "Christ's body itself may be the sacrament." Thirdly he saith: "Tertullian joineth these two senses jointly both together." And so by his cunning he hath found out two sacraments in one sacrament. All this is M. Harding's gloss. For there is not one word thereof in the text, neither of accidents, nor of Christ's body, as being a sacrament of itself; nor of this combining of two sacraments both in one. M. Harding saith: "Tertullian speaketh of a marvellous turning." But Tertullian speaketh no such word, neither of miracle nor of turning. M. Harding saith: "Tertullian speaketh of holy outward forms." But Tertullian not once nameth any kind of forms. By M. Harding's report, Tertullian saith: "Under these holy forms Christ's body is really present." But Tertullian himself speaketh nothing of any presence. All these petty glosses M. Harding hath devised of his own; as if it were lawful for a catholic man to examine the old learned fathers upon the rack, and to make them speak what he listeth.

Tertullian only saith thus: "Christ took bread, and made it his body." And because these words seemed doubtful, and might be diversly taken, he openeth his own meaning in this wise: "This is my body: that is to say, A figure of my body." And touching this word *fecit*, in what sense it is used in the holy fathers, I have spoken at large before in the tenth Article, and the second Division²⁸. Yet a little more to open M. Harding's folly in this behalf, whereas in these two several propositions, *Hoc est corpus*, and *Hoc est figura*, this pronoun *hoc*, as Tertullian useth it, hath relation only to one thing, as if he would say, "This bread is my body," and "This bread is a figure:" M. Harding to make up this new construction, contrary both to Tertullian's mind, and also to the natural course of the words, imagineth the same pronoun *hoc*, in the first place to signify one thing, and in the second place to signify another thing: as if Tertullian in the former clause had written thus: *Hic panis*: "This bread is my

²⁸ [Vol. iii. p. 87.]

body :” and in the second thus : *Hæc accidentia* : “ These accidents are a figure of my body.” And so, whereas these two propositions should sound both one thing, the one being only a declaration of the other, by M. Harding’s exposition, they are made to sound two diverse things, the one nothing like unto the other. Thus M. Harding useth the ancient fathers in like sort, as they say, Procrustes the cruel giant was wont in old times to use his prisoners : if they be longer than his measure, he choppeth them shorter : if they be too short, he racketh them longer.

And where he saith : The sacraments of the new testament contain covertly under them the thing itself, that they signify, and that according to Christ’s promise ; verily this saying “ covertly” containeth a great untruth. For as he is not able to allege any ancient learned father, that ever once mentioneth this privy and secret being under such covert, so is he not able to shew, that Christ ever made him any such promise touching the same. And, notwithstanding baptism be a sacrament of the new testament, yet, contrary to M. Harding’s new decree, it containeth not covertly and really the thing that it signifieth. True it is, the new sacraments of Christ’s institution are plainer and clearer than the old : as the gospel is plainer and clearer than the law. But the things signified are no more contained in the one, than in the other. Therefore

St. Augustine saith : *Idem in mysterio illorum cibus, et noster* : “ The spiritual meat that they had in the old law, and the spiritual meat that we have in the gospel, in a mystery is all one.”

Augustin. in
Psal. lxxvii.
[iv. pt. i.
816.]

And again : *Spiritualtem escam comederunt [manducaverunt] eandem, quam nos* : “ They did eat the same spiritual meat, that we eat.” And the whole

Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
26. [iii. pt. 2.
498.]

difference between the sacraments of the old testament, and the sacraments of the new, he openeth thus : *In illis sacrificiis, quid nobis esset donandum, figurate significabatur : in hoc autem sacrificio, quid nobis jam donatum sit, evidenter ostenditur. In illis sacrificiis prænuntiabatur Filius Dei pro impiis occidendus : in hoc autem pro impiis annuntiatur occisus* : “ In the sacrifices of the old law, it was signified under a figure, what thing should be given

Augustin. ad
Petrum Dia-
conum, cap.
19. [vi. app.
30.]

unto us; but in this sacrifice it is plainly shewed, what thing is already given unto us. In the sacrifice of the old law, it was shewed by a figure, that the Son of God should be slain for the wicked: but in this sacrifice it is declared, that he hath been already slain for the wicked²⁹." Such differences the old fathers find between these sacrifices: but of M. Harding's "containing," or "covert," they know nothing.

The reason that M. Harding can gather hereof, standeth thus: Tertullian saith: "The sacrament is a figure of Christ's body: ergo, Christ's body is therein covertly contained under the accidents."

M. HARDING: *Seventh Division.*

That Tertullian in this place is so to be understood, we are taught by the great learned bishop St. Augustine, and by Hilarius, who was bishop of Rome next after Leo the First. St. Augustine's words be these: *Corpus Christi et veritas, et figura est. Veritas, dum corpus Christi et sanguis in virtute Spiritus Sancti ex panis et vini substantia efficitur. Figura vero est quod exterius sentitur*: "The body of Christ is both the truth and the figure. The truth, whiles the body of Christ and his blood, by the power of the Holy Ghost, is made of the substance of bread and wine. And it is the figure that is with outward sense perceived."

De Con. dist.
2. Canon.
Utrum sub
figura.

A bastard
authority
in St. Au-
gustine's
name.

a Christ's
body of the
substance of
bread.

M. Harding
shunneth
his own
doctor.

Where St. Augustine here saith the body and blood of Christ to be made of the substance of bread and wine, beware thou unlearned man, thou think them not thereof to be made, as though they were newly created of the matter of bread and wine, neither that they be made of bread and wine, as of a matter: but that, where bread and wine were before, after consecration there is the very body and blood of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, and that in substance, in sort and manner to our weak reason incomprehensible.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

These words are bastard and misbegotten, as nothing resembling, neither the sense, nor the words, of St. Augustine, but rather contrary to them both. They are alleged only by certain late writers, as namely by Gratian,

²⁹ [De Fide ad Petrum Diaconum. This work is not by St. Augustine, but by bishop Fulgentius (A. D. 507). See vol. ii. p. 404.]

by Peter Lombard, and by Algerius, as other things also be without any great choice or judgment³⁰. Only St. Augustine, upon whom they are fathered, and therefore should best know them, knoweth them not. Howbeit, by whatsoever name we may call this new doctor, M. Harding findeth him so far and so rank of his side, that he is fain to check him of too much riot, and to call him back. "Beware thou unlearned man," saith he, "if thou take not very good heed, this new doctor, whom I call St. Augustine, will deceive thee. This Augustine saith, Christ's body is made of the substance of bread: but say thou, Christ's body is not made of the substance of bread. This Augustine saith twice together in one place, Christ's body is created: but he was not well advised, what he said: therefore say thou, Christ's body is not created: believe not this Augustine's words: he saith one thing, and thinketh another." Thus this doctor is set to school. But it may well be doubted, whether we ought to give more credit to this young St. Augustine, that cannot tell his own tale, or to M. Harding's commentary, that goeth so far beside the text.

If these words be false, why doth M. Harding here allege them? Why are they not rectified, either by Gratian, or by the Gloss, or at least by some note in the margin? And why are they published for a rule of our faith? If they be true, why should we shun them? Or why should we beware and take heed of them, specially being uttered without figure, or metaphor, or heat of speech?

M. HARDING: *Eighth Division.*

The words of Hilarius the pope utter the same doctrine: *Corpus Christi quod sumitur de altari, figura est, dum panis et vinum videtur extra: veritas autem, dum corpus Christi interior creditur*: "The body of Christ, which is received from the altar, is the figure, whiles bread and wine are seen outwardly: and it is the truth, whiles the body and blood of Christ are believed inwardly."

³⁰ [The real author was Paschasius de Corpore et Sanguine Christi (A. D. 844). See Richter's edit. of Gratian.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

These words of Hilary are partly answered before. His meaning is this: "The bread, that we see with our senses, is the figure: but the very substance of the sacrament, that thereby is signified, is the body of Christ in heaven." The bread is received with our bodily mouth: the body of Christ only with our faith. And thus these two words, *extra* and *interius*, which Hilary useth, have relation to our mouth, and to our faith: and so to the sacrament, that is present before us, and to the body of Christ, that is at the right hand of God. And in this sense St. Augustine saith: *Aqua exhibet forinsecus sacramentum gratiæ: et Spiritus operatur intrinsecus beneficium gratiæ*: "The water outwardly sheweth the sacrament of grace: and inwardly the Spirit worketh the benefit of grace." And to come near to the words of Hilary, St. Augustine again saith: *Habent foris sacramentum corporis Christi: sed rem ipsam non tenent intus, cujus est illud sacramentum*: "Outwardly they have the sacrament of Christ's body: but inwardly they have not the thing itself, whereof that thing is a sacrament." Further we may say, that Christ's body is in the sacrament itself, understanding it to be there as in a mystery. But to this manner of being there is required, neither circumstance of place, nor any corporal or real presence. So Chrysostom saith: *Oleum visibile in signo est: oleum invisibile in sacramento est. Oleum spirituale intus est: oleum visibile exterius est*: "The visible oil is in a token: the oil invisible is in a sacrament. The spiritual oil is within: the visible oil is without." So Paulinus writeth to Cytherius:

—*in suarum literarum corpore,*

Paulus magister adfuit:

"Paul the teacher was present in the body of his letters." So St. Augustine: *Novum testamentum absconditum erat in lege*: "The new testament was hidden in the law." So the ancient father Origen: *In vestimento poderis erat universus mundus*: "The whole world was in the priest's long gown³¹." So Chrysostom: *In scripturis*

³¹ [Origen *περὶ ἀρχῶν*. It is quoted as Origen's, a passage singular that Jewel should have which was only a quotation cited

Extra.
Interius.

Augustin.
epist. 23. [li.
264.]

Augustin.
epist. 50.
[cap. 11.
tom. ii. 663.]

Chrysost. in
Psalm. xlv.
[v. 176.]

Paulinus ad
Cytherium.
[lin. 285.
tom. ii. 107.]

Augustin. in
Quest. su-
per Exod.
lib. 2. [qu.
103. tom. iii.
454.]

Origen. Peri
Archon. lib. 2.
[l. 82.]

insertum est regnum Dei: “The kingdom of God is enclosed in the scriptures.” So Paulinus writing unto St. Augustine: *In hoc pane Trinitatis soliditas continetur*: “In this cake the perfection of the holy Trinity is contained.” I use purposely the mo examples in this behalf, for that I see many of simplicity are deceived, thinking that one thing cannot possibly be in another, unless it be contained in the same presently, really, and indeed. Yet it is written in that fond council of Nice the second: *Qui imaginem imperatoris videt, in ea imperatorem ipsum contemplantur*: “He that seeth the emperor’s image, in the same seeth the emperor himself.” Likewise saith Prudentius:

Legis in effigie scriptus per enigmata Christus:

“Christ written by figures in the show of the law.” Therefore M. Harding’s error herein standeth in over gross understanding of these words, *extra* and *interius*. For by the former he can conceive nothing else but accidents: by the latter, nothing but Christ’s body under the same secretly hidden: which was never any part of this holy father’s meaning.

Chrysost. in Opere Imperfecto, in cap. 23. [vi. app. 186.]
Inter Epist. Augustini, epist. 35. [il. 36.]
Concil. Nice. 2. act. 6. [xliii. 273. A.]

[Prudentil Apothecos. l. 331.]

M. HARDING: *Ninth Division.*

Thus the fathers call not only the sacrament, but also the body and blood of Christ itself in the sacrament, sometimes the truth, sometimes a figure: the truth, that is to wit, the very and true body and blood of Christ: a figure, in respect of the manner of being of the same there present, which is really and substantially, but invisibly, under the visible form of the outward elements: and so Tertullian meaneth by his, “That is the figure of my body,” as though Christ had shewed by the word *hoc* that which was visible, which verily is the figure of the body, right so as that which is the invisible inward thing, is the truth of the body. Which interpretation of Tertullian indeed is not according to the right sense of Christ’s words, though his meaning swerve not from the truth. For whereas our Lord said, “This is my body,” he meant not so, as though he had said, the outward form of the sacrament, which here I deliver to you, is a figure of my body under the same contained, forasmuch as by these words, *hoc est*, he shewed not the visible form of bread, but the substance of his very body, into which by his divine power he turned the bread. And therefore (192) none of all the fathers ever so expounded those words of Christ, but contrariwise, namely Theophylact and

A miserable shift. By this exposition, how can Christ’s body itself be a figure?
Tertullian understandeth not Christ’s words.
The 192nd untruth, notorious. For M. Harding knoweth, that all the old fathers expounded it so.

by Origen from the Book of Wisdom xviii. 24. Septuagint. *ἐπι γὰρ ποδῆρους ἐνδύματος ἦν ὅλος ὁ κόσμος.*]

a Outward forms and accidents are Christ's body itself.

Damascene. "He said not," saith Theophylact, "'This is a figure,' but 'This is my body.'" "The bread, nor wine," (meaning their outward forms,) saith Damascene, "'a is not a figure of the body and blood of Christ: not so in no wise. But it is the body itself of our Lord deificated, sith our Lord himself saith, 'This is my body,' not 'the figure of my body,' but 'my body:' and not 'the figure of my blood,' but 'my blood,'" &c.

In Matt. cap. 26. lib. 4. cap. 14.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

De Con. dist. 2. Corpus. Augustin. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. 2. cap. 1. [lii. 19.]

Here is imagined another strange kind of figures. For Christ's body itself is now become a figure. But Hilarius saith: *Figura est, quod extra videtur*: "The figure is that is seen outwardly." And St. Augustine saith: *Signum est, quod speciem ingerit oculis*: "A sign is a thing, that offereth a sight unto the eyes³²." Wherefore by M. Harding's judgment, Christ's very body appeareth outwardly, and is seen in the sacrament with our corporal eyes. If so, how then is it there secretly, as he said before, and under covert? If not, how then can it be called a figure? In confessing the one, he must needs deny the other. If Christ's body be a figure, it is not in covert: if it be in covert, it is not a figure.

M. Harding contrary to himself.

He will say, The accidents and shows are figures of Christ's body there hidden. And again: The same body, so invisibly hidden, is a figure of that body that died visibly upon the cross. Thus, whereas others may not once name any figure in these cases, it is lawful for M. Harding, to heap figure upon figure: and that not such figures as have been used by any the ancient fathers, but such as he himself for a shift can best devise.

Tertullian, saith M. Harding, supposeth, that Christ, when he had the bread in his hand, and said *hoc*, "this," shewed only the visible accidents and forms of bread, as if Christ had said: "This whiteness, this roundness, this breadth, this lightness, &c. is my body:" by which skilful construction it must needs follow, that Christ had a body made of accidents.

"Howbeit," saith M. Harding, "this interpretation

³² [August. de Doctr. Christ. "aliud aliquid ex se faciens in "Signum est enim res, præter "cogitationem venire."] "speciem quam ingerit sensibus,

of Tertullian indeed is not according to the right sense of Christ's word." Hereby it appeareth what affiance M. Harding hath in the judgment of this learned father. After so many fair words, he beginneth utterly to mislike him, and concludeth in the end, that he wrote he knew not what: and took upon him to expound Christ's words, and yet understood not what Christ meant: and that not in any deep allegory, or other spiritual or secret meaning, but even in the very literal sense and outward sound of Christ's words. And thus Tertullian is charged, not only with ignorance, but also with presumption.

But if, as M. Harding saith, Tertullian understood not Christ's meaning, what if some man would likewise say, M. Harding understandeth not Tertullian's meaning? And what if the simple reader understand not M. Harding's meaning? It were too much to say further, M. Harding understandeth not his own meaning. Verily Tertullian not once nameth any one of all these M. Harding's strange phantasies, neither form, nor accident, nor visible, nor invisible, nor outward element, nor secret presence, nor really, nor substantially, nor I know not what. He wrote and meant plainly in these cases, as others the learned fathers wrote and meant.

And touching the words of Christ, "This is my body:" he saith not: These shows or accidents of bread, as M. Harding full unadvisedly expoundeth him, but, "This bread is my body." Wherein he hath the consent both of the scriptures, and also of the ancient doctors of the church. St. Paul saith, (not the outward form or accident, but) "The bread that we break, is the participation of Christ's 1 Cor. x. 16. body." Irenæus saith: *Panis, in quo gratiæ actæ sunt, Irenæus, lib. 4. cap. 34. [p. 251.]* est corpus Domini: "The bread wherein thanks are given, is the body of the Lord." Origen saith: *Dominus panem Origen. in Matt. tract. 12. [il. 98. ed. 1557.]* discipulis dabat (*dicens, Hoc est corpus meum*): "Our Lord gave bread unto his disciples, saying, 'This is my body ³³.'" So St. Cyprian: *Vinum fuit, quod sanguinem Cyprian. lib. 2. epist. 3. [p. 107.]* suum dixit: "It was wine that he called his blood." So

³³ [Origen. "Ideo et primum dat panem benedicens et frangens discipulis suis. . . ."]

Chrysostom.
in Matt. hom.
83. [viii.
784.]
Cyrillus in
Johannem,
lib. 4. cap. 14.
[ed. Aubert.
cap. 2. tom.
iv. 360.]

Chrysostom: *Christus, cum hoc mysterium tradidit, vinum tradidit*: "Christ, when he gave this mystery, he gave wine." Likewise Cyrillus: *Christus fragmenta panis dedit discipulis*: "Christ gave fragments, or pieces of bread to his disciples³⁴." Thus Tertullian understood and expounded the words of Christ. Wherefore it is great folly, to charge him with this new imagination of accidents, and so unadvisedly and without cause to reprove him, for speaking that he never spake. By these we may the better judge of M. Harding's own exposition. For thus he saith: "When Christ said *hoc*, 'this,' he shewed not forth the visible accident, or form of bread, but his very natural body." It appeareth that M. Harding, either little considereth, or not much regardeth, his own words. For all the rest of his side hold for most certain, that their transubstantiation is not wrought before the uttering of the last syllable. Which thing notwithstanding, M. Harding, contrary to all his fellows, (I will not say, contrary to himself,) saith, that the bread is turned into Christ's body, only at the utterance of the first syllable. And so by this new divinity, Christ's body is made present, and the sacrament is a sacrament, before consecration: and all is ended before it be begun: which, in M. Harding's schools, not long sithence was counted an error above all errors: which to shift, they were fain to devise *individuum vagum*³⁵.

Again, if this pronoun, *hoc*, have relation to Christ's body, then must we of force, by M. Harding's phantasy, thus expound the words of Christ: "This is my body:" that is to say: "My body is my body:" which exposition of M. Harding's, D. Holcot saith, is vain, and peevish, and to no purpose.

And, whereas M. Harding saith: None of all the old fathers ever expounded these words of Christ by a figure, I marvel, he can so boldly utter and publish so great untruth without blushing. For he knoweth right well, that scarcely any one of all the old fathers ever expounded it otherwise.

³⁴ [Cyrill. in Johann. See vol. i. p. 242, note ⁷⁶.]

³⁵ [Infra, art. 24.]

In 4. Sent.
quest. 3.
[sext. prin-
cip.]

Damascene and Theophylact are very young doctors, in comparison of them that we may justly call old : as standing far without the compass of the first six hundred years, and otherwise fraught with great errors, and sundry follies³⁶. Therefore I think it not amiss, for shortness of time, to pass them by. Yet by the way, let us a little view M. Harding's logic. Thus he teacheth us to reason : Tertullian by this pronoun *hoc*, understood the outward accident or form of bread : *ergo*, Christ's body itself is a figure.

M. HARDING : *Tenth Division.*

And the cause, why Tertullian so expounded these words of Christ, was, that thereby he might take advantage against Marcion the heretic, as many times the fathers in heat of disputation do handle some places, not after the exact signification of the words, but rather follow such way, as serveth them best to confute their adversary. Which manner not reporting any untruth, St. Basil doth excuse in the setting forth of a disputation, not in prescribing of a doctrine. As he defendeth Gregorius Neocæsariensis against the Sabellians, for that in a contention he had with Ælianus an ethnick, to declare the mysteries of the Trinity, he used the word *ὑπόστασις*, instead of *οὐσία*. And the learned men, that be well seen in the fathers, know, they must use a discretion, and a sundry judge between the things they write *agonistikōs*, that is to say, by way of contention or disputation, and the things they utter, *dogmaticōs*, that is, by way of setting forth a doctrine, or matter of faith. Neither in that contention did Tertullian so much regard the exact use of words, as how he might win his purpose, and drive his adversary, denying that Christ took the true body of man, and that he suffered death indeed, to confess the truth, which he thought to bring to pass, by deducing of an argument from the figure of his body, which consisteth in that which is visible in the sacrament, to prove the verity of his body. And therefore in framing his reason by way of illation, he saith : *Figura autem non esset, nisi veritatis esset corpus* : "There were not a figure, unless there were a body of truth, or a very body indeed."

Tertullian regarded not the exact use of his words.

O folly !
What needeth him to prove this by a figure, if he had thought, that Christ's body itself was really present ?

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding courteously deviseth a favourable excuse for Tertullian, not thinking it best, being so ancient a

³⁶ [Johannes Damascenus (A.D. 730.) was, according to Oudinus, (tom. i. 1717,) the first Greek father who taught the Carnal Presence, and that by falsely interpreting St. Basil's Liturgy.]

father, and so near to the apostles' time, utterly to condemn him of folly. He uttered all this, saith he, "in heat of contention, rashly and unadvisedly, and understood not what he said, neither had any great regard to the exact use of his words." Howbeit, Tertullian not only spake these words upon the sudden, but also leisurely, and with study wrote them: and yet afterward quietly perusing and considering the same, was never able to espy this fault.

But, that such cases of heat may sometimes happen, we have over good trial in M. Harding: whom, as it now appeareth, contention hath caused so many ways, and so far to overreach the truth, and to have so small regard to that he writeth. St. Ambrose saith: *Apostolus impudoratos appellat eos, qui contentionibus nituntur: necesse est enim, ut contentio extorqueat aliquid, imo multa, quæ dicantur contra conscientiam: ut intus in animo perdat, foris victor abscedat: non enim patitur se vinci, licet sciat vera esse, quæ audit*: "The apostle calleth them impudent, that hold by contention. For it cannot be chosen, but that contention must force a man to say something, or rather many things, against his conscience: that he lose in his mind within, to the intent outwardly he may seem to have the victory. For he will not suffer himself to be conquered: no, although he know the things, that he heareth, be never so true." Afterward being thus carried away with contention, and more regarding their own reputation than the truth of God, as Lactantius saith, they seek reasons and shifts to colour their error. So Seneca writeth of the poet Ovid: *Non ignoravit vitia sua, sed amavit*: "He was not ignorant of his own faults, but rather had a fancy to them."

† Ambros.
in 2. ad Ti-
motheum 2.
[ii. app. 308.]

Lactan. Vi-
deri volunt
non tantum
cum venia,
sed etiam
cum ratione
peccare.

Basil. epist.
41. [iii. 90.]

Touching Gregorius Neocasariensis, St. Basil's excuse is good. So St. Augustine, writing against the Pelagians, seemeth sometime to lean too far to the contrary, and to become a Manichee: as also writing against the Manichees, he seemeth sometimes to be a Pelagian. The like St. Basil writeth of one Dionysius, that, contending over earnestly against the heretic Sabellius, seemed to fall into the contrary heresy.

Thus the holy fathers, in the sway of disputation, use oftentimes to enlarge their talk above the common course of truth: but specially when they entreat of the nature and effect of the holy sacraments: to the end to withdraw the eyes of the people from the sensible and corruptible creatures, that they see before them, to the contemplation of things spiritual, that be in heaven. In this sort St. Chrysostom saith: *Figimus dentes in carne Christi*: "We fasten our teeth in the flesh of Christ." And again, *Videmus Dominum nostrum in cunis jacentem, et fasciis involutum*³⁷: "We see our Lord lying in his cradle, and swathed in bands." And again: *Turba circumstans rubet sanguine Christi*: "The company standing about is made red with the blood of Christ"³⁸. Likewise again he saith: *Hic sermo sanguine infectus omnes aspersit*: "These words being stained with blood have sprinkled all men"³⁹. So likewise St. Bernard: *Totum Christum desidero videre, et tangere: et non id solum, sed accedere ad sacrosanctum ejus lateris vulnus ostium arcæ, quod factum est in latere, ut..... totus intrem usque ad cor Jesu*: "I desire to see whole Christ, and to touch him: and not only so, but also to come to the holy wound of his side, which is the door, that was made in the side of the ark: that I may wholly enter even unto the heart of Jesus"⁴⁰. Thus the holy fathers have evermore used upon occasion to force and advance their words above the tenor of common speech.

Now mark, good Christian reader, how handsomely M. Harding applieth these things unto his purpose. Certainly Tertullian in these words, even by M. Harding's own judgment, enlargeth nothing, nor useth any such contentions or fiery speech over and above the truth: but rather contrariwise he abateth and minisheth, as much as he possibly may of the truth. For the thing that, M. Harding saith, is Christ's very natural body, Tertullian saith,

³⁷ [Chrysost. de Beato Philogonio. ἵνα ἴδωμεν, κ. τ. λ.]

³⁸ [Chrysost. de Sacerdotio. . . . καὶ πάντας ἐκείνῳ τῷ τιμίῳ φοινισσομένουσιν αἵματι. . . .]

³⁹ [Chrysost. ad Hebr. Οὗτος ὁ

λόγος ἀντὶ ὑσώπου τῷ αἵματι ἐμβαφεὶς πάντας περιρραίνει.]

⁴⁰ [This work is not by St. Bernard, but by his friend Guilihelmus Abbas S. Theodorici, flor. 1140.]

Chrysost. in Johān. hom. 45. [viii. 272.]

Chrysost. de Beato Philogonio. [i. 497.]

Chrysost. de Sacerdotio, lib. 3. [i. 382.]

Chrysostom. ad Hebræos, hom. 16. [xii. 160.]

Bernard. de Amore Dei, cap. 1. [tom. v. 248.]

Hoc est,
figura corporis
ris mel.

“It is a figure of Christ’s body :” the thing that indeed and undoubtedly is the substance of bread, that Tertullian, by M. Harding’s exposition, calleth a show, or accident of bread ; to be short, that thing, wherein resteth all thing, Tertullian in conclusion maketh nothing. Yet M. Harding favourably excuseth him, for that he wrote ἀγωνιστικῶς, as did Gregorius Neocæsariensis : and therefore through heat of contention seemeth somewhat to overreach the truth. Thus he, that calleth Christ’s body a figure, substance, accident, and abaseth his talk, and speaketh less than he should do : by M. Harding’s divinity, amplifieth, enlargeth, overreacheth, and speaketh more than he should do. It is a very narrow hole, that these men will not seek to shift out at.

Origen. in
Levit. hom.
7. [ii. 225.]

Origen expounding these words : “ Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man,” &c. saith thus, “ It is a figure.”

† Cyprian.
de Unctione
Christi.
[app. cxxv.]

St. Cyprian saith : *Significata, et significantia iisdem nominibus censentur* : “ The things that signify, and the things that be signified, are counted both by one name.” St. Hierom saith : “ Christ represented the verity of his body⁴¹.”

Hieronym.
in Matth. cap.
26. [iv. 128.]

St. Augustine saith : “ Christ delivered to his disciples the figure of his body.” Gelasius calleth the sacrament, *similitudinem et imaginem*, “ a similitude and an image of

Augustin. in
Psalm. iii.
[iv. 7.]

Gelasius
contra Euty-
chem. [Bibl.
Patr. v. pt. 2.
p. 671.]

Christ’s body⁴².” St. Basil calleth it ἀντίτυπον, “ a sampler :”

Basil. in
Liturgia. [Gr.
ed. du Sainc-
tes, p. 58.]

Dionysius calleth it *signum*, “ a token⁴³.” St. Ambrose

Dionysius,
Eccles. Hier.
cap. 3.
[p. 134.]

Ambros. de
Sacrament.
Et de eis, qui
initiantur.

useth all these words together, *imago, figura, typus, similitudo, significatur* : “ an image, a figure, a token, a likeness, it is signified.” Time will not suffer me to reckon up the

rest. For to this purpose, and with such words they write all, and none otherwise. And must we needs believe, upon M. Harding’s report, that all these fathers spake in such heat, and in such fury of contention, and had no manner regard to the exact use of their words ? Truly, as it is said before, Tertullian wrote gravely and soberly, and

⁴¹ [Hieronym. in Matth. “. . . .
“ ut. . . ipse quoque veritatem sui
“ corporis et sanguinis repræsen-
“ taret.”]

⁴² [Gelasius, contr. Eutychem.
Routh’s Opuscula. “ Et certe

“ imago et similitudo corporis et
“ sanguinis Christi in actione my-
“ steriorum celebrantur.”]

⁴³ [Dionysius. Τὰ θεῖα σύμ-
βολα.]

without any token of impatient heat: and that not lightly or slenderly, touching the matter with one hot word or two, as it is here supposed, but clearly proving the same by a substantial and full conclusion. For, to prove against Marcion the heretic, that Christ had the very substance and nature of a man's body, he useth this reason: "A figure presupposeth the verity of a thing, whereof it is a figure: but Christ at his last supper gave to his disciples the figure of his body: therefore Christ had indeed (not a phantasy or a show) but a natural and a very body." The force hereof standeth upon this ground, that a phantasy or show can bear no figure. And in this sort some think St. Paul said, *Idolum nihil est*, "An idol is nothing." I Cor. viii. 4. Thus St. Augustine saith: "Unless sacraments had a certain likeness of things whereof they be sacraments, then, no doubt, they were no sacraments⁴⁴." Augustin. epist. 23. [II. 267.] Thus Leo, Gelasius, and other old fathers, reason against the heretic Eutyches. Likewise Chrysostom reproveth the old heretics Valentinus, Manichæus, and Marcion. Thus he writeth: *Quoniam isti, eorumque sequaces, negaturi erant hanc dispensationem (Christi in carne) ideo nos in memoriam passionis semper reducit per hoc mysterium: ut nemo, modo ne sit insanus, seduci possit*: "Because these heretics, and others their disciples, would deny this dispensation" (of Christ in the flesh), "therefore by this mystery he putteth us evermore in remembrance of his passion, that no man, unless he be mad, can be deceived⁴⁵." And immediately before, he useth these words, which I have elsewhere⁴⁶ alleged: *Si mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est?* If Christ died not," (as these heretics say,) "then whose sign and whose token is this sacrifice?" In like manner Tertullian reasoneth against Marcion, not ignorantly or blindly, as M. Harding saith,

⁴⁴ [Augustin. ad Bonifacium. See this passage printed, vol. i. p. 274, note ⁶.]

⁴⁵ [Chrysost. in Matt. hom. 83. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔμελλον οἱ περὶ Μαρτίωνα, καὶ Οὐαλεντίνου, καὶ Μάνην φέεσθαι ταύτην ἀρνόμενοι τὴν οἰκονομίαν, διηλεκτῶς ἀναμνησκει τοῦ

πάθους καὶ διὰ τῶν μυστηρίων, ὥστε μηδένα παραλογισθῆναι, ὁμοῦ μὲν σώζων, ὁμοῦ δὲ παιδεύων, διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης ἐκείνης. It will be perceived that there is nothing in the original to correspond to "modo ne sit insanus."]

⁴⁶ [Vol. ii. p. 356, note ⁵⁰.]

but directly and orderly, and according to the words of Christ.

But, if Tertullian had then been persuaded of this privy and secret presence, that here is imagined, and nevertheless would have left the same, and grounded his whole proof upon a figure, then had he not only been ignorant and presumptuous, as here M. Harding maketh him, but also a traitor to his own cause. For, if he had granted this new phantasy, that the accidents in the sacrament stand alone without any subject, then had he concluded fully with Marcion the heretic, and most directly against himself. For thus would Marcion conclude upon the same: "The bread in the sacrament is phantastical," that is to say, "It seemeth bread, and is none: even so the body of Christ was phantastical: for it seemed a body, and was none."

Thus M. Harding, and Marcion the heretic, build both together upon one foundation.

M. HARDING: *Eleventh Division.*

And whereas Tertullian useth this word "figure," in this place, it is not to be understood such as the figures of the Old Testament be, as though it signified the shewing of a thing to come, or of a thing absent, which is wont to be set against the truth, as contrary to the same; but it is such a kind of figure as doth cover the truth present, and so as it were joined with the truth, (193) as it is wont to be taken in the New Testament, where it sheweth rather the manner of a thing to be exhibited, than that it taketh away the truth of presence of the thing which is exhibited. For else, concerning the truth of Christ's body in the sacrament, if any man doubt what opinion he was of, he sheweth himself plainly so to judge of it as ever hath been taught in the catholic church. Whereof he giveth evidence in many other places: but specially in his second book to his wife, exhorting her not to marry again to an infidel, if she overlived him, lest, if she did, she should not have opportunity to observe the Christian religion as she would. Speaking of the blessed sacrament, which was then commonly kept of devout men and women in their houses, and there in times of persecution received before other meats, when devotion stirred them, he saith thus: "Shall not thy husband know what thou eatest secretly before other meat? And if he know it, he will believe it to be bread, (194) not him who it is called." The Latin is recited before. I omit many other places, which shew him to acknowledge Christ's body in the sacrament, because I would not be tedious, which verily by no wresting can be drawn to the signification of a mere figure.

The 193rd
untruth. For
it is never so
taken in the
New Testa-
ment.

The 194th
untruth,
standing in
manifest and
wilful cor-
ruption.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

One cloud more M. Harding throweth in, to dim and shadow the daylight. He casteth doubts lest some man would make this holy mystery a figure of the old testament. But it is known even unto children that it is a sacrament of Christ's institution in the gospel, like as also is the sacrament of baptism.

But the difference between the sacraments of the Old Testament and of the New, standeth not in containing or covering, as it is here surmised, but in the order and manner and guidance of shewing. Which difference St. Augustine openeth in this sort: *Sacramenta legis fuerunt promissiones rerum complendarum: nostra sunt indicia rerum completarum*: "The sacraments of the old law were promises of things to be performed: our sacraments are tokens of things that already be performed." Again, *Lex et Prophetæ.....sacramenta habebant prænuntiantia rem futuram: sacramenta nostri temporis venisse testantur, quod illa venturum prædicabant*: "The law and the prophets had sacraments, shewing before a thing that was to come: but the sacraments of our time do witness that the thing is already come, that by those sacraments was signified." And again: *Sacramenta (Judæorum) in signis diversa fuerunt (a nostris); in rebus autem significatis paria*: "The sacraments of the Jews, in outward tokens, were diverse from ours; but in the things signified they were equal, and one with ours." Likewise again he saith: *In illis carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Christi, quam pro nostris peccatis fuerat oblaturus; in isto autem sacrificio est gratiarum actio et commemoratio carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit*: "In those fleshly sacrifices there was a signification of the flesh of Christ, which he had to offer for our sins; but in this sacrifice there is a thanksgiving, and a remembrance of the flesh of Christ, which he hath already offered for us ⁴⁷."

August. contra Faustum, lib. 19. cap. 14. [viii. 320.]

August. contra Literas Petilian, lib. 2. cap. 37. [ix. 245.]

Augustin. in Johan. tract. 26. [iii. pt. 2. 498.]

August. [Fulgentii] de Fide ad Petrum, cap. 19. [vi. App. 30.]

⁴⁷ [De Fide ad Petr. Not by St. Augustine, but by Fulgentius. See ante, vol. ii. p. 404. note ⁹⁹.]

The new phantasy of being present secretly, or under covert, is answered before.

And whereas, for further proof of Tertullian's mind herein, M. Harding hath here alleged certain words of his unto his wife, understand thou, good reader, that wilfully he hath of purpose corrupted the same, the rather to mislead thy simplicity. True it is, that the unfaithful, that knoweth not Christ, if he happen to see the bread of the holy mysteries, will judge no further of it, but that he seeth. But what it meaneth or signifieth, or unto what end it is appointed, he knoweth not. But the bread of the sacrament, by Christ's institution, is spiritual and heavenly bread, even as the water of baptism is spiritual and heavenly water. Which thing, as Tertullian saith, the infidel cannot see. But M. Harding, having small regard to his reader's judgment, hath wittingly falsified his translation, changing this article "it" into "him," only of his own particular wilfulness, contrary to all others, old or new; yea, contrary to his own fellows; of whom one translateth the same in this wise: "And if he know it, he believeth it to be bread, and not that which it is said to be." No man may be bold to work such open corruption but M. Harding; for whereas Tertullian's words be plain: *Si sciverit maritus tuus, panem esse, credet, non illum (panem) qui dicitur*: "If thy husband know it, (being an infidel) he will believe it to be (bare) bread, but not that (bread) that it is called⁴⁸." M. Harding thought it better to translate it thus: "He will believe it to be bread, but not Him who it is called:" as if it were the person of a man. This dealing, and the whole understanding of Tertullian's mind, is opened more at large in the first Article, and in the seventeenth Division. Certainly false translation maketh no sufficient proof.

Now mark thou, good Christian reader, into how many and how narrow straits M. Harding hath cast himself, to avoid the force of these few plain words of Tertullian: *Hoc est figura corporis mei*: "This is a figure of my body."

⁴⁸ [Tertullian. ad Uxorem. See vol. i. p. 239. note ⁷⁴.]

First, the outward, and, as he calleth it, the holy form of bread, is the figure of Christ's body, invisibly hidden ^{Holy accidents: 1} under the accidents; secondly, the same body, so hidden ² and invisible, is a figure of Christ's body visible; thirdly, ³ Tertullian, as it is here presumed, understood not the very grammatical and literal sense of Christ's words; fourthly, ⁴ the same Tertullian was carried away with heat and contention, and either knew not or cared not what he said; fifthly, by this new exposition he is made to join with ⁵ Marcion the heretic, against whom he writeth, and so to conclude directly against himself. I pass over the phantasming of forms, accidents, outward elements, miraculous changes, secret presences, and other like forced terms, whereof Tertullian knoweth none. To be short, M. Harding with his strange construction, and Marcion the old heretic, hold both by one principle.

It were far better, for a man that meant truth, to leave these unsavoury and unsensible glosses, and simply and plainly to expound the words of Christ, as this ancient learned father expoundeth them: *Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, Figura corporis mei*: "This is my body, that is to say, This is a figure of my body." So shall Tertullian agree, both in sense and words, with all the old catholic writers and doctors of the church; so shall he agree with the common gloss noted in the decrees: *Vocatur corpus Christi; id est, significat corpus Christi*: "It is called the body of Christ; that is to say, it signifieth the body of Christ." So shall he agree with Maximus, the Greek scholiast upon Dionysius: *Signa sunt hæc, non autem veritas*: "These be tokens, but not the truth itself." To conclude, so shall Tertullian agree with himself; for thus he writeth: *Christus non reprobavit.....panem, quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentavit [l. repræsentat]*: "Christ refused not bread, wherewith he represented his own body."

De Cons. dist. 2. Hoc est. In Glossa.

Maximus in Eccles. Hierar. cap. 3. [p. 84.] σύμβολα ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀλήθεια. Tertullian. contra Marcionem, lib. 1. [cap. 14. p. 372.]

M. HARDING: *Twelfth Division.*

The like answer may be made to the objection brought out of St. Augustine, *Contra Adimantum Manichæum*, cap. 13: *Non dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum tamen daret*

A miserable
shift. St.
Augustine
hath no re-
gard what he
say.

signum corporis sui: "Our Lord sticke not to say, 'This is my body,' when notwithstanding he gave the sign of his body." For this is to be considered, that St. Augustine, in fighting against the Manichees, oftentimes useth not his own sense and meaning, but those things which by some mean, howsoever it were, might seem to give him advantage against them, so as he might put them to the worst, as he witnesseth himself in his book *De Bono Perseverantiæ*, cap. 11. et 12.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

St. Augustine, saith M. Harding, in the chafe and rage of disputation, sometimes forgot himself, and uttered his words unadvisedly; and not only that, but also afterward published the same his unadvised speech in open writing unto the world, as a man seeking only to conquer his adversary; but whether by right or by wrong, by truth or by falsehood, he had no care. But, O gentle and easy heretics, that upon such proofs would so lightly yield unto St. Augustine! Easy also be these catholics, that in so childish guesses will give credit to M. Harding. Certainly St. Augustine, for his mildness and sobriety, both in disputation and also otherwise, hath the praise above all others. Neither doth there appear in that whole book against Adimantus any token to the contrary. Some part of their variance grew upon occasion of these words: *Sanguis est anima*: "The blood is the soul." For declaration whereof St. Augustine, without any manner heat of contention that may appear, saith thus: *Ita sanguis est anima, quemadmodum petra erat Christus*: "So is the blood the soul, even as the rock was Christ." And in the same chapter he joineth these three sentences all together: "The blood is the soul;" "The rock was Christ;" and "This is my body"⁴⁹; as being all both of like meaning, and also of like manner of utterance. St. Augustine never knew any of these M. Harding's lately invented holy forms, or coverts, or secresies. But in most plain wise he saith: *Dabat signum corporis sui*: "Christ gave a token of his body:" agreeing therein both with himself and also

Augustin.
contra Adi-
mantum,
cap. 12. [viii.
126.]

⁴⁹ [It is not meant that the three expressions are in one context together.]

with all other ancient catholic fathers. But if M. Harding, not shewing us any suspicion or token of inordinate heat in that reverend master of the church of God, may tell us only of himself, that he was thus unadvisedly carried away with vehemency of disputation and tempest of talk, then may he also easily dispatch all other the ancient learned fathers, and say whatsoever they wrote, that liketh not him, they wrote in a rage and in their furies. But if St. Augustine were alive, he would rather say, that M. Harding were somewhat blown away with the winds and waves of contention, and had much forgotten himself, and talketh in his heats, he knoweth not or careth not what. St. Ambrose, upon occasion expounding these words, saith thus: *Cum sanguinem hoc loco animam diceret, utique significavit, aliud esse animam, aliud sanguinem*: “When Moses in this place called the blood the soul, doubtless he meant thereby that the blood is one thing, and the soul another⁵⁰,” notwithstanding he seem by words to make them one. Even so likewise may we say, when Christ uttered these words, “This bread is my body,” he meant that the bread is one thing, and his body another, notwithstanding the words seem to sound otherwise.

Ambrosius
de Noe et
Arca, cap. 25.
[1. 266.]

M. HARDING: *Thirteenth Division.*

Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratione 4. in Sanctum Pascha*, shewing difference between the passover of the law, which the Jews did eat, and that which we in the new testament do eat in the mystery of the sacrament, and that which Christ shall eat with us in the life to come, in the kingdom of his Father, uttereth such words, as whereby he calleth that we receive here a figure of that shall be received there. *Ceterum jam paschæ fiamus participes, figuratiter tamen adhuc, etsi pascha hoc veteri sit manifestius. Siquidem pascha legale, audenter dico, figuræ figura erat obscurior: at paulo post illo perfectius et purius fruemur, cum Verbum ipsum biberit nobiscum in regno Patris novum, detegens et docens, quæ nunc mediocriter ostendit. Novum enim semper existit id, quod nuper est cognitum*: “But now,” saith he, “let us be made partakers of this passover, and yet but figuratively as yet, albeit this passover be more manifest than that of the old law. For the passover of the law (I speak boldly)

⁵⁰ [Ambros. de Noe et Arca. The Benedict. edd. pronounce this work mutilated and corrupted.]

was a dark figure of a figure; but ere it be long we shall enjoy it more perfectly, and more purely, whenas the Word (that is, the Son of God) shall drink the same new with us in the kingdom of his Father, opening and teaching the things that now he sheweth not in most clear wise. For that ever is new, which of late is known." Whereas this learned father calleth our passover, that we eat, a figure, whereof the law passover was a figure, terming it the figure of a figure, he asketh leave, as it were, so to say, and confesseth himself to speak boldly; alluding, as it seemeth, to St. Paul, or at least having fast printed in his mind his doctrine to the Hebrews: where he calleth the things of the life to come *res ipsas*, "the very things themselves:" the things of the new testament, *ipsam imaginem rerum*, "the very image of things:" and the old testament, *imaginis umbram*, "the shadow of the image." Which doctrine Nazianzen applieth to the sacrament of the altar. And his meaning is this, that, although we be gotten out of those darkneses of the law, yet we are not come to the full light which we look for in the world to come, where we shall see and behold the very things themselves clearly, and we shall know as we are known. To be short, by his report, the sacraments of the old testament be but figures and shadows of things to come, the sacraments of the new testament not shadows of things to come, (195) but figures of things present, which are contained and delivered under them in mystery, but yet substantially: at the end of all, figures in heaven shall cease and be abolished, and there shall we see all those things, that here be hidden, clearly face to face. And where Christ saith, "that he will drink his passover new with us in the kingdom of his Father," Nazianzen so expoundeth that word, "new," as it may be referred to the manner of the exhibiting, not to the thing exhibited. Not that in the world to come we shall have another body of our Lord, which now we have not, but that we shall have the selfsame body that now we have in the sacrament of the altar in a mystery, but yet verily and substantially, after another sort and manner, and in that respect new. For so had without mystery or coverture, in clear sight and most joyful fruition, it is new in comparison of this present knowledge.

Thus the word "figure" reporteth not always the absence of the truth of a thing, as we see, but the manner of the thing either promised or exhibited: that, forasmuch as it is not fully and clearly seen, it may be called "a figure." So of Origen it is called *imago rerum*, "an image of the things," as in this place: *Si quis vero transire potuerit ab hac umbra, veniat ad imaginem rerum, et videat adventum Christi in carne factum, videat eum pontificem offerentem quidem et nunc Patri hostias, et postmodum oblaturum; et intelligat hæc omnia imagines esse spiritualium rerum, et corporalibus officiis cælestia designari. Imago ergo dicitur hoc, quod recipitur ad præsens, et intueri potest humana natura:* "And if any man," saith he, "can pass and depart from this

Heb. x. 1.

The 195th untruth. For this was never this father's meaning.

O folly! Nazianzen speaketh not of the sacrament, but of perfection and imperfection of knowledge

This place is not well applied, for these words pertain nothing to the sacrament.

In Psal. xxxviii. hom. 2. [H. 696, 697.]

shadow, let him come to the image of things, and see the coming of Christ made in flesh; let him see him a bishop, that both now offereth sacrifice unto his Father, and also hereafter shall offer. And let him understand that all these things be images of spiritual things, and that by bodily services heavenly things be resembled and set forth. So this, which is at this present received, and may of man's nature be seen, is called an image." In this saying of Origen, this word "image" doth not in signification diminish the truth of things, so as they be not the very things indeed, for the things that Christ did in flesh were true things; but when they are termed "the image of things," thereby is signified, so far as the condition and nature of man can behold and see them.

This is most plainly uttered by Œcumenius, a Greek writer, upon these words of St. Paul to the Hebrews: *non ipsam imaginem rerum*: "not the image itself of things," *id est, veritatem rerum*, "that is, the truth of things," saith he, and addeth further: *Res appellat futuram vitam, imaginem autem rerum, evangelicam politiam; umbram vero vetus testamentum. Imago enim manifestiora ostendit exemplaria: adumbratio autem imaginis obscurius hæc manifestat, nam hæc veteris testamenti exprimit imbecillitatem.* The sense of which words may thus be uttered in English: "St. Paul calleth the life to come, 'the things;' and the ordinance or disposition of the things in the gospel, he calleth 'the image of things;' and the old testament he nameth 'the shadow of the image of things.' For an image sheweth samplers more manifest; but the adumbration or shadowing of the image sheweth these things but darkly, for this doth express the weakness of the old testament." By this place of Œcumenius we see, that although it be proper to an image to exhibit the truth of things, and therefore by interpretation he saith, *Imaginem, id est, veritatem*: "The image, that is, the truth:" yet the proper and right taking of the word signifieth the way or manner of a thing to be exhibited, not the thing itself: that what the image hath less than the thing itself, it is to be understood in the manner of exhibiting, not in the thing itself exhibited.

Nothing of
the sacra-
ment.

Hitherto we have brought examples to declare, that the words "figure" and "image" signify the truth of things exhibited indeed, though in secret and privy manner.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

These three fathers, Nazianzen, Origen, and Œcumenius, cost M. Harding no great study. He found them word by word, alleged before in doctor Stephen Gardiner. Neither do they any wise further his purpose, touching either his outward forms and accidents, or else his privy

and secret presence. But he knoweth that the very names of old doctors, although they say nothing, may suffice to lead the ignorant.

The meaning of these three fathers was only to shew the difference that is between the three states: the Jews under the law, the Christians in the gospel, and the saints in the life to come; all which three states are one offspring of Abraham, one people, one church, one inheritance; all calling upon and glorifying the name of God and of his Son Jesus Christ. Therefore St. Augustine saith: "The people of Israel under the law were very Christians, and the Christians in the gospel are very Israelites⁵¹." Albeit he addeth: *Non oportet illud nomen in consuetudine sermonis retinere [imponere]*: "In common use of speech we may not continue that name." Again he saith: *Judæi nondum nomine, sed re ipsa erant Christiani*: "The Jews, although not in name, yet indeed were very Christians." Likewise Eusebius saith: "All the Jews, from Abraham upward until Adam, were indeed Christian men, albeit they were not named so⁵²." So likewise Epiphanius saith: "The faith of Christ was ever from the beginning of the world."

The substance of these three states is one; the difference standeth only in quality, or proportion of more or less. The Jews saw Christ in the law; the Christians see Christ in the gospel; the blessed saints see Christ in heaven. The Jews saw Christ darkly, as in a shadow; the Christians see Christ as in an image lively portrayed; the holy saints see Christ in heaven expressly and perfectly, without image or shadow, face to face. Christ, that is seen, is all one: the difference is only in the seers, of whom some see in a dark shadow, some in a perfect image, and some in the clear light; and yet none of them without

⁵¹ [This sentence is not found *totidem verbis* in the place cited from St. Augustine.]

⁵² [Eusebius. Παντὰς δ' ἐκείνους δικαιοσύνη μεμαρτυρημένους ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἀνιού-

σιν ἀνθρώπων, ἔργω Χριστιανὸς εἶ καὶ μὴ ὀνόματι προσειπῶν τις οὐκ ἂν ἐκτὸς βάλαι τῆς ἀληθείας. It is singular that Jewel should have designated the predecessors of Abraham as Jews.]

August. ad Asellicum Epist. 200. [ii. 733.]

August. contra 2. Epist. Pelagian. lib. 3. cap. 4. [x. 454.]

[Euseb. i. cap. 4. tom. i. p. 15.]
τῶ ἔργῳ Χριστιανῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὀνόματι.

Epiphanius. lib. i. cap. 1. [tom. i. p. 5, 6.]
ἡ νῦν πίστις . . . ἀπ' ἀρχῆς οὐσα.

the sight of Christ. And as the Jews were in a shadow, in comparison of that brightness of light that we see now, even so are we likewise in a shadow, in comparison of that light that we hope for, and is to come. And thus Origen, Nazianzen, Œcumenius, and the rest of the ancient fathers meant, and none otherwise. Therefore M. Harding may consider better how much these authorities make for him to prove his secret-fleshly presence in the sacrament.

Chrysostom compareth the state of the Jews unto a candle, and the state of the Christians to the brightness of the sun. Again, he likeneth the Jews to the first draught or plat of an image, set out only in bare lines; and the Christians unto the same image, lively filled up with all due proportion, and resemblance, and furniture of colours. Chrysostom. in variis locis in Mattheæ. [ed. Basil. tom. ii.]

Irenæus compareth the Jews to the sowing of the seed, and the Christians to the harvest and reaping of the corn. Irenæus, lib. 4. cap. 42. [p. 261.]

To conclude, St. Paul compareth the Jews to a child, and the Christians to a full perfect man. Gal. iv. 1. 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

By all these examples it appeareth that the substance is one, and the difference standeth only in more and less. The Jews had the same light, although not in like quantity; the same image, although not with like furniture; the same corn, although not grown to like ripeness. They were the same person, although not in like perfection of age. Thus much, to open the difference between the law and the gospel, which was one part of these fathers' meaning.

The like difference we may find between the state of the gospel and the state of the life that is to come. For although the things be one, yet the fruition of the same is not one. And in respect of that abundance of glory that we look for, all that we have and enjoy already is but a figure. And therefore St. Augustine saith: *Cum Christus tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri, in illa perspicua contemplatione incommutabilis veritatis, nullis mysteriis corporalibus indigebimus*: "When Christ shall have delivered the kingdom to God and the Father, in that plain contemplation of the unchangeable truth, we shall need no bodily mysteries." August. contra Faustum, lib. 12. cap. 20. [viii. 237.]

Augustin. in
Psalm. xxxvi.
[iv. 119.]

Likewise he writeth of the sacrament of baptism: *Ungimur modo in sacramento; et sacramento ipso præfiguratur quiddam, quod futuri sumus; et illud, nescio quid, futurum ineffabile desiderare debemus, et in sacramento gemere; ut in ea re gaudeamus, quæ sacramento præmonstratur*: “We are now anointed in a sacrament; and in the sacrament itself there is a thing foresignified, that we shall be; and the same unspeakable thing, that is to come, we ought to desire, and to mourn for it in the sacrament, that we may rejoice in that thing that is signified in the sacrament.”

Basilius in
Psalm. xlv.
[i. 172.]
διὰ τὴν κατὰ
βραχὺ κατὰ-
ληψιν τῶν
θείων θεω-
ρημάτων.

So St. Basil: *Etiam nunc justus bibit aquam illam viventem; verum eam posthac largius bibet, ubi cooptatus fuerit in civitatem Dei. Nunc quidem bibit in speculo, et in ænigmate, per brevem comprehensionem observationum divinarum; tunc autem flumen universum recipiet*: “Even now the just man drinketh that living water; but after this, when he shall be received into the city of God, he shall drink it more abundantly. Now he drinketh as in a seeing glass, or in a riddle, by a small understanding of heavenly things: but then he shall swallow down the whole stream.”

Gregor. Nazianzen in S.
Pascha Orat.
4. [i. 863.]
Origen. in
Psalm.
xxxviii. Ho-
mil. 2. [i.
696, 697.]

In this sense Nazianzen saith: “The ecclesiastical policy of the Jews, compared with the gospel of Christ, is a figure of a figure.” In this sense Origen saith: “The coming of Christ in the flesh, and the offering of himself upon the cross,” (the force of which oblation continueth still,) “and all that our nature can conceive of the same, is but an image, in comparison of those spiritual things that we look for.” And here understand thou, good reader, that Origen in this place speaketh of Christ’s coming and appearing in the flesh, and not one word of the sacrament; for thus he saith: *Veniat ad imaginem rerum, et videat adventum Christi in carne factum*: “Let him come to the image of things, and see Christ’s coming in the flesh.”

Ecumenius
ad Hebræos,
cap. 10. [ii.
391.]

This image Ecumenius very well expoundeth: *veritatem rerum*: that is, “the truth and performance of things that were promised under a shadow to the Jews.” In like

Chrymost. ad
Hebræos,
cap. 10. Hom.
17. [xii. 167.]

sort Chrysostom expoundeth the same words: *Lex habuit umbram futurorum bonorum, non ipsam imaginem rerum*;

hoc est, non ipsam veritatem: “The law had a shadow of good things to come, but not the image of the things; that is to say, not the truth itself.” He calleth the gospel the truth itself, not in respect of Christ’s secret being in the sacrament, unto which phantasy M. Harding driveth all this long talk, but only in respect of Christ’s incarnation, as it is plain by that immediately followeth: *Donec enim quis velut in pictura circumducatur colores, umbra quædam est; cum vero flores ipsos colorum induxerit, et imposuerit, tunc imago efficitur*: “A picture, until the painter lay on his colours, is but a shadow; but the fresh colours being laid on, it is an image.” So St. Paul calleth the law “the shadow,” and Christ “the body.” And in this consideration Athanasius saith: *Evangelium est Dei Verbi Domini Jesu Christi præsentia, ad humani generis salutem incarnati*: “The gospel is the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the Word of God incarnate unto the salvation of mankind⁵³.” And therefore St. Augustine saith: *Nostra sacramenta dant salutem; Judæorum sacramenta promittebant Salvatorem; non quod jam acceperimus vitam æternam, sed quod jam venerit Christus, qui per prophetas pronuntiabatur*: “Our sacraments do give salvation; the sacraments of the Jews promised a Saviour; I speak not this for that we have already attained everlasting life, but for that Christ is already come, that was pronounced by the prophets.”

Chrysost. ad
Hebræos,
cap. 10. [1b.]

Coloss. ii. 17.

Athanasius
de Communi
Essen. P. Fi.
et Spir. S.
[tom. ii. 26.]

Augustin. in
Psalm. lxxiii.
[iv. 769.]

Out of these fathers’ words M. Harding reasoneth in this wise: “The brightness of the gospel is but a figure, in comparison of that brightness that is to come:” *ergo*, “Christ’s body is secretly hidden under the outward forms and accidents of the sacrament.”

Howbeit it may soon appear unto the discreet and indifferent reader, that in all these words there is no manner mention, neither of secrecy, nor of presence, nor of absence, nor of forms, nor of elements, nor of accidents, nor, in ex-

⁵³ [Athanas. de Comm. Ess. by Cave. The Bened. give no Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti. decided opinion.]
This work is pronounced spurious

press words, of any sacrament. Nazianzen, notwithstanding he may seem to touch the sacrament of Christ's body, yet indeed he speaketh only of the spiritual food of the knowledge of God, and not of the sacrament: as it is plain both by the place itself, and also by the words that immediately follow after. The words that went before, are these: *Christus bibet nobiscum novum vinum in regno Patris*: "Christ will drink with us new wine in the kingdom of his Father." The words that follow, are these: *Quis est hic potus, et quæ est hæc oblectatio? Nostra quidem, discere; illius vero, docere: doctrina enim etiam docenti alimenti instar est*: "What is this drink, and what is this pleasure? Of our part, it is to learn; of Christ's part, it is to teach: for doctrine, even unto him that teacheth, is a kind of meat."

τροφή γὰρ
ἐστὶν ἡ δι-
δαξίς καὶ
τοῦ τρέφον-
τος.
[l. 863.]

It is very much for M. Harding thus to conclude his imaginations of the sacrament by these fathers, that speak not one word of the sacrament. Touching that is here alleged of secret and privy being, the catholic fathers do confess that Christ is in the sacraments of the new testament, as he was in the sacraments of the old. So St.

Augustin. de
Utilitate Pe-
nitentiæ, 2.
[v. 1365.]

Augustine saith: *Quicumque in manna Christum intellexerunt, eundem, quem nos, cibum spiritualem manducaverunt*: "As many as in manna understood Christ, fed of the same spiritual bread that we feed of." Again he saith: *Videte ergo, fide manente, signa variata. Ibi petra Christus: nobis Christus, quod in altari Dei ponitur*: "Behold, the faith standing one, the signs or sacraments are changed. There the rock was Christ: unto us that thing is Christ that is laid upon the altar."

August. in
Johan. tract.
45. [iii. pt. 2.
598.]

As Christ is now here, so was Christ then there; and as Christ is now in the bread, so was Christ then in the rock, and none otherwise. But what can be so plain as that Nazianzen himself writeth, whom M. Harding hath chosen specially for his author?

Nazianz. in
Oration.
Cum post ea,
quæ contra
Maximum,
&c. [l. 483.]

These be his words: *Pellent me ab altaribus. At ego novi aliud altare, cujus ea omnia, quæ nunc videntur, exemplaria tantum sunt: non manu, aut ascia elaboratum:.....mentis opus est, et contemplationis ascensus. Ibi astabo, et acceptabilia offeram, sacrificium, oblationem, et holocausta: quæ*

tanto præstantiora sunt, quam ea quæ nunc aguntur, quanto veritas potior est, quam umbra: “They will drive me from the altars, or communion tables. But I know another altar, whereof all the things that are now seen are but samplers, not wrought by hand or instrument. It is the work of the mind, and the elevation of the heart. There will I stand, and offer up acceptable sacrifices: which so far exceed the sacrifices that are made here, as the truth exceedeth a shadow.”

M. HARDING: *Fourteenth Division.*

Certain fathers use the words, *signum et sacramentum*, that is, “sign and sacrament,” in the same signification. St. Augustine⁵⁴, *In Libro Sententiarum Prosperi*, saith thus: *Caro ejus est, quam forma panis opertam in sacramento accipimus: et sanguis ejus, quem sub vini specie et sapore potamus: caro videlicet carnis, et sanguis est sacramentum sanguinis: carne et sanguine, utroque invisibili, spirituali, intelligibili, signatur visibile Domini nostri Jesu Christi corpus et palpabile, plenum gratia omnium virtutum, et divina Majestate:* “It is his flesh that we receive covered with the form of bread in the sacrament, and his blood that, under the shape and savour of wine, we drink. Soothly flesh is a sacrament of flesh, and blood is a sacrament of blood: by the flesh and the blood both invisible, spiritual, intelligible, our Lord Jesus Christ his visible and palpable body, full of the grace of all virtues, and divine Majesty is signified, or, as it were, with a sign noted.”

In these words of St. Augustine, we see the flesh of Christ called a sacrament of his flesh, and the blood a sacrament of his blood, inasmuch as they be covered with the form of bread and wine, yet verily and in substance present. And likewise he letteth not to call this verity or truth of the things themselves thus covertly exhibited, a sign of Christ's visible and palpable body: so that the naming of a sign doth not import a separation from the truth, but sheweth a distinct manner of the truth exhibited, and therefore according to the truth of the manner of exhibiting, it is not the flesh of Christ, but the sacrament of the flesh of Christ, for that the flesh doth not exhibit itself in his own shape, but in a sacrament.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

In this saying of St. Augustine, M. Harding seemeth specially to note these few words, *forma, operta*, and *invisibilis*: which being answered, I hope the force of his collection will soon appear. First, if M. Harding will say,

⁵⁴ [The new edition of Gratian points out, that this passage is from Paschasius.]

that this word, *forma*, must needs be taken for the outward show and appearance of bread, then must he needs fall into a great inconvenience, and become either a patron or a scholar of the old heretic Marcion, who upon the very same word erected his heresy: and of these words of St. Paul, *Formam servi suscepit*, reasoned then, as M. Harding doth now, *ergo*, “Christ had nothing else, but the outward form and appearance, or shape of a man’s body.” But it is known to the learned, that as well among the philosophers, as also among the old catholic learned fathers, these words, *forma* and *species*, are taken, not only for the outward appearance, but also for nature and substance itself. So St. Hierom imagineth Christ to say: *Declinavi ad eos deserens regna cœlorum, ut cum eis vescerer, assumpta forma hominis*: “I went down unto them, leaving the kingdoms of heaven, that I might eat with them, having received the form of man.” I leave St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and other like authorities. This matter is proved more at large in the tenth Article, and sixth Division⁵⁵. By these few it may appear, that this word *forma* importeth, not only a show, but also the very substance of the bread.

In the second word, *operta*, which signifieth “covered,” M. Harding wittingly dissembleth his own learning, and would seem not to know the manner and nature of all sacraments: which is, to offer one thing outwardly unto our senses, and another inwardly to our mind. Hereof there is sufficiently spoken before, in the second and eighth Division of this Article. Chrysostom saith: *In sensibilibus intelligibilia nobis tradidit*: “In sensible and outward things, Christ hath given us things spiritual.” And for example he addeth: *Sic et in baptismo*: “So it fareth in the sacrament of baptism.” Thus St. Augustine saith: “The godly of the Jews understood Christ in their manna.” In like sort Origen speaketh of the letter of the scriptures: *Corpora prophetarum colunt posita in libris et literis, quasi in quibusdam sepulchris*.....: “They honour the bodies of the prophets laid in their books and letters, as if it were in certain graves.” So St. Augustine:

⁵⁵ [Supra, iii. p. 109.]

Hieron. in
Osee, lib. 3.
cap. 11. [iii.
1313.]

Chrysost. in
Matt. hom.
83. [vii. 787.]
ἐν αἰσθη-
τοῖς τὰ νοη-
τὰ παρέ-
δωκε.

August. de
Utilitate Pœ-
nitentiæ [v.
1365]: In
manna Chri-
stum intel-
lexerunt.

Origen. in
Matt. tract.
26. [tom. ii.
146. ed.
1567.]

Sensus in litera manet, et per literam videtur: "The sense lieth in the letter, and by the letter it is seen⁵⁶." So Nicolaus Cabasilas: *Spiritus celatur in litera*: "The Spirit of God is hidden in the letter." I think M. Harding in these speeches will not necessarily require any corporal or real presence. Thus St. Gregory saith: *Christus, in se ipso immortaliter et incorruptibiliter vivens, iterum in hoc mysterio moritur*: "Christ living in himself immortally, and without corruption, dieth again in this mystery." Whereupon the Gloss saith: *Moritur, id est, mors ejus representatur*: "Christ dieth, that is to say, his death is represented." Now, as Christ dieth in the sacrament, so is his body present in the sacrament. But Christ dieth not there really and indeed: therefore Christ's body is not there really and indeed.

I thought it needful to use the mo examples in this behalf, for that this place of St. Augustine seemeth to carry the greatest force of all others. But as St. Augustine saith here, Christ's body is hidden under the form or kind of bread, even so he saith: *Gratia Dei in veteri testamento velata latebat*: "The grace of God lay hidden in the old testament." Even so St. Gregory saith: *Ut palea frumentum, sic litera tegit spiritum*: "As the chaff hideth the corn, so the letter hideth the spirit." Even so again St. Augustine saith: *In veteri testamento occultabatur novum*: "The new testament was hidden in the old." But he expoundeth himself: *Occultabatur, id est, occulte significabatur*: "It was hidden, that is to say, it was secretly signified." And thus, by St. Augustine's own words and exposition, we may likewise say: *Caro Christi operta, id est, occulte significata*: "Christ's flesh is privily hidden, that is to say," as St. Augustine expoundeth it, "it is privily signified."

Thus the sacrament of Christ's flesh, which, according to the doctrine of St. Augustine, beareth the name of that thing that it signifieth, is called Christ's flesh, invisible,

⁵⁶ [Augustin. de Spiritu et Anima. This work is now considered spurious. See Cave, and the Bened. ed.]

spiritual, and only to be conceived by understanding. For the whole work hereof pertaineth, not unto the mouth or teeth, as St. Augustine saith, but only to faith and spirit.

Augustin. in
[iii. pt. ii.
489.] de Con.
dist. 2. Ut
quid.

And therefore the same St. Augustine, expounding these words of Christ, "Whoso eateth of this bread, shall not

Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
26. [iii. pt. 2.
499.]

die," saith thus: *Quod pertinet ad virtutem sacramenti, non quod pertinet ad visibile sacramentum. Qui manducat intus, non foris: qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente:*

[Ibid. 498.]

"That pertaineth to the effect and virtue of the sacrament, not that pertaineth to the visible sacrament. He that eateth inwardly, not outwardly: that eateth with his heart, not that presseth with his teeth." Likewise he saith of Moses, Aaron, and Phineas, and others

the faithful of that time: *Visibilem cibum (manna) spiritualiter intellexerunt: spiritualiter esurierunt, spiritualiter gustaverunt:*

"They understood manna, that visible meat, spiritually: they hungered it spiritually: they tasted it spiritually." By these words, *intus*, "inwardly;" *in corde*, "in the heart;" *spiritualiter*, "spiritually," St. Augustine expoundeth the meaning of this word, *invisibiliter*, "invisibly."

Chrysost. in
1 Cor. hom.
7. [x. 51.]

Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Mysterium appellatur....., quia aliud videmus, aliud credimus. Nam hujusmodi est mysteriorum nostrorum natura:*

"It is called a mystery, because we see one thing, and believe another. For such is the nature of" (baptism, and our Lord's supper, which are) "our sacraments, or mysteries."

So saith St. Ambrose, as is alleged before: "The water of the holy font hath washed us: the blood of Christ hath redeemed us:"

Ambros. de
Spiritu
Sancto, lib.
3. [li. 678.]
Origen. in
Lucam, hom.
24. [li. 170.
ed. 1567.]

Alterum igitur invisibile, alterum visibile testimonium, &c.: "The one witness is invisible, the other is visible." So the old father Origen saith: "St. John's baptism was visible: but Christ's baptism is invisible."

As it is in the mystery of baptism, so is it also in the mystery of Christ's body. As Christ's blood is invisible, wherewith we are washed, so is Christ's flesh invisible, wherewith we are fed. And, as this invisible washing in Christ's blood representeth unto our minds the blood of Christ, that was visibly shed for us: so the flesh of Christ, that is eaten invisibly, representeth unto us that very flesh

of Christ, that was visibly and sensibly nailed and torn upon the cross. And thus St. Augustine's meaning may well stand upright, without any new secresy, or real or fleshly presence.

M. HARDING: *Fifteenth Division.*

And therefore in another place he writeth thus: *Sicut ergo celestis panis, qui caro Christi est, suo modo vocatur corpus Christi, cum re vera sit sacramentum corporis Christi, illius videlicet, quod visibile, quod palpabile, mortale in cruce positum est, vocaturque ipsa immolatio carnis, quæ sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio: sic sacramentum fidei, quod baptismus intelligitur, fides est: "As the heavenly bread," saith St. Augustine, "which is the flesh of Christ, in his manner is called the body of Christ, whenas in very deed it is the sacrament of Christ's body, even of that which is visible, which is palpable, and being mortal was put on the cross, and the sacrificing itself of his flesh, which is done by the priest's hands, is called the passion, the death, the crucifying of Christ, not in truth of the thing, but in mystery signifying: so the sacrament of faith, which is understood to be baptism, is faith⁵⁵."* By "heavenly bread" he understood not wheaten bread, (196) but that heavenly meat, which he saith to be the flesh of Christ, and thus far he affirmeth the truth of his flesh itself, which he saith to be called *suo modo*, "in his manner," the body of Christ: as who should say, Whose truth notwithstanding, if ye behold on the behalf of the manner of exhibiting, in very deed it is a sacrament of Christ's body, which is in visible shape, so as he speaketh of Christ's body, that hath suffered.

The 196th untruth. For this heavenly bread must needs be taken for the sacrament, as it shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding allegeth good matter against himself. For by these words St. Augustine saith, The bread is so Christ's body, as the breaking of the same bread is Christ's death. But the breaking of the bread is not really and indeed the death of Christ: wherefore it followeth, that the bread is not really or indeed the body of Christ. And whereas M. Harding seemeth to stay altogether upon these two words, *caelestis panis*, thinking that thereby is meant only the supernatural bread of Christ's very body, it may like him nevertheless to understand, that, not only Christ's

⁵⁵ [This passage is not found in St. Augustine, *Libr. Sentent. Properi*; in the new ed. of Gratian, it is attributed to Lanfrancus contra Berengarium.]

very body, but also the sacrament itself, may well be called, *cælestis panis*, "heavenly bread," for that it is a sacrament of that heavenly bread. So Gregorius Nyssenus calleth the water of baptism, τὸ θεῖον λούτρον, "the divine or heavenly bath." So St. Ambrose calleth the words of baptism, *verba cælestia*: "heavenly words." So Dionysius calleth the oil consecrate, *divinissimum oleum*, τὸ θεουργικώτατον μῦρον. So Cyrillus calleth *manna*, "spiritual bread." Thus he saith: *Quomodo est manna panis angelorum spiritualis? Quia, quod umbra veritatis erat, veritatis nomine in spiritu appellavit*: "How is manna called the spiritual bread of angels? That thing, that was a shadow of the truth, in spirit, or spiritually, he uttered by the name of the truth itself⁵⁶." And albeit only Christ's very body itself be indeed that heavenly bread, yet in these words of St. Augustine, it cannot in any wise so be taken, as to the learned and discreet reader it may soon appear. For first St. Augustine saith: That heavenly bread, whereof he speaketh, is a sacrament. But the very body of Christ cannot in any respect be called a sacrament, as it is easy to understand. For a sacrament, by St. Augustine's definition, is, *signum visibile*: "a sign, or a token, that may be seen." But the body of Christ, that M. Harding imagineth to be present, cannot be seen: for St. Augustine saith, It is spiritual and invisible. Hereof it necessarily followeth, that the very body of Christ cannot in any wise be called a sacrament: and therefore is not that kind of heavenly bread that is here mentioned by St. Augustine.

Moreover St. Augustine saith: "The same heavenly bread is the body of Christ:" howbeit he addeth, not verily and indeed, but *suo modo*, "in a manner," or "kind of speech." But Christ's very body is indeed and verily, in all respects, the body of Christ, without any such qualifying or limitation. And it were great fondness, or rather mere madness to say, The very body of Christ is after a certain manner, or in a sort, the body of Christ.

⁵⁶ [Cyrillus Alexandr. in Johan. The Bened. have divided the Jewel is quoting from the Lat. ed. fourth book differently.]

Greg. Nyss. de Sancto Baptismate. [lib. 369.]

† Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 2. cap. 5. [il. 358.]

Dionys. Ecles. Hierar. cap. 2. [p. 118.]

Cyril. in Johan. lib. 4. cap. 10. [cap. 2. iv. 351.]

These things first considered, for further understanding of St. Augustine's mind herein, I remit the reader unto the Gloss upon the same, the words whereof are these: *Cœ-
lestis panis, id est, cœleste sacramentum, quod vere repræ-
sentat carnem Christi, dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie.
Unde dicitur, Suo modo: sed non rei veritate, sed signifi-
cante [al. significati] mysterio: ut sit sensus, Vocatur corpus
Christi, id est, significat corpus Christi:* "The heavenly
bread, that is to say, the heavenly sacrament, which verily
representeth the flesh of Christ, is called Christ's body,
but unaptly and unfitly. Therefore it is said, In a pecu-
liar manner belonging unto itself: not in truth of matter,
but by a signifying mystery: that the sense may be this,
It is called the body of Christ, that is to say, it signifieth
the body of Christ."

De Con. dist.
2. Hoc est.
In Glossa.

But here mark thou, gentle reader, into what straits these men be driven. To maintain the inconveniences and absurdities of their doctrine, they are fain to say, That the very body of Christ is not *rei veritate*, "verily and indeed," but *improprie*, "unaptly," and unfitly called the body of Christ.

M. HARDING: Sixteenth Division.

Again St. Augustine saith in another place: *Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, comesturi estis:* "Not this body, which ye see, shall ye eat." ^a And St. Hierom saith: *Divinam et spiritualem carnem manducandam dari, aliam quidem ab ea quæ crucifixa est:* "That divine and spiritual flesh is given to be eaten, other beside that, which was crucified." Wherefore in respect of the exhibiting, the flesh is divided, that in itself is but one: and the flesh exhibited in mystery, is in very deed a sacrament of Christ's body visible and palpable, which suffered on the cross. And thus it followeth of convenience, whereas the flesh is not the same according to the qualities of the exhibiting which was crucified, and which now is sacrificed by the hands of a priest: again, whereas the passion, death, and resurrection are said to be done, not in truth of the thing, but in mystery signifying: it followeth, I say, that the flesh is not the same in qualities, so as it was on the cross, though it be the same in substance.

^a This place is answered before in the fifth Article, and in the seventh Division.

Many mo authorities might be alleged for the opening of this matter, but these for this present are enough, if they be not too many, as I fear me, they will so appear to the unlearned reader, and to such as be not given to earnest study, and diligent search

In Psalm.
xcviii. [iv.
1066.]

† In 1 cap.
Ephes. [iv.
328.]

of the truth: By these places, it is made clear and evident, that these names, "figure, image, sign, token, sacrament," and such other the like, of force of their signification, do not always exclude the truth of things, but do only shew and note the manner of presence. Wherefore to conclude this matter, that is somewhat obscure to senses little exercised, the figure of the body, or sign of the body, the image of the body, doth note the covertness and secretness in the manner of the exhibiting, and doth not diminish any whit the truth of the presence. So we do accord with M. Jewel in this Article touching the form of words, but withal we have thought it necessary, to declare the true meaning of the same, which is contrary to the doctrine of the sacramentaries.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding, as in his words he pretendeth great store of authorities, so in his choice he bewrayeth great want. For, to pass by the place of Hierom, which is answered before in the fifth Article, and the seventh Division⁵⁷, the words of St. Augustine seem utterly to overthrow all these his gross and fleshly phantasies: for better understanding whereof, it is to be noted, that, when Christ had opened that heavenly doctrine of the eating of his body and drinking of his blood, the Capernaïtes, hearing his words, imagined even as M. Harding now doth, that he meant a very fleshly eating with their bodily mouths: and therefore began to be offended, and said, His speech was over hard, and departed from him. Upon occasion hereof, St. Augustine writeth thus: *Ipsi erant duri, non sermo. Christus instruxit eos, (qui remanserant,) et ait illis: Spiritus est, qui vivificat: caro autem nihil prodest. Verba, quæ locutus sum vobis, spiritus sunt et vita. Spiritualiter intelligite, quod locutus sum. Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis, nec bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fursuri sunt, qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi: spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos:* "They were hard: Christ's word was not hard. Christ instructed them that remained, and said unto them, 'It is the spirit that giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words, that I have spoken, are spirit and life.' Understand ye

[August. in
Psalm. xcviij.
iv. 1066.]

⁵⁷ [Vol. ii. pp. 350, 351.]

spiritually, that I have spoken. Ye shall not eat this body that ye see: neither shall ye drink that blood that they shall shed, that shall crucify me. I have recommended unto you a certain sacrament: being spiritually understood, it will give you life.'” These words be plain of themselves, and need no long construction.

The difference that M. Harding hath devised, between Christ's body in substance, and the selfsame body in respect of qualities, is a vain gloss of his own, without substance. For St. Augustine saith not, as M. Harding would fain have him to say, Ye shall not eat this body (with your bodily mouth) *quale videtis*, under such conditions and qualities of mortality and corruption as you now see it: but *quod videtis*, that is, You shall not eat the same body in nature and substance, that now ye see.

Neither was the body of Christ at that time, when he ministered the holy communion, and spake these words to his disciples, endued with any such qualities. For it was neither spiritual, nor invisible, nor immortal: but contrariwise, earthly, visible, and subject to death.

To be short, St. Augustine speaketh not one word, neither of this carnal presence, nor of secret being under covert: nor saith, as M. Harding saith, that the very body of Christ is a figure of Christ's body: nor imagineth in Christ two sundry sorts of natural bodies: nor knoweth any one of all these M. Harding's strange collections. Thus only he saith: *Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis*: Touching your bodily mouth, “ye shall not eat this body of mine, that ye see.” Of which words M. Harding, contrary to St. Augustine's express and plain meaning, as his common wont is, concludeth the contrary: *ergo*, “With your bodily mouth, ye shall eat this selfsame body in substance, that ye see.”

Now, forasmuch as M. Harding will say, We devise figures of ourselves without cause, and that Christ's words are plain, and ought simply to be taken as they sound, without any manner figure, I think it therefore necessary in few words to shew, both what hath led us, and all the ancient

writers and old doctors of the church, thus to expound the words of Christ: and also how many, and how strange and monstrous, figures M. Harding with his brethren are driven to use in the exposition of the same. And, to pass over all the old learned fathers, which in their writings commonly call the sacrament a representation, a remembrance, a memory, an image, a likeness, a sampler, a token, a sign, and a figure, &c.: Christ himself, before all others, seemeth to lead us hereunto, both for that at the very institution of the holy mysteries he said thus: "Do ye this in remembrance of me:" and also for that in the sixth chapter of St. John, speaking of the eating of his flesh, he forewarned his disciples of his ascension into heaven, and shewed them, that his very natural flesh, fleshly received, can profit nothing.

Moreover, it is not agreeable, neither to the nature of man, really and indeed to eat a man's body: nor to a man's body, really and indeed, without figure, to be eaten: for that, St. Augustine saith, were *flagitium et facinus*: "an horrible wickedness." And again he saith: *Horribilius est, humanam carnem manducare, quam perimere: et sanguinem humanum bibere, quam fundere*: "It is a more horrible thing to eat man's flesh, than it is to kill it: and to drink man's blood, than it is to shed it." For this cause he concludeth: *Figura ergo est*: "Therefore it is a figure." And in like manner Cyrillus saith: *Sacramentum nostrum non asseverat hominis manducationem*: "Our sacrament avoucheth not the eating of a man⁵⁸."

Again, in these words of Christ we find *duo disparata*, that is, two sundry terms of sundry significations and natures, *panis* and *corpus*: which, as the learned know, cannot possibly be verified the one of the other, without a figure. Besides all this, in every of these clauses, which so nearly touch Christ's institution, there is a figure: "To drink the cup of the Lord," instead of the wine in the cup, it is a figure. "To drink judgment:" judgment is a

August. de
Doctrina
Christiana,
lib. 3. cap.
16. [iii. 52.]

Augustin.
contra Ad-
vers. Legis
et Prophetar.
lib. 2. cap. 9.
[viii. 599.]

August. de
Doctrina
Christiana,
lib. 3. cap.
16. [iii. 52.]

Cyrril. contra
Object. Theo-
doretii. [ed.
Basil. iv.
215.]

⁵⁸ [Cyrill. see vol. i. pp. 226, note 62, and 243, note 78.]

spiritual thing, and cannot be drunken with the mouth :
 9 therefore it is a figure. My body, "that is given," "that
 is broken : " instead of, "that shall be given," and "that
 10 shall be broken," is a figure. "I am bread : " Christ really
 11 and indeed, was no material bread : it is a figure. "The
 bread is the communication of the Lord's body : " instead
 of these words, It representeth the communication of the
 12 Lord's body : it is a figure." "The cup is the new testa-
 ment : " the cup indeed and verily is not the new testa-
 ment : therefore it is a figure. In every of these clauses
 M. Harding must needs see and confess a figure : and so it
 appeareth, that, in the very institution of Christ's holy
 mysteries, there are used a great many and sundry figures :
 all, notwithstanding, both consonant to reason, and also
 agreeable to God's holy word.

But now, mark well, I beseech thee, good Christian
 reader, how many, and what kinds of figures, M. Harding
 and the rest of his company have been forced to imagine
 in these cases.

1 First, they say, This pronoun *hoc*, "this," signifieth not
 "this bread," as all the old writers understand it, but
individuum vagum, which is neither bread, nor any certain
 determinate thing else : but only one certain thing at large
 in generality.

2 This verb *est*, they expound thus, *Est, hoc est, transub-*
stantiatur : such a figure as never was used of any old
 author, either holy or profane : or heretic or catholic : or
 3 Greek or Latin. In these words, "Take ye : eat ye : this
 is my body : " they have found a figure called *hysteron pro-*
teron, which is, when the whole speech is out of order, and
 that set behind, that should go before. For thus they are
 driven to shift it, and turn it : "This is my body : take ye :
 eat ye."

In these four words lying in order all together, "he
 took, he blessed, he brake, he gave," they imagine three
 4 sundry figures, and expound the same in this wise : " ' he
 took,' the bread : ' he blessed,' he transubstantiated, or
 turned the bread : ' he brake,' the accidents or shows : ' he

gave, his body." *Hoc facite*, "Do ye this in remembrance 5
of me," they expound thus, "Sacrifice this." Which also 6
they flourish out with other figures in this wise: "Sacrifice
me in remembrance of me." In this one word, *panis*, 7
"bread," they have found a swarm of figures. Some- 8
times they say: It is called bread, because it was bread
before: sometimes, because the infidel taketh it to be 9
bread: sometimes, because there remain still the accidents 10
and forms of bread: sometimes, because the same accidents 11
feed the body miraculously, as it were bread: sometimes, 12
because it is that supernatural bread, that came from
heaven.

Likewise in this one word, *frangimus* or *frangitur*, they
have a number of figures. For sometimes they expound 13
it thus: "the bread that we break:" that is, "the acci-
dents that we break." Sometimes, "the bread that we 14
break:" that is to say, "the bread that we take to be
broken:" sometimes, this word *frangere*, is not "to break," 15
but only "to make a feast." In their masses they say, 16
Frangitur, id est, frangebatur: "It is broken:" that is to
say, "It was broken." Sometimes they say, *Frangitur, id* 17
est, videtur frangi: "It is broken:" that is to say, "It
seemeth to be broken." The meaning whereof is this,
Frangitur, id est, non frangitur: "It is broken:" that is to
say, "It is not broken." 18

In these words: *Non bibam amplius de hoc fructu vitis*, 19
"I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine:" the fruit
of the vine, which is a substance, they expound, the acci-
dents. And to leave that miraculous figure of all figures, 20
concomitantia, whereby one is made two, and two are
made one: consider, good reader, the strangeness of the
figures, and the wonderful shifts that M. Harding hath
imagined in this little treaty, to defeat and avoid the mani-
fest words of the holy fathers. Sometimes the forms and 21
accidents are the sacrament: sometimes Christ's body itself 22
is the sacrament: sometimes both together are the sacra- 23
ment: sometimes the bread is a figure of Christ's body, 24
before consecration: and so by mean of M. Harding's

figures, there is a sacrament before it be a sacrament: and
 25 a figure before it be a figure. Sometimes, the holy acci-
 dents and outward holy shows, are a figure of Christ's
 26 body invisible, under them secretly contained: sometimes,
 the same body invisible, is a figure of the body of Christ
 visible. And so there is figure upon figure: and a kind of
 demonstration, which they call *Notum per ignotum*: or
 27 rather, *Verum per falsum*. Sometimes, the sacrament is a
 28 figure of the life to come: and sometimes, as Hosius fanci-
 29 eth, it is a figure of the church. Sometimes Tertullian
 understood not, no not so much as the grammatical sense
 30 of Christ's words: sometimes Christ's very body is not
 aptly and fitly called the body of Christ, but only *impro-*
prie, and after a manner.

Thus M. Harding roameth and wandereth up and down,
 as a man that had lost his way: such shadows and colours
 he can cast: into so many forms, and shapes, and figures
 he can turn himself. So many and so monstrous figures
 may he forge in the institution of the holy sacrament, only
 to avoid one simple, plain, usual, and known figure. And
 yet he abuseth not the simplicity of the people. There he
 forceth his figures, whereas is no need of figures: and
 without such vain figures this vain doctrine cannot hold.
 That one figure, that we use, is plain and clear, used by all
 the ancient learned fathers, and agreeable to the tenor of
 God's word. But M. Harding's figures, as they be many,
 so be they unnecessary and fantastical, never used or once
 mentioned by any ancient doctor of the church, and serve
 only to breed darkness, and to dim the light.

How much better were it for him to leave these shifts
 and childish fables, and plainly and simply to say, as Ter-
 tullian saith: *Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corpo-*
ris mei: "This is my body, that is to say, This is a figure
 of my body." Or, as Maximus the Greek scholiast saith:
 Σύμβολα ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀλήθεια: "These be tokens, but
 not the truth." Or, as St. Augustine saith: *Figura est,*
præcipiens passioni Domini communicandum esse, et sua-
viter, atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis

Tertullian.
 contra Mar-
 cionem, lib.
 4. [cap. 40.
 p. 458.]
 Maximus
 Schollast.
 in Eccles.
 Hierar. cap.
 3. [p. 84.]
 August. de
 Doctrina
 Christiana,
 lib. 3. cap.
 16. [iii. 52.]

caro ejus crucifixa, et vulnerata sit: "It is a figure, commanding us to communicate with the passion of Christ, and comfortably and profitably to lay up in our remembrance, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us."

OF PLURALITY OF MASSES.

THE THIRTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in one church in one day.

M. HARDING : *First Division.*

As M. Jewel here descendeth by divers proportions and degrees from thirty to five, first by taking away ten, the third part of the whole, and then five from the rest, three times : so it might have pleased him also to have taken away three from five, the last remnant, and so to have left but two in all. Which if he had done, then should we have made up that number, as in this audit he might not otherwise do, in regard of his own free promise, but allow our account for good and sufficient. For that number we are well able to make good. And what reason hath moved the ancient fathers, governors of the church, to think it a godly and a necessary thing, to have two masses in one church in one day, the same reason in cases either hath or might have moved them and their successors after them likewise to allow three or four masses, and in some cases five, or mo.

Two masses
in one day
M. Harding
offereth to
prove, but
no mo.
A simple
guess.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding of his courtesy should give us leave to lay out our own reckonings, as we think best, having himself the advantage of controlment, if error happen to fall out. Of so great a number of masses, as they have this day in their churches, and say, they have had, and continued

from the beginning, even from the apostles' time, if I require of him only the proof of five, I offer him no wrong: but if he of that whole number be able to shew but only two, and if the same two in the end be found no masses neither, but only public communions, such as be now used in reformed churches, then is he a great dissembler, and doth no right. Upon what occasion M. Harding's masses grew first to this plenty, and to so great waste, Cochläus⁵⁸ one of the chief patrons of that cause declareth it thus:

Jo. Cochläus
de Sacrif.
Missæ.

Quod olim tam frequentes non fuerint missæ, neque tot sacerdotes, quot hodie, inde accidisse arbitror, quod olim omnes tum sacerdotes, tum laici, quicumque intererant sacrificio missæ, peracta oblatione, cum sacrificante communicabant: sicut ex canonibus apostolorum, et ex libris, atque epistolis antiquissimorum ecclesiæ doctorum perspicue cognoscitur:

“That in old times there were not so many masses, nor so many priests as be now, I reckon the cause thereof to be this: for that, in old times, all that were present at the sacrifice of the mass, as well priests as laymen, did communicate together with the minister, as it is plain to be seen by the canons of the apostles, and by the books and letters of the most ancient doctors of the church.” He addeth further: *Nunc vero*, &c.: “But now, seeing the order of communion is no more observed amongst us, and that through the negligence and slothfulness, as well of the lay people as of the priests, the Holy Ghost by the often saying of private masses, hath found out a godly remedy for this want.” Here we see, that negligence, and slothfulness, and lack of devotion, both in the people and in the priest, is a good leare⁵⁹ to breed masses. And that the priests, as many as were present, did then communicate with the priest that ministered, it is plain by the canons of the apostles, and by sundry other good authorities, which now I purposely pass by. And to this purpose it is written thus, in a little book set abroad under the name of St. Hierom⁶⁰: *Non debet episcopus repudiare*

Canones
Apost. can.
9. [al. can. 8.
Mansi, i. 29.]
De Septem
Ordinib. Ec-
cles. gradu 6.
[Inter Opp.
Hieron. v.
104.]

⁵⁸ [The Editor has not succeeded in finding this treatise.]

⁶⁰ [Spurious, as Jewel's words seem to imply.]

⁵⁹ [Leare—a lesson.]

eucharistiam presbyteri : “ The bishop ought not to refuse the sacrament of a priest.” But M. Harding’s priests utterly refuse to communicate one with another : and, be they never so many in one church together, yet will they say several masses, at sundry altars. And not only thus, but also, as it appeareth by the council of Toledo in Spain, one priest hath sometimes said four, five⁶¹, or mo masses in one day. Pope Leo said some days seven, some days eight masses, and some days mo⁶². The excess and outrage whereof was so great, that they have been forced to provide laws and canons to the contrary. For thus they have decreed : *Presbyter in die non amplius, quam tres missas celebrare præsumat* : “ Let not any one priest presume to say more than three masses in one day.” We may well think that priests then said good store of masses, when it was thought sufficient, to stint them at three. The cause that moved Leo, and other ancient fathers, to appoint two communions to be ministered in one day, was, as it shall well appear, that the whole people might communicate all together, quietly and without disturbance. Which thing of itself utterly overthroweth the whole abuse of private masses.

But the causes, that have increased the number of M. Harding’s private masses, as they are alleged by Innocentius the Third and others, are these : “ That there may be one mass said, of the day : and another, for the dead : and, that there may be regard had to honesty and profit.” For so they say : *Causa honestatis, vel utilitatis : ut si, dicta missa de die, superveniat aliqua magna persona, quæ velit audire missam* : “ As, if any notable personage happen to come to church, after that mass is done, and be disposed to hear mass.” These be very easy causes : upon the same, the priest may say twenty masses as well as three.

⁶¹ [Concil. Tolet. “ Relatum nobis est, quosdam de sacerdotibus non tot vicibus communis sanctæ gratiam sumere, quot sacrificia in uno die videntur offerre, sed in uno die si plurima per se Deo offerant

“ sacrificia, in omnibus se oblationibus a communione suspendant,” &c. No number is specified.]

⁶² [Leo himself does not, in the epistle cited, mention any number.]

Concil. Toletan. 12. cap. 5. [xi. 1033.]

Beatus Rhenanus in Annotat. in Tertull. de Corona Militis.

Concil. Salsungundien. cap. 5. [xix. 397.] Leonis, epist. 81. [i. 437.]

De Con. dist. 1. Sufficit.

[Extra] de Celebratione Missarum, et aliis, &c. [lib. iii. tit. 41. cap. 3. in Glossa.]

M. HARDING: *Second Division.*

Now if that reckoning could duly be made of our part, M. Jewel perhaps would then say, as commonly they say that confess their error in numbering, that he had mistold himself. Albeit, here it is to be marvelled, that he appointeth us to prove a number of masses in one church in one day, that utterly denieth the mass, and would have no mass in any church any day at all. And standing in the denial of the whole so peremptorily as he doth, it may seem strange, that he should thus frame this Article. For what reason is it to challenge us for proof of so great a number, sith he taketh away all together?

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I have kept my reckoning well enough, as, I trust, it will well appear. But if M. Harding, of so great a number of his masses, be able to prove no mo but two, and the same two in the end be found public communions, and no private masses at all, then may we justly say, That he hath both much misreckoned the people, and also shamefully mistold himself.

As before I utterly denied, that any private mass was ever used within six hundred years after Christ, so in this Article, that the simple, that so long have been deceived, might the better understand, both the great disorder that M. Harding maintaineth, and also, how far the church of Rome is grown from the primitive church of God, I thought it not amiss to set out the matter by parts, in such plain division. Therefore the marvel, that M. Harding raiseth hereof, is not so great. The matter considered, his reader will rather marvel at his marvel:

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

It appeareth, that being not unwitting, how good proofs we have for the mass itself, he thinketh to blank us by putting us to the proof of his number of thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five.

Verily this kind of men fareth with the church much like unto strong thieves, who, having robbed an honest wealthy man of his money, say afterwards unto him uncourteously, "Ah, Carle! how camest thou by so much old gold?" Or if it like not them to be compared with thieves, in regard of the room they have shuffled themselves into, they may not unfitly be likened to a judge of the stennery at Lidford in Devonshire, who, as I have heard it

commonly reported, hanged a felon among the tanners in the forenoon, and sat upon him in judgment at afternoon. And thereof to this day, such wrongful dealing in a common proverb is in that country called "Lidford law." Sith that you, M. Jewel, and your fellows, that now sit on the bench, require of us the proof of mo masses in one church in one day, as it were a verdict of twelve men : of equity and right, ye should have heard our verdict, ere ye had given sentence, and condemned the mass.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

How good cause M. Harding hath, to make these vaunts of his proofs for his private mass, it may soon appear unto the discreet reader upon the view. But here he thought it proof sufficient, for the multitude of his masses to call us thieves and wicked judges, and to charge us with the law of Lidford, and so to solace himself with an old wife's tale, and to make holy day out of season. Howbeit, this comparison of his thieves is not so greatly agreeable to his purpose. For the coin, that is taken from him, was neither gold, nor so old as he maketh it, nor was it touched with Cæsar's stamp. We may rather say unto him : " Sometime ye had gold : but how is it now become dross ! Ye had good seed : but how is it now become cockle ! Thou wert sometime a faithful city : how art thou now become an harlot ! Thou wert sometime the house of God : how art thou now turned into a cave of thieves ! How have ye lost the holy communion, that the apostles had from Christ, and you from them ! How came ye by your private masses, that the apostles had never ?" Thus, thus, M. Harding, we may appose you. For it were but lost labour, to trouble you with questions of your old gold. Ye are not that rich wealthy carle, that ye would be taken for : but even as it is written in the Apocalypse of St. John : *Dicis, Dives sum, et ditatus, et nullius egeo : et nescis quod tu es miser, et miserabilis, et pauper, et cæcus, et nudus* : " Thou sayest, I am rich, and wealthy, and need nothing : and thou knowest not, that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked."

Isa. i. 22.

Mark iv.
[Matt. xiii.

24.]

Isa. i. 21.

Rev. iii. 17.

Neither are they always thieves that spoil a thief. Oftentimes the true man forceth the thief to lay down, that he hath untruly gotten. Cicero saith : *Fures earum* Cicero.

rerum, quas ceperunt, nomina commutant: "Thieves use to change the names of such things as they have stolen:" even as these thieves use to do, that call the communion, "the mass;" and their mass, "the communion:" private, "public;" and public, "private:" and, as the prophet Esay saith, "good, evil; and evil, good: light, darkness; and darkness, light:" and thus by subtle shift of words, miserably spoil and rob the people. To be short, the thief flieth the trial of the light, even as you, M. Harding, and your fellows fly the trial of God's holy word.

Isa. v. 20.

John iii. 20.

Cochlæus
de Sacrif.
Missæ.

But how ye came to all that ye had, and being but copper, uttered the same for old gold, it is an easy matter to be answered. For you yourselves will not say ye had it, either from Christ, or from the apostles, or from any the ancient fathers. It were double robbery to make any of these the authors and fathers of your robberies. Your own doctor Cochlæus confesseth, as it is said before, that the multitude of your masses sprang not from God, but from the negligence, and slothfulness, and want of devotion, that grew both in priest and people. Then ye began to tell the simple, that it was sufficient for them to sit by: that your mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for their sins: that it was available unto them *ex opere operato*, although they understood not what it meant: that you had power to apply it to quick and dead, and to whom ye listed: and that the very hearing thereof of itself was meritorious. Upon this foundation, ye erected up your chantries, your monasteries, your pardons, your supererogations, and I know not what. Thus was the holy communion quite forgotten: thus were your masses multiplied above number: thus ye came by that, ye would have called your old gold. Then this doubt first grew in question, whether Christ, being in one of your hosts, might see himself, being at the same time in another host⁶³. Then ye began to devour up poor widows' houses. In consideration hereof, your own

Rob. Holcot.
lib. iv. qu. 3.

⁶³ [Holcot. lib. 4. qu. 3. (tert. princip.) "Si sub speciebus panis et vini existeret realiter corpus Christi, ergo unus oculus Christi in una hostia existens posset videre se in alia hostia." To this objection Holcot gravely responds.]

Gloss saith of your foul priests: *Malus presbyter æquiparatur corvo, in nigredine vitiorum, in raucedine vocis, in voracitate oblationum mortuorum, in fœtore spiritus, in garulitate, et in furto*: "An evil priest is resembled unto a raven, for the blackness of his vices, for the hoarseness of his voice, for his ravening of the oblations of the dead, for the stench of his breath, for his unpleasant voice, and for his theft." Unto such chevisance these words of St. Augustine may be well applied: *Si presbyter intercessionibus vendit, viduarum munera libenter amplectitur, negotiator magis videri potest, quam clericus. Nec dicere possumus, Nemo nos invasores arguit: violentiæ nullus accusat: quasi non interdum majorem prædam a viduabus blandimenta illiciant, quam tormenta. Nec interest apud Deum, utrum vi, an circumventionem quis res alienas occupet*: "If a priest make sale of his prayers, and gladly receive the rewards of widows, he ought rather to be called a merchant than a clerk. Neither may we say, No man chargeth us with extortion. For of a widow a man may get a greater prey by flattery, than by violence. And before God there is no difference, whether a man withhold another man's goods by might of hand, or by crafty dealing⁶⁴." These be the things that, M. Harding complaineth, are taken from him. Julius Cæsar conveyed three thousand pounds weight of pure gold out of the treasury in Rome, and laid in the like weight of copper gilded. Lysander picked a great sum of gold out of the bottom of a bag, (for the mouth was sealed,) and sewed it skilfully up again. But Cæsar's copper was bewrayed by the touch: Lysander's theft was espied by a billet, that was still remaining in the bag. Even so, whatsoever they of M. Harding's side that so bitterly complain they are robbed of their robberies, and would so loath be called thieves, either have conveyed into the church, as into God's great treasury, or else have privily picked thence, the billet doth espy them, the touch doth bewray them: it cannot be hidden.

In his fable of Lidford, which in all respects is as good

⁶⁴ [De Verb. Dom. in Matt. (leg. Lucam.) This is not a genuine sermon of St. Augustine's.]

² Quest. 7.
Non omnes.
In Glossa.

De Verbis
Domini in
Evangel.
Matt. [Luc.]
serm. 19. [v.
append. 150.]

Suetonius in
Julio.

Plutarchus
in Lysandro.

as his other fable of Amphilocheus, as he compareth us to the over hasty judge, so he compareth his mass unto the felon. Wherein notwithstanding we might easily and truly say, we needed no law to abolish such things, as they by force and violence had usurped against all laws, and that their mass of itself fell down and fled away before the holy communion, even as the darkness fleeth before the light, and as the idol Dagon fell down at the presence of the ark of the God of Israel: yet M. Harding well knoweth, that in these cases of religion there was nothing at any time done, either hastily, and upon the sudden, or by any small assembly; but in the open parliament of the whole realm, with great and sober deliberation, with indifferent and patient hearing, what might be said, and answered, and replied of both sides, and at last concluded with public authority and consent of all states and orders of this most noble kingdom. I judge him not well advised, nor worthy to rest in England, that will compare the state and majesty of that most high and honourable court, to the law of Lidford.

But it were long to shew in particular, what laws M. Harding's friends used, when they sat upon the bench. They caused dead men and women to be digged out of their graves, and so sat upon them solemnly in judgment, and condemned them. Their holy one of Rome, much like that speedy judge of Lidford, burnt that most reverend father D. Cranmer at Rome in a mummery, before he ever saw him, or heard him speak: and yet that notwithstanding they arraigned him in Oxford, and judged him afterward to be burnt. They first took and imprisoned the innocent, that had broken no law, and afterward devised a law to condemn him. With such courtesy, Cyrillus saith, Christ was entreated of the Jews: *Primum ligant: deinde causas in eum quærunt*: "First they bind him: and afterward they imagine matter against him⁶⁵." And to pass by many other like disorders and horrible extremities of that time, first they scattered and forced their masses through the

⁶⁵Cyrillus in
Johan. lib.
11. cap. 45.
[iv. 1025.]

⁶⁶[The passage quoted is from the Lat. ed.]

realm against the laws: afterward they stablished the same by a law: last of all, the next year following, they summoned and had a solemn disputation in Oxford, to try whether their law were good or no. Verily this seemeth much like the law of Lidford. For in order of nature, the disputation should have been first, and then the law, and last of all the execution of the same among the people.

But Tertullian saith: *Hæretici ex conscientia infirmitatis (suæ) nihil unquam [l. nunquam] tractant ordinarie*: Tertull. de Resurrectione Carnis. [cap. 2. p. 326.] "Heretics, for fear of their own weakness, never proceed in due order."

M. HARDING: *Fourth Division.*

Now, touching the number and iteration of the mass, first we have good and ancient authority for (197) two masses in one church in one day. That eloquent and holy father Leo the First, writeth thus to Dioscorus the bishop of Alexandria: *Volumus illud quoque custodiri, ut, cum solennior festivitas conventum populi numerosioris indixerit, et ad eam tanta multitudo convenit, quæ recipi basilica simul una non possit, sacrificiû oblatio indubitanter iteretur: ne iis tantum admissis ad hanc devotionem, qui primi advenerint, videantur ii, qui postmodum confluerint, non recepti. Cum plenum pietatis atque rationis sit, ut quoties basilicam, in qua agitur, præsentia novæ plebis impleverit, toties sacrificium subsequens offeratur*: "This order we will to be kept, that, when a number of people cometh to church together at a solemn feast, if the multitude be so great as may not well be received in one church at once, that the oblation of the sacrifice hardly⁶⁶ be done again, lest if they only should be admitted to this devotion who came first, they that come afterward may seem not to be received: forasmuch as it is a thing full of godliness and reason, that how oftentimes the church, where the service is done, is filled with a new company of people, so oftentimes the sacrifice there eftsoons be offered." The 197th untruth. For these two masses were two communions. Church filled.

By this father, whom the great (198) general council of Chalcedon agnized for supreme governor of the church of Christ, and honoured with the singular title of Universal Bishop, it is ordained, that, if any where one church could not conveniently hold all the people together at one time, they that came after the first company, should have their^a devotion served by having another mass celebrated again. And lest perhaps some might doubt whether that were lawful so to be done or no, or because then some doubted thereof, as now likewise some seem to doubt of it: to put the matter out of doubt, he saith assuredly, *Sacrificiû oblatio indubitanter iteretur*: "Let them not stick to iterate, or

The 198th untruth. For there is no such canon in all that council.

a This devotion was, that the whole people should receive the communion: which thing is contrary to private mass.

⁶⁶ [The word "hardly" is used here, as elsewhere by Jewel himself, in the sense of "hardily," "boldly."]

[Leo Dioscoro, i. 437.]

do again the oblation of the sacrifice," that is to say, " Let the mass be celebrated again, *indubitanter*, without casting peril, without sticking, staggering, or doubting." In that epistle he sheweth two great causes, why more masses than one may be done in one church in one day. The one is, lest the aftercomers should seem rejected, *non recepti*, " not received^b:" the other is, that the one part of the people be not defrauded of the benefit of their devotion: as himself saith, *Necesse est autem ut quædam pars populi sua devotione privetur, si, unius tantum missæ more servato, sacrificium offerre non possint, nisi qui prima diei parte convenerint*: " It must needs be, that a part of the people be bereft of their devotion, if, the custom of having one mass only kept, none may offer the sacrifice but such as came to church together in the morning, or first part of the day." Now, the people may neither be rejected, whom God hath chosen, nor sparkled abroad, whom our Lord hath gathered together: neither ought they to be defrauded of their devotion, by withdrawing the mass from them, but rather to be stirred thereunto by their devout presence, at the celebration of the same, where the death and passion of our Lord is lively represented before their eyes: the very same body that suffered on the cross, of them by the ministry of the priest offered to the Father, in a mystery, but truly, not to be a new redemption, but in commemoration of the redemption already performed.

By this testimony we find, that it was lawful within six hundred years after Christ, (for Leo lived about the year of our Lord 450,) to have two masses in one church in one day, for so much the word *iteretur* doth import at least, and if there were mo, the case so requiring, the word will bear it well enough.

Now by this holy bishop's godly will, the custom of having one mass only in one day was abrogated, and this decreed, That in time of two sundry resorts of people to church, two sundry masses should be celebrated, for the avoiding of these two inconveniences, lest the aftercomers should seem not received, but rejected like excommunicate persons, and that a part of the faithful people should not be put beside their devotion. Whereupon I make this reason, The causes standing, the effects follow: but the danger of the people's seeming to be rejected, and the defrauding of their devotion, which are causes of iterating the mass in one day, did in that age in some holy days of likelihood thrice, yea four or five times, happen, and in our time certainly doth commonly so often or oftener happen: wherefore the mass may so many times be said in a day in one church.

Where great multitude of Christian people is, as in towns, we see some resort to church early in the morning, making their spiritual oblations, to the intent to serve God ere they serve man in their worldly affairs; all cannot come so early. Others come at their convenient opportunity, some at six, some at seven, some at eight, some at nine or ten of the clock. If they, which through lawful lets cannot come at the first hours, coming after-

^b To the communion.

The people offer the sacrifice. A blind commentary, contrary to the text.

A gulleful fallax A non causa ut causa.

ward be roundly told by the priest, "Come ye at such, or at such hours, or else ye get no mass here:" shall not they according to Leo his saying seem to be rejected and defrauded of their devotion? All well disposed people about Paul's cannot come to Postel's mass⁶⁶, at four or five of the clock in the morning, neither at high mass there. Shall all such in a term or parliament time, when great resort is, be denied that spiritual comfort? And if they be, shall they not seem rejected, and put from their devotion? Which inconvenience that it might not happen, Leo willetth not only two, but three, four, or mo masses to be done on a day, for his words report no less. *Cum plenum pietatis, atque rationis sit, ut quoties basilicam, in qua agitur, præsentia nova plebis impleverit, toties sacrificium subsequens offeratur*: "Let there be no sticking at the iterating of the mass: forasmuch as," saith he, "it is a thing full of godliness and reason, that how often the church, where the service is done, is filled with a new company of people, so often the sacrifice there eftsoons be offered." Here he willetth plainly that mass be done *toties quoties*, at every new resort of the well disposed people, and that for these weighty causes, lest part of the people should seem not received, and that they be not defrauded of their devotion.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I marvel with what honest countenance M. Harding could allege this godly father so unadvisedly to prove his mass. For he knoweth well, and, being learned, cannot choose but know, that Leo both elsewhere in all other places, and also specially in this same place, beareth witness directly against his mass. But, as alchymists profess a skill to turn all manner metals into gold: so these men seem to have learned a skill, to transubstantiate and to turn all things whatsoever into their mass. It is evident by St. Augustine⁶⁷ and St. Hierom⁶⁸, that lived not long before Leo, that then in Rome, where Leo was bishop, the whole people received the holy communion every day: which communion Leo calleth *missa* by a Latin word, then newly received in the Latin church. In which church, like as also in the church of Græcia and Asia, there was

The church filled.

August. de Verbis Dom. secundum Lucam, serm. 28. [v. append. 152.]

Hieronym. in Apologia [pro libro] adversus Jo. vinian. [i. pt. 2. 239.]

August. de Dono Perseverantiae, lib. 1. cap. 4. [x. 825.]

⁶⁶ [Postel's mass. This was an early service, but the Editor has not succeeded in tracing the origin of the name. See Strype, Memorials, iii. 181 and 188, where mention is made of the revival of Apostle's mass, April 2, 1554, and of Postil's mass, (at five o'clock A.M.) April 30th, ejusd. ann.]

⁶⁷ [De Verb. Domini, sec. Luc. This sermon (which is identical with ch. 4. of the fifth book De Sacramentis, falsely attributed to St. Ambrose) is spurious, see vol. i. 202, note 38.]

⁶⁸ [Hieronym. in Apol. See vol. i. 287, note 18.]

only one such mass, or communion, said upon one day : unless it had otherwise been thought necessary upon occasion of the multitude of communicants, until the time of pope Deusdedit, which was in the year of our Lord 615, as it shall appear in the next Division of this Article.

Verily in these words of Leo there appeareth no manner token, neither of private mass, nor of sole receiving, nor of single communion, nor of sundry altars, nor of mo priests than one in one church. And, notwithstanding these words of Leo be plain enough of themselves, yet, by conference and sight of other places, we may the better be assured of his meaning. In the council holden at Agatha in the time of Cœlestinus the First, which was about the year of our Lord 440, it was decreed thus : *In Paschate, Natali Domini, Epiphania, Ascensione, Pentecoste, Natali S. Johannis Baptistæ, et si qui maximi dies in festivitatibus habentur, non nisi in civitatibus, aut parochiis missas teneant* : “ Upon Easter-day, the day of our Lord’s birth, the Epiphany, the Ascension, Whit-Sunday, the nativity of St. John Baptist, and likewise upon other great solemn feasts, let the country people hold their masses or communions nowhere else, but only either in great parishes, or in the cities.” The like decree was made in the council of Arverne, “ That all country priests, and all wealthy and chief citizens, should upon solemn feasts resort to the cities, and communicate together with their bishops.” Upon such solemn days the resort oftentimes was so great, that the church was not able to receive the whole company. Therefore order was taken, and that agreeable to natural courtesy, to the intent no part should be excluded from the holy mysteries, that the whole people should come in parts, in such wise as the church might easily receive them, and, that to that end, it should be lawful for the priest to minister the communion twice, or oftener upon one day. Upon like occasion, to increase the number of M. Harding’s witnesses, St. Augustine saith, the communion in some places was twice said in his time. Thus he writeth⁶⁸ : (*In quibusdam locis, ubi major, et frequentior.....est popululus Dei, quinta Sabbati hebdomadæ ultimæ quadragesimæ*

Concil. A-
gath. can. 21.
ann. 440.
[A.D. 506.
Mansi, viii.
328.]

Concil. Ar-
ver. can. 14.
[l. 15.] ann.
557. [A.D.
535. Mansi,
viii. 862.]

Augustin.
epist. 118.
ad Januari-
um. [l. 126.]

⁶⁸ [The words between brackets are not in the original.]

bis offertur, et mane et ad vesperam: (aliis autem in locis) ad finem (tantum) diei mos est offerri: “In certain places, whereas the resort of people is greater, upon Shire-Thurs-day the oblation is twice made, first in the morning, and after towards night: but in other places, (whereas the people is not so great,) the same oblation is made only before night.” And this M. Harding cannot deny. St. Augustine speaketh of the communion, and not of the mass. To the same end St. Gregory ministered the holy communion at three sundry times upon Christmas-day. Thus upon occasion of great resort, the mass or communion that day was twice, or thrice, or oftener said: not that the people should hear mass, as M. Harding wittingly mistaketh it, but that the whole people might communicate. Which thing of late years, because through disuse they knew not what it meant, they turned it only to a fantastical mystery, that the first mass signified the time of ignorance before the law: the second, the time in the law: the third, the time of grace.

Gregorius in
Evangelia,
hom. 8. [l.
146o.]

De Con. dist.
1. Nocte
sancta. [In
Glossa.]

Thus hast thou, good Christian reader, this learned father’s undoubted meaning, confirmed plainly both by the known story and circumstance of that time, as may appear by the two councils, of Arverne and Agatha, and also by the evident witness of St. Augustine and St. Gregory.

Now, let us see, what large commentaries and conjectural guesses M. Harding hath here devised, to transform the holy communion into his private mass. First he saith, “The great universal council of Chalcedon offered the title of ‘universal bishop’ unto this Leo, being then the bishop of Rome.” This note is both impertinent to the cause, and also worthily suspected of great untruth. For that great council is extant whole and perfect: and yet in the same, no such canon or title to be found. Only Gregory reporteth it: but the same Gregory reporteth further withal, that Leo would never suffer himself to be called the “universal bishop,” and saith, It was a proud and a glorious title, and meet for Antichrist. Whereas Leo saith, “the aftercomers should seem rejected,” he meaneth, from the receiving of the holy communion, and not, as M. Harding

Superbum,
arrogans,
Antichristi-
anum.

imagineth, from the hearing of mass. And here we have by the way specially to note these words of Leo: *Sacrificium offerre non possunt*. By which words Leo teacheth us plainly, that the sacrifice, whereof M. Harding maketh so great account, is offered no less by the people than by the priest.

Iteretur.

And, whereas M. Harding noteth further, that this Latin word, *iteretur*, may stand as well with three, or four, or mo masses, as with two, which thing is not denied, he might also as well havè noted, that the same word *iteretur* importeth likewise one and the selfsame minister, and none other. For if the second communion be ministered by another priest, and not by the same, it cannot rightly be said *iteratur*. And further, the same word necessarily signifieth, that one communion was then in such cases ministered successively, and in order after another: and not two masses, or three, or four, or six, or ten together, all at once, as the manner is now in the church of Rome.

Hereof M. Harding frameth us this formal *sylogismus*: “The cause that moved Leo to take this order, was that all and every of the devout people might hear mass: but it is likely, the people resorted to the church at sundry times, some rather⁶⁹, some later, and not all at once: *ergo*, it is likely, that to satisfy the people’s devotion, there were sundry masses said in one day.”

It is likely that M. Harding never examined the parts and likelihood of this argument. For first the major, or head proposition, is apparent false, grounded, as it is termed, in logic, *a non causa, ut causa*, “presuming that thing to be the cause, which indeed is no cause.” For the cause, that moved Leo, was not the hearing of mass, as it is already proved, but the receiving of the holy communion.

The minor, or second proposition, notwithstanding in some part it may seem true, yet it is nothing agreeable to Leo’s meaning. For Leo speaketh not of one man, or two, nor of the ordinary course of every day, but only of great solemn feasts, and of such resort of people, as might

⁶⁹ [Rather—earlier.]

fill up the whole church. His words be plain: *Cum solemnior festivitas conventum populi numerosioris indixerit*: and, *Quoties basilicam presentia novæ plebis impleverit*. Therefore, to bear us thus in hand, that Leo had such a special care, either for the term time in London, or for the people about Paul's, or for hearing the Postel's mass, it is a very vain and a childish phantasy: like as this also is that he addeth, The people should be denied that spiritual comfort. For, alas! what comfort can the people receive, whereas they can neither see, nor hear, nor understand, nor know, nor learn: but stand only as men amazed, utterly bereft of all their senses? Let M. Harding once lay apart dissimulation, and tell us by what ways or means the people at his mass can possibly receive this spiritual comfort. If he would speak truly, and that he knoweth, as he seldom doth, he should rather call it spiritual blindness.

And whereas he pleadeth his *toties quoties*, and thereby would erect a whole *totquot* of masses, sans number, if he had advisedly considered out the whole sentence, he should better have espied out his own folly, and have had less occasion to deceive the people. For Leo saith not, as M. Harding would force him to say, "as often as any devout people cometh to church," but as it is said before, *quoties basilicam presentia novæ plebis impleverit*: "as often as the presence of a new company shall have filled up the whole church." In such cases it was lawful to begin again the whole communion, and not otherwise. By these words, M. Harding's *totquot* is much abridged.

In the end he concludeth, not only against Leo his author, but also against the very express order of his own church, "That one priest" (for Leo speaketh only of one, and of no mo) "may say mass boldly without sticking, or staggering, as often as any people resorteth to him." For, now it is thought sufficient for one priest to say one mass upon one day, and no mo. So it is determined by pope Alexander: *Sufficit sacerdoti unam missam in uno die celebrare*: "It is sufficient for a priest to say one mass upon a day." Unless it be in case of great necessity, which the

De Con. dist.
1. Sufficit.

De Celebrat.
Miss. Con-
sultuisti. In
Glossa.

Gloss, as it is before alleged, well expoundeth: *Causa*

honestatis vel utilitatis : “ In case of honesty, or of profit :” as, if some great personage happen upon the sudden to come to church. Likewise the council of Salesgunstadium hath straitly charged, that no priest presume to say more than three masses upon one day : (the one, in course of the day present : the other, for the dead : the third, to pleasure some noble personage⁷⁰ :) which also is a great stopple to M. Harding’s *totquot*. In these provisoes, there is no manner consideration had to the devotion of the people : but, contrary to M. Harding’s new canon, they are utterly left without their spiritual comfort. And therefore pope Clement the Seventh caused one friar Stuppino in Rome to be whipped naked through the streets, for that he had said five or six or mo masses in one day, to satisfy the devotion of the people.

Concl. Salesgunstadium. can. 5. [xix. 397.]

Thus, good reader, thou mayest see, both the parts and the force of M. Harding’s *sylogismus* : the major is false : the minor far from Leo’s purpose : the conclusion contrary to himself. Certainly, if it had then been thought lawful to say so many corner masses, as sithence that time have been used in the church of Rome, it had been great folly, either for Dioscorus to move this question, or for Leo to take this order.

M. Harding’s sylogismus.

M. HARDING : *Fifth Division.*

Wherefore they that reprove the plurality of masses in one church in one day, after the judgment of this worthy father, be rejectors of the faithful people, and robbers of their devotion. But they that have utterly abrogated the mass, which is the outward and ever-enduring sacrifice of the new testament, (199) by verdict of scripture, be no less than the forerunners of Antichrist.

The 199th untruth, without any honest shame. For M. Harding knoweth, there is no such commendation given to his mass, in the whole body of the scriptures.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The former part of this conclusion is already answered. But for the second part, if they, that have reformed the horrible abuses of the mass, be the forerunners of Anti-

⁷⁰ [The clause between brackets forms no part of the canon of the council ; it is Jewel’s explanation, and probably the correct one, of the grounds upon which the number of masses was extended to three. See supra, vol. iii. p. 191.]

christ, what then may we think of them, that have wilfully and of purpose invented and erected all those abuses? that have taken from the people of God, not only the holy communion, but also the understanding, and sweetness, and comfort of the same? that have spoiled God's children of the bread of life, and have fed them with the bread of confusion, that is, with ignorance, superstition, and idolatry? that have mangled and corrupted Christ's blessed mysteries, and have wickedly defiled the camp of the Lord? and having thus done, yet notwithstanding, have faces to maintain and uphold all their wilful doings? What may God's people think of them? and before whom do they run? Verily Gerardus Lorichius, M. Harding's own doctor, saith thus: *Missæ privatæ, quæ absente populo catholico fiunt, abominatio verius, quam oblatio, dicendæ sunt*: "Private masses, which are said without presence of the people, are rather an abomination than a sacrifice."

Gerard. Lorichius de Missa Pub. Prorogan. lib. 3.

And St. Augustine saith: *Si Johannes ita diceret, Si quis peccaverit, me habetis mediatorem apud Patrem, et ego exoro pro peccatis vestris, quis eum ferret bonorum et fidelium Christianorum? quis sicut apostolum Christi, et non sicut Antichristum intueretur?* "If St. John would say thus: 'If any man sin, ye have me your mediator with the Father, and I obtain pardon for your sins,' what good and faithful Christian man could abide him? who would look upon him, as upon the apostle of Christ, and not rather as upon Antichrist?"

Augustin. contra Parmenianum, lib. 2. cap. 8. [ix. 34.]

M. HARDING: Sixth Division.

Here that I may add somewhat more for proof of this Article: If the plurality of masses in one church in one day had been utterly unlawful, the fathers of the council of Autissiodorum would not have decreed, that it should not be lawful to celebrate two masses upon one altar in one day: neither where the bishop had said mass, that a priest might not say the same day, at the same altar. For beside that the prohibition presupposeth the thing prohibited to have been before used, (else prohibition had been superfluous, and so far forth it appeareth, that before the making of that decree no masses were said at one altar in one day,) the argument of this decree serveth very well for proof, that by force of this council it was then lawful to say no masses in one church in one day. For this prohibition of the council is not general, but special, restricted to a particular place of the church, *in uno*

M. Harding groundeth his guess without his compass. For this council was holden ann. 613.

Nor licet super uno altario in una die duas missas celebrare: nec in altario ubi episcopus missas dixerit presbyter illa die missas dicat. Concl. Autissiodoren. can. 10. [ix. 913.] Anno Dom. 613.

altario, "at one altar," which includeth not of any reason a more general and larger matter than itself, as, neither at any other altar in the same church the same day it shall be lawful to say mass: but of consequent this being but one special case forbidden, inferreth a permission and good leave in the rest *ejusdem generis et subjecti*, that be of the same kind, and about the same matter, and not included by words of reason in that prohibition. So that we may not argue by reason in this sort: 'It is forbidden to say mo masses at one altar in one day: *ergo*, it is forbidden to say many masses at all in one church, in one day, upon divers altars:' but the contrary reason followeth: '*ergo*, ye may say many masses upon divers altars in one day.' And likewise: 'Ye may not say mass that day on the altar where the bishop hath said: *ergo*, ye may lawfully say at another altar:' for otherwise the law would have forbidden generally, 'Ye shall not say mass in the church where the bishop hath said that day:' and then ye had been forbidden that altar, and all altars there at one word. But in forbidding the one altar, the law granteth you the use of the rest there.

And this kind of reasoning and arguing of the law, that forbiddeth one case specially to affirm the rest, that is not mentioned in the prohibition, the lawyers will defend by their principles against M. Jewel, who, I think, will not wade far to stand against them in this match. For they say, An edict prohibitory in such things, which are not wholly in their kind unlawful, forbidding special cases, granteth the rest, and doth permit all that, which is not specially forbidden. And by that, all may be witnesses which are not specially forbidden: all may make their proctors to answer for them in judgment, which are not forbidden in the special prohibition: for that the edicts of proctors and witnesses are prohibitory. And because *lex Julia* did forbid a woman condemned for adultery to bear witness in judgment, thereof the text of the civil law concludeth, that women may bear witness in judgment.

And they say further, that exception in one case confirmeth the general rule, and maketh the rest, that is not excepted, more sure and stable, and to be in force in contrary sense to the exception.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This long discourse may well be granted without great prejudice. For this council was holden at Autissiodorum, as M. Harding hath also noted in the margin, in the year of our Lord 613: and therefore neither furthereth him, nor hindereth me: as standing without the compass of the first six hundred years⁷¹. And whoso listeth to peruse the

⁷¹ [Sirmondus (ap. Mansi, ix. latest 590; and adds, that the received date of 614 is absurd, since 197.) assigns the date 588, or at

In genere permissorum omnia intelliguntur permessa, quæ specialiter non reperiuntur prohibita.

L. Julia. ff. de testibus.

Exceptio confirmat regulam in non exceptis.

acts of that council, shall soon find, that many great disorders, and horrible abuses, and, as they are termed there, *incestæ consuetudines*, wicked and abominable customs, were by that time grown into the church of Rome: as ^a *strenæ* a Canon. 1. *diabolicæ*: “devilish new year’s gifts: heathenish vows: ^b to pray in groves and at the water-sides, as the heathens b Canon. 3. had used to pray: ^c to consecrate and minister the Lord’s c Canon. 8. cup in metheglin: ^d to put the sacrament into dead men’s Mellitum, vel mulsum. d Canon. 12. mouths:” and such other like. And that among these and other like disorders, the plurality of masses first began at that time, and not before, it may appear by the Pontifical itself, in the life of pope Deusdedit, where it is written thus: *Deusdedit constituit secundam missam in clero*. And In 2. tom. Conciliorum [p. 184.] in Vita Deusdedit. Anno 614. Petrus Urbevetanus. Petrus Urbevetanus ⁷² in his scholies upon the same place, writeth thus: *Quia tunc, ad instar Græcorum, non cantabatur in una ecclesia, nisi forsan una missa: quod magis ædificabat, secundum antiquos*: “For then there was but one mass (or communion) said after the manner of the Greeks: which thing, as the ancient writers think, was more profitable to the people.” Likewise Thomas Valdensis ⁷³ saith: *Græci (adhuc) unicam (tantum) missam in die celebrant*: “The Greeks hitherto say but one mass (or communion) in one day.” So likewise Francis the friar writeth unto his brethren: *Moneo, et exhortor vos in Domino, ut in locis, in quibus morantur fratres, una tantum celebretur missa in die, secundum formam sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ*: “I warn you, and exhort you in the Lord, that in the places where our brethren dwell, there be only one mass a day said, according to the order of the holy church of Rome ⁷⁴.” So St. Ambrose declareth the order of the

the presiding bishop Aunacharius certainly died before that year. That bishop’s name is the only clue to the date. It is possible therefore, that both Jewel and Harding, following Crabbe, were mistaken in the date, and in that case, Jewel’s argument here becomes in strictness of speech untenable. At all events it was not a general council, which was the term used in Jewel’s Challenge.]

⁷² [The Editor has found no

notice of this author in the usual books of reference.]

⁷³ [Thomas Netter of Walden, “Doctrinale antiqq. fidei.” There is some error in the marginal reference, copied apparently from Cassandri Liturgica.]

⁷⁴ [This will be found inter Francisci Assisii Opuscula; the letter is not “ad Fratres,” but “ad Sacerdotes ordinis sui.” Bibl. Patr. de la Bigne, tom. i. p. 976.]

Thom. Valdensis, lib. 6. cap. 34. [ap. Cassandrum, p. 85.]

Franciscus in Ep. ad Fratres.

† Ambros. 1. church of Milan in his time : *Omni hebdomada offerendum est : etiam si non quotidie peregrinis, incolis tamen, vel bis in hebdomada* : “ Every week the oblation must be made : although not every day, for comers and strangers, yet at least twice in the week for the citizens.” St. Ambrose saith, The communion in his time was ministered once or twice in the week : and at the furthest upon great occasion once a day : but not twenty or thirty times in one day.

And, whereas M. Harding seemeth to warrant his multitude of masses, by that in this council of Autissiodorum there is mention made of sundry altars, it may like him to understand, that before the time of that council, there appeareth no such multiplication or increase of altars. One altar was thought sufficient for the whole church, and the same altar placed in the midst of the congregation, that all the people might come round about it. So saith Eusebius : *Absoluto templo,.....et altari in medio constituto* : “ The church being finished, and the altar (or communion table) placed in the midst.” St. Augustine likewise saith thus :

Mensa Domini est illa in medio constituta : “ That is the Lord’s table, that standeth here in the midst.” In like manner it is written in the council of Constantinople :

Tempore diptychorum cucurrit omnis multitudo cum magno silentio circum altare, et audiebant : “ When the lesson or chapter was in reading, all the people drew together with silence round about the altar, and gave attendance.” If

M. Harding will contend, for that hitherto there is no mention made of one altar alone, and therefore will say, there might be many, he may also remember, that Eusebius saith in the place before alleged, *Augustum et magnum, et unicum altare* : “ The reverend, the great, and the one only altar⁷³.” So Ignatius : *Unum est altare toti ecclesie* : “ There is but one altar for the whole church.” So St. Chrysostom : *Baptismus unus est, et mensa una* : “ There is one baptism, and one table.” So likewise Gentianus Hervetus, describing the manner of the Greek church, as it is used at this day, saith thus : *In Græcorum*

⁷³ [Eusebii Eccl. Hist. lib. 10. Σεμνὸν δὲ καὶ μέγα καὶ μονογενὲς θυσιαστήριον....]

Ignatius ad Philadelphien. [Rus. sel, II. 125.]

Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 4. In Encensilis. [l. 474.]

Augustin. de Verb. Dom. secundum Johan. serm. 47. [v. 645.]

Concil. Constantinop. 5. act. 1. [viii. 1066.]

Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 4. [l. 479.]

Ignatius ad Philadelphien. [Rus. sel, II. 125.]
Chrysost. in 2 Cor. hom. 18. [x. 569.]

Gentianus Hervetus.

templis, unum tantum est altare, idque in medio choro, aut presbyterio: "In the Greek church there is but one altar, and the same standing in the midst of the choir⁷⁴." And the choir also was in the midst of all the people⁷⁵. By these it may appear, that M. Harding is not able to find his plurality of masses before the council of Autissiodorum, which was without the lists of the first six hundred years, and therefore can stand him in little stead.

As for these principles of the law that are here brought in, as a surcharge unto the rest, they may be safely received without danger. I grant, the law, that forbiddeth in special case, generally granteth all that is not specially forbidden. This, I say, may well be granted. It is commonly called in schools *argumentum a contrario sensu*. Notwithstanding, this rule, being so general, may receive exception, although perhaps not in law, yet in some cases of divinity. For example: God saith: "Thou shalt not commit usury to thy brother:" "Let there be no harlot of the daughters of Israel:" "Thou shalt not marry thy wife's sister, whiles thy wife liveth:" "Thou shalt not commit advoutry:" St. Paul saith: "Be ye not drunken with wine."

Deut. xxiii.

19.

Ibid. ver. 17.

Levit. xviii.

18.

Exod. xx. 14.

Ephes. v. 18.

Of these special prohibitions, by M. Harding's rule or principle, we may reason thus: "These cases are specially forbidden: and whatsoever is not excepted in special prohibition as unlawful, is permitted as lawful: *ergo, ex contrario sensu*, 'by the contrary sense,' it is left as lawful, to commit usury to a stranger: it is left as lawful, to have a harlot, so that she be not of the daughters of Israel: it is left as lawful, to marry thy wife's sister, if thy wife be dead: it is left as lawful, to commit fornication;" for fornication in this special prohibition is not forbidden, but only

⁷⁴ [If Jewel refers to the observations of Gentianus Hervetus at the end of the *Theoria* of Germanus, he has not reported them quite accurately. Hervetus states expressly, that there were two altars, but adds, that the lesser (the *πρόθεσις*) was used only for holding the elements before consecration; and that the greater

alone, standing in the midst, was used for the consecration of the sacrament: which is probably all that Jewel means.]

⁷⁵ [This is true, if by the choir are meant the singers. The word "chorus" was sometimes used as identical with *βῆμα*. Bingham, book viii. ch. 5. sect. 4. and ch. 6. sect. 5.]

advoutry: "it is left as lawful, to be drunken with ale or beer; for only wine is excepted." And why so? for M. Harding's principle must needs stand, "That a prohibition forbidding special cases, permitteth all the rest, and generally leaveth all that as lawful, that is not specially forbidden." I speak not this to the intent to reprove the principle of the law that here is alleged: but only to shew, that general rules must sometimes, and in some cases, be taken with exception.

M. HARDING: *Seventh Division.*

But I will not bring M. Jewel out of his professed study too far to seek laws. For indeed we need not go to law for these matters, wherein the church hath given sentence for us, but that our adversaries refuse the judge after sentence. Which if they had done when order permitteth it, at the beginning, and had plainly (as I fear me some of them think) denied themselves to be Christians, or at least of Christ's court in his catholic church: we should not have strived so long about these matters. We would have embraced the truth of God in his church quietly, whiles they sought another judge according to their appetites and phantasies, as Turks and infidels do.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It were more for M. Harding's purpose, for proof of these matters, to go rather to divinity than to law. Howbeit, the state of his case being so feeble, and so deadly diseased, it were good counsel for him to leave both professions, and to go to physic.

But here once again in his impatient heats he uttereth his inordinate and unadvised choler, and thinketh to prove himself a good catholic man, only by comparing others with Turks and infidels. Notwithstanding herein we shall need no long defence. For, God's holy name be blessed, it is now open to the hearts and consciences of all men, that both in life and doctrine we profess the same gospel of Jesus Christ, that they of M. Harding's side have of long time oppressed and burnt for heresy.

Neither do we refuse the judge, either after sentence or before. Him only we refuse, as no competent judge in these cases, that teacheth the commandments and doctrines

of men, and hath infected the world with the leaven of the scribes and Pharisees: and we appeal unto Christ, the only Judge of all judges, unto whom God the Father straitly bade us to give ear: *Ipsum audite*: "Hearken unto him:" Matt. xvi. 6.
Unus est Magister noster Christus: "Christ is our only Master and only Judge." Matt. xvii. 5. Matt. xxiii. 8.

As for the determinations of the church, they are sundry, and variable, and uncertain, and therefore sometimes untrue: and for that cause may not always stand of necessity as matter of judgment. The Greek church never used the private mass, but only the communion: the Latin church hath utterly abolished the holy communion, saving only at one time in the year, when also she useth it with foul disorder, and, as Gelasius saith, with open sacrilege, and useth only the private mass. The same Latin church for the space of six hundred years, and more, from the beginning, unless it had been upon great occasion of many communicants, used only one communion, or, as M. Harding rather delighteth to call it, one mass in one day: but the Latin church that now is, hath in every corner of the temple erected altars, and therefore now is full of corner masses. In the old Latin church it was not lawful to say the second communion, but only when the church was full of people: in M. Harding's new Latin church, there be oftentimes mo masses said together, than there be hearers of the people to gaze upon them. Thus the judgment of the Latin church disagreeeth from the Greek: and the new Latin church likewise disagreeeth in judgment from the old. Touching this new Latin church St. Bernard mourneth and complaineth thus: *Nunc ipsi Christum persequuntur, qui ab eo Christiani dicuntur. Amici tui, Deus, et proximi tui adversus te appropinquaverunt, et steterunt. Conjurasse videtur contra te universitas populi Christiani, a minimo usque ad maximum. A planta pedis usque ad verticem non est sanitas ulla. Egressa est iniquitas a senioribus judicibus vicariis tuis, qui videntur regere populum tuum..... Arcem Sion occupaverunt, apprehenderunt munitiones, et universam deinceps libere, et potestative tradiderunt [tradunt] incendio civitatem*: "They

D. Bernard.
in Conversione Pauli.
[iii. 962.]

are now become the persecutors of Christ, that of his name are called Christians. O God! thy friends that are nearest about thee, approach near, and stand against thee. The whole universal body of Christian people seemeth to have conspired against thee, even from the lowest unto the highest. Wickedness proceedeth forth from thy vicars the elder judges, that seem to govern thy people." (Like heathens and infidels,) "they have invaded thy castle of Sion," (which is thy holy church,) "and have taken all her holds, and freely and by authority have thrown thy whole city into the fire⁷⁶." Again he saith: "There remaineth now nothing, but that Antichrist, the man of sin, the child of perdition, be revealed."

Bernard. in
Psalm. Qui
habitat,
serm. 6.
[iii. 845.]

Seeing therefore the resolution of these judges is oftentimes uncertain and doubtful, I will not say, as St. Bernard seemeth to say, ungodly and wicked, we may the more indifferently and the better say now to M. Harding, as St. Augustine sometimes said to the heretic Maximinus: *Nec ego Nicenam synodum tibi: nec tu mihi Ariminensem debes, tanquam præjudicaturus, objicere. Nec ego hujus autoritate, nec tu illius teneris. Scripturarum autoritatibus, non quorumcunque propriis, sed quæ utriusque sint communes, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione decertet*: "Neither will I prescribe against thee by the council of Nice: nor mayest thou prescribe against me by the council of Ariminum. Neither am I bound to this council, nor thou to that. By the authority of the scriptures, which are neither thine nor mine, but indifferent and common to us both, let us compare matter with matter, cause with cause, and reason with reason." Again he saith in like sort to the heretic Cresconius: *Non debet se ecclesia Christo præponere, &c. Cum ille semper veraciter judicet: ecclesiastici autem judices, sicut homines, plerunque fallantur*: "The church," saith St. Augustine, "may not set herself above Christ, &c. For Christ evermore judgeth

August. ad-
versus Maxi-
min. lib. 3.
[viii. 704.]

Augustin.
contra Cre-
sconium
Grammati-
cum, lib. 2.
cap. 21. [ix.
422.]

⁷⁶ [The Editor takes this opportunity of correcting an error in note ⁵⁶, p. 69, of this volume. The marginal reference there

should be printed "Bernardus de Conversione Pauli," as the place intended is evidently the one here quoted.]

truly : but the ecclesiastical judges, as being men, are often deceived." Therefore we appeal from the church, to Christ : from the party, to the judge : from the church deformed, to the church reformed : from a church particular, to the church catholic : from the false to the true : from the new to the old : from a doubtful, variable, uncertain, unadvised sentence, to a sentence most firm, most stable, most certain, most constant, that shall stand for ever.

M. HARDING : *Eighth Division.*

Now, if M. Jewel be not so precise in his judgment of allowing the first six hundred years after Christ, as to condemn the church that followed in the next generation : then we may allege unto him the twelfth council of Toledo in Spain, holden in the year of our Lord 680, for proof that many masses were celebrated in one church in one day. For the same appeareth plainly by this decree of the fathers there : *Relatum nobis est, quosdam de sacerdotibus non tot vicibus communionis sanctæ gratiam sumere, quot sacrificia in una die videntur offerre, sed in uno die, si plurima per se Deo offerant sacrificia, in omnibus se oblationibus a communione suspendunt, et in sola tantum extrema sacrificii oblatione communionis sanctæ gratiam sumunt. Quasi non sit toties illis vero et singulari sacrificio participandum, quoties corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi immolatio facta constiterit. Nam ecce apostolus dicit : Nonne qui edunt hostias, participes sunt altaris ? Certum est, quod hi, qui sacrificantes non edunt, rei sunt Domini sacramenti. Quicumque ergo sacerdotum deinceps divino altario sacrificium oblaturus accesserit, et se a communione suspenderit, ab ipsa, qua se indecenter privavit, gratia communionis anno uno repulsum se noverit. Nam quale erit illud sacrificium, cui nec ipse sacrificans particeps esse cognoscitur ? Ergo modis omnibus est tenendum, ut quotiescunque sacrificans corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi in altario immolat, toties perceptionis corporis et sanguinis Christi se participem præbeat :* " It is shewed unto us, that there be certain priests, who do not receive the grace of the holy communion so many times, how many sacrifices they seem to offer in one day. But if they offer up to God many sacrifices by themselves in one day, in all those oblations they suspend themselves from the communion, and receive the grace of the holy communion, only at the last oblation of the sacrifice, as though they ought not so oftentimes to be partakers of that true and singular sacrifice, as the sacrifice of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ hath been done. For behold the apostle saith : ' Be not they which eat sacrifices partakers of the altar ?' It is certain, that they, who doing sacrifice do not eat, be guilty of our Lord's

[Mansi, xi.
1033.]

Can. 5.

1 Cor. x.

1 Cor. x.

sacrament. Wherefore what priest soever hereafter shall come unto the holy altar to offer sacrifice, and suspend himself from the communion, be it known unto him, that he is repelled and thrust away from the grace of the communion, whereof he hath unseemly bereaved himself" (whereby is meant, that he standeth excommunicate) "for the space of one year. For what a sacrifice shall that be, whereof neither he himself that sacrificeth is known to be partaker? Wherefore by all means this is to be kept, that how oftentimes soever the priest doth sacrifice the body and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord on the altar, so oftentimes he receive, and make himself partaker of the body and blood of Christ⁷⁷."

Here by the word "sacrifice," and "offering of the sacrifice," the fathers understand the daily sacrifice of the church, which we call "the mass." For though the word *missa* be of great antiquity, and many times found in the fathers, yet they use more commonly the word "sacrifice." Neither can the enemies of this sacrifice expound this canon of the inward sacrifices of a man's heart, but of that sacrifice which the priest cometh to the holy altar to offer, of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ our Lord offered on the altar, (for so be their words,) where he receiveth the grace of the holy communion, which is the participation of the body and blood of our Lord. Thus much granted, as by any reasonable understanding it cannot be drawn, nor by racking can be stretched to any other sense: we have here good authority for the having of many masses in one church in one day. And whereas the fathers of that council allowed many masses in one day said by one priest, there is no reason why they should not allow the same said by sundry priests in one day. If our adversaries say, this might have been done in sundry places, whereby they may seem to frustrate our purpose touching this Article: we answer, that, beside the approving of the mass by them so confessed, it were vain and frivolous to imagine such gadding of the priests from church to church for saying many masses in one day. Doubtless the fathers of that Toletan council meant of many masses said in one place in a day, as Leo did, for serving the faithful people's devotion that resorted to church at sundry hours, as we see the people do now, that so all might be satisfied: which should not have been, if one mass only had been said.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

We condemn not the church of God in any generation, be the abuses thereof never so great. God resembleth it unto a vine, unto a cornfield, and unto a flock of sheep.

⁷⁷ [Harding has followed the canon of the council itself; in reading of Gratian (de Cons. 2. Mansi, the various readings are Relatum est), and not that of the printed in the margin.]

This word "missa" is found some times in the fathers. But it is used evermore for the communion.

Notwithstanding the vine be spoiled, and torn down, yet Isa. v. 7. is it the vine of the God of Sabaoth. Notwithstanding the field lie waste, and be overgrown with weeds, yet is it still the Lord's field. Notwithstanding the flock be forsaken of the shepherds, and run astray, and perish in the wilderness, yet is it still the flock of Christ. And herein we have great cause to glorify the name of God, that, when he seeth it good in his sight, sendeth forth labourers to rear up and to dress his vine: to labour and to weed his ground: to gather in and to feed his flock.

This allegation of the council of Toledo serveth M. Harding, only to betray his want. For if he could have found any other council of antiquity, I trow he would not have alleged this. It was holden well near seven hundred years after Christ: by which time many great disorders and deformities were privily copen into the church, as may appear both otherwise, and also by this same example, that one priest used then to say many masses in one day, and yet himself not to communicate, contrary both to the institution of Christ, and also to the laws and canons of the church: and therefore the Gloss upon the decrees calleth De Con. dist. 2. Relatum est. In Gloss. it a most naughty custom: and this council itself saith: Whosoever so doth, is guilty of the Lord's sacrament. Thus both the computation of the time, and also the disorder and abuse of the thing itself considered, this authority needeth no further answer.

It was impertinent in this place for M. Harding to move matter of the sacrifice. Howbeit, for short answer thereto, the sacrifice, that in the old writers is called "daily," is that everlasting and only sacrifice, that Christ Heb. x. 12. once offered upon the cross, being there a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedec: and, whosoever thinketh not that sacrifice sufficient, but imagineth some other sacrifice for sins to be made by man, is an enemy of Philipp. iii. 18. the cross of Christ and of his sacrifice, and treadeth down Heb. x. 29. the Son of God under his feet, and counteth the blood of the testament to be unholy. In what sense the mystery of the holy communion is of the old fathers called "a sacrifice,"

it shall be shewed at large in the seventeenth Article hereof, serving wholly to that purpose.

Touching this word *missa*, neither is the name nor the meaning thereof of such antiquity, as it is here supposed by M. Harding. It grew first in use about four hundred years after Christ, and is very seldom used of the old Latin writers: of St. Augustine, St. Hierom, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, and others of that age, never: unto St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, Nazianzen, Gregory Nysen, and all other Greek writers, utterly unknown. It is found in two sundry places under the name of St. Augustine⁷⁸, and once under the name of St. Hierom. But it is certain, that these books were neither St. Augustine's nor St. Hierom's.

Augustin. in
Serm. de
Tempore.
Hieronym.
in Proverb.

Howbeit, we make no great account of the name. The natural sense and meaning thereof, contrary to M. Harding's surmises, necessarily importeth a communion, and not a private mass. For this Latin word *missa*, is as much as *missio*, that is, "a commanding away," or "license to depart." So St. Cyprian saith, *remissa peccatorum*, instead of *remissio*: and the order of the church then was this, That novices, that were not yet christened, and were called *catechumeni*, and others that were called *pœnitentes*, that for some offence were enjoined to do penance, notwithstanding they might lawfully hear the sermons, and pray together with the rest, yet might they neither be present at the baptism, nor receive the holy mysteries. And therefore, after the gospel was read, and the sermon ended, the deacon said unto them, *Ite, missa est*: "Go

Cyprian. lib.
3. Epistolar.
[p. 134.]

⁷⁸ [As Jewel has not specified either of the places, falsely ascribed to St. Augustine, where the word "missa" occurs, it is difficult to determine which he meant. There is one passage in a sermon, De Tempore, still considered genuine (237, de Tempore, t. v. 275,) where the word occurs: "ecce post sermonem fit missa catechumenis, manebunt fideles," but there it clearly does not

mean "mass," or even the "eucharist," but simply the dismissal of the catechumens previous to the communion. Besides the above, there are several passages (in the Appendices to St. Augustine's works) in sermons now attributed to Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, A.D. 510. See supra, vol. i. p. 164, note. The Commentary on Proverbs, attributed to St. Jerome, is spurious.]

ye hence : ye may depart." Likewise in St. Gregory's time the deacon used thus to say : *Qui non communicat, det locum* : " Whoso doth not communicate, let him give place⁷⁹." Thus all they, that either would not or might not communicate with the rest of their brethren, were willed to depart : whereof it necessarily followeth, that all they that remained did communicate.

Gregorius
Dialogor.
lib. 2. cap.
23. [il. 253.]

Of this departure away, and proclamation of the deacon, the action itself, which was the holy communion, was called *missa*. Afterward, when either through negligence of the people, or through avarice of the priests, the whole order hereof was quite altered, and the thing, that had been common, was become private, yet, as it happeneth often in other the like things, the former name remained still. For example, the vigils, or night watches, were turned into fastings : altars, that served for offering up of calves and goats, were turned into the Lord's table : the sabbath-day was turned into the Sunday. Yet, the things being thus altered, the names notwithstanding of vigils, altars, and sabbath-days remain still in use, as they did before. Therefore M. Harding herein, as commonly elsewhere, thought it best to deceive his reader, by the mistaking and error of the name.

Last of all, if the fathers in the council of Toledo and Leo meant all one thing, as here it is constantly avouched, then is M. Harding by the same fathers but poorly relieved. For it is most evident, by that is already said, that Leo meant the holy communion, and not M. Harding's private mass.

M. HARDING : *Ninth Division.*

If M. Jewel agnize and accept for good the authority of this council, as the church doth, then must he allow these many things, which he and the sacramentaries, to the uttermost of their power and cunning, labour to disprove and deface. First, the blessed sacrifice of the mass, which the fathers of this council call the true and singular sacrifice, the sacrifice of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which the priest offereth on the altar. Next, the truth and real presence of the body and blood

⁷⁹ [Gregor. Dialog. See supra, vol. iii. 124, note ³.]

of our Lord in the sacrifice offered. Then altars, which this council calleth divine or holy, for the divine and holy things on them offered, the body and blood of Christ. Furthermore, the (200) multitude of masses in one day. For they speak of many sacrifices, that is, many masses, *plurima sacrificia*. Lastly, private masses. For the words *nec ipse sacrificans*, rightly construed and weighed, import no less. For whereas no word in this decree is uttered, whereby it may appear, the people to be of necessity required to receive, if the priests had received themselves at every mass, no fault had been found. And if the people had received without the priests, in this case it had been reason, this decree should otherwise have been expressed. And so it is clear, that at that time private masses were said and done.

The 200th untruth. For M. Harding understandeth not his own book, as it shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The authority and credit of this council of Toledo is no part of our question. It was holden almost seven hundred years after Christ: and of greater antiquity M. Harding is able to allege none. Which thing, I trust, the indifferent and discreet reader will well remember.

Concerning these five notes, whereof one only toucheth this purpose, as this council saith, The priest offereth the sacrifice at the altar or holy table, even so Leo saith, Every of the whole faithful people likewise offereth up the same sacrifice. I say not any other, but the very selfsame sacrifice, and that in as ample manner as it is offered by the priest.

Leo ad Dioscorum, epist. 81. [1. 437.]

Touching real presence, M. Harding seemeth to do, as children sometimes use to do, that imagine horsemen, and banners, and other strange miracles in the clouds. It is only his own phantasy: for there is no such word or mention in the council. The matter of altars is already answered. Private masses, and also multitudes of the same, consideration evermore had to the computation of the years, might easily be granted without hinderance. Yet hath not M. Harding in the space well near of seven hundred years, hitherto found in one church more than two masses in one day: all this his great study and travail therein taken notwithstanding.

Anno 680.

But the words of the council be plain, *plurima sacrificia*, that is, "many sacrifices," and therefore, saith M. Harding,

many masses. Hereby it may appear, that M. Harding either considereth not his book, or else hath no great regard to that he writeth. His own books will reprove his oversight, and shew how much he is deceived. For *plurima* in this place signifieth not "many," that is, neither six, nor five, nor four, nor three, but only two. And for trial hereof, I report me to the Gloss itself upon the decrees. The words be these: *Nota hic, plurima dici de duobus. Quia plura non licet*: "Mark here, that this word *plurima* is spoken only of two. For, to say mo masses than two, it is not lawful."

De Con. dist.
2. Relatum
est. In Gloss.

M. HARDING: *Tenth Division.*

Now if M. Jewel refuse and reject the authority of the church represented in that council, then he giveth us a manifest notice, what mark we ought to take him to be of. Then may we say unto him the words of St. Paul: *Nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, nec ecclesia Dei*: "We have no such custom, neither the church of God hath not," to condemn the church. And in this case he must pardon us, if according to the precept of Christ, for that he will not hear the church, we take him for no better than a heathen and a publican.

1 Cor. xi. 16.

Matt. xviii.
17.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

To these simple premisses M. Harding hath laid a large conclusion. If we hear not him and his church, then are we heathens and publicans. God knoweth, this is a very poor bravery. In the schools it is called, *petitio principii*, and *fallacia accidentis*: "a deceitful kind of reasoning, without either ground or good order." I need not to open it, it is known unto children.

But doth M. Harding think, that every man is an heathen that reproveth error, that discloseth the man of sin, and wisheth the reformation of God's church? Christ said unto the scribes and Pharisees: "You have made the house of God a den of thieves:" Jeremy saith: "The labourers themselves have trodden down and torn the vine of the Lord." The prophet Esay saith: "Your silver is turned into dross." St. Bernard saith of the bishops in his time: *Pro mercenariis habemus diabolos, &c.*: "Instead

Matt. xxi. 13.

Jer. xli. 10.

Isa. i. 22.

Bernard. In
Concilio Re-
mensi.

Bernard. in
Conversione
Pauli. [iii.
962.]
Nicolaus de
Clavengius.

of hirelings we have devils⁸⁰:" "from the top to the toe, there is no part left whole in the church of Rome." Nicolaus de Clavengius⁸¹ saith: *Calamitosa desolatio est in domo Dei*: "There is a miserable desolation in the house of the Lord."

Albertus
Pigghius de
Privata
Missa.
Latomus
contra Bu-
cerum.

Pigghius confesseth, there be abuses in the private mass: Latomus confesseth, there is an error in the administration in one kind. And will M. Harding know all these by his own privy mark? Or must Christ, Jeremy, Esay, St. Bernard, Pigghius, and Latomus be taken for no better than heathens and publicans? Certainly, touching these pluralities of masses, and this shameful profanation and waste of God's holy mysteries, both Christ, and his apostles, and all the old catholic fathers of the primitive church will say:

1 Cor. xi. 16.

Nos hujusmodi consuetudinem non habemus, nec ecclesia Dei: "We have no such custom, neither the church of God." And to the wilful maintainers of the same, Christ will say: *Frustra colitis me, docentes doctrinas, præcepta hominum*: "Ye worship me in vain, teaching the doctrines and commandments of men."

Matt. xv. 9.
Isa. xxix. 13.

And whereas, M. Harding, ye countenance and furnish your errors by the name of the church, remember St. John saith: "Make no vaunts that ye be the children of Abraham. For God is able even of the stones to raise up children unto Abraham." And the angel saith in the book of Revelations: *Dicunt, se esse Judæos, et non sunt: sed sunt synagoga Satanae*: "They name themselves Jews," that is, the people of God, "but they are not: they are the synagogue of the devil."

Matt. iii. 9.

Rev. ii. 9.

Now, good Christian reader, that thou mayest see how vainly M. Harding hath wandered throughout this whole treaty, it may please thee to remember my first negative proposition touching the same, which in effect is this: They are not able to shew, that within six hundred years

⁸⁰ [These words are quoted, as from St. Bernard's speech in Concil. Remensi, by Cornelius Agrippa de Van. Scient. cap. 61. See supra, vol. i. 189, note ³².]

⁸¹ [Nicolaus de Clavengius. The

author intended seems to be Nicolaus de Clemangius, whose work, De Corrupto Ecclesiae Statu, abounds with expressions equivalent to that in the text.]

after Christ, there were five masses said any where, in any one church in one day throughout the world. In which proposition two points are specially touched: the number of masses, and the number of years. To prove the affirmative hereof, M. Harding hath alleged the council of Autisiodorum and the council of Toledo, either of them being without the compass of six hundred years. He hath also alleged Leo an ancient bishop of Rome, speaking only of the holy communion, and not one word of the private mass. All these three authorities touch only one priest, and, as it appeareth by the Gloss, only two ministrations at the uttermost. Thus hath M. Harding failed, both in the computation of the years, and also in the number of his masses.

Yet must this be defended among the rest, be the profanation thereof never so horrible: and whosoever dare wish a reformation herein, must be no better than a heathen and a publican. O, how much better had it been for M. Harding, either to have passed the matter over in silence, or plainly and simply to have confessed his error!

Anno 613.

Anno 680.

Leo, epist.
81. [1. 437.]De Con. dist.
2. Relatum
est. In Gloss.

OF ADORATION OF IMAGES.

THE FOURTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that images were set up in the churches, to the intent the people might worship them.

M. HARDING: *First Division.*

Not specially
to be wor-
shipped:
ergo, to be
worshipped,
although not
specially.

That images were set up in churches, within six hundred years after Christ, it is certain, but not specially either then or sithence, to the intent the people might worship them. The intent and purpose hath been far other, but right godly, as shall be declared. Wherefore the imputing of this intent to the catholic church, is both false and also slanderous. And because for the use of images, these new masters charge the church with reproach of a new device, breach of God's commandment, and idolatry: I will here shew, first, the antiquity of images, and by whom they have been allowed; secondly, to what intent and purpose they serve; thirdly, how they may be worshipped without offence.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This Article of images may be easily passed over, both for that the weight thereof is not great, and also for that M. Harding, as his wont is, hath purposely dissembled the matter that was in question, and devised other phantasies that were not touched. Wherein, notwithstanding he use large discourses and make great show, yet in the end, as it

shall appear, he concludeth nothing. I grant, images were erected in some churches within six hundred years after Christ, albeit neither so rathe as it is pretended, nor without much repining of godly men, and great contention.

But M. Harding, of his modesty, once again calleth us "new masters:" so as he would call Moses, if he were now alive, or much rather God himself. For this doctrine is God's doctrine, and not ours. And therefore St. Augustine saith: *Hujusmodi simulachrum Deo nefas est in Christiano templo collocare*: "In a Christian church to erect such an image unto God," (resembling God to an old man,) "it is an abomination." And Epiphanius the bishop of Cyprus, entering into a church, and finding there a veil hanged up, and the image of Christ painted in it, tare it asunder, and pulled it down, because it was done, as he writeth himself, *contra auctoritatem scripturarum*: "contrary to the commandment of God's word⁸⁰." Again he saith: *Hujusmodi vela contra religionem nostram veniunt*: "Such veils" (so painted) "are contrary to our Christian religion;" and again: *Hæc scrupulositas indigna est ecclesia Christi, et populis, qui tibi crediti sunt*: "This superstition is unmeet for the church of Christ, and unmeet for the people that is committed unto thee." St. Augustine saith, "It is abomination." Epiphanius saith, "It is contrary to the scriptures, and contrary to Christian religion: unmeet for the church of Christ, and unmeet for the people of God." Howbeit, M. Harding perhaps will suffer these two to pass in the number of his "new masters."

And, albeit by these fathers' judgment it is plain, that by setting up of images God's commandment is broken, yet it may the better appear, by comparing God's words and M. Harding's words both together. God saith, "Thou shalt make to thyself no graven image:" M. Harding saith, "Thou shalt make to thyself graven images." God saith, "Thou shalt not fall down to them, nor worship

August. de Fide, et Symbolo, cap. 7. [vi. 157.]

Epist. Epiphani ad Johannem Episcop. Hierosol. [Inter Opp. Hieronym. tom. iv. p. 828.]

⁸⁰ [This epistle was translated by St. Jerome, (no slight proof of the value which he gave it,) and is therefore found amongst his works.]

them:" M. Harding saith: "Thou shalt fall down to them, and worship them." Now judge thou, good reader, whether this be a breach of God's commandment or no.

Verily M. Harding in the first entry hereof saith thus: "Images are not specially set up, to the intent the people may worship them." The sense whereof must needs be this: "Images are set up to the end to be worshipped: although not specially to that end." But an image is a creature, and no God: and to honour a creature in that sort, is idolatry: therefore, by M. Harding's own confession, images are set up to be used to idolatry: although not specially to that end. Howbeit by this simple distinction of general and special, idolatry is easy to be excused.

M. HARDING: *Second Division.*

The 201st
untruth,
containing
three great
untruths to-
gether in
one.

Concerning the antiquity and original of images, they were Antiquity of Images. not first invented by man, but (201) commanded by God, brought into use by tradition of the apostles, allowed by authority of the holy fathers and all councils, and by custom of all ages since Christ's being in the earth. When God would the tabernacle with all furniture thereto belonging to be made, to serve for his honour and glory, he commanded Moses among other things to make two cherubins of beaten gold, so as they might cover both sides of the propitiatory, spreading abroad their wings, and beholding themselves one another, their faces turned toward the propitiatory, that the ark was to be covered withal. Of those cherubins St. Paul speaketh in his Epistle to the Hebrews. Exod. xxv. 18. Which images Bezaleel, that excellent workman, made at the Exod. xxxvii. commandment of Moses, according to the instruction by God 7. given. Again, Moses by the commandment of God made the Numb. xxi. 9. brazen serpent, and set it up on high for the people, that were hurt of serpents in wilderness, to behold, and so to be healed. In the temple also that Solomon builded, were images of cheru- 1 Kings vi. 23. bins, as scripture sheweth. Of cherubins mention is made in sundry places of the scriptures, specially in Ezekiel the prophet, 2 Chron. iii. 11. chap. xli. Josephus writeth of the same in his third and eighth book *Antiquitatum Judaicarum*. The image of cherubins representeth angels, and the word is a word of angelical dignity, as it appeareth by the third chapter of Genesis, where we read that God placed cherubins before paradise, after that Adam was cast forth for his disobedience.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding doubteth not, to derive the first invention of his images from God himself, even as rightly, and with

as good faith, as he deriveth his mass from Christ and his apostles: or his holy water from the prophet Eliseus: or the cardinal's hat from St. Hierom. Unless perhaps he will reason thus: "God saith: 'Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing:' and, 'Accursed be the man that maketh an image:' and, 'Confounded be all they that worship images:' ergo, God commanded images to be made." If he can avouch his images by such warrants, then doubtless God himself was the first inventor of images.

But learned and wise men think, that the invention hereof came first from the heathens and infidels that knew not God. Thus it is written in the book of Wisdom: *Vanitas hominum invenit artes istas,—ad tentationem animæ, et decipulam insipientium*: "The vanity of men first found out this art, to the tentation of the soul, and to the deceiving of the unwise." St. Cyprian saith: *Ad defunctorum vultus per imaginem detinendos expressa sunt simulachra.Inde posteris facta sunt sacra, quæ primitus [primis] fuerant assumpta solatia*: "Images were first drawn, thereby to keep the countenance of the dead in remembrance. Upon occasion thereof, things grew at length unto holiness, that at the first were taken only for solace." Therefore St. Ambrose saith: *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei*: "The heathens worship wood, as the image of God⁸¹." And Gregorius the bishop of Neocæsarea: *Gentilitas inventrix et caput est imaginum*: "Heatheness was the first deviser and head of images." Likewise Eusebius saith, speaking of the images of Christ, of Peter, and of Paul: *Hoc mihi videtur ex gentili consuetudine observatum: quod ita illi soleant honorare, quos honore dignos duxerint*: "This seemeth to be the observation of the heathenish custom: for with such images they used to honour them, whom they thought worthy of honour." Therefore St. Augustine, writing against Adimantus, saith thus: *Simulant se favere simulachris: quod propterea faciunt, ut miserrimæ et vesanæ suæ sectæ etiam*

Exod. xx. 4.

Deut. xxvii. 15.

Psal. xcvi. 7.

Wisd. xiv. 11. 14.

Cyprian. de Idolorum Vanitate. [p. 225.]

Ambros. in Psal. cxviii. [i. 1095.]

Concil: Nicen. 2. act. 6. [xiii. 273. C.]

Eusebius, lib. 7. cap. 17. [i. 343.] Ἐθνικῆ συνηθεία.

Augustin. contra Adimantum, cap. 13 [viii. 126.]

⁸¹ [Ambros. in Psalm. cxviii. "Gentiles lignum adorant, quia Dei "imaginem putant."]

Lactantius,
lib. 2. cap. 2.
[p. 146. ed.
Lugd. Bat.
1660.]

Dan. iii. 2.

Baruch vi.
31, 32.

Lampridius,
Julius Capi-
tol.

Epiphanius,
[i. 108.]
Augustin. ad
Quodvult-
deum. [viii.
7.]
Irenæus,
lib. 1. cap.
24. [p. 105.]

Athanasius,
[contra Gen-
tes, i. 7. D.]
ἡ τῶν εἰ-
δώλων εὐρε-
σις οὐκ ἀπ’
ἀγαθοῦ,
ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ
κακίας γέ-
γνε.

Dion. lib. 37.
Origen, con-
tra Celsum,
lib. 4. [1.
524.]

paganorum concilient benevolentiam : “ They would seem to favour images : which thing they do, to the intent to make the heathens to think the better of their most miserable and lewd sect.” For of the heathens Lactantius writeth thus : *Verentur ne religio vana sit, si nihil videant, quod adorent* : “ They are afraid” (as they also are of M. Harding’s side) “ their religion shall be but vain, if they see nothing, that they may worship.” Therefore Daniel saith, that Nebuchadnezzar the heathen king appointed a solemn dedication-day for his golden image, with all kinds and sorts of minstrelsy. And the prophet Baruch thus openeth and uttereth the religion of Babylon : *Sacerdotes barba, capiteque raso, et aperto, sedent, et coram diis suis rugiunt* : “ The priests being shaven both head and beard, and sitting bare, roar out before their gods.” Thus Helio-gabalus, Adrianus, and Alexander Severus, being infidels and heathen princes, had in their chapels and closets the images of Abraham, of Moses, of Christ, and of others. Thus the heretics called *Gnostici*⁸² and *Carpocratiani*, for that they savoured of the heathens, had and worshipped the images of Christ, of Paul, of Pythagoras, and of Homer. By these few authorities and examples it appeareth, that the first erection of images came not from God, but from the heathens, that knew not God. And therefore Athanasius saith : “ The invention of images came not of good, but of ill.” As for the Jews, that had the law and the prophets amongst them, and therefore should best know God’s meaning in this behalf, they had no manner image, neither painted nor graven in their temples, as Dion saith : and as Origen saith, they could not abide any painter or graver to dwell amongst them.

But M. Harding replieth : “ God commanded Moses, to make the cherubins and the brazen serpent.” These examples make little against my assertion. For God commanded not, either the cherubins or the serpent, to be set up to the intent the people should worship them : which is the whole and only state of this question. The same ob-

⁸² [The Carpocratians, according to Irenæus, called themselves Gnostics.]

jection the old idolaters laid sometime against Tertullian. For thus he writeth : *Ait quidam : Cur ergo Moses in eremo simulachrum serpentis ex ære fecit :* "Some one or other that maintaineth idolatry, will say," (as M. Harding now saith,) "And why then did Moses make the image of the brazen serpent in the wilderness?" Hereby we see, that M. Harding is not the first that devised this objection. The old idolaters found out, and used the same above fourteen hundred years ago, and M. Harding hath learned it at their hands. But hereto Tertullian maketh this answer : *Bene, quod idem Deus, et lege vetuit similitudinem fieri, et extraordinario præcepto serpentis similitudinem interdixit* [l. *indixit*] : "Well and good : one and the same God, both by his general law forbade any image to be made : and also by his extraordinary and special commandment, willed an image of a serpent to be made." He addeth further : *Si eundem Deum observas, habes legem ejus, Ne feceris similitudinem. Et, si præceptum factæ postea similitudinis respicis, et tu imitare Mosen, ne facias adversus legem simulachrum aliquod, nisi et tibi Deus jusserit :* "If thou be obedient unto the same God, thou hast his law, Make thou no image. But, if thou have regard to the image of the serpent, that was made afterward by Moses, then do thou as Moses did : make not any image against the law, unless God command thee, as he did Moses." For God is free, and subject to no law. He commandeth us, and not himself. He giveth this general law, "Thou shalt not kill:" yet he said unto Abraham, "Take thy son Isaac, and kill him." Likewise he saith : "Thou shalt not steal:" and yet the people of Israel, by his commandment, stole away the Egyptians' goods, without breach of the law. The same answer may also serve for the images of the cherubins. Howbeit, the cherubins stood not in the temple, in the sight and presence of the people ; but within the veil in the tabernacle, into which place it was not lawful for any one of the people to cast his eyes. And therefore there was in it no danger of idolatry. But like as when the brazen serpent was abused by idolatry, the godly king Hezekiah took it down, and brake it in pieces,

Tertullian.
de Idololatria. [cap. 5.
p. 88.]

a He seemeth
to use *inter-*
dixit for
edixit.

Gen. xxii. 2.

Exod. ii. 2.

2 Kings xvii. 4.

notwithstanding God had commanded Moses to set it up : even so, notwithstanding it were sufferable to have images in the church of God, without breach of God's law, yet when they be abused and made idols, as they are throughout the whole church of Rome, it is the duty of godly magistrates to pull them down, like as also it is ordered by the council of Mens.

Concilium
Moguntinen.
cap. 42.
[Harduin.
ix. 2122.]

M. HARDING : *Third Division.*

It were not much beside our purpose here to rehearse the place of Ezekiel the prophet, where God commanded one that was clothed in linen, and had an inhorn by his side, to go through the midst of Hierusalem, and to print the sign of TAU, that is, the sign of the cross⁸³, (for that letter had the similitude of the cross among the old Hebrew letters, as St. Hierom witnesseth,) in the foreheads of the men, that mourned and made moan over all the abominations of that city. Touching the sign, image, or figure of the cross in the time of the new testament, God seemeth by his providence and by special warnings, in sundry revelations and secret declarations of his will, to have commended the same to men, that they should have it in good regard and remembrance. When Constantine the emperor had prepared himself to war against Maxentius the tyrant, casting in his mind the great dangers that might thereof ensue, and calling to God for help, as he looked up, beheld (as it were in a vision) the sign of the cross appearing unto him in heaven, as bright as fire, and as he was astonished with that strange sight, he heard a voice speaking thus unto him, Constantine, in this overcome.

After that Julian the emperor had forsaken the profession of Christian religion, and had done sacrifice at the temples of painims, moving his subjects to do the like : as he marched forward with his army on a day, the drops of rain that fell down out of the air in a shower, formed and made tokens and signs of the cross, both in his, and also in the soldiers' garments.

Rufinus, having declared the strange and horrible plagues of God, whereby the Jews were frayed and letted from their vain attempt of building up again the temple at Hierusalem, leave thereto of the emperor Julian in despite of the Christians obtained : in the end saith, that lest those earthquakes and terrible fires which he speaketh of, raised by God, whereby as well the workhouses and preparations toward the building, as also great multitudes of the Jews, were thrown down, cast abroad, and destroyed, should be thought to happen by chance : the night fol-

⁸³ [Tertullian contra Marcion. the mark 𐤀 in this passage of 3. 22. seems to have been the first, Ezekiel.]
who gave this interpretation of

Ezech. ix. 4.
[Vu'gat.]

In Com-
mentar. in
Ezechielem.
[iii. 754.]
The sign of
the cross
commended
to men by
God's provi-
dence.

Eusebius
Ecclesiast.
Hist. lib. 1.
cap. 9. [Con-
stant. Vita,
i. 215.]
ἐν τούτῳ
νίκα.

Sozomen.
(Tripart.
Hist.) lib. 5.
cap. 50. [ii.
215.]

Eccles. Hist.
lib. 10. in
fine.

lowing these plagues, the sign of the cross appeared in every one of their garments so evidently, as none, to cloak their infidelity, was able by any kind of thing to scour it out, and put it away.

When the temples of the painims were destroyed by Christians in Alexandria, about the year of our Lord 390, in the chief temple of all, which was of the idol Serapis, the holy and mystical letters called *ιερογλυφικά*, by God's providence, were found graven in stones, representing the figure of the cross, the signification whereof after their interpretation was, "life to come."

Which thing espied by the Christians, and by the painims present at the spoil, served marvellously to furtherance of the Christian faith, no less than the inscription of the altar at Athens, Acts xvii. 23. *ignoto Deo*, "unto the unknown God," served to the same purpose through St. Paul's preaching. Which altogether was before wrought by God's holy providence, as Socrates, one of the writers of the ecclesiastical stories, reporteth.

Thus it appeareth plainly, how God's providence hath commended unto true believers, the sign of the cross. For which cause, and for remembrance of our redemption, it hath been in old time, and always sithence, much frequented and honoured. For beside that we read hereof in Tertullian, who was near the apostles' time, in Apologetico, we find in the writers of the ecclesiastical stories, that the Christian people of Alexandria, after they had pulled down and taken away the arms and monuments of Serapis the idol, every man caused the sign of our Lord's cross in place of them to be painted and set up in their posts, entries, windows, walls, and pillars: that, wheresoever the eye was turned, it should light on the holy sign of the cross. Constantine the emperor loved and honoured this sign so much, that he caused the same to be painted in all his flags and banners of war, to be stricken in his coins and moneys, to be pourtraited in his arms, scutcheons, and targets. Of this Aurelius Prudentius maketh mention:

*Christus purpureum gemmanti textus in auro,
Signabat labarum: clypeorum insignia Christus
Scripserat, ardebat summis cruz addita cristis.*

The sense whereof is thus much in English; "The chief banner, which was of purple, had the image of Christ in it wrought in gold and stones: the targets were painted all over with Christ: the cross shined fire-bright in the crests of their helmets." That the banner commonly borne before the emperor in war, in Latin called *labarum*, was of this sort, it appeareth by an epistle that St. Ambrose wrote to Theodosius the emperor. Neither was the figure of the cross then only in flags and banners painted, woven, embroidered, or otherwise wrought in gold or precious stones; but also made in whole gold, and set upon a long staff or pole, and borne before men (202) (as the manner is now in processions), as it seemeth plainly by these verses of Prudentius:

The 202nd untruth. For Prudentius speaketh not of procession in the church, but of marching in the fields.

Hist. Tripart. lib. 9. cap. 29. *γράμματα ιερογλυφικά.*

Acts xvii. 23.

Chap. xvi.

Eccies. Hist. lib. 11. cap. 29. Auctore Rufino.

Hist. Tripart. lib. 1. cap. 9.

Lib. 1. contra Symmachum. [l. 488.]

Vide Hist. Tripart. lib. 1. cap. 5.

Lib. 5. epist. 29. [l. 949.]

*Agnoscas regina lubens mea signa necesse est :
In quibus effigies crucis, aut gemmata refulget,
Aut longis solido ex auro præfertur in hastis.*

[Lib. 1. Ep.
465.]

“It hoveth you, Madam, that gladly you acknowledge mine ensigns, in which the figure of the cross is either glittering in stones, or of whole gold is borne on long staves before us.” Thus much have I gathered out of the ancient fathers’ writings concerning the sign of our Lord’s cross, the sight whereof the professors of this new gospel cannot abide, to the intent, the diversity of our time and of old time may appear, to the manners of which, for a perfect reformation, these preachers would seem to bring the world again.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The sign of the cross, I grant, among the Christians was had in great regard: and that the more, both for the public reproach and shame, that by the common judgment of all the world was conceived against it, and also for that most worthy price of our redemption, that was offered upon it.

Gal. iii. 13.
Deut. xxi 23.

It is written, “Accursed be all they, that are hanged upon the tree.” And Chrysostom saith, The infidels used commonly to upbraid the Christians with these words: *Tu*

Chrysost. in
Epist. ad
Roman. hom.
2. [ix. 444.]

adoras crucifixum? “Wilt thou worship a man that was hanged upon a cross?” They thought great villainy in that kind of death; for it was most odious and shameful of all others: and also they thought it great folly to think well of it. Therefore St. Paul saith: *Verbum crucis pereuntibus stultitia est*: “The word of the cross unto them that

1 Cor. i. 18.

perish is but a folly.” Again: *Prædicamus Christum crucifixum, Judæis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam*: “We preach Christ crucified: a great offence unto the Jews: and unto the heathens a great folly.” Like-

Ibid. ver. 23.

wise St. Augustine calleth the cross, *ipsam ignominiam, quam pagani derident*: “that very shame, that the heathens laugh to scorn.” Likewise also Chrysostom: *Mors Christi apud Judæos maledicta, apud gentiles abominanda*:

Augustin. in
Psalm. cxli.
[iv. 15²3.]

“The death of Christ among the Jews is holden accursed, among the heathens it is holden abominable.”

Chrysost. de
Laudib.
Pauli, hom.
4. [ii. 494.]

“The death of Christ among the Jews is holden accursed, among the heathens it is holden abominable.”

Therefore the faithful, that believed in Christ, in all their talks, and in their whole life and conversation, used so much the more to extol and magnify the same, in reproach

of the enemies of the cross of Christ, both Jews and Gentiles. For that cause St. Paul saith: "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation:" and, "God forbid, that I should rejoice in any thing, but only in the cross of Jesus Christ:" and, "I reckon myself to know nothing, but only Jesus Christ, and the same Christ crucified upon the cross." Thus St. Paul triumphed of that thing that in the world was so deeply despised: as if he would have said, This is that infirmity, that hath conquered the world: this is that villainy and reproach, that hath led captivity away captive, that hath spoiled the principalities and powers of darkness. Thus, as Theodoret recordeth, the Christians every where in their common resorts, and in the open market places, published and proclaimed the victory and triumph of the cross: "Which," as Chrysostom saith, "they were not ashamed to set, as a posy, to any thing that they did, and to any thing that they possessed." Likewise God, that the world might the more deeply think of the death of Christ, wrought oftentimes strange miracles by the same, as he did by Paul's napkins, by Eliseus' bones, and by Peter's shadow. Then the first christened emperor Constantinus, seeing that thing became so glorious, that before had been so slanderous, to increase the estimation thereof, commanded straitly by a law, that from thenceforth no offender should suffer upon a cross. These things had in remembrance, we grant all that M. Harding hath here alleged: The vision of Ezekiel, and the marking of the men's foreheads with the Hebrew letter TAU: the sight of a cross offered unto Constantinus in the air: the staining of crosses in the soldiers' coats, in the time of the renegade emperor Julian: the printing, or burning of the crosses in the apparel of the Jews at Hierusalem: the finding of the holy hieroglyphical letter bearing the form of the cross in the temple of Serapis in Egypt: and to conclude, we grant, that the people, being newly brought to the knowledge of the gospel, after they had pulled down the scutcheons of the idol Serapis, and other like monuments of idolatry, in the place thereof straightway set up the

Rom. i. 16.

Gal. vi. 14.

1 Cor. ii. 2.

Ephes. iv. 8.

Coloss. ii. 15.

Theodoretus, lib. 3. cap. 27. [cap. 28. tom. iii. 144.]

Chrysost. in hom. Quod Christus est Deus. [1. 377.]

Acts xix. 12. 2 Kings xlii. 21.

Acts v. 15.

Cassiodorus, lib. 1. cap. 9.

Ezek. ix. 4.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9. [1. 453.]

Sozomen. lib. 5. cap. 50. [cap. 22. li. 215.]

Rufinus, lib. 10. sub fin.

Socrates, lib. 5. cap. 17. [li. 283.]

Sozomen. lib. 7. cap. 15. [li. 298.]

Rufinus, lib. 11. cap. 29.

Cassiodor.
lib. 1. cap. 9.
Tertullian in
Apologetico.

cross of Christ in token of conquest, in their entries, in their walls, in their windows, in their posts, in their pillars: briefly, in their flags, banners, arms, scutcheons, targets, and coins. All these things, I say, we yield unto M. Harding without exception. Even so Christian princes this day use the same cross in their arms and banners, both in peace and in war, of divers forms and sundry colours, as in token they fight under the banner of Christ. *Labarum*, among the old Romans, was the imperial standard of arms, richly wrought in gold, and beset with stone, carried only before the general of the field, and therefore revered of the soldiers above all other. Sozomenus, as a Greek writer, and therefore not able to guess rightly of the Latin tongue, seemeth to call it *laborum*: for thus

Sozomen.
lib. 9. cap. 4.
[ii 370.]

he writeth: *θάτερον τῶν σκήπτρων, ὃ λάβωρον Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι*: “the one of the standards, which the Romans call *laborum* :” unless there be an error in the Greek. Notwithstanding it may be thought, the emperor Severus had some respect unto the same, when he gave this watchword unto his soldiers, *Laboremus*: “Let us labour.” Likewise

Ælius Spar-
tianus.
Greg. ad
German. Pa-
triarc. in
Concil. Ni-
cen. 2. act. 6.
[i. act. 4.
xiii. 93.]

St. Gregory writeth: *Christum belli socium habuisti, cujus labarum insigne gestasti, ipsam dico vivificatricem crucem*: This standard the Christian emperor Constantinus so blazed with the cross, as others before him had done with Minotaurus, or with Aquila. And, notwithstanding Eu-

Eusebius in
Vita Con-
stantini.
Oratio. 1. [i.
517.]

τούτῳ ἀ-
μυντηρίῳ
διὰ παντός
Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ,
ἔχρητο.

Nicephor.
lib. 8. cap. 32.
[i. 601.]

Ambros. in
Oratione
Funebri
Theodosii.
[i. 1211.]

sebius say, “Constantinus used this cross, as a preservation of his safety,” yet doubtless his affiance was only in Christ, and not in the material cross. For Nicephorus saith, Constantinus caused these words to be graven in the cross⁸⁵, *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ, Jesus Christus vincit*: “Jesus Christ conquereth,” and not the cross. Otherwise St. Ambrose writeth thus: Helena the empress, by whose means the cross was found out, *Invenit titulum: Regem adoravit, non lignum utique: quia hic gentilis est error, et vanitas impiorum*: “She found out the title; but she worshipped Christ the King, and not the wood. For that is an heathenish error, and the vanity of the wicked.”

⁸⁵ [Nicephorus. That is, he inscribed these three words, one on each of three crosses.]

Last of all, whereas M. Harding saith, The professors of this new gospel cannot abide the sign of our Lord's cross: let him understand, it is not the cross of Christ, nor the sign thereof, that we find fault withal, but the superstitious abuse of the cross. God be thanked, it hath well appeared unto the world, that they, whom M. Harding thus condemneth, have been able, not only to abide the sign of Christ's cross, but also to take up their crosses, and to follow Christ, and to rejoice and triumph in the same.

Neither is there any such great matter yet shewed, wherefore these men should glory of the antiquity of their cause. For notwithstanding all this long discourse and great ado, yet is it not hitherto any way proved, either that this cross was an image, or that it was set up in any church, or that it was adored of the people. Certainly the letter, that Ezekiel saw in a vision: the cross that Constantinus saw in the air: the marks that were either stained with water, or burnt with fire in the labourers' garments: the secret mystical letters in the temple of Serapis: the cognizances of the cross painted or graven in flags, banners, targets, and coins, were only bars laid across, and no images. Again, the same crosses were abroad in other places, in the air, in the field, in the labourers' coats, in private houses, and in men's purses: and not set up in any temple, as it is plain by that is already spoken. To be short, it appeareth not by any of these allegations, that any man was then taught to kneel down unto these crosses; or to say, *Ave crux spes unica*: "All hail, O cross, our only hope⁸⁶;" or to yield them any godly honour. Which thing M. Harding not having proved, notwithstanding his long discourse of words, hath proved nothing.

And whereas he would force Prudentius to say, the cross was then carried about in procession upon a pole, as the manner is now in the church of Rome, he openly misuseth that godly father, and doth him wrong. For it is plain, that Prudentius in that place speaketh not one word, neither of church, nor of priest, nor of clerk, nor of any

⁸⁶ ["O crux ave spes unica, hoc inventionis tempore, auge piis
"justitiam, reisque dona veniam."]

[In invent.
sanctæ cru-
cis, 3. Maii.
Brev. Sa-
risb.]

going in procession. Only he speaketh of the soldiers marching in the field, and following the cross as their standard. So Eusebius writeth of the emperor Constantinus : “ He commanded the sign of the cross to be carried before all his armies.” And the next verse that followeth in Prudentius is this : *Hoc signo invictus transmissis Alpibus ultor, &c.* Where he describeth the dangerous war, that Constantinus had against Maxentius. Seeing therefore none of all these crosses, that M. Harding hath here found out, either had any image hanging on it, or was erected in any church, or adored of the people, how can all these words stand him in stead, to serve his purpose ?

M. HARDING : *Fourth Division.*

Concerning the images of Christ and of his saints, that they have been greatly esteemed and used in houses, churches, and places of prayer from the apostles’ time forward, it is so evident, that it cannot be denied. Athanasius writeth that Nicodeme, who came to Jesus by night, made an image of Christ with his own hands, and that, when he lay in his death-bed, he delivered it to Gamaliel, who was St. Paul’s schoolmaster. Gamaliel, when he saw he should die, left it to James : James left it to Simon and Zacchæus. This image came from hand to hand by succession, and continued a long time in Hierusalem. From Hierusalem it was carried into Syria, and at length it was brought to the city Berytus, not far from Tyre and Sidon. Where how despitefully it was used of the Jews, and what wonders ensued thereupon, who list to know, he may read it largely declared in a little book written by Athanasius of that matter.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The reader, of himself, if he be not over simple, may soon espy the simplicity of this fable. A Christian man removeth his household, and having there an image of Christ, equal unto him in length, and breadth, and all proportion, by forgetfulness leaveth it there in a secret place behind him. A Jew after him inhabiteth the same house a long while, and seeth it not : another strange Jew sitting there at dinner, immediately espieth it standing open against a wall. All this M. Harding’s Athanasius. Thus it standeth open, and yet it is hidden : it is hidden, and yet it standeth open. Afterward, the priests and rulers of the Jews come together, and abuse it with all villainy. They

Eusebius
de Vita Con-
stantini, lib.
3. cap. 2. [1.
577.]
Oratione 1.
[Euseb. 1.
517.]
τῶν δὲ
στρατοπέ-
δων ἀπάν-
των ἡγεί-
σθαι τοῦ-
του ὁμοιώ-
ματα προ-
σέταττε.
Prudentius
contra Sym-
mach. lib. 1.
[1. 468.]

The gene-
alogy and
peregrination
of a fable.

It is a fabu-
lous tale,
never written
by Athan-
asius.

Images from
the apostles’
time.

crown it with a thorn : make it drink esel⁸⁶ and gall : and stick it to the heart with a spear. Out issueth blood in great quantity : the powers of heaven are shaken : the sun is darkened : the moon loseth her light. And from thence, saith this young Athanasius, we had the blood of Hailes⁸⁷, and all other like blood throughout the world. To be short, the first word of the book is *itaque*⁸⁸. M. Harding himself is ashamed to report the tale. Yet must it bear the name of Athanasius : and being never so childish a fable, yet it must have the fore-ward to prove adoration of images. Only he telleth us a long genealogy of the names of Nicodemus, Gamaliel, James, Simon and Zacchæus, to astonne the reader, and to make him think the better of it. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding, this image was neither church'd, nor adored or worshipp'd, either of priest or people.

M. HARDING ; *Fifth Division.*

Eusebius Cæsariensis, in the seventh book of his ecclesiastical story, writeth of the ancient image of Christ made in brass, and of the woman that was healed by our Saviour of her bloody flux in the city of Phœnicia, called Cæsarea Philippi, whereof that woman was a citizen. Which image, he saith, he saw, as likewise the images of Peter and Paul, kept by some of old time. And there he confesseth, that the images of Peter and Paul, and of our Saviour, were in his time made, and painted in tables, and set forth. After Eusebius' death, Julian the renegade took down this image of Christ, and set up his own in the same place : which with violent fire that fell from heaven was cleft asunder in the breast, the head broken off with a piece of the neck, and stick'd in the ground ; the rest of it so remained long after, as a token of lightning, and God's displeasure might be reserved. That image of Christ, after that the painims had haled, pulled, broken and mangled it villainously, by the Christians was taken up, set together, and placed in the church, where it is yet reserved, saith Socrates of his time. Of the miraculous herb that grew at the foot of this image, which after that it had grown so high that it touched the image's skirts, taken and ministered, was a medicine and present remedy for all diseases (as Eusebius writeth) : because it pertaineth not specially to the matter of images, I rehearse nothing.

⁸⁶ [Eisel or Easel—vinegar—Saxon, and old French, Aisil. Minsheu (Ductor in Linguas) derives it from the German word—Essig. “ My Maister had esel and gall, and not wine, given Him to drink.”—Sir Thomas

More, Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog. ii. 221.]

⁸⁷ [For an account of this imposture, see Eccles. Biography, vol. ii. 346, note ⁹.]

⁸⁸ [“ *Dilectissimi itaque,*” &c. Ed. Frob. 1556. app. p. 57.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Eusebius himself sheweth, that the Phœnicians being heathens, and hearing and seeing the strange miracles that had been wrought by Christ and by his apostles, made these images in the honour of them, only of their heathenish and vain superstition. His words be these: *Nec mirum est, veteres ethnicos, beneficio affectos a Servatore nostro, ista fecisse. Nam et apostolorum Pauli, et Petri, et ipsius Christi imagines coloribus ductas et servatas vidimus. Et credibile est, priscos illos homines, nondum relicta avita superstitione, ad hunc modum consuevisse colere illos ethnica consuetudine, tanquam servatores*: “It is no marvel that the heathens, receiving such benefits of our Saviour, did these things. For we have seen the images of Paul, of Peter, and of Christ, drawn in colours and preserved. And it may well be thought, that men in old times, being not yet removed from the superstition of their fathers, used after this sort to worship them by an heathenish custom, as their saviours.” By these words of Eusebius it is plain, that the use of images came not from Christ, or from the apostles, as M. Harding saith, but from the superstitious custom of the heathens. Neither doth it appear, that those images were set up in any church. As for the image of Christ, it is plain, it stood in the street abroad, and an herb of strange operation grew underneath it.

Julianus that renegade, that once had professed Christ, and afterwards wilfully renounced him, took down that image of Christ, not to withdraw the people from idolatry, but in malice and despite of that new religion: and erected up his own image, to the intent the people should worship it, purposely to deface Christ: even as they do now, that wilfully break God’s commandments to uphold and maintain their own traditions. Of whom St. Basil writeth thus: “Whoso forbiddeth us to do that God commandeth, or commandeth us to do that God forbiddeth, is accursed unto all them that love the Lord ⁸⁵.” Therefore God struck Julian’s image from heaven with lightning, and rent it in pieces, in token of his revengeance. Like

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 17. [l. 343.]
 ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπαραλλάκτως [ἀπαραφυλάκτως] οἷα σωτηρίας ἐθνικῆ συνηθείᾳ παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς τοῦτον τιμᾶν εἰωθότων τὸν τρόπον.

Matt. xv. 3.

Basil. Moral. cap. 14.

Sozomen. lib. 5. cap. 7. [c. 8. li. 190.]

⁸⁵ [The Editor has not been able to verify this reference to St. Basil.]

as also, when another Julian president of the east had spoiled the churches of Antioch, and, in like despite of Christ, sat upon the holy communion cups, God smote him suddenly in the secret parts with such a disease, as never afterward could be cured.

M. HARDING: *Sixth Division.*

It is evident by Chrysostom's mass, that there was some use of images in the church of Constantinople in his time: for he speaketh of the image of the crucifix. Whosoever is desirous to see testimonies of the fathers for proof of images, let him read the seventh general council holden in Nicea, the city of Bithynia, against image breakers, and there he shall find no small number.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

In the communion book, that beareth the name of Chrysostom, there is mention made of Nicolas bishop of Rome, who, as I have shewed before, lived well near five hundred years after Chrysostom, and was in order the second bishop there, after dame Joan the woman pope⁸⁶. Such is the credit and antiquity of M. Harding's witnesses. This second council of Nice was holden well near eight hundred years after Christ. To open the whole folly and fondness thereof, it would require a long treaty. Irene the empress, a wicked woman, the king's daughter of Tartary, an heathen born, caused that council to be summoned in despite of the council of Constantinople, that had decreed against images. She took her own son Constantinus, and pulled out his eyes, only because he would not consent to the idolatrous having of images. The bishops and doctors in that council manifestly corrupted the scriptures, and falsified the holy fathers without shame. They said: *Imago melior est, quam oratio*: "An image is better than a prayer:" and again, "Whosoever will not adore the godly images, accursed be he."

Abbas Urspergen. Carion.

Nicen. Concil. 2. act. 4. [xlii. 20.]

Nicen. Concil. 2. act. 2. [xli. 1087—1111.]

M. HARDING: *Seventh Division.*

I will not let here to recite some, which, so far as I remember, be not found there, one only excepted, which is of St. Basil, every one of right good and ancient authority.

⁸⁶ [See note at vol. i. p. 175, but see also vol. ii. 394, note ⁹⁰.]

A vain fabular. He lived about the year 1350.

Simeon Metaphrastes a Greek writer, describing the life of St. Luke the Evangelist, saith, that he made the images of Christ, and of his mother Mary. St. Ambrose witnesseth, that in his time the images of the apostles were used in pictures. For where he declareth the marvellous appearing of the holy martyrs Gervasius and Protasius unto him in a vision, he saith, that a third person appeared with them, that told him where their bodies lay, which seemed like to St. Paul the apostle, as he understood his face by view of his picture.

† In Vita Gervasii, et Protasii. [ii. app. 484.]

Gregory Nyssen, St. Basil's brother, writing the life of Theodorus the martyr, bestoweth much eloquence in the praise of the church, where his holy relics were kept, commending the shape of living things wrought by the carver, the smoothness of marble polished like silver by the mason, the lively resemblance of the martyr himself, and of all his worthy acts, expressed and excellently set forth to the eye in imagery with the image of Christ by the painter. In which images he acknowledgeth the sights of the martyr to be declared no less, than if they were described and written in a book.

Paulinus the bishop of Nola, in his book that he made in verses of the life of Felix the martyr, praiseth the church, which the martyrs body was laid in, for the garnishing of it with painted images in both sides, of both kinds, both men and women, the one kind on the one side, and the other kind on the other side. Where he speaketh expressly by name of the images of scabbed Job, and blind Tobit, of fair Judith, and great queen Esther: for so he nameth them.

In decimo natali. [i. 20.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Coloss. iv. 14. Lucas medicus.

St. Paul saith, "Luke the physician," and not, "Luke the painter." He painted the blessed virgin with the colours of his speech, wherein he was counted more eloquent than any of the rest: but otherwise to paint her, he had no leisure. Howbeit, Theodorus Anagnostes saith, "Eudoxia sent the same image from Hierusalem to the empress Pulcheria:" upon what credit, it is not known. But this Simeon Metaphrastes, whom M. Harding here painteth out in his colours, and calleth him a Greek writer, was a poor schoolmaster in Constantinople, and wrote saints' lives, which may well be called the legends of lies, and lived two hundred years ago, and not above. Of so right good ancient authority be M. Harding's witnesses.

Theodorus, lib. i. [iii. p. 563.]

Volaterranus.

Touching that is here alleged of St. Ambrose, of Gregorius Nyssenus, and of Paulinus: I grant, as there were painters and gravers at that time, so were there also pictures

and images at the same time, and that not only in private houses and market places, but also in the congregations and open churches. Eusebius saith, that the use thereof was brought first into the church by the heathens: and St. Hierom saith, speaking of the curiosity of the heathens in this behalf: *Argento et auro decoravit illud: ut fulgore utriusque materiæ decipiat simplices. Qui quidem error ad nos usque transivit, ut religionem in divitiis arbitremur:* “He adorneth his image with silver and gold, that, by the shine and glittering of both these metals, he may deceive the simple. Which error doubtless is now copen in among us” (that be Christians), “so that now we think our religion standeth in riches.” St. Hierom would not have complained hereof, if it had not been used in some places in his time. Neither could Epiphanius, the godly bishop of Cyprus, have rent in sunder the picture of Christ painted in a cloth, or call it a superstition unfit for the church of God: nor could Serenus the worthy bishop of Massilia, have broken in pieces images wrought in timber and stone, unless such pictures and images had then been used. We deny not, but images were then in use: but we deny, they were then worshipped of the people, or set up to the intent they should be worshipped.

Eusebius,
lib. 7. cap. 17.
[i. 343.]

Hieronymus
in Hiero-
miam, lib. 2.
cap. 10. [iii.
577.]

Epiphanius
ad Johan.
Hierosoly-
mitan. [Int.
Opp. Hiero-
nym. iv. pt.
2. 828.]
Gregorius,
lib. 9. epist.
9. [ii. 1100.]

M. HARDING: Eighth Division.

Athanasius hath one notable place for having the image of our Saviour Christ, which is not common, where he maketh Christ and the church to talk together as it were in a dialogue: *In Sermone de Sanctis Patribus et Prophetis.* The Greek may thus be translated: *Age (inquit) dic mihi, cur oppugnaris? Oppugnor (inquit ecclesia) propter doctrinam evangelii, quam diligenter et accurate teneo, et propter verum et firmum Pascha, quod agito, et propter religiosam et puram imaginem tuam, quam mihi apostoli reliquerunt, ut haberem depictam arram humanitatis tuæ, in qua mysterium redemptionis operatus es. Hic Christus, Si propter hoc (inquit) te oppugnant, ne graviter feras, neve animum despondeas, cum scias, si quis Pascha neget, aut imaginem, me eum negaturum coram Patre meo, et electis angelis. Rursus vero, qui compatitur mecum propter Pascha, conglorificaturum. An non audisti, quid Moysi præceperim? Facies, inquam, mihi duos cherubinos in tabernaculo testimonii, scilicet, ad præfigurandam meam imaginem⁸⁷, &c.*

[Athanas. ii.
453.]

⁸⁷ [This work, attributed to St. Athanasius, is a gross forgery. See the Bened. ed. ii. 453.]

The English of this Latin, or rather of the Greek, is this : “ Come on, (quoth Christ to the church,) tell me wherefore art thou thus invaded and vexed? declare me the matter. Forsooth Lord, (quoth the church,) I am invaded and vexed for the exact observing of the gospel, and for the keeping of the feast of the true and firm Easter, and for thy reverend and pure image, which thy holy apostles have left to me by tradition, to have and keep for a representation of thine incarnation.

“ Then, (quoth our Lord,) if this be the matter for which thou art invaded and set against, be not dismayed, be of good comfort in heart and mind, being assured hereof, that whoso denieth Easter, or my clean image, I shall deny him before my heavenly *ἄχρατον*. Father and his chosen angels. And he that suffereth persecution with me for keeping of Easter, the same shall also be glorified with me. Hast not thou heard what I commanded Moses the lawgiver to do? Make me, (said I,) two cherubins in the tabernacle of the testimony, to be a prefiguration, or foretokening of my image,” &c.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I trow this good old monument of antiquity hath lain long in the dust at Verona, with M. Harding’s Amphiloehus. The church piteously bemoaneth herself unto Christ, that she is sore persecuted and vexed for his image. Christ, to comfort her withal, saith : Whoso denieth mine image, shall be denied before my Father. In the end he confirmeth the use of such images by the example of the cherubins.

Here M. Harding, to increase some credit to his new doctor, should have shewed us, when the church was thus vexed, for having the image of Christ, and who vexed her, and what kind of vexation it was, and how long it continued, and in what country, and when it ceased. The church is built upon a mount : her persecutions cannot be hidden. If she ever were thus vexed for having of images, I mean before the time of Athanasius, it must needs appear. If never, then was she a very wanton, thus to complain without cause.

If these threats be true, that whoso denieth the graven or painted image of Christ, shall be denied before God the Father, then must Epiphanius the bishop of Cyprus, and Serenus the bishop of Massilia, both godly and zealous bishops, and a great number of other godly learned fathers, that rent, and brake down, and defaced Christ’s images,

be utterly denied before God. To be short, to say that God commanded Moses to make the golden cherubins, purposely to be figures of these images of wood or stone, it is a very fabulous and a childish phantasy, without any ground: howbeit, good enough to maintain and colour a childish doctrine.

Notwithstanding, if there be any weight either in this hidden Athanasius, or in his sayings, then may we well conjecture, that he useth this word "image" in this place, not for any such material form painted or graven by man's hand, but for the whole conversation of the Son of God in this mortal life, which is as much as *Verbum caro factum est*: "The Word became flesh:" and is expressed and set forth as an image before our eyes, in the whole doctrine and policy of the church, as the deepest ground and very foundation of the Christian faith. And thus St. Paul saith: *Christus est imago Patris*: "Christ is the image of the Father." 2 Cor. iv. 4. Otherwise God is invisible. St. John saith: "No man ever saw God: but the Son, that is in the Father's bosom, he hath revealed (the Father's will) [Him]." John i. 18. In his conversation in the flesh, as in an image, we behold God the Father. So in the book of the Apocalypse, *imago bestiæ*, "the image of the beast," is called, not any material image painted or graven, but the doctrine, the seduction, the errors, the lies, the blasphemies, the idolatry, and the whole conversation of Antichrist. Rev. xiii. 15. So St. Basil saith: "Christ called his flesh and blood, the whole mystical doctrine of his gospel, which he published in his dispensation in the flesh." So St. Augustine seemeth to say: *Ejus passionis imaginem in ecclesia celebrandam dedit*: "He gave the image of his passion to be frequented in the church⁸⁸." And Pachymeres the Greek paraphrast expoundeth this word *imago* thus: *Ἄγαλματα δὲ φησὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν μυστικῶν*: "He calleth pictures, the images or inward and deep considerations of our mysteries." For this image of Christ the church of God was often persecuted. This image, as some of the old fathers say, was

Basilii Epist. ad Cæsarienses. [iii. 84.]

σάρκα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἠνόμασε.

Augustin. 83. Quæstio. quæst. 61. [vi. 35.] Pachymeres in tertium caput Eccl. Hierarc. [p. 139.]

⁸⁸ [St. Augustin. "... et hoc locausti ejus imaginem ad me- moriam passionis suæ in ecclesia celebrandam dedit."]]

represented and figured by the cherubins: and undoubtedly, whosoever denieth this image, Christ shall deny him before God his Father. This exposition is agreeable both to the tenor of God's word, and also to the story of the time: and therefore we may safely judge, if this were Athanasius indeed, that this was his very meaning. Otherwise the common and known Athanasius, that is extant and abroad, writeth thus: 'Η τῶν εἰδώλων εὕρεσις οὐκ ἀπ' ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ κακίας γέγρονε. Τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον κακίην, ἐν οὐδενί ποτε καλὸν κριθείη, ὅλον δὲ φαῦλον: "The invention of images is of ill, and not of good. And the thing that hath an ill beginning, can never be judged good in any thing, as being in all respects and altogether ill." This is this holy father's most clear judgment, not cast up in corners, and hidden in the dust, but open to the eyes and sight of all the world.

Athanasius
adversus
Gentes. [l.
7. D.]

M. HARDING: *Ninth Division.*

Of all the fathers, none hath a plainer testimony, both for the use, and also for the worshipping of images, than St. Basil, whose authority for learning, wisdom, and holiness of life, beside antiquity, is so weighty in the judgment of all men, that all our new masters, laid in balance against him, shall be found lighter than any feather. Touching this matter, making a confession of his faith in an epistle, inveighing against Julian the renegade, he saith thus: "Even as we have received our Christian and pure faith of God, as it were by right of heritage: right so I make my confession thereof to him, and therein I abide. I believe in one God, Father almighty, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost. One God (in substance) and these three (in persons) I adore and glorify. I confess also the Son's incarnation. Then afterward St. Mary, who according to the flesh brought him forth, calling her *deiparam*. I reverence also the holy apostles, prophets, and martyrs, which make supplication to God for me: that by their mediation our most benign God be merciful unto me, and grant me freely remission of my sins." Then this followeth: *Quam ob causam, et historias imaginum illorum honoro, et palam adoro: hoc enim, nobis traditum a sanctis apostolis, non est prohibendum, sed in omnibus ecclesiis nostris eorum historias erigimus*: "For the which cause I do both honour the stories of their images, and openly adore them. For this, being delivered unto us of the holy apostles by tradition, is not to be forbidden. And therefore we set up in all our churches their stories." Lo, M. Jewel, here you see a sufficient

Citatur ab Adriano papa in Epistola Synodica ad Constantinum et Irenem. [xii. 1066.]

testimony, that images were set up in the churches long before the end of your six hundred years, and that they were honoured and worshipped, not only of the simple Christian people, but of bishop Basil, who, for his excellent learning and wisdom, was renowned with the name of "great."

This Basil is
not St. Basil.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Indeed, as St. Basil for his learning, wisdom, and constancy in God's truth, was worthily called "great," so was his authority always accounted very weighty. If M. Harding had in him some part of that poise, he would not so lightly be blown away from Christ and his gospel, with so weak blasts of light phantasy. But this Basil is not Basil: nor are these words St. Basil's words. Only pope Adrian in his synodical epistle, among other vain authorities, allegeth these words in the name of Basil. But in St. Basil's books, which are extant and abroad, they are not found.

And whereas this Basil is made to protest, that he will honour and adore images, and that openly to the example of others, M. Harding knoweth this doctrine is contrary not only to common sense, but also to his own councils. For in the council of Mens it is written thus: *Imagines non ad id proponuntur, ut adoremus, aut colamus eas*: "Images are not set up to the intent we should honour or worship them." Neither doth Gregory call them gods to be honoured, but only books to be read: neither books of profound knowledge to instruct St. Basil, or other like learned bishops: but *libros laicorum*: "poor simple books to teach the ignorant"⁸⁹.

Council. Mo-
gunt. de
Imaginib.
[Harduin.
ix. 2121.]

[Gregor.
tom. ii. 1100.]

And, forasmuch as M. Harding would have us to make so deep account of the authority of this council: for the better satisfaction of the reader in this behalf, I think it necessary briefly, and by the way, to touch some part of those weighty reasons, whereby the bishops and fathers there, after long deliberation, were forced to erect, and

⁸⁹ [Gregor. The passage alluded to appears to be Epist. lib. 9. ep. 9. tom. ii. 1100. But the expression "laicorum libri," does not occur there, nor, as far as the Editor's researches have extended, in any other of St. Gregory's works.]

establish the use and adoration of images, and to condemn the gainsayers as blasphemers and heretics. Their special grounds are these :

Gen. ii. "Moses saith : 'God took clay, and made man after his own image and likeness :'"

Isa. xix. 20. "Esay saith : 'There shall be a sign and a testimony to the Lord in the land of Egypt :'"

Psal. xcvi. 6. "David saith : 'Confession and beauty is before him :—
Psal. xxvi. 8. Lord, I have loved the beauty of thy house :—O Lord, my
Psal. xxvii. face hath sought for thee : O Lord, I will seek after thy
8, 9. countenance : O Lord, the light of thy countenance is sealed over us.'"

Of every of these several clauses, pope Adrian concludeth thus : *ergo*, "we must erect images in the church."

Another reasoneth thus : *Sicut audivimus, ita vidimus* :

Adriani Epist. Synodica. act. 2. [xii. 1065.] "As we have heard, so have we seen : *ergo*, there must be

Psal. xlviii. 8. images to look upon." Another saith : *Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis* :

Theodorus. Concil. Nic. 2. act. 3. "God is marvellous in his saints : *ergo*, the church must be decked with pictures." Another saith :

[xii. 1143.] "No man lighteth a candle, and putteth it under a bushel :

ergo, images must be set upon the altar." Of all these,

and other like authorities, Isidorus concludeth, *ergo*, "A

church is nothing worth, unless it be full freight with

images."

To prove the adoration and worshipping of images, they

have these authorities : "David saith : 'Adore ye the foot-

stool of his feet : Adore ye in his holy hill : O Lord, all the

rich of the people shall pray before thy countenance."

Ergo, say they, "images must be worshipped." Now,

to reckon up the vanities and idolatrous fables of that

council, it would be tedious : "The devil promiseth by

his honesty, that he will no longer tempt and trouble a

holy man, if he will leave worshipping of the image of

our lady." Another sendeth for an image, to fetch home

water to his cistern. Another goeth on pilgrimage, and

biddeth our lady in his absence to see to her own candle.

She did all things accordingly as she was commanded.

Until his return the candle went never out. Thus much

only for a taste.

Concil. Nic. 2. act. 4. [xiii. 60.]

ναοῦ λόγος οὐδεὶς ἔν οὐ στέφει ἔγαλμα.

[Con. Nic. 2. act. 1. xii. 1018.]

Psal. xcix. 5.

Psal. xlviii. 1.

Psal. xlv. 12.

These proofs be great and weighty, and, in comparison hereof, all our new masters, as M. Harding saith, shall be found lighter than a feather.

And forasmuch as these men so often charge our doctrine with novelty, thereby to bring it out of credit, as if it had never been known before these latter days, it shall therefore be good to touch some part of the most ancient fathers' judgment, and the old practice of the church concerning the same. Origen saith: *Dei, ut invisibilis, et incorporei, imaginem nullam effigiamus*: "We make no image of God, as knowing him to be invisible and without body." Again he saith: *Celsus objicit nobis, quod non habeamus altaria et imagines*: "Celsus the heathen chargeth us, that we have neither altars nor images." Clemens Alexandrinus, that lived at the same time, writeth thus: *Nobis aperte vetitum est, artem fallacem exercere. Non facies enim, inquit propheta, cujusvis rei similitudinem*: "We are plainly forbidden to use this deceitful art (of painting or graving). For the prophet saith, 'Thou shalt not make the likeness of any thing.'" Arnobius, that followed immediately after Clemens and Origen, writeth thus unto the heathens: *Accusatis nos, quod non habeamus imagines et altaria*: "Ye accuse us, for that we have neither images nor altars." Lactantius, sometime scholar to Arnobius, saith: *Non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, ubi simulachrum est*: "Out of doubt, wheresoever is any image, there is no religion." St. Augustine much commendeth this saying of Varro: *Qui primi simulachra deorum populis posuerunt, illi civitatibus suis metum depserunt, errorem vero addiderunt*: "They, that first erected the images of the gods unto the people, took away fear and religion, and increased error unto their cities." And addeth thereto this reason: *Quia dii facile possunt in simulachrorum stoliditate contemni*: "Because the gods in the folly of images may soon be despised." The council holden at Eliberis decreeth thus: *Placuit picturas in ecclesiis esse non debere, ne, quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur*: "We think it good, there be no picture in the churches: lest the thing, that is honoured

Origen. contra Celsum, lib. 7.

Origen. contra Celsum, lib. 4. [l. 754.]

Clemens Alexandrinus in Parennetico. [l. 54.]

Arnobius contra Gentes, lib. 2. [leg. lib. 6. sub init.] p. 214.

Tertull. in Apologetico. [c. 12. p. 13.]

Lactantius, lib. 2. cap. 2. [leg. cap. 19.]

August. de Civitate Dei, lib. 4. cap. 31. [vii. 112.]

Concilium Eliberitanum, can. 36. [li. 11.]

or adored, be painted on the walls." The like might be said of the council holden at Constantinople⁹⁰. The godly emperors, Valens and Theodosius, gave out this general proclamation throughout all Christendom: *Cum sit nobis cura diligens, in rebus omnibus superni numinis religionem tueri, signum Salvatoris nostri Christi nemini concedimus, coloribus, lapide, aliave materia fingere, sculperere, aut pingere. Sed quocumque reperitur loco, tolli jubemus, gravissima pœna eos mulctando, qui contrarium decretis nostris et imperio quicquam tentaverint*: "Forasmuch as we have a diligent care in all things to maintain the religion of the most high God, therefore we suffer no man to fashion, to grave, or to paint the image of our Saviour Christ, either in colours, or in stone, or in any other kind of metal or matter. But, wheresoever any such image shall be found, we command it to be taken down, assuring our subjects, that we will most straitly punish all such as shall presume to attempt any thing contrary to our decree and commandment." The same decree was afterward put in execution, and practised by Philippicus, Leo, Constantinus the father, Constantinus the son, Nicephorus, Stauratius, Michael, Leo Armenius, and other Christian and godly emperors. These authorities, as they be old and ancient, so be they also plain and evident, and well acquainted and known unto the world: and therefore will soon overpoise all these fables of the image of Nicodemus, of Simeon Metaphrastes, of this young St. Basil, of new Athanasius, and of other like blind authorities, that have been lately sought up out of corners, and brought to light. Verily Amphilochius, under whose cloak M. Harding hath so often hid himself, may in no wise be refused. His words be plain: *Non est nobis curæ, sanctorum vultus corporales in tabulis coloribus effigiare: quoniam his opus non habemus*: "We have no care, to draw out the bodily countenances of saints in colours and tables: for we have no need of them."

Constantinopolitan.
Concil.
[Mansi, xli.
575.]
P. Crinitus,
lib. 9. cap. 9.

Concil. Nic.
2. act. 6.
[xliii. 301.]

⁹⁰ [Mansi calls this council generally rejected by Romanists (held 754.) "Concil. reprobatum on account of its condemnation "et pseudo-septimum." It is of image-worship.]

M. HARDING: Tenth Division.

Now that there hath been enough alleged for the antiquity, original, and approbation of images, it remaineth, it be declared, for what causes they have been used in the church. We find that the use of images hath been brought into the church for three causes. The first is the benefit of knowledge. For the simple and unlearned people, which be utterly ignorant of letters, in pictures do, as it were, read and see, no less than others do in books, the mysteries of Christian religion, the acts and worthy deeds of Christ and of his saints. "What writing peformeth to them that read, the same doth a picture to the simple beholding it," saith St. Gregory. "For in the same the ignorant see, what they ought to follow: in the same they read, which can no letters. Therefore imagery serveth specially the rude nations instead of writing," saith he.

To this St. Basil agreeth in his homily upon the forty martyrs. "Both the writers of stories," saith he, "and also painters, do shew and set forth noble deeds of arms and victories, the one garnishing the matter with eloquence, the other drawing it lively in tables, and both have stirred many to valiant courage. For what things the utterance of the story expresseth through hearing, the same doth the still picture set forth through imitation." In the like respect in old time the work of excellent poets was called "a speaking picture:" and the work of painters, "a still poetry." And thus the use and profit of writing and of pictures is one. For things that be read, whenas they come to our ears, then we convey them over to the mind: and the things that we behold in pictures with our eyes, the same also do we embrace in our mind. And so by these two, "reading" and "painting," we achieve one like benefit of knowledge.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The first and chief cause and end of images is, as it is here pretended, that the people by the sight thereof may attain knowledge. And therefore St. Gregory calleth them "the laymen's books:" and the fathers in a late council say: "We may learn more in a short while by an image, than by long study and travail in the scriptures." And for the same cause St. Basil compareth an image painted, with a story written. But the comparison, that M. Harding useth between imagery and poetry, seemeth nearest to express the truth. For painters and poets, for liberty of lying, have of long time been coupled both together. One writeth of them in this sort: *Pictoribus atque poetis Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas*: "Painters and

Three causes why images have been used in the church.

Ad Serenum Episcopum Massilien. lib. 9. epist. 9. [il. 1100.]

[il. 149.]

Pictura loquens. Poema tacens.

Gregor. lib. 9. epist. 9. [il. 1100.]
Concil. Senonense. [Harduin. ix. 1945.]

Horatius.

poets had ever like charter to adventure all things." And Athenæus, blazing abroad the liberty of poets, writeth of them thus: Οἷς λέγειν ἅπαντα, καὶ ποιεῖν ἔξεστι μόνοις: "Unto whom only it is lawful to say and do, what they list." And therefore Cicero seemeth to say: *Nihil negotii est hæc poetarum et pictorum portenta convincere*: "It is no great mastery, to reprove these monstrous miracles of painters and poets." And therefore, like as Plato commanded all poets for their lying to be banished out of his commonwealth: so likewise Almighty God, for like liberty, banished all painters out of Israel. For these causes M. Harding's comparison of painters and poets may well be allowed.

Howbeit, this seemeth to be no very handsome way to teach the people. Of their priests, they have made images: and of their images, they have made priests. For their priests, for the more part, have eyes, and see not: have ears, and hear not: hearts, and understand not: mouths, and speak not: in all respects even like unto their images. Their images have no eyes, and yet are made to see: have no ears, and yet are made to hear: have no mouths, and yet are set up to speak: and so in these respects do the duties that pertain to priests. Thus they bar the people from the hearing of God's holy word: and bid them go and look upon their images: to talk with their images: to hear their images: and to learn of their images.

And, although perhaps the people may haply learn somewhat by these means, yet is not this the ordinary way, whereby God hath appointed the people to attain knowledge. St. Paul saith: *Fides ex auditu*: "Faith cometh" (not by seeing or gazing, but) "by hearing." There were many simple, rude, and unlearned laymen among the Jews: yet God never set up any such books for them to read: but, contrariwise, evermore forbad them, and cried against them, and would not suffer them. If this be so speedy and so ready a way to teach the people, how happeneth it, that whereas is greatest store of such schoolmasters, there the people is evermore most ignorant, most superstitious, and most subject to idolatry? But, to conclude,

the prophets Habakkuk and Jeremy say : *Conflatile est demonstratio mendacii* :—*Lignum est doctrina vanitatis* : Jerem. x. 8. “ A molten idol is a lesson of lies : and ” (M. Harding’s) “ wooden image is a doctrine of vanity.”

M. HARDING : *Eleventh Division.*

The second cause of the use of images, is the stirring of our minds to all godliness. For whereas the affect and desire of man is heavy and dull in divine and spiritual things, because the body that is corruptible weigheth down the mind : when it is set forth before our eyes by images, what Christ hath done for us, and what the saints have done for Christ : then it is quickened and moved to the like will of doing and suffering, and to all endeavour of holy and virtuous life. As when we hear apt and fit words uttered in a sermon or an oration, so when we behold looks and gestures lively expressed in images, we are moved to pity, to weeping, to joy, and to other affects. Wherein verily it hath always been thought, that painters have had no less grace, than either orators or poets.

Who listeth to see examples hereof, he may peruse the second Nicene council, where he shall find, among other most notable things concerning this point, one of St. Euphemia the martyr, another of Abraham sacrificing his son Isaac, worthy of everlasting memory, that of Asterius the holy bishop, this of Gregory Nysse, very elegantly described. Virgil maketh Æneas to weep, to hope for better fortune, to gather courage of mind, to take good advice and order for redress and help of his great calamities, by occasion of beholding a painter’s work at Carthago, wherein the battle of Troy was expressed. Which that wise poet would not have done, were it not that pictures have great force to move men’s hearts.

Ovid likewise in the epistle of Laodamia to Protesilaus her husband being forth at wars, maketh her so to write of his image, which she had caused to be made of wax for her comfort in his absence, as it may well appear, that images have a marvellous power to stir vehement affects, and to represent things absent, as though in manner they were present in the minds of the beholders. Among all other examples for this purpose, that seemeth to me most notable, which Appianus writeth of C. Julius Cæsar, *lib. 2. De Bellis Civilibus*. “ After that Cæsar had been murdered of the senators in the council-house, one of his friends, to shew the cruelty of the fact to the people, laid Cæsar’s bed in the open market-place, and took forth of it his image made of wax, which represented three and twenty wounds after a beastly sort stabbed into his face, and all the rest of his body, yet gaping, and as it were fresh bleeding. With which show he stirred the people to more wrath and rage, than he could have done with any oration or gesture : which was declared forthwith. For

Wisd. ix.
15.

Action. 4.
[xliii. 15 et
11.]

as soon as the people saw it, not able to bear their grief nor stay their fury any longer, they wrought great and strange cruelties against them that were found to have committed that murder."

The third cause why images have been set up in churches, is the keeping of things in memory necessary to our salvation. For when we cast our eyes on them, our memory, which otherwise is frail and weak, gathereth together, and embraceth the benefits and merits of our Saviour Christ, and the virtuous examples of saints, which we ought to follow: that, if we be such as they were, we may by God's grace through Christ attain the bliss they be in, and with them enjoy life everlasting. And verily they, that have images in regard and reverence, must be so minded, as they behold not only the things by them represented, but also perform the same in deed, with most diligent imitation.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Touching the second commodity of images, which is the moving and stirring of the mind, M. Harding is fain to pray aid of the heathenish poets, Virgil and Ovid, not the meetest authorities for a doctor of divinity: and for proof hereof to bring in their idle fables, with an old profane story of Appian. Therefore he seemeth now to draw very deep, and not far from the lees. I marvel, he had forgotten the young man in Eunuchus, who, for that he saw Jupiter painted in a table, was straightway thoroughly moved and emboldened to his youthful purpose. I grant, images do oftentimes vehemently move the mind diversely to sundry affections. And I reckon him a blind man, that will hold the contrary. Sallust saith, Quintus Maximus and Publius Scipio, whensoever they beheld their ancestors' images, were by and by inflamed with nobility of courage, to advance themselves to like adventures. But every thing, that may delight or move the mind, is not therefore meet for the church of God. God's house is a house of prayer, and not of gazing. And, to answer one profane story by another, the old Lacedæmonians would not suffer any image or picture to stand in their council-house: lest the senators' minds, by mean thereof, should be drawn from that they had in hand, to other phantasies. Certainly the wise man saith: *Aspectus imaginis dat insipienti concupiscentiam*: "The sight of an image in the unwise stirreth up concupiscentia."

In Eunucho.

Plutarchus.

Wisd. xv. 5.

The third commodity, touching remembrance, is like the first: and therefore is already answered.

M. HARDING: *Twelfth Division.*

And now we are come to declare, how images may be worshipped and honoured without any offence. That godly worship, which consisteth in spirit and truth inwardly, and is declared by signs outwardly in recognising the supreme dominion, which properly of the divines is called *latría*, is deferred only to the blessed Trinity. As for the holy images, to them we do not attribute that worship at all, but an inferior reverence or adoration: for so it is named: ^awhich is nothing else, but a recognising of some virtue or excellency protested by outward sign, as reverend kissing, bowing down, kneeling, and such the like honour. Which kind of adoration or worship, we find in the scriptures oftentimes given to creatures. The whole act whereof is notwithstanding referred, not to the images ^bprincipally, but to the things by them represented, as being the true and proper objects of such worship. For although the honour of an image passeth over to the original or first sampler, which the learned call *archetypum*, as St. Basil teacheth: yet that high worship called *latría* belongeth only to the blessed Trinity, and not to the reverend images, lest we should seem to be worshippers of creatures and of matters, as of gold, silver, stones, wood, and of such other the like things. "For we adore not images as God," ^csaith Athanasius, "neither in them do we put hope of our salvation, ne to them do we give godly service or worship, for so did the Gentiles: but by such adoration or reverence, we declare only a certain affection and love, which we bear toward the originals. And therefore if it happen their figure and shape to be defaced and undone, we let not to burn the stocks as very wood, and being of-other stuff, to convert the same to any use it may best serve for."

St. Gregory praising much one Secundinus⁹¹, for that he desired the image of our Saviour to be sent unto him, to the intent by having his image before his eyes, he might the more be stirred to love him in his heart: after a few words uttered in this sense, he saith further: "We know thou demandest not the image of our Saviour to the intent to worship it as God: but for the remembrance of the Son of God, that thou mightest be enkindled with the love of him, whose image thou desirest to behold. And verily we fall not down before it, as before God. But we adore and worship him, whom through occasion of the image, we remember either born, or done to death for us, or sitting in his throne. And whiles we reduce the Son of God to

⁹¹ [The Bened. say, that that part of St. Gregory's letter to Secundinus, which relates to images, is not found in their MSS. They add, that Thomas James had found it in an English MS.]

How images may be worshipped without offence.

Lib. ad Amphiloich. cap. 18. [ii. 39.]

† In Quæstionib. ad Antiochum Principem. [ii. 227.]

Lib. 7. epist. 53. [ii. 971.]

Holy images by M. Harding's confession, are worshipped without spirit and truth.

a A vain distinction. For the Hebrew word soundeth, *Non incurvabis te ipsum*, "Thou shalt not bow down," &c.

b The act of adoration is referred to the image: although not principally.

c This Athanasius is forged, and not the true Athanasius.

our memory by the picture, no less than by writing, it bringeth either gladness to our mind by reason of his resurrection, or comfort by reason of his passion." Thus far St. Gregory.

And, if men pray kneeling before any image or triumphant sign of the holy cross, they worship not the wood or stone figured, but they honour the highest God. And whom they cannot behold with senses, they reverence and worship his image representing him, according to ancient institution, not resting or staying themselves in the image, but transferring the adoration and worship to him that is represented.

Much might be alleged out of the fathers concerning the worshipping of images : but this may suffice. And of all this one sense redoundeth, that what reverence, honour, or worship soever is applied to images, it is but for remembrance, love, and honour of the primitives or originals. As when we kiss the gospel book, by that token we honour not the parchment, paper, and ink wherein it is written, but the gospel itself. And as Jacob, when he kissed his son Joseph's coat imbrued with kid's blood, holding and embracing it in his arms, and making heavy moan over it, the affection of his love and sorrow rested not in the coat, but was directed to Joseph himself, whose unfortunate death (as he thought) that bloody coat represented : so Christian men, shewing tokens of reverence, love, and honour before the image of Christ, of an apostle or martyr, with their inward recognition and devotion of their hearts, they stay not their thoughts in the very images, but defer the whole to Christ, to the apostle, and to the martyr, giving to each one in due proportion that which is to be given, putting difference between the almighty Creator and the creatures : finally, rendering all honour and glory to God alone, who is marvellous in his saints. Such worshipping of images is neither to be accounted for wicked, nor to be despised : (203) for the which we have the testimonies of the ancient fathers, both Greeks and Latins : unto which, further authority is added by certain ^dgeneral councils, that have condemned the breakers and impugnors of the same.

The 203rd untruth. For no ancient father, either Greek or Latin, ever taught us to kiss an image, or to kneel, or to bow down unto it. ^d Without the compass of six hundred years.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding hath made a very large entry to so small a house. The whole question standeth only in this one point of adoration, which is here very lightly passed over in few words. All the rest is used only as a flourish to begin the game. Neither doth he any wise directly answer that was demanded, that is, whether images in old times were set up to be worshipped : but only sheweth his own phantasy in what sort they may be worshipped : wherein, notwithstanding, he seemeth not to agree thoroughly, neither

with the rest of his company, nor with himself. His final resolution is this: "The adoration that is made in this sort, is not principally directed to the image." The sense of which words is this, "The corruptible creature of wood or stone may be worshipped, although not principally or chiefly as God himself, which is thereby represented." And thus he taketh an indifferent way between both: as if he would say, An image may be worshipped: and yet it may not be worshipped. Again, It may not be worshipped: and yet it may be worshipped. And for confirmation hereof, he allegeth certain authorities forged under the names of St. Basil and Athanasius: notwithstanding he know right well, that neither of these two fathers ever either uttered such words, or had cause to move such matter. Only they are alleged in that childish council of Nice the second, among a great number of other like lies and fables. Good Christian reader, if thou be learned, consider and weigh that council. And thou shalt say, I have reported much less than thou hast found. And the same Athanasius, as he is here brought in to prove the adoration of images, so elsewhere in the same council he is forced to say, that Christ dwelleth in relics and dead men's bones.

Concill. Nic.
2. act. 3.
[xii. 1143.]

As for Gregory, notwithstanding he speak expressly of images, yet he speaketh not one word of the adoration of images⁹². In conclusion, M. Harding being not able to allege, no not so much as one ancient father for the worshipping of images, these manifest forgeries only excepted, yet he blusheth not to say in a bravery, that he might allege a great number mo. By such faces and vying of empty store, the simple people is oft deceived. But what needeth M. Harding, either to hold by these counterfeit and forged deeds, or else by these fond devices of principal and not principal adoration, thus to simper and to season the matter between both? Certainly the bishops, in

Gregorius.
lib. 7. epist.
53. [li. 971.]

⁹² [See the last note. "Scio quidem quod imaginem Servatoris nostri non ideo petis, ut quasi Deum colas," &c. "Et nos quidem, non quasi ante divinitatem ante illam prosternimur, sed illum adoramus, quem per imaginem aut natum aut passum, sed et in throno sedentem recordamur."]

Ex libro
Caroli Magni.

Psal. xcix. 5.

Psal. xlviii. 1.

Psal. xlv. 12.

Concil. Nic.
2. act. 2.
[xii. 1090,
1091.]

his second council of Nice, think themselves able to prove, both by scripture and also by ancient authority, that images ought undoubtedly to be honoured. For, as it is said before, they allege these scriptures, "Worship the footstool of his feet:" "Adore him in his holy hill:" "All the rich of the people shall worship thy face." Hereof they conclude thus, *ergo*, "Images must be worshipped." And therefore Theodorus the bishop of Mira, in the same council alloweth it well and specially, for that his archdeacon was taught the same by revelation in a dream. Therefore one of them saith: *Venerandas imagines adoro, et id perpetuo docebo*: "I adore the reverend images, and will maintain the same while I live." Another saith: *Historias imaginum honoro, et palam adoro*: "I worship the stories of images, and adore them openly." Another saith: *Imagines perfecte adoro*: "I give perfect adoration unto images." Another saith: *Eos qui diversum statuunt, aversor, et anathematizo*: "All such as hold the contrary, I utterly forsake, and hold them accursed." Briefly, the whole council there determined thus: *Eos qui circa adorationem imaginum laborant, aut dubitant, nostra synodus anathematizat*: "All such as stagger or stand in doubt of the adoration of images, are accursed by this council."

They say, "We know that images are creatures corruptible: and therefore we neither use them nor take them as gods." And thus they think themselves very wise men, that can know that birds and children be able to know. Even so the heathens were wont to say of their idols. Cicero confesseth, *Jovem lapidem, non esse deum*: "That Jupiter is a stone, and no god." Lactantius hereof writeth thus: *Non ipsa, inquit, adoramus, sed eos ad quorum imagines facta, et quorum nominibus consecrata sunt*: "the infidel will say," even as M. Harding here saith, "We worship not our images, but our gods, unto whose likeness the images are made, and in whose names they are consecrate." The like hereof we may find in St. Augustine, in Athanasius, in Sozomenus, and in others: and this excuse was then, as now, thought sufficient.

But St. Augustine saith, "Very children know, that

Augustin. in
Psal. cxlii.
[iv. 1261.]
Athanas.
contra Gen-
tes, [i. 7.]
Sozomen.
lib. 7. cap.
15. de So-
phista Olym-
pio. [ii. 297.]
Augustin. in
Psal. cxlii.
[iv. 1261.]

these images have eyes, and see not: mouths, and speak not. Wherefore then doth the Holy Ghost so often teach us and admonish us the same thing in the scriptures, as if we knew it not?" He answereth: *Quia species membrorum.....in eminenti collocata suggestu, cum honorari, atque adorari cœperit a multitudine, parit in unoquoque sordidissimum erroris affectum: ut, quoniam in illo figmento non invenit vitalem motum, credat numen occultum: et effigiem viventi corpori similem, seductus forma, et commotus auctoritate, quasi sapientium institutorum, obsequentiumque turbarum, sine vivo aliquo habitatore esse non putet:* "For that the very shape and proportion of a man set aloft, after it once beginneth to be adored and honoured of the multitude, it breedeth in every man that most vile affection of error, that, although he find there no natural moving or token of life, yet he thinketh some god or godly thing is within it: and so being deceived, partly by the form that he seeth, and partly by the authority and credit of the authors and makers of it, whom they take to be wise, and partly also by the example and devotion of the people, whom they see obedient to the same, he thinketh that the image, being so like to a living body, cannot be without some living thing underneath it." Again he saith: *Cum in his sedibus locantur, honorabili sublimitate, ut a precantibus atque immolantibus attendantur, ipsa similitudine animatorum membrorum atque sensuum, quamvis sensu, et anima careant, [l. insensata et exanima] afficiunt infirmos animos, ut vivere, atque spirare videantur:* "After that images be once set up in these places in honourable height, that they that pray or sacrifice may look upon them, although they have neither sense nor soul, yet they so strike and amaze the weak minds of the people, even with the very proportion of living members and senses, that they seem to have life, and to draw breath." Again he saith: *Quis adorat, vel orat intuens simulachrum, qui non sic afficitur, ut ab eo se exaudiri putet, ac ab eo sibi præstari, quod desiderat, speret?* "Whoever adoreth, or maketh his prayer beholding an image, but he is so moved

Augustin. in
epist. 49. [qu.
3. tom. ii. p.
279. G.]

Augustin. in
Psal. cxlii.
[iv. 1262.]

in his mind, that he thinketh the image heareth him, and hopeth it will perform his prayer?"

All these things the heathens knew, and therefore were well shielded with M. Harding's excuse, and yet notwithstanding were idolaters: and, as the prophet Jeremy reporteth, "They said to a block, *Pater meus es tu*: 'Thou art my father;' and to a stone, *Tu me genuisti*: 'Thou art my maker, thou hast begotten me.'" And therefore were they the children of God's anger: for that they "turned the truth of God into a lie, and honoured the creature above the Creator, which is God blessed for ever."

Jerem. ii. 27.

Rom. i. 25.

And, the more to encourage the simple in these errors, they have devised many feigned miracles. The dead images have been forced to sweat, to weep, to laugh, and to shift themselves from place to place. And as among the painims and infidels, the image of Jupiter was able to say aloud, "Let all Christians be banished the country:" and as the image of Juno, being demanded, whether she would go to Rome or no, was able to give a courteous beck, and gently to say, *Volo*, "I am content:" even so among Christians, images have been able to speak whatsoever their keeper or sexton listed. The image of our lady was able to attend her own candle: and other images able to heal all diseases. Briefly, Nicolaus Lyra saith: *In ecclesia Dei populus sæpe decipitur a sacerdotibus fictis miraculis lucri causa*: "In the church of God the priests oftentimes deceive the people with feigned miracles for lucre's sake." Thus the world was borne in hand, that images were not only bare images, but had also some secret divine power hidden within them, and therefore were worthy to be honoured.

Eusebius,
lib. 8. [lib. 9.
tom. 1. 442.]
De Theo-
tecnio.

Concil. Nic.
2. act. 5.
[xiii. 196.]

Nicolaus
Lyra in 14.
cap. Daniel.
[Bel and
Dragon.]

Here is imagined a great difference in adoration between *latria* and *doulia*. *Latria* "is the honour that belongeth only unto God," as M. Harding saith, "in recognising of the supreme dominion." But of *doulia*, which is the other part, and may be Englished "a service," and, as they say, is due unto a creature, he thought it best to say nothing. Thus, by M. Harding's distinction, we must honour God,

and serve images. And therefore this reverence, so given, may not be called *idololatria*, but *idolodulia*: that is to say, "not the honouring, but only the serving or obeying of images." In like sort Lyra saith: "One knee we may bow to any noble personage: but upon both we may kneel only unto God⁹³." And by such a simple distinction, it is thought, the whole matter is well salved. But what if the simple people understand no Greek, and cannot so learnedly discern *latria* from *doulia*, but take the one adoration for the other? Verily, as it now fareth in the church of Rome, they use them both universally without difference. Therefore this distinction, thus applied, seemeth much like to that the physician's wife sometime said, Pepper is cold in working, and hot in operation. For M. Harding's distinction standeth not in difference of matter, but only in words. Cicero saith: *Bonum esse negas: præpositum dicis. An minus hoc pacto avaritiam?* "Thou wilt not have worldly wealth called *bonum*, but only *præpositum*. But dost thou hereby any thing abate avarice?" Even so may we say to M. Harding: Ye will not have your adoration of images called *latria*, but only *doulia*. But, sir, do you, by this distinction, any thing abate *idololatria*?

Nicolaus
Lyra in
Hester. 3.
ca. [il. 1631.]

Cicero de
Finib. 4.

Certainly Constantinus, the bishop of Constantia, in the second Nicene council saith: *Ego imaginibus cultum honoris exhibeo eundem, qui debetur vivificæ Trinitati: et, si quis nolit idem facere, eum anathematizo, ut Marcionem et Manichæum*: "I for my part yield unto images the same adoration of honour that is due to the holy Trinity: and, if any man refuse to do the same, I accurse him, as I do the heretics Marcion and Manichee⁹⁴." And in the same council it is determined thus: *Non sunt duæ adorationes, sed una adoratio, imaginis, et primi exemplaris, cujus est*

In libro Ca-
roli Magni.
[lib. 3. art.
17. p. 382.]

Concil. Nic.
2. act. 4.
[xliii. 72.]

⁹³ [Lyra, in stating this as the opinion of some, adds, "Sed hoc dictum videtur nimis durum."]

⁹⁴ [Liber Caroli Magni. This Capitulare (probably written by Alcuin, and read in the council of Frankfort) was originally published from ancient MSS. by Johann. Tilius, (bishop of Meaux,) in

1549. The copy in the Bodleian belonged to bishop Barlow, and has several of his MS. notes. In the edition by Goldastus (Imperialia Decreta de cultu Imaginum), the testimonies for and against its genuineness are enumerated. Cave pronounces it undoubtedly genuine.]

imago: "There are not two sorts of adoration," (the one called *latria*, the other *doulia*, as M. Harding divideth them,) "but one only adoration, both of the image, and also of the sampler, whereof the image is."

Likewise Thomas Aquine, after long debating of the matter, thus at last ruleth over the case: "The image, and the thing thereby represented, must be worshipped both with one kind of adoration:" and for example he saith: "The cross or image of Christ must be honoured with *latria*," (that is, with godly honour,) "because Christ himself is so honoured: and the image of our lady must be honoured with *doulia*, because that honour," as he saith, "is due unto our lady." This determination of Thomas is reproved by Holcot: and his reason is this: *Latria*, or godly honour, is due only unto God: but the image of God, is not God: therefore *latria*, or godly honour, is not due unto an image. "Otherwise," saith he, "the Creator and the creature should both be adored with one honour." And notwithstanding Henricus de Gandavo, Petrus de Aquila, Johannes de Guiverra, Durandus, and other school doctors agree with Holcot, and their judgment seem very agreeable unto reason: yet he that wrote *Fortalitiū Fidei*⁹⁴, saith, "The common opinion and practice of the church holdeth the contrary." And one Jacobus Payva, a great stickler of that side, doubteth not to write thus: *Non tamen inficiamur, hac nos latricæ adoratione Christi præclarissimam crucem colere, et venerari*: "Yet we deny not, but we do worship and adore the most noble cross of Christ, even with this godly honour that we call *latria*." And, whereas M. Harding referreth the whole adoration unto the thing represented by the image, one Jacobus Nanclantus, the bishop of Clugium in Italy, telleth him, that the image, and the thing represented by the image, must both be worshipped with one kind of adoration. His words be these: *Ergo non solum fatendum est, fideles in*

Thomas in 3. Senten. dist. 2. [l. dist. 9. qu. 1. art. 2. tom. vii. fol. 34. col. 3. ed. 1617.]

Holcot in Librum Sapient. lect. 158. [p. 524.]

Author Fortalitii: [lib. 3. fol. cxlii.] Licet hoc rationabiliter dictum videatur . . . tamen communis opinio tenet oppositum.

Jacobus Payva, lib. 9.

Jacobus Nanclantus in Epist. ad Roman. cap. 1.

⁹⁴ [The *Fortalitiū Fidei* in five books, was written after A.D. 1459. It has been disputed whether the author was Barthol.

de Spina, or Totanus; but probably the latter was only employed in revising it. See Placcii Pseudonym.]

ecclesia adorare coram imagine, ut nonnulli ad cautelam forte loquuntur, sed et adorare imaginem, sine quo volueris scrupulo, quin et eo illam venerari cultu, quo et prototypon ejus. Propter quod, si illud habet adorari latria, et illa habet adorari latria: "Therefore we must confess, that the faithful people in the church doth not only worship before the image, as some men use to speak for more assurance, but that they worship the image itself, and that without any manner scruple of conscience whatsoever. Yea and further, they worship the image with the same honour wherewith they worship the thing represented. As, if the thing represented by the image be worshipped with godly honour, then must the image itself likewise be worshipped with godly honour." If M. Harding will say, these errors be old and long sithence controlled by his church of Rome, it may please him to understand, that Nanclantus was printed in Venice, anno 1557, and that Payva was printed in Cologne, anno 1564, both well allowed without controlment⁹⁵.

The case standing thus, what then availeth M. Harding's distinction of *latria* and *doulia*? I fear me, we may say of him and his fellows, as St. Augustine sometime said of the heathens: *Nemo mihi dicat, Non est numen: non est Deus. Utinam ipsi sic norint, quomodo novimus nos. Sed quid habeant, pro qua re habeant, quid ibi faciant, aratatur*: "Let no man say unto me, It is no divine power: it is no God. I would to God they so knew it, as we know it. But what they have, and in what sort they have it, and what they do about it, the altar beareth witness."

Marcellina the heretic is much reprov'd by St. Augustine, for that, among other images, she offered up incense to the image of Christ. And Origen saith: *Fieri non potest, ut quis et Deum, et simulachrum colat*: "It is not possible that any man may worship God and an image both together." And Polydorus Vergilius, a man of late years, uttering the great abuse that he saw in the church

Augustin. de Verbis Dom. secundum Matthæ. serm. 6. [v. 361.]

August. ad Quodvult-deum. [viii. 7.] Origen. contra Celsum, lib. 4.

⁹⁵ [Neither of these works has fallen into the Editor's hands.]

Polyd. Virgil.
de Invento-
rib. Rer. lib.
6. cap. 13.

in his time, writeth thus: *Nunc de simulachrorum cultu agamus: quem non modo nostræ religionis expertes, sed, teste Hieronymo, omnes fere veteres sancti patres damnant, ob metum idololatriæ*: “Now let us entreat of the worshipping of images: which not only the heathens that were void of our religion, but also, as St. Hierom saith, all the old godly fathers condemned, for fear of idolatry.”

Ibidem.

And of the abuse and disorder of the church herein in his time, he writeth thus: *Eo insanie deventum est, ut hæc pars pietatis parum differat ab impietate*: “The world is come to such outrage and mere madness herein, that this part of holiness differeth now very little from open wickedness⁹⁵.” To this pass the church of God was brought by M. Harding’s distinction of *latria* and *doulia*.

The best remedy in this behalf, and most agreeable with God’s word, is, utterly to abolish the cause of the ill. So the godly king Hezekiah took down and brake in pieces the brazen serpent: notwithstanding Moses himself, by God’s special commandment, had erected it: notwithstanding it were an express figure of Christ hanging upon the cross: notwithstanding it had continued so many years: notwithstanding God by it had wrought so many miracles. So the godly bishop Epiphanius rent in sunder the image of Christ painted in a cloth, and said, It was against God’s commandment, a thing superstitious, and unmeet for the church and people of God: notwithstanding it were the image of Christ. So the godly emperor Theodosius made his proclamation over all his dominions in this sort: *Signum Servatoris nostri, quocunque loco reperitur, tolli jubemus*: “We straitly command, that the image of our Saviour be taken down, in what place soever it shall be found:” notwithstanding it were the image of our Saviour. So it is decreed in the late council of Mens, that, when images happen to be abused by the people, they be either notably

Epiphanius
ad Johan-
nem Episc.
Hierosolymi-
tan. [lat.
Hieronym.
opp. iv. pt. 2.
828.]

Petrus Crini-
tus, lib. 9.
cap. 9.

Concil. Mo-
gantinen. de
Imag. [Har-
duin. ix.
212. 2.]

⁹⁵ [Polydor. Vergilius thus proceeds, “sunt enim permulti rudiores stupidioresque, qui saxeas, vel ligneas etsi vermiculatas, marmoreas, æneas, seu in parietibus pictas... imagines ado-

“rent; non ut signa, sed perinde
“quasi ipsæ sensum aliquem ha-
“beant, et his magis fidant quam
“Christo, vel aliis divinis quibus
“dicatæ sunt.”]

altered, or utterly abolished. Neither doth God throughout all his holy scriptures any where condemn image-breakers: but expressly and every where he condemneth image-worshippers and image-makers. God saith, "They are snares to catch the ignorant:" he knoweth the inclination of the heart of man. And therefore he saith, "Accursed be he that leadeth the blind out of his way:" and, "Accursed be he that layeth a stumblingblock to overthrow the blind."

Wisd. xiv.

11.

Deut. xxvii.

18.

Levit. xix.

14.

OF READING THE SCRIPTURES.

THE FIFTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that the lay people was then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue.

M. HARDING : *First Division.*

The 204th untruth. For M. Harding knoweth, the people was commanded to read the scriptures, &c.

That the lay people was then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue, I find it not. (204) Neither do I find, that the lay people was then, or at any other time, commanded to read the word of God in their own tongue, being vulgar and barbarous. By vulgar and barbarous tongues I understand, as before, all other beside the three learned and principal tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Which, as they were once native and vulgar to those three peoples, so now to none be they native and vulgar, but common to be obtained by learning, for meditation of the scriptures, and other knowledge.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding fully dischargeth this whole matter in one word. "I find it not," saith he, "that the lay people was then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue." Howbeit, some others of his side thought sometimes, they had surely found it: and were able to allege these words: *Nolite sanctum dare canibus*: "Give not holy things to dogs:" and thereof necessarily to conclude, that the lay people, whom in respect of themselves they

called dogs, might not once touch the holy scriptures. But M. Harding saith plainly, "he findeth it not." This short answer, touching the demand, is sufficient: if he knew what were sufficient. All the rest is made up only in words, as shall appear.

He addeth further: "Neither do I find, that the lay people was then, or at any other time, commanded to read the word of God in their own tongue, being vulgar and barbarous." First, this stopple of commanding is whole impertinent unto the question. Secondly, all other tongues, three only excepted, are, without just cause, condemned for barbarous. Thirdly, this exception of the people's reading in their vulgar tongue is only a bare shift and a quarrel without savour. For in what tongue can the vulgar people read and understand any thing, saving only in their own common and vulgar tongue? But as the emperor Tiberius used sometimes to send certain of his nobles into his out provinces and far countries, to rule there as viceroys and lieutenants under him, and yet, that notwithstanding, would not suffer them to go thither, or in any wise to depart from Rome: even in like sort M. Harding, notwithstanding he would seem to license the lay people to read God's word, yet he limiteth them either to the Greek, or to the Latin, or to the Hebrew tongue, wherein he is well assured they cannot read it.

Cornelius
Tacitus, in
Tiberio.

But, that the people was in old times willed to read the scriptures, and that in such tongues as they were able to understand, it is evident, and appeareth many ways. And of infinite testimonies and good proofs, only to touch a few, God saith thus unto his people: "Hearken, O Israel:.....
Let the words that I speak to thee this day rest in thy heart: thou shalt shew them unto thy children, thou shalt think of them, sitting in thy house, and walking in thy journey, and when thou goest to rest, and when thou risest. Thou shalt bind them as a mark unto thy hand, thou shalt have them as a token before thine eyes. Thou shalt write them on the posts of thy doors, and at the entry of thy gates."

Deut. vi.
4-8.

As it is noted by a writer of late years, it was decreed

Cornel. A-
grip. de Van-
nit. Scient.
[de Verbo
Dei.]

Augustin. in
Capite Jeju-
nii. [v. app.
249.]

Chrysost. in
Johan. [31.
tom. viii.
188.]

Chrysost. in
Epist. ad
Coloss. hom.
9. [xi. 391.]

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

Hieronym.
in Epitaphio
Paulæ. [iv.
pt. 2. 682.]

in the first council of Nice, that no Christian man should be without the Bible in his house. St. Augustine saith unto the people: *Nec solum sufficiat, quod in ecclesia divinas lectiones auditis: sed etiam in domibus vestris, aut ipsi legite, aut alios legentes requirite*: "Think it not sufficient, that ye hear the scriptures in the church: but also in your houses at home, either read yourselves, or get some other to read unto you⁹⁶." St. Chrysostom saith unto his people: *Admoneo, et rogo, ut libros comparetis*: "I warn you and beseech you to get books⁹⁷." Again he saith: *Audite, sæculares omnes: comparate vobis Biblia, animæ pharmaca. Si nihil aliud vultis, vel Novum Testamentum acquirite, Apostolum, Evangelia, Acta, continuos et sedulos doctores*: "Hear me, ye men of the world: get ye the Bible, that most wholesome remedy for the soul. If ye will nothing else, yet at the least get the New Testament, St. Paul's Epistles, and the Acts, that may be your continual and earnest teachers⁹⁸." Origen saith: *Utinam omnes faceremus illud, quod scriptum est, Scrutamini scripturas*: "I would to God we would all do as it is written, Search the scriptures." St. Hierom, speaking of the company of women that was at Bethlehem with Paula, saith thus: *Non licebat cuiquam sororum, ignorare Psalmos, et non de scripturis sanctis quotidie aliquid discere*: "It was not lawful for any one of all the sisters, to be ignorant of the Psalms: nor to pass over any day, without learning some part of the scriptures." In these examples, notwithstanding some cavil perhaps might be made to the

⁹⁶ [Augustin. de Capite Jejunii. This is the title given in the Basle edition (serm. 55. de Tempore) to the sermon here quoted (Caput Jejunii meaning Ash-Wednesday). It is placed by the Bened. in the appendix, as being the work rather of Cæsarius than of St. Augustine.]

⁹⁷ [St. Chrysostom, after animadverting upon the folly of having beautiful editions of the Bible (MSS. distinguished by the thinness of the parchment or the

beauty of the letter), without using them, adds, *καὶ ταῦτα λέγω, οὐ καλύων Βιβλία κεκτηῖσθαι: ἀλλὰ καὶ παρανώ τοῦτο καὶ σφόδρα εὐχομαι.*]

⁹⁸ [Chrysost. ad Coloss. Ἀκούσατε, παρακαλῶ, πάντες οἱ βιωτικοί, καὶ κτᾶσθε Βιβλία φάρμακα τῆς ψυχῆς: εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον βούλεσθε, τὴν γοῦν Καινὴν κτήσασθε, τῶν ἀποστόλων τὰς πράξεις, τὰ εὐαγγέλια, διδασκάλους διηκεῖς. Jewel seems to have read τὸν ἀποστόλων, i. e. St. Paul.]

contrary, yet very reason will lead M. Harding to think that these fathers meant, the people should read the scriptures in their own known and vulgar tongues. St. Basil saith : *Quantum ferre potest humana natura, possumus esse similes Deo : similitudo autem illa sine cognitione nulla est : cognitio autem constat ex doctrina : initium autem doctrine, sermo est : sermonis autem partes, syllabæ et voces* : “ We may become like unto God, as far forth as the weak nature of man can bear. But this likeness cannot be without knowledge : neither this knowledge without doctrine. And the beginning of doctrine is speech : and the parts of speech be words and syllables.” The resolution hereof is this : The people without understanding the particular words and syllables, cannot know the speech : not knowing the speech, they cannot attain this doctrine : and without this doctrine they cannot be like unto God.

Basilus de Spiritu Sancto, cup. 1. [iii. 2.]

M. HARDING : *Second Division.*

They that treat of this Article, concerning the having of the scriptures in a vulgar tongue for the laity to read, be of three sundry opinions. Some judge it to be utterly unlawful, that the Bible be translated into any tongue of the common people. Some think it good it be translated, so that respect be had of time, and of place, and of persons. Some be of the opinion, that the holy scriptures ought to be had in the mother and native tongue of every nation, without any regard of time, place, or persons.

^aThe first opinion is holden of few, and commonly misliked.

^bThe third is maintained by all the sects of our time, the Swenfeldians excepted, who would the scriptures to be in no regard. The second is allowed best of those that seem to be of most wisdom and godliness, and to have most care for the health of the church, ^cwho have not severed themselves from the faith which hath continued from the beginning. Here that I say nothing of the first opinion, as they of the third reprove the moderation of the second, so they of the second cannot allow the generality of the third.

^a This is the practice of the church of Rome.
^b This was the judgment of Christ, the apostles, and all the old fathers.
^c M. Harding is none of these.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here are laid out three sundry opinions : the first utterly barreth all and every of the lay people, from every parcel of the scriptures. The third giveth all men leave to read all parts thereof, without exception. Between these two extremes, the second opinion is a mean.

Three sundry opinions concerning the scriptures to be had in a vulgar tongue.

The first hereof, saith M. Harding, is commonly misliked. Yet nevertheless, it appeareth by him in the fourteenth Division of this Article, it is the very practice and opinion of the church of Rome: which church, as he saith, hath already condemned all the new translations, and not allowed the old, neither in the Gothian tongue translated by Ulphilas, nor in the Sclavon tongue translated by St. Hierom: nor hath devised any other translation of her own. Hereby it is plain, that the opinion and practice of the church of Rome is commonly misliked, and holden of few.

The third opinion, that all men indifferently may read the scriptures without restraint, as M. Harding saith, is holden only by certain sects, and is too general. Notwithstanding, this generality seemed good to Christ, his apostles, and to all the old doctors of the church, as it shall appear. Wherefore it followeth, that Christ, his apostles, and all the old doctors, by M. Harding's judgment, were sectaries and heretics.

The second opinion is a mean between both, and is holden by M. Harding, and by certain others that have not at any time altered their faith: notwithstanding men say, M. Harding hath altered more than once, and therefore may hardly be allowed to pass in this number. Yet is this opinion of all others accounted the best. Howbeit, whereas all men are indifferently and equally inheritors to God's word, to bind the same only unto a few, and that with such restraint of times and places, it must needs be thought some great partiality. St. Paul saith: *Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt: ut per patientiam et consolationem scripturarum spem habemus*: "All that is written in the scriptures, is written for our instruction: that, by patience and comfort of the scriptures, we may have hope." St. Basil saith, "The scripture of God is like an apothecary's shop, full of medicines of sundry sorts, that every man may there choose a convenient remedy for his disease." St. Augustine saith: *Deus in scripturis, quasi amicus familiaris, sine fuco loquitur ad cor doctorum et indoctorum*: "Almighty God in the scrip-

Rom. xv. 4.

Basilius in
Psalm. i. [l.
90.]

Augustin.
Epist. 3. ad
Volusianum.
[l. 409.]

tures speaketh, as a familiar friend without dissimulation, unto the hearts, both of the learned, and also of the unlearned." Wherefore the word of God being so universal, meet for all diseases, for all wits, and for all capacities: for M. Harding to improper⁹⁹ the same only unto a few, it is both far greater dishonour unto God, and also far greater injury unto God's faithful people, than if he would in like manner improper⁹⁹ and enclose the sunbeams, to comfort the rich, and not the poor: to shine upon some, and not upon all. This mean way is no way: it is weighed out, not by the scriptures or holy fathers, but only by policy and worldly reason.

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

That the scriptures be not to be set forth in the vulgar tongue to be read of all sorts of people, every part of them, without any limitation of time, place, and persons, they seem to be moved with these considerations. First, that it is not necessary: next, that it is not convenient: thirdly, that it is not profitable: fourthly, that it is dangerous and hurtful: and lastly, although it were accorded, the common people to have liberty to read the Bible in their own tongue, yet that the translations of late years, made by those that have divided themselves from the catholic church, be not to be allowed, as worthily suspected not to be sound and assured.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

These deep considerations were never devised, neither by Moses, nor by Christ, nor by the apostles, nor by any the ancient fathers: but are brought in only now at last by them, that of long time have deceived the world by ignorance, and yet labour by the same to deceive it still. Christ saith: *Qui male agit, odit lucem*: "He that doth ill, fieth the trial of the light." And M. Harding's own Amphilochius saith: *Naturalis providentia est male errantium, auferre de medio testimonia veritatis*: "It is the natural provision of them that be wilfully deceived, to convey out of sight all proofs and testimonies of the truth." So the Philistines, the better to keep the Jews thrall and

⁹⁹ ["To improper;" an old verb for "to inappropriate." See Richardson's Dictionary.]

Amphilochius in Vita Vincentii.

John iii. 20.

Five considerations why the scriptures are not to be set forth for all sorts of people, to read them without limitation.

1 Sam. xiii.
22.

in subjection, utterly bereaved them of all manner weapon and artillery, and left them naked: and, no doubts, bare them then in hand, as M. Harding doth now the people of God, that it was neither necessary, nor convenient, nor profitable for them to have armour. Verily Chrysostom saith:

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

“It is more necessary, more convenient, and more profitable for the lay people to read God’s word, than for monks, or priests, or any others.” Thus he writeth: *Hoc est, quod omnia quasi una quadam peste corrumpit, quod lectionem divinarum scripturarum ad solos putatis monachos pertinere: cum multo vobis magis, quam illis, sit necessaria.Itaque multo est gravius, atque deterius, rem superfluum esse putare legem Dei, quam illam omnino non legere. Hæc enim verba sunt, quæ de diabolica prorsus meditatione promuntur:* “This is it, that, as it were with a pestilence, infecteth all things, that ye think, the reading of the scriptures pertaineth only unto monks: whereas it is much more necessary for you, than for them.....It is more wickedness to think God’s law is superfluous, than if ye should never read it. For these be the words, that no doubts come from the study of the devil.”

De diabolica
prorsus me-
ditatione
promuntur.

Thus much therefore we learn here by Chrysostom, that these M. Harding’s profound considerations “come from the study and closet of the devil.”

M. HARDING: *Fourth Division.*

First, that the common people, of all sorts and degrees, ought of necessity to read all the holy scriptures in their own tongue, they say, they could never find it hitherto in the same scriptures. Irenæus writeth, that the apostles preached to the aliens and barbarous people the faith of Christ, even to those that were aliens and barbarous in language, and saith, that, having heard the gospel preached, they believed in Christ: and keeping the order of tradition, which the apostles delivered unto them, had their salvation and faith written in their heart without print, pen, or ink, and utterly without letters. And further he sheweth, that, if the apostles had left to us no scriptures at all, yet we should be saved by the tradition which they left to them, whom they committed their churches unto, as many nations of aliens be saved by the same.

Libro 3. ad
versus Hæ-
reses, cap.
[p. 178.]

Hilarius likewise, declaring, that the mystery of God’s will, and the expectation of the blessed kingdom, is most and chiefly

Prologo in
Explanatio-
nem Psalm

preached in the three tongues, in which Pilate wrote on the cross, our Lord Jesus Christ to be King of the Jews ; confesseth notwithstanding, that many barbarous nations have attained and gotten the true knowledge of God, by the preaching of the apostles, and the faith of the churches remaining amongst them to that day. Whereby he doeth us to understand, that the unlearned barbarous people had their faith without letters or writing, whereof they had no skill, by tradition and preaching, as well as the other nations, who were holpen by the benefit of the learned tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Touching this first consideration, M. Harding imagineth shadows of himself, and fighteth stoutly against the same. Therefore he may soon attain the victory. For we say not, that the common people, of all sorts and degrees, ought of necessity to read all the holy scriptures. This is only M. Harding's phantasy : we say it not : we know, some are blind, and many unlearned, and cannot read. But thus we say, That in the primitive church, whosoever would and could read, might lawfully read without controlment. Therefore St. Augustine saith, as it is before alleged : *Aut ipsi legite, aut alios legentes requirite* : " Either read yourselves, or get some other to read unto you."

Augustin. in
Capite Jeju-
nii. [v. app.
249.]

I grant, at the first preaching and publishing of the gospel, certain barbarous nations, that received the faith of Christ, had neither books nor letters. Yet were they not therefore ignorant, or left at large, to believe, they knew not what. They had then certain officers in the church, which were called *catechistæ* : whose duty was continually, and at all times, to teach the principles of the faith, not by book, but by mouth. Of these mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles, in the council of Nice, and elsewhere. This office bare Origen that ancient learned father. This doctrine Dionysius calleth *θεοπαράδοτα λόγια*, " oracles, or instructions given from God : " and saith, " They passed from one to another, not by writing, but by mouth, *ἐκ νοῦς εἰς νοῦν*, from mind to mind." Neither did these traditions contain any secret, or privy instructions, or inventions of men, as it is imagined by some, but the very selfsame doctrine that was contained written in the scriptures of

Acts xix.
Concil. Nic.
i. can. 14.
Origen.
Catechista.
Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 20. [l.
283.]
Dionysius
in Eccles.
Hierar. [lib.
5. p. 201.]

God. And in this sort the gospel itself, and the whole religion of Christ, was called “a tradition.” So Tertullian calleth the articles of the faith, “an old tradition¹.” So the faith of the holy Trinity, in the council of Constantinople, is called “a tradition:” and the faith of two sundry natures in Christ, in the same council, is called, *apostolorum viva traditio*: “the lively tradition of the apostles.” So it is written in Socrates: *Credimus in unum Deum Patrem, secundum evangelicam et apostolicam traditionem*: “We believe in one God the Father, according to the tradition of the gospel and of the apostles.” So St. Basil calleth it, “a tradition, to believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.” Therefore St. Paul saith: *Tenete traditiones, quas accepistis, sive per sermonem, sive per epistolam*: “Keep the traditions that ye have received, either by mouth, or else by letter.” By these words the doctrine of the apostles is called “a tradition.” And for this cause St. Cyprian saith: *Unde est ista traditio? An de Dominica, et evangelica veritate descendens: an de apostolorum mandatis, atque literis [epistolis] veniens?* “From whence is this tradition? whether cometh it from our Lord, and from his gospel: or else from the epistles and commandments of the apostles?”

Thus were the barbarous nations instructed by tradition and by mouth, and were made perfect in every point and parcel of the faith, and, as Irenæus saith, “had their salvation by the Holy Ghost written in their hearts: and were as much bounden unto the same, as unto any writings and letters of the apostles.” Of such lively and clear doctrine, St. Paul saith, “Christ was set out and crucified before the eyes of the Galatians.” And thereof he saith to the Philippians: “My prayer is, that your charity may yet more and more abound in all knowledge, and in all understanding.” And thus, notwithstanding they were barbarous, yet were they able to render an account of all the religion and faith in Christ. For thus Irenæus writeth of them: *Si quis illis annuntiaret ea, quæ ab istis hæreticis*

Tertullian. de Præscription. adversus Hæreticos. [p. 209.]
 Concil. Constantinop. 6. act. 4. [xi. 237.]
 Eadem Actione. [xi. 241.]
 Socrates, lib. 2. cap. 7. [ii. 87.]

Basilii de Spiritu Sancto. [iii. 21, 22.]
 2 Thess. ii. 15.

Cyprianus ad Pompeium. [p. 138.]

Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 4. [p. 178.]
 Scriptam habentes salutem per Spiritum in cordibus suis.
 Galat. iii. 1.

Philipp. i. 9.

1 Pet. iii. 15.
 Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 4. [p. 178. col. 2.]

¹ [Tertullian. “Ejusdem sacramenti (i. e. symboli) una traditio.”]

inventata sunt, statim clauderent aures..... : “ If any man would shew these barbarous nations what things these heretics have invented, they would stop their ears, and not abide it.” Likewise if a man would shew them of the profanation of Christ’s holy mysteries, of transubstantiation, of real and fleshly presence, and of other like horrible disorders, that now are holden and defended in the church of Rome, as Irenæus saith, *Fugerent longo longius, ne audire quidem sustinentes blasphemum colloquium* : “ They would flee away, as far as they were able, and would not abide the hearing of such blasphemous talk.” Thus were these nations sufficiently instructed, notwithstanding they were barbarous, and wanted books.

But they of M. Harding’s side neither will teach the people, as their duty is, nor suffer them to read the holy scriptures, and to teach themselves. Christ may justly say to them, as he did sometimes unto others the like : “ Woe be unto you, ye scribes and Pharisees ! ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men : and neither do ye enter yourselves, nor suffer others that would enter.” Of such Irenæus speaketh in the next chapter following : *Hoc non est sanantium, nec vivificantium, sed magis gravantium, et argentium ignorantiam. Et multo verior hic lex invenitur, Maledictum dicens omnem, qui in errorem mittit cæcum in via* : “ This is not the part of them that would heal, or give life : but rather of them that augment the burthen, and increase ignorance. And herein is the law well verified, ‘ Accursed is he that leadeth the blind out of his way.’ ”

M. HARDING : *Fifth Division.*

That it is not convenient nor seemly, all sorts of persons without exception to be admitted to the reading of the holy scriptures, I need to say nothing : every reasonable man may easily understand the causes by himself. This is certain, divers chapters and stories of the Old Testament contain such matter, as occasion of evil thoughts is like to be given, if women, maidens, and young men be permitted to read them. Gregory Nazianzen, whom the Greeks called “ the divine,” saith, moved with great considerations, “ that it is not the part of all persons to reason of God, and of godly things, neither behoveful the same be done in all times

Irenæus in eodem capt. te.

Matt. xxiii. 13.

Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 5. [p. 179.]

Deut. xxvii. 18.

The word of God offereth occasion of ill thoughts. Nazianzen speaketh of contention and reasoning, and not of reading.

and places, nor that all things touching God be meddled withal." Which advertisement taketh no place, where all be admitted to the curious reading of the scriptures in their own vulgar tongue.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding saith, "It is not convenient nor seemly, that all the people should read the holy scriptures." As if he would say in plainer wise: "It is not meet nor seemly, that God should speak unto every of the poor simple people without exception." Howbeit, God himself saith not so, but rather the contrary. St. Augustine saith, as it is alleged before: "God speaketh as a familiar friend unto the heart, both of the learned, and also of the unlearned." For he hath no acceptation or choice of persons. If it be not seemly for the people of God to read and to know God's holy will, for whom then is it seemly? The danger of phantasies and ill thoughts, that may thereby be moved, is but a phantasy. The prophet David saith: *Eloquia Domini eloquia casta*: "The words of God be holy and chaste words." Again he saith: "Whereby shall a young man amend his life?" He answereth, not by fleeing, but "by keeping, thy holy words."

And may we think, that M. Harding meaneth any good faith, that, to the intent, as he saith, to pull young men from evil thoughts, thus withdraweth them from the reading of God's word, which every where reproveth sin: and nevertheless giveth them leave to read Ovid, Terence, Propertius, and such others, which, for the most part, are nothing else but examples and schools of sin? Verily, if God's holy word be a provocation of ill thoughts, which blasphemous words I marvel M. Harding can utter without horror, the world thinketh, that many unmarried priests in the church of Rome are as much inclined to the same as any woman, maiden, or young man. For it is not a gown or a cap that mortifieth the affections of the mind.

Nazianzen speaketh not of reading the scriptures, but of contentious disputing and reasoning of God, or godly things: which, as St. Paul saith, oftentimes worketh the subversion of the hearers. And in this sense St. Cyprian

Augustin. ad
Volusianum
Epist. 3.
[ii. 409.]
Loquitur ad
cor et docto-
rum et in-
doctorum.
Acts x. 34.

Psal. xii. 6.

Psal. cxix. 9.

Nazianzenus
Theologiæ,
lib. i. [i.
489.]
2 Tim. ii.

seemeth to say: *De Deo etiam vera dicere, periculosum est*: Cyprian.

“Of God it is dangerous to speak, yea although ye speak the truth.” Hereof M. Harding maketh up a very slender reason: “It is not seemly for every man to contend and dispute of God: *ergo*, it is not seemly for the lay people to read the scriptures.” I grant the rabbins did not amiss, to restrain the people from reading certain chapters of the Old Testament, until they were grown in years and judgment. For the scriptures of God are not all of one sort. Some parts be easy: some parts be hard: some meet for beginners: some meet for them that know more: but all meet, and made for the people of God. Yet were it great folly and want of discretion, to begin first with the hardest. So Justinian the emperor appointeth an order for the reading of the laws: what books and titles he would have read the first year, what the second, and so forth. For otherwise, whoso would wade without order, should lose his time.

In Proœmio
Pandect.

But whereas M. Harding saith, “It is not seemly nor convenient, the scriptures should be read of all persons without exception:” it had been good skill, and some credit unto his cause, if he could have told us plainly, out of all the whole people, what persons he thinketh meet to be excepted. If he say ‘old men,’ that were much unseemly. If he say ‘children,’ St. Paul saith, “Timothy 2 Tim. iii. 15. was brought up from his childhood in the scriptures:” and never thought it inconvenient. If he say ‘the unlearned,’ Chrysostom answereth: *Nihil opus est, syllogismis: rustici aniculæque intelligunt*: “To understand God’s word, we need no syllogisms or knowlege of logic: husbandmen and old women do understand it.” If he say ‘women,’ this same was it that Julianus the wicked emperor charged the Christians withal, for that their women were so skilful in the scriptures². But Nazianzenus answereth for his sister Gorgonia, that she was skilful both in the Old Testa-

Cyrl. contra
Julian. lib. 6.
[vi. 209.]
Nazianzen.
in Funebri
Oratione de
Gorgonia.
[1. 224.]

² [Cyrl. contra Julian. 6. Unless there is some error in the reference, Jewel has applied to reading the scriptures, what was

only intended to apply to the truths of Christianity, without regard to the manner in which they were learnt.]

Hieronym.
in Epitaphio
Paulæ. [iv.
pt. 2. 682.]
Cyrillus
contra Jull-
anum, lib. 7.
[vi. 234.]

1 Cor. i. 26.

Confessio-
num, lib. 8.
cap. 12. [i.
156.]

Acts viii. 28.

ment, and also in the New. If he say ‘maidens,’ St. Hieron answereth, “That all the maidens about lady Paula were forced daily to learn the scriptures.” If he say ‘young men, or boys,’ Cyrillus answereth: *In sacris literis educati, fiunt postea religiosissimi, quamvis non æque eloquentes*: “Being brought up in the scriptures, afterward they become most godly men, albeit perhaps not so eloquent.” If he say ‘the poor,’ St. Paul answereth: *Non multi genere nobiles*: at Corinth, among them that first received the gospel, “there were not many of great birth, or much wealth.” If he say ‘heretics,’ St. Augustine, being inclined to the heresy of the Manichees, by reading the scriptures was converted. If he say ‘heathens,’ St. Luke will say, that queen Candace’s chamberlain, being an heathen, read the scriptures without controlment.

Now, if neither old men, nor children, nor the learned, nor the unlearned, nor women, nor maidens, nor young men, nor boys, nor the poor, nor the rich, nor heretics, nor heathens be excepted from the reading of God’s word, what other sort of men then is there, that M. Harding would have excepted? If it be convenient for every of these to read the scriptures, for whom then is it not convenient?

M. HARDING: Sixth Division.

“And the scripture itself,” say they, “sheweth plainly, that of convenience the scriptures ought not be made common to all persons. For Christ affirmeth the same with his own words, where he saith to his apostles: ‘Unto you it is given to know the secrets of the kingdom of God: but to others in parables, that when they see they should not see, and when they hear they should not understand.’ (205) They, to whom it is given to know these secrets, be none other than the apostles, and their successors or disciples. They to whom this is not given, but must learn parables, be they for whom it were better to be ignorant of the mysteries than to know them, lest they abuse them, and be the more grievously condemned, if they set little by them, which we see commonly done among the common people.”

Luke viii. 10.

a These others were the scribes and Pharisees, and others of that generation. The 205th untruth. For Christ saith, These mysteries be hidden from the wise, and revealed to the little ones. Matt. xi. 25.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It were much better for M. Harding not to know the word of God, than thus wilfully to abuse it. They, unto

whom Christ would not open the secrets of the kingdom of heaven, were not the common sort of the lay people, as M. Harding supposeth, but the bishops, the priests, the doctors, the scribes, and the Pharisees, and other like reprobates, whom God had given over in the hardness of their hearts, as it is plain by the words that Christ allegeth out of the prophet Isaiah: "O Lord, harden the heart of Isa. vi. 10. this people, stop their ears, blind their eyes: lest haply they be converted, and so be saved." And thus that ancient father Irenæus, immediately after the apostles' time, expounded it: and applieth thereto these words of St. Paul:

In quibus deus hujus sæculi excæcavit corda infidelium, ut non fulgeat illis illuminatio evangelii gloriæ Dei: "In whom [the] Irenæus, lib. 4. cap. 48. [p. 266.] 2 Cor. iv. 4. god [of this world] hath blinded the hearts of them that be unfaithful, that the brightness of the gospel of the glory of God may not shine unto them." And likewise these words: Rom. i. 28.

Tradidit illos Deus in reprobum sensum: "God hath delivered them over into a reprobate understanding." And in the end he compareth them with Pharaoh and Antichrist. So likewise Dionysius the Carthusian, whose authority, I trow, M. Harding will not deny, saith of them: *Justo Dei judicio negata est illis prædicatio evangelii, tanquam indignis intelligentia spirituali:* "The preaching of the gospel was denied unto them by the just judgment of God, as unto men unworthy of any spiritual understanding."

Dionysius Carthusian. in Lucam, cap. 8.

Thus M. Harding, the better to win his purpose, is contented to say, that all the people of God, himself only with a few others excepted, are blind, reprobate, accursed of God, forsaken, and left in hardness of their hearts, unworthy of spiritual understanding, given over into a wicked mind, like to Pharaoh, like to Antichrist. So much is the simple lay people beholden to him. But Gerson, a doctor of M. Harding's own company, saith: *Licet judicium, et conclusiones fidei authoritative spectent ad prælatos et doctores; tamen ad alios, quam ad theologos potest deliberatio pertinere, sicut et cognitio super his, quæ fidem respiciunt: ita etiam, ut ad laicos hoc possit extendi, et plus aliquando, quam ad multos clericorum:* "Albeit the judgment and the conclusions of faith pertain by authority unto the

Johan. Gerson. Quæ veritates de necessitate salutis credende sint. Corollar. 4.

prelates and doctors; yet the consideration and weighing of the same may pertain as well unto others, as also knowledge touching those things that pertain unto the faith: which knowledge and judgment may also be extended unto the lay people: and that better, oftentimes, than to many priests." So Panormitane saith: *Magis credendum est laico afferenti scripturas, quam papæ et concilio generali*: "We ought more to believe a layman, if he bring the authority of the scriptures, than the pope and a general council."

Abbas Panormitanus.

By these it is evident, that God hath not excluded the lay people, that believeth in him, from the understanding of his holy secrets. Hugo Cardinalis expoundeth these words in this wise: *Vobis datum est: vobis qui libenter auditis, et fidem habetis*: "Unto you it is given: unto you that are glad to learn, and have faith." And the very ordinary Gloss saith thus: *Vobis qui [l. quia] fideles estis: sed Pharisæis incredulis sancta non sunt danda*: "Unto you that are faithful it is given: but unto the unfaithful Pharisees, holy things may not be given." And where M. Harding saith, "The knowledge of these mysteries pertaineth only unto the apostles of Christ and to their successors:" pleaseth it thee, good reader, to understand, that, by M. Harding's own decree, the successors of the apostles be neither priests, nor deacons, nor monks, nor friars, nor cardinals, but only bishops. For so it is limited by Anacletus: *Episcopi apostolorum Domini, presbyteri vero septuagintaduorum discipulorum locum tenent*: "Bishops are in the place of the apostles: and priests are in the place of the threescore and twelve disciples." Thus M. Harding hath taken great pains, to shut out both himself and the greatest part of his clergy, and all the whole people, from the mystery of the kingdom of heaven.

Hugo Cardinalis, in Luc. cap. 8.

Glossa Ordinaria.

Anacleti Epist. tertia, dist. 21. In Nono.

M. HARDING: *Seventh Division.*

The 206th untruth. For St. Hilary saith no such thing.

It is reported by sundry (206) ancient writers of great authority, that among the people of Israel, the seventy elders only could read and understand the mysteries of the holy books that we call the Bible. For whereas the letters of the Hebrew tongue have no vocals, they only had the skill to read the scrip-

Vide Hilarius in Psalm. ii. [p. 28.]

ture by the consonants : and thereby the vulgar people were kept from reading of it (207) by special providence of God, as it is thought, that precious stones should not be cast before a swine, that is to say, such as be not called thereto, as being, for their unreverent curiosity and impure life, unworthy.

The 207th untruth, misreporting God's divine providence. a The people, swine.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Notwithstanding M. Harding's allegation were true, yet St. Hilary's judgment, touching the Hebrew tongue, were not great. For writing upon the same psalm, he much mistaketh this Hebrew word *bereschith*³, as a man unskilful in that language : and St. Hierom reproveth him likewise for mistaking this Hebrew word, *hosanna*. But M. Harding, as otherwise his wont is, much misreporteth his author. For St. Hilary saith no such thing. Thus only he saith, that these threescore and twelve doctors, or elders, were men of great knowledge, and therefore alloweth well of their judgment.

Hilarius in Psalm. ii. [p. 28.]

Hieronym. ad Damasum. [lv. 145.]

Touching the first invention and use of the pricks, it is thought, the rabbins themselves do not agree. Some say, they were delivered to Moses in the mount: some say, they were invented by Esdras: some, by the Tabarites, which were the canonists of the Jews, or doctors of traditions. Howbeit, whatsoever it were, the case is not much material. But to say, that in all the whole country of Jewry, a few only excepted, no man was able to read the Hebrew tongue, in M. Harding, being so well learned in the same, it must needs be thought, either a great oversight, or else some other greater fault.

For he knoweth, that God commanded every of the people to write the words of the law in the posts of their doors, and in the borders of their coats. Likewise God commanded, that, whoso would put away his wife, should first write a bill of divorce, and so put her from him. If M. Harding will say, Some one or other of these learned elders, or doctors, might write it for them: yet it is written thus in the book of the Maccabees: *Cæpit populus Israel*

Deut. xi. 20.

Deut. xxiv. 1.

1 Mac. xiii. 42.

³ [St. Hilary's mistake consisted as well as "in principio" or "in capite." See the Bened. note in "bereschith" meant, "in filio," loc.]

scribere in tabulis : “The people of Israel began to write in their tables.” It is written of Mardocheus, “That he wrote all that happened:” that Jeremy wrote the plagues that were coming: and that Baruch wrote the words of Jeremy. And in the gospel, the wicked steward saith unto the debtor, “Take thy bill, sit down, and write.” Now, let M. Harding consider, how could all these write, unless they could read: and if they could not read, to what end should they write? Verily it appeareth not, that any of these was of the threescore and twelve elders. Likewise king Josias found the book of the law in a wall, and read it. When Christ read and expounded the prophet Isaiah in the synagogue, the people marvelled not at his reading, for that was common, but only at his exposition. Philip said unto the chamberlain: *Intelligis ea quæ legis?* “Understandest thou that thou readest?” And when Christ suffered upon the cross, St. John saith: *Hunc titulum multi Judæorum legerunt*: “Many of the Jews read that title.” And wherefore did the rabbins take order, that none of the lay people, before they came to certain years of age, should read, either the first chapter of Genesis, or the book of Canticles, or certain chapters of the prophet Ezekiel, if none of all the people understood the pricks or vowels, nor could read any thing at all? If there were nothing else, yet this thing only is sufficient to descry M. Harding’s error. The rabbins say, that in every town within the whole country of Israel, there was a school: and that in Jerusalem there were four hundred schools. And will M. Harding have us believe, that in so many schools there was not one scholar able to know his letters? Howbeit, he taketh it for no inconvenience, whatsoever may help to serve his turn.

But in the old times, the pricks or vowels were not found: therefore, saith he, the people could not read. So likewise in old times, the Greek tongue was written without accents, as it is evident until this day by sundry books and old marble stones, that are so written. Yet notwithstanding men were then able to read the Greek tongue without accents. Certainly M. Harding knoweth, that even now, not only the learned of the Jews, but also the

Esther ix.
20.

Jerem. ii. 60.

Baruch i.

Laue xvi. 6.

2 Kings xxlii.
2.

Luke iv. 22.

Acts viii. 30.

John xix. 20.

Origen. in
Cantica, in
Prologo. [lib.
26.]

Paulus Pha-
gus in Levit.
cap. xxlii.
[Targ. On-
kel.]

Geraldus
Lilius in
Historia
Poetarum.

very children of ten years of age, are able to read without pricks or vowels.

Yet notwithstanding, saith M. Harding, "This was done by God's secret providence, lest the lay people should read God's word, and so precious stones should be thrown before swine." This doubtless was done by God's provision, that it might appear in what regard M. Harding hath the people of God: that is, by his own confession, as unpure and unclean beasts, and filthy swine, and none otherwise.

M. HARDING: *Eighth Division.*

3 Here I need not to spend time in rehearsing the manifold difficulties of these holy letters, through which the reading of them to the simple and unlearned people, having their wits exercised in no kind of learning, their minds occupied in worldly cares, their hearts carried away with the love of things they lust after, is not very profitable. "As the light shineth in vain upon blind eyes," saith a holy father, "so to no purpose or profit is the labour of a worldly and natural man taken for the attaining of things that be of the Spirit." Verily among other, this incommodity is seen by daily experience hereof to proceed, that of the people, such as ought of right to take least upon them, be now become censors and judges of all, despisers of the more part, and which is common to all heretics, mockers of the whole simplicity of the church, and of all those things which the church useth as pap or milk, to nourish her tender babes withal, that it were better for them not to read, than by reading so to be puffed up, and made insolent. Which evil cometh not of the scripture, but of their own malice and evil disposition.

Bernard.
super Can-
tica.

Bernard call-
eth him a
worldly and
a natural
man, that is
void of the
Spirit of God.
Therefore
this place is
not well ap-
plied.
a They dis-
pise nothing,
but that
should be
despised.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

"The lay people is occupied in worldly affairs: *ergo*," saith M. Harding, "they may not be suffered to read the scriptures:" as if he would say, "They are in the midst of diseases: therefore they may use no physician. They are in the throng of their enemies, therefore they must be left naked without weapon." But the godly learned fathers have evermore reprov'd this reason, and thought it childish. St. Chrysostom saith thus unto the lay people: *Lectio divinarum scripturarum vobis magis necessaria est, quam monachis*: "The reading of the scriptures is more necessary for you, than it is for monks." And touching

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

worldly cares, the world well seeth, that the bishop of Rome, and his cardinals, and others of that profession, are no less troubled therewith, than they that are most deeply drowned in the world. St. Gregory, being by the emperor advanced to the bishopric of Rome, writeth thus of himself: *Sub colore episcopatus, ad sæculum retractus sum: in quo tantis terræ curis inservio, quantis me in vita laica nequaquam deservisse reminiscor*: “Under the colour of my bishopric, I am drawn back into the world: wherein I am so much troubled with worldly cares, as I do not remember the like, when I lived in the world.” And again he saith: *Tanta me occupationum onera depriment, ut ad superna animus nullatenus erigatur*: “So many cares and business do press me down, that I can in no wise lift my mind up to heaven.” Yet Gregory in comparison of his successors might undoubtedly seem a saint. For as now, they have one foot in the church, and another in the world: or rather, not one foot in the church, but both heart and body in the world.

Yet notwithstanding, by M. Harding’s doctrine, these only must have the supreme judgment and exposition of God’s word: and, whatsoever they say therein, it ought to stand in more weight, than the judgment of a general council, or the determination of the whole world.

He addeth further: “Knowledge bloweth up the heart, and increaseth pride.” Thus saith M. Harding, being himself learned and full of knowledge: I will not use his own conclusion, *ergo*, full of pride. But thus he saith, even as Epimenides the poet said: *Cretenses semper mendaces*: “The men of Creta be ever liars,” being himself a man of Creta: and therefore by his own judgment, a liar, as others were.

This slothful quarrel against the knowledge of God might be maintained by great antiquity. For St. Hierom and St. Augustine say, there were men then in their time of the same judgment herein, that M. Harding is now. St. Hierom saith:.....*inertiæ se, et otio, et somno dantes, putant peccatum esse, si scripturas legerint: et eos, qui in lege Domini meditantur die ac nocte, quasi garrulos, inu-*

Gregor. lib.
I. epist. 5.
[i. 491.]

Gregor. lib.
I. epist. 7.
[ii. 494.] et
epist. 25. [p.
516.]

Albertus
Pigghius,
lib. 6. cap. 13.
[Hierarch.
Eccles.]

1 Cor. viii. 1.

Titus 1. 12.

Hieronym.
in Epist. ad
Titum, cap.
1. [iv. 418.]

tilesque contemnunt: "Giving themselves to sleep and slothfulness, they think it sin to read the scriptures: and such as both day and night are studious in the law of God, they despise, as prattlers and vain men." Likewise St. Augustine: *Sunt quidam homines, qui, cum audierint, quod humiles esse debent, demittunt se, et nihil volunt discere, putantes, quod, si aliquid didicerint, superbi futuri sint: et remanent in solo lacte: quos scriptura reprehendit*: "There be certain men, that, when they hear, they must be humble, abase themselves, and will learn nothing: fearing, that if they attain to any knowledge, they shall be proud: and so they remain still only in milk: but the scripture of God reproveth them."

Augustinus
in Psal. cxxx.
[iv. 1468.]

The old learned father Irenæus expounding these words of St. Paul, *Scientia inflat*, writeth thus: *Paulus ait, Scientia inflat: non quod veram scientiam de Deo culparet: alioqui se ipsum primum accusaret*: "St. Paul saith, Knowledge puffeth up the mind: not for that he found fault with the true knowledge of God: otherwise he should first of all others have reprovèd himself:" for he was learned. And St. Chrysostom saith: *Hoc omnium malorum causa est, quod scripturæ ignorantur*: "This is the cause of all ill, that the scriptures are not known."

Irenæus, lib.
2. cap. 45.
[p. 134.]

Chrysost. in
Epist. ad
Coloss. hom.
9. [xi. 391.]

"But they that read the scriptures, despise" such superstitious orders and idolatrous deformities, as have been used, which M. Harding calleth, "the milk and simplicity of the church." Verily, and they that see the light, despise the darkness: and they that know the truth, despise falsehood. St. Paul, after he once understood Christ, despised all that he had been trained in before, as filth and dung. And therefore he saith, "When I was a child, I spake as a child, and had understanding as a child: but, after that I once became a man, I avoided" (and despised) "the things that pertained to a child." Whoso despiseth superstition and idolatry, despiseth the things that should be despised: and, in consideration of the dangers he hath escaped, he saith, with the prophet David: *Anima nostra, sicut passer, erepta est de laqueo venantium*: "Our soul is delivered, as a sparrow, from the snares of the hunters."

Philipp. iii. 8.
1 Cor. xiii. 11.

Psal. cxxiv. 7.

Touching that danger that is here surmised, undoubtedly,

the knowledge of God inflameth not, nor bloweth up the heart, but rather cooleth it, and maketh it humble.

Deut. xvii.
19, 20.

And for that cause God said unto Moses, "Let the king read this law all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God," &c.; *et ne elevetur cor ejus in superbiam*: "and that his mind be not blown up with pride." For the nature and force of God's word is to

Psal. ix. 7.

Contra Jullian. lib. 7. [vl. 234. D.]

turn the heart: *Lex Domini convertens animas*. Therefore Cyrillus saith: "Young men, that use to read God's word, *funt postea religiosissimi*, afterward become" (not proud or disdainful, but) "most virtuous and godly." So Theodoretus saith unto the emperor Jovian: "The knowledge

[Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. cap. 3. tom. iii. 149.]

of heavenly things is behoveful for a godly prince. For so shall your heart be" (not puffed up with pride, but) "truly and indeed in the hand of God³." Likewise St. Augustine saith: *Lectio assidua purificat omnia*, &c. *Et qui vult cum Deo semper esse, semper debet orare et legere*:

Augustinus de Tempore, serm. 112. [v. app. 508.]

"Continual reading, cleareth and purgeth all things. Whoso will ever be with God, must evermore pray and

Chrysost. in 2 ad Timoth. hom. 5. [hom. 6. xi. 694.]

read⁴." Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Fieri non potest, ut qui jugiter cœlestis doctrinæ verba excipit, nihil patiatur*:

"It cannot possibly be, but the man, that continually receiveth the words of the heavenly doctrine, must of force be moved," and feel somewhat in his heart.

M. HARDING: Ninth Division.

The dangers and hurts, which the common people's reading of the scriptures in their own language bringeth, after the opinion of those that reprove the same, be great, sundry, and many. I will here, as it were, but touch a few of them, leaving the whole matter itself to the judgment of the church. First, seeing the poison of heretics doth most infect the common people, and all heretics draw their venom out of the Bible, under pretence of God's word: it is not thought good by these men, to let every curious ^aand busybody of the vulgar sort, to read and examine the Bible in their common language. ^bYet they would not the learned, discreet, and sober laymen to be imbarred of that liberty.

Again, if heresy spring of wrong understanding, not of the

a Curious busybody of the vulgar sort.
b Contradiction. For how can the sober layman read the scriptures, if they be not translated into his barbarous vulgar tongue?

³ [The Synodical Epistle, from whence this passage is taken, was written by St. Athanasius, as Theodoret reports.]

⁴ [This sermon is not St. Augustine's; it will be found in written by St. Alcuin de Virtutibus et Vitiis.]

De Trinitate, scriptures, (as Hilarius saith, "Heresy is of understanding, not of
 lib. 2. [p. 789.] scripture; and the sense, not the word, is a crime,") who shall
 sooner fall to heresy than the common people, who cannot un-
 derstand that they read? Verily, it seemeth a thing hard to be-
 lieve, that the unlearned people should understand that, which
 the best learned men, with long study and great travail, can
 scarcely at length attain.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

O, what dangerous cases here are imagined, and all to
 fray the people from God's word! "If the ignorant read
 the scriptures," saith M. Harding, "they will prove here-
 tics. For heretics suck their venom out of the scriptures." The
 conclusion hereof is this: "Every of the people may
 safely read M. Harding's word: but God's word they may
 not read. There is no manner danger in M. Harding's
 book: but God's book is full of dangers." The reason
 hereof it is hard to guess: unless it be, for that God's book
 is full of truth, and M. Harding's book is full of error.

That he here calleth heresy, is the everlasting and mani-
 fest truth of God: which, when it was first preached and
 published by St. Paul, was likewise even then called
 "heresy." For thus St. Paul answereth in his own de-
 fence: *Secundum hanc sectam, quam vocant hæresim, colo* Acts xxiv. 14.
patrium Deum: "According to this sect, which they call
 heresy, I worship the God of my fathers."

But if the lay people, whom M. Harding for his pleasure
 calleth "curious busybodies of the vulgar sort," may easily
 be led into heresies by reading the scriptures, for that they
 be unlearned, how then happened it, that M. Harding
 himself, being a man so deeply trained in all kind of learn-
 ing, could so lightly be led into the same? I trow, he was
 then no curious busybody. Doubtless he was none of the
 vulgar sort.

In the primitive church, and long after the apostles'
 time, there were sundry sects and sorts of heresies, as it is
 plain by St. Augustine, Epiphanius, Theodoretus, and
 others. Yet, that notwithstanding, the ancient fathers then
 evermore called upon the people, and exhorted them to
 read the scriptures, to the intent they might the better

avoid heresies. For Irenæus, writing against the heretics called *Valentiniani*, saith thus: *Hæc omnia contulit eis scripturarum.....Dei ignorantia*: "All this befell unto them, because they knew not the scriptures." As Christ also saith unto the Sadducees: *Erratis nescientes scripturas*: "Ye are deceived" (not because ye know, but) "because ye know not the scriptures." So St. Hierom saith: *Omni studio legendæ nobis sunt scripturæ, ut probati trapezitæ sciamus, quis nummus probus sit, quis adulter*: "We must read the scriptures with all diligence, that, as being good exchangers, we may know the lawful coin from the copper." So Chrysostom: *Manichæi, et omnes hæreses.....decipiunt simplices. Sed si habuerimus sensus animæ exercitatos ad discretionem boni et mali, poterimus hujusmodi discernere. Quomodo autem fiunt sensus nostri exercitati? Ex usu scripturarum, et frequenti auditione*: "The Manichees, and all heresies deceive the simple. But, if we have the senses of our minds practised to discern good and ill, we may be able to discern them. But how may our senses become practised? By the use of the scriptures, and often hearing." Likewise saith Theophylact: *Illis, qui scrutantur divinas scripturas, nihil potest illudere. Illæ enim sunt lucerna, qua fur deprehenditur*: "Nothing can deceive them that search the holy scriptures. For that is the candle whereby the thief is espied⁵." This judgment had the old catholic fathers, of reading the holy word of God. But, that a blind man can better avoid dangers than he that seeth: or, that a naked man, in the midst of his enemies, can better acquit himself than he that is armed, it seemeth a very unsensible and an unlikely doctrine.

M. HARDING: *Tenth Division.*

Whereas Luther would the scriptures to be translated into every vulgar tongue, for that they be light and easy to understand, he is confuted by the scripture itself. For both St. Peter, and also St. Paul, acknowledgeth in them to be great difficulties, by occasion whereof some misconstrue them to their own dam- 2 Pet. lii. 16.

⁵ [Theophylact. Τῶν δὲ γραφῶν λύχνος καὶ φῶς, καὶ τούτου φαίνονται ἔρευραμένων οὐδὲν ἰσχυροῦς τὸς ὁ κλέπτης φαίνεται.]
τοιούτων σοφισθῆναι, αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰσι.

Tim. i. 7. nation, some understand not what things they speak, nor of what
 2 Cor. iv. 3. things they affirm: and to some the gospel that St. Paul preached is hidden, even to them which perish. If the scriptures were plain, how erred Arius? how Macedonius? how Eunomius? how Nestorius? how many mo men of great learning? specially seeing they all took occasion of their errors of the scriptures not rightly understood?

Luther saith, "that St. Hierom was overseen in the understanding of the scripture, that St. Augustine erred in the same, that St. Ambrose, Cyprian, Hilary, Basil, and Chrysostom, the best learned doctors of Christ's church, were oftentimes deceived." And yet in the preface of his book, *De Captivitate Babylonica*, he speaketh of them very honourably, and granteth, "that they have laboured in the Lord's vineyard worthily, and that they have employed great diligence in opening the scriptures." If these being of so excellent learning, after long exercise in the holy letters, after long study and watch, after long and fervent prayer, after mortification of themselves, and purgation of carnal affections, were deceived, as he witnesseth: how can he say, they are clear, plain, and easy to be understood? And if these worthy fathers were deceived in one point or two, is it not likely, the common people may be deceived in many, specially their diligence and study not being comparable to theirs; and their lives not being such, as the cleanness of their inward affects might lighten their understanding, and the anointing of God might teach them?

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Certain places in the scriptures have evermore been
 judged dark, both for many other causes, and also for the
 matter itself, and for the deep mysteries therein contained:
 which thing D. Luther also hath confessed in sundry
 places. But unto them that have eyes, and cannot see,
 and delight more in darkness than in the light, the sun-
 beams may seem dark. The prophet Osee saith: *Rectæ* Hosea xlv. 9.
viæ Domini: prævaricatores autem corruent in eis:
 "The ways of the Lord be straight:.....but the wicked
 shall fall in them." Therefore Cyrillus saith: *Ea, quæ* Cyrillus in
 Johan. lib. 14.
perspicua sunt, difficilia fiunt hæreticis: "The things
 that of themselves are plain, unto heretics are made
 dark⁶."

But in these cases, the Spirit of God is bound neither to

⁶ [There is a false print in the only twelve books of Commentary reference to St. Cyrill, who wrote on St. John.]

sharpness of wit, nor to abundance of learning. Oftentimes the unlearned seeth that thing that the learned cannot see. Christ saith: "I thank thee, O Father, the Lord of heaven and earth, for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and the politic, and hast revealed the same unto the little ones." Therefore Epiphanius saith: *Solis Spiritus Sancti filiis facilis est omnis scriptura, et dilucida*: "Only to the children of the Holy Ghost, all the holy scriptures are plain and clear."

Epiphanius,
lib. 2.

Albertus
Pigghius, in
Privata
Missæ.

In Concilio
Selectorum
Cardinalium.
[Crabbe, iii.
819.]

Psalm cxix.
105.

Psalm xix. 8.

Chrysost. in
2 Thessa-
lonic. hom. 3.
[xi. 528.]

Clemens
Alexandrin.
in Oratione
adhortatoria
ad Gentes.
[i. 72.]

Irenæus, lib.
2. cap. 46.
[p. 155.]

Origen. in
Exodum,
hom. 9. [ii.
162.]

Hereof M. Harding seemeth to conclude thus: There be certain dark places in the scriptures: *ergo*, the scriptures are full of darkness. This is a guileful kind of reasoning, known unto children, called *fallacia a secundum quid ad simpliciter*. In like form of argument he might have said: "Albertus Pigghius granteth, there be certain errors in the mass: *ergo*, the mass is full of errors." Or thus: "The cardinals themselves confess, there be certain abuses in the church of Rome: *ergo*, the church of Rome is full of abuses." Certainly, notwithstanding a few certain places in the holy scriptures be obscure, yet generally, "the scriptures are a candle to guide our feet:" generally, "God's commandment is light, and lighteth the eyes," and therefore generally the word of God is full of comfort. Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Omnia clara et plana sunt in scripturis divinis: quæcunque necessaria sunt, manifesta sunt*: "All things are clear and plain in the holy scriptures. Whatsoever thing there is necessary for us, is also manifest." So saith Clemens Alexandrinus: *Audite, qui estis longe: audite, qui prope: nullis celatum est verbum. Lux est communis: omnibus illucescit hominibus: nullus est in verbo cymmerius*: "Hearken ye, that be far off: hearken ye, that be near. The word of God is hid from no man: it is a light common unto all men: there is no darkness in God's word." So Irenæus: *Scripturæ.....in aperto sunt, et sine ambiguitate: et similiter ab omnibus audiri possunt*: "The scriptures are plain, and without doubtfulness, and may be heard indifferently of all men." So the old father Origen: *.....Clausum est negligentibus: invenitur autem a querentibus et pulsantibus*: "It is shut

from the negligent : but it is opened unto them that seek and knock for it." So St. Hierom : *Dominus per evangelium suum loquutus est, non ut pauci intelligerent, sed ut omnes* : "The Lord hath spoken by his gospel : not that a few should understand him, but that all." So saith Fulgentius : *In scripturis divinis [l. in verbo Dei] abundat, et quod robustus [l. perfectus] comedit, et quod parvulus sugat* : "In the scriptures of God there is plenty sufficient, both for the strong to eat, and also for the little one to suck." To be short, so St. Gregory saith : *Est flumen,.....in quo agnus ambulet, et elephas natet* : "It is a flood wherein the little lamb may wade, and the great elephant may swim⁷."

Hieronym. in Psal. lxxxvi. [l. 350.]

Fulgentius in Serm. de Confessorib. [sub init.]

Gregor. in Epist. ad Leandrum. [l. p. 6.]

Thus, notwithstanding certain clauses and sentences in the holy scriptures be hard and dark, yet, by these holy fathers' judgments, the scriptures generally are easy and clear.

But M. Harding, upon a false position, maketh up the like conclusion. For thus he saith : "The scriptures are dark : therefore the people may not read them." Verily, as he would violently take the scriptures from the simple, because, as he saith, they understand them not : so by the same force he may take the scriptures from all the old doctors and learned fathers : because, as it appeareth by their dissension, and by M. Harding's own confession, they understood them not.

M. HARDING : Eleventh Division.

And, lest all the unlearned lay people should seem hereby utterly rejected from hope of understanding God's word without teaching of others, it may be granted, that it is not impossible, a man (be he never so unlearned) exercised in long prayer, accustomed to fervent contemplation, being brought by God into his inward cellars, may from thence obtain the true understanding and interpretation of the holy scriptures, no less than any other always brought up in learning. Of what sort St. Antony that holy and perfect man the eremite of Egypt was. Who, as St. Augustine writeth, without any knowledge of letters, both scanned the scriptures by heart with hearing, and understood them wisely with thinking. And that holy man whom St. Gregory speaketh of, who lying bedrid many years for sickness of

Psalm lxxii.

Prologo in libros de Doctrina Christiana. lib. 3.]

⁷ [See vol. ii. p. 119, note 62.]

body, through earnest prayer and devout meditation, obtained health of mind and understanding of the scriptures, never having learned letters, so as he was able to expound them to those that came to visit him : who coming unto him with pretence to bring comfort, through his heavenly knowledge, received comfort. But among the people, how great number is there of lewd losels, gluttons and drunkards, whose belly is their god, who follow their unruly lusts ? Is it to be thought, this sort of persons may, without meditation and exercise of prayer, pierce the understanding of the scriptures, and of those holy mysteries which God hath hidden (as Christ confesseth) from the learned and wise men,—(and opened unto little ones) ?

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding alloweth these, whom he calleth “curious busybodies of the vulgar sort,” to attain to the understanding of God’s word, not by reading, but only by special revelation and miracle, and none otherwise : and that, within the space of a thousand years, one or two only, and no mo. For so St. Antony attained unto the knowledge thereof, utterly without any book, or reading, or any other help of understanding. So that sick man lying bedrid, of whom St. Gregory maketh that worthy mention. So that barbarous and utterly unlearned slave, that suddenly by revelation was taught to read. And so likewise perhaps M. Harding himself, being so long a time, and so earnest a preacher of the same gospel and truth of God that he now so wilfully condemneth, without either book, or reading, or other conference, only upon the change of the prince, and none otherwise, understood that thing, that before he could not understand : and by miracle and revelation, upon the sudden, was wholly altered unto the contrary.

Augustinus
in Prologo
de Doctrina
Christiana.
[iii. 3.]

Augustinus
in eodem
Prologo.
[ibid.]

- Matt. xvi. 17. True it is, flesh and blood is not able to understand the holy will of God, without special revelation : therefore,
- Matt. xi. 25. Christ gave thanks unto his Father, “for that he had revealed his secrets unto the little ones :” and likewise,
- Luke xxiv. 45. “opened the hearts of his disciples, that they might understand the scriptures.” Without this special help and prompting of God’s holy Spirit, the word of God is unto the reader, be he never so wise or well learned, as the

vision of a sealed book. But this revelation is not special unto one or two, but general to all them that be the members of Christ, and are endued with the Spirit of God. Therefore St. Chrysostom saith generally unto all the people: *Audite, quotquot estis mundani, et uxoribus præ-* Chrysost. in Epist. ad Coloss. hom. 9. [xi. 390.]
estis ac liberis, quemadmodum vobis apostolus Paulus præ-
cipiat legere scripturas, idque non simpliciter, neque obiter,
sed magna cum diligentia: “Hearken all ye men of the world, that have wives and children, how St. Paul the apostle of Christ commandeth you to read the scriptures, and that not slightly, or as by the way, but with great diligence⁸.” Again he saith: *Domi Biblia in manus sumite:.....domi vacemus divinarum scripturarum lectioni:* The people commanded by God to read the scriptures. Chrysost. in Genesim. hom. 29. [lv. 287.]
 “Take the Bible into your hands in your houses at home. At home in our houses let us apply the reading of the holy scriptures.” So likewise saith St. Hierom: *Hic ostenditur,* † Hieronym. in Epist. ad Coloss. cap. 3. [v. 1074.]
verbum Christi, non sufficienter, sed abundanter etiam laicos habere debere, et docere se invicem, vel monere: “Here we are taught, that the lay people ought to have the word of God, not only sufficiently, but also with abundance, and to teach and counsel others.”

But amongst these busybodies of the vulgar sort, M. Harding findeth a great number of losels, gluttons, and drunkards: whose belly is their God. Thus he nameth the part: but he meaneth the whole. For even so writeth Hosius one of the chief of that company: *Non est consilium in vulgo, non ratio, non discrimen* [*l. disciplina*]: “In this vulgar sort, there is neither counsel, nor reason, nor discretion.” And further he calleth the flock of Christ, *belluam multorum capitum*: “a wild beast of many heads:” as M. Harding also a little before calleth them “swine,” and others call them “filthy dogs.” Even so the Pharisees judged and spake of the simple people that followed Christ: *Turba ista, quæ non novit legem, maledicti sunt*: “These rabbles of rascals, that” (are unlearned and) “know not the law, are accursed.” In such regard they have them, whom St. Paul calleth, *cives sanctorum, et* Hosius, lib. 2. contra Brentium. [fol. 163. col. 1.]
In the seventh Division.
John vii. 49.
Ephes. ii. 19.

⁸ [Chrysost. in Coloss. See the original printed, vol. ii. p. 101, note ⁵¹.]

domesticos Dei: "citizens with the saints, and of the household of God."

If looseness of life be a just cause to banish the people from the word of God, it is commonly thought, that the cardinals and priests in Rome live as loosely as any others. St. Bernard of the priests of his time writeth thus: *Non est jam dicere, Ut populus, sic sacerdos: quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos*: "We may not now say, As is the people, so is the priest. For the people is not so wicked, as is the priest." Therefore by M. Harding's judgment, the priests ought no less to be banished from God's word, than the rest of the people.

Bernardus
in Convers.
Pauli. [iii.
962.]

M. HARDING: *Twelfth Division.*

And, whereas learned men of our time be divided into contrary sects, and write bitterly one against another, each one imputing to other mistaking of the scriptures: if amongst them, who would seem to be the leaders of the people, be controversies and debates about the understanding of the scriptures, how may the common people be thought to be in safe case out of all danger of errors, if, by reading the Bible in their own tongue, they take the matter in hand?

The gospel-
lers divided
into contrar
sects.

If any man think I slander them, for that I say they be divided into contrary sects, let him understand, their own countrymen, I mean them of Germany, and special setters forth of this new doctrine, report it in their books, and complain lamentably of it. Namely, Nicolaus Amsdorffius, in his book entitled, *Publica Confessio puræ Doctrinæ Evangelii*, &c. Also Nicolaus Gallus, in his book of Theses and Hypotyposes: who acknowledgeth the strifes and debates that be amongst them, to be, not of light matters, but of high articles of Christian doctrine. For even so be his words in Latin: *Non sunt leves inter nos concertationes de rebus levibus, sed de sublimibus doctrinæ Christianæ articulis, de lege et evangelio*, &c. The same man in the last leaf of his foresaid book, with great vehemency reporteth, *Hereses permultas esse præ manibus, plerasque etiamnum hæere in calamo*: "That very many heresies be already in hand, and many as yet stick in the pen," as though he meant, they were ready to be set forth.

Of late there have been put forth in print two great books, one by the princes of Saxony, the other by the earls of Mansfield, chief maintainers of the Lutherans: in which be recited eleven sects, and the same as detestable heresies condemned: they are contained in this catalogue or roll: *Anabaptistæ, Servetiani, Stancariani, Antinomi, Jesuitæ, Osiandriani, Melancthonici, Majoristæ, Adiaphoristæ, Suenkfeldiani, Sacramentarii*. Albeit the Jesuits have wrong to be numbered among them. Thus much

is confessed of the sects and controversies of our new gospellers by their own princes, that stand in defence of the confession of Augsburg, and by two of the Lutheran superintendents.

No man hath so exactly declared to the world the number and diversity of the sects of our time, which hath sprung out of Martin Luther, as Fridericus Staphylus, a man of excellent learning, one of the emperor's council that now is, who might well have knowledge herein, forasmuch as he was a diligent student ten years at Wittenberg among the chief doctors of them, and for that time was of their opinion, and afterward by consideration of their manifold disagreeings and contentions within themselves induced to discredit them, and through the grace of God reduced to a whole mind, and to the catholic faith, and now remaineth a perfect member of the church. This learned man in his apology sheweth, that out of Luther have sprung three divers heresies or sects: the (208) anabaptists, the sacramentaries, and the confessionists, who made confession of their faith in open diet before the emperor Charles, the princes and states of Germany at Augsburg, *anno Domini* 1530, and for protestation of the same there, are called "protestants." Now he proveth further by testimony of their own writings, that the anabaptists be divided into six sects: (209) the sacramentaries into eight sects: (209) the confessionists, and they which properly are called protestants, into twenty sects, every one having his proper and particular name to be called and known by. This lamentable division of learned men into so many sects in the countries where the gospel (as they call it) hath these forty years, and is yet, most basely handled, may be a warning to the governors of Christendom, that they take good advisement, how they suffer the rude and rash people to have the scriptures common in their own tongue.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding, by the help of one Staphylus, a shameless renegade, hath made a long discourse of such differences in doctrine, as he imagineth to be among them that profess the gospel. And indeed, as the imperfection and want that is in man is naturally inclined unto some division, and that oftentimes in such cases, wherein ought to be greatest unity: even so the heretics, and the enemies of the truth, have evermore used to take hold thereof, the more to discredit and to deprave the whole. At the first preaching of the gospel by the apostles of Christ and other holy fathers, there grew up immediately with the same sundry sorts of sects, to the number of fourscore and ten, as they are reckoned in particular by St. Augustine, all

A vile renegade.

The 208th untruth. For the anabaptists sprang not of Luther: but were re-proved and condemned by Luther. The 209th untruth, inflamed with slander.

Fridericus Staphylus.

Protestants.

Protestants divided into twenty sects.

Augustin. ad Quodvult-deum.

flowing out of one spring, all professing one gospel, and all known by the name of Christ.

Yea sometimes the very lights of the world and the pillars of the church seemed to be divided by some dissension amongst themselves: St. Peter from St. Paul: St. Paul from Barnabas: St. Cyprian from Cornelius: St. Augustine from St. Hierom: St. Chrysostom from Epiphanius: the east part of the world from the west: doctors from doctors: fathers from fathers: church from church: and saints from saints. And hereof the heretics in old time, and other sworn enemies of God, took occasion, as M. Harding now doth, to deface the whole profession of the gospel, calling it a puddle and a sink of dissension. For these causes the heathens laughed at the Christians, and pointed at them in the market places⁸ with their fingers. So the renegade Julianus the emperor, the better to cloak his own infidelity, said, that Peter and Paul could not agree: Luke and Matthew dissented in Christ's genealogy: and that therefore the whole gospel of Christ was nothing else but error.

Oftentimes, of malice against God, they feigned dissension to be, whereas none was. So Marcion the renegade devised a great book of contrarieties between the New Testament and the Old⁹. The false apostles said, that St. Paul dissented from all the rest of his brethren: and oftentimes from himself. Even so, and with like truth, M. Harding seemeth now to charge the gospel of Christ with like dissension, following therein both the example and doctrine of Staphylus the renegade, that hath wilfully forsaken Christ, and is returned again to his old vomit. And being able so sharply to behold, how some one man hath in some case dissented from another, yet is he not able to see, how much he himself hath dissented from himself.

But having this eloquence and skill so largely to amplify these small quarrels of so little weight, what would he have been able to do, if he had been in the primitive church, and had seen all those hot and troublesome dissensions,

⁸ [. . . καὶ ἐν ἀγοραῖς θεάτροις.]

⁹ [Tertull. contra Marcion. " Nam hæ sunt antitheses Marci-
" onis, id est, contrariæ opposi-
" tiones, quæ conantur discordiam
" evangelii cum lege committere."]

Gal. ii. 11.
Acts xv. 39.

Socrates, lib.
1. cap. 6.
[ii. 14.]
Socrates, lib.
3. [ii. 203.]

Tertullian.
contra Mar-
cionem, lib.
1. et delin-
ceps. [cap.
19. p. 374.]

2 Pet. ii. 22.

that then were able to shake the world? What clouds and colours might he then have cast, to scorn at Christ, and to bring his gospel out of credit?

Doubtless, as he saith now, all these diversities spring only from doctor Luther, so would he then have said, all these former diversities, and sundry forms of heresies, sprang only from Christ. And hereof he would have concluded, as he doth now, that the rude and rash people should in no wise be suffered to read the scriptures.

Howbeit, touching these thirty-four several sects, that Staphylus by his inquisition and cunning hath found out in Germany, it must needs be confessed, they are marvellous poor and very simple sects. For in that whole country, where they are supposed to dwell, they have neither name to be known by, two or three only excepted, nor church to teach in, nor house to dwell in. But Staphylus may have leave to speak untruth, for that he hath not yet learned to speak otherwise.

Hereof M. Harding may conclude thus: The learned sometimes mistake the scriptures, and are deceived: *ergo*, the learned ought to be banished from reading the scriptures. For all these fantastical imaginations of opinions and sects pertain only to the learned sort, and nothing to the lay people.

And that the learned, either through ignorance or through affection, may be misled no less than others, it may easily appear both by all these former examples, and also by these words of God in the book of Exodus: *Nec in judicio plurimorum acquiesces sententiæ*: ^{Exod. xxiii. 2.} "In judgment thou shalt not hearken to the mind of the mo." Which words Lyra expoundeth thus: *Plurimorum, id est, doctorum*: "Of the mo, that is to say, of the learned sort"¹⁰.

Certainly the learned fathers have evermore thought, that in such perilous times of dissension in judgment, it is most behoveful for the people, to have recourse unto the scriptures. When Paul and Silas preached at Berea, ^{Acts xvii. 11.} the people there daily searched and considered the scriptures, to know whether that they preached were true, or

¹⁰ [Lyra says that the word רבנים is equivocal, and may mean either "plurimi" or "magistri."]

no. Chrysostom expounding these words, "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place," writeth thus :*Ideo mandat, ut Christiani.....*

Chrysostom.
in Opere
Imperfecto.
hom. 49. [vi.
204.]

volentes firmitatem accipere fidei veræ, ad nullam rem fugiant, nisi ad scripturas : alioqui, si ad alia respexerint, scandalizabuntur, et peribunt, non intelligentes, quæ sit vera ecclesia : et per hoc incident in abominationem desolationis, quæ stat in sanctis ecclesiæ locis : " Therefore he commandeth that Christian men, that will be assured of the true faith, resort unto nothing else, but only unto the scriptures : for else, if they have regard to any other thing, they shall be offended, and shall perish, not knowing which is the true church : and by mean thereof they shall fall into the abomination of desolation, that standeth in the holy places of the church." In like sort writeth Origen upon

Origen. in
Matt. cap.
24. [ed. Basil.
tom. ii. 163.]

the same place : *Animæ imperitæ verbi justitiæ, quia facile seducuntur, non possunt inseducibiliter permanere in conspectu abominationis desolationis stantis in loco sancto :* " The souls that be unskilful of the word of justice, because they are easily deceived, cannot stand without error in the sight of the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place." St. Hierom saith : *In adventu Messicæ,*

Hieronym.
in Prophet.
Nahum, cap.
3. [iii. 1590.]

populus, qui sub magistris fuerat consopitus, ibit ad montes scripturarum : ibique inveniet montes Mosen,.....montes Prophetas, montes Novi Testamenti.....Et in tabium montium lectione versatus, si non invenerit, qui doceat,.....tamen illius studium comprobabitur, quod confugerit ad montes :

" At the coming of Christ, the people, that was laid asleep under their teachers, shall go to the mountains of the scriptures : there shall they find these mountains, Moses, the Prophets, and the New Testament. And being occupied in the reading of these mountains, notwithstanding they find no man to teach them, yet shall their good will be well allowed, for that they have fled unto the mountains." So St. Basil : *Divinæ scripturæ faciunt ad certitudinem bonorum, et ad confusionem malorum :* " The holy

Basiliius Mo-
rallium, 26.
cap. i. [ii.
256.]

scriptures are able both to confirm the godly, and also to confound the ungodly." So Chrysostom : *Nec ipsis omnino ecclesiis credendum est, nisi ea dicant, vel faciant, quæ convenientia sint scripturis :* " We may in no wise believe the

Chrysost. in
Matt. [Op.
Imperf.]
hom. 49. [vi.
209.]

churches themselves, unless they say and do such things as be agreeable to the scriptures.”

M. HARDING : *Thirteenth Division.*

The peril of it is known by sundry examples, both of times past, and also of this present age. For out of this root hath sprung the sect of the Valdenses, otherwise called *Pauperes de Lugduno*. For Valdo a merchant of Lyons, their first author, of whom they were named Valdenses, being an unlearned layman, procured certain books of the scripture to be translated into his own language, which when he used to read, and understood not, he fell into many errors. Of the same well-spring issued the filthy puddles of the sects called “Adamitæ” or “Picardi,” “Bogardi,” and “Turelupini :” and of late years, beside the same sect of Adamites newly revived, also the Anabaptists, and Schwenkfeldians. Wherefore that edict, or proclamation of the worthy princes Ferdinando and Elizabeth, king and queen of Spain, is of many much commended, by which they gave strait commandment, that under great penalties no man should translate the Bible into the vulgar Spanish tongue, and that no man should be found to have the same translated in any wise. These and the like be the reasons and considerations, which have moved many men to think, the setting forth of the whole Bible, and of every part of the scripture in the vulgar tongue, for all sorts of persons to read without exception or limitation, to be a thing not necessary to salvation, nor otherwise convenient nor profitable, but contrariwise, dangerous and hurtful.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The story of Valdo is here brought in upon the report and credit of friar Alphonsus. Touching which Valdo, whether he were learned or unlearned, it forceth not greatly. Origen saith, *Vide quam prope periculis sint hi, qui negligunt exerceri in divinis literis : ex quibus solis hujusmodi examinationis agnoscenda discretio est :* “Mark, how near unto danger they be, that refuse to exercise themselves in the scriptures. For thereby only the judgment of this trial must be known.” If he were learned, then is this no true report : if he were unlearned, then was God’s work so much the greater : who, as St. Paul saith, oftentimes chooseth the weak things of the world, to condemn the strong : and the foolish things of the world, to reprove the wise.

The greatest heresies, that he maintained, stood in re-proving the idolatrous worshipping of images : of extreme

Alphonsus
de Hæresib.
lib. 1. cap.
13.
Ad Roman.
lib. 10. cap.
16. [ed. Basil.
ii. 740.]

1 Cor. i. 27.

Alphonsus de Hæresib. [pp. 572. 240. 303. 646. 578. 888. 996.]
Bartholomæus Abramus Creten. in Concil. Ferrariën.

unction : of exorcisms and conjurations : of ear confessions : of unseemly singing in the church : of feigned miracles : of the idle and slanderous lives of priests and bishops : of the lives and manners of the church of Rome : of the outrage and tyranny of the pope : of monks, friars, pardons, pilgrimages, and purgatory. And, notwithstanding the reprov- ing hereof were then judged heresy, yet sithence that time infinite numbers of godly men have received it as God's undoubted truth, and M. Harding in part hath yielded unto the same¹⁰.

He added further, "Out of this well-spring of Valdo issued forth the Anabaptists and the Schwenkfeldians." I marvel M. Harding can either speak so unadvisedly, or so soon forget what he hath spoken. For immediately before he wrote thus : "Out of Luther have sprung three diverse heresies, the anabaptists, the sacramentaries, and the confessionists." If the anabaptists sprang out of Valdo, and were so long before Luther, how could they then afterward spring out of Luther? If they sprang first out of Luther, how were they then before Luther? By this report, the father is younger than the child : and the child was born before the father. These be mere monsters in speech, and contradictions in nature. If the one of these reports be true, the other of necessity must needs be false. But M. Harding taketh it for no great inconvenience, whatsoever may help to deface the truth.

The proclamation of Ferdinandus and Elizabeth, the kings¹¹ of Spain, for not translating the Bible into the Spanish tongue, as it is of very small authority, being made within these threescore and ten years, that is to say, well-near fifteen hundred years after Christ : so it is likely, it was first devised, not against the Christian people of that country, but only against the renegade Jews there : who, by dissimulation and fear of the law, being become Christians, afterward returned again to their old errors, and

Furius ; Bononia de Transferendis Scripturis.

¹⁰ [Bartholomæus Abramus Creten. was the translator of the Acts of the Council of Ferrara and Florence, but it is difficult to say, for what purpose his name is placed in the margin.]

¹¹ [So Bacon also calls "Ferdinand and Isabella kings of Spain," as possessing each an independent kingdom. See the Lord Chancellor's announcement of the capture of Grenada, Life of Henry 7th.]

both by their example, and also by misunderstanding of certain places of the scriptures, hardened and confirmed others in the same. Against whom also was devised the Spanish inquisition, and that by the same princes, and at the same time. So Julianus the renegade emperor thought it good policy, to suffer no Christian man's child to be set to school. So the wicked princes Antiochus and Maximinus for like policy, burnt the books of God, to the intent the people should not read them.

But the godly and first christened emperor Constantinus caused the Bible to be written out, and to be sent abroad into all kingdoms, countries, and cities of his dominion. King Adelstane, the king of England, caused the Bible to be translated into the English tongue. St. Hierom translated the same into the Slavon tongue: Ulphilas likewise into the Gothian tongue. Whereto Socrates addeth also these words: *Instituit barbaros, ut discerent sacra eloquia*: "He gave occasion to the barbarous people of that country, to learn the scriptures."

Sozomen.
lib. 5. cap. 17.
[cap. 18. il.
207.]
1 Mac. 1. 56.

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

Socrates,
lib. 4. cap. 27.
[cap. 33. il.
256.]

M. HARDING: Fourteenth Division.

Yet it is not meant by them, that the people be kept wholly from the scripture, so as they read no part of it at all. As the whole in their opinion is too strong a meat for their weak stomachs: so much of it they may right wholesomely receive and brook, as that which pertaineth to piety and necessary knowledge of a Christian man. Wherein they would the examples of the old holy fathers to be followed. St. Augustine hath gathered together into one book, all that maketh for good life out of the scriptures, which book he entitled *Speculum*: that is to say, "a mirror," or "a looking-glass," as Posidonius witnesseth in his Life. St. Basil hath set forth the like argument almost in his fourscore moral rules pertaining altogether to good manners. St. Cyprian also hath done the like in his three books *Ad Quirinum*. Such godly books they think to be very profitable for the simple people to read.

What parts
of the scrip-
tures apper-
tain to the
people to
know.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding alloweth the people to read the scriptures: howbeit, not what they list, but with restraint, and at delivery: that is to say, not cases of question or pertaining to knowledge, but only matters belonging to manners

and order of life. And so he reserveth knowledge to himself and his brethren: and leaveth good life unto the people. Touching the books of St. Augustine, St. Basil, and St. Cyprian, it is untrue that they were written namely and purposely for the unlearned: or if they were, why are they not translated? why are they not delivered unto the people, for whose sakes they were written?

Moreover, it is untrue that in these books is contained only matter of life and manners, and nothing pertaining to religion. For the first words in this book of St. Augustine called *Speculum*, are these: *Non facies tibi sculptile*: "Thou shalt make to thyself no graven image:" which is now a special case of religion. And the greatest part of St. Cyprian's book, *Ad Quirinum*, containeth a full disputation of Christ's incarnation, nativity, and passion, and other like cases of religion against the Jews. Touching St. Basil, as he wrote this book of morals, concerning manners; so he had written another book before, concerning faith: and both these books for the people. He maketh his entry into his *Morals* with these words: *Cum de sana fide in præcedentibus sufficienter ad præsens dictum esse putemus*, &c.: "Forasmuch as I think I have entreated sufficiently in my former books concerning faith¹¹," &c. Therefore this assertion was untrue, and so no firm ground for M. Harding to stand upon. Neither did any of the old fathers ever withdraw the people from the universal and free reading of God's word, and restrain them only to such short collections. St. Basil saith: "The scriptures are like unto a shop full of medicines for the soul, whereas every man may freely take, not only one kind of salve, but also a special and a peculiar remedy for every sore." And Irenæus saith: *De omni ligno paradisi manducate: id est, ab omni scriptura divina* [i. *dominica*] *manducate*.....: "Eat ye of all the fruit of paradise: that is to say, eat ye" (not only of matters concerning manners, but also) "of every part of the holy scriptures." Howbeit,

[Cyprian.
Test. adv.
Judæos, ad
Quirin. p.
274.]

[Basil. ii.
229.]

Basilius in
Psalmum
primum. [i.
90.]

Irenæus,
lib. 5. [cap.
Omnes. p.
317.]

¹¹ [Basil. In the Bened. ed. these words are printed at the conclusion of the treatise *De Fide*, which immediately precedes the *Moralia*.]

by M. Harding's judgment, the people may learn the ten commandments, but may not meddle with their creed.

M. HARDING: *Fifteenth Division.*

But how much and what part of the scripture the common people may read for their comfort and necessary instruction, and by whom the same may be translated, it belongeth to the judgment of the church: which church hath already condemned all the vulgar translations of the Bible of late years, (210) for that they be found in sundry places erroneous, and partial in favour of the heresies, which the translators maintain. And it hath not only in our time condemned these late translations, but also hitherto never allowed those few of old time, I mean St. Hierom's translation into the Dalmatical tongue, if ever any such was by him made, as to some it seemeth a thing not sufficiently proved: and that which, before St. Hierom, Ulphilas an Arian bishop, made and commended to the nation of the Goths: who first invented letters for them, and proponed the scriptures to them translated into their own tongue, and the better to bring his ambassade to the emperor Valens to good effect, was persuaded by the heretics of Constantinople, and of the court there, to forsake the catholic faith, and to communicate with the Arians, making promise also to travail in bringing the people of his country to the same sect, which at length he performed most wickedly.

The 210th untruth, raised only of despite and slander

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding alloweth the people to read certain parcels of the scriptures for their comfort: but yet he alloweth them no translation: that is to say, he alloweth them to eat the kernel, but in no wise to break the shell. By these it appeareth, that of sufferance and special favour, the simple ignorant people may read the word of God in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew: but none otherwise.

The church, saith M. Harding, for the space wellnear of sixteen hundred years, never yet allowed any manner translation in the vulgar tongue. Yet notwithstanding, it is certain, that the church not only in the primitive time, under the apostles and holy fathers, but also long sithence hath both suffered, and also used the vulgar translations in sundry tongues. Whereof we may well presume, that the church then allowed them.

And that the scriptures were not only in these three tongues, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, it appeareth by

Hieronym. ad Eustoch. in Epitaphio Paulæ. [iv. pt. 2. 688.]
 Basilus in Epist. ad Neocæsar. [iii. 311.]
 Sulpitius in Vita Martini lib. i. [fol. v.]
 Isidorus de Eccles. Officiis, [lib. 1.] cap. 10.

St. Hierom, that saith, The psalms were translated and sung in the Syrian tongue: by St. Basil, that affirmeth the same, of the Palestine, Theban, Phenic, Arabic, and Lybic tongues: by Sulpitius in the life of St. Martin, that seemeth to say, The lessons and chapters were translated, and read openly in the churches of France in the French tongue: and by Isidorus, that avouched the like of all Christian tongues¹².

M. Harding misliketh the translation of Ulphilas into the Gothian tongue, for that the author was an Arian. Notwithstanding it appeareth not that ever the church misliked it. But, by this rule, he may as well condemn all the Greek translations whatsoever, of Symmachus, of Aquila, of Theodotion, and of the Septuagints, and the whole Hexaplus of Origen. For there is not one of all these but may be challenged in like sort.

Touching St. Hierom's translation of the Bible into the Slavon tongue, M. Harding seemeth to stand in doubt. Howbeit, Hosius his companion saith: *In Dalmaticam linguam sacros libros Hieronymum vertisse constat*: "It is certain, and out of doubt, that St. Hierom translated the Bible into the Slavon tongue." The like whereof is reported by Alphonsus. Neither can M. Harding shew us any error or oversight in that whole translation of St. Hierom: and therefore he seemeth to condemn that godly father, and yet knoweth no cause why.

"All late translations," saith he, "have been made in favour of heresies, and therefore they may worthily be mistrusted." But will these men never leave these childish colours, and deal plainly? If there be errors, and such errors, in these late translations, why do they not descry them? If there be none, why do they thus condemn them? But the greatest heresy that can be holden, and that toucheth them nearest, is the revealing of the usurped authority and tyranny of the church of Rome. For so it is determined by pope Nicolas: *Qui Romanæ ecclesiæ privilegium*

¹² [If the reference is correct, "... cum lectio legitur, facto this is only an inference from "silencio, æque audiatur a cunctis."]

Hosius de Sacro Vernaculo legendo. [fol. 262. col. 4.]

Alphonsus de Heres. lib. 1. cap. 13. [p. 83.]

Dist. 22. Omnes.

.....*auferre conatur, hic procul dubio in hæresim labitur, et.....est dicendus hæreticus*: "Whosoever attempteth to abridge the authority of the church of Rome, falleth doubtless into an heresy, and ought to be called an heretic."

M. HARDING: *Sixteenth Division.*

As for the church of this land of Britain, the faith hath continued in it thirteen hundred years until now of late, (211) without having the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue, to be used of all in common. Our Lord grant we yield no worse souls to God now, having the scriptures in our own tongue, and talking so much of the gospel, than our ancestors have done before us. "This island," saith Beda, (speaking of the estate the church was in at his days,) "at this present, according to the number of books that God's law was written in, doth search and confess one and the selfsame knowledge of the high truth, and of the true height, with the tongues of five nations, of the English, the Britons, the Scots, the Picts, and the Latins." *Quæ meditatione scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis*: "Which tongue of the Latins," saith he, "is for the study and meditation of the scriptures made common to all the other." Verily as the Latin tongue was then common to all the nations of this land, being of distinct languages, for the study of the scriptures, as Beda reporteth; so the same only hath always until our time been common to all the countries and nations of the Occidental or West church, for the same purpose, and thereof it hath been called the Latin church.

Wherefore to conclude, they that shew themselves so earnest and zealous for the translation of the scriptures into all vulgar and barbarous tongues, it behoveth them, after the opinion of wise men, to see first that no faults be found in their translations, (212) as hitherto many have been found. And a small fault, committed in the handling of God's word, is to be taken for a great crime. Next, that forasmuch as such translations pertain to all Christian people, they be referred to the judgment of the whole church of every language, and commended to the laity by the wisdom and authority of the clergy, having charge of their souls. Furthermore, that there be some choice, exception, and limitation of time, place, and persons, and also of parts of the scriptures, after the discreet ordinances of the Jews. Amongst whom it was not lawful that any should read certain parts of the Bible before he had fulfilled the time of the priestly ministry, which was the age of thirty years, as St. Hierom witnesseth. Lastly, that the setting forth of the scriptures in the common language, be not commended to the people as a thing utterly necessary to salvation, lest thereby they condemn so many churches that hitherto have lacked the same, and so many learned and godly fathers that have not procured it for their

The 211th untruth. For sundry parts of the Bible were translated into the English tongue by king Alured, by Cedman, and by Beda, as shall appear.

The 212th untruth, joined with a slander. If there were such faults, M. Harding would open them in particular.

Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. [cap. 1.]

Præfatione in Ezechielem. [iii. 698.]

flock : finally, all that have gone before us, to whom, in all virtue, innocency, and holiness of life, we are not to be compared. As for me, inasmuch as this matter is not yet determined by the church, whether the common people ought to have the scriptures in their own tongue to read and to hear, or no, I define nothing. As I esteem greatly all godly and wholesome knowledge, and wish the people had more of it than they have, with charity and meekness ; so I would that these hot talkers of God's word had less of that knowledge, which maketh a man to swell, and to be proud in his own conceit : and that they would deeply weigh with themselves whether they be not contained within the lists of the saying of St. Paul to the Corinthians : “ If 1 Cor. viii. 2. any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know.” God grant all our knowledge be so joined with meekness, humility, and charity, as that be not justly said of us, which St. Augustine, in the like case, said very dreadfully to his dear friend Alypius : *Surgunt indocti, et cælum rapiunt : et nos cum doctrinis nostris sine corde, ecce ubi volutamus in carne et sanguine ?* “ The unlearned and simple arise up, and catch heaven away from us ; and we, with all our great learning, void of heart, lo, where are we wallowing in flesh and blood ?”

Confess. lib.
8. cap. 8. [1.
152.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding seemeth secretly to grant that thing, which without blushing no man can deny : that is, that the scriptures long sithence, and in old times, have been translated into the natural speech of this country. But he addeth withal a poor exception, that, notwithstanding the translation were in English, yet it served not for English people. And yet for what people else it should serve, it were not easy to conjecture. Doubtless if they had meant, as these men do, to bar the English people from God's word, they would have kept it still, as it was before, in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, and would not have suffered any such translation.

The Bible in
English : and
yet not for
English
people.

But Beda himself, that wrote the story of this island, in these very words that M. Harding hath here alleged, seemeth to witness that the scriptures were then translated into sundry tongues, and that for the better understanding of the people. For thus he writeth : *Hæc insula.....quinque gentium linguis scrutatur unam eandemque scientiam veritatis* : “ This island searcheth out the knowledge of one truth with the tongues of five nations.” It is not

likely he would have written thus of five several tongues, if the scriptures had been written then only in one tongue. In like manner, and to like purpose, he writeth thus: *Quicumque gentium linguis unam eandemque veritatis scientiam scrutantur*: "Whosoever they be that search the knowledge of one truth," (not only in the Latin tongue, as M. Harding saith, but) *gentium linguis*, that is, "in the natural and vulgar tongues of this country¹³." Doubtless it were very much to say that the mere Englishman, or Scot, or Pict, or Briton, that understood no Latin, was able nevertheless to read and search the scriptures in the Latin tongue.

But to leave conjectures, Beda saith expressly, and in most plain words, that one Cedman, an English poet, translated the creation of the world, and the whole story of the Genesis and the Exodus, and sundry other stories of the Bible, into English rhyme¹⁴. Likewise, as it is said before, king Adelstane, about nine hundred years past, caused the whole Bible to be translated into English. And sir John Trevisa¹⁵ saith, that Beda himself turned St. John's Gospel into English. And again he saith, that king Aluredus caused the Psalter to be turned into English. And until this day there be divers such translations yet remaining to be seen, which, for many causes, bear good proof of great antiquity. Therefore that this island hath continued thirteen hundred years without having the scriptures in English, it can bear no manner appearance or show of truth.

But being admitted, and granted for true, if prescription of want may make good proof, then may we say, This island stood and continued four thousand whole years, not only without the English Bible, but also without any knowledge of Christ or God. Likewise we may truly say,

¹³ [The Editor is unable to trace this quotation from Bede. It seems as if Jewel had found somewhere the reading "quicumque" instead of "quinque;" for the passage which he had just quoted is nearly identical in other respects.]

¹⁴ [The Paraphrase of Genesis &c. in Anglo-Saxon was publish-

ed by Junius, 1655. Usserii Hist. Dogm. de Sacris Vernaculis.]

¹⁵ [John de Trevisa (called Sir John by Jewel, because he was vicar of Barkeley) translated the Polychronicon of "Dan Ranulph monke of Chester." See Wynkyn de Woorde's Prohemye to his ed. 1495, (in the Bodleian.)]

Beda in Hist. Anglorum, lib. 1. cap. 1.

Beda in Hist. Angl. lib. 5. cap. 22. [lib. 4. cap. 24.]

Adelstane.

Johan. Trevisa, lib. 5. cap. 24.

Johan. Trevisa, lib. 6. cap. 1.

The gospel and the truth of God stood and continued in this island for the space of many hundred years, without either the supremacy of Rome, or transubstantiation, or private masses, or any other like phantasies.

True it is, our fathers of late years have been led in ignorance, and have been violently forced from the scriptures. But the examples and wants of our fathers are not always sufficient rules of faith. The heretic Eutyches said: *Sic a progenitoribus meis accipiens credidi: in hac fide genitus sum, et consecratus Deo: et in ea opto mori:* "This faith have I received from mine ancestors: in this faith I was born and baptized: and in the same I desire to die." And yet the same faith was an error, and no faith. So said the Arian heretic Auxentius: *Quemadmodum ab infantia edoctus sum, ita credidi, et credo:* "As I have been taught from my childhood, so I have believed, and so I believe still." So likewise the idolatrous Jews said unto the prophet Jeremiah: *Sic fecimus nos, et patres nostri: reges nostri, et principes nostri: et saturati sumus panibus, et bene nobis erat:* "Thus have we done, and our fathers before us; and our kings, and our princes. And we had store and plenty of all things, and a merry world, and did full well." But God saith unto them: *In statutis patrum vestrorum nolite ambulare, &c. Ego Dominus Deus vester:* "Walk not in the statutes of your fathers. I am the Lord your God."

Howbeit we sit not in judgment to condemn our fathers: God only is their judge. St. Paul saith: *Solidum Dei fundamentum stat, habens hoc signaculum, Novit Dominus, qui sint sui:* "This foundation standeth sound, having this seal, The Lord knoweth who be his own." God was able to preserve the bush in the midst of the flame; and Daniel in the cave in the midst of the lions; and the three children in the midst of the furnace of flaming fire; and his people of Israel in the midst of the Red sea: even so was he able to preserve his own in the midst of that deadly time of darkness. St. Cyprian saith: *Ignosci potuit simpliciter erranti. Post inspirationem vero, et revelationem factam, qui in eo, quod erraverat, perseverat, sine venia ignorantiae peccat. Præsumptione enim atque obstinatione*

Concil. Chalced. act. 1.
[vi. 632.]

Hilarius in
Epist. Auxentii, [p.
1270.]

Jer. xlv. 17.

Ezek. xx. 18.

2 Tim. ii. 19.

Exod. iii. 2.

Dan. vi. 23.

Dan. iii. 25.

Exod. xiv. 22.

superatur: "He that erreth of simplicity" (as our fathers did) "may be pardoned: but after that God hath once inspired the heart, and revealed his truth, whoso continueth still in his error, offendeth without pardon of ignorance. For he is overborne by presumption and wickedness."

Upon these words of Beda, M. Harding concludeth thus: "The Latin tongue for the study of the scriptures was common to all nations of this realm: *ergo*, the scriptures were not translated into English." A very child may soon see the simplicity and the weakness of this reason. For even now, notwithstanding the whole Bible be translated into the English tongue, extant in every church, and common to all the people, yet the Latin tongue is nevertheless common to all the nations of this land, for the reading of old commentaries and the ancient doctors, and so for the meditation and study of the scriptures.

Now let us weigh M. Harding's considerations in this behalf. First, if there had any faults escaped in the English translation, as he untruly saith there have many, he would not thus have passed them uncontrolled. He lacked neither eloquence nor good will to speak; but only good matter to speak of.

Secondly, the scriptures translated into English have² been delivered unto the people by such bishops and other spiritual guides as indeed have had a care for their souls, and have given their lives and blood for their sheep. But the bishops of M. Harding's side can only espy faults in translations; but they can amend none. They have burnt a great number of Bibles; but they have hitherto translated none. Christ's words are rightly verified of them: "Neither do you enter yourselves, nor will you suffer others, that would enter." For the highest principle of their religion is this, "Ignorance is the mother of true religion."

To limit and to diet the people, what they may read and what they ought to leave, was sometime the superstitious discretion of the rabbins¹⁵. Herein we may say as St. Hilary

¹⁵ [The evidence of St. Gregory Nazianz. is not much to Jewel's purpose; since he praises this dis-

cretion, and sees nothing superstitious in it.]

³ Origen. Prologo in Cantica Cantice. [iii. 26.] Nazianz. in Apologetico. [i. 35.]

Hilar. de U-
nitate Patris
et Filii. [p.
793.]

saith: *Archangeli nesciunt: angeli non audiverunt: ... propheta non sensit: ... Filius ipse non edidit:* "The archangels know it not: the angels have not heard it: the prophet hath not felt it: the Son of God himself hath revealed to us no such thing ¹⁶." Certainly now, the veil being drawn

² Cor. iii. 16.

¹⁸.

² Tim. iii. 16.

aside, and our faces being open to behold the glory of God, St. Paul saith: *Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis est, &c.* Not only one part of the scriptures, but "all, and every part thereof, is profitable," &c. And again:

Rom. xv. 4.

Quaecunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt: "All things that are written, are written for our instruction." And therefore Irenæus saith, as it is before alleged: *Ex omni scriptura divina manducate:* "Eat you of every part of the holy scripture."

Iren. lib. 5.
Ca. Omnes.
[p. 317.]

Chrysost. de
Lazaro Con-
cio. 3. [1.
740.]

Humility and good life, whereof M. Harding would seem to make some great account, is sooner learned of knowledge than of ignorance. Chrysostom saith: *Magna adversus peccatum munitio est scripturarum lectio: magnum præcipitium et profundum barathrum scripturarum ignorantio: nihil scire de divinis legibus, magna salutis perditio. Ea res et hæreses peperit, et vitam corruptam invexit: hoc sursum deorsum miscuit omnia:* "The reading of the scriptures is a great fence against sin, and the ignorance of the scriptures is a dangerous downfall and a great dungeon. To know nothing of God's laws, is the loss of salvation. Ignorance hath brought in heresies and vicious life: ignorance hath turned all things upside down ¹⁷."

Therefore the apostles of Christ, and all other godly fathers, have evermore encouraged the people to read the scriptures; and evermore thought the church of God to be in best case when the people was best instructed. St. Paul

¹⁶ [Hilar. de Unitate Patris et Filii. This book, as such, is a mere rhapsody composed by some later hand out of various parts of Hilary's writings. The passage is found in Lib. ii. de Trinit.]

¹⁷ [Chrysost. de Lazaro. Μεγάλη ασφάλεια πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν τῶν γραφῶν ἢ ἀνάγνωσις: μέγας κρημνὸς καὶ βάρβαρον βαθὺ τῶν

γραφῶν ἢ ἀγνοία: μεγάλη προδοσία σωτηρίας τὸ μηδὲν τῶν θείων εἰδέναι νόμων· τοῦτο καὶ αἰρέσεις ἔτεκε, τοῦτο καὶ βίον διεφθαρμένον εἰσήγαγε, τοῦτο τὰ ἄνω κάτω πεποίηκεν· ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἀμήχανον ἀκαρπὸν ἀναχωρήσαι τινα συνεχῶς ἀναγνώσεως ἀπολαύοντα μετὰ ἐπίστασις.]

saith: "Let the word of God dwell abundantly amongst you." Polycarpus saith to the people: *Confido vos bene exercitatos esse in sacris literis*: "My trust is, that ye be well instructed in the holy scriptures." Origen saith unto his people: "Give your diligence, not only to hear God's word in the church, but also to be exercised in the same in your houses at home, and day and night be studious in the law of the Lord." St. Augustine saith: "Read ye the holy scriptures. For to that end God would have them written, that we might receive comfort by them." St. Hierom saith, as it is alleged before: *Laici, non tantum sufficienter, sed etiam abundanter verbum Dei habere debent, et se invicem docere*: "The lay people ought to have the word of God, not only sufficiently, but also abundantly, and to instruct one another¹⁸." St. Chrysostom willeth "the father with his child, and the husband with his wife, at home in his house to talk and reason of the word of God¹⁹." Theodoretus writeth thus: *Passim videas hæc nostratia dogmata, &c.*: "Ye may commonly see, that not only the teachers of the people, and rulers of the churches, but also tailors, smiths, and clothworkers, and other artificers, do understand the principles of our religion: and further, that not only learned women, if there be any such, but also such women as live by their labour, and sewsters, and maidservants, but also husbandmen, and ditchers, and herdmen, and graffers, can reason of the holy Trinity, and of the creation of the world, and of the nature of mankind, a great deal more skilfully than either Plato or Aristotle was ever able to do." Therefore Origen saith unto his hearers of the lay people: *Me dicente, quod sentio, vos decernite, et examine, si quid rectum est aut minus rectum*: "While I speak that I think meet, examine and judge you whether it be well or otherwise." Thus in old times the vulgar people, and such as M. Harding calleth swine, and rude, and rash people, and curious busybodies, were able, not

Colos. iii. 16.

Polycarp. ad Philippen. [Russel. ii. 247.]

Origen in Levit. hom. 9. [ii. 240.]

Augustin. in Psalm. 33. [Enarr. 2. iv. 224.]

Hieronym. in Epist. ad Coloss. cap. 3. [v. 1074.]

Chrysost. in Johan. hom. 2. [al. 3. viii. 16.]

Theod. de Natura Hom. lib. 5. [de Curand Græcor. Affect. ed. Gaisford. p. 220.]

Origen. in Josue. hom. 21. [ii. 448.]

¹⁸ [See vol. i. 203, note ³⁹.]

¹⁹ [Chrysost. in Johan. και μη μόνον ἐνταῦθα αὐτὴν ἐπιδεικνυσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκοι γενομένους, τὸν ἄνδρα

πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, τὸν πατέρα πρὸς τὸν παῖδα, περὶ τούτων διαλέγεσθαι κ. τ. λ.]

only to understand the scriptures, but also to judge of their preachers. And therefore the wicked renegade emperor Julianus reproved the Christians (even as M. Harding now doth us) for that they suffered their women and children to read the scriptures.

Cyrillus contra Julian. lib. 6 et 7. [vi. 234.]

But the enemies of God's truth, for fear and conscience of their weakness, have evermore used violently to take away the word of God, not only from women and children, but also from all the whole people. Chrysostom saith :

Chrysost. in Opere imperfecto, hom. 44. [vi. App. 186.]

Hæretici sacerdotes claudunt januas veritatis. Sciunt enim, si manifestata fuerit veritas, ecclesiam suam esse relinquendam, et se de sacerdotali dignitate ad humilitatem venturos popularem : " Heretic priests shut up the gates of the truth. For they know that, if the truth once appear, they must needs leave their church, and from the dignity of their priesthood come down to the state of other people." For

Tertullian. in libro de Trinitate. [p. 718.]

Tertullian saith: *Scriptura divina hæreticorum fraudes et furta facile convincit, et detegit :* " The holy scripture will easily bewray and confound the guiles and thefts of heretics¹⁸." Christ saith, " He that doth ill hateth the light." And therefore they say, as it is written in the

John iii. 20.

Amos vi. 11. [Vulgat.]

prophet Amos, *Tace, et ne recorderis nominis Domini :* " Hold thy peace, and never think upon the name of the Lord." But miserable is that religion, that cannot stand without hiding and suppressing of the truth of God.

¹⁸ [This treatise is not by Tertullian, but by Novatian. See vol. i. p. 135.]

OF CONSECRATION UNDER SILENCE.

THE SIXTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely, and in silence unto himself.

M. HARDING: *First Division.*

The matter of this article is neither one of the highest mysteries nor one of the greatest keys of our religion, howsoever M. Jewel pleaseth himself with that report, thinking thereby to impair the estimation of the catholic church. The diversity of observation in this behalf sheweth the indifferency of the thing. For else, if one manner of pronouncing the words of consecration had been thought a necessary point of religion, it had been every where uniform and invariable. That the bread and wine be consecrated by the words of our Lord pronounced by the priest, as in the person of Christ, by virtue of the which, through the grace of the Holy Ghost, the bread and wine are changed into our Lord's body and blood: (213) this thing hath in all times and in all places, and with consent of all, invariably been done, and so believed. But the manner of pronouncing the words, concerning silence or open utterance, according to diversity of places, hath been diverse.

The 213th untruth. Often avouched, and never proved.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

“ This,” saith M. Harding, “ is but a small key of our religion.” Which thing may very well appear, both other-

wise and also by the small weight and slenderness of his proofs. Howbeit, in cases of religion, and in the service of God, nothing ought to be judged small, specially that may deceive the people. Verily, how small soever they will now have this key to seem, as it hath been heretofore cause of no small superstition, so it hath shut out God's people from the sight and understanding of our greatest mysteries.

Certain it is, that the religion of Christ may well stand without this kind of mystical silence, as it may also without transubstantiation, or private mass, or any other their like phantasies. But if the matter be so small, wherefore doth M. Harding take so great pains to prove it, and that by so great untruths and so manifest fables? Wherefore are they not ashamed to say, that Christ himself, at his last supper, consecrated in silence and secrecy, and that in like order and form as they do now? Or how durst the bishops in this present council of Trident so solemnly to aban and accurse all them that dare to find fault with the same? So small a matter, as this is now supposed to be, should never need so great ado,

But whether these words be uttered secretly or aloud, he imagineth, that by the power thereof the substance of the bread and wine is really and wholly changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ. The untruth hereof is manifestly reprov'd by St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, Theodoretus, Gelasius, and by the general consent of all the old fathers; and is answered more at large in the tenth article of this book. Certainly this error neither was ever confirmed in the Latin church, before the council of Lateran in Rome, which was above twelve hundred years after Christ, nor ever received in the Greek church, from the birth of Christ until this day.

M. HARDING : *Second Division.*

The Greeks in the east church have thought it good to pronounce the words of consecration *clara voce*, as we find in Chrysostom's Mass, and as Bessarion writeth, *alta voce*, that is, "plainly," "out aloud," or "with a loud voice." *Sacerdos alta voce juxta Orientalis ecclesiæ ritum verba illa pronunciat, Hoc*

Thom. in 3.
par. Summæ,
qu. 78. art. 1.

Conc. Trident.
sess. 2. [leg.
sess. 22. Har-
quin. x. 129.]

D. Tonstal.
de Eucharist.
lib. 1. [p. 46.]
Conc. Late-
ran. A. D.
1215.

est corpus meum: "The priest," saith Bessarion, "after the rite or manner of the east church, pronounceth with a loud voice these words, This is my body." Which manner of loud pronouncing was thought good to be used in the Greek church, as it may be gathered by that Bessarion writeth, (who being a Bessarion a young doctor. He lived A. D. 1439. Greek born, and brought up in learning amongst the Greeks, knew right well the order of that church,) to the intent the people might thereby, for the better maintenance of their faith, be stirred and warned to give token of consent and of belief thereto. "When the priest," saith he, "pronounceth those words with a loud voice, the people standing by, *in utraque parte*, that is, first at the consecration of the body, and again at the consecration of the blood, answereth Amen, as though they said thus, Truly so it is as thou sayest. For whereas Amen is an adverb of affirming in Hebrew, in Greek it signifieth so much as 'truly.' And therefore the people answering Amen to those words, Verily, say they, these gifts set forth are the body and blood of Christ. So we believe: so we confess." Thus far Bessarion. It is declared by Clement, *Lib. 8. Constitutionum Apostolicarum*, that the people said Amen, when the words of consecration had been pronounced. Whereby we understand that order to have been taken by the apostles. The same custom also may be gathered out of St. Ambrose, who saith thus: *Dicit tibi sacerdos, Corpus Christi: et tu dicis, Amen, hoc est, Verum. Quod confitetur lingua, teneat affectus. De Sacram. lib. 4. cap. 5.* "The priest saith, The body of Christ: and thou sayest Amen, that is to say, True. Hold with thy heart that which thou confessest with the tongue." He saith likewise hereof, *De iis, qui initiantur Mysteriis*, cap. 9. *Frustra ab illis respondetur Amen*, &c. "Amen is answered in vain by them who dispute against that which is received," saith Leo, *Sermone 6. De Jejuniis 7. Mensis.*

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It is clearly witnessed by all these doctors, against M. Harding and the order of the church of Rome, that the words of consecration were pronounced with a loud voice; and that the people not only heard but also understood and answered the same. Wherefore M. Harding can find but small relief in these authorities. Verily in his church, which he so often calleth ancient and only catholic, the people neither answereth, nor understandeth, nor heareth the words of consecration. Thus it appeareth he hath alleged these five doctors, in three special points, against himself.

M. Harding addeth hereto, "Amen, is as much as, *Verum*

est, 'It is true.' And therefore the people, answering *Amen*, confessed thereby that they believed the very real and substantial changing of the bread into the body of Christ." It was needless and out of season to renew this matter in this place. But he thought it better skill to speak from the purpose than utterly to hold his peace, and to say nothing.

First, as it is said before, the Latin church never received this new belief before the council of Lateran holden in Rome; the Greek church never until this day. Therefore by M. Harding's skill the people thus answering, said *Amen* to that thing that they believed not; and so confirmed the child eight hundred years and more before it was born. Indeed, the people said *Amen* to that they heard spoken by the priest. But the priest spake nothing, neither of real presence, nor of transubstantiation, nor of accidents without subject. Therefore it is not likely the people's answer had relation to any such matter. Otherwise they should seem to answer that thing that was not spoken. The priest only uttered these words of Christ, "This is my body:" whereunto the Greeks make answer in this sort, as it is recorded in the council of Florence: *Firmiter credimus, verbis illis Dominicis sacramentum fieri*: "We believe steadfastly that by these words of our Lord there is made a sacrament." Likewise St. Ambrose: *Post consecrationem, corpus Christi significatur*: "After the consecration, the body of Christ is signified." Again: *Ante consecrationem, aliud dicitur: post consecrationem, sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis, Amen, hoc est, Verum est*: "Before the consecration, it is called another thing: after consecration, it is named the blood of Christ, And thou sayest *Amen*, that is to say, *It is true*." So Dionysius writeth unto Sixtus the bishop of Rome, of one that had been baptized amongst heretics: *Gratiarum actionem in ecclesia audivit, et ad illam una cum aliis respondit, Amen*: "He heard the thanksgiving in the church, and to the same, together with others, he answered *Amen*." So St. Augustine: *Fratres nostri eadem sacramenta celebrantes, et unum Amen respondentes*: "Our brethren resorting to

A. D. 1215.

Conc. Florent. sess. ult. [xxxii. 1005.]

Ambros. de his qui initiatur, cap. 9. [li. 339.]

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 9. [i. 330.]
 εὐχαριστίας ἐπακούσαντα, καὶ συν-επιφθεγγόμενον, τὸ Ἄμήν.
 August. in Psalm. 33. [leg. Psalm. 32. Enarr. 3. lv. p. 208.]

one sacrament, and answering all one Amen¹⁹." This answering Amen imported not any sudden transubstantiation, but a thanksgiving unto God for our delivery by the death of Christ.

But Leo saith, they answer Amen in vain, that dispute against the same thing that they receive. For clear understanding of which words it behoveth thee, good reader, to remember, that Leo, as well herein, as also in sundry other places, bendeth the whole force of his learning against the heretic Eutyches, whose error was this, much like unto the common error that is now defended, that Christ's body, after his ascension, was turned wholly into the godhead, and so was no longer a man's body. Against which error Leo taketh an argument of the holy mysteries: wherein the faithful people, as with their bodily mouth they receive the mystical bread and wine, so with their spirit and faith they receive the body and blood of Christ, and that verily and in truth; and in witness thereof the receiver saith Amen. "But," saith Leo, "he saith Amen in vain, that denieth the same thing that he receiveth:" that is to say, that receiveth the sacrament of Christ's body, and yet nevertheless is persuaded, as the heretic Eutyches was, that Christ indeed hath no body. And in this sense St. Augustine seemeth to say: *Mors illi erit, non vita, qui mendacem putaverit vitam*: "The receiving of the sacrament shall be death and not life unto him that thinketh that Christ, being the life itself, was a liar:" delivering these holy mysteries as the sacrament or pledge of his body, himself indeed having no body. So likewise Prosper Aquitanus: *Christum a populo Judaico fuisse occisum, nullus jam ambigit Christianus: cujus sacrum sanguinem omnis nunc terra accipiens, clamat Amen: ut neganti Judæo, quod occiderit Christum, recte dicatur a Deo, vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra*: "Whether Christ were slain of the Jews or no, there is no Christian man now that can stand in doubt. For now all the earth

Leo de Jejunio 7. Mensis, Serm. 6. [l. 360.]

Beda 1 Cor. 10. [v. 16.]

Prosper de Promiss. Dei, part. 1. cap. 7. [l. cap. 6.]

¹⁹ [August. in Psalm. 32. Enarr. 3. " . . . pro fratribus nostris eadem sacramenta celebrantibus, etsi non nobiscum eadem tamen; " unum Amen respondentibus, etsi non nobiscum, unum tamen; " dem sacramenta celebrantibus, " medullas caritatis vestræ fundatis Deo pro eis."]

receiveth his holy blood, and crieth Amen. Therefore, if the Jew will deny that ever he slew Christ, God may justly say unto him, The voice of the blood of thy brother crieth unto me from the earth." So St. Chrysostom: *...hæc afferentes mysteria, ora ipsorum consumimus. Si enim mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est?* "Laying forth these mysteries, we stop their mouths. For if Christ died not, whose sign then and whose token is this sacrifice?" Thus, by the judgment of these learned fathers, Eutyches the heretic, or any other that denied either the body or the death of Christ, might soon be reprov'd even by the receiving of these holy mysteries. For they receive the sacrament, and yet deny the thing itself that is represented by the sacrament: and so, as Leo saith, they dispute against the thing itself that they receive. And thus Leo himself plainly expoundeth and openeth his own meaning: *Quam sibi in hujus sacramenti præsidio spem relinquunt, qui in Salvatoris nostri corpore negant humanæ substantiæ veritatem? Dicant, quo sacrificio sint reconciliati: dicant, quo sanguine sint redempti:* "What hope do they leave themselves in the help of this sacrament, that say, There is no truth of the substance of man in the body of our Saviour? Let them tell me, by what sacrifice they are reconciled: let them tell me, with what blood they are redeemed."

By these holy fathers it is plain, that whoso receiveth the holy mystery of Christ's body, and yet thinketh and holdeth that Christ indeed hath no body, as Eutyches the heretic did, he disputeth against that thing itself that he receiveth. For Gelasius saith: *Hoc nobis in ipso Domino Christo sentiendum est, quod in ejus imagine profitemur ...:* "We must think the same of Christ the Lord himself that we profess" (in the sacrament, which is) "his image." And therefore in the Communion-book that beareth the name of St. James, it is written thus: *Quotiescunque comederitis hunc panem, et hunc calicem biberitis, mortem Filii hominis annuntiatis,.....donec veniat. Populus respondet, Credimus et confitemur:* "As often as ye shall eat this bread, or drink this cup, ye do publish the death of the Son

Chrysost. in
Matt. hom.
83. [vii. 783.
(ed. Basil. ii.
567.)]

Leo Epist.
83. ad Palestinos. [cap.
4. i. 634.]

Gelasius contra Eutychem. [Bibl. Patr. v. pt. 3. p. 671.]

Liturgia Jacob. [de Sanctes, p. 15.]

of man until he come. Hereto the people maketh answer, We believe it, and we confess it." This is it that St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, Leo, and Clement call Amen. And this is that undoubted truth of Christ's body, not in the sacrament, as M. Harding imagineth, but in the unity of one person, that Leo defendeth against the heretic Eutyches. Bessarion's authority in these cases cannot be great: both for that he was but of very late years, and therefore a very young doctor to be alleged; and also for that, being promoted to the bishopric of Tusculum, and made a cardinal of Rome, in the late council of Florence, contrary to the minds and judgments of the rest of his brethren of Græcia, he openly flattered and yielded himself unto the pope.

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

And that the people should give their consent, and apply their faith to this truth without error and deceit, and that by saying Amen they should then believe and confess the bread and wine to be made the body and blood of Christ, (214) when it was made indeed, and not else, for so were it a great error; for this cause Justinian the emperor made an ordinance, that the bishops and priests should to this intent pronounce their service plainly, distinctly, and so as it might be understood, that the people might answer Amen: (which is to be referred to each part of the service, but specially to the consecration:) that they might believe and confess it was the body and blood of Christ, (215) when it was indeed, and not so confess when it was not: which might happen, if they heard not the words of consecration plainly pronounced. And hereunto specially that constitution of Justinian is to be restrained, as pertaining only to the Greek church, wherein he lived, (216) and not to be stretched further to serve for proof of all the service to be had and said in the vulgar tongue in the west church, as to that purpose of our new teachers it is untruly alleged.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

So many untruths in so little room, so constantly to be avouched without blushing! Where is the fear of God? Where is the reverence of the reader? Where is shame become? First, neither doth that godly emperor Justinian once mention, or touch this new phantasy of M. Harding's doctrine: nor did the Greek church, as it is sufficiently already proved, ever hitherto consent unto the same. Will

A. D. 1439.

The 214th untruth. For Justinian meant no such thing. But M. Harding is licensed at Lovain to make comments as he listeth.

The 215th untruth, vain and fantastical. For whereunto should the people answer Amen, hearing no part of the prayer?

The 216th untruth. For this law touched as well the church of Rome as the church of Græcia, as shall appear.

M. Harding make the world believe, that the people, openly in the church, gave their consents unto that thing that they never believed, but knew undoubtedly to be an error? Is he able to allege not one council, not one doctor, not one father, that ever expounded *Amen* in this sort? Is the matter so miserable and so bare, that no honest witness will speak for it? Or must M. Harding's bare word, without scripture, council, doctor, or father, be taken for the doctrine of the church?

De Eccles.
divers. Capi-
tulis, consti-
tutione 123.
εἰς πλείονα
κατόνυξιν.
[al. κατά-
ναγξιν.]

The emperor's words are plain: "We command all the holy bishops and priests, to minister the holy oblation, and the sacrament of baptism, and other prayers" (not closely or in silence, as the manner is now in the church of Rome, but) "with a loud voice, that may be heard of the faithful people," (not to testify M. Harding's transubstantiation, which then was not known, but) "that the hearts of the hearers may thereby both the more be humbled to repentance, and also the more be stirred to glorify God²⁰." If the pronouncing of these two syllables, *Amen*, be proof sufficient to warrant transubstantiation, then may we easily find the same transubstantiation, not only in the sacrament of Christ's body, but also in the sacrament of baptism, and in all other public prayers. For in every hereof the people was willed to say *Amen*.

Secondly, M. Harding saith, (and he saith it alone: for no man ever said it before him,) that the bishop and priest was thus commanded to speak aloud, lest the people should happen to prevent the time, and to answer *Amen* out of season, before the sacrament were consecrate. And this must be taken, as a grave and a deep consideration, and meet for the emperor of the world. But, O the vanities of these vain men! For whereunto should the people answer *Amen*, that heard no part of the prayer? Or how should they confirm that was said by the priest, that knew not one word what he said? Certainly it appeareth not, that the emperor Justinian doubted so much the over hasty answering of the people: but rather thought, that, if

²⁰ [De Eccl. divers. Capit. See the original printed in vol. ii. p. 43, note ²⁵.]

the priest's voice were not heard, the people should be able to answer nothing. For to that end he allegeth these words of St. Paul, "How shall the unlearned man answer Amen to thy thanksgiving? for he knoweth not what thou sayest."

Last of all, he saith, This constitution of the emperor Justinian touched only the Greek church, and pertained nothing to the church of Rome: adding further, "That by these new masters it hath been, and is, otherwise untruly alleged." Thus much M. Harding only of himself, without any other further authority, either old or new. Perhaps he would have us think, according to that childish fable of their forged donation²¹, that the emperor Constantinus had given over the whole empire of the west part of the world unto the pope, and that therefore Justinian the emperor had now nothing to do in the church of Rome. But Justinian himself, contrary to M. Harding's commentary, commandeth his laws to be taken as general, and to be kept universally throughout the world. For thus he writeth: *Visum est,.....præsentem legem omni terrarum orbi ponendam, nullis locorum, vel temporum angustiis coartandam*: "We have thought it good, that this law should generally concern the whole world, to be restrained by no limits of place or time." And making an ordinance for the church, he writeth thus: *Et hoc, non solum in veteri Roma, vel in hac regia civitate, sed in omni terra, ubicunque Christianorum nomen colitur, obtinere sancimus*: "And this law we will to take place, not only in the old city of Rome, or in this princely city of Constantinople, but also in all the world, where the name of Christians is had in honour." Likewise Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the emperor's proclamation for the keeping of the Sunday: "Upon that day he commanded, not only the Greeks, but also all other nations that were subject to the empire of Rome, to rest from bodily labours." And concerning such matters, as specially touched the city of Constantinople, he writeth thus in the same law, that M. Harding hath here

Donatio
Constantini
in 1. tomo
Concil.
[Mansi, II.
603.]

Cod. de Judi-
cis. Cap.
Properan-
dum. [tom.
iv.]

Cod. de
Episc. et
Cleri. Cap.
Generaliter
[sancimus.
tom. iv.]

Eusebius in
Vita Con-
stantini,
Oratione 4.
cap. 19. [cap.
18. l. 635.]
πᾶσι τοῖς
ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν
Ῥωμαίων
ἀρχὴν πολι-
τευόμενοις.

²¹ [This edict is generally admitted to be a forgery. Pagi in Baron. attributes it to Isidorus Mercator.]

ταῦτα εἰδι-
κῶ νόμῳ
περιελάβο-
μεν.

alleged : “ Whatsoever things namely concern the church of this princely city of Constantinople, we have comprised the same in a particular law specially serving to that purpose.” Yet nevertheless, M. Harding thinketh it lawful for him to say, “ The emperor’s mind was not to extend this law to the church of Rome :” and we must believe him upon his bare word, yea although the emperor himself say the contrary.

M. Harding
contrary to
himself.

But to what purpose excepteth M. Harding the Latin church in this behalf? was not St. Ambrose bishop of Milan : Clemens and Leo bishops of Rome? all three bishops of the Latin church? And doth not M. Harding say, that every of these three pronounced the words of consecration openly, with loud voice, and not in silence? And doth not M. Harding further tell us, It was the tradition of the apostles? Wherefore then doth he so nicely except the church of Rome? Had the church there any special privilege to break the apostles’ traditions, more than others? Certainly, Clemens Alexandrinus saith, The traditions of the apostles, as well in the east church as in the west, were all one, even as was their doctrine. *Fuit una omnium apostolorum, sicut doctrina, ita traditio.* Thus hath M. Harding found by his own confession, both the tradition of the apostles and the ancient doctors, Ambrose, Clemens, and Leo, and both the churches of God, the Greek and the Latin, against himself.

Clemens
Alex. Stro-
mat. lib. 7.
[ii. 900.]

M. HARDING : Fourth Division.

The 217th
untruth. For
there is no
such thing
decreed by
the ancient
fathers.

These words
of St. Basil
pertain no-
thing to the
sacrament.

Now in this west church, which is the Latin church, the people having been sufficiently instructed, touching the belief of the body and blood of our Lord in the sacrament, (217) it hath been thought by the fathers convenient, the words of consecration to be pronounced by the priest closely and in silence, rather than with open voice. Wherein they had special regard to the dignity of that high mystery. And doubtless for this point they understood, as St. Basil writeth, that the apostles and the fathers, which at the beginning made laws for the order of ecclesiastical things, maintained the mysteries in their due authority, by keeping them secret and in silence. “ For it is not,” saith he, “ any mystery at all, which is brought forth to the popular and vulgar ears,” whereof he wrote very truly before : *Ei quod publicatum est, et per se apprehendi potest, imminere contemptum : ei vero,*

[Basil. de
Spr. Sancto,
cap. 27. tom.
iii. 55.]

quod remotum est, ac rarum, etiam naturaliter quodammodo esse conjunctam admirationem: "That, what is done openly and made common, and of itself may be attained, it is like to come in contempt, and be despised. But what is kept far off, and is seldom gotten, that even naturally in manner is never without wondering at." And in such respect Christ gave warning, "that precious stones be not strewed before hogs."

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It is most certain, and therefore the more lamentable, that, as it now fareth through the whole church of Rome, the people knoweth, neither the substance, nor the meaning, nor the use, nor the effect, nor the end, or purpose of the sacrament, nor the consecration, nor any word thereto belonging. They hear nothing: they see nothing: they understand nothing: they learn nothing: the pope, the cardinals, the bishops, the priests teach them nothing: it is thought to be the surest fence and strongest ward for that religion, that they should be kept still in ignorance, and know nothing: M. Harding both in this place, and also before, calleth them all hogs and swine, as insensible and brute beasts, and void of reason, and able to judge and conceive nothing. Yet he blusheth not to say, "The people of the Latin church is sufficiently instructed, touching the sacraments:" and that more sufficiently, as it appeareth, than ever they were instructed in the primitive church, or in the time of the old learned fathers. Verily ignorance is easily learned: they may soon be taught to know nothing. But the doctrine, that he meaneth, standeth in transubstantiation and real presence, and other like matters incident unto the same, such as the godly people in the old times never learned. Howbeit, if the people were thoroughly instructed, and knew the meaning of all mysteries, would M. Harding thereof conclude, That therefore they should not hear the words of consecration? Is this the logic of Lovain? who ever taught him to frame such a *sylogismus*? in what form, in what mood may it stand? how may this antecedent, and this consequent join together?

Artic. 15.
 Divis. 7.
 [Supr. p.
 277.]

But, where he addeth, That, in consideration hereof, the

fathers thought it convenient, the words of consecration should be pronounced in silence, this, besides other great wants, is also a great untruth, to make up his simple *syllogismus*. For what were these fathers? what names had they? where dwelt they? in what council, in what country met they? This is a very strange case, that, being fathers, and such fathers able to alter the traditions of the apostles and the whole state of the church, no man should know them, but only M. Harding.

As for St. Basil, whose name he much abuseth to this purpose, it is plain, that he speaketh not, neither of the sacrament, nor of the words of consecration. And here, good Christian reader, mark, I beseech thee, the circumspection and constancy of M. Harding. For proof of his late invented order of the Latin church, he sheweth us examples of the Greek church: and to avouch his consecration in silence, he allegeth the authority of St. Basil, who, by his own confession, evermore pronounced the same aloud with open voice, and never in silence. He should neither so unadvisedly avouch the names of ancient fathers, nor have so small regard unto his reader. True it is, as St. Basil saith, "Familiar use breedeth contempt." And for that cause pope Innocentius saith, The words of consecration were commanded to be said in silence, *ne sacrosancta verba vilescerent*: "lest the holy words should be despised." The like hereof is surmised also by John Billet²³. Thomas of Aquine saith, "That the oblation and consecration belong only to the priest, and that therefore the words be spoken in silence, as nothing pertaining to the people." But if the people be thus naturally inclined, the less they hear or know things, the more to have them in admiration, then were it good they should never hear, neither the words of baptism, nor any part of the gospel, nor the Lord's prayer, nor the name of God, or Christ, no,

Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 27.
τῷ πεπατημένῳ . . .
πρόχειρος ἡ καταφρόνησις.
[ii. 55.]
Innocen. III. De Sacro Altaris Myster. lib. 3. cap. 1.
Jo. Billet, de Divin. Officulis. [cap. 44.]
Thom. par. 3. quæ. 83. [art. 4. sol. 6.]

²³ [John Billet, properly Beletus or Biletus, a theologian of Paris (but whether an Englishman or a Frenchman by birth is uncertain), flourished about the year 1190. His Rationale Divi-

norum Officiorum is printed at the end of several editions of Durandi Rationale—ex. gr. that of 1592. The quotation in vol. ii. p. 51. is substantially correct.]

nor the mass itself. And, as now their ears be barred from hearing the words that make the sacrament, so were it good policy, their eyes were also barred from seeing the sacrament. For naturally contempt groweth as well of sight as of hearing, or rather more. For, by M. Harding's skill, these were good ways, to breed reverence in the people, and to increase devotion. But this is an unreverent reverence, and a disordered honour of God. The people of God is not made to serve the sacraments: but the sacraments are made to serve the people. But these be the secret works and policies of Satan, to make the simple believe, they reverence the sacraments, and yet understand no part, neither of the meaning, nor of the use of the sacraments. Lactantius saith: *Hinc fida silentia [sacris] instituta sunt ab hominibus callidis, ut nesciret populus, quid coleret*: "Therefore subtle and crafty men devised to have their sacrifices wrought in silence, that the people should not know what thing they honoured for their God."

Lactan. lib.
5. cap. 20.

M. HARDING: *Fifth Division.*

If in the old law priests were chosen (as St. Ambrose writeth) to cover the ark of the testament, because it is not lawful for all persons to see the depth of mysteries: if the sons of Kohath by God's appointment did only bear the ark and those other holy things of the tabernacle on their shoulders, whensoever the children of Israel removed and marched forward in wilderness, being closely folded and lapt within veils, curtains, and palls, by the priests: and might not at no time touch nor see the same upon pain of death, which were but figures of this: how much more is this high and worthy mystery to be honoured with secretness, closeness, and silence?

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding seemeth to reason thus: "In the time of the old testament it was not lawful, for every of the people to behold the ark of God, and the things therein contained: *ergo*, the priest ought to pronounce the words of consecration in silence, and secretly to himself." This simple reason holdeth from Moses to Christ: from the old testament to the new: from seeing to hearing: and to be short, from somewhat to nothing: and serveth only to

control all the ancient fathers of the church, who, as M. Harding knoweth, and hath already in part confessed, never pronounced these words in such secret sort, nor ever used these policies for increase of reverence. Notwithstanding M. Harding, the better to lead along his simple reader, hath cunningly drawn in the names of two old fathers, Ambrose and Origen, to the intent to make his own conclusion to seem theirs. And thus under his painted coverings and veils of eloquence, he foldeth up closely, not the ark of God, but, as his wont is, great untruths.

M. HARDING: *Sixth Division.*

For this cause, as they report, saith Carolus Magnus, that noble, virtuous, and learned emperor, writing to his schoolmaster Alcuinus our countryman, and first teacher of philosophy in Paris: it is become a custom in the church, that the canon and consecration be said by the priest secretly, that those words so holy, and pertaining to so great a mystery, should not grow in contempt, whiles all in manner through common use bearing them away, would sing them in the highways, in the streets, and in other places, where it were not thought convenient. Whereof it is told, that before this custom was received, shepherds, when they sang them in the field, were by God's hand stricken. Luther himself in *Præceptorio*, is much against them, that would have the canon of the mass to be pronounced with a loud voice for the better understanding.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It appeareth, M. Harding is much scanted of good authorities, when he is thus driven by tables and fables to countervail the tradition of the apostles: and that, by such fables, as he himself is fain to cut off in the midst, and cannot truly report without shame. Howbeit, nothing cometh amiss, that may serve to astonne the simple. Such grounds be sufficient for such doctrine. The tale, as it is told by Innocentius and Durandus, amongst other fables, is this: Certain shepherds, having by often hearing learned the words of consecration, began to practise the same amongst themselves over their bread, in the field upon a stone. Suddenly the bread was flesh: the poor men were amazed: God was angry: fire came from heaven, and burnt them up: not one left alive to tell these tidings.

Hereupon, saith M. Harding, this law was made. For view of the likelihood hereof, they say, that the priest himself, be he never so holy, unless he have his altar, his super-altar, his chalice, his corporese²³, his lights, his vestments, and all other appurtenances necessary: unless he steadfastly eye and behold the bread: unless he pronounce all these five words with one breath, without stop: and unless he have a special intent and mind to work consecration, he laboureth in vain, and can never consecrate. Yet these poor shepherds, not being priests, for aught that we know, nor having either altar, or super-altar, or vestments, or any knowledge of these cautels, nor intention or mind to work consecration, yet notwithstanding, had consecrate suddenly before they were ware. By these it may be gathered, that consecration is easier for a shepherd than for a priest. But when these shepherds were all slain in the place where they stood, and not one left alive to report these doings, M. Harding should have told us, by what angel, or archangel, or other secret revelation, this tale afterward came to light. His reader would also long to know, in what kingdom or in what country, in what king's or pope's days, these things happened: in what chronicle, in what story they were recorded. Otherwise he will suspect, M. Harding found it in the shepherds' calendar. And touching this new decree for silence and secresy, M. Harding should have taught us, in what council, in what synod, in what convocation, in what diet, in what country, and in what time it was determined: who was legate at the doing, who was referendary, who was president, who was present. If he have nothing to say, his tale hath lost his grace, and will be thought a shepherd's fable.

But hereof, these two things M. Harding might well have learned: first, that before these strange unknown shepherds gave this attempt, the consecration was every where pronounced aloud: and further, that the same consecration was pronounced in the common known mother tongue of every country: that the shepherds might learn

²³ ["Corporese," i. q. "corporale;" the linen cloth placed over the sacrament.]

it, and understand it: unless M. Harding will haply say, They were Greek or Latin shepherds.

M. HARDING: *Seventh Division.*

The fathers of the primitive church had this sacrament in such reverence and honour, that they excluded some sorts of faithful people from being present at the celebration of it, thinking them unworthy not only to hear the mystical words of consecration pronounced, but also to see the forms of the outward elements, and to be in the church, whiles that most holy sacrifice was offered. They were these, *catechumeni*, *energumeni*, and *pœnitentes*. The first were learners of our belief, who, as they were daily instructed, believed in Christ: and as St. Augustine writeth, "bare Christ's cross in their forehead, and marked themselves with the same." The second were such, as, notwithstanding they had been christened, yet for the inconstancy of their mind were vexed with unclean spirits. The third sort were they, who for their sins committed, had not yet made an end of doing their open penance. All these were judged by the governors of the church at the beginning unworthy to be present at these holy mysteries. Now if this great reverence towards the holy things in them was justly praised, the admitting of all sorts of people, not only to be present and to behold the same, but also to hear and understand the words of consecration, (218) (that hath thus always been honoured with silence and secretness,) cannot seem to wise, zealous, and godly men, a thing commendable: specially in these times, in which the holy Christian discipline of the church is loosed and utterly shaken off, and no difference nor account of any diversity made between the perfect and godly people, and them that ought to do open penance, that be possessed with devils, and be infamous for heinous and notorious crimes committed.

Tract. in Jo.
11. [iii. pt. 2.
376.]

The 218th
untruth. For
the contrary
is known
and evident.

THE BISHOP, OF SALISBURY.

The reverence, that M. Harding presumeth was given only to this sacrament, was given likewise, and in as ample sort, to the sacrament of baptism. And, as the *catechumeni* were sequestered from the presence and sight of the one sacrament, so were they also sequestered from the other. In the council holden at Arausica it is written thus:

Concil. Arau-
sican. can.
19. [vi. 439.]

Catechumeni ad baptisterium nunquam admittendi sunt: "The *catechumeni* may never be admitted to the place of baptism." St. Chrysostom, touching the words of baptism, writeth thus: *Verba Dei, quæ norunt fideles, in aquæ lavacro per sacerdotem pronuntiata, tanquam in utero*

Chrysostom.
in Epist. ad
Galat. cap. 4.
[x. 711.]

quodam, formant ac regenerant eum, qui baptizatur: “The words of God, which the faithful know, being pronounced by the priest in the water of baptism, do form and regenerate him that is baptized, as if it were in the mother’s womb²⁴.” Likewise again he saith: *Cupiam sane verba illa clare proferre, &c.*: “Fain would I in plain sort utter these words” (of baptism), “if the presence of these ungodly men, the heathens, did not let me. They cause my interpretation to be the harder: I may not speak plainly, nor publish our mysteries because of them²⁵.” So saith Cyrillus: *Dicerem de baptismo alia, nisi vererer non initiatorum aures*: “Touching baptism, I would say more, saving that I doubt the ears of these profane people that are not christened²⁶.” To like purpose St. Augustine saith: *Opera nostra bona vident etiam pagani: sacramenta vero nostra occultantur illis*: “The heathens may see our good works: but our sacraments” (that is, our baptism and our Lord’s supper) “are hidden from them.” The like may be said both of public and solemn prayers, and also of the understanding of the scriptures. Chrysostom saith: *Quid oratione potentius? Et catechumenis quidem hoc nondum permissum est, &c.*: “What thing is there more mighty than the solemn prayer” (of the church)? “Yet is it not lawful for the *catechumeni* to use the same. For they are not yet come to that boldness. But you” (being christened) “are commanded to pray for the whole world, and for the church²⁷.” Thus, like as, for reverence of the mystery, the *catechumeni* mought not be present at the ministration of the sacrament of Christ’s body, even so, for like reverence, they mought not be present, neither at the sacrament of baptism, nor at the solemn common prayers. But now let us weigh M. Harding’s reasons. “In the old

Chrysostom. in 1 ad Cor. hom. 40. [x. 379.]

Cyrril. contra Julian. lib. 7. [vi. 247.]

Augustin. in Psalm. ciii. [serm. 1. iv. 1140.]

Chrysostom. ad Popul. Antiochen. hom. 79.

²⁴ [Chrysost. in Gal. Τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως λεγόμενα, ἅπερ ἴσασιν οἱ πιστοὶ, ταῦτα ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρα τῶν ὑδάτων, καθάπερ ἐν ἡδύϊ τινί, διαπλάττει καὶ ἀναγεννά τὸν βαπτιζόμενον.]

²⁵ [Chrysost. in 1 Corinth. Καὶ βούλομαι μὲν σαφῶς αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν, οὐ τολμῶ δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἀμύητους· οἷτοι γὰρ δυσκολωτέραν ἡμῖν ποιοῦσι τὴν

ἐξήγησιν, ἀναγκάζοντες ἢ μὴ λέγειν σαφῶς ἢ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρειν τὰ ἀπόρητα.]

²⁶ [Cyrill. Ὡνα τοίνυν μὴ εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀμύητων ἀκοὰς τὰ κεκρυμμένα, κ. τ. λ.]

²⁷ [The reader is reminded that there are only twenty-one genuine Homilies ad Pop. Antioch.]

time," saith he, "the *catechumeni*, which were only novices in the faith, and as yet unchristened, and other renegates, frantic, and ungodly people, might not be present at the holy mysteries: *ergo*, now the godly faithful people may not hear the words of consecration." No man would use such logic but M. Harding. And yet this, he thinketh, for wise, zealous, and godly men is sufficient. As for the rest, indeed M. Harding, as a man of travel, that hath been in Rome, and hath seen bishops and cardinals men of war: children and boys set in the highest degrees and dignities of the church: open stews so dearly rented: so many thousand cortegians²⁸ so well regarded: priests so freely allowed to keep their concubines: the church of God turned into a cave of thieves: such corruption in the clergy: such corruption in the people: so little difference between wife and harlot, honest and dishonest, godly and ungodly: and, as St. Bernard saith of them, "the servants of Christ serving Antichrist:" and all this suffered without correction, and well allowed of, and accounted catholic: seeing, I say, the church of God in Rome thus used, he may justly complain of corruption of life, and looseness of discipline. Howbeit, it were hard hereof to conclude, that therefore no man may hear the words of consecration. Verily it is thought lawful for usurers, thieves, whores, murderers, traitors, and all other like, to be present, and to hear mass without exception.

M. HARDING: *Eighth Division.*

Whereas in old times, when by wholesome discipline the faithful people were kept in godly awe and obedience, that prayer also, which was said over the oblation before consecration, (219) was pronounced closely and in silence: and therefore it was called of the Latins *secreta*, of the Greeks *mystica oratio*, meaning thereby, that it ought not to be uttered openly, and made common.

The 219th untruth. For the same secret prayer was pronounced aloud, as shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding, for want of other proofs, presumeth of himself, that in old times the prayer before consecration was pronounced, as he saith, closely, and in silence. And that he guesseth only by his word *secreta*: which is a term

²⁸ [From the Italian word, "cortegiana."]

peculiar only to his mass book ; and in the old catholic fathers was never found. And yet doth not the same import any such silence or secresy, as M.Harding supposeth. For so Gerardus Lorichius writeth of it : *Non arbitrandum est, orationem eam dici secretam, quasi non liceat laicis, illam vel nosse, vel audire : sed quod juxta atque canon, non cantetur voce altiori* : “ We may not think that the prayer is called *secreta*, for that it is not lawful for the lay people to know it, or to hear it ; but only for that it is not sung out with loud voice, as is the canon.” Therefore M. Harding concludeth this matter with two untruths both together.

Thus, notwithstanding this new dumb ceremony hath been only received in the church of Rome, and no where else, and that only for a time, and not from the beginning, and therefore mere particular, and no way universal, and so not catholic ; notwithstanding also it be utterly void of any show, either of the scriptures, or of the old councils, or ancient fathers, or of any manner antiquity : yet M. Harding thinketh himself well able to maintain it as he doth the rest, against St. Ambrose, against St. Augustine, against St. Chrysostom, against Leo, against his own Clemens, against the whole primitive church, both Greek and Latin, and against the decrees and traditions of the apostles, and against his own knowledge, and, I fear me, also against his own conscience.

OF THE SACRIFICE.

THE SEVENTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father²⁸.

M. HARDING : *First Division.*

Christ is offered up to his Father after three manners: figuratively, truly with bloodshedding, and sacramentally, or mystically. In figure, or signification, he was offered in the sacrifices made to God both in the time of the law of nature, and also in the time of the law written. And therefore St. John calleth Christ "the Lamb, which was killed from the beginning of the world," meaning in figure. The sacrifices of Abel, Noe, and Abraham, and all those of the people of Israel commanded by the law of Moses, figured and signified Christ. For which respect chiefly, the law is reported of St. Paul, to have the shadow of the good things to come. St. Augustine, writing against Faustus the heretic, saith: *Testamenti veteris sacrificia omnia multis et variis modis unum sacrificium, cujus nunc memoriam celebramus, significaverunt*: "All the sacrifices of the old testament signified, by many and sundry ways, this one sacrifice, whose memory we do now celebrate." And in another place he saith, "that in those fleshly sacrifices, there was a signification of Christ's flesh, which he should offer for sins, and of his blood, which he should shed for the remission of our sins²⁹."

Threefold oblation of Christ.

Agnus occisus est ab origine mundi.

Rev. xlii. 8.

Heb. x. 1.

Lib. 6. cap. 5. [viii. 205.]

[Fulgent.] De Fide ad Petrum Diaconum, cap. 16.

a M. Harding hath purposely maimed this place of St. Augustine, as shall appear,

²⁸ [On this Seventeenth Article, Harding published a special Rejoinder, Lovan. 1567 (in the Bodleian). The Editor will refer to it, whenever the occasion may seem

to call for it.]

²⁹ [The treatise de Fide ad Petrum Diaconum, attributed to St. Augustine, is by Fulgentius. See vol. ii. 404.]

Titus ii. 14. Truly and with bloodshedding, Christ was offered on the cross in his own person, whereof St. Paul saith, "Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity." And again, Ephes. v. 2. "Christ hath loved us, and hath delivered himself for us an oblation, and sacrifice to God into a sweet savour."

Sacramentally or in mystery, Christ is offered up to his Father in the daily sacrifice of the church under the form of bread and wine, truly and indeed, not in respect of the manner of offering, but in respect of his very body and blood, really (that is, indeed) present, as it hath been sufficiently proved herebefore.

Christ offered, not in respect of the manner of offering.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The greater and worthier the work is that our adversaries have imagined, that is, for a mortal and a miserable man to offer up the immortal Son of God unto his Father, and that really and indeed, the more ought the same, either by manifest words, or by necessary collection, expressly and plainly to be proved. "For no man taketh honour and office unto himself, but he that is called and appointed thereto by God." But for aught that may appear by any clause or sentence, either of the New Testament or of the Old, God never appointed any such sacrifice to be made by any mortal creature. And Theophylact saith: *Jesus, ejiciendo boves et columbas, præsignavit, non ultra opus esse animalium sacrificio, sed oratione*: "Jesus, throwing the oxen and doves out of the temple, signified, that they should no longer have need of the sacrifice of beasts, but of prayer."

Heb. v. 4.

Theophylact. in Matt. cap. 21.

Howbeit, the old learned fathers, as they oftentimes delighted themselves with these words, *sabbatum, pasceve, pascha, pentecoste*, and such other like terms of the old law, notwithstanding the observation and ceremony thereof were then abolished, and out of use: even so likewise they delighted themselves oftentimes with these words, *sacerdos, altare, sacrificium*, "the sacrificer, the altar, the sacrifice," notwithstanding the use thereof were then clearly expired: only for that the ears of the people, as well of the Jews as of the Gentiles, had been long acquainted with the same. Therefore Pachymeres the paraprast, writing upon Dionysius, saith thus: *Presbyterum appellat sacerdotem, ut etiam in Cœlesti Hierarchia*: *Presbyterum appellat sacerdotem, ut etiam in Cœlesti Hierarchia*:

Pachymeres. [Paraphr. in Epist. 6. ed. Morell. 1561.] p. 401. Καὶ ἡ συνήθεια ἐκράτησε.

idque usus jam obtinuit: "Him that is the priest or elder, he calleth the sacrificer, as he doth also in his Celestial Hierarchy: and the same word, 'sacrificer,' is now obtained by custom." In this sense St. Paul saith of himself:

Rom. xv. 16. *Sacrificio evangelium Dei*: "I sacrifice the gospel of

Origen. in
Epist. ad
Rom. lib. 10.
[iv. 676.]

God³⁰." And Origen saith: *Sacrificale opus est, annuntiare evangelium*: "It is a work of sacrifice, to preach the gospel." So the learned bishop Nazianzenus saith unto

Nazian. in
Oratione ad
Pleb.

his people: *Hostiam vos ipsos obtuli*: "I have offered up you for a sacrifice³¹." So saith St. Chrysostom: *Ipsum mihi sacerdotium est, prædicare et evangelizare. Hanc offero oblationem*: "My whole priesthood is, to teach and to

Chrysostom.
in Epist. ad
Rom. hom.
29. [lx. 731.]

preach the gospel. This is my oblation: this is my sacrifice³²." Thus the holy fathers, alluding to the orders and ceremonies of Moses' law, called the preaching of the gospel a sacrifice: notwithstanding indeed it were no sacrifice.

Now to come to M. Harding's words. "Three ways," saith he, "Christ is offered up unto his Father:" in a figure, as in the old law: indeed and bloodily, as upon the cross: in a sacrament or mystery, as in the new testament." Of which three ways, the bloody oblation of Christ upon the cross is the very true and only propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world. The other two, as in respect and manner of signifying they are sundry, so, in effect and substance, they are all one. For, like as in the sacraments of the old law was expressed the death of Christ that was to come: even so, in the sacraments of the new law of the gospel, is expressed the same death of Christ already past. As we have mysteries, so had they mysteries: as we sacrifice Christ, so did they sacrifice Christ: as the Lamb of God is slain unto us, so was the same Lamb of God slain

³⁰ [Rom. xv. 16. *Eis τὸ εἶναι με λειτουργὸν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, ἱερουργούντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Θεοῦ.* . Vulgat. "sanctificans.")]

³¹ [Nazianzen. This quotation has not been verified.]

³² [Chrysostom. in Rom. cap. 15. v. 16. Harding (in his special Rejoinder upon this Article)

complains, and with reason, of Jewel's translation of the word "ipsum" by "whole." Nor is there any word in the Greek to correspond to it—*αὐτὴ γὰρ μοι ἱερωσύνη τὸ κηρύττειν καὶ καταγγέλλειν ταύτην προσφέρω τῆν θυσίαν.*]

unto them. St. Augustine saith: *Tunc Christus venturus, modo Christus venit. Venturus, et venit, diversa verba sunt: sed idem Christus*: “Then was, ‘Christ shall come:’ now is, ‘Christ is come.’ ‘Shall come,’ and ‘is come,’ are sundry words: but Christ is all one³³.” Again in like comparison between the law of Moses and the gospel of Christ, he saith thus: *Videte, fide manente, signa variata*. — *In signis diversis eadem fides*: “Behold, the faith remaining, the” (sacraments, or) “signs are changed. The signs, or sacraments being divers, the faith is one³⁴.”

Augustin. de Utilitate Pœnitent. serm. 2. cap. 1. [v. 1366.]

Augustin. in Johan. tract. 26. [leg. 45. iii. pt. 2. 598. D and B.]

But here hath M. Harding done great and open wrong unto St. Augustine, wilfully suppressing and drowning his words, and uncourteously commanding him to silence in the midst of his tale. Wherein also appeareth some suspicion of no simple dealing. St. Augustine’s words, touching this whole matter, are these: *In illis carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Christi, quam pro nobis..... fuerat oblaturus, et sanguinis, quem erat effusus in remissionem peccatorum.....: in isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio est, et commemoratio carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit, et sanguinis, quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit.....In illis sacrificiis, quid nobis esset donandum, figurate significabatur: in hoc autem sacrificio, quid nobis jam donatum sit, evidenter ostenditur. In illis sacrificiis prænuntiabatur filius Dei pro impiis occidendus: in hoc autem, pro impiis annuntiatur occisus*: “In those fleshly sacrifices” (of the Jews) “there was a figure of the flesh of Christ, which he would afterward offer for us, and of the blood, which he would afterward shed for the remission of sin: but in this sacrifice” (of the new testament) “there is a thanksgiving, and a remembrance of the flesh, which he hath already offered for us, and of the blood, which he, being God, hath already shed for us. In those sacrifices it was represented unto us under a figure, what thing should be given unto us: but in this sacrifice it is plainly

Augustin. [Fulgent.] de Fide ad Petrum Diacon. cap. 79. [vi. app. 30.]

³³ [The genuineness of the Serm. de Utilitate Pœnitentiæ appeared doubtful to Erasmus; the Bened. edd. defend it.]

³⁴ [The false print in the margin, of 26 for 45, led Harding (in his separate Rejoinder) to pronounce the passage a forgery.]

set forth, what thing is already given us. In those sacrifices it was declared, that the Son of God should be slain for the wicked: but in this sacrifice it is plainly preached unto us, that the same Son of God hath already been slain for the wicked."

Augustin.
contra Faus-
tum, lib. 20.
cap. 21. [viii.
343.]

Likewise again he saith: *Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittatur: in passione per ipsam veritatem reddebatur: post ascensum vero Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur*: "The flesh and blood of this sacrifice, before the coming of Christ, was promised by sacrifices of resemblance: the same in his passion" (upon the cross) "was given in truth and indeed: but after his ascension it is solemnized by a sacrament of remembrance."

This is the difference that St. Augustine noteth between the sacraments of the old law and the sacraments of the new. Therefore, the words that M. Harding hath hereunto added, "Christ is offered up unto his Father, and that under the forms of bread and wine, yea and that truly and indeed," are his own only words, confidently and boldly presumed of himself, never used, neither by St. Augustine, nor by any other ancient godly father.

But, whereas he addeth further, "That Christ is indeed and verily offered by the priest, albeit," as he saith, "not in respect of the manner of offering, but only in respect of the presence of his body:" either he understandeth not what himself meaneth: or else, with a vain distinction of cloudy words without sense, he laboureth to dazzle his reader's eyes. For what a phantasy is this, to say, Christ is offered verily and indeed, and yet not in respect of the manner of offering! What respect? What manner is this? Wherefore come these blind mysteries abroad without a gloss? Which of all the old doctors or holy fathers, ever taught us thus to speak? Certainly, as he saith, "Christ is really offered, and yet not in respect of the manner of offering:" so may he also say, Christ died upon the cross, and yet not in respect of the manner of dying. By such manners and such respects, he may make of Christian religion what him listeth.

If he think somewhat to shadow the matter with these words of the council of Nice, *sine sacrificio oblatus*³⁵, let him consider aforehand, it will not help him. For the holy fathers in that council neither say that Christ is really offered by the priest, nor seem to understand these strange respects and manners of offering. They agree fully in sense with that is before alleged of St. Augustine: "In this sacrifice, the death of Christ is solemnized by a sacrament of remembrance:" and with that St. Chrysostom saith: *Hoc sacrificium, exemplar illius est*: "This sacrifice is an example of that sacrifice." Thus the death of Christ is renewed before our eyes. Yet Christ indeed neither is crucified, nor dieth, nor sheddeth his blood, nor is substantially present, nor really offered by the priest. In this sort the council saith, Christ is offered, ἀθύρωσ, "without sacrifice." So St. Augustine saith: *Quod ab omnibus appellatur sacrificium, signum est veri sacrificii*: "The thing, that of all men is called a sacrifice, is a token or a sign of the true sacrifice." Likewise again he saith: *Vocatur ipsa immolatio, quæ sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio*: "The sacrifice, that is wrought by the hands of the priest, is called the passion, the death, the crucifying of Christ: not indeed, but by a mystery signifying³⁶."

Concil. Nic.
[i. 887.]
'Αθύρωσ
θυόμενος.

Contra Fau-
stum, lib. 20.
cap. 21. [viii.
348.]

Chrysostom.
in Epist. ad
Hebr. hom.
17. [xii. 168.]

Augustin. de
Civitate Dei,
lib. 10. cap. 5.
[vii. 242.]

De Con. dist.
2. Hoc est.

And whereas M. Harding saith further, "Christ is offered only in respect of the presence of his body:" neither would the real presence, being granted, import the sacrifice (for Christ was really present in his mother's womb, and in the crib, where notwithstanding he was no sacrifice), nor hath M. Harding hitherto any way proved his real presence.

M. HARDING: Second Division.

The two first manners of the offering of Christ, our adversaries acknowledge and confess: the third they deny utterly. And so

³⁵ [This passage is from "Gelasii Cyziceni Commentarius Actorum Concilii Nicæni." It will not be found amongst the canons according to their received tenor.]

from the Lib. Sentent. Prosperi, (compiled out of St. Augustine's works), but the last Correctors of the Decretum assign it to Lanfrancus.]

³⁶ [This is cited by Gratian as

they rob the church of the greatest treasure it hath or may have, the body and blood of our Saviour Christ once offered upon the cross with painful suffering for our redemption, and now daily offered in the blessed sacrament in remembrance. For which we have so many proofs, as for no one point of our Christian religion mo. And herein I am more encumbered with store than straited with lack : and doubt more, what I may leave, than what I may take. Wherefore thinking it shall appear to the wise more skill, to shew discretion in the choice of places, rather than learning in recital of number, though we are over pertly thereto provoked by M. Jewel's vaunting and insolent challenge : I intend herein to be short, verily shorter than so large a matter requireth : and to bring for proof a few such authorities, (I mean a few in respect of the multitude that might be brought,) as ought in every man's judgment to be of great weight and estimation.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Touching the oblation of Christ's body, we believe and confess as much, as the Holy Ghost hath opened in the scriptures. Whereas M. Harding saith, " Christ's body is offered up by the priest unto God the Father, in remembrance of that body that Christ himself offered upon the cross : " he seemeth not to consider the inconstancy and folly of his own tale. For it is well known to all creatures, not only Christians, but also Jews, Turks, and Saracens, that Christ was crucified upon the cross : but that Christ should be sacrificed by a mortal man, invisibly, and, as they say, under the forms of bread and wine, and that really and indeed, it is a thing so far passing the common sense of Christian knowledge, that the best learned and wisest of the ancient learned Christian fathers could never know it.

Therefore this is, not only the proving of a thing known, by a thing unknown : and of a thing most certain, by a thing uncertain : but also the confirmation of a manifest truth, by an open error.

Neither do we rob the church of God of that most heavenly and most comfortable sacrifice of Christ's body : but rather we open and disclose the errors wherewith certain of late years have wilfully deceived the church of God. We know, " that Christ's body was rent for our sins, and that by his wounds we are made whole :—that

Christ in his body carried our sins upon the tree:—and 1 Pet. ii. 24.
 by the oblation thereof, once made upon the cross, hath Heb. ix. 12.
 sanctified us for ever, and hath purchased for us everlasting
 redemption:”—and, “that there is none other name Acts iv. 12.
 (or sacrifice) under heaven, whereby we can be saved, but
 only the name (and sacrifice) of Jesus Christ.” I reckon,
 whoso teacheth this doctrine, leaveth not the church of
 God without a sacrifice.

Touching the multitude of authorities, wherewith
 M. Harding findeth himself so much encumbered, the
 greater his store is, the more will wise men require his
 discretion and skill in the choice. His choice will seem
 unskilful, if he allege his authorities beside his purpose.
 His purpose and promise is to prove, that the priest hath
 good warrant, to offer up Christ the Son of God unto his
 Father. Which purpose if he never vouchsafe once to
 touch, but range abroad, as his manner is, and rove idly
 at matters impertinent, then must we needs say, he be-
 wrayeth his want, and bringeth his great store out of
 credit. So shall the offer, that is gently made him, seem
 to stand upon good and convenient terms, of truth and
 modesty. So shall his storefull vaunt of all things, per-
 forming nothing, unto the wise (to use his own words)
 seem pert and insolent.

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

The scripture itself ministering evident proof for the oblation
 of Christ to his Father by the priests of the new testament, in
 the institution of this holy sacrament, in the figure of Melchise-
 dek, and in the prophecy of Malachi the prophet: the authorities
 of the fathers needed not to be alleged, were not the same scrip-
 ture by the overthwart³⁷ and false interpretations of our ad-
 versaries, wrested and turned to a contrary sense, to the horrible
 seducing of the unlearned.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Alas, what tool is there so weak, that M. Harding will
 refuse to strike withal! To prove his imagined kind of
 sacrifice, he hath brought us forth out of his great store,
 the example of Melchisedek, and the prophecy of Malachi:

³⁷ [Overthwart, perverse.]

as if he would reason thus: "God saith unto Christ, 'Thou art a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedek:'" or, "God saith by the prophet Malachi, 'A pure oblation shall be offered unto me in every place:' ergo, the priest hath authority and power, to offer up the Son of God unto his Father." If he had not had good choice and store of authorities, he would never have begun with these.

But he addeth further, as matter of grievance, "That these plain scriptures, by the overthwart and false interpretations of his adversaries, are wrested and turned to a contrary sense, and that," as he saith, "to the horrible seducing of the unlearned." Doubtless, here is a very horrible accusation. Howbeit, if we haply had mistaken these places, and our error therein were fully proved, yet should not M. Harding in such horrible terms reprove us, for doing that thing once, that he and his fellows do so often. But by what words, by what false interpretation, into what perverse or heretical sense, have we so horribly wrested these scriptures? M. Harding is wise, is eloquent, is watchful, is circumspect, is fast addicted unto his cause: he dissembleth and leaveth nothing, that any way may serve his purpose. If our errors be so horrible, he should not have spared them: if there be none, he should not thus have touched them. If M. Harding wink at them, who can see them? if M. Harding know them not, who can know them?

Perhaps he will say, Ye expound the prophecy of Malachi, sometimes of prayer, and sometimes of the preaching of the gospel: this was never the prophet's meaning: this is an horrible wresting of the scriptures. Thus, no doubt, M. Harding will say: for otherwise he can say nothing. And yet he knoweth, and, being learned, cannot choose but know, that this is the old learned catholic fathers' exposition, touching these words of the prophet Malachi, and not ours³⁷. He knoweth that the ancient father Tertullian saith thus: "The pure sacrifice, that Malachias speaketh of, that should be offered up in

Tertull. contra Judæos, [p. 188.]

³⁷ [See vol. i. p. 168, where Jewel refers to this seventeenth Article.]

every place, *est prædicatio evangelii usque ad finem mundi*: 'is the preaching of the gospel until the end of the world³⁸.' And in another place: *Simplex oratio de conscientia pura*: "The sacrifice that Malachi meant, is a devout prayer proceeding from a pure conscience." He knoweth, that St. Hierom expoundeth the same words in this wise: *Dicit,.....orationes sanctorum Domino offerendas esse, non in una orbis provincia Judæa, sed in omni loco*: "The prophet Malachi meaneth hereby, that the prayers of holy people should be offered unto God, not only in Jewry, that was but one province of the world, but also in all places." He knoweth, that Eusebius calleth the same sacrifice of Malachi, "the sacrifice and the incense of prayer³⁹." Thus the holy catholic fathers expounded these words of the prophet Malachi: and yet were they not therefore judged either overthwart wresters of the scriptures, or horrible deceivers of the people.

Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. 4. [p. 414.]

Hieronym. in 1. cap. Mal. [lib. 1813.]

Euseb. de Demonstr. lib. 1. [cap. 10. p. 40.] τὸ δι' εὐχῶν θυμίαμα.

Now, of the other side, if it may please M. Harding to shew forth but one ancient doctor or father, that either by the example of Melchisedek, or by force of these words of Malachi, will conclude that the priest hath authority and power to offer up verily and indeed the Son of God unto his Father, he may haply win some credit.

M. HARDING: *Fourth Division.*

For whereas the holy evangelists report that Christ at his last supper took bread, gave thanks, brake it, and said, "This is my body, which is given for you:" again, "This is my blood, which is shed for you in remission of sins:" by these words, being words of sacrificing and offering, they shew and set forth an oblation in act and deed, though the term itself of oblation or sacrifice be not expressed. Albeit to some of excellent knowledge, *datur* here soundeth no less than *offertur* or *immolatur*, that is to say, "is offered," or "sacrificed," specially the addition, *pro vobis*, withal considered. For if Christ said truly, (as he is truth itself, and guile was never found in his mouth,) then was

Words of oblation, without terms of oblation.

³⁸ [Tertullian contra Judæos " . . . Indubitate quod in omnem terram exire habebat prædicatio apostolorum."]

³⁹ [Eusebius de Demonstr. lib. 1. sub fin. Θύομεν δὴτα τοιγαροῦν τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέ-

σεως. . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ θυμιῶμεν τὸ προφητικὸν θυμίαμα, ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ προσκομίζοντες αὐτῷ τὸν εὐώδη καρπὸν τῆς παναρέτου θεολογίας, διὰ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐχῶν ἀναφέρουτες.]

his body presently given, and for us given, at the time he spake the words, that is, at his supper. For he said, ^a*datur*, "is given," not *dabitur*, "shall be given." (221) And likewise was his blood shed in remission of sins, at the time of that supper: for the text hath ^a*funditur*, "is shed." But the giving of his body for us, and the shedding of his blood in remission of sins, is an oblation of the same. *Ergo*, Christ offered his body and blood at the supper. And thus *datur* signifieth here as much as *offertur*.

Now this being true that our Lord offered himself unto his Father at his last supper, having given commandment to his apostles to do the same that he there did, whom then he ordained priests of the new testament, saying, "Do this in my remembrance," as Clement doth plainly shew, lib. 8. *Apostol. Constitut.* cap. ult.; the same charge pertaining no less to the priests that be now the successors of the apostles in this behalf than to the apostles themselves; it doth right well appear, howsoever M. Jewel assureth himself of the contrary, and whatsoever the devil hath wrought, and by his ministers taught against the sacrifice of the mass, that priests have authority to offer up Christ unto his Father.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding beginneth to scan his tenses, to rip up syllables, and to hunt for letters; and in the end buildeth up the highest castle of his religion upon a guess. I marvel that so learned a man would either use so unlearned arguments; or, having such store of authorities, as he pretendeth, would ever make so simple choice.

He saith, "These words, 'is given, is shed,' be words of sacrificing, though the term itself of oblation and sacrifice be not expressed. Here M. Harding, besides that he hath imagined a strange construction of his own, that never any learned man knew before, and so straggleth alone, and swerveth from all the old fathers, includeth also a repugnance and contradiction against himself. For whereas "words" and "terms" sound both one thing, the one being mere English, the other borrowed of the Latin, M. Harding saith: "Christ, in the institution of his supper, used the words of sacrificing, and yet expressed not the terms of sacrificing." Such privilege these men have, with shift of terms, to beguile the world. For, if Christ used the words of sacrificing, how can M. Harding say he used not the terms of sacrificing? And if he used not the

The 221st untruth, without any sense or savour.

a A great folly. For the old catholic fathers expound it by *dabitur* and *funditur*, in the future tense.

terms, (words and terms being one thing,) how can he say he used the words?

Verily if this Latin word *dare* be *sacrificare*, and “giving” be “sacrificing,” then whereas St. Paul saith, “If Rom. xli. 20. thine enemy be thirsty, give him drink:” and whereas Judas saith, “What will ye give me, and I will deliver Matt. xxvi. 15. him unto you?” and whereas the foolish virgins say, “Give Matt. xxv. 8. us part of your oil,” &c.; in every of these, and such other like places, by this new divinity M. Harding will be able to find a sacrifice.

Yet, saith he, “Certain men of excellent knowledge have thus expounded it.” It seemeth very strange, that these so notable men, of so excellent knowledge, should have no names. Perhaps he meaneth Tapper of Louvain, or Gropper of Cologne, of whom he hath borrowed the whole substance well near of all this article. Howbeit the demand was of the ancient doctors of the church: not of any of these, or other such petit fathers.

But Christ saith in the present tense, “This is my body that is given;” not in the future tense, “that shall be given.” And likewise, “This is my blood, that presently is shed;” not in the future tense, “that shall be shed.” Therefore Christ sacrificed his body and shed his blood presently at the supper.

Here M. Harding is driven to control the old common translation of the New Testament, not only that beareth the name of St. Hierom³⁹, and hath been evermore generally received in the church, and is allowed by the council of Trident, but also that is still used and continued in his own mass book. I grant in the Greek it is written *datur*, “is given,” not *dabitur*, “shall be given.” But here the present tense, according to the common phrase of the scriptures, is used for the future. Chrysostom readeth it thus, *dabitur*, “shall be given,” not *datur*, “is given⁴⁰.” Origen likewise readeth, not *effunditur*, “is shed,” but Chrysost. in 1 Cor. 11. Origen. in Matt. tract. 35. [iii. 898.]

³⁹ [St. Jerome and the Vulgate, in 1 Corinth. xi. read “tradetur;” in St. Luke xxii. “datur;” but in all cases “fundetur,” or “effundetur.”]

⁴⁰ [The Editor has not found any passage where St. Chrysostom reads *dabitur*; but in the Latin edition the expression *offeretur* occurs.]

Chrysost. in
Catena.
[Hom. 83. in
Matt. tom.
vii. 783.]

effundetur, “shall be shed.” And in this sort Chrysostom also expoundeth it: *Effundetur* [ed. 1588, *effunditur*] *pro multis*. *Hoc dicens, ostendit, quod passio ejus est mysterium salutis humanæ: per quod etiam discipulos consolatur*: “Shall be shed for many. Thus saying, he sheweth that his passion is the mystery of the salvation of mankind: and by the same he comforteth his disciples⁴¹.” Again he saith: *De passione et cruce sua loquebatur*: “Christ” (uttering these words of the sacrament) “spake of his passion and of his cross.”

To be short, if it be true that Christ shed his blood at his last supper, and that verily, really, and indeed, as M. Harding alone strangely avoucheth, and no man else, I trow, beside him; then can he no more say, “the same was an unbloody sacrifice:” and so must he yield up the strongest tower of all his hold. For, if the sacrifice that Christ made at his supper were unbloody, how did Christ there shed his blood? If Christ, as M. Harding saith, did there shed his blood, how can that sacrifice be called unbloody?

Isaiah liii.
4, 5.

Galat. vi. 14.

But to leave these phantasies and vain shifts, Christ gave his body to be broken, and his blood to be shed, not at his last supper, but only upon his cross, and nowhere else. “There he bare our iniquities; there was he rent for our sins.” And in that only respect we receive his body, and embrace it, and have fruit of it. In this respect St. Paul saith, “God forbid I should rejoice in any thing saving only in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

Therefore this new article of the faith, of the real sacrificing and shedding of Christ’s blood at the table, neither being true in itself, nor hitherto by M. Harding any way proved, notwithstanding the great store and choice of his authorities; forasmuch as Christ never gave, neither his apostles nor any their successors, commission to do more

⁴¹ [This passage is from hom. 83. in Matth. Τοῦτο εἰς ἄφεισιν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμά μου, φησὶ, τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεισιν ἁμαρτιῶν τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγε κἀντεύθεν δεικνύς ἅμα

ὅτι μύστηριόν ἐστὶ τὸ πάθος καὶ ὁ σταυρός. The Editor does not know what Catena is alluded to in the margin. It probably gave the reading “*effundetur*,” which is not given in the Latin edit. 1588.]

in that behalf than he himself had done; to say that any mortal man hath power and authority really and indeed to sacrifice the Son of God, it is a manifest and wicked blasphemy; the great and gross errors, wherewith the devil and his disciples, in the time of his kingdom of darkness, have deceived the world, notwithstanding.

As for Clemens, whom M. Harding so often calleth the apostles' fellow, as he is but lately start up and come abroad, and therefore hath not yet gotten sufficient credit, and is here brought in dumb, and saying nothing, so is he not worthy of further answer⁴². Howbeit M. Harding doth great wrong, otherwise to report his author's words than he findeth them. Truly his Clemens, whatsoever he were, saith not, "The priest hath commission or power to offer up the Son of God." His words are plain to the contrary: *Antitypon regalis corporis Christi offerte*: "Offer ye up" (not the body of Christ, but) "the sign or sacrament of the royal body of Christ." Likewise again he saith: *Offerimus tibi Regi, et Deo, juxta institutionem Christi, hunc panem, et hoc poculum*: "We offer up unto thee, our King and God," (not the very body of thy Son really and indeed, but) "this bread and this cup, according to Christ's institution." It is a great prerogative for M. Harding both to make doctors of his own, and also to give them his own constructions.

Clem. Con-
stit. Apostol.
lib. 6. cap. 30.

Clem. Con-
stit. Apostol.
lib. 8. [cap.
12.]

Neither did Christ, by these words, "Do ye this in my remembrance," erect any new succession of sacrificers, to offer him up really unto his Father; nor ever did any ancient learned father so expound it. Christ's meaning is clear by the words that follow. For he saith not only, "Do ye this," but he addeth also, "in my remembrance." Which doing pertaineth not only unto the apostles and their successors, as M. Harding imagineth, but also to the whole people. And therefore St. Paul saith, not only to the ministers, but also to the whole congregation of Corinth, "As often as ye shall eat this bread and drink this cup, ye shall shew forth and publish the Lord's death until he come." Likewise St. Chrysostom applieth the same

1 Cor. xi. 26.

⁴² [See vol. i. 169, note ⁶.]

Chrysost. ad
Popul. An-
tioch. Hom.
61.

not only to the clergy but also to the whole people of his church of Antioch. Thus he saith: *Hoc facite in memoriam beneficii mei, salutis vestræ*: "Do ye this in remembrance of my benefit, and of your salvation⁴³."

Of these weak positions M. Harding, without the warrant or authority of any learned father, reasoneth thus: "Christ saith, This is my body that is given for you: do this in my remembrance:

"*Ergo*, the priest hath power to offer up the Son of God unto his Father."

M. HARDING: *Fifth Division.*

That Christ offered himself to his Father in his last supper, and that priests, by those words, "Do this in my remembrance," have not only authority but also a special commandment to do the same; and that the figure of Melchisedek and the prophecy of Malachi pertaineth to this sacrifice, and maketh proof of the same: let us see by the testimonies of the fathers what doctrine the apostles have left to the church.

Eusebius Cæsariensis hath these words: *Horrorem afferentia mensæ Christi sacrificia.....supremo Deo offerre, per eminentissimum omnium ipsius pontificem edocti sumus*: "We are taught," saith he, "to offer unto our supreme God the sacrifices of Christ's table, which cause us to tremble and quake for fear, by his bishop highest of all⁴⁴." Here he calleth Christ, in respect of his sacrifice, God's Bishop, highest of all bishops: the sacrifice of Christ's table he calleth (222) the body and blood of Christ, because at the table in his last supper he sacrificed and offered the same; and, for that it is his very body and very blood, imagination only, phantasy, and figure set apart, he termeth these sacrifices, as commonly the ancient fathers do, "horrible," causing trembling and fear. And, whereas he saith, we have been taught to offer these sacrifices to God, doubtless he meaneth by these words of Christ: "Do this in my remembrance;" "This is my body, which is given for you;" "This is my blood, which is shed for you." Clement, in his eighth book, often cited, speaking of the sacrifice offered by the apostles, commonly addeth these words: *secundum ipsius ordinationem*; or, *ipso ordinante*: whereby he confesseth it to be Christ's own ordinance.

The 222d
untruth. For
Eusebius
calleth it the
sacrifice of
thanksgiving;
and
saith, *Memo-
riam offerre
dedit pro sa-
crificio*. [p.
38.]

⁴³ [Chrysost. ad Pop. Antioch. The only genuine homilies under this title are the first 21. In bishop Jewel's time they were all admitted without distinction. Jewel's quotation is not verbally correct.]

⁴⁴ [Euseb. Demonstr. Evangel.

... και τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς Χριστοῦ τραπέζης θύματα, δι' ὧν καλλιερούντες, τὰς ἀναίμους καὶ λογικὰς αὐτῷ τε προσηνεῖς θυσίας διὰ παντὸς βίου τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων προσφέρειν Θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ πάντων ἀνωτάτου Ἀρχιερέως δεδιδάγματα.]

De Demon-
strat. Evan-
lib. 1. cap. 10.
[p. 39.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

To prove that the priest offereth up the Son of God, M. Harding hath here brought in Eusebius, an ancient father, that never once named any such oblation of the Son of God. So much is he oppressed and encumbered with his store.

True it is, the ministration of the holy communion is oftentimes of the old learned fathers called a sacrifice; not for that they thought the priest had authority to sacrifice the Son of God, but for that therein we offer up unto God thanks and praises for that great sacrifice once made upon the cross. So saith St. Augustine: *In isto sacrificio est gratiarum actio, et commemoratio carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit*: “In this sacrifice is a thanksgiving and a remembrance of the flesh of Christ, which he hath offered for us⁴⁵.” Likewise Eusebius saith: “Christ, after all

August. [Fulgent.] ad Petrum Diac. cap. 19. [vi. App. 30.]

other things done, made a marvellous oblation and a passing sacrifice unto his Father” (upon his cross) “for the salvation of us all: giving unto us to offer continually unto God a remembrance instead of a sacrifice⁴⁶.” So Nazianzenus calleth the holy communion, “a figure of that great mystery of the death of Christ.”

Euseb. de Demonst. lib. 1. c. 10. [p. 38.]

Memoriam pro sacrificio. Nazian. in Apolog. [l. 56.]

τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀντίτυπον.

τὴν θυσίαν αἰδέσεως.

This it is, that Eusebius calleth “the sacrifice of the Lord’s table:” which also he calleth, *sacrificium laudis*, “the sacrifice of praise.”

But Eusebius saith further, “This sacrifice is dreadful, and causeth the heart to quake.” M. Harding may not well gather by any force of these words, that the Son of God is really offered up by the priest unto his Father. For all things whatsoever, that put us in remembrance of the majesty and judgments of God, of the holy fathers are called dreadful. St. Cyril saith: *Lectio divinarum et terribilium scripturarum*: “The reading of the divine and terrible scriptures.” St. Chrysostom calleth the words of

Cyrrill. in Apol.

⁴⁵ [The author was not St. Augustine, but Fulgentius Ruspensis, A. D. 507.]

⁴⁶ [Euseb. Demonstr. Evangel. Μετὰ δὲ πάντα οἶόν τι θανμάσιον

θῦμα, καὶ σφάγιον ἐξαιρετον τῷ πατρὶ καλλιερησάμενος, ὑπὲρ τῆς πάντων ἡμῶν ἀνηνεγκε σωτηρίας, μνήμην δὲ ἡμῖν παραδοῦς ἀντὶ θυσίας τῷ Θεῷ διηλεκτῶς προσφέρειν.]

Chrys. 1 Cor. baptism, *Verba arcana et metuenda, et horribiles canones* hom. 40. *dogmatum de cælo transmissorum*: "The secret and dreadful words, and terrible rules of the doctrine that came from heaven." And, speaking of the hand and voice of the deacon, he saith thus: *Manu illa tremenda, et continua voce clamans, alios vocat, alios arcet*: "With that terrible hand, and continual voice crying, some he calleth in, and some he putteth off."

[Chrys. in
Hebræos,
hom. 17. xii.
170.]

This sacrifice maketh the heart to tremble, for that therein is laid forth the mystery that was hidden from worlds and generations: the horror of sin; the death of the Son of God; that he took our heaviness, and bare our sorrows, and was wounded for our offences, and was rent and tormented for our wickedness; that he was carried like an innocent lamb unto the slaughter; that he cried unto his Father, "O God, O my God, why hast thou thus forsaken me?"

There we call to remembrance all the causes and circumstances of Christ's death: the shame of the cross; the darkening of the air; the shaking of the earth; the renting of the veil; the cleaving of the rocks; the opening of the graves; the descending into hell; and the conquering of the devil. Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Quamvis quis lapis esset, illa nocte audita, quomodo cum discipulis tristis fuerit, quomodo traditus, quomodo ligatus, quomodo abductus, quomodo judicatus, quomodo denique omnia passus, cera mollior fiet, et terram, et omnem terræ cogitationem abjiciet*: "Any man, hearing of the order of that night, how Christ was mournful among his disciples, how he was delivered, how he was bound, how he was led away, how he was arraigned, and how meekly he suffered all that was done unto him, were he as hard as a stone, yet would he be as soft as wax, and would throw both the earth and all earthly cogitations away from him."

Chrys. in 1
ad Cor. hom.
17. [1. hom.
27. x. 245.]

[Nic. Cabasilas, cap. 7.
p. 125. ed.
Paris. 1560.]

Thus saith Nicolaus Cabasilas, one of master Harding's late Greek doctors: *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem. Sed quænam est hæc commemoratio?* &c. "Do ye this in remembrance of me. But what is this remembrance? How do we consider our Lord in the holy ministration? What

do we conceive him doing? how dealing? what suffering? what think we, what speak we of him? Do we imagine of him" (in that time of the holy mysteries) "that he healed the blind? that he raised the dead? that he stayed the winds? or that with a few loaves he fed thousands? which are tokens that he was God omnipotent. No, not so. But rather we call to remembrance such things as declared his weakness: his cross, his passion, his death. In respect of those things, he said, 'Do ye this in my remembrance.' (The priest, both by his words and also by the whole circumstance of his doing, seemeth to say, Thus Christ came to his passion; thus he was wounded in the side; thus he died; thus blood and water issued and streamed from his wound)⁴⁷." These considerations, thus laid before our eyes, are able to cause any godly heart to quake and tremble. As for the real offering up of Christ in sacrifice, that learned father Eusebius saith nothing.

Verily, it is but a simple sophism to say, "This sacrifice is dreadful, and causeth us to quake: *ergo*, the priest offereth up the Son of God unto his Father."

M. HARDING : *Sixth Division.*

That Christ sacrificed himself at his supper, Hesychius affirmeth with these words: *Quod Dominus jussit (Levit. iv.) ut sacerdos, vitulum pro peccato oblaturus, ponat manum super caput ejus, et jugulet eum coram Domino, Christum significat, quem nemo obtulit, sed nec immolare poterat, nisi semetipsum ipse ad patiendum tradidisset. Propter quod non solum dicebat, Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam: sed et præveniens semetipsum in cæna apostolorum immolavit, quod sciunt, qui mysteriorum percipiunt virtutem.* "That our Lord commanded," saith he, "the priest, which should offer a calf for sin, to put his hand upon his head, and to stick him before our Lord, it signifieth Christ, whom no man hath offered, neither could any man sacrifice him, except he had delivered himself to suffer. For the which he said not only, 'I have power to lay down my soul, and I have power to take it again;' but also preventing it, he offered up himself in sacrifice in the supper of the apostles: which they know that receive the virtue of the mysteries." By these words of Hesychius we learn

Christ offered himself in a mystery, but not really and indeed.

⁴⁷ [Cabasilas. The sentence between brackets is not found in this passage of Cabasilas.]

that Christ offered and sacrificed his body and blood twice. First in that holy supper unbloodily, when he took bread in his hands, and brake it, &c. without division of the sacrifice, for it is but one and the same sacrifice; and afterward on the cross, with shedding of his blood, and that is it he meaneth by the word "preventing."

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

We deny not but it may well be said, "Christ at his last supper offered up himself unto his Father:" albeit, not really and indeed, but according to M. Harding's own distinction, in a figure, or in a mystery: in such sort as we say Christ was offered in the sacrifices of the old law: and as St. John saith: *Agnus occisus ab origine mundi*: "The Lamb was slain from the beginning of the world." As Christ was slain at the table, so was he sacrificed at the table. But he was not slain at the table verily and indeed, but only in a mystery: therefore he was not sacrificed at the table really and indeed, but only in a mystery.

Rev. xiii. 8.

Aug. Epist.
23. [ii. 267.]

So saith St. Augustine⁴⁸: *Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in semetipso? Et tamen in sacramento, non tantum per omnes paschæ solennitates, sed etiam omni die populis immolatur. Nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari. Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent*: "Was not Christ once offered in himself? And yet in" (or by way of) "a sacrament, not only at the solemn feast of Easter, but every day he is offered unto the people. And he saith no untruth, that, being demanded, maketh answer, that Christ is sacrificed." His reason is this: "For if sacraments had not a certain likeness or resemblance of the things whereof they be sacraments, then should they utterly be no sacraments."

Notwithstanding, Hesychius, expounding the book of Leviticus, to the intent he may force the whole story of the life and death of Christ to answer every particular ceremony of the law, is sometimes driven to stretch and strain the scriptures to his purpose. So he saith: "Christ is the

Hesych. in
Levit. lib. 1.
cap. 4. [fol.
21. B.]

⁴⁸ [See vol. i. 274, note 6.]

altar⁴⁹." And, "Christ incarnate in the Virgin's womb is the sodden sacrifice."

Lib. 1. cap. 2.
[fol. 13. C.]
Sacrificium
coctum.

Now, as Christ was the altar, and as he was sacrificed in his mother's womb, even so he sacrificed himself at his supper: not in proper or usual manner of speech, but only in a mystery signifying.

Otherwise St. Cyprian plainly openeth the whole difference of these two sacrifices in this sort: *Dedit Dominus noster in mensa, in qua ultimum cum apostolis participavit convivium, propriis manibus panem et vinum: in cruce vero manibus militum corpus tradidit vulnerandum*: "Our Lord at the table, whereat he received his last supper with his disciples, with his own hands gave" (not his very body and very blood, really and indeed, but) "bread and wine: but upon the cross he gave his own body with the soldiers' hands to be wounded." This, saith St. Cyprian, is the difference between the sacrifice of the table and the sacrifice of the cross: at the one, Christ gave bread and wine; upon the other, he gave his body.

Cyprian. [Arnoldi] de
Uctione
Chrismatis.
[App. cxxv.]

Therefore, whereas M. Harding saith, only upon his own warrant, "That Christ really sacrificed himself at two sundry times, and that he twice really shed his blood, first at the table, and afterward upon the cross:" the untruth and folly hereof is easily reproved by these plain words of St. Paul: *Semel oblatus est, ad multorum exhaurienda peccata*: "He was once offered to take away the sins of many." And again: "With one sacrifice he hath made perfect them for ever that be sanctified." These places are clear, and without question; unless M. Harding will say that one and two, and once and twice, be both one thing.

Heb. ix. 28.

Heb. x. 14.

M. HARDING: *Seventh Division.*

And at the same very instant of time (which is here further to be added, as a necessary point of Christian doctrine) we must understand (223) that Christ offered himself in heaven invisibly (as concerning man) in the sight of his heavenly Father, and that from that time forward that oblation of Christ in heaven was never intermitted, but continueth always for our atonement with God, and shall without ceasing endure until the end of the world.

The 223d un-
truth, vain,
and fantasti-
cal, and with-
out ground.

⁴⁹ [Hesychius in Levit. lib. 1. "sicut enim ipse sacerdos et sac. 4. "Altare holocaustomatis rursus Christi corpus intelligamus; "crificium est, sic et altare est."]

For as St. Paul saith, "Jesus hath not entered into temples made with hands, the samplers of the true temples, but into heaven itself, to appear now to the countenance of God for us." Now as this oblation and sacrifice of Christ endureth in heaven continually, forasmuch as he is risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven with that body which he gave to Thomas to feel, bringing in thither his blood, as Hesy chius saith, and bearing the marks of his wounds, and there appeareth before the face of God with that thornpricked, nailbored, spearpierced, and otherwise wounded, rent, and torn body, for us; (whereby we understand the virtue of his oblation on the cross ever enduring, not the oblation itself, with renewing of pain and sufferance continued;) so we do perpetually celebrate this oblation and sacrifice of Christ's very body and blood in the mass, in remembrance of him, (224) commanded so to do until his coming.

The 224th untruth. For Christ never commanded M. Harding neither to say mass nor to offer up his body in sacrifice.

Wherein our adversaries so foolishly as wickedly scoff at us, as though we sacrificed Christ again, so as he was sacrificed on the cross, that is, in bloody manner. But we do not so offer or sacrifice Christ again: but that oblation of him in the supper, and ours in the mass, is but one oblation, the same sacrifice, for this cause by his divine ordinance left unto us, that, as the oblation once made on the cross continually endureth, and appeareth before the face of God in heaven for our behalf, continued not by new suffering, but by perpetual intercession for us; so the memory of it may ever, until his second coming, be kept amongst us also in earth, and that thereby we may apply and bring unto us through faith the great benefits which by that one oblation of himself on the cross he hath for us procured, and daily doth procure.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

"At the same very instant of time," saith M. Harding, "when Christ was sacrificed upon the cross, he offered up himself also in heaven in the sight of his heavenly Father." Which thing⁵⁰ he enlargeth rhetorically with a tragical description of a "thornpricked, nailbored, spearpierced, and otherwise rent and torn body. And this," saith he, "is a necessary point of Christian doctrine." And that he avoucheth constantly, albeit without the word or witness of any ancient writer, only upon his own credit. Whereof also groweth some suspicion that his store of old records is not so plenteous as it is supposed.

⁵⁰ [This is not a fair representation of Harding's meaning. These words are not applied to the groundless allegation that "Christ was sacrificed at the very same instant in heaven, as he was upon earth," but "to his now appearing

before the face of God, bearing the marks of his wounds;" and surely no believer can doubt that he does so appear. There is something of a tone of levity in Jewel's manner of treating this subject, which is much to be regretted.]

But, where he saith, "Christ was thus invisibly sacrificed in heaven," I marvel he saith not likewise that Pilate, Annas, Caiaphas, the soldiers, and the tormentors, were likewise in heaven, to make this sacrifice. For without this company Christ's blood was not shed. "And without shedding of blood," St. Paul saith, "there is no sacrifice for remission of sin." This fable is so vain, that I believe M. Harding himself is not well able to expound his own meaning. Origen saith, there were some in his time that thought, "that as Christ was crucified in this world for the living, so he should afterward suffer, and be crucified in the world to come for the dead." But that Christ was thus thornpricked, nailbored, spearpierced, and crucified in heaven, I think no man ever saw or said but M. Harding. The apostles, the evangelists, the old doctors, and ancient fathers never knew it. St. Paul saith: *Semel seipsum obtulit*: "Once he offered up himself:" *Semel introivit in sancta*: "Once he entered into the holy place." And therefore, hanging upon the cross, and yielding up the ghost, he said, *Consummatum est*: "It is finished." This sacrifice is perfectly wrought for ever. This only sacrifice of Christ the Son of God the scriptures acknowledge, and none other.

Howbeit, like as the prayers that Christ once made, and the doctrine that he once taught, remain still full and effectual as at the first; even so the sacrifice that Christ once made upon the cross remaineth still in full force, effectual, and perfect, and endureth for ever. Therefore St. Paul saith: "Christ hath an everlasting priesthood, and liveth still, that he may still pray for us." And therefore God the Father saith unto him, and to none other, either man, or angel, or archangel, *Tu es sacerdos in æternum*: "Thou art a priest for ever." And therefore St. Chrysostom compareth this sacrifice to a most sovereign salve, that, being once laid to the wound, healeth it clean, and needeth no more laying on. Likewise St. Cyprian saith: *Nec sacerdotii ejus penituit Deum: quoniam sacrificium, quod in cruce obtulit, sic in beneplacito Dei constat acceptabile, et perpetua virtute consistit, ut non minus hodie in conspectu Patris oblatio illa fit efficax, quam ea die, qua de saucio*

Heb. ix. 22.

Origen. in Epist. ad Rom. lib. 5. cap. 6. [iv. 568.]

Heb. vii. 27.

Heb. ix. 12.

Heb. vii. 24. 25.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. hom. 17. [xii. 107.]

Cyprian. [Arnold.] de Baptis. Christi. [App. xcvi.]

latere sanguis et aqua exivit: et semper reservatæ in corpore plagæ salutis humanæ exigant pretium: "It never repented God of Christ's priesthood: for the sacrifice that he offered upon the cross is so acceptable in the good will of God, and so standeth in continual strength and virtue, that the same oblation is no less acceptable this day in the sight of God the Father, than it was that day when blood and water ran out of his wounded side. The scars, reserved still in his body, do weigh the price of the salvation of man."

But M. Harding condemneth us all for foolish and wicked people. For foolish, I know not why. Neither is it thought a wise man's part either greatly to dislike other men's wits, or overmuch to like his own. Howbeit, whoso speaketh as never wise man spake, and yet himself understandeth not what he speaketh, as in this case it is thought M. Harding doth, hath no great cause, in this behalf, to charge others with folly.

Of the other side, whatsoever mortal man presumeth to offer up Christ in sacrifice, and dareth to desire God the Father so favourably to behold his own only Son, as in old times he beheld the oblation of Abel or of Melchisedech, and is not afraid therewith to beguile the simple, and to mock the world, as M. Harding doth daily at his mass, he cannot well excuse himself of open wickedness.

Notwithstanding, this matter is easily answered. "For," saith he, "we sacrifice not Christ again: the oblation that Christ made upon the cross, and ours in the mass, is all one. And this sacrifice Christ hath commanded us to continue until his coming." If M. Harding make the self-same sacrifice that Christ made upon the cross, then is he "a priest after the order of Melchisedek:" and so "the king of justice, the prince of peace, and a priest for ever, without successor." For these titles be incident to the priesthood of Melchisedek; which nevertheless, I think, M. Harding of his modesty will not acknowledge. And, without the same, he cannot offer up to God the same sacrifice that Christ offered upon the cross.

And, where he saith: "Christ hath commanded him and his fellows, to make and continue this sacrifice until

his coming :” if he had meant simply and plainly, he would have shewed, either when, or where, or by what words Christ gave him this commandment. For so large a commission is worthy the shewing. And it were great boldness, to attempt such a matter without commission.

M. HARDING : *Eighth Division.*

Now for further proof of the offering and sacrificing of Christ of those words of our Lord, “Do this in my remembrance,” to recite some testimonies of the fathers : first, Dionysius, St. Paul’s scholar and bishop of Athens, writeth thus : *Quocirca reverenter simul, et ex pontificali officio, post sacras divinatorum operum laudes, quod hostiam salutarem, quæ super ipsum est, litet, se excusat, ad ipsum primo decenter exclamans, Tu dixisti, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem* : “Wherefore the bishop,” saith he, “reverently, and according to his bishoply office, after the holy praises of God’s works, he excuseth himself, that he taketh upon him to offer that healthful sacrifice, which is above his degree and worthiness, crying out first unto him in seemly wise, Lord, thou hast commanded thus, saying, ‘Do this in my remembrance.’” By these words he confesseth, that he could not be so hardy, (225) as to offer up Christ unto his Father, had not Christ himself so commanded, when he said, “Do this in my remembrance.” This is the doctrine touching this Article, that St. Paul taught his scholars, which M. Jewel denieth.

The 225th untruth, joined with great folly. For Dionysius speaketh not one word of offering up the Son of God unto his Father.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here mayest thou, gentle reader, easily see, that M. Harding either had not that abundance of store, whereof notwithstanding he hath made us so large a promise, or else had no great regard unto his choice. For Dionysius hath no token, or inkling of any such sacrificing of the Son of God unto his Father. But clearly, and in most plain wise, he sheweth the difference that is between the sacrifice of the cross and the sacrifice of the holy communion. These be his words : “The priest extolleth those things, that Christ wrought in his flesh upon the cross, for the salvation of mankind : and with spiritual eyes, beholding the spiritual understanding thereof, draweth near to the figurative sacrifice of the same⁴⁹.” Here Dionysius

Dionysius Eccl. Hierar. cap. 3. [p. 156.] πρὸς συμβολικὴν ἱερουργίαν.

⁴⁹ [Dionysius Pseudo-Areop. τὰς εἰρημένας ἱερὰς θεωργίας, Ἰη-
“Ευθεν ὁ θεῖος ἱεράρχης ἐπὶ τοῦ σου τῆς θειοτάτης ἡμῶν προνοίας, θείου θυσιαστηρίου καταστάς, ὑμνεῖ ἄς ἐπὶ σωτηρία τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν

callesth not the ministration of the holy mysteries, the sacrificing of Christ unto his Father, as M. Harding would force us to believe, but a figurative sacrifice, that is, a figure or a sign of that great sacrifice. And Pachymeres the paraphrast expoundeth the same words in this wise :

Pachymer. *Πρὸς τὸν ἄρτον καὶ ποτήριον ἔρχεται :* “ He cometh to the bread and the cup.”

in 3. cap.
Ecccl. Hierar.
[p. 150.]

“ Then the priest,” saith Dionysius, “ after certain prayers and holy songs, excuseth himself, as not worthy to make that sacrifice : and pronounceth these words out with a loud voice, *Tu dixisti*, &c. : “ Thou hast said, ‘ Do this in my remembrance.’ ” Hereof M. Harding concludeth thus : “ The priest excuseth himself : *ergo*, he offereth up the Son of God unto his Father.” A young sophister would never so unskilfully frame his arguments. Otherwise the respondent might easily say : *Nego consequentiam et consequens*. For what order or sequel is there in this reason ? How may this antecedent and this consequent agree together ?

M. Harding knoweth, there be other sundry causes wherefore the priest should excuse his unworthiness, and not this only that he imagineth. The priest in the Liturgy or Communion, that beareth the name of St. Basil, prayeth thus : *Fac nos idoneos,.....ut tibi offeramus sacrificium laudis* : “ Make us meet, to offer unto thee” (not Christ thine only Son, but) “ the sacrifice of praise.” In like manner Nazianzen saith : “ How can they, or dare they, offer unto God,” (he saith not, the body of Christ really and indeed, but) “ the figure of these great mysteries ?” But M. Harding, being utterly void of other reasons, proveth his imagined sacrifice of the Son of God, only by the unworthiness of the priest.

Liturgia
Basilli. [Lat.
p. 37. Gr. p.
49.]

Nazian. in
Apologet.
[i. 56.]
τὴν τῶν
μεγάλων
μυστηρίων
ἀντίτυπον.

This is the just judgment of God, that whoso endeavoureth himself to deceive and blind others, shall be deceived and blinded himself. For Dionysius useth the

εὐδοκία τοῦ παναγεστάτου Πατρὸς ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ κατὰ τὸ λόγιον ἐτελείωσεν ὑμῆσας δὲ καὶ τὴν σεβασμίαν αὐτῶν καὶ νοητὴν θεωρίαν ἐν νοεροῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐποπτεύσας, ἐπὶ τὴν συμβολικὴν αὐτῶν ἱερουργίαν ἔρχεται, καὶ τοῦτο θεοπαράδοτος.]

very like words, speaking of the sacrament of baptism: *Sacerdos, cogitans negotii magnitudinem, horret, atque hæ-* Eccl. Hierar. cap. 2. [p. 114.] *sitat*: “The priest, considering the weight of the matter, is in an horror, and in an agony⁵⁰.” Likewise St. Basil excuseth his own unworthiness of hearing the word of God: *Quæ auris digna est magnitudine earum rerum, quæ dicuntur? Cogitemus, quisnam ille sit, qui nos affatur*: ἀποβλέψας τὸ τοῦ πράγματος μέγεθος, καὶ φρίττει, καὶ ἀμνηχανεῖ. Basil, Hexamer. i. [l. i.] ποία ἀκοή μεγέθους τῶν λεγομένων ἀξία. “What ear is worthy to hear the majesty of these things? Let us consider, who it is that speaketh to us.” St. Paul speaking of the glory and puissance of the gospel, in the end, in respect of his own unworthiness, useth this exclamation: *Et ad hæc quis idoneus?* “And who is meet to publish and to speak these things?” St. Cyprian saith: “We are not worthy to look up into heaven, and to speak unto God.” “O,” saith he, “what merciful favour of our Lord is this, that we may call God our Father: and even as Christ is God’s Son, so may we be called the children of God!” *Quod nomen nemo nostrum in oratione auderet attingere, nisi ipse nobis sic permisisset orare*: “Which name” (of Father) “none of us in our prayers would dare to utter, saving that he hath given us leave so to pray.” By these, the slenderness of M. Harding’s reason may soon appear: “The priest excuseth his own unworthiness: ergo, he offereth up the Son of God.” It is a *fallax, ex meris particularibus*: or, a *non distributo ad distributum*: and concludeth in *secunda figura affirmative*. An error known unto children.

M. HARDING: Ninth Division.

Irenæus received the same from St. John the Evangelist, by Polycarpus St. John’s scholar. He declareth it with these words: . . . *Eum, qui ex creatura panis est, accepit, et gratias egit, dicens, Hoc est corpus meum. Et calicem similiter, qui est ex creatura quæ est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est, et novi testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam ecclesia ab*

⁵⁰ [Dionysius Pseudo-Areop. Eccl. Hierarch. cap. 2. Jewel seems to be mistaken in attributing this to the priest; it is said of the sponsor, (τινα τῶν μεμνημένων,) who brings the catechumen to the bishop. The words

in the margin also are not correctly reported. Τὸν δὲ, τῆς μὲν ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἱερῶς ἐρώντα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ὕψος ἀντιμετροῦντα τὸ ἀνθρώπων, φρίκη μὲν ἄφνω καὶ ἀμνηχανία περιίσταται.]

*apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo offert Deo. . . De quo in duodecim prophetis Malachias sic præsignificavit, Non est mihi voluntas in vobis, dicit Dominus exercituum : et munus non suscipiam de manu vestra*⁵¹: "He took that, which by creation is bread, and gave thanks, saying, 'This is my body.' And likewise the cup full of that creature, which is here with us, and confessed it to be his blood, and thus taught the new oblation of the new testament, which the church receiving of the apostles, doth offer to God through the whole world, whereof Malachi one of the twelve prophets did prophecy thus : 'I have no liking in you, saith our Lord almighty, neither will I take sacrifice of your hands : because from the rising of the sun, to the going down of the same, my name is glorified among the nations, and incense is offered to my name in every place, and pure sacrifice, for that my name is great among the nations.'" What can be understood by this new oblation of the new testament, other than the oblation of that, which he said to be his body, and confessed to be his blood? And if he had offered bread and wine only, or the figure of his body and blood in bread and wine, it had been no new oblation, for such had been made by Melchisedek long before. Neither can the prophecy of Malachi be understood of the oblation of Christ upon the cross, forasmuch as that was done but at one time only, and in one certain place of the world, in Golgotha, a place without the gates of Jerusalem, near to the walls of that city. Concerning the sacrifice of a contrite and an humble heart, and all other sacrifices of our devotion that be mere spiritual, they cannot be called the new oblation of the new testament, forasmuch as they were done as well in the old testament as in the new, neither be they altogether pure. Wherefore this place of Irenæus, and also the prophecy of Malachi where-with it is confirmed, must needs be referred to the sacrifice and oblation of the body and blood of Christ daily throughout the whole world offered to God (226) in the mass, which is the external sacrifice of the church, and proper to the new testament : which, as Irenæus saith, the church received of the apostles, and the apostles of Christ.

The 226th untruth. For Irenæus neither speaketh of the mass : nor calleth it a sacrifice : neither saith, either that the church received it from the apostles, or the apostles from Christ.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here, at last, M. Harding hath found out the name of a sacrifice, that was not denied him. But the sacrifice, that he hath so long sought for, and hath so assuredly promised to find, hitherto he hath not found. For Irenæus not once nameth, neither the mass, nor this real oblation of the Son

⁵¹ [Irenæus. Harding has omitted some very important words after "offert Deo," to which he understands "oblationem."

" . . . offert Deo ei qui alimenta nobis præstat primitias suorum "munerum in novo testamento, de quo in duodecim." &c.]

of God unto his Father. Thus only he saith: "God hath utterly misliked and refused the old carnal sacrifices of the Jews: and hath taught us to offer up the new sacrifice of the new testament, according to the prophecy of Malachi." Malac. i. 10. 11. This sacrifice, M. Harding imagineth, can be none other, but the offering up of Christ in the mass. These conclusions be very sudden. The old learned fathers could never understand so much. One of M. Harding's own new found doctors, Martialis⁵², saith thus: *Oblatio munda, non tantum in ara sanctificata offertur, sed etiam ubique*: "The pure sacrifice, which Malachi meaneth, is offered not only upon the holy altar" (or communion table), "but also every where." M. Harding saith: "It is offered only upon the altar:" Martialis saith: "It is offered every where, and not only upon the altar." Certainly if Malachi meant the sacrifice that may be offered in all places, and without an altar, as Martialis saith, then he meant not the sacrifice of the mass. Tertullian saith: "That the prophet Malachi by that pure sacrifice meant the preaching of the gospel: the offering up of a contrite heart.....:

^band prayer proceeding from a pure conscience." St. Hierom likewise expoundeth the same of "the sacrifice of prayer," and openeth it by these words of the prophet David: "Let my prayer be directed, as incense before thy sight." St. Augustine calleth the same, *sacrificium laudis, et gratiarum actionis* [leg. in *gratiarum actione*]: "the sacrifice of praise and of thanksgiving"⁵³.

In like sort Irenæus also expoundeth his own meaning: *Ecclesia offert Deo cum gratiarum actione ex creatura ejus. Est ergo altare in cælo: illuc preces, et oblationes nostræ diriguntur*: "The church offereth up to God," (not his own and only Son, but) "a natural thing of God's creation. Neither is our altar here in earth, but in heaven." a Tertullian. contra Judæos. [cap. 5. p. 188.] b Tertullian. contra Marcion. lib. 4. [cap. 1. p. 474.] Hieronym. in 1. cap. Malach. [iii. 1813.] Hieronym. in Zachar. lib. 2. cap. 8. [iii. 1747.] Augustin. contra Adv. Legis et Prophet. cap. 20. [viii. 568.] Contra Liter. Petilian, lib. 2. cap. 86. [ix. 272.] Irenæus, lib. 4. cap. 34. [p. 250.]

⁵² [See vol. i. p. 174, note 12.]

⁵³ [Augustin. contra Advers. Leg. et Proph. "Quod est autem sacratius laudis sacrificium quam in actione gratiarum?" Id. contra Litt. Petilian. "Audite Dominum per prophetam dicentem

"Ab ortu solis,' &c.... et si quando audieritis solis ortu usque ad occasum laudari nomen Domini, quod est vivum sacrificium, de quo dictum est, Imola Deo sacrificium laudis.."]

Euseb. de
Demonstra.
lib. 1. cap. 10.
[p. 40.]

Thither our prayers and sacrifices be directed.” So likewise Eusebius saith : *Sacrificamus et incendimus memoriam magni illius sacrificii, secundum ea, quæ ab ipso tradita sunt, mysteria celebrantes, et gratias Deo pro salute nostra agentes* : “ We sacrifice and offer up unto God the remembrance of that great sacrifice, using the holy mysteries accordingly as Christ hath delivered them, and giving God thanks for our salvation⁵⁴.”

And that Irenæus meant not any such real sacrifice of the Son of God, nor may not in any wise so be taken, it is evident by the plain words that follow touching the same. For thus he saith, speaking of the very same sacrifice of the new testament that is mentioned by Malachi : *Sacrificia non sanctificant hominem : sed conscientia ejus, qui offert, existens pura, sanctificat sacrificium* : “ The sacrifice doth not sanctify the man : but the conscience of the offerer, being pure, sanctifieth the sacrifice.” I trow, M. Harding will not say, “ The priest is not sanctified by the Son of God, but the Son of God is sanctified by the conscience of the priest :” for that were blasphemy. And yet thus must he needs say, if Irenæus meant the real sacrificing of the Son of God.

But M. Harding hath devised a great many replies to the contrary. First he saith : “ The offering up of prayer, praises and thanksgiving, cannot be called a new sacrifice : for the same was made by Moses, Aaron, the prophets, and other holy men in the old law.” This objection serveth well to control Tertullian, St. Augustine, and St. Hierom, and other learned fathers that thus have taken it : who, by M. Harding’s judgment, wrote unadvisedly they knew not what. Hereunto Irenæus himself answereth thus : *Oblationes hic : oblationes illic. Sacrificia in populo Israel : sacrificia in ecclesia. Sed species immutata est tantum. Quippe cum jam non a servis, sed a liberis*

Irenæus, lib.
4. cap. 34.
[p. 250.]

⁵⁴ [Eusebii Demonstr. Evangel. Οὐκοῦν καὶ θύομεν καὶ θυμιῶμεν· τοτὲ μὲν τὴν μνήμην τοῦ μεγάλου θύματος, κατὰ τὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ παραδοθέντα μυστήρια ἐπιτελοῦντες, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν εὐχαριστίαν

δι’ εὐσεβῶν ὕμνων τε καὶ εὐχῶν τῷ Θεῷ προσκομίζοντες· τοτὲ δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὅλῳ καθιεροῦντες αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ γε Ἀρχιερεὶ αὐτοῦ Λόγῳ, αὐτῷ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ ἀνακείμενοι.]

offeruntur: "There were sacrifices in the old testament: there be sacrifices in the new. There were sacrifices in the people of Israel: there be sacrifices in the church. Only the manner or form is changed. For now they be offered, not by bondmen" (as before), "but by freemen."

In like sense writeth Angelomus: *Mandatum novum scribo vobis, non alterum: sed ipsum, quod dixi vetus, idem est novum*: "I write unto you a new commandment: none other but that I called the old, the selfsame is the new"⁵⁵.

And it is called a new sacrifice, saith Chrysostom, "Because it proceedeth from a new mind, and is offered not by fire and smoke, but by grace, and by the Spirit of God."

And in this consideration Irenæus thinketh, "David said unto the children of the church of Christ, 'O sing unto the Lord a new song.'"

M. Harding saith further: "The words of Malachi may in no wise be taken for the oblation of Christ upon the cross. For that," saith he, "was done at one time only, and in one certain place, in Golgotha, without the gates of Jerusalem, and not in every place." Yet M. Harding may easily understand, that the remembrance of that sacrifice, and thanksgiving for the same, may be made at all times, and in all places. And therefore Eusebius, as it is noted before, calleth our sacrifice, *magni illius sacrificii memoriam*, "the remembrance of that great sacrifice" and the thanksgiving which we yield unto God for our salvation." Dionysius calleth it, *συμβολικὴν ἱερουργίαν*, "a figurative sacrifice." And St. Augustine saith: *Cum credimus in Christum,.....ex ipsis reliquiis cogitationis,.....Christus nobis quotidie immolatur.....*: "When we believe in Christ, even of the very remnants of our cogitation," (in what place soever we be,) "Christ is sacrificed unto us every day." Likewise St. Hierom saith: *Cum audimus sermonem Domini, caro Christi, et sanguis ejus in auribus nostris funditur*: "When we hear the word of the

Angelomus
Antixim.
lib. 3.

Chrysost.
contra Ju-
daeos, lib. 2.
[Orat. 5. i.
648.]

Irenæus, lib.
4. cap. 21.
[p. 237.]

Eusebius de
Demons. lib.
1. cap. 10.
[p. 40.]

Eccl. Hierar.
cap. 3. [p.
156.]

Augustin. in
Psalm. lxxv.
[iv. 801.]

Hieronym.
in Ps. cxlvii.
[ii. pt. 2.
504.]

⁵⁵ [Jewel is mistaken in attributing this saying to Angelomus. It comes from Juliani episcopi Toletani ἀντικειμένων Libr. 2. See Bibl. Patr. Col. Agripp. 1622. tom. xv. p. 235.]

Lord, the flesh of Christ and his blood is poured out into our ears." And whereas M. Harding saith further, that the spiritual sacrifices of our devotion cannot altogether be called pure, and therefore cannot be the sacrifices of the new testament, it must needs be confessed, that all our righteousness, in respect of many imperfections, may be compared, as the prophet Esay saith, unto a filthy clout. Yet in respect of God's mercy, and in Christ, the prophet David saith: "Thou shalt wash me, and I will be whiter than the snow."

Isa. ixiv. 6.

Psaltn li. 7.

Eusebius de
Demon. lib.
1. cap. 6. [p.
10.] Oratio-
nis sacrifici-
um quod
mundum
dictum est.

Tertull. ad
Scapulam.
[cap. 2. p.
69.]

Hieronym. in
Zachar. lib.
2. cap. 8.
[iii. 1747.]
In sanctitate
evangelicæ
puritatis.
1 Tim. ii. 8.

Howbeit, herein I will remit M. Harding to the judgment of them, whose authorities he cannot well deny. Eusebius calleth our prayers, *mundum sacrificium*, "a pure sacrifice⁵⁶." Tertullian saith, "We make sacrifice unto our God for the safety of our emperors, *pura prece*, with a pure prayer⁵⁷." St. Hierom, speaking of the sacrifice of Christian prayers, saith thus: "A pure sacrifice is offered unto me in every place: not in the oblations of the old testament, but in the holiness of the purity of the gospel." To be short, St. Paul saith: *Volo viros precari in omni loco, levantés manus puras*: "I would that men should pray in all places, lifting up pure hands" (unto God).

Eusebius de
Demonstra.
lib. 1. [cap.
10. p. 38.]

Touching the sacrifice of the Lord's table, Eusebius writeth thus: *Μνήμην ἡμῶν παρέδωκε ἀντὶ θυσίας τῷ Θεῷ διηλεκῶς προσφέρειν*: "He gave us a remembrance instead of a sacrifice to offer up continually unto God." And this he calleth, *incruentum et rationabile sacrificium*: "the unbloody and reasonable sacrifice⁵⁸." "This," saith Irenæus, "is the sacrifice of the new testament. This sacrifice the church received of the apostles: and the same the apostles received of Christ, that made all things new."

⁵⁶ [Eusebii Demonstr. lib. 1. cap. 6. . . . ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι μέλλουσι τὸ δι' εὐχῶν θυμίαμα, καὶ τὴν οὐ δι' αἱμάτων ἀλλὰ δι' ἔργων εὐσεβῶν καθαρὰν ἀνομασμένην θυσίαν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἀναφέρειν Θεῷ.]

⁵⁷ [Tertullian. "Itaque et sa-

crificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsius, sed quomodo præcepit Deus, "pura prece."]

⁵⁸ [This passage is referred to in Laud's Conference with Fisher, sect. 37.]

M. HARDING : Tenth Division.

Now let us hear what St. Cyprian hath written to this purpose. Because his works be common, to be shorter, I will rehearse his words in English: "If in the sacrifice, ^awhich is Christ, [*quod Christus obtulit,*] none but Christ is to be followed, soothly it behoveth us to obey and do that, which Christ did and commanded to be done. . . . For if Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, very he himself be the high priest of God the Father, and himself first offered sacrifice to God the Father, and commanded the same to be done in his remembrance: verily that priest doth occupy the office of Christ truly, who doth by imitation the same thing that Christ did. And then he offereth to God the Father in the church a true and a perfect sacrifice, if he begin to offer right so as he seeth Christ himself to have offered." Thus far St. Cyprian. How can this Article be avouched in more plain words? (227) He saith that Christ offered himself to his Father in his supper, and likewise commanded us to do the same.

Here we have proved, that it is lawful, and hath always from the beginning of the new testament been lawful, for the (228) priests to offer up Christ unto his Father, by the testimonies of three holy martyrs, two Greeks, and one Latin, most notable in sundry respects of antiquity, of the room they bare in Christ's church, of learning, of constancy, of faith steadfastly kept to death, suffered in places of fame and knowledge, at Paris, at Lyons, at Carthage.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This place of St. Cyprian, as it not once toucheth the real sacrificing of Christ unto his Father, so it utterly condemneth the communion under one kind; the common prayers in a strange unknown tongue; and briefly, the whole disorder and abuse of M. Harding's mass.

But St. Cyprian saith: *In sacrificio, quod Christus est*: "In the sacrifice, that is Christ." If M. Harding think to find great advantage in these words, it may please him to remember, that St. Augustine saith: *Illis petra erat Christus*: "Unto the Jews the rock was Christ." Verily, the sacrifice after the order of Melchisedek, which is the propitiation for the sins of the world, is only Jesus Christ the Son of God upon the cross. And the ministration of the holy mysteries, in a phrase and manner of speech, is also the same sacrifice: because it layeth forth the death

[Cyprian, ad Cecil, pp. 108, 109.]

a Even so Chrysostom saith, Christ's baptism is Christ's blood, Ad Hebr. hom. 16.

The 227th untruth. For St. Cyprian saith not, neither that Christ offered himself at the supper, nor that we are commanded to offer Christ. The 228th untruth. For none of all these three fathers ever spake these words.

Augustin. in Johan. tract. 28. [iii. pt. 2. 512.]

and blood of Christ so plainly and so evidently before our eyes. So saith St. Augustine: "The very remembrance of Christ's passion stirreth up such motions within us, as if we saw Christ presently hanging upon the cross⁵⁹." Upon

Augustin. in
Psalm. xix.
[Leg. Psalm.
xxi. 2. tom.
iv. 93.]

De Con. dist.
2. Semel. [in
Gloss.]

which words the common Gloss noteth thus: *Christus immolatur, id est, Christi immolatio repræsentatur, et fit memoria passionis*: "Christ is sacrificed, that is to say, the sacrifice of Christ is represented, and there is made a remembrance of his passion." So St. Cyprian saith: *Vinum exprimit sanguinem: in aqua populus intelligitur: in vino sanguis ostenditur. Itaque passionis ejus mentionem in sacrificiis facimus. Passio enim Domini est sacrificium, quod offerimus*: "The wine sheweth the blood: in the water we understand the people: the blood is expressed in the wine. And therefore in our sacrifices we make mention of Christ's passion. For the sacrifice, that we offer, is the passion of Christ." As the ministration of the holy communion is the death and passion of Christ, even so, and in like sort and sense, may the sacrifice thereof be called Christ. Therefore St. Gregory saith: *Christus in seipso immortaliter.....vivens, iterum in hoc mysterio moritur.....Ejus caro in populi salutem patitur*: "Christ, living immortally in himself, dieth again in this mystery. His flesh suffereth" (in the mystery) "for the salvation of the people." I reckon M. Harding will not say, that Christ dieth indeed, according to the force and sound of these words, or that his flesh verily and indeed is tormented, and suffereth in the sacrament. St. Gregory better expoundeth himself in this wise: *Hoc sacramentum passionem unigeniti Filii imitatur*: "This sacrament expresseth or representeth the passion of the only begotten Son."

Cyprian. lib.
2. epist. 3.
[pp. 108,
109.]

De Con. dist.
2. Quid sit.

And the very barbarous Gloss touching the same saith: *Christus moritur et patitur, id est, mors et passio Christi repræsentatur*: "Christ dieth and suffereth, that is to say, Christ's death and passion is represented."

De Con. dist.
2. Quid sit.
In Glossa.

Chrysostom.
in Acta, hom.
21. [ix. 176.]

So St. Chrysostom saith: *In mysteriis mors Christi per-*

⁵⁹ [Augustin. in Psalm. xxi. Supra, vol. iii. p. 145, note 27.]

ficitur : “ The death of Christ is wrought in the mysteries⁶⁰.” So saith Beda : *Exaltatio serpentis ænei passio Redemptoris nostri est in cruce*⁶¹ : “ The lifting up of the brasen serpent is the passion of our Redeemer upon the cross.” So saith St. Hierom : *Quotidie nobis Christus crucifigitur* : “ Unto us Christ is daily crucified⁶².” So St. Ambrose : *Christus quotidie, immolatur* : “ Christ is daily sacrificed.” So St. Augustine : *Tunc unicuique Christus occiditur, cum credit occisum* : “ Then is Christ slain to every man, when he believeth that Christ was slain.” To conclude, so St. Hierom saith : *Semper Christus creditibus immolatur* : “ Unto the faithful Christ is evermore sacrificed.” Thus may the sacrifice of the holy communion be called Christ : to wit, even so as the ministration of the same is called the passion, or the death of Christ.

Beda exponens Illud, Sicut Moses exultavit &c. Johan. iii.

Hieronym. in Psalm. xcvii.

Ambros. de Virginib. [lib. 2. tom. ii. 166.]

Augustin. Quest. Evangel. lib. 2. [33. tom. iii. pt. 2. 260.]

Hieronym. ad Damasum. [lv. 155, 156.]

And that the weakness of M. Harding’s guesses may the better appear, understand thou, good Christian reader, that the holy catholic fathers have used to say, that Christ is sacrificed, not only in the holy supper, but also in the sacrament of baptism. St. Augustine saith : *Holocaustum Dominicæ passionis eo tempore pro se quisque offert, quo ejusdem passionis fide dedicatur* : “ The sacrifice of our Lord’s passion every man then offereth for himself, when he is confirmed in the faith of his passion.” And again : *Holocaustum Domini tunc pro unoquoque offertur quodammodo, cum ejus nomine baptizando signatur* : “ Then is the sacrifice of our Lord in a manner offered for each man, when in baptism he is marked with the name of Christ.” And again : *Non relinquitur sacrificium pro peccatis : id est, non potest denuo baptizari* : “ There is left no sacrifice for sin : that is to say, he can be no more baptized.” And in this consideration Chrysostom saith : *Baptisma Christi*

Augustin. in Expositione Inchoata ad Rom. [iii. pt. 2. 937.]

In eod. libro.

In eod. libro.

Chrysostom. in Epist. ad Hebræ. hom. 16. [xii. 159.]

⁶⁰ [In the passage referred to, St. Chrysostom is alluding to the eucharistical commemoration of the dead. . . . μεγάλη τιμή τὸ ὀνομασθῆναι τοῦ Δεσπότητος παρόντος, τοῦ θανάτου ἐπιτελούμενου ἐκείνου, τῆς φρικτῆς θυσίας.]

⁶¹ [Bede. “. . . passionem Redemptoris nostri signat in cruce.”]

⁶² [Hieronym. in Psalm. xcvii. There must be some mistake, no such passage being found in the commentary on the Psalm named. The Breviarium in Psalterium, though it probably contains some of St. Jerome’s writings, is now generally suspected. Cave places it “inter aliena.”]

sanguis Christi est : “ Christ’s baptism is Christ’s blood⁶².”
 And likewise St. Ambrose : *In baptismo crucifigimus in nobis Filium Dei* : “ In baptism we crucify in ourselves the Son of God.”

Ambros. de Peniten. lib. 2. cap. 2. [ii. 418.]

M. HARDING : *Eleventh Division.*

The 220th untruth. For M. Harding well knoweth, that the whole substance of our doctrine fully agreeth with the fathers.

Our adversaries crake much of the sealing up of their new doctrine with the blood of such and such, who be written in the book of lies, not in the book of life, whom they will needs to be called martyrs. Verily if those monks and friars, apostates, and renegates, wedded to wives, or rather (to use their own term) yoked to sisters, be true martyrs, then must our new gospellers pull these holy fathers, and many thousands mo, out of heaven. (229) For certainly the faith, in defence of which either sort died, is utterly contrary. The worst that I wish to them is, that God give them eyes to see, and ears to hear, and that he shut not up their hearts, so as they see not the light here, until they be thrown away into the outward darkness, where shall be weeping and grinding of teeth. Matt. xxv. 30.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This talk was utterly out of season ; saving that it liked well M. Harding to sport himself with the scriptures of God, and a little to scoff at the words of St. Paul. Which thing, becoming him so well, may be the better borne withal, when it shall please him likewise to scoff at others.

1 Cor. ix. 5.

Philipp. iv. 3.

Heb. xiii. 4.

1 Tim. iv.

1-3.

Ignatius ad Philadelph. [Russel. ii. 128.]

St. Paul calleth wives sometimes “ sisters,” sometimes “ yokefellows ;” and thinketh matrimony to be “ honourable in all persons ;” and the forbidding of the same to be “ the doctrine of devils.” Neither doth it any way appear, that ever honest godly matrimony either displeased God or was thought uncomely for a martyr and witness of God’s truth.

St. Paul was married, as it appeareth by Ignatius⁶³,

⁶² [Chrysost. ad Hebr. Δείκνυσιν ἐν ταῦθα τὸ αὐτὸ ὄν καὶ αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ. τὸ γὰρ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ τοῦ πάθους ἐστὶ σύμβολον. The version of Mutianus is nearer to Jewel’s quotation, and was probably quoted from memory. “. . . Baptisma enim ejus, passio ejus est.”]

⁶³ [This assertion is found in the longer (or interpolated) edition of St. Ignatius’ Epistles (the genu-

ineness of which is defended by Beveridge, Apost. Can. 5). Cotelierius, in his note on this place of Ignatius, says that (with very few exceptions) theologians of every age maintain the contrary opinion with respect to St. Paul. The exceptions, he admits, comprehend St. Chrysostom, as well as Clemens Alex., besides Eusebius and Origen, who state the question without deciding it.]

Clemens, Eusebius; and yet nevertheless was a martyr. St. Peter, the chief of the apostles, had a wife; and yet nevertheless stood by and gave her comfort and constancy at her martyrdom. The twelve apostles, saith St. Ambrose, only St. John excepted, were all married; and yet nevertheless, the same St. John only excepted⁶⁴, as it is thought, were all martyrs. Spiridion was a married bishop; and yet, as Sozomenus writeth, he was thereby nothing hindered neither to discharge his duty nor to any other godly purpose⁶⁵. Tertullian was a priest, as appeareth by St. Hierom, and married, as appeareth by his own book written to his wife; and yet notwithstanding, as some report, was a martyr. St. Hilary was a reverend father, and bishop of Poitiers, and yet married, as may be gathered by his epistle written to his daughter Abra⁶⁶.

And to leave infinite others, St. Chrysostom saith: *Ita pretiosa res est matrimonium, ut possis cum eo ad sanctum episcopatus solium subvehi*⁶⁷.—*Utere moderate nuptiis, et eris primus in regno celorum*: “So precious a thing is matrimony, that with the same thou mayest be promoted even unto the bishop’s chair. Use marriage with discretion, and thou shalt be the chief in the kingdom of heaven⁶⁸.” St. Hierom saith: *Hodie quoque plurimi sacerdotes habent matrimonia*: “Even now a great number of priests live in matrimony.” Thus the apostles of Christ, and many other learned fathers and godly bishops, were married, and, as M. Harding saith in his mirth and plea-

⁶⁴ [Ambrosiaster, in 2 Cor., excepts St. Paul as well as St. John. Jewel himself elsewhere states this, and is taunted therewith by Harding, unjustly enough, for he is speaking here of the *twelve* apostles; see Def. of Apology, ch. 8. div. 1. (p. 169. fol. ed. 1609.) which should be compared carefully with the statements here.]

⁶⁵ [Sozomenus. γαμετήν καὶ παῖδας ἔχων, ἀλλ’ οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο τὰ θεῖα χεῖρων. See Defence of the Apology, ch. 8. div. 2. (p. 183. ed. 1609.)]

⁶⁶ [Hilar. ad Abram. The Be-

ned. admit this as genuine. Cave, Oudinus, and Jewel himself, (probably following the Frob. edition,) pronounce it spurious. See Def. Apol. (fol. ed. p. 168.) ch. 8. div. 1., where Jewel deals with Harding’s objection.]

⁶⁷ [Chrysost. ad Tit. . . . ἐπιστομίζει τοὺς αἰρετικούς, τοὺς τὸν γάμον διαβάλλοντας, δεικνὺς ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναγές ἀλλ’ οὕτω τίμον ὡς μετ’ αὐτοῦ δύνασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον ἀναβαίνειν θρόνον.]

⁶⁸ [Chrysost. ad Hebr. See vol. i. 259, note 2.]

Clem. Strom. lib. 7. [leg. lib. 3. l. 535.] Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 30. [l. 124.]

Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 30. [l. 125.]

Ambros. in 2 ad Cor. cap. 11. [H. App. 198.]

Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 11. [H. 22.] Ad res divinas nihil deterior.

Hieronym. de Eccles. Script. [tom. iv. pt. 2. 152.]

Regino, in Rebus Germanicis.

Hilar. ad Abram filiam.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Tit. hom. 2. [xi. 738.]

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. hom. 7. [xli. 80.]

Hieron. contra Jovinianum. [iv. pt. 2. 165.]

sance, "had their sisters and yokefellows." But how, and with what sisters or fellows, a great number of the wifeless sort of M. Harding's side be yoked, for very regard of honesty it may not be uttered.

Epiphani.
contra Ori-
gen. [i. 521.]
Ἀθετοῦσι
γάμον, ἀλλ'
οὐ λάργειαν
... πεφι-
λοτιμῆται
γὰρ παρ'
αὐτοῖς οὐχ
ἡ ἄγνεια,
ἀλλὰ ὑπο-
κριτικῆ.
In Concilio
delectorum
Cardinalium.
[Crabbe, iii.
823.]

Epiphanius writeth thus of certain of his time: *Reputant nuptias, at non libidinem. In honore enim apud illos est, non sanctitas sed hypocrisis*: "They refuse marriage, but not filthy lust; for they esteem not holiness, but hypocrisy." Who seeth not, that, in the church of Rome, priests, bishops, and cardinals, notwithstanding they be utterly forbidden to have wives, yet are easily allowed to have concubines? They themselves have confessed it by these words unto the world: *Etiā in hac urbe Romana meretrices, ut matronæ, incedunt per urbem, seu mula vehuntur: quas assectantur de media die nobiles familiares cardinalium clericique*: "Even here in this city of Rome, harlots pass through the streets or ride upon their mules like honest gentlewomen: and gentlemen of the cardinals' bands and priests at noondays wait upon them."

As touching them, whom it so much grieveth you, M. Harding, to be called martyrs, you have slain, not only such and such whom it liketh you by your own name, if ye have not forgotten your own name, to call "renegates," but also great numbers of others mo, married, unmarried, learned, unlearned, old, young, boys, maids, laymen, priests, bishops, archbishops, without mercy. Ye scourged them with rods, ye set burning torches to their hands, ye cut off their tongues, ye hanged them, ye beheaded them, ye burnt them to ashes, ye took the poor innocent babe, falling from the mother's womb, and threw it cruelly into the fire. Briefly, ye did with them whatsoever your pleasure was. The worst word, that proceeded from them, was this: "O Lord, forgive them, they know not what they do. O Lord Jesu, receive my spirit." In the mean while ye stood by and delighted your eyes with the sight. Ye digged up the poor carcasses of God's saints, that had been buried long before: ye served them solemnly with process, and ascited them to appear at your consistories, and by public sentence adjudged them to die the second death:

and so, to the perpetual shame of your cruel folly, ye wreaked your anger upon the dead. O, M. Harding, your conscience knoweth these are no lies. They are written in the eyes and hearts of many thousands. These be the marks of your religion. O what reckoning will you yield, when so much innocent blood shall be required at your hands! And where you say, we must pull the old martyrs out of heaven to place our own, for that our doctrine and theirs (as you bear us in hand) is quite contrary; all this is but a needless ostentation of idle words. If vaunts were proofs, then were this matter fully ended. But we say, that in these cases, that I have moved, you are not able to allege one sufficient clause or sentence of your side out of any of all the old learned fathers. And hitherto your muster appeareth but very simple, notwithstanding the great promise of your store.

Certainly the holy fathers and martyrs of God will say unto you, We know not your private masses; we know not your half communion; we know not your strange unknown prayers; we know not your adoration of corruptible creatures; we know not this sacrificing of the Son of God; we know not your new religion; we know not you. God open the eyes of your hearts, that ye may see the miserable state ye stand in, and recover the place that ye have lost, and find your names written in the book of life.

M. HARDING: *Twelfth Division.*

Leaving no small number of places that might be recited out of divers other doctors, I will bring two of two worthy bishops; one of Chrysostom, the other of St. Ambrose, confirming this truth. Chrysostom's words be these: *Pontifex noster ille est, qui hostiam mundantem nos obtulit: ipsam offerimus et nunc, quæ tunc oblata quidem consumi non potest. Hoc autem quod nos facimus in commemorationem fit ejus quod factum est. Hoc enim facite, inquit, in mei commemorationem:* "He is our bishop, that hath offered up the host which cleanseth us. The same do we offer also now, which, though it were then offered, yet cannot be consumed. But this that we do is done in remembrance of that which is done. For 'Do ye this,' saith he, 'in my remembrance.'" St. Ambrose saith thus: *Vidimus Principem sacerdotum ad nos venientem: vidimus et audivimus offerentem pro nobis sanguinem suum: sequamur, ut possumus, sacerdotes, ut*

Chrysost. in
Epist. ad Heb.
com. 17. [xii.
69.]

Psalm. 38.
i. 853.]

offeramus pro populo sacrificium, etsi infirmi merito, tamen honorabiles sacrificio. Quia, etsi Christus non videtur offerre, tamen ipse offertur in terris, quando Christi corpus offertur: "We have seen the Prince of priests come to us; we have seen and heard him offer for us his blood; let us that be priests follow him, as we may, that we may offer sacrifice for the people, being, though weak in merit, yet honourable for the sacrifice. Because, albeit Christ be not seen to offer, yet he is offered in earth, when the body of Christ is offered." Of these our Lord's words, "which is given for you," and "which is shed for you, and for many," here St. Ambrose exhorteth the priests to offer the body and blood of Christ for the people; and willeth them to be more regarded than commonly they be nowadays, for this sacrifice sake, though otherwise they be of less desert.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This allegation argueth no great abundance of store. For Chrysostom in these words both openeth himself and sheweth in what sense other ancient fathers used this word "sacrifice," and also utterly overthroweth M. Harding's whole purpose touching the same. For, as he saith, "we offer up the same sacrifice that Christ offered," so in most plain wise, and by sundry words, he removeth all doubt; and declareth in what sort and meaning we offer it. He saith not, as M. Harding saith, "We offer up the Son of God unto his Father, and that verily and indeed:" but contrariwise thus he saith: *Offerimus quidem, sed ad recordationem facientes mortis ejus.....Hoc sacrificium exemplar illius est.....Hoc, quod nos facimus in commemorationem fit ejus, quod factum est.....Id ipsum semper offerimus [l. facimus]: magis autem recordationem sacrificii operamur:* "We offer indeed, but in remembrance of his death. This sacrifice is an example of that sacrifice. This, that we do, is done in remembrance of that that was done. We offer up the same that Christ offered; or rather we work the remembrance of that sacrifice." Thus we offer up Christ, that is to say, an example, a commemoration, a remembrance of the death of Christ. This kind of sacrifice was never denied: but M. Harding's real sacrifice

Chrysost. in
Epist. ad Heb.
hom. 17. [xii.
163.]

De Con. dist.
2. Cum fran-
gitur.

was yet never proved. So saith St. Augustine: *Cum hostia frangitur, et sanguis.....in ora fidelium funditur, quid aliud, quam Dominici corporis in cruce immolatio.....signi-*

ficatur? “When the oblation is broken, and the blood” (that is to say, the sacrament of the blood) “is poured into the mouths of the faithful, what other thing is there signified, but the sacrifice of our Lord’s body upon the cross?”

Even so St. Ambrose saith, Christ is offered here in the earth, (not really and indeed, as M. Harding saith, but) in like sort and sense as St. John saith, “the Lamb was slain from the beginning of the world:” that is, not substantially, or in real manner, but in signification, in a mystery, and in a figure. And thus St. Ambrose expoundeth his own meaning, even in the same place that is here alleged:

Primum umbra præcessit: sequuta est imago: erit veritas. Umbra in lege: imago in evangelio: veritas in celestibus. Ascende homo in cælum, et videbis illa, quorum hic umbra erat, vel imago: “First the shadow went before: the image followed: the truth shall be. The shadow in the law: the image in the gospel: the truth in the heavens. O man, go up into heaven; and thou shalt see those things, whereof here was an image and a shadow.” To

like purpose St. Ambrose writeth thus: *Vidimus eum, et oculis nostris perspeximus, et in vestigia clavorum ejus digitos nostros inseruimus. Videmur enim vidisse eum, quem legimus: spectasse pendentem, et vulnera ejus spiritu ecclesiæ scrutante tentasse:* “We have seen him, and looked upon him with our eyes; and we have thrust our fingers into the dents of his nails.” The reason hereof is this: “For we seem to see him that we read of: and to have beholden him hanging on the cross: and with the feeling spirit of the church to have searched his wounds.” So St. Hierom saith: (*Quod semel natum est ex Maria*) [*Christus*] *quotidie (in nobis) nascitur:* “Christ, that was once born of Mary, is born in us every day⁶⁹.” Now, as St. Ambrose saith, “We see Christ even with our eyes hanging upon the cross; and thrust in our fingers, and search his wounds;” even so do we see Christ coming unto us, and offering himself in sacrifice unto God. And

Ambros. in
Psalm. 38.
[i. 853.]

Rev. v. [xiii.
8.]

Ambros. in
Psalm. 38.
[i. 852, 853.]

Ambros. in
Lucam, lib.
5. cap. 7. [i.
1378.]

Hieron. in
Psalm. 86.
[ii. pt. 2. 351.]

⁶⁹ [The words between brackets are not found in the passage quoted. With respect to the Bre-

viar. in Psalm., see supra, p. 361, note ⁶².]

as St. Hierom saith, "Christ is born every day;" even so, and none otherwise, St. Ambrose saith, "Christ is sacrificed every day." In like manner St. Ambrose writeth unto certain virgins: *Vestras mentes confidenter altaria dixerim, in quibus quotidie pro redemptione corporis Christi offertur* [i. *immolatur*]: "I may boldly say, your hearts be altars, upon which hearts Christ is daily offered for the redemption of the body." Hitherto M. Harding hath found no manner token of that he sought for.

Ambros. de
Virginib. lib.
2. [ii. 166.]

M. HARDING: *Thirteenth Division.*

Now for proof of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ by the doctors' mind upon the figure of Melchisedek. First, St. Cyprian saith thus: *Qui magis sacerdos Dei summi, quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui sacrificium Deo Patri obtulit, et obtulit hoc idem, quod Melchisedech, id est, panem et vinum, suum, scilicet, corpus et sanguinem?* "Who is more the priest of the highest God than our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered a sacrifice to God the Father, and offered the selfsame that Melchisedek did, that is, bread and wine, that is to say, his own body and blood?" St. Hierom, in an epistle that he wrote for the virtuous women Paula and Eustochium to Marcella, hath these words: *Recurre ad Genesim, et Melchisedech regem Salem. Hujus principem invenies civitatis, qui jam in typo Christi panem et vinum obtulit, et mysterium Christianum in Salvatoris sanguine et corpore dedicavit:* "Return to the book of Genesis, and to Melchisedek the king of Salem, and thou shalt find the prince of that city, who even at that time in the figure of Christ offered bread and wine, and dedicated the mystery of Christians in the body and blood of our Saviour." Here this learned father maketh a plain distinction between the oblation of the figure, which was bread and wine, and the oblation of the truth, which is the mystery of Christian people, the blood and the body of Christ our Saviour. Of this St. Augustine speaketh largely in his first sermon upon the 33d psalm, and in the 17th book *De Civitate Dei*, cap. 20.

Lab. 2. epist
3. [p. 105.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

If M. Harding mean plainly, and will have St. Cyprian's words taken as they lie, without figure, then must he say, that Melchisedek offered up verily and really Christ himself. For St. Cyprian's words be clear: *Christus obtulit hoc idem, quod Melchisedech obtulerat:* "Christ offered up the same thing that Melchisedek had offered." Notwith-

Cyprian. lib.
2. epist. 3.
[p. 105.]

standing it is certain, that the sacrifice that Melchisedek made, if it were granted to be a sacrifice, yet, in plain and common manner of speech, was not Christ the Son of God, but only material bread and wine, and other like provision of victuals prepared for Abraham and for his men. And therefore the old learned fathers say not, Melchisedek offered the same in sacrifice unto God; but, "he brought it forth as a present," as the manner was, to refresh them, after the pursuit and chace of their enemies. And St. Hierom in his translation turneth it not *obtulit*, "he sacrificed," but *protulit*, "he brought it forth." Josephus reporteth the matter thus: *Melchisedech milites Abrahami hospitaliter habuit, nihil illis ad victum deesse passus: simulque ipsum adhibuit mensæ*: "Melchisedek feasted Abraham's soldiers, and suffered them to want nothing that was necessary for their provision. And likewise he received Abraham himself unto his table⁶⁹." Chrysostom and Epiphanius say thus: "He brought forth unto them bread and wine⁷⁰." Tertullian saith: *Abrahamo.....revertenti de prælio obtulit panem et vinum*: "Melchisedek offered bread and wine" (not unto God, but) "unto Abraham returning from the fight⁷¹." So St. Ambrose: *Occurrit Melchisedech, et obtulit Abrahamo panem et vinum*: "Melchisedek came forth to meet, and offered" (not unto God, but) "unto Abraham bread and wine⁷²."

Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 11. [al. cap. 10.]

Chrysost. in Gen. hom. 35. [iv. 357.]

Epiphanius. contra Melchisedech. lib. 2. [l. 475.]
ἐξέβαλλεν αὐτῷ ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον.

Tertullian. contra Judæos. [c. 3. p. 185.]
Ambrosius. de Sacrament. lib. 4. cap. 3. [ll. 367.]

By these few it may appear, that Melchisedek brought forth bread and wine, and other provision, not as a sacrifice unto God, but as a relief and sustenance for Abraham and for his company.

St. Paul compareth Christ with Melchisedek, in that, like unto Melchisedek, he was the king of justice; in that he was the prince of peace, as Melchisedek was;

⁶⁹ [Joseph. Antiqu. after mentioning the hospitality to the army, . . . καὶ παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν αὐτόν τε ἐπαυεῖν ἤρξατο κ. τ. λ.]

⁷⁰ [Chrysost. in Genes. In the Greek he simply says, ἐξήνεγκε γὰρ ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον. But the context

implies that he brought it out to Abraham.]

⁷¹ [Tertullian. See Rigaltius' note in loc.]

⁷² [The Lib. de Sacram. is not by St. Ambrose.]

and in that he had neither father nor mother; for so it is likewise written of Melchisedek. But of the sacrifice of bread and wine he speaketh nothing: yet notwithstanding the ancient holy fathers oftentimes resemble the same present of Melchisedek unto the sacrifice that Christ made upon the cross. And in that respect St. Cyprian saith, "Christ offered the same thing that Melchisedek offered." That is to say, as M. Harding himself must needs expound it, "the same thing in performance of truth upon the cross that Melchisedek had before offered in a figure."

So saith St. Augustine: *Illis petra Christus*: "Unto them the rock was Christ." And yet not really and indeed, but only by way of signification; because it signified and represented Christ.

Sometimes they compare it with the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and with the ministration of the holy communion, and make it equal with the same.

St. Augustine saith: *Melchisedech Abrahæ primum, quasi patri fidelium, tradidit eucharistiam corporis et sanguinis Domini*: "Melchisedek gave first unto Abraham, as unto the father of the faithful, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ⁷²." So St. Hierom saith: *Melchisedech in typo Christi panem et vinum obtulit, et mysterium Christianorum in Salvatoris corpore et sanguine dedicavit*: "Melchisedek, in the figure of Christ, offered bread and wine; and dedicated the mystery of Christians in the body and blood of Christ." These authorities might serve to make some show that Melchisedek said mass, and consecrated the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and offered up Christ in sacrifice unto his Father; but of M. Harding, or any other such priest, they touch nothing.

And lest any man happen of simplicity to be deceived, thinking that St. Hierom hereby meant M. Harding's real presence, for that he saith, Melchisedek dedicated the Christian mystery in the body and blood of Christ; it may please him to consider, that both St. Hierom and

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⁷² [Augustin. in Quæstion. &c. Augustine's. See the Bened. Ed., This is not a genuine work of St. Cave, &c.]

Augustin. in Johan. tract. 26. [iii. pt. 2. 512.]

Augustin. in Quæst. Nov. et Vet. Test. quæ. 109. [iii. app. 108.]

Hieronym. [Paul. et Eust.] ad Marcel. [iv. pt. 2. 547.]

also other ancient fathers have often used the same manner of speech in other cases, wherein M. Harding can have no manner suspicion of real presence. St. Hierom saith :..... *Evangelium passione et sanguine Domini dedicatur* : "The gospel is dedicated in the passion and blood of Christ"⁷³. St. Augustine saith : *Quid est mare rubrum ? Sanguine Domini consecratum* : "What is the red sea?" he answereth, "Consecrate in the blood of Christ." Again he saith : *Unde rubet baptismus Christi, nisi Christi sanguine consecratus ?* "Whereof is Christ's baptism red, but that it is dedicate in the blood of Christ?" Thus Melchisedek dedicated the Christian mystery in the blood of Christ.

Hieron. adv. Jovin. lib. 1. [iv. pt. 2. 167.]

Augustin. in Psalm. lxxx. [iv. 861.]

Augustin. in Johan. tract. 11. [III. pt. 2. 377.]

M. HARDING : *Fourteenth Division.*

Of all other, Cæcumenius speaketh most plainly to this purpose upon this place of St. Paul, alleged out of the Psalm : *Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedek* : "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek." His words be these : *Significat sermo, quod non solum Christus obtulit incruentam hostiam (siquidem suum ipsius corpus obtulit), verum etiam qui ab ipso fungentur sacerdotio, quorum Deus pontifex esse dignatus est, sine sanguinis effusione offerent. Nam hoc significat (in æternum). Neque enim de ea, quæ semel a Deo facta est oblatio, et hostia, dixisset in æternum, sed respiciens ad præsentem sacrificios, per quos medios Christus sacrificat, et sacrificatur, qui etiam in mystica cæna modum illis tradidit hujusmodi sacrificii.* "The meaning of this place is," saith he, "that not only Christ offered an unbloody sacrifice, for he offered his own body ; but also that they, which after him shall do the office of a priest, (whose bishop he vouchsafeth to be,) shall offer without shedding of blood ; for that signifieth the word 'for ever.' For concerning that oblation and sacrifice, which was once made by God, he would never say, *in æternum*, 'for ever.' But," he said so, "having an eye to those priests that be now, by the mediation of whom Christ sacrificeth and is sacrificed ; who also in his mystical supper taught them by tradition the manner of such a sacrifice." Concerning the prophecy of Malachi for proof of this oblation, though the place of Irenæus above recited may stand instead of many authorities, yet I will not let to rehearse the sayings of a father or two for confirmation of this article.

Chrysostom⁷⁴ saith very plainly : *In omni loco sacrificium*

⁷³ [Hieronym. adv. Jovinian. " . . . neque enim evangelium ante " crucem Christi est, quod passione " et sanguine ipsius dedicatur."]

⁷⁴ [Chrysost. in Psalm. 95. Saville, the Bened., &c. pronounce this spurious.]

offeretur nomini meo, et sacrificium purum. Vide quam luculenter, quamque dilucide mysticam interpretatus est mensam, que est incruenta hostia. “ ‘In every place a sacrifice shall be offered to my name, and that a pure sacrifice.’ See how plainly and clearly he interpreted the mystical table, which is the unbloody sacrifice.”

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here might I justly take exception against this doctor, as finding him without the compass of the first six hundred years.⁷⁴ Howbeit, he saith not, That the priest hath power or authority to sacrifice the Son of God; nor seemeth any way to favour M. Harding’s purpose; therefore we shall not need to touch his credit.

The whole contents of his words are these: “That there is in the church an unbloody sacrifice, and that Christ himself offereth up the same by the mean and ministry of the priest, and that Christ himself is that sacrifice.” Which words, with due construction, and in the sense and meaning of the ancient fathers, may well be granted. For,

Hieronym. in
Psalm. lxxxvi.
[il. pt. 2. 351.]
Hieronym. in
Psalm. xcvi.
like as St. Hierom saith, as it is alleged before: (*Quod natum est ex Virgine*) [1. *Christus*] *nobis quotidie nascitur: —Christus nobis quotidie crucifigitur*: “Christ, that was

Augustin.
Quest. Evan.
lib. 2. [iii. pt.
2. 260.]
born of the Virgin, is born unto us every day: Christ unto us is daily crucified⁷⁵:” and, as St. Augustine saith: *Tum Christus cuique occiditur, cum credit occisum*: “Then is Christ presently slain to every man, when he trusteth wholly in his death, and believeth he was slain:” and as

Augustin. de
Verbis Dom.
secun. Luc.
serm. 38. [leg.
28. v. app.
153.]
Chrysost. in
Act. hom.
21. [ix. 176.]
De Con. dist.
2. Quid sit.
the same St. Augustine saith: *Tibi Christus quotidie resurgit*: “Christ riseth again to thee every day⁷⁶:” and as Chrysostom saith, “In the holy mysteries is wrought and perfected the death of Christ⁷⁷:” briefly, as Gregory saith: *Christus iterum in hoc mysterio moritur*: “Christ is slain in this mystery and dieth again:” even so, and in the same sense and meaning, and none otherwise, Œcumenius saith, “Christ is offered in the holy supper.”

⁷⁴ [Not earlier than A. D. 800.]

⁷⁵ [Hieronym. in Psalterium: Vide supra, vol. iii. p. 361, note 62.]

⁷⁶ [Augustin. de Verb. Dom. sec. Luc. 28. A transcript of

lib. 5. cap. 4. de Sacram. falsely attributed to St. Ambrose. See vol. i. 202. note 38.]

⁷⁷ [Chrysostom in Act. Supra, vol. iii. p. 361, note 60.]

But as Christ is neither daily born of the Virgin, nor daily crucified, nor daily slain, nor daily riseth from the dead, nor daily suffereth, nor daily dieth, but only in a certain manner of speech, not verily and indeed; even so Christ is daily sacrificed only in a certain manner of speech, and in a mystery, but really, verily, and indeed he is not sacrificed.

The rest that followeth in Œcumenius only expresseth the two several natures in Christ, the Godhead and the manhood: That, touching his manhood, he was sacrificed; touching his Godhead he was the priest and made the sacrifice: and further to M. Harding's purpose it maketh nothing. So Beda saith, although somewhat otherwise: *Filius Dei, et orat pro nobis, et orat in nobis, et oratur a nobis. Orat pro nobis ut sacerdos; orat in nobis ut caput; oratur a nobis ut Deus.* "The Son of God both

Bedain Epist. ad Ephes. cap. 2. [leg. cap. 1. sub fin.]

prayeth for us, and prayeth in us, and is prayed of us. He prayeth for us as our priest; he prayeth in us as our head; he is prayed of us as our God." Epiphanius saith: *Christus est victima, sacerdos, altare, Deus, homo, rex, pontifex, ovis, agnus, omnia in omnibus pro nobis factus*: "Christ is our sacrifice, our priest, our altar, God, man, king, bishop, sheep, lamb, made for our sakes all in all." Thus is Christ our sacrifice; thus is Christ our sacrificer; not to be offered by the priest, as M. Harding imagineth, but, as the old masters and fathers of the church have taught us, offered by himself upon the cross. St. Augustine saith: *Ecce istic oblatus est; ibi seipsum obtulit:..... simul et hostia et sacerdos; et altare erat crux*: "Behold there was he offered; there he offered himself: he was both the priest and the sacrifice; and his cross was the altar"⁷⁸.

Epiph. de Melchisedec. lib. 2. [l. 471. D.]

August. de Tempore, Sermon. 130. [v. app. 273.] [Chrysost. tom. II. 404.]

This word *incrumentum* that M. Harding hath here alleged out of Chrysostom, is thought to bear great weight, but being well considered of that side it is alleged for, as

⁷⁸ [The Bened. remark, that this sermon is abridged from one of St. Chrysostom's with the same title, De Cruce et Latrone. In Greek the passage runs thus: *ιδού*

ἐνταῦθα προσήνεχθη. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν εἶδες πῶς καὶ θυσία καὶ ἱερεὺς ἐγένετο, καὶ θυσιαστήριον ὁ σταυρὸς ἦν;]

it shall appear, it weigheth nothing. The holy learned fathers apply that word sometime to prayer and other devotion of the mind, and sometime to the ministration of the holy communion.

For the better opening hereof it may please thee, good Christian reader, to understand, that in the time of Moses' law, the priests and Levites offered up unto God oxen, calves, rams, and goats, and with the blood thereof sprinkled the book, the instruments of the ministry, the whole tabernacle, and all the people; and as St. Paul saith, In the ceremonies of that law without bloodshedding there was no remission of sin. Likewise the heathens killed and offered up their cattle unto their idols, sometimes an hundred fat oxen in one day. Sometime they proceeded further, and made their sacrifices of man's blood. Erichtheus of Athens, and Marius of Rome, killed and offered up their own daughters in the honour of Pallas. The nobles of Carthage, in the honour of their idol Saturnus, killed and offered up threescore and ten of their own male children in one sacrifice.

In respect of these gross, and fleshly, and bloody sacrifices, our Christian sacrifices in the gospel, because they are mere spiritual, and proceed wholly from the heart, are called unbloody. Eusebius saith: (*Incendimus*) *orationis suffitum: et sacrificium, quod appellatur purum, non per cruores facimus, sed per puras actiones*: "We burn the incense of prayer, and we offer up the sacrifice that is called pure, not by shedding of blood, but by pure and godly doings⁷⁹."

So Chrysostom: *Offerimus, non per fumum, nidorem, aut sanguinem, sed per Spiritus gratiam*: "We make our sacrifices not by smoke, smell, and blood, but by the grace of the Holy Spirit." He addeth further: "For God is Spirit, and he that adareth him must adore in spirit and truth."

And this is the unbloody sacrifice. So saith Eusebius: *Offerent illi rationabiles et incruentas hostias*: "They shall offer unto him reasonable (or spiritual) and unbloody

Heb. ix. 19—
22.

Clemens in
Orat. contra
Gentes. [I.
37.]

Euseb. de
Demonst. lib.
1. cap. 6. [p.
19. C.]
τὴν οὐδὲ αἰ-
μάτων.

Chrys. contra
Judeos Orat.
3. [I. 648.]

Euseb. de
Demonst. lib.
2. [cap. 35. P.
61. B.]
λογικὰς,
καὶ ἀναίμους
θυσίας.

⁷⁹ [Supra, vol. iii. p. 358, note 56.]

oblations." And the same he expoundeth, "the sacrifice of praise."

In like sort St. Hierom seemeth to say: *In sinceritate azyma epulamur*: "We feast in pureness without leaven⁸⁰." In like consideration the sacrifices, that in old times were made unto *Fides* and *Terminus*, were called ἀναίμακτα, "unbloody," because they consisted only in suffumigations and odours, and were not imbrued with any blood: and for the like cause Thucydides calleth certain of the heathen oblations ἀγνὰ θύματα, "pure sacrifices." Likewise Cyrillus calleth the prayers and melody of the angels and blessed spirits in heaven, continually praising and glorifying the name of God, *incruenta sacrificia*: "unbloody sacrifices⁸¹." Again he saith: *Nos, relicto crasso ministerio Judæorum, præceptum habemus, ut tenue, et spirituale, et subtile sacrificium faciamus; itaque offerimus Deo in odorem suavitatis virtutes omne genus, fidem, spem, charitatem*: "We, having left the gross ministry of the Jews, have a commandment to make a fine, thin, and spiritual sacrifice; and therefore we offer unto God all manner virtues, faith, hope, charity, as most sweet savours."

Hieronym. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. 4. [tom. v. app. 1043.]

Cyrillus ad Reginas. [1. tom. v. pt. 2. pp. 159, 160.]

Cyril. contra Julian. lib. 10. [vi. 345.]

For this cause the sacrifices of our prayers, and other like devotions, are called unbloody, for that they require no fleshly service or shedding of blood, as did the sacrifices of the Jews and heathens, but are mere ghostly and spiritual, and stand wholly in the lifting up and elevation of the mind.

In like manner the ministration of the holy communion is sometimes of the ancient fathers called an unbloody sacrifice; not in respect of any corporal or fleshly presence, that is imagined to be there without bloodshedding, but for that it representeth and reporteth unto our minds that one and everlasting sacrifice that Christ made in his body upon the cross. Therefore Eusebius saith: *Exci-*

⁸⁰ [Hieronym. in Galat. The commentary referred to is not the genuine one in tom. iv. of the Bened. ed.; but one amongst the series, (App. of tom. v.), which is now considered spurious.]

⁸¹ [Cyril. ad Reginas. . . οὕτω φημὲν ὅτι καίτοι μυρίου ἔχων ἐν οὐρανῷ τοὺς ἱερουργοῦντας αὐτῷ, τὰς νοητὰς δηλονότι καὶ ἀναιμάκτους θυσίας, ὕμνους καὶ δοξολογίας, κ. τ. λ.]

Enseb. de Demon, lib. 1. [cap. 6, p. 20.] *tamus illi altare incruentorum et rationabilium sacrificiorum, secundum nova mysteria*: “We erect unto God an altar of unbloody and reasonable or spiritual sacrifices, according to the new mysteries.” Again: *Sacrificium incendimus illi, memoriam magni illius sacrificii*: “We burn a sacrifice unto God, that is, the remembrance of that great sacrifice.” Likewise again: *Christus obtulit mirabile sacrificium pro salute omnium nostrum, jubens nos offerre memoriam pro sacrificio*: “Christ offered up that marvellous sacrifice for our salvation, commanding us to offer a remembrance thereof instead of a sacrifice.” So likewise saith St. Hierom, although not altogether in like respect: *Pane et vino, puro et simplici sacrificio, Christi dedicavit sacramentum*: “He dedicated the sacrament of Christ in bread and wine, which is” (not a bloody or loathsome, but) “a pure and a simple sacrifice.”

This remembrance and oblation of praises and rendering of thanks unto God for our redemption in the blood of Christ, is called of the old fathers “an unbloody sacrifice,” and of St. Augustine, “the sacrifice of the new testament.”

August. de Gratia Nov. Test. ad Honoratum. [18. tom. ii. 439.]

Justinus Martyr saith: *Esaias non pollicetur cruentarum victimarum instaurationem, sed veras et spirituales oblationes laudis et gratiarum actionis*: “Esaias promiseth not the restoring of bloody sacrifices, but the true and spiritual oblations of praises and thanksgiving⁸².”

Just. Martyr in Dialogis cum Tryph. [p. 211.]

St. Chrysostom saith: *Non jam sanguinem aut adipem offerimus, &c.* “We offer not now the fat or blood of beasts—all these things are abolished: and instead thereof there is brought in a reasonable or spiritual duty. But what is this duty that we call reasonable or spiritual? That it is, that is offered by the soul and spirit.”

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. hom. 11. [xii. 114.]

This kind of sacrifice, because it is mere spiritual, and groweth only from the mind, therefore it needeth not any

⁸² [Justin Martyr... οὐ ἐν τῇ ἀλθινοῦς καὶ πνευματικοῦς, αἶνους πάλιν παρουσίᾳ μὴ δόξητε λέγειν καὶ εὐχαριστίας. See also another passage in the preceding page of Justin’s Dialogue.]

Ἡσαΐαν ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους προφήτας θυσίας ἀφ’ αἱμάτων ἢ σπονδῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἀναφέρεισθαι, ἀλλὰ

material altar of stone or timber to be made upon, as doth that sacrifice that M. Harding imagineth in his mass. Chrysostom saith: *Munus evangelii sine sanguine, sine fumo, sine altari, cæterisque sursum ascendit*: "The sacrifice of the gospel ascendeth up without blood, without smoke, without altar and other the like⁸³." In the second council of Nice it is written thus: *Nos Christiani prope-* Chrysost. in
Psalm. 95. [v.
63o. inter
Spur.]
modum quid sit ara, et quid sit victima nescimus: "What sacrifice or altar meaneth, we, being Christian people, in a manner cannot tell." [Mansi, xlii.
49.]

St. Hierom saith: *Unusquisque sanctus altare Domini in se habet, quod est fides*: "Every holy man hath in himself the altar of God, which is faith⁸⁴." To be short, St. Augustine saith: *Sacrificium novi testamenti est, quando altaria cordis nostri munda et pura in conspectu divinæ Majestatis offerimus*: "The sacrifice of the new testament, is when we offer up the altars of our hearts pure and clean in the sight of the divine Majesty⁸⁵." In these respects, our prayers, our praises, our thanksgiving unto God for our salvation in the death of Christ, is called an unbloody sacrifice. Hereof the slenderness of M. Harding's guesses may soon appear. For thus he would seem to reason: The ministration of the holy communion, and our humble remembrance of the death of Christ, is called an unbloody sacrifice: *ergo*, The priest hath power to offer up the Son of God in sacrifice unto his Father. Hieronym. in
Psalm. 25. [ll.
pt. 2. 183.]
Augustin. de
Tempore ser-
mo. 125.

M. HARDING: Fifteenth Division.

St. Augustine hath many evident sayings touching this matter in his works. One shall suffice for all, which is in a little treatise he made, *contra Judæos*, uttered in these words: *Aperite oculos tandem aliquando, et videte ab oriente sole usque ad occidentem, non in uno loco, ut vobis fuit constitutum, sed in omni loco offerri sacrificium Christianorum, non cuilibet Deo, sed ei, qui ista prædixit, Deo Israel*: "Open your eyes at last, you Jews, and see that from the rising of the sun to the setting, not in one place, as it was appointed to you, but in every place the sacrifice of the

⁸³ [The Bened. after Saville reject this Commentary on the 95th Psalm as spurious; Harding, however, had quoted it, supra, vol. iii. 371.]

⁸⁴ [Hieronym. in Psalm. Vid.

supra, vol. iii. 361, note ⁶².]

⁸⁵ [No such passage is found in the sermon referred to. There is probably a false print in the marginal reference.]

The 230th untruth. For not one of all these fathers, here alleged, ever said that the priest hath either power or commandment to offer up the Son of God unto his Father.

Christian people is offered, not to every God, but to him that prophesied of these things before, the God of Israel." And even so with that protestation which St. Augustine made to the Jews, I end this tedious matter consisting in manner altogether in allegations, to M. Jewel. Open you your eyes at last, M. Jewel, and see how (230) all the holy and learned fathers, that have preached the faith of Christ from the rising of the sun to the setting, have taught this doctrine, by word and writing left to the posterity, that they, which under Christ do use the office of a priest after the order of Melchisedek, have not only authority, but also express commandment, to offer up Christ unto his Father.

The proof of which doctrine, although it depend of the weight of one place, yet I have thought good to fortify it with some number, that it may the better appear to be a most undoubted truth, not moved greatly with the blame of tediousness, where no thanks are sought, but only defence of the catholic religion is intended.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

St. Augustine, as in these words he neither toucheth nor signifieth this new manner of offering up Christ unto his Father, so in sundry other places he openeth his own meaning plainly and fully touching the same. In his treatise against the Jews he writeth thus: *Sacerdotium Aaron jam nullum est in aliquo templo: at Christi sacerdotium æternum perseverat in cælo*: "The (bloody) priesthood of Aaron is now in no temple to be found: but the priesthood of Christ continueth still" not upon any earthly altar, but "in heaven." Again: "The priest offereth up the sacrifice of praise, not after the order of Aaron, but after the order of Melchisedek." *Ejus sacrificii similitudinem celebrandam in suæ passionis memoriam commendavit: et illud, quod Melchisedech obtulit Deo, jam per totum orbem terrarum videmus offerri*: "Christ hath left unto us a likeness or token of that sacrifice in remembrance of his passion: and the same that Melchisedek offered unto God, we see is now offered throughout the whole world." *Holocausti ejus imaginem ad memoriam passionis suæ in ecclesia celebrandam dedit*: "Christ hath given us, to celebrate in his church, an image, or token of that sacrifice, for the remembrance of his passion." *Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas*

Augustin. adversus Judæos, cap. 1. [l. cap. 9. viii. 39.]

Contra Adversar. Legis et Prophetar. lib. 1. cap. 1. [l. cap. 20. viii. 570.]

Augustin. in lib. 83. quæst. qu. 61. [vi. 34.]

In eadem questione, [ib. 35.]

August. contra Faust. lib. 20. cap. 21. [viii. 348.]

similitudinum promittebatur: in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur: post ascensionem Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur: "The flesh and blood of this sacrifice before the coming of Christ was promised by sacrifices of resemblance: the same was performed in deed in the time of Christ's passion: but after Christ's ascension, it is frequented by a sacrament of remembrance." Sacrifcium hoc visibile, invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est, sacrum signum est: "This visible sacrifice is a sacrament, that is to say, a token or sign of the sacrifice invisible." Quod appellamus sacrificium, signum est, (et repræsentatio) sacrificii: "The thing, that we call a sacrifice, is a sign and representation of a sacrifice⁸⁴."

De Consec.
Dis. 2. Sacri-
ficium.
August. De
Civit. Dei, l.
10. cap. 5.
[vii. 241.]

[Ibid. 242.]

Thus many ways St. Augustine himself teacheth us what he meant by this word "sacrifice:" an oblation of praise, a similitude, a resemblance, a likeness, an image, a remembrance, a token, a sign, a representation of a sacrifice. So Nazianzen calleth it τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀντί-τυπον: "the figure or token of the great mysteries." To conclude, St. Hierom saith thus: *Tunc acceptabis sacrificium, vel cum te pro nobis offers Patri, vel cum a nobis laudes, et gratiarum actiones accipis: "Then shalt thou receive sacrifice, either when thou offerest thyself" upon thy cross "for us unto thy Father, or when thou receivest of us praises and thanksgiving⁸⁵."*

Nazianzen. in
Apologetico,
[i. 56.]

Hieronym.
in Psalm. l.
[ii. pt. 2.
254.]

Neither hath God appointed any certain order of outward priesthood to make this sacrifice. Every faithful Christian man hath authority to offer up and to make the same. Howbeit, this I mean, not of the ministration of the holy sacraments, which only pertaineth unto the minister, but only of the oblation and making of this spiritual sacrifice. Thus much I say, lest any man, either of malice take occasion, or of ignorance be deceived. St. Cyprian saith: *Omnes, qui a Christi nomine dicuntur Christiani, offerunt Deo quotidianum sacrificium, ordinati a Deo sanctionis sacerdotes: "All, that of Christ be called Chris-*

Cyprian. [Ar-
nold] de uncti-
one Chris-
ma. [App. p.
cxxxiv.]

⁸⁴ [August. de Civ. Dei, "... illud, quod ab omnibus appellatur sacrificium, signum est veri sacrificii."]

⁸⁵ [Hieron. in Psalm.; not genuine, as a whole. Supra, vol. iii. p. 361, note ⁶².]

Origen, in
Levit. hom.
9. [ii. 243.]

1 Pet. ii. 5.

August. in
Exposit. in-
choata ad Ro-
man. [iii.
pt. 2. 937.]

† Ambros.
in 1 Corinth.
cap. 11. [ii.
app. 150.]

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

[In Canone
sub init.]

tians, offer up unto God the daily sacrifice, being ordained of God priests of holiness⁸⁶." Origen saith: *Omnes quicumque, &c.* "All that are bathed with the holy ointment are made priests, even as Peter saith unto the whole church, "You are the chosen stock, and the kingly priesthood." St. Augustine saith: *Holocaustum Dominicæ passionis offert quisque pro peccatis suis*: "Every man offereth up the sacrifice of our Lord's passion for his own sins." St. Ambrose saith: *Invicem expectate, ut multorum oblatio simul celebretur*: "Wait ye one for another, that the sacrifice of many may be offered together." St. Chrysostom saith: *In mysteriis nihil differt sacerdos a subdito*: "In the holy mysteries," the ministration only excepted, "the priest differeth nothing from the people⁸⁷."

It appeareth by these ancient learned fathers, that every Christian man is bound to offer up the unbloody and daily sacrifice of the new testament, and that in as full and ample sort, as is the priest. And therefore M. Harding himself saith even in the very canon of his mass: *Memento Domine famulorum, famularumque tuarum, et omnium circumstantium, pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*: "Remember, O Lord, thy servants, and all them that stand about, for whom we offer unto thee, or else, which do offer unto thee, this sacrifice of praises."

Out of St. Augustine's words M. Harding in the end concludeth thus: "Christ is a priest after the order of Melchisedek: *ergo*, the priest hath authority to offer up the Son of God in sacrifice unto his Father." It were hard to tell us how this antecedent and this consequent came together. No man hath authority thus to mince his logic, but M. Harding.

Christ only is that priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedek: he hath made an endless sacrifice: he himself hath offered up himself unto God his Father upon the cross. Therefore God the Father saith unto him:

Heb. vii. 17.
and ix.

"Thou art that priest for ever:" not any mortal creature,

⁸⁶[Cyprian, de Unctione &c.; not by St. Cyprian, but by Arnoldus Carnotensis A. D. 1162.]

⁸⁷[Chrysost. in 2 Corinth. See the Greek printed, vol. i. p. 337, note 51.]

or worldly wight, but thou (only), being both God and Psalm cx. 4. man, art that priest for ever. St. Paul saith: "We are Heb. x. 14. made perfect, and sanctified by that one sacrifice once made upon the cross." St. John the evangelist saith: "He 1 John II. 2. is the propitiation and sacrifice for our sins." St. Peter saith: "He carried our sins in his body upon the tree." 1 Pet. II. 24. St. Paul saith: "God was in Christ reconciling the world 2 Corin. v. 19. unto himself." Therefore St. John the Baptist saith: "Behold that Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of John I. 29. the world."

If M. Harding and his fellows doubt hereof, as they seem to do, let Christ himself bear witness to the price of his own blood. Hanging upon the cross, and yielding up the spirit, he sealed up all with these words: *Consummatum est*: that is to say, This is the sacrifice for sin; hereby my Father's wrath is pacified: hereby all things are made perfect.

This sacrifice is but one: we may look for none other. It is full and perfect; we may look for no better.

St. Peter saith: "Christ offereth up us unto God his Fa- 1 Pet. III. 18. ther⁸⁸." St. Paul saith, through Christ "we have access to [Vulg.] Heb. IV, 16. the throne of glory [grace]." What then meaneth M. Harding, thus to tell us, and to bear the world in hand, that, contrariwise, he hath authority to offer up Christ, and to present him before the throne of glory? Or how dareth he to desire God to receive his only begotten Son into favour, and favourably and fatherly to look upon him at his request? For thus he biddeth his prayer, even in his canon, even in the secretest and devoutest part of his mass: *Super quæ propitio, ac sereno vultu, &c.* "Upon these things," (that is to say, saith Gabriel Biel, upon the body and blood of [Gabriel Biel. in Lect. 55. sub init.] Christ thy Son,) "O Lord, look down with a merciful and a cheerful countenance: and receive the same," (the body and blood of thy Son,) "as thou didst in old times receive the sacrifice of Abel, and of Abraham," (which was a wether, or a calf, or some other like thing.) Thus he not only taketh upon him to pray for Christ, but also com-

⁸⁸ [1 Pet. III. 18. Vulgat. "... ut nos offerret Deo..." Gr. ... ἵνα ἡμᾶς προσάγαγῃ τῷ Θεῷ.]

pareth the sacrifice of the Son of God with the sacrifice of brute cattle. If he deny any part hereof, his own canon, his own mass-book will reprove him. If this be not blasphemy, what thing can be called blasphemy?

But God will answer such a blasphemous and rash sacrificer: "I know my Son: in him my heart is pleased. But what art thou? Who bade thee thus to pray? Who required such sacrifice at thy hand?"

O M. Harding! God open the eyes of your heart, that you may see the miserable nakedness of your side. Deceive not yourself. Mock not the world. Consider better of your authorities. Of all the holy learned fathers, of whom ye tell us ye have such store, ye are not yet able to shew us one, either Greek or Latin; or heretic or catholic; from the rising of the sun, to the sun going down, that ever said, as you say, "A mortal man hath authority and power to offer up in sacrifice the Son of God."

Talk of your store, when ye have tried it better. Thraso will talk of that he hath not; and somewhat it may serve to fray the simple, but the wise will think it folly⁸⁷.

⁸⁷ [After the greater part of this Art. was printed off, the Editor ascertained, that the Catena alluded to p. 340, note ⁴¹, is the Catena Aurea of Thomas Aquinas, in Matt. xxvi. and that Jewel has accurately reported the quotation from St. Chrysostom as he found it there.

The Editor takes this opportunity of noticing an accidental

omission in p. 355. The quotation from Irenæus, (five lines from the bottom of the page) is printed, as if it were from one context; whereas the sentence beginning "Est ergo altare in cœlis," occurs several lines farther on in the same chapter, p. 252. There is also a false print in the marginal reference, which should be p. 251.]

OF RECEIVING FOR OTHERS.

THE EIGHTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that the priest had then authority to communicate and receive the sacrament for others⁸⁸, as they do.

M. HARDING : *First Division.*

What you would say, M. Jewel, I wot not: what you say, well I wot. Verily we do not communicate, ne receive the sacrament for another. Neither hath it ever been taught in the catholic church, that the priest receive the sacrament for another.

(231) We receive not the sacrament for another, no more than we receive the sacrament of baptism, or the sacrament of penance, or the sacrament of matrimony, one for another. Indeed the priest saith mass for others, where he receiveth that he hath offered, and that is it you mean, I guess: in which mass being the external sacrifice of the new testament, according unto Christ's institution, the thing, that is offered, is such, as maketh our petitions and requests acceptable to God, as St. Cyprian saith: *In hujus (corporis) præsentia non supervacue mendicant lachrymæ veniam*: "In the presence of this body tears crave not forgiveness in vain."

That the oblation of the mass is done for others, than for the priest alone, which celebrateth, it may sufficiently be proved by an hundred places of the fathers: the matters being undoubted, two or three may suffice. First Chrysostom writeth thus in an homily upon the Acts: *Quid dicis? in manibus est hostia, et omnia proposita sunt bene ordinata; adsunt angeli, adsunt archangeli, adest*

⁸⁸ [In the Sermon at Paul's Cross, as originally printed, the reading is "another." See vol. i. 31. note ¹.]

he priestre-
liveth not
e sacra-
ent for an-
ther.

Arnold.]
1 Sermon.
e Cœna Do.
ini. [app.
cxvi.]

Acta hom.
i. [lx. 176.]

The 231st un-
truth. For in
the church of
Rome the
priest re-
ceiveth for
others, as it
shall appear.

Filius Dei, cum tanto horrore adstant omnes, adstant illi clamantes, omnibus silentibus, et putas simpliciter hæc fieri? Igitur et alia simpliciter, et quæ pro ecclesia, et quæ pro sacerdotibus offeruntur, et quæ pro plenitudine, ac ubertate? absit. Sed omnia cum fide fiunt: "What sayest thou hereto? The host is in the priest's hands, and all things set forth are in due order. The angels be present, the archangels be present, the Son of God is present. Whereas all stand there with so great fear, whereas all they stand there crying out to God, and all other hold their peace, thinkest thou that these things be done simply, and without great cause? Why then be those other things done also simply, both the things which are offered (for the church, for the priests⁸⁹), for plenty, and abundance? God forbid! But all things are done with faith."

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding, of the printer's negligence, hath taken good occasion to refresh himself out of season, and to play merrily with these two words, "for another." Which thing would rather become some other man, than a doctor professing such a countenance of gravity as do few others. It might have pleased him, without any great prejudice or hinderance of his cause, to allow us some simple ability of speaking English.

But God's judgments be just. He that will scorn, shall be scorned. M. Harding, that is so learned, so circumspect, so curious, and maketh himself so merry with the error of one poor syllable committed only by the printer in my book, in the self-same place, and in the next side following, hath erred five syllables together in his own book: as it may easily appear by that his friend, for shame, hath restored and amended the same with his pen.

Howbeit, as he, so favourably bearing his own errors, is so witty, to play with syllables, and so sharp and ready to carp others, so in this whole article, as poor apothecaries for want commonly use to do, he serveth out *quid pro quo*, and instead of receiving the communion or sacrament for others, he sheweth us prayers, and sacrifices, and I know not what, and so allegeth one thing for another.

⁸⁹ [Omitted in Harding's printed text, and supplied by the pen. Ed. 1564. Bodl. copy.]

Whether the priest in the church of Rome have used to receive the sacrament for others or no, which thing M. Harding now utterly denieth, and saith it was never used, nor never meant, in the end hereof, God willing, it shall appear.

“The thing that is offered,” saith M. Harding, “maketh our prayers acceptable unto God.” True it is, God accepteth and mercifully beholdeth both us, and also all our prayers, and our whole obedience in Jesus Christ his Son, and for his only sake: not for that he is now, or can be, offered verily and really by the priest, but only for that he was once offered for all upon the cross. St. Paul saith: “By Christ we have access to the throne of grace.” Christ Heb. iv. 16. himself saith: “No man cometh to my Father, but by me.” John xiv. 6. Irenæus saith: “Christ” (being in heaven) “is our altar, Irenæus, lib. 4. cap. 34. [p. 252.] and upon him we must offer up, and lay our prayers⁹⁰.” And therefore in the time of the holy mysteries, the deacon saith thus unto the people, “Lift up your hearts.”

But St. Cyprian saith: *In hujus corporis præsentia*: Cyprian. [Arnold.] de Cœna Domini. [app. p. cxvi.] “In the presence of this body.” Howbeit, St. Cyprian saith not, “In the local presence of this body.” For such presence M. Harding himself hath already refused. He meaneth only the presence of faith, and the virtue and power of Christ’s body. And in this sense St. Augustine saith: *Rerum absentium præsens est fides: et rerum, quæ foris sunt, intus est fides*: “Of things that be absent, faith is present: of things that be without, faith is within.” Augustin. de Trinitate, lib. 3. [leg. lib. 13. l. tom. viii. 928.] Again he saith:.....*Accedamus [accedant] ad Jesum, non carne, sed corde: non corporis præsentia, sed fidei potentia*: Augustin. adv. Judæos, cap. 9. [leg. adv. Faust. 33. l. viii. 468.] “Let us approach unto Jesus, not with our flesh, but with our heart: not with presence of body, but with power of faith.” Likewise again: *Habes Christum 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

⁹⁰ [It may be questioned, whether the words of Irenæus can be so construed as to mean that Christ is our altar. “Est ergo

“altare in cœlis, (illuc enim preces nostræ et oblationes diriguntur) et templum,” &c. “There is an altar,” &c.]

both in the time present, and also in the time to come. In the time present, by faith: in the time present, by the sign" (of the cross in thy forehead): "in the time present, by the sacrament of baptism: in the time present, by the meat and drink of the altar" (or communion table). St. Hierom, writing the epitaph of Paula unto Eustochium, saith thus: *Paula ingressa in stabulum, me audiente, jurabat, cernere se oculis fidei infantem pannis involutum, et vagientem in præsepi Dominum*: "Paula entering into the stable" (at Bethlehem) "affirmed with an oath, in my hearing, that with the eyes of her faith she saw" (Christ, as) "an infant in his swathing clouts, and the Lord crying in the manger like a child." So mighty is the power of faith. That virtuous lady Paula saw by faith, that indeed she saw not. She saw Christ, as an infant in his swathing clouts: and yet then Christ was neither infant, nor swathed in clouts, nor in corporal presence, indeed and verily present there. Therefore St. Augustine saith: *Absentia Domini non est absens. Habe fidem, et tecum est, quem non vides*: "The absence of our Lord is not absent. Have faith, and he, whom thou seest not, is present with thee." Likewise St. Ambrose saith: "St. Stephen, standing in the earth, toucheth the Lord being in heaven⁹¹."

Hieronym.
ad Eustoch.
de Epitaphio
Paulæ. [iv.
pt. 2. 674.]

Ambros.
serm. 58.
[Maximi.]
De Magda-
lena.

De Con. dist.
2. Quia cor-
pus.

German. in
Rer. Eccles.
Theoria. [p.
173. Gr. ed.]

Thus saith St. Cyprian, Christ's body is present at the holy communion, not by any corporal or real presence, but by the effectual working and force of faith. In like sort Eusebius Emissenus saith: *Ut perennis illa victima viveret in memoria, et semper præsens esset in gratia*: "That that everlasting sacrifice might live in our remembrance, and evermore be present in grace." He saith not, that the sacrifice of Christ's body should be present locally, really, verily, or indeed, but in remembrance and in grace. Germanus hereof writeth thus: *Non amplius super terram sumus: sed in throno Dei, Regi assistimus in cælis, ubi Christus est.....*: "We are no longer upon the earth: but we are assistant unto the King in the throne of God in heaven, where Christ is." For that Lamb's sake, whom

⁹¹ [This sermon De Magd. is mus (A. D. 422). See vol. ii. 418, not by St. Ambrose, but by Maxi- note 10.]

we thus see, and thus have present, whatsoever we pray, our tears beg not in vain. For he is our Advocate and Mediator, and evermore maketh intercession for us. Whatsoever we desire the Father in his name, shall be done unto us.

John ii. 1.
Rom. viii. 34.
Heb. vii. 25.
John xvi. 23.

Thus the angels and archangels, as Chrysostom by way of amplification saith, lifting up, and shewing forth, and presenting unto God in heaven that body of Christ, make their prayers for mankind, and thus they say: "For them we pray, O Lord, whom thou lovedst so tenderly, that for their salvation it pleased thee to suffer death, and to yield thy soul upon the cross: for them we pray, for whom thou hast given thy blood, and offered up this body⁹²."

Chrysostom.
de Incom-
prehen. Dei
Natura, hom.
3. [i. 470.]

This certainly is the meaning of Chrysostom's words. And therefore he saith again: "Whether we pray for the church, or for the ministers, or for the increase of the earth, our prayers are acceptable unto God only in Christ, and for his sake."

Touching that he writeth further of the presence and assistance of angels and heavenly powers, it is the ordinary manner and course of Chrysostom's eloquence, and serveth him both to beautify the matter, and also to stir up and inflame the hearers' minds: and that not only in the time of the holy mysteries, but also at all other holy assemblies and public prayers. For thus he saith unto the people:

Angeli sunt ubique, et maxime in domo Dei adsunt Regi, et omnia plena sunt incorporeis illis virtutibus: "The angels of God are every where: but specially in the house of God. They are assistant unto the King: and all places are full of spiritual powers." In like manner of amplification he saith: "The martyrs are here present in the church. If thou wilt see them, open the eyes of thy faith, and thou shalt see a great company."

Chrysost.
hom. 15. ad
Hebræ. [xii.
156.]

So saith St. Basil: "The angels of God are present amongst us, and mark and register them that keep their

Chrysostom.
in hom. de
Ascensione.
[li. 448.]

Basil. de
Jejunio,
hom. 2. [ii.
11.]

⁹² [Chrysost. Ὑπὲρ τούτων δεόμεθα, οὓς αὐτὸς φθάσας οὕτως ἀγαπήσαι κατηξίωσας, ὡς τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπιδοῦναι τὴν σεαυτοῦ ὑπὲρ

τούτων ἐκχέομεν τὰς ἰκετηρίας, ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτὸς τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεας, ὑπὲρ τούτων παρακαλοῦμεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο κατέθυσας.]

Tertull. de
Baptismo.
[cap. 5. p.
226.]

fast⁹³.” So saith Tertullian: “Let no man be hard to believe, that the holy angel of God is present, and tempereth the water to the salvation of man⁹⁴.”

This is it, that Chrysostom meaneth by his vehement exornation of the presence of angels.

And, whereas M. Harding saith, he hath passed over a hundred authorities and mo, that might be alleged to like purpose, this is one of his accustomed colours, and an artificial shift of his rhetoric. Verily hitherto he hath not found one authority to prove that thing that is in question.

M. HARDING: *Second Division.*

St. Ambrose, in his funeral oration of the death of Valentinian the emperor, calling the sacrament of the altar the holy and heavenly mysteries, and the oblation of our mother⁹⁵, (by which term he understandeth the church,) saith, that he will prosecute the holy soul of that emperor with the same. This father, writing upon the 38th psalm, exhorteth priests to follow Christ, that, as he offered for us his blood, so priests offer sacrifice for the people. His words be these: *Vidimus Principem sacerdotum*, &c. “We have seen the Prince of priests coming unto us; we have seen and heard him offering for us his blood. Let us that be priests follow as we can, so as we offer sacrifice for the people, though weak in merit, yet honourable for the sacrifice,” &c.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This objection is easily answered. St. Ambrose saith, that in the congregation, and in the time of the holy mysteries, he would offer up unto God praises and thanksgiving for that godly emperor Valentinian. But he saith not, that he would offer Christ the Son of God unto God his Father, or receive the sacrament for the emperor. Therefore M. Harding might well have passed this authority over among the rest.

⁹³ [Basil. de Jejun. Ἄγγελοι εἰσω οἱ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἀπογραφόμενοι τοῖς νηστεύοντας.]

⁹⁴ [“Ne quis durius credat angelum Dei sanctum aquis in salutem hominis temperandis adesse. . .” Tertull. de Bapt.]

⁹⁵ [The reading in the edition by Erasmus was as Harding re-

presents it, “animam piam matris oblationibus,” &c. The Bened. read as follows: “Date manibus sancta mysteria, pio requiem ejus poscamus affectu. Date sacramenta cœlestia, animam nepotis nostris oblationibus prosequamur.”]

Neither did St. Ambrose think that the emperor Valentinian was in purgatory, whereas M. Harding imagineth he might be relieved: but contrariwise he presumeth him undoubtedly to be in heaven. For thus he writeth of him: *Quenam est hæc anima, &c.*: "What is this soul, that looketh forth as the day star, beautiful as the moon, chosen as the sun?.....O blessed soul, thou lookest down from above upon us, being here beneath: thou hast escaped the darkness of this world: thou art as bright as the moon: thou shinest as the sun." Further he saith: *Cum fratre conjunctus æternæ vitæ fruitur voluptate. Beati ambo*: "Being now with his brother, he enjoyeth the pleasure of everlasting life. Blessed are they both." Therefore the sacrifice, that St. Ambrose made, was not a propitiatory, or satisfactory, or other like mass, whereby M. Harding thinketh himself able to bail souls out of purgatory, but only a sacrifice of thanksgiving for that godly emperor, being now in heaven.

Ambros. de
Obitu Va-
lentinian
Imperat. [ll.
1190. 1191.]

[Ib. 1194.]

The other place of St. Ambrose, as it nothing toucheth this question, so it is already answered fully and at large, Article 6, Divis. 7, and Article 17, Divis. 12⁹⁶.

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

That the oblation of the mass is profitably made for others, St. Gregory witnesseth very plainly, hom. 37, expounding the place of St. Luke, cap. xiv.: *Alioqui legationem mittens, ea quæ pacis sunt postulat*: "Else he sendeth forth an ambassade, and sueth for peace." Hereupon he saith thus: *Mittamus ad Dominum legationem nostram, flendo, sacras hostias offerendo. Singulariter namque ad absolutionem nostram, oblata cum lachrimis et benignitate mentis, sacri altaris hostia suffragatur*: "Let us send to our Lord our ambassade, with weeping, giving almosse, and offering of holy hosts. For the host of the holy altar," (that is, the blessed sacrament,) "offered with tears, and with the merciful bounty of our mind, helpeth us singularly to be assoiled." In that homily he sheweth, that the oblation of Christ's body in this sacrament present, which is done in the mass, is help and comfort not only to them that be present, but also to them that be absent, both quick and dead, which he proveth by example of his own knowledge.

[Gregor. in
Evang. lib.
2, hom. 37.
tom. 1. 1631.]

Whoso listeth to see antiquity for proof hereof, and that in the

apostles' time bishops and priests in the dreadful sacrifice offered and prayed for others, as for every state and order of men, and also for wholesomeness of the air, and for fertility of the fruits of the earth, &c. let him read the eighth book of the Constitutions of the Apostles, set forth by Clement.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Prayer for the dead is none of those articles that M. Harding hath taken in hand to prove. And therefore, as his manner is, he sheweth us one thing for another. This kind of prayer, although it be mere superstitious, and utterly without warrant of God's word, yet I confess it was many wheres received and used, both in Gregory's time, and also long time before, and is avouched of Gregory by a number of vain and childish fables. Touching the sacrifice of the holy communion he saith: "In this mystery Christ suffereth again for our sake: in this mystery Christ dieth: we offer up the sacrifice of his passion: we renew again his passion unto ourselves." As Christ suffereth and dieth, and as his passion and death is renewed in the holy communion; even so is he offered and sacrificed in the same, that is to say, as Gregory expoundeth himself, by representation and by memory, and not verily, really, or indeed.

De Con. dist.
2. Quid sit.
Iterum in
hoc mysterio
moritur.

Gregor. in
Evang. hom.
37. [l. 163r.]

Touching the matter itself that standeth in question, Gregory saith not, neither here nor elsewhere, either that the priest receiveth the communion for the rest of his parish, or that one man's receiving is available for another.

The sacrifice, that he nameth, is no more the sacrifice of the priest than the sacrifice of any other of all the people. For thus he writeth in the same fable: *Toties mariti vincula solvebantur in captivitate, quoties ab ejus conjuge oblata fuissent hostiæ pro ejus animæ absolutione*: "The husband being taken prisoner, had his gyves loosed from him as often as his wife offered up sacrifice for his soul."

Gregor. in
Evang. hom.
37. [ibid.]

The words of this supposed Clement, by whom M. Harding would seem to claim a show of great antiquity, nothing touch the thing that is demanded. For thus only he saith: *Offerimus tibi Regi et Deo*, &c.: "We offer up unto thee, our God and King, according to Christ's institution, this

bread and this cup, by him rendering thanks unto thee." And, lest M. Harding happen to say, this sacrifice was propitiatory to relieve the souls that were in purgatory, this Clemens saith further: *Offerimus tibi pro omnibus, qui a sæculis tibi placuerunt, sanctis, patriarchis, prophetis, justis, apostolis, martyribus*: "We offer unto thee for all holy saints, that have been from the beginning of the world, patriarchs, prophets, just men, apostles, and martyrs." I trow, M. Harding will not say, all these were in purgatory.

And touching the receiving of the communion, he saith thus: *Postea recipiat episcopus, &c.*: "Then let the bishop receive, and after him the priests, the deacons, the sub-deacons, the readers, the singers, the religious, the women deacons, the virgins, the widows, the children, and the whole congregation in order, with sobriety and reverence, without confusion." By this record of this Clemens it appeareth, that the whole congregation received the holy communion all together, each man for himself, and not one man for another.

Clemens
Apost. Con-
stit. lib. 8.
[cap. 20.]

Now whereas M. Harding utterly denieth that ever any man in his church received the sacrament instead of others, as somewhat misliking the open folly of the same, for short trial hereof, I remit him both to the very practice of his mass, and also to the most catholic doctors of all his school.

In his requiem, he singeth thus: *Pro quorum memoria corpus Christi sumitur, &c.*: "For whose remembrance the body of Christ is received." If he can haply devise some veil to shadow this; yet his doctors be both so plain, that they cannot be shifted, and also of so good credit, that they may not be refused. Certainly they have been evermore thought to teach the catholic doctrine of the church.

Gabriel Biel saith thus: *Sicut os materialis corporis, &c.*: "As the mouth of our material body not only eateth for itself, but also receiveth sustenance for the preservation of all other members, which sustenance is divided throughout the whole body; even so the priest receiveth the sacrament, and the virtue thereof passeth into all the members of the church, and specially into them that are present at the mass." Likewise saith Vincentius de Valentia: "The

Biel, lect.
81. [fol.
ccxxxix. col.
1.]

In Serm. 2.
de Epiphan.
[serm. hyem.
p. 203.]

whole Christianity is one body, knit together by faith and charity, and having in it sundry members: and the priest is the mouth of this body. Therefore, when the priest receiveth the sacrament, all the members are refreshed." Again he saith: *Nos communicamus ore sacerdotis, audiendo missam*: "We, hearing mass, do communicate, or receive the sacrament by the mouth of the priest." Likewise doctor Eckius saith: *Populus bibit spiritualiter per os sacerdotis*: "The people drinketh spiritually by the mouth of the priest⁹⁷." These words be plain, and truly reported. Which being true, it must needs appear, that M. Harding's avouching the contrary is untrue.

Eckius de
Utraque
Specie. [Loc.
Com. art. 10.]

Chrysost. in
1 Cor. hom.
40. [x. 378.]

So Chrysostom saith, "The old heretics called *Marcionites* used to baptize some that were living, in the behalf and stead of others that were dead⁹⁸." And from thence it seemeth, they, that now would be counted catholics, have derived their doctrine in this point. And that M. Harding may the rather believe that such folly hath been used, let him remember, that in his church the bishop, when he createth a reader⁹⁹, giveth him evermore this commission: *Accipe potestatem legendi evangelium tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis*: "Receive thou power to read the gospel, as well for the quick as for the dead." Therefore M. Harding, so earnestly denying this, denieth the manifest and known truth, and defaceth the credit of his own doctors.

To conclude, I may well say, as before, that M. Harding having nothing to allege touching the matter that lieth between us, and, instead thereof, filling up his papers with matters impertinent, of prayer and sacrifice, hath somewhat abused the patience of his reader, and shewed him one thing for another.

⁹⁷ [Eckius Loc. Comm. "Et sacerdos in persona totius populi offert et sumit sub utraque specie, in cujus persona totus populus quadam spiritali sump-tione sanguinem Christi bibere gaudenter debet credere.]

⁹⁸ [A living man was placed under the bed, upon which the dead person was lying, and an-

swered for him, that he was willing to be baptized. The Marcionites defended the practice by 1 Cor. xv. 29.]

⁹⁹ [This is a mistake; the form is used not in the creation of a Reader, but in the ordination of a Deacon. See Pontificale Roman. ed. 1520.]

OF APPLICATION.

THE NINETEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that the priest had then authority to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by mean of the mass.

M. HARDING.

The virtue of Christ's death and passion is grace and remission of sins, the appeasing of God's wrath, the reconciliation of us to God, deliverance from the devil, hell, and everlasting damnation. Our adversaries, imputing to us as though we said and taught that the priest applieth this virtue, effect, and merit of Christ's death to any man by the mean of the mass, either (232) belie us of ignorance, or slander us of malice. Verily we say not so. Neither doth the priest apply the virtue of Christ's passion to any man by the mean of the mass. He doth but apply his prayer, and his intent of oblation, beseeching Almighty God to apply the merit and virtue of his Son's death (the memory whereof he celebrateth at the mass) to them for whom he prayeth.

It is God, and none other, that applieth to us remission of sin, the priest doth but pray for it, and by the commemoration of his Son's death moveth him to apply. So as all that the priest doth is but by way of petition and prayer, leaving all power and authority of applying to God, which prayer is to be believed to be of most force and efficacy when it is worthily and devoutly made in the mass, in the which the priest beareth the person of

What applieth the priest unto us in the mass.

The 232nd untruth. For in the church of Rome the priest presumeth to apply the merits of Christ by mean of his mass, as shall appear.

The 233rd
untruth. For
the priest
prayeth, that
the body of
Christ may
be carried up
by the hands
of angels.

the whole church, and offereth his prayer in the sacrifice, wherein the church offereth Christ, and itself through Christ to God. Which his (233) prayer and devout service he beseecheth to be offered up by the hands of angels unto the high altar of God, in the sight of the divine Majesty. Of what strength prayer made at the mass is, the holy bishop and martyr St. Cyprian witnesseth, (that in all his books never once named the mass,) where he saith, "In the presence of this sacrament tears crave not in vain, and the sacrifice of a contrite heart is never denied his request."

† Sermone
de Cœna
Domini.
[app. cxvi.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Neither have we of ignorance belied M. Harding's doctrine, nor have we of malice slandered it; but plainly and truly have reported the same, even as both he and his late doctors have taught it, and as the people in the church of Rome hath every where received it at their hands.

1 Sam. vi. 4.

But, like as in old times God commanded the Philistines to offer up golden mice and golden emerods, to be kept for ever in record, and to witness against them in what sort they had been plagued for their wickedness, if at any time they should happen afterward to deny it; even so hath God specially provided that the monuments of our adversaries' old errors, whereof they seem now to be ashamed, should still remain in sure record, even in their own doctors' books, to witness against them, if they should happen, as now, upon mislike, utterly to disclaim and deny the same; and to force them to confess that they are the children of them that have deceived the people.

Quodlibet.
quest. 20.

For whereas M. Harding, amongst many other words, wherewith he laboureth to shadow and to darken the case, saith, "It is God only, and none other, that applieth unto us the death of Christ, and the remission of our sins;" Johannes Scotus, one of his most famous and most catholic doctors, saith plainly the contrary: *Non solus Deus distribuit virtutem sacrificii, sed sacerdos quoque*: "Not only God distributeth or applieth the virtue of the sacrifice, but the priest also." And Gabriel Biel, another of M. Harding's doctors, in like sort saith: "The force and effect of the sacrifice is distributed and applied, not only by God, but also by the priest." "Only," and "not only," imply

Biel, lect. 26.
[fol. xlix.
lit. B.]

a contradiction. If the one be true, the other of necessity must be false. Again, Biel saith: *Sacerdotis est determinare virtutem sacrificii, ut his, vel illis indigentibus præmium reddendum per hujusmodi ecclesiæ sacrificia conferatur*: “It is the priest’s office to determine and limit the virtue of the sacrifice, that the meed that is given by such sacrifices of the church may be applied to these or them that stand in need.” Which thing he proveth by sufficient example in this wise: “As the pope, by right of his supremacy, hath power to divide the treasure of the church,” (whereby he meaneth his pardons,) “giving unto some full remission of all their sins, and dispensing with some other for the third part of their pains, and granting unto some pardon for certain number of days or years, as he seeth it may be most expedient for the devotion of the people: even so,” saith he, “may the priest dispense and divide the merits of the church, and apply the same to this man, or that man, as he shall think it may stand him in some stead.”

In *Summa Angelica* it is written thus: “The mass is available unto them unto whomsoever it pleaseth the priest to apply it by his intention.” And again: *Missa respectu operis operati, &c.*: “The mass, in respect of the work that is wrought, is nothing else but the applying of the merit of Christ’s passion.”

So Vincentius de Valentia, a notable catholic schoolman of M. Harding’s side: *Virgo Maria solum semel aperuit caelum, &c.*: “The Virgin Mary never but once opened heaven, but the priest openeth it every day and at every mass.” Doctor Holcot saith: *Quid est celebrare missam principaliter pro aliquo? R. Est applicare missam Johanni, quod sit quædam satisfactio apud Deum pro anima Johannis, si indigeat*: “What is it to say mass principally for any man?” He answereth, “It is the applying of the mass unto John, to be a certain satisfaction for him before God, if John stand in need of it.” And withal he moveth a great doubt whether the priest may apply one mass to two several men, and nevertheless satisfy for them both.

And Biel saith, that certain, the better to help the

Biel in eadem lectio. [Ibid. lit. B.]

[Ibid. lit. D.]

Ut illi, vel illi possit applicare.

Sum. Angelica, in Missa. [art. 52.]

[Ibidem.]

Vincent. de Valentia in Serm. de Corpore Christi. [serm. aestiv. p. 322.]

Holcot. in 4. Sen. quest. 3.

In eadem quest.

Biel, lect. 26. priest's memory, taught him to apply his mass throughout all the cases of declension: as, for example, *nominativo*, "a mass for himself;" *genitivo*, "a mass for his father and mother;" *dativo*, "a mass for his founders or benefactors;" *accusativo*, "a mass for his enemies or accusers;" *vocativo*, "a mass for sinners and infidels;" *ablativo*, "a mass for his backbiters and slanderers."

Of these things M. Harding seemeth now to be ashamed: notwithstanding it were of late the catholic and general doctrine of his church, universally taught, by Holcot in England, by Vincentius in Spain, by Biel in France, by Angelus in Italy; or rather by all these, and all others, through the whole church of Rome. Hereof grew such merchandize and sale of masses, that the house of God was become a den of thieves.

Therefore M. Harding having no other defence for all these follies, but only to cast off all that can be said of our side, as malicious and ignorant surmises, sheweth himself little to have considered the state of his own church, and, in the impatience of his heats, to speak against us what him liketh, and so to spice his error both with ignorance and with malice.

But for resolution hereof, and some short satisfaction of the reader, it behoveth us to understand, that it is not the priest, but God only it is, that applieth unto each man the remission of his sins in the blood of Christ, not by mean of the mass, but only by the mean of faith. St. John saith:

1 John v. 10.

"He that believeth in the Son of God hath a witness in himself." St. Augustine saith: *Holocaustum Dominicæ passionis eo tempore offert unusquisque pro peccatis suis, quo ejusdem passionis fide dedicatur*: "Then doth every man offer the sacrifice of Christ's passion for himself, when he is dedicated in the faith of Christ's passion." So saith the

Augustin. in Expositione Inchoata ad Roman. [lii. pt. 2. 937.]

old learned father Origen: *Siclo sancto comparandus est nobis Christus, &c.*: "With the holy shekel we must buy Christ, that may put away our sins. The holy shekel beareth the form of our faith. For if thou bring faith as the price, thou shalt receive the remission of thy sins." Likewise again he saith: *Christus factus est hostia et propitiatio*

Origen. in Levit. hom. 3. [li. 198.]

Origen. in Epist. ad Roman. lib. 3. cap. 3. [iv. 515.]

pro peccatis. Quæ propitiatio ad unumquemque venit per viam fidei: “Christ is made the sacrifice and propitiation for sin. Which propitiation cometh” (or is applied) “to each man” (not by the mass, but) “by the way of faith.”

This is the most certain and undoubted application of the merits and death of Christ. St. Paul saith: “God hath set Christ to be our Reconciler through faith, by the mediation of his blood.”

OF OPUS OPERATUM.

THE TWENTIETH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that it was then thought a sound doctrine, to teach the people, that the mass, *ex opere operato*, that is, even for that it is said and done, is able to remove any part of our sins.

M. HARDING: *First Division.*

Indeed the doctrine uttered in this Article is false and derogatory to the glory of our Saviour Christ. For thereby the honour of Christ's sacrifice, whereby he hath once satisfied for the sins of all, should be transferred to the work of the priest, which were great wickedness and detestable blasphemy. And therefore we will not require M. Jewel to yield and subscribe unto this Article. For we grant, this was never thought a sound doctrine within six hundred years of Christ's ascension, nor shall be so thought within six thousand years after the same of any man of sound belief. (234) Neither hath it been at any time taught in the catholic church, howsoever it liketh our adversaries to charge the scholastical doctors with the slanderous report of the contrary. For it is Christ only, and none other thing, that is able to remove our sins, and that hath he done by the sacrifice of his body once done upon the cross. Of which sacrifice, once performed upon the cross with shedding of his blood, this unbloody sacrifice of the altar, which is the daily sacrifice of the church, commonly called "the mass," is a sampler and a commemoration, (235) in the which we have the same body that hanged on the cross. Neither is it a sampler or commemoration only,

The 234th untruth. For it hath been so taught and so used, as it shall appear.

The 235th untruth. For Chrysostom saith: *In visis sacris, non verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur. In Opere imperfecto, hom. 11.*

but the selfsame sacrifice which was offered on the cross : a sampler or commemoration, in respect of the manner, for that it is done without bloodshedding ; the selfsame, for that the thing which is offered is the same that was offered on the cross. And, whereas we have nothing of ourselves, that we may offer up acceptable to God, we offer this his Son's body as a most acceptable sacrifice, beseeching him to look not upon our worthiness, our act or work ; but upon the face of Christ his dear Son, and for his sake to have mercy upon us.

And in this respect we doubt not this blessed sacrifice of the mass to be vailable and effectual, *ex opere operato*, that is, not as M. Jewel interpreteth, for that the mass is said and done, referring *opus operatum* to the act of the priest ; not so : but for the work wrought itself, which God himself worketh by the ministry of the priest, without respect had to his merit or act, which is the body and blood of Christ, whose breaking and shedding is in this mystical sacrifice, so far as the Holy Ghost hath thought expedient for man's behoof, represented, shewed, and recommended to memory. Which body and blood, when it is (236) according to his commandment offered up to God, is not in regard of our work, but of itself, and of the holy institution of his only begotten Son, a most acceptable sacrifice unto him, both for quick and dead, ^awhere there is no stop nor let to the contrary on the behalf of the receiver. The dead, I mean such only as through faith have recommended themselves to the redemption wrought by Christ, and by this faith have deserved of God, that after their departure hence, as St. Augustine saith, this sacrifice might profit them.

The 236th untruth. For Christ never gave such commandment.

a A folly joined with a contradiction in itself. For the dead can make no stop.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

These words, *opus operatum*, *opus operans*, *opus operantis*, as they are strange and barbarous, so are they not found neither in the scriptures, nor in the old doctors, nor in any ancient council : but have been lately devised by certain new scholastical doctors of M. Harding's own side : who, notwithstanding, cannot yet well agree upon their own device, nor can certainly tell us what they have found.

Biel, lect. 27. [lit. K. fol. lii.]

Gerson contra Floret. lib. 4. [xvii. col. 3.]

Opus operantis, some of them call the "work and worthiness of the priest:" but Innocentius III. rather calleth *opus operantis*, "the priest himself." Likewise about these words, *opus operatum*, they have made much ado : and yet are not well resolved of it, what it should be. Scotus⁹⁹ and Biel say, "It is the consecration, the oblation, and the receiving of the sacrament." Gerson saith : "It is the

Scotus Quodlib. art. 2.

Innocentius, lib. 3. cap. 5. Biel, lect. 27. [lit. K.]

Scotus Quodlib. art. 2.

Gerson contra Floret. lib. 4. [xvii. col. 3.]

⁹⁹ [There is some mistake in the references to Scotus.]

Psal. lxxxiv. 9.

How the mass is vailable *ex opere operato*.

De octo quest. Dulcitii, quest. 2. [vi. 129.]

word of the Creator, and the power of the Holy Ghost¹." Pighius saith: "It is the will of God, that appointed the sacrament to this purpose." Gropper of Cologne saith, "It is the body of Christ." Howbeit, it were hard to say, either that Christ's body is a work, or that any work is Christ's body.

Gropper. art.
4. cap. 19.
[p. 584.]

It were a point of mastery, to make all these contrary resolutions agree in one. Thus it fareth evermore, whereas men shoot without a mark. Howbeit, if neither M. Harding, nor any other of his fellows for him, be able to find these words, *opus operatum*, in any ancient doctor or council, then, notwithstanding the great multitude of his words, my assertion standeth still true. But if he, and others of his side have maintained this doctrine, even in such sort as I have uttered it, then by his own confession, they have deceived the world by wicked and blasphemous doctrine, to the great derogation of the glory and cross of Christ.

And, forasmuch as M. Harding seemeth now to blush at his own terms, and therefore beginneth to shun and to shift the same by vain and frivolous expositions: it shall not be amiss to open the true meaning thereof, both by the old records of the ancient writers, in whose days the like folly began to grow, and was then reprov'd: and also by the plain words of M. Harding's own allowed doctors.

Augustin. de
Civit. Dei,
lib. 21. cap.
19. [vii. 639.]

St. Augustine saith, There were some in his time, that thought and taught the people, that if a man had been baptized, and had once received the communion, notwithstanding he lived wickedly, and maintained heresies and wilful doctrine, yet he could not be condemned, only because he was baptized, and had once received the holy communion: which thing now is called, *opus operatum*.

Chrysost. ad
Popul. Anti-
och. hom. 19.
[ii. 197.]

Chrysostom saith: *Mulieres et parvi pueri, pro magna custodia, ad collum suspendunt evangelia*: "Women and young children, for great safety, hang the gospel at their necks." They thought, the gospel itself, and of itself,

¹ [Gerson contr. Floretum. "creatoris et virtute Spiritus
"....quia non in meritis conse- "Sancti, et illud vocatur opus
"crantis, sed in verbo perficitur "operatum."]

could save them from all mishaps, not because they believed in it, but only because it was hanged or tied about them²: and this is also, *opus operatum*.

So there were certain in old times, that, of mere superstition, used to minister the communion unto the dead, and to lay the sacrament in the mouths of them that were departed: as St. Benet also caused the sacrament to be laid upon a dead woman's breast, thinking that the very outward ceremony thereof, without faith or inward motion of the party, might be sufficient to do her good: which also is called, *opus operatum*.

Even in St. Paul's time there were certain that of like superstition began to baptize the dead³: which thing also continued a long while after, as may appear by the council of Carthage. They thought the very outward work of baptism itself, only because it was done, without any further motion of the mind, was sufficient to remit their sins.

This old error our adversaries of late years have taken up, and made it catholic: bearing the people in hand, that their mass itself, *ex opere operato*, only of itself, and because it is said, is available for the remission of their sins.

Thus they expound their own dream: *Ex opere operato, id est, ex ipsa consecratione, et oblatione, et sumptione venerabilis eucharistiæ*: "*Ex opere operato*, is as much to say, as for the very consecration, and oblation, and receiving of the reverend sacrament."

In *Manipulus Curatorum*, which not long sithence was thought to be a book most necessary for all parsons and curates, as containing all necessary doctrine for the church of God, it is written thus: *Opus operatum, est actus exercitatus circa sacramentum; sicut opus operatum in baptismo, est inspersio, vel immersio aquæ, et prolatio verborum*. And therefore cardinal Cajetan at Augusta in Germany,

² [St. Chrysostom in 1 Cor. alludes to the custom of hanging up the gospel near one's bed. St. Jerome (alluding to phylacteries), "Hoc apud nos superstitionis mulierculæ in parvulis evangelii et in cruce. . . factitant."]

³ [Supra, vol. iii. p. 392, note ⁹⁸. See also Tertullian de Resurrect. Carn. (commenting on 1 Cor. xv. 29.) "qua (præsumptione) alii etiam "carni vicarium baptismum profuturum existimarunt ad spem "resurrectionis."]

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. hom. 43. [x. 405.]

Hieronym. in Matthæ. lib. iv. cap. 23. [iv. p. 109.]

Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 6. [iii. 881.]

Inter Decret. Densedit. cap. 12.

[Crabb. tom. ii. 185.]

[Conc. Antisiodor.] [Gregor. Dialog. ii. 256.]

Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 6. [iii. 881.]

Biel, lect. 27. [leg. 26. G.] Scutus. Quodlib. art. 2.

Manipulus Curatorum. [cap. 2.]

In Paralipomenis Urspergen. [ann. 1518.]

requiring doctor Luther to recant this article, said thus : *Fides non est necessaria accessuro ad eucharistiam* : " Faith is not necessary for him that will receive the sacrament : " meaning thereby that the very sacrament itself, only because it is ministered, is sufficient, although the receiver be utterly void of faith³.

Concil. Trident. sess. 6. can. 8. [Harduin, x. 52. sess. 7.]

And therefore the bishops in the late council of Trident have determined thus : *Si quis dixerit, per sacramenta novæ legis non conferri gratiam ex opere operato, sed fidem solam divinæ promissionis sufficere ad gratiam consequendam, anathema sit* : " If any man say, that grace is not given by the sacraments of the new testament, even for the work that is wrought, but that faith only of the heavenly promise is sufficient to achieve grace, accursed be he."

Biel, lect. 81.

Likewise Gabriel Biel : *Hoc sacrificium in illis, pro quibus offertur, non præexigit vitam spiritualem in actu, sed in potentia, &c.* : " This sacrifice, in them for whom it is offered, requireth not a spiritual (or godly) life in act and in deed, but only in possibility. Neither is this against the saying of St. Augustine : ' Who will offer the body of Christ, but only for them that are the members of Christ ? ' for thus we understand it, That the oblation is made for the members of Christ, when it is made for any, that may be the members of Christ⁴."

Cajetan. in Quodlib. De usu spiritualium, quæst. 3.

And therefore cardinal Cajetan, notwithstanding that he had spoken against doctor Luther in open conference to the contrary, confesseth a general error therein in his time. For thus he writeth : *Unde in hoc videtur communis multorum error, quod putant, hoc sacrificium ex solo opere operato habere certum meritum, vel certam satisfactionem, quæ applicatur huic, vel illi* : " Wherefore herein appeareth the common error of many, that think, that this sacrifice, even of the work that is wrought, hath a certain merit, or a certain satisfaction, that may be applied to this man, or that man⁵."

³ [See Sleidan's History of the Reformation, book 1. p. 7. See also Def. of Apol. p. 283, fol. ed.]

⁴ [There is some mistake in the reference. No such passage is found in Biel, lect. 81.]

⁵ [In the Quodlibeta of Cardinal Cajetan, there is a title "de usu spiritualium," but it is comprised under one Quæstio, which does not contain the passage in the text.]

This of late years was the school-doctors' catholic meaning, touching these new terms of their own inventing: which now M. Harding and his fellows are fain for shame to colour over with some finer varnish. Hereof, good Christian reader, mayest thou judge, how aptly this doctrine may stand with the glory and cross of Christ.

Now touching these words, "oblation" and "sacrifice," with the show whereof M. Harding thinketh it good skill, to dazzle and to abuse the eyes of the simple: first, where he saith: "A mortal man offereth up the Son of God indeed and verily unto his Father, and that Christ commanded such a sacrifice to be made," he knoweth himself it is both a great untruth, and also a manifest and a wilful blasphemy. And further, where he addeth, That the same sacrifice so offered is available for the dead, unless there be some stop or let in the receiver: this is a very vain and unadvised folly: for children know, that the dead can neither receive the sacrament, nor make let or stop against the receiving of the same. Therefore this addition might have been better surveyed, ere it came abroad.

Indeed St. Augustine, having occasion somewhat to touch the state of the faithful departed, saith, That the prayers of the living, being either joined with almsdeeds, or made at the time of the holy communion, at which time the death of Christ is laid open before us, and therefore our mind the more inflamed to devotion, may be available for the dead. Howbeit St. Augustine herein compareth the sacrifice of the holy communion with the sacrifice of almsgiving, and, in that behalf of relieving the dead, maketh either equal with the other. But for this present, it is needless hereof to make further treaty. For M. Harding well knoweth, this is none of the articles we have now in question.

But certain it is, that St. Augustine, neither here nor elsewhere, ever moved one word of *opus operatum*, that now so mightily is defended.

M. HARDING : *Second Division.*

But to speak of this matter more particularly and more distinctly, the term "mass" may be taken two ways. Either for the thing itself which is offered, or for the act of the priest in offering of it. If it be taken for the thing itself that is offered, which is the body of Christ, and is in this respect of the ^ascholastical doctors called *opus operatum* : no man can justly deny, but that it removeth and taketh away sin. ^bFor Christ in his flesh crucified is our only sacrifice, our only price, our only redemption, whereby he hath merited to us upon the cross, and with the price of his blood hath bought, the remission of our sins : and St. John saith, he is the propitiation for our sins. ^bSo ^cEcumenius saith, *Caro Christi est propitiatorium nostrarum iniquitatum* : "The flesh of Christ is the propitiation for our iniquities." And this not for that it is offered of the priest in the mass ^cspecially, but for that he offered it once himself with shedding of his blood upon the cross for the redemption of all. Which oblation, done upon the cross, is become a perpetual and continual oblation, not in the same manner of offering, but in the same virtue and power of the thing offered. For since that time the same body of Christ, appearing always before the face of God in heaven, presenteth and exhibiteth itself for our reconciliation : and likewise it is exhibited and offered (237) by his own commandment here in earth in the mass, where he is both priest and sacrifice, offerer and oblation, verily and indeed, though in mystery and by way of commemoration, that thereby we may be made partakers of the reconciliation performed, applying the same unto us (so far as in this behalf man may apply) through faith and devotion, no less than if we saw with our eyes presently his body hanging on the cross before us, and streams of blood issuing forth. And so it is a sacrifice in very deed propitiatory, not for our act or work, but for his own work already done and accepted. To this only we must ascribe remission and removing of our sins.

Mass taken two ways.

^a M. Harding should have shewed, what scholastical doctors have taken it thus : otherwise it may seem untrue.

^b All these allegations utterly condemn the work, that is supposed in the mass.

^c The work of the priest is propitiatory, albeit not specially.

The 237th untruth. For God never commanded the priest, neither to say mass, as it is now used, nor to offer up the body of Christ.

¹ Cor. vi. 20. and vii. 23. Titus ii. 14. Rev. xiv.

¹ John ii. 2. In 3. cap. ad Romanos.

Heb. ix. 24.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding is driven to make wonderful hard shift, and to leave all the whole company of his school-doctors, and to go alone. "The mass," saith he, "sometime signifieth the body of Christ." "Sometime," say you? and at what time, I beseech you? and, if at one time, why not at all times? what ancient doctor or holy father ever told us this tale? But let us give M. Harding leave to make somewhat of himself, and to uphold his strange religion with strange phrases and forms of speech. For

he hopeth, that, whatsoever he list to say, the ignorant people will believe him.

But wherefore allegeth he not, either the scriptures, or some old council, or some ancient doctor : at the least, some one or other of his own school-doctors, Innocentius, Thomas, Scotus, Alexander, Henricus de Gandavo, Robertus de Collo Torto, or some other like, in this behalf? Is there none of all these that ever could understand, that the mass is the body of Christ? And must we needs believe M. Harding in so strange a matter, without witness? Verily if the mass, according to this new doctrine, be Christ's body, and that verily and indeed, without shift or help of figure, then was the mass born of the blessed Virgin: then was it crucified: then was it buried in the grave. For all these things happened to the body of Christ. Then whosoever denieth the mass, denieth Christ's body: and whosoever believeth Christ's body, believeth the mass. But what should M. Harding do? A monstrous doctrine requireth a monstrous kind of words.

Indeed, Christ's body crucified was the price and pro-^{1 John ii. 2.} pitiation for all our sins. Christ "with one oblation hath^{Heb. x. 14.} made perfect for ever, all that be sanctified." For in his flesh he was that "Lamb of God, that hath taken away the^{John i. 29.} sins of the world." And now in the same flesh "he ap-^{Rom. viii. 34.}peareth before God, and evermore entreateth for our^{Heb. vii. 25.} sins."

But, M. Harding, what is all this to your mass? who ever bade you to sacrifice Christ unto his Father? who ever warranted you, that your sacrifice, devised by yourselves, should be of the same virtue and power, as you say, that was the sacrifice of Christ himself upon his cross? who ever told you, that your sacrifice should be the price and propitiation for the sins of the whole world? or that Christ in your mass should evermore appear before God, and entreat for us?

But why add you further this "special" exception of yourself, "And this, not for that it is offered of the priest in the mass specially?" What needeth you with this so "special" proviso, so finely to mince this matter? Why

should you so “specially” disable or discredit the unbloody sacrifice of the church? If the flesh of Christ be not “specially” available, for that, as you say, it is offered by the priest, how then, being so offered, can it be propitiatory for our sins? If it be propitiatory indeed, and if the priest offer up Christ unto his Father, and that in all respects of power and virtue as effectual and available, as that Christ himself offered upon the cross, how then is it not “specially” profitable for that, as you say, it is offered by the priest? Ye should have brought some Daniel with you, to expound your dream: or some skilful surveyor, to part tenures between Christ and the priest, and to limit each part “generally” and “specially” his own right.

O, M. Harding, what a miserable doctrine is this! Remove only this vain show of strange words, wherewith ye delight to astonne the simple: and the rest that remaineth is less than nothing.

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

If the term “mass” be taken for the act of the priest, in respect of any his only doing, it is not able to remove sin. For so we should make the priest God’s peer, and his act equal with the passion of Christ, as our adversaries do unjustly slander us. Yet hath the mass virtue and effect in some degree, and is acceptable to God by reason of the oblation of the sacrifice, which in the mass is done by the offerer, without respect had to Christ’s institution, even for the faithful prayer and devotion of the party that offereth, which the school-doctors term, *ex opere operantis*. For then the oblation seemeth to be most acceptable to God, when it is offered by some that is acceptable. Now the party that offereth, is of two sorts. The one offereth immediately and personally: the other offereth mediately, or by mean of another, and principally. The first is the priest that consecrateth, offereth, and receiveth the sacrament, who so doth these things in his own person, yet by God’s authority, as none other in so offering is concurrent with him. The party that offereth mediately, or by mean of another, and principally, is the church militant, in whose person the priest offereth, and whose minister he is in offering. For this is the sacrifice of the whole church. The first party that offereth is not always acceptable to God, neither always pleaseth him, because oftentimes he is a sinner. The second party that offereth is evermore acceptable to God, because the church is always holy, beloved, and the only spouse of Christ. And in this respect the mass is an acceptable service to God, *ex*

opere operantis, and is not without cause and reason called a "sacrifice propitiatory," not for that it deserveth mercy at God's hand of itself, as Christ doth, who only is in that principal and special sort a sacrifice propitiatory: but for that it moveth God to give mercy and remission of sin already deserved by Christ. In this degree of a sacrifice propitiatory, we may put prayer, a contrite heart, alms, forgiving of our neighbour, &c. This may easily be proved by the holy fathers.

Origen's words be very plain: *Si respicias ad illam commemorationem, de qua dicit Dominus, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, invenies, quod ista est commemoratio sola, que propitium faciat Deum*: "If thou look to that commemoration, whereof our Lord saith, 'Do this in my remembrance, or in commemoration of me,' thou shalt find, that this is the only commemoration that maketh God merciful." St. Augustine saith

thus: *Nemo melius præter martyres meruit ibi requiescere, ubi et hostia Christus est, et sacerdos, scilicet, ut propitiationem de oblatione hostiæ consequantur*: "No man hath deserved better than the martyrs ^ato rest there, where Christ is both the host and the priest," (238) (he meaneth to be buried under the altar) "to the intent they might attain propitiation by the oblation of the host." But here, to avoid prolixity in a matter not doubtful, I leave a number of places whereby it may be evidently proved, that the mass is a sacrifice propitiatory in this degree of propitiation, both for the quick and the dead, the same not being specially denied by purport of this Article. Thus we have declared, as we might superficially treating of this Article, that the mass is a sacrifice propitiatory both *ex opere operato*, that is, through the merit of Christ's body that suffered on the cross, which is here *opus operatum*, and is by Christ through the ministry of the priest in the mass offered, truly, but in mystery, and also *ex opere operante*, that is, through the doing of the priest, if he have the grace of God, and so be acceptable, but in a far lower degree of propitiation, which is called *opus operans*, or *opus operantis*. And this is the doctrine of the church, touching the valor of the mass *ex opere operato*, whereby no part of Christ's glory is impaired.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Touching the worthiness of the priest, which they call *opus operantis*, it appeareth, M. Harding could partly be contented to make it equal with the sacrifice of Christ, were it not that it should seem too great presumption. For thus he saith: "So we should make the priest God's peer, and his act equal with the passion of Christ." And therefore they say, "A wicked priest's mass is as good, and as meritorious in this respect, as a good priest's mass:"

In Levit.
hom. 13. [11.
255.]

Sermone 11.
de Sanctis.
[v. app. 365.
"incerti
auctoris,"]

a St. August-
tine speak-
eth not of
any material
altar in earth,
but of the
spiritual
altar in hea-
ven.

The 238th
untruth,
standing in
untrue con-
struction.
For St. Aug-
ustine saith,
*Vidi sub ara
Dei (non cor-
pora, sed)
animas sanc-
torum.*

Thom. in 4.
Sen. dist. 14.
[7. Dist. 13.
qu. 1. art. 1.]
Gerson con-
tra Floret.
lib. 4. [xvii.
col. 3.]

Summa Angel. in Missa.
[N^o. 56.]

for that the worthiness of the work hangeth nothing of the worthiness of the priest ⁴.

Hieron. in tertium capitulum Sophonie. [iii. 1671.]

Notwithstanding St. Hierom seemeth to say far otherwise: *Impie agunt in legem Christi, putantes eucharistiam imprecantis verba facere, non vitam*: "They do wickedly against the law of Christ, thinking, it is not the life, but the word of the minister, that maketh the sacrament."

Irenæus, lib. 4. cap. 34. [p. 250.]

And likewise Irenæus saith: *Sacrificia non sanctificant hominem,.....sed conscientia ejus, qui offert, sanctificat sacrificium, pura existens*: "The sacrifice doth not sanctify the man, but the conscience of the priest being upright and pure, doth sanctify the sacrifice." In like manner Gabriel

Biel, lect. 26.

Biel his own doctor saith: *Videant, ne, si peccato obnoxii offerant, sit illorum oblatio, quasi ejus, qui victimat filium in conspectu patris, neve rursus crucifigant Filium Dei*: "Let them take heed, lest, if they sacrifice, being in sin, their oblation be like unto the oblation of him, that slayeth the child in the sight of the father: and lest they crucify again the Son of God ⁵." Verily of wicked priests God

Malac. ii. 2.

saith: *Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*: "That you bless, I will curse."

Touching St. Augustine and Origen, that here are brought in for a countenance, if these ancient holy fathers were now alive, they would blush to hear their tales thus reported. Origen's words, if it might have pleased M. Harding to have laid them out whole and at large without clipping, as he found them, both would have been clear and plain in themselves, and also would have soon shaken down all this whole frame of *opus operatum*. For he neither speaketh of the mass, neither promiseth remission of sins for any thing that is done in the mass: but only and wholly for the sacrifice of Christ's body upon the cross. His words be these: *Si redeas ad illum panem, qui de cælo descendit, et dat huic mundo vitam, illum panem propositionis, (hoc est, Christum ipsum⁶), quem proposuit*

[Origen in Levit. xlii. tom. ii. 255.]

⁴ [How wisely has our church in her 26th Article expressed her belief, that "the unworthiness of the minister hinders not the effect of the sacrament."]

⁵ [The Editor has found no such passage in lect. 26.]

⁶ [The words between brackets, "hoc est, Christum ipsum," are not in the original.]

Deus propitiationem per fidem in sanguine ejus : et si respicius ad illam commemorationem, de qua dicit Dominus, Hoc facite ad meam commemorationem, invenies, quod ista est commemoratio sola, quæ propitium faciat hominibus Deum : “ If thou turn to that bread, that came down from heaven and giveth life to this world, I mean that shewbread, (that is, Christ himself,) whom God hath appointed to be a propitiation by faith in his blood: and if thou behold that remembrance, whereof the Lord saith, ‘ Do this in remembrance of me,’ thou shalt find, that it is this remembrance only,” (that is to say, the body of Christ crucified, and the price of his blood thus remembered,) “ that maketh God merciful unto men.” Now let M. Harding indifferently judge, whether these words be likely to prove his *opus operatum*, or any other thing belonging unto his mass.

The place of St. Augustine is yet much plainer; for as he toucheth none of all these M. Harding’s phantasies, so he speaketh only of the innocents, and blessed martyrs, that were slain only for the testimony of Christ, “ whose souls,” St. John saith, “ lie underneath the altar of God ;” not in earth, as M. Harding fancieth, but in heaven: for thus he writeth: *Vidi sub ara Dei animas occisorum propter verbum Dei et propter testimonium Jesu, &c.* “ I saw under the altar of God” (in heaven) “ the souls of them that were slain for God’s word and for the testimony of Jesus.’ What thing is there either more reverend or more honourable than to rest under that altar” (in heaven) “ in which sacrifices are made and oblations are offered unto God, and wherein” (no mortal man, but) “ the Lord himself is the priest? For so it is written, ‘ Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek.’ It is right” (not that the bodies, but) “ that the souls of the just should remain under the altar, because that upon that altar” (in heaven) “ Christ’s body is offered; and well it is, that just men do there require revengeance of their blood, whereas Christ’s blood for sinners is poured out.”

Immediately after this he intermeddled somewhat touching altars or communion tables in the earth; for thus he addeth further: *Convenienter igitur, et quasi pro quodam*

Augustin. de
Sanctis Ser-
mon. 11. [v.
app. 305.]
Rev. vi. 9.

consortio, ibi martyribus sepultura decreta est, ubi mors Domini quotidie celebratur, &c. “Therefore, upon good discretion and in some token of fellowship, martyrs’ burials are appointed in that place” (here in earth) “where the Lord’s death is daily remembered. As the Lord himself saith; ‘As often as ye shall do these things, ye shall set forth my death until I come;’ I mean, that they that died for the Lord’s death may rest under the mystery of his sacrament.”

After this he returneth again to the souls of the blessed martyrs under the altar in heaven: *Legimus plerosque justorum Abraham sinibus refoveri, &c.* “We read,” saith St. Augustine, “that many just men are refreshed in Abraham’s bosom, and that many are in the pleasures of paradise; yet no man deserved better than the martyrs to rest there,” (in heaven,) “whereas Christ is both the sacrifice and the priest; I mean, that they may enjoy God’s favour by the offering of that sacrifice, and may receive the blessing and ministry of that priest.”

Hereby it is plain, that St. Augustine speaketh of heaven, and not of earth nor of purgatory: of the souls received above, and not of the bodies buried beneath: for all these things St. John by revelation saw in heaven. And for proof hereof St. Augustine addeth further: *Inter ceteros igitur martyres, quos sub ara Dei consistere predicamus, etiam beatas illas infantum lactentium pro Christo primitias martyrum laudemus:* “Therefore, amongst the rest of the martyrs whom we say to be under the altar of God,” (in heaven,) “let us commend those blessed firstfruits of sucking infants that were martyrs for Christ.”

This is St. Augustine’s plain and undoubted meaning⁷; but M. Harding, to serve his turn, is fain of souls to make bodies; of joy to make pain; and of heaven to make purgatory: and yet in all this great ado findeth neither *opus operatum* nor his mass. Thus is it lawful for these men to carry about and to use their readers.

Touching the substance of this doctrine, which M. Harding

⁷ [This laboured explanation was falsely attributed to St. Augustine. The Bened. pronounce it to be “incerti auctoris.”]

now at last upon better advice seemeth in some part to mislike, notwithstanding it were not long since generally received both in schools and churches, and counted catholic, Origen, that ancient learned father, writeth thus: *Quod sanctificatur per verbum Dei et per obsecrationem, non suaapte natura sanctificat utentem: nam id si esset, sanctificaret etiam illum, qui comedit indigne Domino*: “The thing that is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer, of his own nature (or *ex opere operato*) sanctifieth not him that useth it; for otherwise it should sanctify him that eateth unworthily of the Lord.”

Again, he saith:.....*Assiduitas communicationis et alia similia non ipsæ sunt justitiæ, sed condituræ habentur justitiarum: res autem spirituales, quæ ex se ipsis justitiæ sunt, dicuntur iudicium, misericordia, et fides*: “The often using of the communion, and other like things, be not righteousness itself,” (of itself or of the work that there is wrought,) “but only the seasoning and setting forth of righteousness: but the spiritual things, which be righteousness itself, are called judgment, mercy, and faith.”

So St. Hierom: *Ne quis confidat in eo solo, quod baptizatus est; aut in esca spirituali, vel potu putet, Deum sibi parcere, si peccaverit*: “Let no man presume of this thing only, that he is baptized; nor let him think that God, for receiving the spiritual meat or drinking the spiritual cup,” (*ex opere operato*), “will pardon him if he offend.”

So St. Augustine: *Non ait, Mundi estis propter baptismam, quo loti estis: sed propter verbum, quod locutus sum vobis*: “Christ saith not, Ye are clean for the baptism’s sake, wherewith ye are washed, but for the word’s sake that I have spoken unto you.” And again: *Felix venter qui te portavit, &c.* “‘Blessed is that womb that bare thee.’ But Christ answered, ‘Nay, blessed be they, that hear the word of God, and keep the same;’ that is to say, My mother, whom ye call blessed, thereof is blessed, for that she keepeth the word of God.”

Likewise again: *Materna propinquitas nihil matri profuisset, nisi felicius Christum in corde quam in carne gestasset*: “The nearness of mother’s blood should have

Origen. in
Matthæ. cap.
25. [iii. 499.]

Origen. in
Matthæ.
tractat. 25.
[tom. ii. p.
142. ed. Ba-
sil.]

† Hieronym.
1 Corin. x.
[v. 994.]

Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
80. [iii. pt. 2.
703.]

Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
10. [ibid. p.
369.]

Augustin. de
Sancta Vir-
ginitate. [cap.
3. vi. 342.]

profited Christ's mother nothing at all, unless she had more blessedly carried Christ in her heart than in her body."

Verily, to ascribe felicity or remission of sin, which is the inward work of the Holy Ghost, unto any manner outward action whatsoever, it is a superstitious, a gross, and a Jewish error⁸.

Origen. in Lu-
cam, hom. 5.
[iii. 937.]

Origen, of the sacrament of circumcision, writeth thus : *Circumcisionis nisi reddatur ratio, nutus tantum est circumcisio et opus nutum* : "Unless there be a reason yielded of the meaning of circumcision, it is but an outward show and a dumb labour," and availeth nothing.

And touching the use and order of the holy mysteries, Christ saith not, "Do this for remission of your sins," but, "Do this in my remembrance."

The only and everlasting sacrifice for sin is the Son of God crucified upon the cross: he sitteth now, in the nature and substance of our flesh, at the right hand of his Father, "and evermore maketh intercession for us; and is the only sacrifice and propitiation for our sins."

Whatsoever doctrine is contrary to this doctrine is wicked and blasphemous, and, as M. Harding hath confessed, injurious to the glory and cross of Christ.

⁸ [It is of course true, that no outward action whatsoever can *per se* avail to remission of sin; but Jewel could not by these words mean to deny, that the outward

action may and does by God's appointment and cooperation, convey to the faithful recipient the inward grace of the Holy Ghost.]

OF LORD AND GOD.

THE TWENTY-FIRST ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that then any Christian man called the sacrament his Lord and God.

M. HARDING : *First Division.*

This word "sacrament" (as is declared before) is of the fathers taken two ways; (239) either for the only outward forms of bread and wine, which are the holy sign of the very body and blood of Christ present, and under them contained; or for the whole substance of the sacrament, as it consisteth of the outward forms, and also of the very body and blood of Christ (240) verily present, (240) which St. Augustine calleth the invisible grace, and the thing of the sacrament; (240) and Irenæus calleth it *rem caelestem*, "the heavenly thing," as that other, *rem terrenam*, "the earthly thing." Taken the first way, (as among the learned fathers it was never taken,) no Christian man ever honoured it with the name of Lord and God, for that were plain idolatry to attribute the name of the Creator to the creature. But taken in the second signification, (as no ancient father ever took it,) it hath always of Christian people, and of the learned fathers of the church, been called by the name of Lord and God; and of right so ought it to be, for else were it impiety, and a denial of God, not to call Christ, the Son of God, by the name of Lord and God, who is not only in truth of flesh and blood in the sacrament, after which manner he is there, *ex vi sacramenti*, but also the inseparable conjunction of both natures in unity of person, *ex necessaria concomitantia*, whole Christ,

Sacrament
two ways
taken.

In Sentent.
Prosper. de
Con. dist. 2.
Irenæus, lib.
4. cap. 34.
[p. 251.]

The 239th untruth. For the only outward forms were never called the sacrament, or Christ's body, by any of all the ancient fathers. The 240th untruth, standing in untrue exposition. For this was not these fathers' meaning.

God and man. That the holy fathers called the sacrament taken in this sense Lord and God, I might prove it by many places: the rehearsal of a few may serve for many. Origen in a homily⁸, speaking reverently of this blessed sacrament, saith, that when a man receiveth it our Lord entereth under his roof, and exhorteth him that shall receive it to humble himself and to say (241) unto it: *Domine non sum dignus, ut intres sub tectum meum*: "I, Lord, am not worthy that thou enter under my roof."

The 241st untruth. For Origen saith not "unto it."

In diversos Evangelii locos, hom. 5. [tom. ii. p. 518. ed. Basil.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Whosoever erreth in this article committeth idolatry, and giveth God's honour to a corruptible creature that is no God. Therefore it behoved M. Harding herein to leave his guesses, and to allege none but good, substantial, and weighty reasons, and that so much the more, for that none of the old catholic fathers ever either erected temples or proclaimed holy days in the name of the sacrament, or ever willed the people to adore it, as the maker of heaven and earth; or to believe in it or to call it God.

This notwithstanding, the reasons that M. Harding hath here found out are so slender, and so simple, and so guilefully and untruly gathered, that his friends of that side may haply suspect he had used some collusion to betray their cause. But to take away occasion of cavil, first, we steadfastly believe, and plainly confess that Christ is the Son of God, very God of very God: that "he is the true God and life everlasting:" that "he is God blessed for ever:" and that "whosoever trusteth in him shall never be confounded." And we utterly detest and accurse the Arians, the Nestorians, the Photinians, and all other like heretics, that either have taught, or any way do teach, the contrary. Neither is this question moved of Christ himself, unto whom we know all manner godly reverence and honour is due, but only of the mystical bread, which, by the witness of the catholic learned fathers, is not Christ himself, but only a sacrament of Christ. "Which sacrament," Irenæus saith, "standeth of two things, the one earthly, the other heavenly;" not that the one is really

1 John v.

[Irenæus contr. Hæer. lib. 4. cap. 34. 251. col. 2.]

⁸ [This work is spurious, and is not even printed in the Bened. ed. Supra, vol. ii. 405. note 1.]

lapped up or shut within the other, wherein resteth M. Harding's error; but that, as Chrysostom saith, "the one is sensible, the other intelligible," as it is also in the sacrament of baptism: or that, as St. Augustine saith, "the one part is the sign, the other the thing signified⁹." or that, as Tertullian saith, "the one part is the figure, the other the thing figured."

Chrysost. in
Matthæ.
hom. 83. [vii.
787.]
August. con-
tra Adiman-
tum, cap. 12.
[viii. 124.]
Tertullian.
contra Mar-
cionem, lib. 4.
p. 458.

The sacrament is the earthly thing, Christ's body is the heavenly thing: the sacrament is corruptible, Christ's body is glorious: the sacrament is laid upon the table, Christ's body is in heaven: the sacrament is received into our bodies, Christ's body is only received into our souls.

For manifest proof of this difference St. Augustine writeth thus: *Hujus rei sacramentum.....alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum in Dominico præparatur, et de mensa Dominica sumitur, quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium: res vero ipsa, cujus est sacramentum, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicumque ejus particeps fuerit*: "The sacrament of the body of Christ is prepared in the church, in some places every day, in some places upon certain days; and is received from the Lord's table, of some unto life, of some unto condemnation. But the thing itself," (that is, the body of Christ, being in heaven,) "whereof it is a sacrament, is received of every man unto life, and of no man to condemnation, whosoever be partaker of it."

Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
26. [iii. pt. 2.
500.]

Again, he saith: *Qui non manet in Christo, &c.* "He that abideth not in Christ, nor hath Christ abiding in him, doubtless he eateth not his flesh nor drinketh his blood, notwithstanding he eat and drink the sacrament of so great a thing unto his judgment." By these few examples it is plain, that the sacrament of Christ's body is one thing, and Christ's body itself is another thing; and that in common and natural manner of speech neither is Christ's body the sacrament, nor the sacrament Christ's body.

De Con. dis.
2. Qui dis-
cordat.

By these words of Irenæus, M. Harding, as he hath

⁹ [This seems to be an inference from St. Augustine's words, "Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, "Hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui."]

no manner likelihood to prove that he seeketh for, so he utterly overthroweth his whole phantasy of transubstantiation: for Irenæus calleth the earthly part of the sacrament not the forms and accidents, as M. Harding imagineth, but the very substance and nature of the bread, and that such bread as "increaseth and nourisheth the substance of our flesh;" for so he writeth: *Ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia.*

Irenæ, lib. 5.
[p. 294.]

But Origen teacheth us, when we receive the sacrament, to say, *Domine non sum dignus*: therefore, saith M. Harding, the sacrament was called Lord and God. Alas, what a miserable case is this, that cannot possibly stand without falsifying and maiming of the holy fathers! Of the falsifying afterward. But touching the maiming and mangling of these words of Origen, if it might have pleased M. Harding to have reported them whole as he found them, there had been no manner cause of doubt.

For thus the words lie: *Intrat etiam nunc Dominus sub tectum credentium duplici figura, vel more, &c.* "Even now the Lord entereth under the roof of the faithful by two sundry ways; for even now, when the holy and godly bishops enter into your house, then through them the Lord entereth; and be thou persuaded, as if thou receivedst the Lord himself. And when thou receivest that holy meat and that uncorruptible banquet, the Lord entereth under thy roof."

"Our Lord," saith Origen, "entereth under our roof, both when we receive a holy man and also when we receive the holy sacrament." And, as Christ entereth into us by the one, so doth he also enter into us by the other. So saith the same learned father writing upon the Gospel of St. Matthew: *Qui discipulos Christi tradit, ipsum Christum tradit*: "Whoso betrayeth the disciples of Christ, betrayeth Christ himself." Now if M. Harding will say, by force of these words, that Christ entereth really and substantially into our mouths, then must he also say, that Christ likewise entereth really and substantially into our material houses.

Origen, in
Matthæ.
hom. 35.
[tom. li. p.
203. ed. Ba-
sil.]

But for full resolution hereof, St. Ambrose saith, That

the body of Christ itself entereth not into our bodies.

Thus he writeth: *Non iste panis qui vadit in ventrem, sed panis vitæ æternæ, qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit:* De Con. dist. 2. Non iste. [Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 5. cap. 4.]

“Christ’s body is not the bread that entereth into our belly, but the bread of everlasting life, that feedeth the substance of our soul.” And therefore St. Cyprian saith: “The body of Christ is the meat of our soul, not the meat of our body.” For this cause Origen himself in the selfsame

† Cyprian. de Cæna Dom.

homily saith thus: *Domine, non sum dignus ut intres subtectum meum: sed tantum dic verbo; tantum veni verbo: verbum est aspectus tuus:* “Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof: but only speak the word; only come by thy word: thy word is thy sight.”

Origen. in diver. Evan. locos, hom. 5. [ii. p. 518. ed. Basil.]

Again he saith: *Per evangelistarum prædicationem, per sui corporis sacramentum, per gloriosæ crucis signaculum nobiscum Deus, et ad nos, et in nobis:* “God is with us, and cometh to us, and is within us by the preaching of the evangelists, by the sacrament of his body, and by the sign of the glorious cross.” Likewise again: *Fideles credunt*

Origen. in diver. Evan. locos, hom. 1. [ii. p. 501. ed. Basil.]

adventum Verbi et libenter recipiunt Dominum suum: “The faithful believe the coming of the Word and gladly receive their Lord.” So saith St. Augustine: *Sancti, qui sunt in ecclesia, accipiunt Christum in manu et in fronte:* “The holy men, that be in the church, receive Christ in their hand and in their forehead¹⁰.” So likewise Tertullian: *Cum te ad fratrum genua protendis, Christum contrectas:* “When thou fallest down to touch thy brethren’s knees, thou touchest Christ.”

Origen. in diver. Evan. locos, hom. 2. [ii. p. 507. ed. Basil.]

Augustin. in Apoc. serm. 11. [leg. hom. 2. iii. app. 172.]

Tertullian. de Penitentia. [cap. 10. p. 127.]

Thus is Christ touched: thus is Christ received: thus is Christ present: thus Christ entereth under our roof. As Christ entereth unto us by a godly minister, by his word, by the sacrament of baptism, by the cross, and by the poor, even so he entereth into us by the sacrament of his body and blood: even so, I say, and none otherwise. And at every such entering of Christ we ought to say: “O Lord, I am not worthy, that thou shouldest enter under my roof.”

¹⁰ [This commentary on the Apocalypse was in Jewel’s time erroneously ascribed to St. Augustine.]

Now, if these words be sufficient to prove that the sacrament was called Lord and God, then are they likewise sufficient to prove that the water of baptism, that the word of God, that a cross drawn in the forehead, and that a godly bishop or minister, was called Lord and God.

Here also appeareth a great untruth in M. Harding's translation. For whereas Origen saith: *Et tu ergo humilians teipsum*, &c. "And thou therefore, humbling thyself, follow this centurion and say, 'Lord, I am not worthy, that thou shouldest enter under my roof;'" meaning thereby, that we ought to humble ourselves unto Christ, and to say unto him, "Lord, I am not worthy," &c.; M. Harding thought it better cunning to corrupt the place, and to translate "it," instead of "him." For thus he writeth: "Origen exhorteth him that shall receive 'it,' to humble himself and to say unto 'it,' Lord, I am not worthy," &c.: and so by open fraud, and by falsifying his author's words without fear or blushing, he teacheth God's people to worship a creature instead of God.

M. HARDING: *Second Division.*

St. Cyprian, in *Sermone de Lapsis*, telleth how a man, who had denied God in time of persecution, having notwithstanding, (the sacrifice by the priest done,) privily with others, received the sacrament, not being able to eat it, nor to handle it, opening his hands, found that he bare ashes. Where he addeth these words: *Documento unius ostensum est, Dominum recedere cum negatur*: "By this example of one man it is shewed, that our Lord departeth away when he is denied." [Cyprian, de Laps. p. 189.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This guess hangeth not of St. Cyprian's words, but of M. Harding's exposition; for St. Cyprian calleth the sacrament neither Lord nor God: the man that he speaketh of having denied God in time of persecution, and nevertheless afterwards receiving the holy communion among other Christians, opened his hand and found the sacrament turned into ashes. "By this miracle," saith St. Cyprian, "we are taught to understand, that God when he is denied departeth from us."

I trow, M. Harding will not say, that the sacrament had

ever denied God; and yet by his exposition God was departed and gone from it: nor will he say that this man had denied the sacrament; for he came amongst others to receive the sacrament. But he had dissembled and forsaken God, and therefore God had likewise forsaken him; and in token thereof he caused the sacrament to moulder into ashes in his hands.

So St. Augustine, speaking of the sacrament of baptism, and of the order of priesthood, saith thus: *Si sancta malos fugiant, utrunque fugiat*: "If these holy things" (baptism and priesthood) "flee from ill men, let them both flee from them, as well the one as the other."^{August. cont. Epist. Parmeniani, lib. 2. cap. 13. [ix. 45.]}

Prosper saith: *Non locorum intervallis, vel acceditur ad Deum, vel a Deo disceditur: similitudo facit proximum, dissimilitudo longinquum*: "We neither come to God nor go from God by distance of places: the likeness of mind maketh us near, the unlikeness removeth us far off."^{Prosper. Senten. 123. [Augustin. tom. x. app. 231.]}

When one Deuterius, an Arian bishop, would have baptized a man after his blasphemous sort, suddenly the water was sunken away and the font stood dry. The like story is uttered also by Socrates and by others. This miracle was likewise a token, that God when he is denied departeth from us.^{Paulus Diacon. lib. 15. in Histor. De Anastasio. Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 17. [ii. 363.]}

Yet may not M. Harding conclude hereof, that the water of baptism was therefore called Lord and God.

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

The same St. Cyprian in the exposition of the *Pater-noster*, declaring the fourth petition of it, "Give us this day our daily bread," understandeth it to contain a desire of the holy communion in this blessed sacrament, and saith: *Ideo panem nostrum, id est, Christum dari nobis quotidie petimus, ut qui in Christo manemus et vivimus, a sanctificatione et corpore ejus non recedamus*: "Therefore we ask our daily bread, that is to say, Christ to be given unto us, that we, which abide and live in Christ, depart not from the state of holiness and communion of his body." (242) Here St. Cyprian calleth the sacrament Christ, as he is indeed there present really, so as in the place alleged before he calleth it Lord. And I ween our adversaries will embrace the sacrament of the name of Christ no less than of the name of Lord or God, unless they make less of Christ than of Lord and God.^{The 242nd untruth. For St. Cyprian calleth not the sacrament Christ, but only saith, Christ is the bread or food by whom we live.}

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding avoucheth three sundry untruths with one breath; for St. Cyprian neither in these words calleth the sacrament Christ, nor in the words before calleth it Lord, nor any where ever said that Christ's body is really present in the sacrament. Untruths should not so rifely flow from a good divine.

It is true that St. Cyprian saith: "That Christ is our bread, even the same bread that came from heaven and giveth life to the world; which bread whosoever eateth shall live for ever." So saith St. Basil: "Christ is called

Basil. in Psal.
xliiv. [i. 163.]

our life, our way, our bread, our vine, our light, our sword." Which words must be taken, not grossly, nor according to that soundeth in the letter, but of a mystical and spiritual meaning. Therefore as Christ is our spiritual sword, our spiritual light, our spiritual vine, our spiritual way, and our spiritual life, so is he also our spiritual bread. Origen

Origen. in
Exod. hom.
7. [ii. 155.]

saith: *Ne mireris, quod Verbum Dei caro dicitur; nam et panis, et lac, et olera dicitur: et pro mensura credentium, vel possibilitate sumentium diverse nominatur*: "Marvel not that the Word of God is called flesh; for it is also called bread, and milk, and herbs: and according to the measure of the believers, or possibility of the receivers, it is diversely named."

Verily St. Cyprian saith not, neither that the sacrament is Christ, nor that Christ is the sacrament: therefore whereas M. Harding would reason thus: "Christ is the bread of life: *ergo*, the sacrament is our Lord and God;" he seemeth to presume over boldly of his logic.

M. HARDING: *Fourth Division.*

The 243rd un-
truth. For
St. Cyprian
saith not,
The sacra-
ment is God,
but only
sheweth, that
God with his
power is as-
sistant unto
the sacra-
ment, as also
to the sacra-
ment of bap-
tism.

Verily this holy martyr acknowledgeth this sacrament not for Lord and Christ only, but (243) also for God, by these words in his sermon, *De Cœna Domini: Sicut in persona Christi humanitas videbatur et latebat divinitas, ita sacramento visibili ineffabiliter divina se infudit essentia*: "As in the person of Christ the manhood was seen and the Godhead was hidden, so the divine essence (or substance of God) hath infused it into the visible sacrament unspeakably." [Pseudo-Cyprian.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here is another proper kind of proof, even like the rest. O, holy Cyprian! if thy manner of speaking were not known, the simple might easily be deceived. I grant here is a great amplification and majesty of words, such as the holy fathers have much delighted to use in their sermons to the people, but specially intreating of the sacraments. St. Ambrose saith: *Sacerdos precem facit, &c.* "The priest maketh his prayer to sanctify the font, and that the presence of the whole Trinity may be in it¹¹."

Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 3. [il. 353.]

Tertullian saith: "The Holy Ghost cometh down from heaven and resteth upon the water of baptism and sanctifieth it of himself¹²."

Tertull. de Baptismo, [cap. 4. p. 225.]

Even thus St. Cyprian saith: "The divine substance infuseth itself unspeakably into the visible sacrament;" none otherwise than as the Holy Ghost or the whole blessed Trinity infuseth itself into the water of baptism.

Paulinus seemeth to write much agreeably to these words of St. Cyprian:

[Paulinus ad Severum, epist. 32. al. 12. tom. 1. p. 201.]

Sanctus in hunc cælo descendit Spiritus amnem:

Cælestique sacras fonte maritat aquas.

Concipit unda Deum.

"The Holy Ghost into this water cometh down from heaven: and joineth the heavenly waters and these waters both in one. Then the font receiveth God." What can be spoken with greater majesty? "Then," saith he, "the water, or the font receiveth God."

If M. Harding out of these words of St. Cyprian be able by this simple guess to prove that the sacramental bread was called Lord and God, then by the like guess and the like words of Tertullian, St. Ambrose, and Paulinus, he may also prove, that the water of baptism was likewise called Lord and God: for the form and manner of speech is all one.

But these and other like phrases be usual and ordinary

¹¹ [Ambros. de Sacram. It will be remembered that this work is "statim Spiritus de cœlis, et aquis superest, sanctificans eas de semetipso, et ita sanctificatæ vim considered spurious.]

¹² [Tertullian. "Supervénit enim "sanctificandi combibunt."]

August. de
Baptismo
contra Dona-
tistas, lib. 3.
cap. 10. [ix.
113.]

August. de
Baptismo
contra Dona-
tistas, lib. 5.
cap. 19. [ix.
154.]
Cyprian. [Ar-
nold.] de
Uctione
Chrismatis.
[app. cxxiii.]

among the ancient learned fathers. St. Augustine writeth thus : *Baptismi sanctitas pollui non potest : et sacramento suo divina virtus assistit* : “ The holiness of baptism cannot be defiled. The heavenly power is assistant unto the sacrament.” And again : *Deus adest sacramentis et verbis suis* : “ God is present with his words and sacraments.” Likewise St. Cyprian, touching the hallowing of the oil, writeth thus : *In sacramentis virtus divina potentius operatur. Adest veritas signo et Spiritus sacramento* : “ In sacraments the heavenly power worketh mightily. The truth is present with the sign, and the Holy Ghost is present with the sacrament ¹³.”

All these words of the holy fathers notwithstanding, I think M. Harding will not call neither the water of baptism, nor the oil hallowed, Lord and God.

M. HARDING : Fifth Division.

The²⁴⁴truth. For Chrysostom saith not, The sacrament is God, but contrariwise saith, *Quid significat panis?* and answereth, *Corpus Christi.*

(244) Chrysostom doubteth not to call the sacrament God in this plain saying : *Nolimus obsecro, nolimus impudentes nos ipsos interimere, sed cum honore et munditia ad Deum accedamus, et quando id propositum videris, dic tecum ; Propter hoc corpus non amplius terra et cinis ego sum ; non amplius captivus, sed liber* : “ Let us not, let us not, for God’s sake, be so shameless as to kill ourselves,” (by unworthy receiving of the sacrament,) “ but with reverence and cleanness let us come to God. And when thou seest the sacrament set forth, say thus with thyself, By reason of this body I am no more earth and ashes, no more captive, but free¹⁴.”

In priorem
ad Cor. hom.
24. [x. 216.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

“ Chrysostom,” saith M. Harding, “ calleth the sacrament God by plain words.” First, Chrysostom calleth not the sacrament God by any manner or kind of words ; therefore we may by plain words and boldly say, M. Harding here hath uttered another great untruth.

But Chrysostom, intreating of the holy communion, saith unto the people : *Accedamus ad Deum* : “ Let us

¹³ [This treatise is amongst the twelve falsely ascribed to St. Cyprian.]

¹⁴ [Chrysost. in 1 Cor. μη, παρακαλώ, μη κατασφάξωμεν εαυτούς διά της αναισχυντίας, αλλά μετά φρίκης

και καθαρότητος άπάσης αυτώ προσίωμεν και όταν αυτό προκειμενον ίδης, λέγε προς σεαυτόν διά τουτο το σώμα ούκέτι γή και σποδος έγώ, ούκέτι αιχμάλωτος άλλ' ελεύθερος διά τουτο, κ. τ. λ.]

come unto God." "Here," saith M. Harding, "the sacrament by these words is called God." O, when will these men deal plainly and simply with their readers! M. Harding knoweth full well that he much abuseth this good old father, and reporteth of him that he never thought: he knoweth that we come to God not by travel of body or by shifting of places, but by inclining and bending our hearts unto God. So St. Paul saith: "Let us go with boldness Hebr. iv. 16. to the throne of grace."

St. Augustine, speaking of the sacrament of baptism, agreeth fully with these words of Chrysostom: *Ad medicum Christum, hoc est, ad percipiendum sacramentum salutis æternæ portantur*: "Children are carried unto Christ the physician, that is to say, to receive" (baptism, which is) "the sacrament of everlasting salvation." By these plain words of St. Augustine it appeareth, that coming to baptism is coming to Christ: yet may not M. Harding conclude thereof that the water of baptism was called Christ.

Our coming unto Christ is believing in Christ. St. Augustine saith: *Quid est Accedite, nisi credite? Accedite ad eum qui in vestris auribus prædicatur: accedite ad eum qui ante oculos vestros glorificatur. Ambulando non laborabit. Ibi enim acceditis, ubi creditis*: "What is Come, but believe? Come unto him that is preached in your ears: come unto him that is glorified before your eyes. Ye shall have no pain in going; for there ye come, where ye believe."

So Chrysostom: *Nunquid longe est a te Deus, ut vadas ad locum aliquem? Non includitur loco: sed semper est in proximo*: "Is God far away from thee, that thou shouldst need to remove to some place to come unto him? God is not contained in any place, but is evermore at hand¹⁵."

Likewise saith Nazianzen: *Accede fidens ad Christum: riga pedes ejus*: "Come boldly unto Christ, and wash

¹⁵ [Chrysost. The genuineness of this homily has been disputed, but apparently without sufficient reason. The Bened. and Saville defend it.]

Augustin. de Peccatorum Merit. et Remiss. lib. 1. cap. 18. [x. 13.]

August. adversus Judæos, cap. 1. [1. cap. 9. viii. 40.]

Chrysost. hom. 12. de Muliere Cananon. [iii. 442.]

Nazianz. de Penitentia.

Augustin.
contra Faust.
lib. 33. cap. 1.
[cap. 8. viii.
468.]

his feet¹⁶.” Therefore St. Augustine saith : *Accedant ad Jesum, non carne, sed corde ; non corporis presentia, sed fidei potentia* : “ Let them come unto Jesus, not with their flesh, but with their heart ; not by presence of body, but by the power of faith.”

Thus we come unto Christ in baptism, in God’s word, in the sermon, and in the holy communion, not by moving of the body, or changing of places : but by the devotion of the heart, and travel of the mind.

Now, that the reader himself may see some part of M. Harding’s courteous dealing in this behalf, it shall not be amiss briefly to touch certain other words of Chrysostom, that immediately went before : by which words he seemeth of purpose to teach us, where we ought to seek for Christ, and by what ways and means we may come unto him.

His words be these : *Aquilæ in hac vita facti ad ipsum cælum evolemus*, &c. : “ Being made eagles in this life, let us fly up into heaven, or rather above the heavens. ‘ For whereas the carcass is, there are the eagles.’ The carcass is our Lord’s body in respect of his death. But he calleth us eagles, to shew us, that whoso will come near to that body, must mount on high, and have no dealing with the earth, not to bow downward, or to creep beneath, but ever to soar aloft, and to behold the Sun of justice, and to have a quick eye in our heart¹⁷.”

Thus St. Chrysostom teacheth us, both where Christ resteth in the glory of his Father : and by what means we may come unto him : and with what eyes we may behold him. Then, having thus advanced our minds into heaven, he saith : *Propter hoc corpus*, &c. : “ For this body’s sake,” (that I see at the right hand of God,) “ I am no more a prisoner, I am no longer dust and ashes.” Touching the sacrament, by these most plain words he calleth it “ bread.” For thus he saith, even in the same homily : *Quid significat panis ? Corpus Christi* : “ What doth the bread” (of

[Chrysost.
tom. x. 214.]

¹⁶ [No work under the title anzen’s printed works.]

De Pœnitentia, is found in Nazi-¹⁷ [Supra, vol. ii. 326, note 24.]

the sacrament) “signify?” He answereth: “The body of Christ.” He saith not: “The bread is Christ:” but, “The bread signifieth the body of Christ¹⁸.”

Yet notwithstanding, M. Harding saith, that these words, *accedamus ad Deum*, import as much, as “let us come to the sacrament,” and thereof imagineth, that the sacrament by plain words is called “God.” But indeed that holy father by these words carrieth us so far above M. Harding’s God, as the spirit is above the body, or as heaven is above the earth. For he teacheth us to come to Christ’s body, not as lying presently before our eyes, but as being in the glory of God in heaven.

M. HARDING: *Sixth Division.*

And, lest this sense taken of Chrysostom should seem over strange, this place of St. Ambrose, who lived in the same time, and agreeth with him thoroughly in doctrine, may seem to lead us to the same: *Quid edamus, quid bibamus, alibi tibi per prophetam Spiritus Sanctus expressit, dicens: Gustate et videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus, beatus vir qui sperat in eo: in illo sacramento Christus est, quia corpus est Christi:* “What we ought to eat, and what we ought to drink, the Holy Ghost hath expressed by the prophet in another place, saying: ‘Taste and see, how that our Lord is sweet; blessed is the man that trusteth in him.’ In that sacrament is Christ, because there is the body of Christ.” Here St. Ambrose, (245) referring those words of the Psalm to the sacrament, calleth it “Lord,” and that Lord in whom the man that trusteth is blessed, who is God.

The 245th untruth. For St. Ambrose applieth these words unto Christ himself, and not unto the sacrament.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

To say that Christ is either in the scriptures, or in the manna, or in the sacrament of baptism, or in the sacrament of his body, it is no new phrase or manner of speech, but commonly used of the ancient fathers. St. Hierom saith: *Christus clausus latebat in litera:* “Christ lay hidden in the letter.” St. Augustine saith: (*Pii*) [l. *quicunque*] *in manna Christum intellexerunt.....:* “The godly in manna understood Christ.”

Hieronym. ad Paulinum. [iv. pt. 2. 571.] Augustin. de Utilitate Penitent. [2. tom. v. 1365.]

Again he saith: *Ut petra erat Christus propter firmitatem: ita manna erat Christus quia descendit de celo:*

Augustin. contra Faustum, lib. 12. cap. 1. [cap. 29. viii. 241.]

¹⁸ [Chrysost. In the Greek “significat:” τὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄπρος; there is no word corresponding to σῶμα Χριστοῦ.]

De illis qui
Mysteriis
initiantur,
cap. 9. [ll.
341.]
Psal. xxxiii.
In Collec-
taneis in 10.
cap. prioris
ad Corin.

“As the rock was Christ in respect of constancy and steadiness: even so was the manna Christ, because it came down from heaven¹⁹.”

Hieronym. in Psalm. cxxxiii. [il. pt. 2. 476.]

St. Hierom saith: *Lapis ille, qui erat ad caput Jacob, Christus erat. Lapis ille Christus est*: “The stone, that lay under Jacob’s head, was Christ. That stone is Christ.”

Origen. in Cantic. lib. 2. [iii. 64.]

Origen saith: *Mare baptismus est: nubes Spiritus Sanctus est: agnus Salvator est*: “The sea is baptism: the cloud is the Holy Ghost: the lamb is the Saviour.” And to be short, a doctor, although not very ancient, yet of M. Harding’s own side, one that wrote the Fort of Faith, and therefore in this case may not justly be refused, writeth thus: *Christus vendebatur in Josepho: suspendebatur in botro: crucifigebatur in serpente*: “Christ was sold in Joseph: hanged in the cluster of grapes: and crucified in the serpent²⁰.”

Fortalitium Fidei, lib. 1. [fol. xxvii.]

All these, and such other like phrases of speech, must be taken, not of any real or fleshly being, according to the show of the letter: but only as in a sacrament, or in a mystery.

But M. Harding will say, “The sacrament of St. Ambrose is called Lord.” This is another untruth, and like the rest of M. Harding’s proofs. Christ, sitting now at the right hand of God, is the bread and food of life: thither St. Ambrose calleth us: there he biddeth us, “to taste and see that the Lord is sweet and gracious.” And he addeth immediately: *Beatus vir qui sperat in eo*: “Blessed is the man that trusteth in him.” Notwithstanding it might very well serve his purpose, yet I think M. Harding will not say, “The man is blessed that trusteth in the sacrament.” For so to say, as it shall hereafter appear, it were great blasphemy.

And that St. Ambrose meant this not of the sacrament,

¹⁹ [August. “Si enim petra Christus propter firmitatem, cur non et manna Christus, tanquam panis vivus qui de cælo descendit?”]

²⁰ [Fortal. Fidei. “Christus venditus in Joseph, nudatus in Noe, ligatus in Sansone, irrisus

“in Elissæo; consputus in Job; cæsus et vulneratus in Esaia; suspensus in botro. . . et in serpente æneo; clavis affixus in Isaac, translanceatus in Adam; occisus in Abel; sepultus in Jona.”]

but of the body of Christ itself, that is represented by the sacrament, it is plain by other his words both going before, and also immediately following after. A little before in the same chapter he writeth thus: *Ante benedictionem verborum celestium alia species nominatur: post consecrationem corpus (Christi²¹) significatur*: “Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is called another kind: but after consecration, the body of Christ is signified.”

Ambros. de illis qui intiantur Myster. cap. 9. [il. 339.]

The words next following in the same sentence²² are these: *Non ergo corporalis esca, sed spiritualis est*: “Therefore Christ’s body is not corporal food,” (to be received into the body,) “but spiritual food,” that is to say, to be received with the spirit. Which words M. Harding, as his manner is, thought it best skill to dissemble. God quicken the inward senses of his understanding, that he may taste and see that the Lord is sweet and gracious.

M. HARDING: *Seventh Division.*

Agreeably to this saith St. Augustine, in a sermon *De Verbis Evangelii*, as Beda reciteth: *Qualem vocem Domini audistis invitantis nos? quis vos invitavit? quos invitavit? et quis præparavit? Invitavit Dominus servos, et præparavit eis cibum seipsum. Quis audeat manducare Dominum suum? Et tamen ait, Qui manducat me, vivet propter me*: “What manner a voice is it, that ye have heard of our Lord inviting and bidding us to the feast? who hath invited? whom hath he invited? and who hath made preparation? The Lord hath invited the servants, and hath prepared ^ahimself to be meat for them. Who dareth be so bold as to eat his Lord? And yet he saith, ‘He that eateth me shall live for cause of me.’”

^a These words are spoken, not of the sacrament, but of Christ’s body itself, represented by the sacrament. The 246th untruth. For Cyril speaketh these words of Christ’s body itself, and not of the sacrament of Christ’s body.

Cyrrillus accounteth (246) the sacrament for Christ, and God the Word, and for God, in this saying: *Qui carnem Christi manducat, vitam habet æternam. Habet enim hæc caro Dei Verbum, quod naturaliter vita est. Propterea dicit: Quia ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die. Ego enim, dixit, id est, corpus meum quod comedetur, resuscitabo eum. Non enim alius ipse est, quam caro sua, &c.*: “He that eateth the flesh of Christ, hath life everlasting. For this flesh hath the Word of God, which naturally is life. Therefore saith he, ‘that I will raise him in the last day.’ For I, quoth he, that is to say, my body, which shall be eaten, shall raise him up again, for he is no other than his flesh²³,” &c.

²¹ [The word “Christi” is not found in any MS. Bened. ed.] ²³ [Harding had cited this same

²² [That is, in the sentence passage, supra, vol. iii. p. 22.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It is true that St. Augustine saith, That Christ prepared himself to be meat for us. For Christ himself saith, "He that eateth me, shall live through me." Neither was it so needful, for proof hereof, to borrow St. Augustine's words out of Beda. He might have found the same meaning, both in St. Augustine himself, and also in other old fathers in sundry places. St. Augustine writeth thus: *Panis est, et panis est, et panis est, Deus Pater, Deus Filius, et Deus Spiritus Sanctus. Deus, qui tibi dat, nihil melius quam se tibi dat*: "It is bread, it is bread, and it is bread," (meaning thereby, not the sacrament, but the spiritual bread of life,) "God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. God, that giveth it unto thee, giveth thee no better thing than himself." So St. Hierom: (*Sancti*²⁴) *vescuntur cœlesti pane, et saturantur omni verbo Dei, eundem habentes Dominum, quem et cibum*: "Holy men eat the heavenly bread, and are filled with every word of God, having the same Lord that is their meat."

Augustin. de
Verb. Dom.
secund. Luc.
serm. 29. [v.
542.]

Hieronym. ad
Pammach.
adv. Error.
Johann.
Hierosoly-
mit. [iv. pt.
2. 324.]

Gregor. in
Johan. lib. 7.
cap. 4. [1.
215.]

So St. Gregory: *Præsepe natus implevit, qui cibum semetipsum mortalium mentibus præbuit*: "Being born, he filled the manger, that gave himself meat to the minds or souls of men." In this sense, and none otherwise, Cyrillus saith: "I, that is to say, my body, that shall be eaten, shall raise him up again. For Christ is none other than his flesh."

All these sayings be true, and out of question. Yet notwithstanding, that M. Harding would gather hereof, is not true, that is, that either St. Augustine, or any of these holy fathers ever called the sacrament, either Lord, or God, or Christ himself.

St. Augustine in divers places teacheth us, that Christ's body itself, and the sacrament thereof, are sundry things. And the difference he openeth in this sort: "That Christ's body is received inwardly with the mind: but the sacrament is outwardly pressed and bruised with the tooth."

Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
26. [iii. pt. 2.
499.] Qui
manducat
mente [i.
corde], non
qui premit
dente.

²⁴ [The word "sancti" is not in the original. Enoch and Elijah are understood.]

And therefore he calleth the sacrament, *panem Domini*: Augustin. in Johan. tract. 59. [III. pt. 2. 663.]
 “the bread of the Lord.” But Christ himself he calleth, *panem Dominum*: “the bread, that is our Lord²⁵.” And expounding these words of Christ, “Give us this day our daily bread,” he saith thus: “This daily bread we may understand, either for the sacrament of Christ’s body, which we receive every day”, (as then the whole people used to do,) “or for that spiritual food” (of Christ’s body itself), “of which our Lord saith: ‘Work ye the meat that perisheth not:’ and again, ‘I am that bread of life, that came down from heaven.’” Here we see another notable difference between Christ’s body itself, and the sacrament of his body.

And, if it had pleased M. Harding to have taken better view of his places, thus he might have seen St. Augustine himself, even in the same place, expound himself. For thus he saith: *Nulli est aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc unum- Augustin. ad Infantes. Citatur a Beda in 1 Cor. x.*
quenque fidelium corporis et sanguinis Domini participem fieri, quando in baptisate membrum Christi efficitur: nec alienari ab illius panis calicisque consortio, etiam si, antequam panem illum comedat, et calicem bibat, de hoc sæculo in unitate corporis Christi constitutus abscedat. Sacramenti enim illius participatione ac beneficio non privatur, quando ipse hoc, quod illud sacramentum significat, invenit: “No man may anywise 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 put from the fellowship of that bread and cup, although he depart this life in the unity of Christ’s body, before he eat of that bread, or drink of that cup. For he loseth not the partaking and benefit of that sacrament, so long as he findeth the thing” (that is, the body of Christ itself) “which is signified by that sacrament.” Here St. Augustine teacheth us, that a faithful man is partaker of Christ’s body itself, yea although he receive not the sacrament of his body.

²⁵ [Augustin. in Johan. “Illi “vitam, ille pœnam.” Judas received only the sign or sacrament; “(undecim) manducabant panem the eleven Christ’s body verily and “Dominum, ille (Judas) panem indeed.]
 “Domini contra Dominum: illi

Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
7. [iii. pt. 2.
342.]

And, as St. Augustine in these words here alleged by M. Harding saith, *Christus præparavit cibum seipsum* : so, writing upon St. John he saith thus : *Christus invitavit nos ad evangelium suum : et ipse cibus noster est : quo nihil dulcius, sed si quis habeat palatum in corde* : “ Christ hath called us unto his gospel : and he himself is our meat : than which meat there is nothing sweeter : if a man have wherewith to taste it in his heart.”

Augustin.
Confession.
lib. 1. [13.
tom. i. 77.]

So again he saith : *Deus panis intus est animæ meæ* : “ God is the inward bread” (not to enter into my bodily mouth, but) “ of my soul²⁶.”

Rev. i. 5.

Bernard.
super Mis-
sus est, serm.
3. [iii. 755.]

Thus we see, the one part of M. Harding’s tale is true, “ that Christ himself is our bread :” but the other part is untrue, “ that the sacrament is that bread.” And it were a strange form of reasoning, to say thus : “ Christ is our food, we eat him with our soul and with our spirit, and live by him : ergo, the sacrament in St. Augustine’s time was called Lord and God.” The error and falsehood of this argument, besides sundry other infirmities, standeth in the equivocation or double taking of this word, “ eating :” which hath relation sometime to the material mouth of our body : sometime to faith, which is the spiritual mouth of our soul. St. John saith : “ Christ hath washed us with his blood.” And St. Bernard saith : *Lavemur in sanguine ejus* : “ Let us bathe ourselves in the blood of Christ.” Yet M. Harding may not hereof conclude, that the water of baptism indeed and verily is that blood.

M. HARDING : Eighth Division.

He lived
eleven hun-
dred years
after Christ,
in the great
corruption of
the church.

No man more expressly calleth the sacrament by the name of God, than St. Bernard in his godly sermon *De Cæna Domini ad Petrum Presbyterum*, where he saith thus : *Comedunt angeli Verbum de Deo natum, comedunt homines Verbum fænum factum* : “ The angels eat the Word born of God, men eat the Word made hay ;” meaning hereby the sacrament, which he calleth “ the Word made hay,” that is to wit, the Word incarnate. And in another place there, he saith : *Hæc est vere indulgentia cœlestis, hæc est vere cumulata gratia, hæc est vere superexcellens gloria, sacerdotem Deum suum tenere, et aliis dando porrigere* : “ This

²⁶ [Augustin. Confess. “ Deus lumen cordis mei, et panis oris intus animæ meæ.”]

is verily an heavenly gift, this is verily a bountiful grace, this is verily a passing excellent glory, the priest to hold his God, and in giving to reach him forth to others." In the same sermon, speaking of the marvellous sweetness that good bishops and holy religious men have experience of, by receiving this blessed sacrament, he saith thus: *Ideo ad mensam altaris frequentius accedunt, omni tempore candida facientes vestimenta sua, id est, corpora, prout possunt, melius utpote Deum suum manu et ore contrectaturi*: "For this cause they come the oftener unto the board of the altar, at all times making their garments, that is to say, their bodies, so white as they can possible, as they, who shall handle their God with hand and mouth." Another place of the same sermon, for that it containeth a wholesome instruction, beside the affirming of our purpose, I cannot omit: I remit the learned to the Latin, the English of it is this: "They are marvellous things, brethren, that be spoken of this sacrament, faith is necessary, knowledge of reason is (here) superfluous. This, let faith believe, let not understanding require, lest that either, not being found, it think it incredible, or being found out, it believe it not to be singular and alone. And therefore it behoveth it to be believed simply, that cannot be searched out profitably. Wherefore search not, search not, how it may be, doubt not whether it be. Come not unto it unreverently, lest it be to you to death, *Deus enim est, et quanquam panis mysteria habeat, mutatur tamen in carnem*: for it is God, and though it have mysteries of bread, yet is it changed into flesh. God and man it is that witnesseth, bread truly to be made his flesh. The vessel of election it is, that threateneth judgment to him that putteth no difference in judging of that so holy flesh. The selfsame thing think thou, O Christian man, of the wine, give that honour to the wine. The Creator of wine it is, that promoteth the wine to be the blood of Christ." Thus far holy Bernard.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Bernard was a monk, and lived at Clara Vallis about the same time that Thomas Becket lived here in England: at which time, as it appeareth by his often complaints, the church of God was miserably defaced. For thus he writeth, namely touching the clergy of Rome: *Nihil integri est in clero, &c.*: "In the whole clergy," (wherein he includeth the pope, the cardinals, the bishops, and all the rest,) "there is no part left sound. It remaineth now, that the man of sin, that is, Antichrist, be revealed. From the top to the toe, there is no health. The servants of

Anno Dom.
1117.

Bernard. in
Psalm. Qui
habitat. [Ill.
845.]

De Con-
versione Pauli.
[Ill. 962.]
In Cantic.
Canticorum.
[Iv. 1397.]

Christ now serve Antichrist²⁷." Therefore Bernard, living in a time of such corruption, and being carried away with the tempest and violence of the same, must needs in these cases bear the less credit. Howbeit in other places he seemeth somewhat to rectify his own meaning. For thus he writeth: *Quasi vero Christus, cum jam ascenderit (in cœlum), tangi a Maria, aut velit, aut possit. Et utique poterit: sed affectu, non manu: voto, non oculo: fide, non sensibus*: "As though Christ, after he is ascended into heaven, either can, or will be touched of Mary. And verily he may be touched: but with love, not with hand: with desire, not with eye: with faith, not with senses."

Bernard. in
Cantica Can-
ticorum,
serm. 28.
[iv. 1373.]

If M. Harding will press us further with that St. Bernard saith, "The priest holdeth God in his hands:" it may please him to consider, that the rigour thereof may be qualified by a convenient exposition. So St. Chrysostom saith: *Adest sacerdos gestans Spiritum Sanctum*: "The priest is present bearing the Holy Ghost²⁸."

Chrysost. de
Sacerdotio,
lib. 3. [1.
383.]

Gregor. in
Johan. lib.
27. cap. 6.
[i. 861.]

And St. Gregory saith: *Paulus prædicando Deum infundeat audientibus*: "Paul by his preaching poured God into his hearers." And again: *Latens in Pauli pectore, quasi sub tentorio ibat Deus*: "God went in Paul's heart as under a tent." St. Hierom saith: *His, qui baptizandi sunt,..... publice tradimus sanctam et adorandam Trinitatem*: "Unto them, that are to receive baptism, we openly deliver the holy Trinity." The meaning hereof is this, That he receiveth the Trinity, that receiveth the faith and doctrine of the Trinity.

Hieronym.
ad Pamma-
chi. advers.
Error. Johan.
Hierosoly-
mitan. [iv.
pt. 2. 314.]

Now, as St. Chrysostom saith, "The priest beareth the Holy Ghost:" as St. Gregory saith, "St. Paul poured God into his hearers:" and as St. Hierom saith, "We deliver the holy Trinity:" even so it may seem Bernard saith, "The priest holdeth God in his hand:" that is to say, not really or indeed, but in a certain peculiar manner

²⁷ [Jewel has condensed into one the various testimonies of St. Bernard, to the corruption of Rome.]

²⁸ [Chrysost. de Sacerdot. . . . ἔστηκε γὰρ ὁ ἱερεὺς, οὐ πῦρ καταφέρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον]

and form of speech. For by a rhetorical amplification of words, he holdeth God, that holdeth any thing specially pertaining unto God.

Thus must these and other like words be salved : namely these of Bernard, for that they seem expressly to require the same. For thus they stand, far otherwise than M. Harding hath reported them : *Deum suum manu et ore contrectaturi, et colloquentem sibi ipsis audituri* : “ To touch God with their hand and with their mouth, and to hear him speaking unto them.” Which latter clause M. Harding, as his manner is, hath purposely dissembled. As the priest heareth Christ speak unto him, so he holdeth Christ in his hand. But the priest heareth not Christ speak verily and indeed, but by a figure : therefore it seemeth it may reasonably be gathered of the same, that he holdeth not Christ in his hand really and indeed, but only by way of a figure.

Thus much touching Bernard. Notwithstanding it is likely, and thought of many, that as well herein, as in other cases of religion, he was led away with the errors and ignorance of his time.

M. HARDING : *Ninth Division.*

Here let our adversaries, touching this Article, consider and weigh with themselves, whether they be Lutherans, Zuinglians, or Genevians, what English they can make of these words used by the fathers, (247) and applied to the sacrament in the places before alleged : *Dominus, Christus, Divina essentia, Deus, Seipsum, Verbum Dei, Ego, Verbum factum factum, Deum suum* : the number of the like places, that might be alleged to this purpose, be in manner infinite. Yet M. Jewel promiseth to give over and subscribe, if any one may be found. Now we shall see what truth is in his word.

The 247th untruth. For not one of all these words is applied to the sacrament.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I doubt not, but by these few, well considered, it may easily appear unto the discreet reader, that none of all these ancient fathers, neither Irenæus, nor Origen, nor Cyprian, nor Chrysostom, nor Ambrose, nor Augustine, nor Cyrillus, for aught that may appear by their words, ever called the sacrament, either Lord, or Christ, or Divine

substance, or God, or Himself, or the Word of God, or their God: notwithstanding M. Harding hath taken some pains by guileful translations, and unadvised asseverations, to make some appearance of the same. St. Hierom saith: *Falsi testes sunt, qui non eodem sensu dicta proferunt,* [leg. *intelligunt,*] *quo dicuntur:* "They, that report words in other sense than they were spoken, are false witnesses."

Hieronym.
in Matt. esp.
26. [iv. 132.]

M. HARDING: *Tenth Division.*

In the weighing of this doctrine of the church, little occasion of wicked scoffs and blasphemies against this blessed sacrament shall remain to them, that be not blinded with that gross and fond error, ^athat denieth the inseparability of Christ, but affirmeth in this mystery to be present his flesh only, without blood, soul, and a godhead. Which is confuted by plain scriptures. "Christ raised from the dead, now dieth no more," Rom. vi. "He suffereth himself no more to be divided," 1 Cor. i. "Every spirit that loseth Jesus, this is Antichrist," 1 John iv. Hereof it followeth, that if Christ be verily under the form of bread in the sacrament, as it is otherwheres sufficiently proved: then is he there entire and whole, flesh, blood, and soul, whole Christ, God and man, for the inseparable union of both natures in one person. Which matter is more amply declared in the Article of the Adoration of the Sacrament.

a M. Harding hath imagined this error of himself.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

In the end, M. Harding confirmeth this doctrine by the confutation of an error, which, for the novelty and strangeness of it, may easily seem to be his own; and therefore ought of right to be called "M. Harding's error:" for I believe it was never neither defended nor imagined by any other.

He surmiseth, there be some that either have said, or else may say, that Christ's flesh is present really in the sacrament; howbeit dead, and bloodless, and utterly void both of soul and godhead. This is a new error, never tamed or touched before this time.

As for us, we do constantly believe and confess that Christ, the very natural Son of God, received our flesh of the blessed Virgin, and that, wheresoever that flesh is, there is also both the godhead and the soul.

Of this undoubted truth M. Harding gathereth an im-

pertinent conclusion; for thus he reasoneth: "If Christ be verily under the form of bread in the sacrament, then is he there entire and whole, God and man;" indeed, the first being granted, the rest must needs follow. But how is M. Harding so well assured of the first? what old doctor or ancient father ever taught him, "that Christ's body is really and fleshly present under these forms or phantasies of bread and wine?" If the learned fathers say so, it were good to shew it: if they say not so, it is great shame to plead it. Verily, all, that M. Harding hath yet said, is not able to prove it.

Now, good Christian reader, for thy better satisfaction in this case, being so dangerous, wherein whoso erreth is an idolater and knoweth not God, it may please thee briefly to consider, both the ancient godly fathers' undoubted judgment touching this sacrament, and also the ancient order and usage of the same.

First, concerning the judgment of the fathers in this behalf, St. Chrysostom saith: *In vasis sanctificatis, non verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis Christi continetur*: "In the holy vessels, not the very or true body of Christ, but the mystery of Christ's body is contained²⁹." Chrysost. in Opere Imperfect. hom. 11. [vi. app. 63.]

St. Augustine saith: *Interrogo vos, fratres, dicite mihi: quid plus videtur vobis, corpus Christi, an verbum Christi? Si vultis vere respondere, hoc dicere debetis, quod non sit minus verbum Dei, quam corpus Christi*: "I demand of you this question, my brethren, answer me. Whether, think you, is greater, the body of Christ" (meaning thereby the sacrament) "or the word of Christ? If ye will answer truly, this must ye say, That the word of God is no less than the body of Christ³⁰." St. Hierom saith: *Ego corpus Jesu evangelium puto.....Et quamvis, quod Christus dicit, Qui non manducat meam carnem, &c. possit intelligi de mysterio, tamen verius corpus Christi, et sanguis ejus sermo scrip-* 1. Quæst. 1. Interrogo vos. Hieronym. in Psal. cxlvii. [ii. pt. 2. 504.] Verius.

²⁹ [Chrysost. in Op. Imp. The Bened. ad loc. say, that in some MSS. these words are omitted, and they accordingly place them within brackets.]

³⁰ [This passage Gratian found

in St. Augustine, lib. 50. Homil. hom. 26, which homily has been placed in the App. by the Bened., as erroneously ascribed to St. Augustine, and rather the work of Cæsarius, A. D. 502.]

turarum est: "I take the body of Jesus to be the gospel. And albeit these words of Christ" ('He that eateth not my flesh,' &c.) "may be taken of the sacrament, yet in truer sense the word of the scriptures is the body and blood of Christ³¹."

Origen. in
Exod. hom.
13. [ii. 176.]

Likewise saith Origen: *Quod si circa corpus Christi seroandum tanta utimini cautela,.....quomodo putatis, minoris esse periculi [leg. piaculi], verbum Dei neglexisse, quam corpus ejus?* "If ye take such heed in keeping" (the sacrament, which is called) "the body of Christ, how can you think there is less danger in despising the word of God, than there is in despising" (the sacrament, that is called) "the body of God?"

If the sacrament were indeed and really the body of Christ, and so our very Lord and God, thus to compare it with a creature, and to make it inferior unto the same, as St. Augustine, St. Hierom, Origen, and other godly fathers do, it were great blasphemy.

Augustin. de
unico Bap-
tismo contra
Petilianum,
cap. 5. [ix.
531.]

St. Augustine saith: *Plus est unus Deus, quam unus baptismus. Neque enim est baptismus Deus. Sed ideo magnum aliquid est, quia sacramentum est Dei*: "One God is more than one baptism. For baptism is no God. But yet is baptism a great thing, because it is a sacrament of God."

Origen. in
Matt. cap.
15. [iii. 499.]

Origen that great learned father saith: *Ille panis, qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei, et obsecrationem, juxta id, quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, et in secessum ejicitur*: "The bread that is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer, touching the material part of it" (which is the sacrament) "entereth into the belly, and passeth into the draught." These words were horrible to be spoken, if the sacrament indeed were Christ and God.

Ambros. de
Benediction.
Patriarcha-
rum. [i. 524.]

St. Ambrose expounding these words of Christ, "Give us this day our daily bread," saith thus:.....*Hodie dat nobis hunc panem, quem ipse quotidie sacerdos consecrat suis verbis.....Possumus et ipsum Dominum accipere, qui..... ait, Ego sum panis vitæ*: "Even this day Christ giveth us

³¹ [Hieron. in Psalm. The greater part of this Commentary was falsely attributed to St. Jerome.]

this" (daily) "bread," (that is, the sacrament) "which he himself being the priest doth daily consecrate with his own words. We may take the same daily bread also for our Lord himself, that saith, 'I am the bread of life³².'" Hereby it is plain, that "Christ himself" and "the sacrament" are sundry things: and that neither "the sacrament" is "Christ himself," neither "Christ himself" is "the sacrament."

St. Chrysostom saith: *Habent et hæreses in schismate similiter ecclesias, &c.*: "Heresies in their schism have likewise churches, as well as have the catholics, likewise the holy scriptures, likewise bishops, likewise orders of clerks, likewise baptism, likewise the sacrament" (of the holy communion), "likewise all other things: and, to be short, Christ himself³³." Here likewise this holy father St. Chrysostom, contrary to M. Harding's phantasy, presupposeth a great difference between "the sacrament" and "Christ himself." But what can be so plain, as these words of St. Ambrose touching the same: *Venisti ad altare: vidisti sacramenta posita super altare: et ipsam quidem miratus es creaturam. Tamen creatura solennis et nota*: "Thou camest to the altar, and sawest the sacrament laid upon the altar: and thou marvelledst at the creature. And yet is it a creature common and known." Here St. Ambrose by express words calleth the sacrament, not Lord or God, but "a creature."

Therefore Epiphanius thereof writeth thus: *Hoc est rotundæ figuræ, et insensibile, quantum ad potentiam, &c.... Dominum vero nostrum novimus totum sensum, totum sensitivum, totum Deum, totum moventem*: "This thing" (that is, the sacrament) "is of a round form," (for it was a great thick round cake,) "and, touching any power that is in it, utterly void of sense. But we know that our Lord is whole sense,

³² [Ambros. de Bened. It is not in expounding the words of Christ, "Give us this day" &c. that St. Ambrose saith thus; but in commenting upon the words, "Out of Asher his bread shall be fat," &c.]

³³ [It will be remembered, that

the genuineness and orthodoxy of this Opus Imperf., in its present shape, have been much questioned. What Jewel translates "likewise the sacrament," &c. is "aliter eu-
"charistiam, et cætera omnia, de-
"nique ipsum Christum."]

Chrysostom. in Opere Imperfecto, hom. 49. [vi. app. 204.]

Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 4. cap. 3. [ii. 366.]

Epiphanius in Anchorato. [ii. 60.]

whole sensible, whole God, whole moving." In these words, between Christ and the sacrament, appeareth likewise a great difference.

Justinus
Martyr in
Colloquio
cum Try-
phone. [p.
210.]

Justinus Martyr saith: *Alimento humido et sicco admonemur, quæ propter nos Deus Dei Filius percussus sit*: "By dry and moist food" (whereby he meaneth the sacrament) "we are taught, what things God the Son of God hath suffered for us³⁴."

Cyrrill. in
Johan. lib.
4. cap. 14.
[ed. Aubert.
cap. 2. iv. p.
360.]

Cyrrillus calleth the sacrament, *fragmenta panis*: "fragments or pieces of bread."

Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
26. [III. pt. 2.
498.]

St. Augustine calleth it, *buccellam Dominicam*: "the Lord's morsel."

Certainly it had been horrible wickedness, to have called the sacrament by any of these names, either "a creature:" or, "a thing insensible, and void of life:" or, "a food dry and moist:" or, "a morsel:" or, "a fragment:" or, "a piece of bread;" if the holy fathers had been persuaded, as M. Harding beareth us in hand, that the sacrament was their Lord and God.

Liturgia
Chrysostom.
[p. 97. Gr. ed.
de Sainctes.]

Chrysostom, in the Communion that commonly beareth his name, after the consecration, prayeth thus: "We beseech thee, O God, to send down thy Holy Ghost upon these" (sacraments, or) "presents laid before us³⁵."

[In Canon.
Missæ.]

And M. Harding himself in his mass, in like manner after consecration, maketh his prayers unto God in this wise: "Look, O Lord, upon these sacraments with a gracious and a cheerful countenance, and vouchsafe to receive the same, as thou didst sometime receive the oblations of Abel thy child, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the thing that was offered unto thee by the high priest Melchisedek."

It were very much for M. Harding to say, that he prayeth God, that the Holy Ghost may come upon Christ, or that

³⁴ [Justin. Mart. "Οτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάρεστοὶ εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσία, καὶ αὐτὸς φημι ταῦτα γὰρ μόναι καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν

ξηρᾶς καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ἧ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὁ πέποιθε δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μέμνηται.]

³⁵ [Chrysost. Liturg. . . . κατὰ-πεμφσον τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα.]

God at his request, and for his sake, will favourably and cheerfully behold his own Son : or so receive him, being our Lord and God, as he sometime received a goat, or a wether, or any other like corruptible kind of sacrifice.

Howbeit, if he speak plainly, and dissemble not, as some of his friends are afraid he doth, then is this undoubtedly the very tenor and meaning of his prayer. But if he dissemble, and speak otherwise than he thinketh, and that at the secretest and holiest part of all his mass, then by his own confession, and by the authority of his own mass-book, the sacrament is not Lord and God.

In the council holden at Carthage under St. Cyprian, Cæcilius a Bilta saith thus : *Antistes diaboli audent eucharistiam facere* : “ A priest of the devil dareth to make the sacrament :” which words by M. Harding’s exposition must needs sound thus : “ A priest of the devil dareth to make our Lord and God.” Which saying notwithstanding, among the priests of M. Harding’s side, is not so strange. For thus they dare to say without fear or shame : *Sacerdos est creator creatoris sui : qui creavit vos, dedit vobis creare se : qui creavit vos absque vobis, creatur a vobis mediantibus vobis* : “ The priest is the creator of his own creator : he that created you of nought, hath given you power to create himself of nought : he that made you without you, is made of you by mean of you³⁵.” These words sometime had been counted blasphemy. But now they must be taken as good and catholic, as uttered by the patriarchs of that profession.

Cyprian. in
Concill. Car-
thag. ad Qui-
rinum. [p.
330.]

Stella Cleri-
corum.
Sermon.
Discipul.
serm. 111.

Thus much of the judgment of the old fathers, touching this question.

Now for the ancient order and usage of the sacrament, it may please thee, good Christian reader, to understand, that, for the space of six hundred years after Christ, it

³⁵ [Stella Clericorum. (Douce, Bodl.) “ Iste qui creavit me dedit mihi creare se ; qui creavit me sine me, creatur mediante me.” The passage apparently alluded to in the Sermones Discipuli (i. e. Johan. Herold.) is as follows :

“ Unde minimus sacerdos in ter-
ris potest hoc quod maximus
“ angelus in cælo non potest ;
“ unde Bern. O veneranda dig-
“ nitas sacerdotum, in quorum ma-
“ nibus tanquam in utero virginis
“ Dei Filius incarnatur.”]

cannot appear, that ever any man adored or worshipped the sacrament with godly honour: which is a great token, it was not then accounted our Lord and God.

Hesychius
in Levit.
lib. 2. cap. 8.
[fol. 49. D.]

The manner was then in many churches, that all such remnants and portions of the sacrament, as were not received of the people, should be burnt and consumed into ashes: which thing undoubtedly had not been sufferable among Christian people, if the holy learned fathers had thought the sacrament had been the very Lord and God.

Beno Cardi-
nalis.

Yet pope Hildebrand, that forbade priests marriage, took the sacrament and demanded of it certain secret questions of things to come: and because it would not, or could not, speak and make him answer, in his fury he threw it into the fire³⁶.

Extrav.
Johan. 22.
Cum inter.
In Glossa.
Dist. 96.
Satis evi-
denter.
De Elect. et
Electi potest.
In Proœmio
Clemen. [in
Glossa.]
Augustinus
Steuchus.

They have honoured the pope by the name of God, as it appeareth by sundry their decrees and canons³⁷. And in their books they have not doubted to write thus: *Dominus Deus noster papa*: "Our Lord God the pope³⁸." But the sacrament, which now they say is Lord and God, they never neither entitled by the name of God, nor worshipped it with godly honour, before the time of Honorius III. nor^{Anno 1226.} allowed it any holy day, before the time of Urbanus IV³⁹.^{Anno 1265.} If the world had been well assured, that the sacrament had been the Lord and God, it is not likely it should have continued so long without either godly title or godly honour.

Clement. lib.
3. tit. 16. Si
Dominum.

In the end pope Clement the Fifth granted out large^{Anno 1308.} and liberal indulgences to all that would frequent this new holy day, to countenance this new religion: "For the

³⁶ [With respect to Cardinal Benno, who reports this, see supra, vol. iii. p. 35, note 26.]

³⁷ [In Proœm. Clement. Gloss. "Quia vices Dei in terris gerit [sc. papa], inde dixit ille angelicus "in poetria nova;—Papa stupor "mundi:" et circa finem; Qui "maxima rerum Nec deus es nec "homo, quasi neuter es inter "utrumque."]

³⁸ [Dominus Deus noster Papa. On this Gloss, see the Editor's

note, vol. ii. p. 195. He has seen no reason for altering the opinions there expressed. It should be remembered that this expression does not stand alone, its fearful import being confirmed by Dist. 96, Satis evidentem, and by many passages (still unretracted) which assign the attributes of divinity to the pope.]

³⁹ [Supra, vol. i. p. 15, and iii. p. 61.]

first evensong, matins, mass, and latter evensong, prime and hours, for every of these times a hundred days of pardon, *toties, quoties, a pœna et culpa.*" Thus the people was well allured, and thus this new holy day and new religion gat great credit.

St. Hierom saith : *Pagani deos suos digito ostendunt : et ob hoc ingerunt mihi opprobria* [l. *improperia*]. *Unde sciant, quod ego mente Deum meum reconditum teneo, et per interiorem hominem in ipso* [l. *eum*] *habito* : "The heathens point their gods with their finger : and that they say to my reproach. But let them know, that I have my God hidden in my heart, and that by my inward man I dwell in him ⁴⁰."

Hieronym. in
Psalm. xlii.
[li. 232.]

Certainly, if the sacrament could speak unto M. Harding, thus it would speak : "I am a creature," as St. Ambrose teacheth you : "I am a fragment, or piece of bread," as St. Cyril teacheth you : "I am a thing insensible and void of life," as Epiphanius teacheth you : "I am a corporal food, and pass into your bodies, and increase the substance of your flesh, as other meats do," as Origenes and Irenæus have taught you : "I mould and putrefy, and am subject to corruption," as your eyes and senses may easily teach you : "I am a sacrament of Christ, I am not Christ : I am a creature of God, I am not God : ye do wrong unto me, ye do wrong unto God : the worms of the earth, and the birds of the air, will condemn your folly : give not this honour unto me : give godly honour unto God." If the sacrament could speak unto M. Harding, thus would it speak : and being a dumb and a lifeless thing, and not able to speak, yet thus it speaketh.

God open the eyes and hearts of all men, that they may see and discern the almighty and everliving God, from a corruptible creature, that is no God. *Amen.*

⁴⁰ [Hieronym. in Psalmos. Supra, vol. iii. p. 436, note ³¹.]

OF REMAINING UNDER THE ACCIDENTS.

THE TWO AND TWENTIETH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that the people was then taught to believe, that the body of Christ remaineth in the sacrament, as long as the accidents of the bread remain there without corruption.

M. HARDING : *First Division.*

These five Articles here following are school points, the discussion whereof is more curious than necessary. Whether the faithful people were then, that is to say, for the space of six hundred years after Christ, taught to believe, concerning this blessed sacrament, precisely according to the purport of all these Articles or no, I know not. Verily I think, they were taught the truth of this matter simply and plainly, yet so as nothing was hidden from them, that in those quiet times, (quiet I mean touching this point of faith,) was thought necessary for them to know. If sithence there hath been more taught, or rather if the truth hath in some other form of words been declared, for a more evidence and clearness in this behalf to be had, truth itself always remaining one : this hath proceeded of the diligence and earnest care of the church, to repress the pertinacy of heretics, who have within these last six hundred years impugned the truth herein, and to meet with their perverse and froward objections : as hath been thought necessary to find out such wedges, as might best serve to rive such knotty blocks.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding passeth lightly over these Articles following, as being only, as he saith, certain unnecessary school points, to be debated privately among the learned, and nothing pertaining to the simple capacity of the people. Which thing may the better appear, by that he is not able to avouch any of the same by the authority of any ancient learned father.

It is true, that the doctrine of the church touching the sacrament in the old time was delivered simply and plainly unto the people. But, M. Harding himself well knoweth, that doctrine was nothing like unto this doctrine.

St. Augustine taught the people thus: *Christus (in caena) figuram corporis sui commendavit*: “Christ at his supper gave a figure of his body.” Augustin. in Psalm. iii. [v. 7.]

St. Ambrose saith unto the people: *Post consecrationem corpus (Christi) significatur*: “After consecration the body of Christ is signified.” Ambros. De illis qui in-tian. Myster. cap. 9. [ii. 339.]

St. Chrysostom saith unto the people: *Si mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est?* “If Christ died not, whose sign and whose token is this sacrifice?” And, to leave infinite other like authorities to like purpose, St. Augustine thus taught the people: *Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis: nec bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt, qui me crucifigent*: “Ye shall not eat” (with your bodily mouths) “this body that you see, nor shall you drink that blood which they shall shed, that shall crucify me.” Chrysost. in Matt. hom. 83. [vii. 783.]

And whereas Christ saith, “Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye shall have no life in you,” the old learned father Origen thereupon thus taught the people: *Si secundum literam accipias hæc verba, illa litera occidit*: “If ye take these words according to the letter, this letter killeth.” Augustin. in Psal. xviii. [v. 1066.]

And touching Christ's body itself, the holy bishop and martyr Vigilus⁴¹ taught the people in this sort: *Caro* Origen. in Levit. hom. 7. [ii. 225.]
Vigilius contra Eutychem, lib. i. [Bibl. Patr. viii. 733.]

⁴¹ [Vigilius, see supra, vol. ii. p. 415, note ⁸.]

Christi, cum esset in terra, non erat in caelo: et nunc, quia est in caelo, non est utique in terra: "The flesh of Christ, when it was in earth, was not in heaven: and now, because it is in heaven, doubtless it is not in earth."

De Con. dist.
2. Prima.
[August. in
Johan. tract.
30. iii. pt. 2.
517.]

St. Augustine said thus unto the people: "The body, wherein Christ rose again, must needs be in one place:" *Corpus, in quo resurrexit, in uno loco esse oportet [al. potest]*⁴².

Cyrillus in
Johan. lib.
11. cap. 3.
[ut. cap. 2.
iv. 932.]

Cyrillus said unto the people: *Christus non poterat in carne versari cum apostolis, postquam ascendisset ad Patrem:* "Christ could not be conversant together with his disciples in his flesh, after he had ascended unto his Father"⁴³.

[Tract. 25.
in Johan. iii.
pt. ii. 489.]
Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
26. [iii. pt. 2.
494.]

Touching the eating of Christ's body, St. Augustine taught the people in this wise:—*Crede, et manducasti.*

De Con. dist.
2. Ut quid.

—*Credere in Christum, hoc est, manducare panem vivum:* "Believe in Christ, and thou hast eaten Christ. For believing in Christ, is the eating of the bread of life"⁴⁴.

Augustin. in
Johan. tract.
50. [iii. pt. 2.
630.]

Likewise again: *Quomodo in caelum manum mittam, ut ibi sedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, et tenuisti:* Thou wilt say, "How shall I reach my hand into heaven, that I may hold Christ sitting there? I answer thee, Reach up thy faith, and so thou holdest him."

Thus was the people then taught, simply and plainly: and that not only in the schools, but also openly in the church: neither only in one place, but at Hippo in Africa; at Constantinople in Thracia; at Alexandria in Egypt; at Milan in Italy; and so in all places and in all churches throughout the world: and this was then thought to be the catholic doctrine of the sacraments. Transubstantiation, real presence, *concomitantia*, accidents without subjects, natural bodies without natural places, *quantum sine modo quanti*, holy forms and holy shows, were not yet known nor heard of.

At the last, as M. Harding saith, there sprang up certain

⁴² [Supra, vol. ii. p. 394, note ⁹¹.]

⁴³ [Vol. ii. p. 410, note ⁵.]

⁴⁴ [This quotation, formerly printed (after Gratian) as if in one

context, is made up of two passages from different parts of the Commentary on St. John. Gratian reads "*panem et vinum.*"

strange heretics, that said, that, like as the nature and substance of water remaineth in the sacrament of baptism, even so the nature and substance of bread and wine remaineth still in the sacrament of Christ's body. But if this, according to M. Harding's judgment, be an heresy, then must all the old fathers and doctors of the church be condemned for heretics.

For Gelasius saith : " There remaineth still in the sacrament the nature or substance of bread and wine."

Chrysostom saith : " The nature of bread remaineth in the sacrament as before⁴⁵."

Theodoretus saith : " The bread remaineth in his former nature and substance : " *in priori natura et substantia*⁴⁶.

St. Augustine saith : *Quod videtis, panis est* : " The thing that ye see, is bread." He saith not, " It seemeth bread, but it is no bread : it is only the accident, the form, and the show of bread : " but, *panis est*, " it is indeed and verily very bread⁴⁷."

But, I trow, both these and all other like ancient learned fathers, must, by M. Harding's decree, be taken for new masters, and condemned for heretics.

This is that knotty great block, which, to rive and rend up, M. Harding hath devised a jolly substantial strong iron wedge made of accidents. God knoweth, a simple and a childish instrument : and yet much like to the rest of his tools. Howbeit, God be thanked, the church of God was able to confound and to cleave asunder all manner heresies twelve hundred years together, without any of these wedges.

M. HARDING : *Second Division.*

Yet this matter hath not so much been taught in open audience of the people, as debated privately between learned men in schools, and so of them set forth in their private writings, wherein, if some perhaps through contention of wits have been

⁴⁵ [Chrysost. ad Cæsarium. See supra, vol. iii. p. 54, note 44.]

⁴⁶ [Theodoret. Dialog. Inconfusus. See the original printed at length, vol. iii. p. 57, note 46.]

Theodoretus speaks not of "bread" only, but of *τὰ σύμβολα*.]

⁴⁷ [August. Serm. ad Infantes ; supra, vol. i. p. 210, note 50, and p. 242, note 77.]

Gelasius contra Eutychem. [Bibli. Patr. v. pt. 3. p. 671.]
Chrysost. ad Cæsarium. [ll. 744.]
Theodoretus, dialogo. 1. [leg. dial. 2. Routh's O-pusc. vol. II. 132.]
Augustin. in Sermon. ad Infantes. [Augustin. Opp. tom. v. p. 1103.]
Beda in 1. ad Cor. x.

either over curious or over bold, and have overshot the mark, or not sufficiently confirmed the point they have taken in hand to treat of, or through ignorance, or favour of a part, have in something swerved from reason, or that meaning which holy church holdeth: it is great uncourtesy, to lay that to our charge, to abuse their oversights to our discredit, and to reprove the whole church for the insufficiency of a few.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

For excuse hereof, M. Harding saith, This doctrine served only for the schools, and had no place among the people. But so likewise did the rest of all their doctrine. For it was ever their greatest policy, to keep their learning in the schools, and to see, that the people should know nothing. St. Hierom saith: *Eadem et in veteri, et in nova hæresi servatur fides* [leg. *consuetudo*], *ut aliud populi audiunt, aliud prædicent sacerdotes*: "They keep one faith, both in the old heresy and in the new. The people hear one thing, and the priests teach another." And certainly, as their religion was used, happy was the poor people, that knew least of it. St. Hilary's words may very aptly be applied unto them: *Sanctiores sunt aures plebis, quam corda sacerdotum*: "There is more holiness in the ears of the people, than in the hearts of the priests."

Howbeit, contrary to M. Harding's evasion, other doctors of his own form, Antoninus, Gabriel, and others seem to publish the same, as a general doctrine, common, not only to the schools, but also to the whole church, and no more touching the priest, than the simplest of the people.

And verily, if the sacrament be God indeed, and that, not a God for ever, but only to last for a season, which is the purport of M. Harding's doctrine, why should not all the people understand, when it beginneth to be God: how long it continueth God: when it is God: when it is no God: and how long they may adore it without danger: and, when they may safely leave off, and adore no more? For during the time it is God, whoso adareth it not is wicked and godless: and, whoso adareth it when it is no God, committeth idolatry, and adareth a creature instead of God. Therefore the certainty hereof, notwithstanding

Hieronym.
ad Pammach.
cont. Error.
Johan. Hierosolymitan.
[iv. pt. 2.
308.]

Hilarius contra Auxentium. [p. 1266.]

Antoninus in 3. par. Summæ, tit. 13. [c. 6. §. 16.]
Biel, lect. 84. [lit. B.]

M. Harding's contrary judgment, seemeth as necessary for the people, as for the priest.

But here it appeareth, M. Harding is half ashamed of his own scholasticall catholic doctors. For he confesseth, "That either of mere ignorance, or of affection and favour of parts, they have sometime swerved, both from common reason, and also from the sense of the catholic church." This may stand well for a *maxima*, as one of the greatest truths of M. Harding's whole book.

Notwithstanding, these doctors, uttering such points of learning, were never thought to publish their own private phantasies, but rather the catholic doctrine of the universal Roman church. Neither was there either bishop, or cardinal, or pope, or council, that ever condemned them for the same.

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

Now concerning this Article, whether we are able to avouch it by such authorities as M. Jewel requireth, or no, it shall not greatly force. The credit of the catholic faith dependeth not of old proofs of a few new controverted points, that be of less importance. As for the people, they were taught the truth plainly, when no heretic had assaulted their faith craftily. (248) The doctrine of the church is this: The body of Christ after due consecration remaineth so long in the sacrament, as the sacrament endureth. The sacrament endureth so long, as the forms of bread and wine continue. Those forms continue in their integrity, until the other accidents be corrupted and perish. As if the colour, weight, savour, taste, smell, and other qualities of bread and wine be corrupted and quite altered, then is the form also of the same annihilated and undone. And to speak of this more particularly, sith that the substance of bread and wine is turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, as the (249) scriptures, ancient doctors, the necessary consequent of truth, and determination of holy church leadeth us to believe: if such change of the accidents be made, which should not have sufficed to the corruption of bread and wine, in case of their remainder, for such a change the body and blood of Christ ceaseth not to be in this sacrament, whether the change be in quality, as if the colour, savour, and smell of bread and wine be a little altered, or in quantity, as if thereof division be made into such portions, in which the nature of bread and wine might be reserved. But if there be made so great a change, as the nature of bread and wine should be corrupted, if they were present, then the body and blood of Christ do not remain in this sacrament, as

The doctrine of the church.

The 248th untruth. For this is a new phantasy, and not the doctrine of the ancient church.

The 249th untruth. For neither the scriptures, nor any of the ancient doctors, &c. leadeth us thus to believe.

when the colour and savour, and other qualities of bread and wine are so far changed, as the nature of bread and wine might not bear it: or on the quantity's side, as if the bread be so small crummed into dust, and the wine dispersed into so small portions, as their forms remain no longer: then remaineth no more the body and blood in this sacrament. Thus the body and blood of Christ remaineth in this sacrament, so long as the forms of bread and wine remain. And, when they fail and cease to be any more, then also ceaseth the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament. For there must be a convenience and resemblance between the sacraments, and the things whereof they be sacraments, which done away and lost at the corruptions of the forms and accidents, the sacraments also be undone and perish, and consequently the inward thing and the heavenly thing, in them contained, leaveth to be in them.

August. ad
Bonifacium,
epist. 23.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I cannot imagine, wherefore M. Harding should so often tell us, that the people in the primitive church was taught plainly. For, as now, in his church of Rome, all things of purpose are drowned in darkness, and the simple people suffered to know nothing: no not the meaning of the sacraments, which of all other things should be most plain.

For, briefly to open some part of the mysteries, which every of the simple unlearned people may not know, mark, I beseech thee, good Christian reader, how plainly they have determined the manner of Christ's being in the sacrament. Thomas of Aquine, the most famous of all the school doctors, writeth thus: *In corpore Christi in sacramento non est distantia partium ab invicem, ut oculi ab oculo, aut capitis a pedibus: sicut est in aliis corporibus organicis. Talis enim distantia partium est in ipso corpore Christi vero: sed non prout est in sacramento. Quia sic non habet quantitatem dimensionem*: "In the body of Christ in the sacrament, there is no distance of parts one from another; as between eye and eye, or eye and ear, or head and feet; as it is in other natural bodies: for such a distance there is in the true body of Christ: but not as it is in the sacrament. For so it hath no dimension of quantities⁴⁸." Out of which words the reader may gather by the way, that, "the true

In 3. quæst.
76. art. 30.
[leg. art. 3.
solut. 2.]

⁴⁸ [The substance of the argument of Aquinas is given; rather a paraphrase than the exact words.]

body of Christ is not in the sacrament." O what a Christ have they devised for themselves! He hath neither quantity, nor proportion of body, nor distance of parts: he is neither long, nor short, nor round, nor broad, nor thick, nor thin: his eyes, his ears, his head, his feet are all in one. Yet is this the very proportion and stature of Christ's body, even as he walked upon the earth, and even as he was nailed upon the cross.

And lest any man should stagger hereat, and stand in doubt, this matter is overlooked, and considered in the decrees by the canonists, by these words: *Sed secundum hoc videtur, quod ubi pars est, ibi est totum: et secundum hoc videtur, quod pes et nasus sunt conjuncti: quod non credo*: "By this it appeareth, that, whereas the part is, there is the whole: and that Christ's foot and his nose are both together. But I cannot believe that." So clearly and plainly these men are wont to teach the people.

De Con. dist.
2. Ubi pars.
In Gloss.

I pass over the rest of their doctrine. Sometimes their accidents have power to nourish: sometimes the same accidents are parts of the substance: sometimes substance must be an accident: sometimes accidents must be substance. To be short, thus of night they make day, and of day they make night. They are now ashamed of their own doctors, that lately were in highest room, and, as it befell sometime unto them that enterprised the tower of Babylon, one of them understandeth not another's language. And therefore now their building is at a stay.

This is the simplicity and plainness of M. Harding's church. It is an easier matter for the simple people to go to heaven, than for him and his fellows to agree well and thoroughly of the way.

Here M. Harding, without either scripture, or council, or doctor, hath interlarded a long fable of his own: which notwithstanding, as he saith, is the doctrine of the church. But miserable is that church, that hath neither scripture, nor council, nor doctor, to approve her doctrine.

First he imagineth, "That Christ's body is really in the sacrament, so long as the sacrament is a sacrament." Again, by the tenor and force of his doctrine, "If Christ's body

once depart away, then is the sacrament no more a sacrament." Thus this doctrine turneth round. If it be a sacrament, then is Christ's body there: if Christ's body be there, then is it a sacrament. So simply and plainly they teach the people. O happy are they, that have such masters!

Further he saith: "The substance of the bread and wine is really changed into the body and blood of Christ." And this he avoucheth by scriptures without words, and by doctors without names.

Afterward, he keepeth great moots⁴⁹ about qualities and quantities: "How far the colour, or savour, or other qualities of the bread may be altered: and into how small mites the bread may be crummed," (for these be his own words,) "and yet nevertheless Christ's body continue in it." No doubt a very plain and comfortable, and a savory doctrine for the people. St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Hierom, St. Chrysostom, and other learned fathers travelled far and deeply with great study: St. Paul was lifted up into the third heaven: yet none of them could understand it.

In the end he saith: "There must be a convenience and a resemblance between the sacrament, and the things whereof it is a sacrament." For example: As water doth wash and refresh our bodies, so by resemblance we are taught in the water of baptism, that Christ's blood doth wash and refresh our souls. And as our bodies be fed by material bread, so in the holy communion we are taught by like resemblance, that our souls are fed with the body of Christ. Such convenient likeness there is between the sacrament, and the thing that is represented by the sacrament. But what such resemblance or likeness can M. Harding imagine herein to further his phantasy? Wherein are his accidents like unto Christ's body? or wherein is Christ's body like unto his accidents? Will he say, that the accidents of bread do nourish and increase the substance of our bodies? or that our souls live so by Christ's

⁴⁹ [Moots—disputed points.]

body, as our bodies live by accidents? If he leave this resemblance of feeding and nourishing, what other resemblance can he find?

O how much better were it for M. Harding, simply and plainly to confess, that, as well for this Article, as for the rest, he is utterly destitute, not only of the scriptures, but also of general councils and ancient fathers: and hath nothing to allege, but only certain vain imaginations of his own!

M. HARDING: *Fourth Division.*

Here, because many of them, which have cut themselves from the church, condemn the reservation of the sacrament, and affirm that the body of Christ remaineth not in the same, no longer than during the time whiles it is received, alleging against reservation the example of the paschal lamb in the old law, wherein nothing ought to have remained until the morning, and likewise of manna; I will rehearse that notable and known place of Cyrillus Alexandrinus. His words be these: *Audio quod dicant mysticam benedictionem, si ex ea remanserint in sequentem diem reliquia, ad sanctificationem inutilem esse. Sed insaniunt hæc dicentes.*

Non enim alius sit Christus, neque sanctum ejus corpus immutabitur: sed virtus benedictionis, et vivifica gratia manet in illo: "It is told me, they say, that the mystical blessing" (so he calleth the blessed sacrament) "in case portions of it be kept until the next day, is of no virtue to sanctification. But they be mad that thus say. For Christ becometh not another, neither his holy body is changed: but the virtue of the consecration and the quickening or lifegiving grace abideth still in it." By this saying of Cyrillus we see, that he accounteth the error of our adversaries in this Article, no other than a mere madness. The body of Christ, saith he, which he termeth "the mystical blessing," because it is a most holy mystery done by consecration, once consecrated is not changed, but the virtue of the consecration and the grace that giveth life, (250) whereby he meaneth that flesh assumed of the Word, remaineth in this sacrament also when it is kept; (250) verily even so long, as the outward forms continue not corrupt.

The 250th untruth, standing in untrue and guileful construction.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Truth is not afraid of slanderous tragedies. We have not cut off ourselves from the catholic church of God. We have forsaken the dangerous company of them, that have turned the church of God into a cave of thieves: whose company God by special words hath willed us to forsake. For thus the Almighty saith unto us: "O my people,

Rev. xviii. 4.

Of reservation of the sacrament.

Exod. xii.

Ad Calosyrium Arsenoiten. Episcopum: citat Thomas, pt. 3. qu. 76.

come out from her, and be not partaker of her sins : lest ye take part of her plagues.”

The matter of reservation is only pasted on, and utterly impertinent and nothing belonging to this question. Howbeit, unless M. Harding had used the advantage of this digression, he had passed over this whole Article without naming of any doctor. I grant, the sacrament in the old time in some certain churches was reserved : howbeit, not to be worshipped with godly honour, but only to be received in the holy communion of the people. And Origen amongst other godly fathers seemeth to mislike the same ; for thus he writeth : *Dominus panem, quem discipulis dabat, non distulit, nec servari jussit in crastinum* : “ The bread that the Lord gave to his disciples, he deferred it not, nor willed it to be reserved until the next day.”

Origen. in
Levit. hom.
5. [li. 211.]

But, touching the force of this Article, Cyrillus speaketh not one word, neither of corporal presence, nor of forms, nor of accidents, nor of crums, nor of quantities, nor of qualities, nor of putrefaction or corruption, nor of the coming of Christ's body, nor of the abode or departure of the same, nor of any other the like M. Harding's mysteries. Therefore this holy father neither reproveth our doctrine, nor chargeth us, as M. Harding imagineth, with any madness. But, if he were now alive, he would account him mad, and twice mad, that would so madly rack his words to so vain a purpose.

Concerning the reservation of the sacrament, that Cyrillus speaketh of, the matter stood thus. Sometimes, after that the people had received the holy mysteries, it happened that there remained some portions untouched. These portions so remaining, the godly fathers, that then were, thought it not meet to turn to any profane use : but rather reserved them until the next day to be received of the people in the holy communion. For as yet there was no private mass known in the whole church of God throughout the world.

The Messalian monks repined hereat, and said, “ The sacrament could not so long continue holy.” Cyrillus answereth them, not that the flesh, which Christ received of

the blessed virgin, continueth still, as enclosed in the sacrament, as it is untruly reported by M. Harding: but, that Christ's institution and the mystical benediction, which he calleth "the quickening grace," continueth still. And his reason is this: for that all sacraments have their virtue and power, not of themselves, but wholly and only from Christ. Wherefore, as Christ is one, and continueth still without change: even so must the grace, that Christ worketh in us by his sacraments, be likewise one, and continue still. And as there is no virtue in the water of baptism, but when it is used: even so there is no virtue in the bread of the holy communion, but likewise only when it is used.

As for the quickening grace, it is as well in the one sacrament as in the other. St. Ambrose saith: *Aqua baptismatis habet gratiam Dei, et præsentiam Trinitatis*: "The water of baptism hath the grace of God, and the presence of the holy Trinity." And in the Nicene council it is written thus: *Cogita aquas plenas ignis cælestis*: "Imagine this water to be full of heavenly fire⁵⁰." And this grace is not only for one hour or two, but lasteth and continueth still. So St. Augustine saith: *Arca testamenti, (quamvis) ab hostibus capta, virtutem tamen suæ sanctificationis non amisit*: "The ark of God, notwithstanding it were taken and carried away by the enemies, yet it lost not the virtue of the former holiness that was in it."

Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 5. [ii. 352, 353.]

Πλήρη τοῦ
θείου πυρός
γέει τὰ
ῥέματα.
[Mansi, ii.
88.]

Augustin. contra Gaudent. lib. 3. [leg. lib. 2. cap. 10. tom. ix. 672.]

Yet may not M. Harding, upon occasion hereof, either think or say, that this grace is really and substantially enclosed either in the one sacrament or in the other. Bonaventura saith: *Non est aliquo modo dicendum, quod gratia continetur 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 sacrament substantially and indeed, as water is contained in a vessel. For so to say, it were an error. But sacra-

In 4. Senten. dist. 1. [art. 1.] que. 3.

⁵⁰ [Supra, vol. ii. 358, note ⁵³.]

ments are said to contain the grace of God, because they signify the grace of God.”

Here the opinion, that M. Harding seemeth to maintain, is condemned for an error, and this sentence allowed for true and catholic: “Sacraments are said to contain the grace of God, because they signify the grace of God.” To conclude, he saith: *Gratia est in animis, non in signis visibilibus*: “The grace is in the minds or souls of the receivers: not in the visible signs or sacraments.”

WHETHER A MOUSE, &c.

THE THREE AND TWENTIETH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that a mouse, or any other worm or beast, may eat the body of Christ: for so some of our adversaries have said and taught⁵¹.

M. HARDING: *First Division.*

Whereas M. Jewel imputeth this vile asseveration but to some of the adversaries of his side, he seemeth to acknowledge, that it is not a doctrine universally taught and received. The like may be said for his next Article. And if it hath been said of some only, and not taught universally of all, as a true doctrine for Christian people to believe: how agreeth he with himself, saying after the rehearsal of his number of articles, the same, none excepted, to be the highest mysteries and greatest keys of our religion? For if that were true, as it is not true for the greatest part, then should this Article have been affirmed and taught of all. For the highest and greatest points of the catholic religion be not particular, but of universal teaching.

a By this rule, the greatest points of M. Harding's catholic religion may well come in question.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here it appeareth, that M. Harding somewhat misliketh his catholic masters, and thinketh it now an error to say, that a mouse may eat the body of Christ: and therefore he calleth this part of his own doctrine, “ a vile assevera-

⁵¹ [See a curious passage in Ælfrici Abbat. Epist. Saxonica. in Routh. Opusc. ii. 170.]

M. Jewel
contrarieth
himself.

tion." But if this asseveration of M. Harding's own doctors and greatest doctors be so vile, then vile were they that first devised it. And yet I cannot well see, how he may so lightly recant the doctrine that he was born and brought up in, and condemn his own fellows of villainy, without blame.

Howbeit, one good excuse he seemeth to have, that this part of his religion was never universally received, nor counted catholic. And therefore he saith, "It is no key of his religion." If M. Harding will measure all the rest in this sort, I fear me, very few parts of his whole religion will prove catholic. And yet the first devisers and setters forth and maintainers hereof took this evermore for a principal key, as without which the rest of their doctrine could not stand. Yet were they evermore accounted, both as universal for their learning, and as catholic for their religion, and as constant in the same, as M. Harding.

But indeed the old holy fathers, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Hierom, St. Chrysostom, never heard of this strange doctrine: nor if they had heard it, would ever have taken it for lock or key of their religion: but would rather have thought him worthy to be locked up as a madman, that would either have taught it, as great numbers have done: or else have doubted of it, as M. Harding doth. Now let us see by whom this doctrine hath been maintained. So, whether it have been holden for catholic or no, it will soon appear.

Yet notwithstanding, I must protest beforehand, that the speeches, that they have used in this behalf, are so blasphemous and so vile, that, for the reverence I bear to the glorious body of Christ, I can neither hear them nor utter them without horror.

Thom. par. 3.
de Euchar.
qu. 80. art. 3.

First of all, Thomas of Aquine saith thus: *Quidam dixerunt, quod cum primum sacramentum sumitur [l. tangitur] a mure, vel a cane, desinit ibi esse corpus et sanguis Christi: sed hoc derogat veritati hujus sacramenti:* "Some have said, that, as soon as the sacrament is touched of a mouse or a dog, the body and blood of Christ straightway departeth from it. But this is a derogation to the truth of this

sacrament." By these words, M. Harding's judgment is utterly condemned, as uttered against the truth, and in the derogation of this sacrament.

M. Harding may not well call in question, whether this doctor were catholic or no. For Christ said unto him by a vision in his dream: *Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma*: "O Thomas, thou hast written full well of me." And therefore he is called, *doctor angelicus*, "an angelical doctor," for that in learning and judgment he so far surmounted all other doctors, and was accounted most catholic.

In the council of Arles it is written thus: *Qui non bene custodierit sacrificium, et mus vel aliquod animal comederit illud, quadraginta dies pœniteat*: "Whoso keepeth not the sacrifice well and duly, and a mouse or any other beast happen to eat it, let him be put to penance forty days." Concil. Ar-laten. 3. can. 6. [viii. 628. c.]

Johannes de Burgo saith: *Mus comedens hostiam, suscipit corpus Christi*:....."The mouse, eating the sacrament, receiveth the body of Christ"⁵². Johan. de Burgo de Custodia Eucharist. cap. 10. [fol. xxi.]

Alexander de Hales saith thus: *Quidam dicunt, Ubi cunque ponantur species, sive in mundo loco, sive in immundo, sive in ventrem muris, ibi est corpus Christi. Et in hoc non derogatur corpori Christi, nec sacramento*: "Some say, Wheresoever the forms be laid, whether it be in a fair place or in a foul, or in the belly of a mouse, there is the very body of Christ. And this is no hinderance, neither to the body of Christ, nor to the sacrament." Alexander. par. 4. quæst. 35. m. 1. [art. 2.]

Again he saith: *Si canis vel porcus deglutiret hostiam consecratam integram, non video, quare corpus Domini non simul trajiceretur in ventrem canis vel porci*: "If a dog or a swine should eat the whole host being consecrate, I see no cause, but our Lord's body should enter into the belly of the dog or of the swine."

Gerson saith: *Brutum sumit corpus Christi per accidens, quia sumit illud, in quo est*: "A brute beast receiveth the Gerson contra Floret. lib. 4. [xcix. col. 3.]

⁵² [Joann. de Burgo. "Alii dicunt, quod manet corpus, quamdiu manent species non plene alteratæ; unde mus sic comedens hostiam suscipit corpus Christi non sacramentaliter, per modum sacramenti."]

body of Christ, because it receiveth that thing, wherein Christ's body is contained."

Bonavent. in
4. Sentent.
dist. 13. [art.
2.] q. 1. e.

Bonaventura liketh better the contrary doctrine, as more agreeing, as he saith, both with civil honesty, and also with the judgment of common reason: *Hæc opinio est honestior et rationabilior.*

4. Sentent.
dist. 13.

Peter Lombard, the master of all catholic conclusions, one that taketh upon him to teach all others, when he cometh to this point, he standeth in aammering, and is not able to teach himself. For thus he saith touching the same: *Quid igitur sumit mus, vel quid manducat?* "What is it then, that the mouse receiveth, or what eateth it?" He answereth: *Deus novit*: "God knoweth: I know it not."

Notwithstanding, his resolution is this: *Sane dici potest, quod corpus Christi a brutis animalibus non sumitur*: "It may very well be said, that a brute beast receiveth not the body of Christ." But this sentence is reversed, and not thought catholic. For the great faculty of Paris hath given this judgment upon the same: *Hic magister non tenetur*: "Herein the master is not allowed."

Therefore, notwithstanding M. Harding's contrary determination, this doctrine hitherto appeareth right good and catholic.

Antonin. de
Defectib.
Miss. 3. par.
Summ. 3.
[tit. 15. cap.
6. §. 3.]

Touching such cases as herein may happen, Antoninus the archbishop of Florence writeth thus: *Si mus, aut aliud animal, &c.*: "If a mouse, or any other worm or beast, happen to eat the sacrament through negligence of keeping, let the keeper, through whose negligence it happened, be enjoined to penance forty days. And if it be possible, let the mouse be taken and burnt, and let his ashes be buried in or about the altar." But Peter of Palus saith: "The mouse's entrails must be drawn, and the portion of the sacrament that therein remaineth, if the priest be squeamish to receive it, must reverently be laid up in the tabernacle, until it may naturally be consumed. But the host so found in the mouse's entrails, may in no wise be thrown out into the pool: as a certain priest sometime used a fly,

that he found in his chalice after consecration. But if a man had such a fervent zeal," saith he, "that his stomach would serve him to receive the same without horror, there were no way to it, specially if the man were fasting. So St. Hugh of Clunice much commendeth Goderanus a priest, for receiving the like portions cast up again by a leper. But he said afterward, St. Lawrence's gridiron was nothing so bad." Hitherto Antoninus.

And, for more likelihood hereof, this is holden as a catholic conclusion of that side: *Corpus Christi potest evomi*: "The very body of Christ may be vomited up again." De Con. dist. 2. Si quis. In Gloss.

I protest again, as before, the very blasphemy and loathsomeness hereof unto a godly heart is intolerable. Neither would I have used this unpleasant rehearsal, were it not that it behoveth each man to know, how deeply the people hath been deceived, and to what villainy they have been brought.

This doctrine hath been published and maintained in schools, in churches, by the school-doctors, by the canonists, by preachers, by bishops, by general councils, and by him that wrote the very castle and Fort of Faith. Yet M. Harding doubteth not to say, "It is a vile asseveration, and was never counted catholic." Fortalium Fidel, lib. 3. [fol. cxlix.]

These be the imps of their transubstantiation. For like Simle. as Ixion, instead of lady Juno, having the company of a cloud, begat centauros, that were monstrous and ugly forms of half a man and half a horse joined together: even so these men, instead of God's holy mysteries, companying with their own light and cloudy phantasies, have brought forth these strange, ugly, deformed shapes in religion, loathsome to remember, and monstrous to behold.

M. HARDING: *Second Division.*

Concerning the matter of this Article, whatsoever a mouse, worm, or beast eateth, the body of Christ, now being impassible and immortal, sustaineth no violence, injury, ne villainy. As for that which is gnawn, bitten, or eaten of worm or beast, whether it be the substance of bread, as appeareth to sense, which is denied, (251) because it ceaseth through virtue of consecration: or The 251st untruth. For the bread remaineth still, as it is plain by the old catholic fathers.

The 25th and
26th Articles, as it
is fully prov-
ed in the
tenth Article.

a The cer-
tainty of
M. Harding's
doctrine.

b St. Cyprian
speaketh
neither of
mice, nor of
brute beasts,
&c.

the outward form only of the sacrament, as many hold opinion, (252) which also only is broken and chewed of the receiver, the accidents by miracle remaining without substance: in such cases happening contrary to the intent and end the sacrament is ordained and kept for, it ought not to seem unto us incredible, the power of God considered, that God taketh away his body from those outward forms, and permitteth ^a either the nature of bread to return, as before consecration, ^a or the accidents to supply the effects of the substance of bread; as he commanded the nature of the rod which became a serpent to return to that it was before, when God would have it serve no more to the uses it was by him appointed unto.

^b The grave authority of St. Cyprian addeth great weight to the balance for this judgment in weighing this matter, who in his sermone *De Lapsis*, by the report of certain miracles, sheweth that our Lord's body made itself away from some that, being defiled with the sacrifices of idols, presumed to come to the communion ere they had done their due penance. One (as he telleth there) thinking to have that blessed body, which he had received with others in his hand, when he opened the same to put it into his mouth, found that he held ashes. And thereof St. Cyprian saith: *Documento unius ostensum est, Dominum recedere cum negatur*: "By the example of one man it was shewed, that our Lord departeth away when he is denied." It is neither wicked, nor a thing unworthy the majesty of that holy mystery, to think our Lord's body likewise done away, in cases of negligence, villainy, and profanation. [p. 190.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

O what shifting here is, to avoid this miserable inconvenience! Innocentius thinketh it not good to say, "The mouse eateth Christ's body in the sacrament." But rather he saith, "That Christ, when he seeth the mouse coming, getteth himself away, and leaveth the sacrament." This doctor's judgment M. Harding alloweth before others, and thinketh it best to stand with reason.

Innocen. 3.
De Officio
Miss. [lib. 4.]
cap. 11.

But what then is it, that the mouse eateth? Bread it cannot be. "For that is gone," as they say, "by consecration." It remaineth, that the mouse must needs eat the shows and accidents. Howbeit that were a strange kind of feeding. But nothing is strange to M. Harding. Yet shows and accidents cannot nourish. What is it then wherewith the mouse is nourished? M. Harding answereth: "Perhaps Almighty God by a miracle suffereth the bread to return again to feed the mouse." Or else, if this

will not serve, he saith further: "Perhaps God worketh another miracle, and by his omnipotent power giveth the very accidents of bread, strength to nourish and increase substance, as if it were bread." Thus these men have devised a pretty way to feed mice with miracles.

Thomas of Aquine saith, that if a man take overmuch of the consecrate wine, notwithstanding the substance of the wine be gone, "yet he may be overseen by the accidents," and so may happen to be drunken by a miracle.

Thomas in
1 Cor. xi.
[lect. 4. sub
ñnem.]

Here we see, M. Harding answereth only by "perhaps," as being not yet well advised, what he may say. Whereby it appeareth, his doctrine holdeth no certainty. Therefore, whatsoever he say, we may give no great credit to his tale, nor take it for catholic.

St. Cyprian, that is here alleged, maketh no manner mention, neither of forms, nor of accidents, nor teacheth us, that the mouse can eat Christ's body: nor that Christ conveyeth himself away, and leaveth the sacrament: nor that the substance of bread returneth again: nor that the accidents have power to nourish: nor any other like phantasy. Only he saith, "God gave that wicked man by that miracle to understand, that, for his infidelity and idolatry, his grace was so departed from his heart, as the sacrament was departed from his hand." Therefore this place maketh utterly nothing to M. Harding's purpose. Notwithstanding he thought it good, so in this Article to use the name of St. Cyprian, as in the Article before he used the name of St. Cyril: lest he should be thought to pass over any Article without a doctor.

Cyprian.
serm. 5. De
Lapsis. [p.
190.]

The best that may be gathered of St. Cyprian's words is this, That the wicked receiveth not the body of Christ. Which thing, as it is most true, so it utterly overthroweth the whole substance of M. Harding's doctrine.

Now, good Christian reader, that thou mayest see how aptly M. Harding's doctors agree together, notwithstanding so many of them tell us, and hold it for most certain, "That a mouse may eat the very body of Christ, and receive whole Christ, God and man, into his belly:" yet

De Con. dist.
2. Tribus
gradib. In
Glossa.

others of them contrariwise tell us, and hold it likewise for most certain: "That a faithful Christian man, be he never so godly, yet cannot receive the body of Christ into his belly." For thus they write: *Certum est, quod, quam cito species teruntur dentibus, tam cito in cœlum rapitur corpus Christi*: "It is certain, that as soon as the forms of the bread be touched with the teeth, straightway the body of Christ" (is not received into the belly, but) "is caught up into heaven." And he saith not "perhaps," as M. Harding doth, but, *certum est*: "it is certain, and out of question," and therefore catholic.

Hugo [de S.
Victor.] de
Sacram. lib.
1. [leg. lib.
2.] par. 8.
cap. 13. [tom.
iii. 290.]
Bonaven. in
4. Sentent.
dist. 13. [art.
2.] quæ. 2.
Durand. lib.
4. [de sexta
parte cano-
nis.]

And Hugo, a great school-doctor, such a one as M. Harding may not well deny, saith thus: *Quando in manibus sacramentum tenes, corporaliter tecum est Christus: quando ore suscipis, corporaliter tecum est..... Postquam autem corporalis sensus in percipiendo deficit, deinceps corporalis præsentia quærenda non est*: "While thou holdest the sacrament in thy hand, Christ is bodily with thee: while thou receivest the sacrament with thy mouth, Christ is bodily with thee. But, after that" (the sacrament is passed further, and) "thy bodily sense beginneth to fail, thou mayest no longer look for bodily presence." Thus they grant, that a mouse may receive the body of Christ into his belly: and yet they deny the same unto a man. Such is the certainty and constancy of this doctrine.

But to conclude, and to give some certain resolution in this uncertain and doubtful doctrine, it behoveth us to understand, that, as St. Augustine saith, there is great difference between Christ's body and the sacrament. For the sacrament is corruptible: Christ's body is glorious, and void of all corruption. The sacrament is in the earth: Christ's body is in heaven. The sacrament is received by our bodily mouth: Christ's body is received only by faith, which is the mouth of our soul. And whoso understandeth not this difference, understandeth not the meaning of any sacrament.

Now to apply the same to this purpose: The mouse or other worm may receive the substance of the bread,

which is the outward corruptible element of the sacrament : but the very body of Christ itself, which is in heaven, cannot be received but by faith only, and none otherwise.

St. Augustine speaketh thus in the person of Christ :

Ego sum cibus grandium : cresce, et manducabis me : “ I am the food of great ones : grow, and thou shalt eat me.” Augustin. Confession, lib. 7. cap. 10. [l. 139.]
 Again he saith : *Hoc est manducare illam escam, et illum potum bibere, in Christo manere, et Christum manentem in se habere :* “ This is the eating of that food, and the drinking of that drink, for a man to abide in Christ, and to have Christ abiding in him.” Augustin. in Johan. tract. 26. [li. pt. 2. 501.]

Chrysostom saith : *Magnus iste panis replet mentem, non ventrem. Iste panis, et noster est, et angelorum :* “ This great loaf” (meaning thereby the body of Christ that is in heaven) “ filleth the mind, and not the belly. This is our bread, and the bread of angels⁵³.” As the angels receive it, so we receive it. Chrysost. ex variis locis in Matthe. hom. 9. [l. 992. ed. 1588.]

And to conclude, so saith St. Hilary : “ The bread that came down from heaven, is not received but of him that hath our Lord, and is the member of Christ⁵⁴.” Hilarius de Trinit. lib. 8.

By the old learned fathers’ undoubted judgment, this is the only eating of the flesh of Christ : wherein mice, and brute beasts, and wicked men, that are worse than brute beasts, have no portion. And if these holy fathers were now alive, doubtless they would say to M. Harding and to his fellows : *O curvi in terras animi, et caelestium inanes !* “ O you that lie groveling on the ground, and have no sense of things above !”

⁵³ [This work is only extant in Latin, and is not genuine.]

⁵⁴ [There is some mistake in the marginal reference to St. Hilary.]

OF INDIVIDUUM VAGUM.

THE FOUR AND TWENTIETH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that when Christ said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, this word *hoc*, pointed not the bread, but *individuum vagum*, as some of them say⁵³.

M. HARDING.

Whatsoever *hoc* pointeth in this saying of Christ after your judgment, M. Jewel, right meaning and plain Christian people (who through God's grace have received the love of truth, and not the efficacy of illusion to believe lying) believe verily, that in this sacrament after consecration is the very body of Christ, and that upon credit of his own words, *Hoc est corpus meum*. They that appoint themselves to follow your Genevian doctrine in this point, deceived by that ye teach them *hoc* to point the bread, and by sundry other untruths, instead of the very body of Christ in the sacrament rightly ministered verily present, shall receive nothing at your communion, but a bare piece of bread not worth a point. As for your "some say," who will have *hoc* to point *individuum vagum*, first, learn you well what they mean, and if their meaning be naught, whosoever they be, handle them as you list: therewith shall we be offended never a deal. How this word *hoc*, in that saying of Christ is to be taken, and what it pointeth, ^a we know, who have more learnedly, more certainly, and more truly treated thereof, than Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Cranmer, Peter Martyr, or any their offspring.

^a M. Harding's good opinion of himself.

² Thess. ii. 11.
The benefit of the Genevian communion.

⁵³ [With respect to this Article, made a similar challenge. Works, it is to be observed, that Cranmer (Dr. Jenkyns' ed.) ii. 376.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

In this Article M. Harding only uttereth some part of his choler against them, whom it pleaseth him to call Genevians: and vaunteth much his own learning, as learned men seldom use to do, with reproach and disdain of others: and in the end, touching the matter, saith utterly nothing. Yet is there not lightly any doubt, that amazeth and troubleth the best learned of his side, so much as this.

For, their phantasy of transubstantiation presupposed to stand in force, if they say, "that Christ by this pronoun, *hoc*, meant the bread that he held in his hand," then must it needs follow, that the very substance of that bread was the very body of Christ. For by this position, that must needs be the purport and meaning of these words.

If they say, "Christ by the same pronoun meant the accidents and shows of the bread," then must it follow, that the same accidents and shows of bread were the body of Christ. But so should an accident be a substance: which error were much worse, and far more unsensible, than the former.

If they say, "This pronoun, *hoc*, signified the body of Christ itself," then the meaning of these words, "This is my body," must needs be this: "My body is my body." "But this," saith Holcot, "were vainly spoken, and to no purpose." And, by this exposition, Christ's body should be there, before the words of consecration were pronounced: and so there should be no virtue or force in consecration: or rather, there should be consecration before consecration: and so, consecration without consecration.

Upon these few words they have built up their whole religion. This is the foundation of all together. Therefore M. Harding should not so lightly and so disdainfully have passed it over without answer. Otherwise, this change being so great, as it is supposed, we shall not know, neither what thing is changed, nor whereof Christ's body is made present.

Neither is there any just cause, wherefore M. Harding should be thus angry with the Genevians in this behalf.

For he knoweth right well, that this new phantasy, of *individuum vagum*, is no part of their doctrine.

But briefly to touch, how pitifully the learned of M. Harding's side have entangled themselves in this case, first of all Gerson saith thus: *Dicendum est, quod Hoc demonstrat substantiam panis*: "We must say, that this pronoun, *hoc*, signifieth the substance of the bread." By this doctor, the substance of bread is Christ's body.

Gerson contra Floret. lib. 4. [xev. col. 2.]

Occam saith: *Hoc, refertur ad corpus Christi*: "This pronoun, *hoc*, hath relation to the body of Christ." By this doctor, the body of Christ is the body of Christ.

Occam in 4. Sent. dist. 13.

Yet Petrus Alliacensis saith: *Hoc, demonstrat corpus Christi: alioqui falsa est propositio*: "*Hoc* pointeth the body of Christ: otherwise, Christ's saying is not true."

Petrus Alliacen. in 4. Sent. dist. 13. quæ. 5.

Thomas of Aquine goeth learnedly to work, and expoundeth it thus: *Hoc, id est, hoc contentum sub istis [his] speciebus, est corpus meum*: "This, that is to say, this thing contained under these forms, is my body."

Thomas in 4. Sent. dist. 8. art. 16. [l. qu. 2. art. 1.]

But all these expositions seem to import some inconvenience. For hereby it may be gathered, that the bread is transubstantiate, and, as they imagine, Christ's body made present, before the words of consecration.

Therefore Johannes de Burgo thought it good, to help the matter with a disjunctive, in this sort: *Hoc sub hac specie præsens, vel de propinquo futurum, est corpus meum*: "This thing, that either is present already under these forms, or anon will be present, is my body."

Johan. de Burgo de Forma Verb. requisita, &c. cap. 4. [fol. xv.]

By all these doctors' judgments, the meaning of Christ's words is none other but this, "My body is, or shall be my body." "Which exposition," as Holcot saith, "is childish, vain, fantastical, and to no purpose."

Holcot in 4. Sent. quæ. 3.

And therefore Holcot himself saith: *Hoc, significat quiddam utrique termino commune: et termino, a quo, et termino, ad quem*: "This pronoun, *hoc*, signifieth a certain thing, that is indifferently common, as well to the bread, as to Christ's body." But what thing that indifferent thing should be, it were hard to know.

Holcot eodem loco.

Doctor Durand seeing all these inconveniences and difficulties, and not knowing how to get out, in the end con-

cludeth thus: *Super hoc dicunt quidam, quod per pronomen, hoc, nihil significatur: sed illud materialiter ponitur:* Durandus, [Ration.] lib. 4. [cap. 42. num. 44.] “Hereupon some say, that this pronoun, *hoc*, signifieth nothing at all: but is put materially and absolutely, without any manner signification.”

But hereof groweth another doubt, greater than any of all the rest. For if this word, *hoc*, signifieth nothing at all, what force then can it have to work consecration?

Innocentius, weighing these things indifferently all together, is driven to say, “That Christ consecrated the sacrament not by these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, but by his blessing that went before.” Innocen. 3. De Offi. Misa. par. 3. [Hb. 4.] cap. 6. et cap. 14.

Likewise is John Duns driven to say, touching the same: *Illam propositionem, Hoc est corpus meum, non est consecratoria, nec ut vera, nec ut falsa: sed ut est propositio neutra:* Scotus in 4. Sent. dist. 8. que. 2. [fol. 38. col. 3.] “This sentence, *Hoc est corpus meum*, is not the sentence of consecration, neither as it is true, nor as it is false: but only as it is a sentence neuter between both, that is to say, neither true nor false⁵⁴.”

All this notwithstanding, D. Stephen Gardiner, not greatly regarding the authority of any of these doctors, in his first book of the sacrament, entitled, *The Devil's Sophistry*, writeth thus: “Christ spake plainly, ‘This is my body,’ making demonstration of the bread⁵⁵.” Which last exposition being true, if this pronoun, *hoc*, signified the material bread that Christ held in his hand, then, by M. Harding's doctrine, that very material bread was indeed and verily the body of Christ. The Devil's Sophistry, fol. 24. [leg. 34.]

But if the same pronoun, *hoc*, signified not that same material bread that Christ held in his hand, then was not that same material bread changed into the substance of Christ's body.

⁵⁴ [Scotus in Sent. 4. “Et si quæras tunc qualis, aut ut vera aut ut falsa, est propositio consecratoria; dico quod neque sic, neque sic, sed tantum ut est propositio neutra. . . .”]

⁵⁵ [Detection of the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 34. ed. 1546, (the edi-

tion used by Jewel.) “So, when Christ consecrated his body and gave it them to eat, the demonstration of the thing needed no farther explication, &c. What other meaning should here be sought for, where be so plain words?”]

Thus the best learned of that side are utterly amazed at this matter, and run each man his own way, and know not what may please them best.

Yet M. Harding thinketh it sufficient, thus to conclude with a courage: "How that word, *hoc*, is to be taken, and what it pointeth, we know, who have more learnedly, more certainly, and more truly treated hereof, than Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Cranmer, Peter Martyr, or any their offspring." If M. Harding and his fellows know so much, as here he seemeth to take upon him, he hath the greater cause to give God thanks. Whatsoever he have, he hath received it. God give him grace to use it well.

He would seem not to know who they be, that would force us to this fancy of his *individuum vagum*. And therefore he saith, "If their meaning be naught, handle them as ye list." Howbeit, he cannot be so ignorant herein, as he would seem to be. For, although perhaps he be not much acquainted with the doctrine, yet he cannot choose but know the doctor. Him I mean, of whom he hath borrowed good store of matter, sometimes a whole leaf and more together, towards the building of his book.

He, notwithstanding he were once persuaded, that Christ by this pronoun, *hoc*, made demonstration of the bread, yet afterward thought all that not worth a point, but utterly changed his whole mind, and thought it better to say, that Christ by the same pronoun, *hoc*, pointed not the bread that he held in his hand, but only *individuum vagum*. And that, for the better understanding of his reader, he calleth, *individuum in genere, individuum entis, unum substantiæ, unum entis, individuum insignitum, individuum individui*⁵⁶. This fancy he so warranteth, and forceth every where, as if Christ's words could bear none other exposition.

Thus therefore he imagineth Christ to say: "This thing, that ye see me hold in my hand, is not two things: it is

D. Steph.
Gardiner.

Mar. Antoni.
Constantius.
[fol. 21.]

⁵⁶ [Mar. Antonius, i. e. Steph. Gardiner. "Demonstratio enim (hoc) integram rei naturam non penetrat, sed quatenus ibi individuum sit, illud unum notat, . . . individuum vagum—quasi individuum individui . . . individuum insignitum."]

only one certain thing. But what one certain thing it is, I cannot tell: but sure I am, bread it is not."

Thus are they driven to wander in vanities, and to seek up strange and monstrous forms of speech, such as the ancient catholic doctors never knew, lest they should seem plainly and simply to say, as the learned father Tertullian saith: *Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corporis mei*: "This is my body, that is to say, this is a figure of my body:" or, as it is written in their own decrees: *Vocatur corpus Christi, id est, significat corpus Christi*: "It is called the body of Christ, that is to say, it signifieth the body of Christ."

Tertullian.
contra Mar-
cion. lib. 4.
[cap. 40. p.
458.]
De Con. dist.
2. Hoc est.
In Glossa.

St. Hierom saith: *Tam diu quærent hæretici nova veteribus adjungere, et eadem recentioribus immutare, donec eos et sensus humanus, et verba deficient*: "The manner of heretics is, so long to mingle and blend new things with the old, and still to alter new for new, until both their wits and their speech begin to fail them⁵⁷."

Hieronym.
in Esa. lib. 2.
cap. 5.

Here note, good reader, that in this whole Article M. Harding hath alleged no manner doctor, nor old, nor new. The reason hereof is this: for that, of the old doctors, he had none to allege; and of his new doctors, he was ashamed.

⁵⁷ [There is some error in this reference to St. Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah.]

WHETHER THE FORMS BE THE SACRAMENT.

THE FIVE AND TWENTIETH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that the accidents, or forms, or shows of bread and wine be the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather that bread and wine itself.

M. HARDING : *First Division.*

Forasmuch as, by the almighty power of God's word pronounced by the priest in the consecration of this sacrament, the body and blood of Christ are made (253) really present, the substance of bread (253) turned into the substance of the body, and the substance of wine into the substance of the blood: the bread (which is consumed away by the fire of the divine substance, as Chrysostom saith, and now is become the bread which was formed by the hand of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the virgin, and decocted with the fire of the passion in the altar of the cross, as St. Ambrose saith⁵⁸), cannot be the sacrament of the body, nor the wine of the blood. Neither can it be said, that the bread and wine which were before are the sacraments, for that the bread is become the body, and the wine the blood, and so now they are not: and if they be not, then neither be

The 253rd
untruth, ever
presumed,
and never
proved.

In Homil.
Paschall.
[ed. 1588.
tom. iii. col.
821.]
De Con. dist.
2. cap. Om-
nia.

⁵⁸ [Gratian derived this from the 4. libr. de Sacram. falsely attributed to St. Ambrose.]

they sacraments. Therefore that the outward forms of bread and wine, which remain, be the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not the very bread and wine itself, it followeth by sequel of reason, or consequent of understanding, deduced out of the first truth, which of St. Basil in an epistle, *ad Sozopolitanos*, speaking against certain that went about to raise up again the old heresy of Valentinus, is called, τὸ ἐν διανοίαις ἀκόλουθον. Of which sequel of reason, in the matter of the sacrament, many conclusions may be deduced in case of want of express scriptures. Which way of reasoning Basil used against heretics, as also sundry other fathers, where manifest scripture might not be alleged.

Epist. 65. In Latino codice. [iii. 402.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding presumeth, that his new phantasy of transubstantiation must needs stand for good. And therefore, imagining that the bread and wine are wholly removed and cannot be the sacraments, he thinketh he may well conclude, that the forms and shows, that are left behind, must needs be the sacraments. But this error is soon reprov'd by the consent of all the old catholic fathers of the church. St. Augustine saith: *Quod videtis, panis est*: "The thing that ye see," (speaking of the sacrament,) "is" (not a form or an accident, but) "very bread." St. Chrysostom⁵⁹, Theodoretus⁶⁰, Gelasius, and other learned fathers confess by manifest and express words, "that there remaineth still in the sacrament the very nature and substance of bread and wine." Therefore this doctrine is built upon a false ground, and cannot stand.

Augustin. ad Infant. [v. 1103.]

Chrysostom. ad Cæsarium. [iii. 744.]

Gelasius contra Eutychem. [Bibl. Patr. v. pt. 3. p. 671.]

Theodoret. Dialogo 1 et 2. [Routh's Opusc. ii. 132, 133.]

But Chrysostom saith: "The bread is consumed by the force of the divine presence:" and St. Ambrose, saith M. Harding, reporteth the same. It is great frowardness, whatsoever any one or other of the fathers happen to utter in vehemency and heat of talk, to dissemble the manner of their speech, and to draw and force the same violently to the rigour of the letter. Paulus saith: *In fraudem legis facit, qui, salvis verbis legis, sententiam ejus circumvenit*: "He doth wrong to the law, that, following only the bare words, defraudeth the meaning of the law."

De LL. et Senatuscon. et lon. Con. contra. [tom. I. Dig. Vetus.]

Cyprian. lib. 2. epist. 3. [p. 109.]

St. Cyprian saith:.....*Passio Christi [Domini] est sacri-*

⁵⁹ [Chrysost. ad Cæsarium. Supra, vol. iii. p. 54, note 44.]

⁶⁰ [Theodoret. Supra, iii. p. 57, note 46.]

ficium, quod offerimus..... : “The sacrifice, that we offer, is the passion of Christ.”

Chrysostom.
in Epist. ad
Hebræ. hom.
16. [xii. 159.]

Chrysostom saith : *Baptisma Christi sanguis ejus est* : “The baptism of Christ is Christ’s blood.”

Chrysostom.
in Encænitis.
[ed. 1588. iii.
821.]

And again he saith : *In mysteriis sanguis ex Christi latere hauritur* : “In the time of the holy communion, the blood of Christ is drawn out of his side.”

De Con. dist.
2. Quid sit
sanguis.

St. Gregory saith : *Christus iterum in hoc mysterio moritur* : “In this mystery” (of the holy communion), “Christ is put to death again.”

I trow, M. Harding will not so straitly force us to believe, only upon the sight of these bare words, either that the holy communion is Christ’s passion : or, that the water of baptism is Christ’s blood : or, that Christ is slain, and put to death in the time of the holy mysteries : or, that Christ’s blood at that time is drawn and poured from his side, and that, without help of figure, verily, really, and indeed.

By such manner of amplification and kind of speech St. Chrysostom saith : “The bread is consumed :” not for that there remaineth in the sacrament no bread at all, but for that, in comparison of the death of Christ, that there is laid forth and represented before us, the material bread seemeth nothing. For otherwise Chrysostom most plainly confesseth, that the nature of bread remaineth still. These

Chrysostom.
ad Cæsarium.
[iii. 744.]

be his words : *In sacramento manet natura panis* : “In the sacrament there remaineth still the nature of bread.”

In Encænitis.
[ed. 1588.
tom. iii. 822.]

And, as he saith, “The bread is consumed,” even so in the same place he seemeth to say, “The priest is consumed.” His words be these : *Ne putes te accipere divinum corpus ab homine* : “Think not that thou receivest the divine body of a man.”

Chrysostom.
in Matthæ.
hom. 51. [vii.
517.]

And to like purpose he speaketh of the sacrament of baptism : *Non baptizaris a sacerdote : Deus ipse tenet caput tuum* : “Thou art not baptized of the priest : it is God himself that holdeth thy head⁶¹.”

Thus the holy fathers, intreating of the sacraments, use

⁶¹ [Chrysost. in Matt. Supra, vol. ii. p. 338, note ³⁶.]

to advance our minds from the sensible and corruptible elements, to the cogitation of the heavenly things, that thereby are represented. And therefore Chrysostom saith: *Mysteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda sunt*: "We must behold all mysteries with our inner eyes⁶²:" which inner eyes doubtless have no regard to any corruptible and outward thing.

Chrysostom. in 1 Cor. cap. 2. [x. 61.] Chrysostom. in Matthe. hom. 83. [vii. 787.]

Hereby the feebleness of M. Harding's sequel may soon appear.

True it is, that he further saith, "In case of want of the scriptures, we may sometime guide ourselves by discourse and drift of reason." Notwithstanding St. Augustine saith: *Hæc consuetudo periculosa est*: "The custom hereof is very dangerous." But in this case M. Harding wanteth neither the scriptures, nor the authority of ancient doctors.

Augustin. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. 3. cap. 28. [iii. 56.]

It is plain by the manifest words of St. Paul, of St. Chrysostom, of St. Augustine, of Theodoretus, of Gelasius, and of other mo holy fathers, both Greeks and Latins, that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, the very nature and substance of the bread remaineth still. It were much for M. Harding, to forsake all these, and to trust only to a bare shift of simple reason.

M. HARDING: *Second Division.*

And, whereas there must be a likeness between the sacrament and the thing of the sacrament, (for if the sacraments had not a likeness of things whereof they are sacraments, properly and rightly they should not be called sacraments: as the sacrament of baptism, which is the outward washing of the flesh, hath a likeness of the inward washing of the soul,) and no likeness here appeareth to be between the forms that remain and the thing of the sacrament, for they consist not, the one of many corns, the other of grapes, for thereof cometh not accident, but substance: hereto may be said, it is enough, that these sacraments bear the likeness of the body and blood of Christ, forasmuch as the one representeth the likeness of bread, the other the likeness of wine, which St. Augustine calleth, (254) *visibilem speciem elementorum*, "the visible form of the elements."

A strange resemblance. The 254th untruth. For St. Augustine by these words meant the very substance of bread.

Augustin. epist. 23. ad Bonifacium Episc.

De Con. dist. 2. cap. Hoc est quod dicimus. [Lanfranc.]

⁶² [Chrysostom. See vol. iii. 135, note 16.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

What meaneth M. Harding, thus to encumber himself with these vain and miserable follies? St. Augustine saith: "A sacrament must have a resemblance or likeness of that thing, whereof it is a sacrament. For without this resemblance or likeness," he saith, "a sacrament is no sacrament."

Augustin.
epist. 23. ad
Bonifacium.
[ii. 267.]

Therefore M. Harding cometh in with his phantasy, and telleth us, that his forms and accidents are the resemblance and likeness of the body of Christ. But, alas, wherein standeth this comparison of resemblance and likeness? or wherein are M. Harding's accidents and Christ's body like together? Certainly M. Harding himself, notwithstanding he can say many things, yet he cannot truly say, that Christ's body is either round, or plain, or white, or thin, or any way like unto his accidents.

Yet must there be a certain likeness in effects between the sacrament, and the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament. Of which effects, the one is sensible, and wrought outwardly to the body: the other is spiritual, and wrought inwardly in the mind. As for example, in the sacrament of circumcision, the outward visible cutting in the flesh was a resemblance of the inward spiritual cutting of the heart. In the sacrament of baptism, the outward washing of the body is a resemblance of the inward spiritual washing of the soul.

Likewise in the sacrament of the holy communion, as the bread outwardly feedeth our bodies, so doth Christ's body inwardly and spiritually feed our souls. Thus is feeding an effect common unto them both. And therein standeth the resemblance and likeness of the sacrament.

Raban. Maurus,
[de Cler. Inst. et Cler. Eccl.] lib. i. cap. 31. [tom. vi. p. 12.]

Therefore Rabanus Maurus saith: *Quia panis corporis confirmat, ideo ille congruenter corpus Christi nominatur: et, quia vinum sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo illud refertur ad sanguinem*: "Because the bread confirmeth the heart of our body, therefore is the same conveniently called the body of Christ: and, because wine worketh blood in our

flesh, therefore the wine hath relation unto the blood of Christ."

Now, if M. Harding, touching this effect of feeding, will compare his accidents with Christ's body, then must he say, That we eat accidents, and drink accidents, and be fed with accidents, and live by accidents: even as in the inner man we eat Christ, and drink Christ, and be fed with Christ, and live by Christ. Otherwise he must confess, that, touching the effect of feeding, his accidents have no resemblance of Christ's body: and therefore can in no wise be called sacraments.

"But," saith M. Harding, "the accidents represent the likeness of bread: and the bread, that was, representeth the body of Christ." Here is another subtle drift of M. Harding's reason: from accidents, to bread: and from bread, to Christ's body. And so we have here fancy upon fancy: and one likeness upon another: but neither scripture, nor council, nor doctor, either Greek or Latin, or old or new, to avouch the same.

But here appeareth a marvellous perverse order in nature. For by M. Harding's drifts, neither can the bread signify Christ's body, but only when the bread is abolished, and nothing left to signify: nor can these accidents signify the bread, but only, when there is no bread remaining there to be signified. And so the effect of M. Harding's drift, and of this resemblance, passeth from nothing to nothing, and standeth in nothing.

Here it behoved M. Harding to have foreseen the inconveniences that might have followed. For, if the accidents of the bread be the sacrament, forasmuch as in one piece of bread there be sundry accidents, it must needs follow of these positions, that in one piece of bread be sundry sacraments, and so, sundry sacraments in one sacrament. Innocentius himself espied this inconvenience: and therefore he demandeth this question: *Cum sint multæ species, quomodo non sunt multa sacramenta?*

But this resemblance or likeness St. Augustine calleth, *visibilem speciem elementorum*, "the visible form of the elements." "By which words," saith M. Harding, "he

Innocent. de
Officio Miss.
[lib. 4.] cap.
38.

meant only the shows and accidents of the bread." Indeed St. Augustine's words be true: but M. Harding's exposition is not true. For St. Augustine by this word *species* meant not the outward forms or shows, as it is supposed, but the very kind, and substance, and nature of the bread.

Ambros. de
illis qui ini-
tiant. Myste-
riis, cap. 9.
[ii. 339.]

So St. Ambrose saith: *Ante benedictionem verborum cælestium, alia species nominatur: post consecrationem corpus (Christi) significatur*: "Before the blessing of the heavenly words it is called" (not another form, or another show, but) "another kind or nature: but after the consecration, Christ's body is signified." Which thing may also plainly appear by St. Augustine himself in the same place. For thus he writeth: *Panis, qui corpus Christi est, suo modo vocatur corpus Christi, cum re vera sit sacramentum corporis Christi, &c. Vocaturque ipsa immolatio carnis Christi, quæ sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio: non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio.* He saith (not the form, not the show, not the accident, but), "The bread, that is the body of Christ," (not verily or indeed, but) "after a manner is called the body of Christ: whereas it is indeed a sacrament of the body of Christ, &c. And the oblation of the flesh of Christ, that is made with the priest's hand, is called the passion, the death, and the crucifying of Christ: not in truth of the matter, but by a mystery signifying⁶³."

De Con. dist.
2. Hoc est,
quod dicitur.
[Lan-
francus.]

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

Thus the forms of bread and wine are the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, not only in respect of the thing signified, which is the unity of the church, but also of the thing contained, which is the very flesh and blood of Christ, whereof the Truth itself said: "The bread, that I shall give, is my flesh for the John vi. 51. life of the world."

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

In the end M. Harding, not only without any authority, either of scriptures, or of councils, or of doctors, but also

⁶³ [De Con. dist. 2. "Hoc est" gustine. See supra, vol. iii. p. —Jewel followed Gratian in attributing this passage to St. Au- 333, note ³⁶.]

without any manner show or drift of reason, concludeth in this sort: "Thus the forms of bread and wine are the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ." Thus M. Harding bringeth in his conclusion without premises. By M. Harding's judgment, St. Augustine was not well advised, when he called the holy mystery, *sacramentum* [leg. *sacrificium*] *panis et vini*: "the sacrament of bread and wine." He should rather have called it by this construction, "the sacrament of forms and shows." And whereas St. Augustine saith, *Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum*: whereby he meaneth, that the bread itself is made a sacrament: M. Harding will rather expound it thus: "Let the word come to the element or creature of bread: and then the accidents thereof are made a sacrament."

[Fulgent.] de Fide ad Petrum, cap. 19. [vi. pp. 30.]

Augustin. in Johan. tract. 80. [iii. pt. 2. 703.]

Verily, touching the wine, Christ himself calleth it, not forms or accidents, but "the fruit," or, as Cyprian termeth it, "the creature of the vine," *creaturam vitis*.

Matth. xxvi. 29.

Cyprian. lib. 2. epist. 3. [p. 107.]

St. Cyprian calleth the bread after consecration, *panem ex multorum granorum adunatione congestum*: "bread made" (not of forms and accidents, but) "of the" (substance and) "moulding of many corns."

Cyprian. in Oration. Domini. [leg. epist. 76. ad Magn. p. 153.]

St. Cyril saith: *Credientibus discipulis fragmenta panis dedit*: "Christ unto his disciples, believing in him, gave" (not accidents or shows, but) "fragments, or pieces of bread"⁶⁴.

Cyrrill. in Johan. lib. 4. cap. 14. [iv. 362.]

Irenæus saith, "Of the same bread and wine after consecration," *augetur, et consistit carnis nostræ substantia*, "is increased, and consisteth the substance of our flesh."

Irenæus, lib. 5. [p. 294.]

Here must M. Harding needs say, as Marcus Constantius said before him, that accidents are the fruit of the vine: that corns and grapes be likewise accidents: that fragments and pieces of bread be nothing else but accidents: that the substance of our bodies is nourished, and increased, and standeth by accidents. Thus are their accidents *fuga miserorum*. They can prove, and reprove, all by accidents: and without their accidents they can do nothing.

Ad Object. 27.

⁶⁴ [Cyrill. in Johan. Supra, vol. i. p. 242, note 76.]

And thus, as bad surgeons, they make one salve to serve for all sores.

Gregor. in
Jobum, lib.
18. cap. 14.
[1. 573.]

St. Gregory saith: *O Timothee, depositum custodi, devians profanas vocum novitates. Quia, cum laudari hæretici, tanquam de excellenti ingenio, cupiunt, quasi nova quædam proferunt, quæ in antiquorum patrum libris veteribus non tenentur. Sicque fit, ut, dum videri desiderant sapientes, miseris suis auditoribus stultitiæ semina spargant:* “O Timothy, keep that thou hast received: and beware of the wicked novelties of words. For these heretics, seeking the commendation of the excellency of their wit, bring forth new things, that in the old books of the ancient fathers are not found. And so it happeneth, that, while they would be taken for wise men, they scatter amongst their poor hearers the seeds of folly.”

Certainly, M. Harding and his fellows, as of shows they have made sacraments; even so of the holy sacraments and whole religion of Christ, they have left nothing to the simple people, but a sight of shows.

OF HIDING AND COVERING.

THE SIX AND TWENTIETH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ, that lieth hidden underneath it.

M. HARDING.

That the outward form of bread, (255) which is properly the sacrament, is the sign of the body of Christ, we confess, yea of that body, which is covertly in or under the same, which St. Augustine calleth, *Carnem Domini forma panis opertam*: "The flesh of our Lord covered with the form of bread⁶⁵." But what is meant by this term "lieth" we know not. As, through faith grounded upon God's word, we know that Christ's body is in the sacrament, so that it lieth there, or underneath it, by which term it may seem a scoff to be uttered, to bring the catholic teaching in contempt, or that it sitteth, or standeth, we deny it. For lying, sitting, and standing, noteth situation of a body in a place, according to distinction of members and circumscription of place, so as it have his parts in a certain order correspondent to the parts of the place. But after such manner the body of Christ is not in the sacrament, but without circumscription, order, and habitude of his parts to the parts of the body, or place environing. Which manner of being in, is above all reach of human understanding, wondrous, strange, and singular, not defined and limited by the laws or bounds of nature, but by the almighty power of God. To conclude, the being of Christ's body in the sacrament is to us certain, the manner of his being there to us uncertain, and to God only certain.

The 255th untruth. For the outward form was never by any old father called the sacrament.

⁶⁵ [Paschasius was the author of this passage, and not St. Augustine; see Richter's ed. of Gratian.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The entry of this Article is the conclusion of the last. So artificially M. Harding's untruths are woven together. "The outward form of bread," saith he, "is the sacrament." But withal he should have added, that this form and manner of speech is only his own, peculiar only to himself, and certain his fellows of that side: never used by any of all the old doctors and fathers of the church, either Greek or Latin: or learned or unlearned: or catholic or heretic: or one or other.

In the 12th Article, and 14th Division. [vol. iii. 175.]

These words of St. Augustine are alleged and answered before. That holy learned father never said, neither that the forms and accidents be the sacrament: nor that Christ's body is really hidden under the same: nor in this place speaketh any one word at all of any accidents.

Philipp. ii. 6, 7.

But the words, wherein M. Harding is deceived, are these, *forma panis*: which words signify not the outward forms and accidents, as he untruly expoundeth them: but the very kind and substance of the bread. So St. Paul saith: *Christus, cum in forma Dei esset, formam servi accepit*: "Christ, being in the form" (or nature) "of God,took upon him the form" (or nature) "of a servant." By which words St. Paul meant, that Christ was very God in substance, and that he took upon him the very substance of a man. So St. Hierom expoundeth the same words,

Hieronym. in Osee, lib. 3. cap. 2. [leg. cap. 11. tom. iii. 1313.]

speaking in the person of Christ: *Declinavi ad eos deserens regna cælorum, ut cum eis vescerer, assumpta forma servi [leg. hominis]*: "I went down to them, leaving the kingdom of heaven, that I might eat with them, having taken the form of a servant." I think M. Harding will not say, Christ took a body of forms and accidents, that he might be conversant and live with men. So St. Augustine saith:

Augustin. ad Dardan. epist. 57. [ii. 681.]

Secundum hanc formam, non est putandus ubique diffusus: "Christ" (not according to the shows or accidents of his body, but) "according to this kind, this nature, and this substance of his body, may not be thought to be poured and spread into all places." Thus St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Hierom, and other learned fathers use this word *forma* for nature and substance, and not for accidents.

And as touching the other word, *operta*, "covered," St. Augustine meaneth not thereby, that Christ's body is really contained and covered under the said form or kind of bread: but only that it is there as in a sacrament, or in a mystery. In this sense St. Augustine saith: *Gratia Dei in veteri testamento velata latebat*: "The grace of God lay hidden covered in the old testament." And again: *In veteri testamento occultabatur novum, id est, occulte significabatur*: "The new testament was hidden in the old, that is to say, it was secretly signified in the old."

Augustin. de Spiritu et Litera, cap. 15. [x. 100.]
Augustin. de Baptism. contr. Donat. lib. 1. cap. 15. [ix. 92.]

Here, lest M. Harding should take these words strictly and grossly, as he doth the rest, and say, The new testament indeed and really was covered in the old, St. Augustine himself hath prevented him, and opened his own meaning in this wise, as it is said before: *Occultabatur, id est, occulte significabatur*: "It was covered, that is to say, it was secretly signified." By which exposition, being St. Augustine's, M. Harding might have learned likewise to expound these words: *Caro operta forma panis, id est, occulte significata*: "The flesh covered in the form or substance of bread: that is to say, privily signified in the form or substance of bread."

But M. Harding thought it best to leave the matter, and to make his quarrel to the words: "This word, 'lieth,'" saith he, "importeth a scoff, wherewith to bring his catholic teaching into contempt." Verily this must needs be a marvellous tender and a miserable doctrine, that may no ways be touched without suspicion of a scoff. But why is he more angry with us for uttering these words, "lieth hidden," than he is with his own doctors uttering the same?

In his Gloss upon the Decrees it is written thus: *Species panis, sub qua latet corpus: species vini, sub qua latet sanguis*: "The form of bread, under which is hidden the body: the form of wine, under which is hidden the blood." These be his own fellows' words: they are not ours.

De Con. dist. 2. Hoc est. In Glossa.

Willih. Haffiginensis in Ser. mone de Adventu. Vixit anno 1300.

Willihelmus Haffiginensis⁶⁵, one of M. Harding's new

⁶⁵ [The Editor has not been able to discover any trace of this author's works.]

doctors, saith thus: *Quærite Dominum, dum inveniri potest. In templo invenitur materiali: ibi latet sub specie panis:* "Seek the Lord, while he may be found. He is found in the material church of stone: there he is hidden under the form of bread."

Ludolphus
in Vita
Christi, par.
2. cap. 56.

Another like doctor saith thus: *Ibi est corpus Christi in tanta quantitate, sicut fuit in cruce..... Unde mirum est, quomodo sub tam modica specie tantus homo lateat:* "The body of Christ is there as great in quantity, as he was upon the cross. Therefore it is marvellous, how so great a man can be hid under so small a form⁶⁶."

If this word, "hidden," so necessarily import a scoff, then must M. Harding needs think, that his own doctors scoff at him, and laugh him to scorn. Certainly it is no indifferent dealing, the words being all one, so favourably to allow them in his own books, and so bitterly to dislike them in all others.

Perhaps he will say, "It is no catholic form of speech," to say, "Christ lieth in the sacrament." And yet I see no great reason, but it may stand as well with the catholic doctrine to say, "Christ lieth in the sacrament," as, "Christ sitteth in the sacrament." Yet Johannes a S. Andrea, a great doctor, and a special patron of that side, is well allowed to write thus, and that without any manner controlment or suspicion of scoff: *Id temporis contentio nulla erat, utrum corpus Christi insideret eucharistiæ:* "At that time there was no strife, whether Christ's body were sitting in or upon the sacrament, or no." Thus was it lawful for him to write: and his writings are taken for good and catholic.

Johan. a S.
Andrea in
Epistola
ante Litur-
gias. [ed. de
Sainctes,
1560.]

But M. Harding saith: "Christ's body is in the sacrament, without circumscription or respect of place, strangely, wondrously, and singularly, and by the might of God's omnipotent power: and the manner of his being there is known only unto God." These be fair, and orient, and beautiful colours, but altogether without ground: and, to use the

⁶⁶ [Ludolphus. After "cruce," add, "et sicut jam est in cælo."]

terms of M. Harding's religion, they are nothing else, but accidents and shows without a subject.

It is a strange and a marvellous matter, that this presence of Christ in the sacrament being so certain and so singular, as M. Harding seemeth to make it, yet all the old learned catholic fathers should so lightly pass it over in silence, without any manner mention, as if it were not worth the hearing: or that M. Harding should so assuredly and so certainly know it, and yet God himself should not know it: or that God should know it, and yet, being a matter so singular, and so necessary to be known, should never reveal the same to any, either of the learned fathers, or of the holy apostles, or make them privy to that knowledge.

Indeed it behoveth us to humble our hearts unto the miracles and marvellous works of God. But every M. Harding's phantasy is not a miracle. The heretic Praxeas said, even as now M. Harding saith: *Deo nihil est difficile*: "Unto God nothing is hard." But Tertullian that learned father answered him then, even as we now answer M. Harding: *Si tam abrupte in præsumptionibus nostris utamur hac sententia, quidvis de Deo confingere poterimus*: "If we so rashly use this sentence to serve our presumptions" (or phantasies), "we may imagine of God what we list."

Tertullian.
contra Prax-
eam. [cap. 10.
p. 505.]

St. Stephen saw Christ in heaven, "standing:" St. Paul Acts vii. 56. saith: "Christ is now at the right hand of God, sitting:" Coloss. iii. 1. which thing also we confess in the articles of our faith. But in the sacrament, saith M. Harding, Christ is present without any manner such circumscription or circumstance, or order of place: that is to say, as great in quantity as he was upon the cross, and yet neither standing, not sitting, nor lying, nor leaning, nor kneeling, nor walking, nor resting, nor moving, nor having any manner proportion or position of his body, either upward or downward: or backward or forward: a very body, and yet not as a body: in a place, and yet not as in a place.

This is M. Harding's catholic doctrine, without scripture, without council, without doctor, without any liking or

sense of reason. Yet must every man receive the same at M. Harding's hand, as the singular, strange, wonderful, omnipotent work of God.

To conclude, Christ's body is in the mystical bread of the holy communion, not really, or corporally, or indeed, as M. Harding fancieth, but as in a sacrament, and in a mystery: even as the blood of Christ is in the water of baptism.

OF IGNORANCE.

THE SEVEN AND TWENTIETH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR, that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion and obedience.

M. HARDING.

Master Jewel had great need of articles, for some show to be made against the catholic church, when he advised himself to put this in for an article. Verily this is none of the highest mysteries, nor none of the greatest keys of our religion, as he saith it is, but untruly, and knoweth that for an untruth. For himself imputeth it to D. Cole, in his replies to him, as a strange saying by him uttered in the disputation at Westminster, to the wondering of the most part of the honourable and worshipful of this realm. If it were one of the highest mysteries and greatest keys of the catholic religion, I trust the most part of the honourable and worshipful of the realm would not wonder at it. Concerning the matter itself, I leave it to D. Cole. He is of age to answer for himself. Whether he said it or no, I know not. As he is learned, wise, and godly, so I doubt not, but if he said it, therein he had a good meaning, and can shew good reason for the same, if he may be admitted to declare his saying, as wise men would the laws to be declared, so as the mind be taken, and the word spoken not always rigorously exacted.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding allegeth no doctor, but D. Cole. And touching the matter itself, he thinketh this error well excused, for that it is not the principal key of his religion. Howbeit, he that in most honourable assembly doubted not openly to pronounce these words, "I tell you, ignorance is the mother of devotion," was thought then to esteem the same, as no small key of his religion. Verily it appeareth

Fol. 77.
[Supra, vol.
I. p. 93.]

John ix. 21.

κατὰ τὴν
διδόξαν,
καὶ μὴ κατὰ
τὸ βητόν.

by the whole practice and policy of that side, they are fully persuaded, that without deep ignorance of the people it is not possible for their church to stand.

Therefore they chase the simple from the scriptures, and drown them in ignorance, and suffer them utterly to know nothing : neither the profession they made in baptism : nor the meaning of the holy mysteries : nor the price of Christ's blood : nor wherein or by whom they may be saved : nor what they desire of God, either when they pray together in the church, or when they privately pray alone.

Matt. xxlii.
13.

“ They shut up the kingdom of heaven before men : and neither will they enter themselves, nor suffer others that would enter.” And, as it is written by the prophet Esay :

Isa. xxx. 10.

Dicunt videntibus, Nolite videre : “ They say unto them

Isa. xxiv. 2.

that see, Stop your eyes, and see no more.—As the people is, such is the priest : (and as the priest is, such is

Matt. xv. 14.

the people.)—The blind is set to guide the blind.”

Thus they welter in darkness and in the shadow of death. And yet, as it is written in the Book of Wisdom :

Wisd. xiv. 22.

Non satis est illis errasse circa scientiam Dei : sed in magno viventes inscitæ bello, tot et tanta mala pacem appellant :

“ They thought it not sufficient to be deceived and blinded in the knowledge of God : but living in such a war of ignorance, all these evils they call peace :” and make the people believe, it is obedience, catholic faith, and devotion : or rather, as Irenæus writeth against the Valentinian heretics : *Veritatis ignorantiam, cognitionem vocant* : “ Ignorance of the truth, and blindness, they call knowledge.”

Irenæus, lib.
2. cap. 19.
[p. 135.]

By these policies they overrule the church of God, and keep the people in obedience : even as the Philistines, after they had once shorn off Samson's hair, and bored out his eyes, notwithstanding the strength and sturdiness of his body, were able to lead him whither they listed, at their pleasure. “ For he, that walketh in the dark, knoweth not whither to go.”

Judg. xvi. 21.

Jobu xlii. 35.

Concil. Tolet.

4. can. 24.

[can. 25. tom.

x. 626.]

Augustin. in

Psal. xxxiii.

conclon. 1.

[iv. 213.]

In the council of Toledo in Spain, it is written thus :

Mater omnium errorum ignorantia : “ Ignorance is the mother” (not of devotion, but) “ of all errors.” Like as

St. Augustine also saith : *Erat in illis regnum ignorantæ,*

id est, regnum erroris : “ There was in them the kingdom of ignorance, that is to say, the kingdom” (not of devotion, but) “ of error.”

St. Hierom saith : *Scripturarum ignorantia, Christi ignorantia est* : “ The ignorance of the scriptures, is the ignorance of Christ.” Distin. 38. Si juxta.

And St. Gregory saith : *Qui ea, quæ sunt Domini, nesciunt, a Domino nesciuntur* : “ Whoso know not the things that pertain unto the Lord, be not known of the Lord.” Gregor. in Pastorall, lib. 1. cap. 1. [ll. 3.]

But above all others, these words of the ancient learned father Origen are specially worthy to be noted : *Dæmonibus est super omnia genera tormentorum, et super omnes pœnas, si quem videant verbo Dei operam dare, scientiam Divinæ legis, et mysteria scripturarum intentis studiis perquirentem. In hoc eorum omnis flamma est : in hoc uruntur incendio.....Possident enim omnes, qui versantur in ignorantia* : “ Unto the devils it is a torment above all kinds of torments, and a pain above all pains, if they see any man reading the word of God, and with fervent study searching the knowledge of God’s law, and the mysteries and secrets of the scriptures. Herein standeth all the flame of the devils : in this fire they are tormented. For they are seised and possessed of all them, that remain in ignorance.” Origen. in Num. hom. 27. [ll. 378.]

To be short, Moses wished that all the whole people might have understanding and be able to prophesy. St. Paul wished, that the whole people might daily more and more increase in the knowledge of God, and saith : “ Whoso continueth in ignorance, and knoweth not, shall not be known.” Numb. xl. 29. 1 Thess. iv. 1. 1 Cor. xiv. 38. [Vulg.]

God, the God of light and truth, remove all ignorance and darkness from our hearts : that we may fly the spirit of error : and know the voice of the great Shepherd : that we grow into a full perfect man in Christ Jesu, and be not blown away with every blast of vain doctrine : that we may be able to know the only, the true, and the living God, and his only begotten Son Jesus Christ : to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.* John x. 4. Ephes. iv. 13.

AN ANSWER

TO

M. HARDING'S CONCLUSION.

AS the rest of your book, M. Harding, may in many respects seem very weak, so is there no part thereof more weak, than your triumph at the end, before the conquest. Ye say, ye have fully answered the offer, which you call a challenge: and have avouched the negatives: and have fully proved all that lay in question, by scriptures, by examples of the primitive church, by old councils, and by ancient fathers. Whereby it appeareth, ye have some good liking in that ye have done. It had been more modesty to have left the commendation and judgment thereof unto your reader: who comparing your proofs with the answers, and laying the one to the other, might be able to judge indifferently between both. For it may well be thought, that while ye ran alone, ye were ever the foremost: and that, making your own award, ye would hardly pronounce against yourself.

The proofs, that ye have shewed us, are common and known, often alleged, and often answered, and now brought in, as a company of maimed soldiers, to make a show. But from you, and from such conference and help of fellows, your learned friends looked for some fresher matters.

That ye charge me with ambition and self-love and seeking of praise, although it be the weakest of all other your shifts, yet it is an affection incident unto the children of Adam: and some men suspect that M. Harding is not fully empty of the same. But he, that made the heart, is only meet to search and to judge the heart. As for me, as I am nothing, so I know nothing. "God forbid that I should glory in any thing, saving only in the cross of Jesus Christ." Galat. vi. 14.

But where it pleaseth you so horribly to pronounce your definitive sentence, that everlasting damnation shall be the end of our game, I might well answer you with St. Paul, *Nolite ante tempus judicare*: "Judge not before the time." 1 Cor. iv. 5. It seemeth overmuch for you, so unadvisedly to take upon you the office and person of Christ without commission. For St. John saith: "God hath given all judgment" (not unto M. Harding, but) "unto Christ his Son:" who, no doubt, will inquire further of your judgment. Your own Gelasius saith: *Neminem gravare debet iniqua sententia*: "A wrongful sentence may hurt no man." It behoveth us, patiently to wait for the judgment-seat of God. "In that day all the secrets of darkness shall be revealed." 1 Cor. iv. 5. The wicked and ungodly cried out against the prophet David: *Non est salus ipsi in Deo ejus*: "He hath no health, he hath no comfort in his God." Psal. iii. 2. But David turned himself unto God, and said, "O Lord, thou receivest me: thou art my glory: thou liftest up my head." If damnation be the end of all their travails, that seek only the glory of God and the truth of his gospel, where then shall they be, that so wilfully have dishonoured the name of God, and have burnt his gospel without cause, and have condemned it as open heresy? Certainly, "renegates, infidels, liars, blasphemers, and idolaters shall have their portion in the lake that flameth with fire and brimstone." Rev. xxi. 8. The Lord's mouth hath spoken it. This doubtless shall be the end of their game.

Now, say you, it remaineth, that I perform my promise. Yea verily: but, notwithstanding all that ye have hitherto said, much more it remaineth, that you begin again, and assay better to prove your purpose: that is, that ye leave

your surmises and guesses; and allege one or other sufficient clause or sentence, for any of these matters that ye say ye have proved. For that ye have hitherto shewed us, as unto any indifferent reader it may soon appear, is overweak, and will not serve.

I grant, ye have alleged authorities sundry and many, such as I knew long before: with what faith, I doubt not, but by conference it may soon appear. Verily, M. Harding, I never denied, but you were able to misreport the ancient learned doctors of the church, and to bring us the names and shadows of many fathers. The heretics of all ages were likewise able to do the same. But what credit may we yield to such allegations? What error was there ever so plain, what abuse so horrible, but ye have been able to maintain the same by some colour of scriptures and fathers? Ye have defended your holy water by the example of Elizeus, and by the words of the prophet Ezekiel: your pardons, by the prophet Esay: the open filthiness and abomination of your stews, by the name and authority of St. Augustine⁶⁷. Such credit ye deserve to have, when ye come to us in the name of holy fathers.

2 Kings iv.

Isa. xl. 1.

Augustin. de
Ordine.
[lib. 2. cap.
4. tom. i.
335.]

Ye say, ye have shaken down all the holds of our side: and that whoso seeth it not, is stark blind and seeth nothing. So easily, and with so small ado, this whole matter is brought to pass. So Julius Cæsar, sometime to declare the marvellous speed and expedition of his victory, expressed the same briefly in these three words, *Veni: vidi: vici*: "I came to them: I saw them: I conquered them."

Here in few words to traverse the special points and corners of your whole book, and to shew by what force and engines ye have achieved this enterprise: first ye have proved your private mass, by women, boys, children, laymen, fables, dreams and visions. Your half communion, by sick folk, deathbeds, infants and madmen. Of Christ's institution, of the scriptures, of the certain practice of the apostles, of the general and known use of the primitive church, of the ancient councils, of the old canons, of the holy catholic fathers, saving only your bare guesses,

⁶⁷ [Augustin. See Def. of Apol. pt. i. p. 6. ed. 1611.]

you bring nothing. Of your unfruitful manner of praying in a strange unknown tongue, ye allege neither authority nor example; touching the supremacy of Rome, which is the keep and castle of your whole religion, ye wander far and wide, and many times beside the way: yet have ye not found any ancient father, that ever entitled the bishop of Rome, either the universal bishop of the whole world, or the head of the universal church. Thus ye proceed with your real presence: and so forth with the rest.

You intreat uncourteously the holy fathers, with such your translations, expositions, and constructions, not as may best express their meaning, but as may best serve to further your purpose. Ye rack them: ye alter them: ye put to them: ye take from them: ye allege sometime the end without the beginning: sometime the beginning without the end: sometime ye take the bare words against the meaning: sometime ye make a meaning against the words. Ye imagine councils, that were never holden, and canons of councils, that never were seen. Ye bring forged pamphlets under the names of Athanasius, Anacletus, and other godly fathers, by whom you well know, and cannot choose but know, they were never made. Your greatest grounds be surmises, guesses, conjectures, and likelihoods. Your arguments be fallacies, many times without either mood or figure: the antecedent not agreeing with the consequent, nor one part joined with another. Your untruths be so notorious and so many, that it pitieth me in your behalf to remember them. But the places be evident, and cry Corruption, and may by no shift be denied. And to forget all other your inconstancy, touching the former times, even now in this selfsame book which ye wish us to receive, and so to receive as the rule and standard of our faith, ye say and unsay: ye avouch and recant: and either of forgetfulness, or for that ye mislike your former sayings, you are often contrary to yourself. Ye have sought up a company of new petit doctors, Abdias, Amphilocheus, Clemens, Hippolytus, Leontius, and such others, authors void of authority, full of vanities and childish fables. And no great marvel. For whoso wanteth wood, is often driven

to burn turfs. It had been good ye had brought some other doctors, to prove the credit of these doctors. Ye make no difference between silver and dross : between corn and chaff : between old and new : between true and false. Ye say, " Christ shed his blood indeed and verily at his last supper : and that at the same instant of time, he offered himself in his body likewise in heaven indeed, and verily before God his Father." And these ye call necessary points of the Christian faith.

Article 17.
Division 4
and 7.

These are the contents of your book : this is the substance of your proofs. Thus, I fear me, ye know, ye dally, and deal not plainly : thus, ye know, ye abuse the patience and simplicity of your reader. And did you imagine, M. Harding, that your book should pass only among children, or that it should never be examined and come to trial ? or, did you think, that, only with the sound hereof, ye should be able to beat down and to vanquish the truth of God ?

As for your eloquence and furniture of words, as it serveth well to make the matter more saleable in the sight of the simple, so it addeth but small weight unto the truth. Wise men are led with choice of matter, not with noise of words : and try their gold not only by the sound, which often deceiveth, but also by the touchstone, and by the weight. Although your eloquence may work miracles in the ears of the unlearned that cannot judge, yet it cannot turn neither water into wine : nor darkness into light : nor error into truth. There is no eloquence, there is no colour against the Lord.

Whereas it liketh you so bitterly, as your manner is, to call us heretics, and to say, " We sit in the chair of pestilence, and that the people learneth of us dissolution of manners, and liberty of the flesh, and walketh utterly without sense, or fear, or care of God," it standeth not with your credit, thus with manifest untruths and common slanders to inveigle your reader. Balak, when he saw he could not prevail against the people of God by force of arms, he began to rail against them and to curse them, thinking that by such means he should prevail.

Numb. xxii.
and xxiii.

But it is not always heresy that an heretic calleth heresy. Athalia, when she understood that Joas, the right inheritor ^{2 Kings xi. 14.} of the crown of Juda, was proclaimed king, flew in her fury into the temple, and cried out, "Treason, treason." Yet was it not king Joas, but she herself that had wrought the treason. The Arian heretics called the true Christians, that professed the faith of the holy Trinity, sometime Ambrosians, sometime Johannites, and sometime Homousians: allowing only themselves to be called Catholics. The Valentinian heretics condemned all others, as gross and earthly, and themselves only they called ghostly. The sheep oftentimes seemeth to stray without the fold, whiles the wolf lurketh and preyeth within. Verily, M. Harding, whoso hateth the intolerable outrage of your abuses, and pitieth the miserable seducing and mocking of the people, and mourneth for the reformation of the house of God, and desireth to tread in the steps of the ancient catholic godly fathers, whose doctrine and ordinances ye have forsaken, and, with all submission and humility of mind, referreth the whole judgment and order hereof unto the undoubted word of God, he may not rightly be called an heretic.

Touching looseness of life, I marvel ye can so soon forget, either your church of Rome, where, as St. Bernard said in his time, "From the head to the foot, there was no part whole:" or the pope's holiness' own palace: where, as the same St. Bernard saith, *Mali proficiunt, boni deficiunt*: "The wicked grow forward, the godly go backward."

Bernard, in
Conversione
Pauli. [lib.
962.]
De Consideratione. lib. 4.
[cap. 4. ii.
445. F.]

Verily, we have neither stews, nor concubines, nor courtezans set out and decked as ladies, nor priests nor prelates to wait upon them, as, by your own friends' confession, there are in Rome. There is no virtue, but we advance it: there is no vice, but we condemn it. To be short, a light wanton amongst us, if she were in Rome, might seem Penelope.

In Concil.
Delectorum
Cardinalium.
[Crabbe,
lib. 823.]

Ye say, "There are none, but a few, light unstable persons of our side." And therefore, of good will and friendship, ye counsel me to return to you again. "But a few," say you? and the same "unstable and light persons?"

Surely, M. Harding, if you could behold the wonderful works that God hath wrought in the kingdoms of England, France, Denmark, Polonia, Suecia, Bohemia, and Scotland: and in the noble states and commonweals of Germany, Helvetia, Prussia, Russia, Lithuania, Pomerania, Austria, Rhetia, Vallis Tellina, &c. ye would not greatly find fault with the number: nor think that they, whom it hath pleased God in all these kingdoms and countries to call to the knowledge and feeling of his holy gospel, are so few. And if ye could also consider the extremity and cruelty of your side, and the abundance of innocent blood, that so constantly hath been yielded for the testimony of the truth, ye would not so lightly call them, either "unstable" or "light persons." Certainly, they, whom you seem so lightly to esteem, are kings, princes, magistrates, counsellors, and the gravest and greatest learned fathers of Christendom. If it please God of his mercy to bless and increase that he hath begun, within few years ye shall find but few, that will so lightly be deceived and follow you. In all countries they flee from you, and forsake you. Ye can no longer hold them, but either by ignorance, or by force and tyranny. The people, whom it liketh you to call dogs and swine, are neither so beastly, nor so unsensible and void of reason, but that they are able now to espy them, by whom they so often have been deceived. They are able now to discern the truth from falsehood: and the true Shepherd from a stranger: and lament your pitiful case, that are so suddenly fallen back, and welter so miserably in your error.

Whereas you in so earnest sort, and with such protestation of friendship, counsel me to leave Christ, and to follow you; as your counsel, joined with truth, were very wholesome, so, standing with manifest untruth, it is full of danger: and the more vehement, the more dangerous. Certainly, heretics and infidels, to increase their factions, have evermore used the like persuasions. But we may hear no counsel against the counsel of God. Aristotle sometime said, "Socrates is my friend, and so is Plato: but the friendship of truth is best of all." We cannot bear

witness against God: we cannot say, good is ill, and ill is good: light is darkness, and darkness is light. "We Rom. 1. 16. cannot be ashamed of the gospel of Christ: it is the mighty power of God unto salvation."

And with whom then would ye have us to join? Examine the weight and circumstance of your counsel. Whom should we flee? whom should we follow? Leave affection: leave favour of parts: and judge uprightly. Would ye have us to join with them that have burnt the word of God: and scornfully call it a shipman's hose, and a nose of wax? that maintain manifest and known errors? that call God's people dogs and swine? that say, "Ignorance is the mother of true devotion?" that force the people to open idolatry? that forbid lawful marriage: and license concubines and common stewes? that have devised unto themselves a strange religion, without either scriptures, or ancient councils, or old doctors, or example of the primitive church? that have turned their backs to God? that have deceived the people? that have made the house of God a cave of thieves? whom so many kingdoms and countries, and infinite thousands of godly people, have forsaken? from whom the Holy Ghost by express words hath commanded us to depart? for so it is written: "Come Rev. xviii. 4. away from her, O my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins: lest ye be also partakers of her plagues."

Would ye counsel us, M. Harding, to forsake the word of life, and the company of all them that have given their bodies and blood for the testimony of Christ, and to join with these?

Ye say, "We may have the example and company of one Staphylus, and Balduinus, and Wicelius, that have done the like." Ye might also have added the example and company of Judas the traitor, of Julianus the renegade, and of others the like, of whom St. Peter saith, "They are turned back, to feed upon their vomit, as 2 Pet. ii. 22. shameless dogs: and to wallow again in their mire, as filthy swine." I will say nothing of you, M. Harding. Notwithstanding, ye know, whose examples ye have followed. Tertullian saith thus: *Christus ait, Fugite de* Tertull. de Fuga in Persequutione. [cap. 6. P. 538.]

civitate in civitatem. Sic enim quidam argumentabatur : sed et ipse fugitivus : “ Christ said, Flee from city to city : so there is one that used to reason : but he himself was a fugitive.”

I consider well their doings, and stand in horror of their ends : some such of your side have died in miserable desperation, with terrible witness against themselves, that they had wrought against their own conscience : as it is faithfully testified unto the world. One of these three, as it is reported, and openly published by them that know him best, hath altered his whole faith seven times within the space of seventeen years : and therefore is well resembled to the old apostata Ecebolius. St. Peter saith, “ It had been better for them never to have known the way of righteousness, than, having once received knowledge, afterward to turn away from the holy commandment.”——
2 Pet. ii. 21. “ It is an horrible thing, to fall into the hands of the living
Heb. x. 31. God.” St. Paul saith : “ Whoso hath once received the light of God, and hath felt the sweetness of the heavenly gift, and hath been partaker of the Holy Ghost, and hath once tasted of the good word of God, and afterward falleth away, it is not possible for such a one to be renewed by repentance.” I wish you in God, and unfeignedly, M. Harding, to beware hereby. These words and examples are marvellous horrible.

Although these and such others can deny God, yet
2 Tim. ii. 13. “ God cannot deny himself.” “ What,” saith St. Paul,
Rom. iii. 3, 4. “ if certain of them be fallen away ? shall their infidelity make frustrate the faith of God ? God forbid. For God is true, and all men are liars.”

Of your person, as I promised, I will say nothing. God's works be wonderful. “ He calleth whom he will, and whom he will he maketh hard.” He calleth Paul from his horse : Elizæus from the plough : the apostles from their nets : and the thief on the cross, upon the sudden.

But if some simple one or other of them, whom you so uncourteously have despised, should say thus unto you : M. Harding, not long sithence ye taught us the gospel, even in like sort and form, in all respects, as it is taught us

now. We remember both your words, and also the manner and courage of your utterance. Ye told us of the paper walls, and painted fires of purgatory: ye said, Rome was the sink of Sodom: ye said, your mass was a heap of idolatry, and the mystery of iniquity: ye wished your voice had been equal with the great bell of Oseney, that ye might ring, as ye then said, in the dull ears of the deaf papists. No man was so vehement and so earnest as you. The whole university and city of Oxford, the Cross at Paul's, and other like places of great concourse, can well record it. Ye bade us then believe you upon your credit, and we believed you. The prince died, another was placed. Suddenly ye had quite forgotten all that ye had taught us before, and had as suddenly learned other things, all contrary to the former, which, ye told us, ye never knew before: and yet, with one face and one conscience, ye required us earnestly to believe you still, even as we had done before. As though your bare word were the rule of our faith: and, whatsoever you should say, true or false, we simple people were bound of necessity to believe you. Howbeit, we think, if ye tell us truth now, then ye deceived us before: if ye told us truth before, then ye deceive us now. And thus it cannot be denied, but this way or that way ye have deceived us. And how may we know, whether you speak as you think, or dissemble with us now, as ye did before? Surely St. James sheweth us, "that a James 1. 8. man of double mind is ever unconstant in all his ways."

We marvelled how ye could attain to all this doctrine, specially in so short a time, but most of all, in such perfection. For the scriptures are large: and we hear say, the councils are sundry, the doctors' volumes are long and many. So suddenly in seven days to read them all, and so to read them, it was not possible. You may by your eloquence persuade us many things, but this one thing ye can never persuade us. You wanted time; it is not credible; it was not possible. Therefore ye must needs say, ye were taught these things, even as the prophets were, by revelation.

If any of all your old hearers would thus put you in remembrance, alas, what answer could you make him?

But it was not you, M. Harding, it was the time. If the time had been one, you had still continued one. But ye were forced to know that ye knew not: and to think that ye thought not: and so to believe that ye believed not. Howbeit, St. Hilary saith, *Quæ ex necessitate est, fides non est*: "Forced faith is no faith."

Ye say, "Whosoever shall attempt to answer your book, shall sweat in vain. His labour shall be, as was the Comendation of baldness, or of ignorance, or of folly⁶⁶: as a flourish, as a smoke, as a smother," and as I know not what. The force of your eloquence is so invincible, no truth is able to withstand it. Such affiance ye would seem to have in the beauty of your cause.

Here, I beseech you, give me leave, once again to put you in remembrance of the contents and substance of your travails. Think you in sooth, M. Harding, or would ye have us to think, that your maimed allegations, your untrue translations: your wrested expositions: your councils never holden: your canons never, nor made, nor seen: your epistles never written: your Amphilochius, your Abdias, your Clemens, your Leontius, your Hippolytus, and other like fabulous pamphlets and forgeries, so lately found out, so long lacked, and never missed: your additions, your diminutions, your alterations, your corruptions of the doctors: your contrarities and contradictions against yourself: your surmises, your guesses, your dreams, your visions: your elenchs, your fallacies, your silly syllogisms, without either mood, or figure, or sequel in reason: and to conclude, your untruths, so plain, so evident, so manifest, and so many, can never be answered? Is simple truth become so weak? or, is error and falsehood grown so strong?

O, M. Harding, you know right well the weakness of

⁶⁶ [This alludes to the *Calviti* Encomium by Erasmus; and perhaps to the *Ignorantionis Laudatio* by the Admirable Crichton.]

your side. No man seeth it better than yourself. If you will dissemble, and say ye see it not, open your eyes : behold your own book, and you shall see it. You have forced the old doctors and ancient fathers, to speak your mind, and not their own. And therefore they are now your children : they are no fathers, they are now your scholars : you have set them to school : they are no doctors. You should have brought some truth for proof of your purpose : the world will not now be led with lies.

These be cases, not of wit, but of faith : not of eloquence, but of truth : not invented or devised by us, but from the apostles, and holy fathers, and founders of the church, by long succession brought unto us. We are not the devisers thereof, but only the keepers : not the masters, but the scholars. Touching the substance of religion, we believe that the ancient catholic learned fathers believed : we do that they did : we say that they said. And marvel not, in what side soever ye see them, if ye see us join unto the same. It is our great comfort, that we see their faith and our faith to agree in one. And we pity and lament your miserable case, that having of yourselves erected a doctrine, contrary to all the ancient fathers, yet would thus assay to colour the same, and to deceive the people only with the names and titles of ancient fathers.

St. Cyprian saith, "Lies can never deceive us long. It is night until the day spring. But, when the day appeareth, and the sun is up, both the darkness of the night, and the thefts and robberies that in the darkness were committed, are fain to give place." Now the sun is up, your smother is scattered. God with his truth will have the victory. The heavens and the earth shall perish, but the word of God shall never perish.

O, M. Harding, O fight no longer against God. It is hard to kick against the spur. To maintain a fault known, it is a double fault. Untruth cannot be shielded but by untruth. Error cannot be defended but by error. "And the mouth that speaketh untruth, killeth the soul."

God direct our hearts, that we be not ashamed of his

It Cyprian. lib.
1. epist. 3.
[p. 84.]

gospel: but that we may see it, and be seen to see it. God make us the vessels of his mercy: that we may have pity of Sion, and build up again the broken walls of his Jerusalem, to the honour and glory of his holy name.
Amen.

Vigilius contra Eutychem, lib. I. [Bibl. Patr. viii. p. 733.]

Hæc est fides, et professio catholica: quam apostoli tradiderunt: martyres roboraverunt: et fideles hucusque custodiunt:

“This is the faith and catholic profession: which the apostles have delivered: the martyrs have confirmed: and the faithful keep until this day.”

End of the Reply.

END OF VOL. III.

20

